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Cavalry and Court Trumpeters and Kettledrummers from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century

Musicians for centuries have found employment in battle and other outdoor arenas, and within this tradition, cavalry trumpeters and kettledrummers have held prominent positions. Stemming from Celtic, Roman and Middle Eastern elements, coupled further with Austrian and Hungarian encounters with the Ottomans, who used large horse-mounted drums in battle, the mounted custom moved westward. The horse added a sense of grandeur and nobility to cavalry units, many of which were comprised exclusively of 'gentlemen',[1] and by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European royalty and military leaders were recognizing the psychological impact in sight and sound of military musicians.[2] The present study focuses on mounted outdoor military and court work, leaving the documentation of instrument development and the general practice and employment of trumpeters and kettledrummers in the Renaissance and Baroque periods to other authors.

Mounted trumpet players, who by this point were playing instruments bent in an 'S' or in the folded shape still known today, were employed as signalers on the battlefield as well as at court in royal and other noble households for pageantry in tournaments, jousts, cavalcades, journeys and carrousels. By the end of the fifteenth century, kettledrummers were playing instruments made of copper or brass; they were initially reserved for royalty then gradually became part of most European cavalry and court units accompanying trumpeters. Both kettledrummers and trumpeters, when performing outdoors, were typically mounted on horses[3] who, it was felt, were influenced by the sound of music. This was suggested by a nobleman of the time: 'the sound of drums and trumpets animates the soul of man, and even horses receive emotion from it and become more superb and furious',[4] and by Claude Guignard, writing in 1725, who proposed that 'the beating of the timpani, which controls the stamping and the marching of the horses, also ensures that these animals march with the most noble pride'.[5]

[1] James Turner, *Pallas Armata, Military Essays of the Ancient Grecian, Roman, and Modern Art of War, Written in the Years 1670 and 1671* (London: Printed by M.W. for Richard Chiswell, 1683), p. 231. Gentlemen at this point in history were men of a high social class, who although they may not have been strictly of noble birth, were entitled to a coat of arms.

[2] See Bruce P. Gleason, 'Cavalry Trumpet and Kettledrum Practice from the Time of the Celts and Romans to the Renaissance', *Galpin Society Journal* 61 (2008), pp. 231-239, 251.

[3] Jeremy Montagu, *Timpani and Percussion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 49. Montagu suggests that only special stationary occasions such as funerals warranted dismounted playing.

[4] Kate Van Orden, 'Early Military Trumpeters: Scoundrels or Spies?', paper delivered at the Historic Brass Society's Early Brass Festival, University of California, Berkeley, California, August, 1999, citing François le Poulchre de La Motte-Messemé, *Le passe-temps* (Paris: Jean le Blanc, 1597), 7v-8r.

[5] Claude Guignard, *L'École de Mars* (Paris, 1725), p. 695, cited in David Whitwell, *The Baroque Wind Band and Wind Ensemble* (Northridge, California: Winds, 1983), p. 131.

Chronicling the military aspect of these musicians from the early Renaissance to the turn of the nineteenth century is the subject of Part I of the present study. Part II focuses on mounted musicians within court employ. While musicians were often doing double duty, the performance arenas are specialized enough to separate them in this examination.

PART I. TRUMPETS AND KETTLEDRUMS ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The first battle calls in the foggy depths of history were undoubtedly merely shouts of simple direction. As battles became larger and more complicated, the human voice was no longer discernible in battle, and several ancient cultures including the Egyptians, Israelites, Greeks, Romans, Celts and Germanic tribes developed trumpet and horn signals.[6] With the advent of gunpowder, the complexity and decibel levels of warfare increased further and the trumpet found a permanent place in Western armies.[7] In his 1521 treatise *Libro della arte della Guerra* (The Art of War), Niccoló Machiavelli wrote that commanding officers should issue orders by means of the trumpet in the Roman tradition because its tone and volume could be heard above the pandemonium of combat. He also maintained that cavalry trumpets ought to have a distinctly different timbre from those in the infantry.[8]

As warfare methods progressed, quick-moving cavalry units began appearing with the demise of armored knights. These advancements coupled with the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century idea of retaining standing armies of ordered units of officers and rank soldiers that remained organized between wars resulted in structural advancements, including the coding of signals and training of trumpeters. John William Fortescue, writing at the turn of the twentieth century, suggests that the earliest European signals were not standardized but were apparently agreed upon for each battle: 'Trumpets were used for purposes of signaling, though, so far as can be gathered, they sounded no distinct calls, and were dependent for their significance on orders previously issued'.[9] As an example of this, Geoffrey de Vinsauf's 1191 Holy Land chronicles of Richard I's Crusade itinerary, states that 'it had been resolved by common consent that the sounding of six trumpets in three different parts of the army should be a signal for a charge, viz., two in front, two in the rear, and two in the middle, to distinguish the sounds from those of the Saracens, and to mark the distance of each'.[10]

Correct interpretation of battle signals, which were becoming standardized for individual armies,[11] could dictate the outcome of a battle, and thus training of trumpeters was taken seriously, with all cavalrymen being expected to understand the distinct calls.[12] Gradually becoming more detailed, these signals increasingly governed the soldier's daily life as suggested in Henry VIII's Statutes and Ordynances for the Warre of 1544:

> Euery horseman at the fyrst blaste of the trumpette shall sadle or cause to be sadled his horse, at the seconde to brydell, at the thirde to leape on his horse backe, to wait on the kyng, or his lorde or capitayne.[13]

Cesare Bendinelli, writing one of the first instructional books for trumpet, states further that early

[6] William Barclay Squire, H.G. Farmer, Edward H. Tarr/Peter Downey, 'Signal (i)', 'Military signals', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Publishers, Ltd., 2001).

[7] Hans Delbrück in his *The Dawn of Modern Warfare*, Vol. IV in *History of the Art of War*, trans. Walter J. Renfroe, Jr. originally published, Berlin, 1920 (Lincoln Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), suggests that 'the first historically confirmed use of firearms in warfare in Europe took place in 1331 at the time of Louis the Bavarian, in the Italo-German border area in Friuli, when the two knights de Cruspergo and de Spilimbergo attacked the town of Cividale', p. 25.

[8] Niccoló Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, a revised edition of the Ellis Farneworth translation (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1965, original published in 1521), pp. 107-108.

[9] John William Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, Vol. I. (MacMillan and Co., London, 1910), p. 30.

[10] Geoffrey de Vinsauf, 'Itinerary of Richard I. and Others, to the Holy Land', in Richard of Devizes and Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Chronicles of the Crusades: Being Contemporary Narratives of the Crusade of Richard Couer de Lion; and of the Crusade of St. Louis by Lord John de Joinville* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1848), p. 238.

[11] David Whitwell, *The Renaissance Wind Band and Wind Ensemble* (Northridge, California: Winds, 1983), p. 11.

[12] Edward H. Tarr, 'Further Mandate Against the Unauthorized Playing of Trumpets (Dresden: 1736): Introduction and Translation', *Historic Brass Society Journal* 13 (2001), p. 67.

[13] Henry VIII, *Statutes and Ordynances for the Warre* (London: In Fletestrete by Thomas Barthelet printer to the Kinges Highness, 1544, [A revision of Henry VII's ordinances of 1491]), p. 9.

cavalry calls were learned with speech-like syllables to aid in articulation, which Tarr and Baines suggest also aided memory,[14] a system not unlike that of drum rudiments. Tarr adds that the syllables also indicated the range of pitches: 'da', 'ta', or 'ton' for low notes and 'tin' or 'te' for higher ones.[15]

These early calls are lost in history, but as Caldwell Titcomb states, 'some idea of what they were like can be had from looking at fourteenth-century *caccie* and some *virelais*, as well as Josquin's Fanfares royales (probably composed for the enthroning of Louis XII in 1498) and the corpus of sixteenth-century battle-pieces'.[16] Later signals from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (some of which were retained for use in the nineteenth and twentieth) appear in collections and texts by Schünemann, Schmidt, Panoff, Mersenne, Kastner, Plass and Altenburg.[17] A look at Kastner's collection of marches and trumpet calls in his *Général de Musique Militaire* indicate that they changed by country, era and military unit.[18] The earliest medieval signals in the West appear to have French origins with standardized, monophonic 'Italian style' trumpet signals being introduced and spreading during the sixteenth century.[19] Writing in 1639, Gervase Markham lists the main cavalry signals of the time, 'which we generally call Poynts of Warre': '*Butte Sella*, or Clap on your Saddles';[20] '*Mounte Cavallo*, or Mount on Horsebacke'; '*Al'a Standardo*, or Goe to your Colours'; '*Tucquet*, or March'; '*Carga, Carga*, or an Alarme, Charge, Charge'; '*Auquet*, or the Watch'; as well as several 'other Soundings … as, *Tende Hoe*, for listening, a *Call* for Summons, a *Senet* for State, and the like'.[21]

By 1795, a field trumpeter, Johann Ernst Altenburg suggested that the military signals (field pieces), had grown in number and 'are nothing more than an artistic variation on the major triad' and that the principal military signals known to him towards the end of the Baroque period, which would have been a good representation of those used throughout Europe were:

Boute-sell (Porté selles): boots and saddles, sounded two or three hours before riding out of camp, its real importance is to encourage the troops.

à Cheval: to horse. In the field, upon hearing this call the cavalry assembles in order before the commander's quarters.

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[14] Cesare Bendinelli, *Tutta l'arte della Trombetta, 1614*; facsimile edited by Edward Tarr, *Documenta Musicologica* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975). Edward Tarr, *The Entire Art of Trumpet Playing, 1614*, Complete English Translation and Critical Commentary (Nashville: Brass Press, 1975), pp. 4, 12. Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments, Their History and Development* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1993), p. 133.

[15] Bendinelli/Tarr, *The Entire Art of Trumpet Playing*, p. 12.

[16] Caldwell Titcomb, 'The Kettledrums in Western Europe: Their History Outside the Orchestra', (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1952), pp. 432-433.

[17] Georg Schünemann, ed., *Deutsche Fanfaren und Feldstücke aus alter Zeit* (Kassel, Bärenreiter 1940s), pp. 13-16. Herman Schmidt, ed., *Märsche und Signale der deutschen Wehrmacht*, Vol. 15 of *Musikalische Formen in Historischen Reihen* (Berlin: Vieweg, 1934), 12. Peter Panoff, *Militärmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Karl Siegismund Verlag, Berlin, 1938), p. 114 ff. Georg Schünemann, ed., *Trompeterfanfaren, Sonaten und Feldstücke*, Vol. 7 of *Das Erbe deutscher Musik—Erste Reihe: Reichsdenkmale* (Kassel, Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1936), p. 31, ff. Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1636-1637), ii, 264-265. Georges Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire* (Paris: Typ. F. Didot frères, 1848). Ludwig Plass, *Es blasen die Trompeten – Ein Fanfarenheft…* (Potsdam: Voggenreiter, 1935). Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter- und Pauker-Kunst* (Halle, 1795), passim.

[18] Georges Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire* (Paris: Typ. F. Didot frères, 1848), appending pages, pp. 1-55.

[19] William Barclay Squire, H.G. Farmer, Edward H. Tarr/Peter Downey, 'Signal (i)', 'Military signals', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Publishers, Ltd., 2001).

[20] Many of the names of signals are corruptions, or similar-sounding replacements, of the Italian versions, such as the English signal, 'Boots and Saddles', meaning to put on the saddles, which is derived from the Italian, 'Butte Sella'. Lilla Fox, *Instruments of Processional Music* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967), p. 65.

[21] Gervase Markham, 'The Souldier's Accidence', in his *The Souldiers Exercise: in Three Bookes* (London: printed by John Norion, for John Bellamy, Hugh Perry, and Henry Overion, 1639), facsimile published as part of *The English Experience*, No. 677 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., and Norwood, New Jersey: Walter J. Johnson, Inc., 1974), pp. 60-61. Francis Markham gives a similar list in his *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (London: Augustine Matthewes, 1622), p. 83, all of which he says '…are most necessary for euery Souldier both to know and obey.'

Le Marche:	draw swords and march off.
La Retraite:	retreat, played in the evening after the sun has gone down.
à l'Étendart:	to the colors. In the battle it is a signal for the scattered troops to reassemble.
Alarme:	blowing of alarm; danger near.
Apell blasen:	to signal the retreat.
Ban:	for announcements and proclamations.
Charge:	the signal to attack.
Fanfare:	for days of celebration and gala occasions.
Guet:	for changing the guard.[22]

Altenburg indicates that an additional signal that the French had was *l'Assemblée*, which was used to assemble soldiers leading their horses by hand, waiting for the *à Cheval* before mounting.[23]

During much of the Renaissance, music for cavalry trumpeters and kettledrummers was typically not written down because of the strong guild system. Thus musicians learned everything by rote for fear of signals falling into unauthorized hands, and consequently had not learned to read music.[24] However, at about the turn of the seventeenth century, military trumpet calls appeared in notation in music instruction books including: the notebooks of two German trumpeters at the Danish court, Hendrich Lübeckh (notated about 1596-1609) and Magnus Thomsen (1598);[25] Cesare Bendinelli's *Tutta l'arte della trombetta* (1614, the first known trumpet method, in which he suggests that 'the military calls… are to be performed gaily, lightly and without a definite beat, but well articulated');[26] the fifth book of Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* (1636-7);[27] Girolamo Fantini's *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba* (1638);[28] and Giohannes Wintter's *Regola da osservarsi: Dall/ Concertto Delle Trombe: e Timbagliere: Della guardia dell corpo di S.A.S.* (Rules to Observe in Playing the Trumpets and Timpani of the bodyguard of His Most Serene Highness).[29] Further military calls were written down by the turn of the nineteenth century, presumably based on much older signals. Living in the period immediately preceding the advent of valves, David Buhl, trumpeter with the *Garde Parisienne* (organised in 1792) and of the Consuls' *Grenadiers de la Garde*, and head of Napoleon's short-lived *Ecole de Trompette* at Versailles (1805-1811), compiled *Ordonnance de trompette pour les troupes à cheval* (1803), which forms the principal body of signals of the French cavalry[30] – still in use with *La Fanfare de Cavalerie de la Garde Républicaine* at the time of this writing.[31]

[22] Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter-und Pauker-Kunst* (Essay on an Introduction to the Heroic and Musical Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art), trans. Edward Tarr, Nashville: Brass Press, 1974, original work published 1795), p. 88. Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Band*, pp.108-109. About Altenburg, Werner Menke writes: 'A cultured, most learned, highly esteemed man, lawyer, author, sound musician, composer and master of the trumpet, he fought through the Seven Years' War from beginning to end, and later became organist at Bitterfeld;' *History of the Trumpet of Bach and Handel* (London: William Reeves, 1934), p. 50.

[23] Altenburg/Tarr, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*, pp. 88-90. Giohannes Wintter, writing at the same time in Modena, Italy, lists similar calls. Stewart Carter, 'Giohannes Wintter's Regola da osservarsi: A Manual for Trumpets and Timpani from the Este Court of Modena', in Bernhard Habla (Ed.) *Kongressberichte, Northfield/Minnesota USA 2006* (Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider, 2008), p. 96.

[24] Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Band*, pp. 53, 54, 57, 59, 90. James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History* (Westport, Connecticut: The Bold Strummer, 2005), p. 228.

[25] Copenhagen, *Det kongelige Bibliotek*, Sign. Gl. Kgl. Smlg. 1874, 1875. Modern editions of both trumpet books in *Trompeterfanfaren, Sonaten und Feldstücke, nach Aufzeichnungen deutscher Hoftrompeter des 16./17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Georg Schünemann (Kassel: Bäreneiter, 1936). Das Erbe deutscher Musik. 1. Reihe: Reichsdenkmale. Bd.7.

[26] Bendinelli/Tarr, *Tutta l'arte della trombetta*. Though published in 1614, some of Bendinelli's work appeared earlier (a Sonata on f.53r is dated 1584, and another on f.53v is dated 1588).

[27] Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1635; facsimile edition: Paris: Centre national de recherché scientifique, 1963; English version: *Marin Mersenne, The Book of Instruments*, trans. Roger E. Chapman, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957).

[28] Girolamo Fantini, *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba*, (Frankfurt/Florence: Daniel Vuastch/Watsch, 1638; facsimile edition: New York: Performers' Facsimiles, n.d.). Facsimile says original was actually printed in Florence rather than Frankfurt.

[29] Carter, *Giohannes Wintter's Regola da osservarsi*, pp. 89-108.

[30] Edward Tarr, 'Buhl, Joseph David', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Publishers, Ltd., 2001).

[31] Jean-Marc Lanois, *Trompette Cor* player with *La Fanfare*, and secretary of the French branch of the International Military Music Society (personal communication, 6 January 2008).

Also, the signals of one country often have the same roots as those of another, resulting in similar signals; many stem from the Thirty Years War, as László Marosi writes:

> Composers of calls [in the Hungarian army] that were recorded at the beginning of the eighteenth century and that were of French origin are mainly unknown; the genesis of many can be traced back to the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). Some of these, for example, the first written cavalry trumpet calls, were adopted without any change.[32]

Logistics for playing these signals changed through history as well as by nationality. On some occasions during battle, trumpets were played full power and in others, as well as when a unit was about to decamp, trumpets were sounded with mutes to keep the enemy from hearing signals, e.g., 'la sourdine', which was an order to march 'with little notice'.[33] Baines also suggests that, 'a military signal may now and then have been sounded softly by placing the hand over the bell…'.[34]

Having memorized all of the signals and marches, kettledrummers added a major dimension to battlefield music[35] by adding a rhythmic bass line of their own invention to the trumpeters' military signals which, as Titcomb suggests, was mainly incorporated with the 'charge', and entailed:

> nothing but a very great noise produced by animated rolls, which go from the right kettledrum to the left and from the left to the right, with some detached strokes; as this noise constitutes exactly the underlying bass for the trumpets, it suffices that the kettledrummer have a good ear to fulfill this aim.[36]

When the French mounted trumpets and kettledrums of the French *Gendarmes de la Garde*, the *Gendarmes ecossaise*, and the *Chevau-légers de la Garde du Roy*, like their counterparts across the continent and Britain played during and before battle, the trumpets sounded all of the calls and signals, with the kettledrums primarily playing marches and sounding the attack.[37] Perhaps this was because trumpet pitch was easier to discern than kettledrum beats out in the open, and trumpeters were easier to maneuver than kettledrummers. Peter Downey indicates that 'military timpani signals were simply trumpet signals adapted to the two pitches available on a pair of drums.'[38]

GUILD STATUS

For several centuries, the robust trumpeters' and kettledrummers' guild had a strong impact on performance on and off the battlefield in the countries of the Holy Roman Empire. Collective bargaining and other entrepreneurial elements were evident in many professions during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, with music related fields — manufacturers and performers — often comprising some of the strongest guilds. While the professions of military and court musician were gaining momentum throughout Britain and the Continent during the Middle Ages, the roving minstrel class was breaking up, and musicians began forming themselves into guilds[39] with one of the first groups to organize themselves in establishing a guild fund being the trumpeters in Lucca, Italy, as early as the thirteenth century.[40] The practice spread through Europe with trumpeters and kettledrummers holding professional guild status through most of the period between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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[32] László Marosi, 'A History of Hungarian Military Music From 1741 to 1945' (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2002), pp. 14-15.

[33] Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Bands*, p. 125, citing Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire*, p. 107ff. Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Bands*, p. 127, citing Pierre Trichet, *Traité des instruments de Musique* (Bourdeois, 1631).

[34] Baines, *Brass Instruments*, p. 138.

[35] Titcomb, 'Baroque Court and Military Trumpets and Kettledrums: Technique and Music', *Galpin Society Journal* 9 (June 1956), p. 61.

[36] Titcomb, 'Baroque Court', pp. 68-69, quoting Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire*, p. 13.

[37] Titcomb, *Kettledrums in Western Europe*, p. 320.

[38] Peter Downey, 'On Sounding the Trumpet and Beating the Drum in 17th-Century England', *Early Music*, 24/2 (May 1996), p. 273.

[39] Henry George Farmer, *The Rise & Development of Military Music* (London: Wm. Reeves, 1912), p. 14.

[40] Wilhelm Stephan, 'German Military Music: An Outline of its Development'. *Journal of Band Research* 9/2 (Spring 1973), p. 11.

The trumpeters of the free and imperial city of Augsburg were the first to receive privileges, granted by Emperor Sigismund in 1426,[41] and trumpeters of other regions followed suit. With an imperial decree issued by Emperor Karl V in 1528, and the founding of the Imperial Guild of Court and Field Trumpeters and Court and Army Kettledrummers in 1623[42] by Emperor Ferdinand II (reiterated by his son, Ferdinand III)[43] of the Holy Roman Empire, the system in German lands served as the most elaborate model. The privileges of German field trumpeters, as delineated by Karl V's 1528 decree, offer an interesting view of the exacting nature of the guild:

1. Only the Reichsstände, princes and dignitaries of clerical and secular territories, were allowed to keep trumpeters and kettledrummers.
2. Prisoner trumpeters were to be exchanged for officers only.
3. Trumpeters, like officers, wore ostrich feathers on their hats.
4. Like officers with the flag of truce, they were granted the right of free passage.
5. The secrets of the guild which were transmitted by word of mouth were not to get into the hands of civil musicians.[44]

Initiates to the guild were chosen from respectable families and, after receiving education and serving a term of apprenticeship to the Guild, upon attaining the distinction of 'freeman', they were allowed to practice their vocation and enjoy special privileges, including being subject to guild codes rather than military law,[45] which held true even when serving the army.[46] Trumpeter's and kettledrummer's lofty status was confirmed by many subsequent sovereigns, and the playing of these instruments by anyone other than members of the trumpeters' and kettledrummers' guild, who were obliged by oath not to reveal the secrets of their techniques, was forbidden. The training was rigorous, and guild membership was coveted; members of the guild could only serve in the households of emperors, kings, electors, dukes, princes, counts, lords and others of noble and knightly rank.[47] Court trumpeters and kettledrummers were forbidden to perform at middle class and peasant weddings and festivals, and guild members in general, who were exempt from military law,[48] were governed by the laws of the guild itself. One of these expressly prohibited consorting with town pipers, jugglers, tower watchmen and minstrels, which of course caused a division between guild members and town musicians. Tower musicians and city pipers were allowed to play trumpets (but not kettledrums), but only in their restricted sphere of operations, and trumpeters could play for civic occasions or parades only by special permission.

Divisions existed among guild members themselves as only guild members who had served in the field in a military campaign were allowed to

[41] Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* (Halle, 1732-54), XII, 'Trompeter', col. 1118, cited in Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet Before 1721* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press), p. 112.

[42] Tarr, trans., 'Further Mandate', pp. 67-89.

[43] Don L. Smithers, 'The Hapsburg Imperial Trompeter and Heerpaucker Privileges of 1653', *Galpin Society Journal* 24, (July 1971), p. 84. Smithers is an excellent source for information about rules of the *Kammeradschaft* (fellowship) based on Antonium Fabrum, 'Käyserlich Privilegium die Trompeter und Heer-Paucker betreffend', *Europäischer Staats-Kantzley, Vierter Theil…* (Frankfort and Leipzig, 1700), pp. 848-865, and Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, Vol. 45, (Leipzig and Halle, 1745, columns 1122–1131).

[44] Stephan, 'German Military Music', p. 11.

[45] Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History*, p. 228.

[46] Farmer, *Rise & Development*, p. 36.

[47] The reverse was also stressed; employers had to be of a certain social rank before they could employ kettledrummers. James Turner writes of kettledrums holding a special place in the social system: 'They are not ordinary, Princes, Dukes, and Earls may have them with those Troops which ordinarily are called their Life-guards, so may Generals and Lieutenant Generals, though they be not Noble-men. The *Germans*, *Danes* and *Sweedes* [sic] permit none to have them under a Lord Baron unless they have taken them from an Enemy…'. *Pallas Armata*, p. 236.

[48] The logistics of guild law are outside the parameters of this study, but note that James Turner, as a non-trumpeter/kettledrummer, took a different slant from Altenburg on the topic (my italics): 'the German Trumpeters assume to themselves a great deal of liberty, and have in a manner set up a Republick of their own, independent of that Discipline, by which the Army (of which they are members) is governed. They *pretend* to have their own Laws, whereby they punish crimes very severely, especially such faults, that any of their number commits against the Articles of War of that Prince whom they serve…'. *Pallas Armata*, p. 235.

teach; such a teacher was allowed to instruct only one pupil at a time.[49] Altenburg indicates that to be called a field trumpeter (and to be able to accept apprentices) a trumpeter had to have served with the cavalry in time of war and had participated in 'at least one campaign with expeditions and guard duty (and still better, has been dispatched to the enemy)'. During this time, court musicians were called court trumpeters or court kettledrummers, and regimental trumpeters or kettledrummers were merely called trumpeters or kettledrummers, although they could also perform the duties of court quartermasters or of chamber and concert trumpeters without being field trumpeters. The word 'field' was a coveted title that preceding generations of trumpeters had 'earned by offering up life and limb, upon which [fact] the Imperial Privileges are actually based'.[50] Altenburg states that depending on the nation, certain armies employed staff trumpeters, which were actually 'state trumpeters', because they served 'more for reasons of state than of necessity'.[51] It is interesting to note that the line was thinly drawn between court and military trumpeters by this point as Altenburg refers to state trumpeters being attached to armies rather than to courts.[52]

MILITARY PROTOCOL AND CUSTOM

Color, pageantry and spectacle were felt to be just as important as sound when impressing friend or foe with military and court music. Consequently, of all military personnel, musicians and their equipment were attired the most splendidly and expensively, with magnificent and decorative uniforms (often of silk trousers, boots, blouses, vests, and turbans) kettledrum aprons and trumpet banderoles (banners), and the most lavish caparisons (an ornamented saddle or harness cover) for the horses and drum carriages;[53] the custom continued in mounted units through the time of Napoleon. As in the rest of Europe, the uniforms of kettledrummers in Hungary, which were typically rich with ornamentation, reflected the tastes of the aristocratic supporters of each regiment.[54]

As a holdover from Moorish contacts, black drummers were enlisted on the Continent and in Britain to add a sense of exoticism as signalers and drummers in cavalry and infantry bands. Sachs reports that the kettledrummer of the Prussian dragoon regiment of Möllendorff in 1737 was the negro 'Joseph Sancta Maria aus Afrika',[55] and quoting an eighteenth-century document, Bowles writes that an equestrian procession during a pre-Lenten carnival at the Dresden court in 1733 was fronted by '24 completely black Moors [with] white sashes, who made music…'.[56]

While trumpeters and kettledrummers were regarded as officers and as previously stated, wore the feather of nobility in their hats,[57] their social position was tenuous at best. Along with actors and other musicians in the Middle Ages, many trumpeters and kettledrummers had few rights because they had no permanent place of residence due to their itinerant lives, even to the point of the church denying them the sacraments. However, if trumpeters found

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[49] Altenburg/Tarr, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*, p. 31. Titcomb, 'Baroque Court', pp. 58-59.

[50] Altenburg/Tarr, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*, p. 31.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Titcomb, 'Baroque Court', p. 59. The kettledrummer's uniform of this period in England cost fifty pounds in comparison to a gunner's which cost five pounds six shillings and fourpence. Even the uniform of the driver of the kettledrum chariot cost fifteen pounds, Henry George Farmer, *Memoirs, of the Royal Artillery Band* (London: Boosey and Co. 1904), p. 22.

[54] Marosi, 'A History of Hungarian Military Music', p. 9.

[55] Curt Sachs, *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde* (Leipzig, 1930, reprinted Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1967), p. 90.

[56] Edmund A. Bowles, *The Timpani, A History in Pictures and Documents* (Pendragon Press, 2002), p. 434, citing *Sächsischer Hof- und Staatskalendar*, 1731-1733, Dresden, Landesbibliothek Kupferstichkabinett, MS Hist. Sax. J 179. One of the earliest mentions of a horse-mounted black musician in a western ensemble is that of 'John Blanke, the black trumpeter' who was employed by Henry VIII. See Gleason, 'Cavalry Trumpet and Kettledrum Practice', p. 251.

[57] Altenburg/Tarr, *Trumpeter's and Kettledrummer's Art*, p. 34. Percy Sumner, 'Uniforms and Equipment of Cavalry Regiments, from 1685 to 1811', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 13, pp. 82-106. Citing his sources as regimental records of the British Army contained in the War Office and Public Records Office, Sumner indicates that 'Whenever a Trumpeter wears his hat, his feather must be in it; they must never be separated', p. 102, citing the Standing Orders of the 2nd Dragoon Guards of 1795. Sumner has compiled an interesting record of regulations for cavalrymen covering everything from lapel colors to hairstyles.

employment with a court or a city, they were then considered to have rights.[58] Also, during times of personnel shortage, the sergeant-trumpeter and the drum-major-general of the British royal household (and presumably those of other countries) were empowered to 'impress' musicians for the king's army,[59] a practice that no doubt constrained respect for the profession.

During the rare times of peace, field trumpeters who could read music notation ('musical trumpeters') worked at court playing ceremonial music with timpanists and periodically for theatrical productions, accompaniment of the chapel choir, etc. Smithers indicates that the best trumpeters in this distinction were 'given the title *Konzerttrompeter* or *Kammertrompeter* and were frequently asked to join the other household musicians in providing *Tafelmusik* and other forms of musical entertainment'.[60] Edward Tarr states further:

> On no account, however, can we assume that the trumpeters [and kettledrummers] themselves had a high social position. They were regarded merely as servants.[61]

Further evidence of the trumpet caste system is given by Kappey when he makes a distinction in the instruments themselves, stating:

> In the old treatises on musical instruments by Virdung, 1511, and Praetorius, 1618, a distinction is made between 'Clareta,' or 'trumpet,' and 'Felttrumet.' The former was the instrument used by the "learned" trumpeters on state occasions, or in trumpet-bands and orchestras, and was of better make and acoustic value than the 'Felttrumet,' which is nothing else than the 'field-trumpet,' which was then, as now, used by cavalry trumpeters to play the military calls.[62]
>
> Field-trumpeters, although not 'learned' musicians, were generally able to enliven the march of their corps with a few tunes.[63]

So, while field trumpeters were treated as officers, and even though trumpet teachers had to have participated in at least one military campaign,[64] field trumpeting was not the highest rung on the trumpeters' ladder — merely a stepping stone in getting there — and even then, the highest rung was not as socially elevated as the people for whom trumpeters worked and performed.

Trumpeters held relative authority and autonomy throughout military units. Although they held no official authority over the other horsemen, a good trumpeter was invaluable to an officer (who furnished his pay) and along with sounding calls, acted as an aide-de-camp (as well as a messenger to and from the enemy), and was lodged in his own home with 'honest treatment'.[65] Richard Elton (1650) indicates that trumpeters were to be men of sundry accomplishments and, together with a comely figure and good deportment, a trumpeter should above all be 'a politic, discreet and cunning person'.[66]

Among the military treatises of the time that

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[58] Edward Tarr, *The Trumpet* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1988) p. 43. David Whitwell, *The Wind Band and Wind Ensemble before 1500* (Northridge, California: Winds, 1982), pp. 64-69.

[59] Farmer, *Rise & Development*, pp. 36-37.

[60] Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 111.

[61] Tarr, *The Trumpet*, p. 44 and Edward Tarr (personal communication, 3 November 2005).

[62] J.A. Kappey, *Military Music, A History of Wind-Instrumental Bands* (London: Boosey and Co., 1894), p. 46.

[63] Kappey, *Military Music*, p. 48. This distinction between field trumpeters and musical trumpeters was apparently not universal throughout Europe, and seems to have been more focused in northern Europe. In Siena, according to Kurtzman and Koldau, 'some among the trumpeters could improvise polyphony and possibly read written notation by the early fifteenth century…'. Also, 'the training of trumpeters was subsidized by the state, and ability was the key factor in their hiring. This training was carried out in a 'palace trumpet school' [rather than individually by a guild member] where the trumpeters themselves served as teachers, often to their own offspring or relatives. Some of the trumpeters were highly prized virtuosi, not only in Siena, but also elsewhere in Italy'. Jeffrey Kurtzman and Linda Maria Koldau, '*Trombe*, *Trombe d'argento*, *Trombe squarciate*, *Tromboni*, and *Pifferi* in Venetian Processions and Ceremonies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 8 (2002), par. 4.2., online, accessed 8 December 2005.

[64] Tarr, *The Trumpet*, p. 95.

[65] Lodovico Melzo, *Regole militari sopra il governo e servitio particolare della cavalleria (Military Rules on the Government and Particular Service of the Cavalry)* (Antwerp: G. Trognoesius, 1611), pp. 21-23. Van Orden, p. 4.

[66] Richard Elton, *The Compleat Body of the Art Military* (London: Printed by Robert Leybourn), 1650.

address musicians' protocol and duty, Lodovico Melzo's (1611)[67] suggests that an effective (Italian) army should employ an infantry of 15,000 as well as a cavalry of 4,000, which in turn was divided into forty companies of one hundred men: ten companies of lancers, twelve companies of harquebusks (early muzzle-loaded firearms),[68] and eighteen companies of cuirassiers.[69] Since each company was to have two trumpeters (eighty trumpeters all together) the cavalry was a good place for employment. Timpani were added c. 1650. Founded in the early seventeenth century, dragoons (mounted infantrymen armed with carbines, who fought on foot, and used horses only for transportation),[70] had one tambour, rather than kettledrums, for each company of fifty to one hundred horses.[71]

DIPLOMATIC LIAISONS

German military music regulations of the sixteenth century were similar to those of the Italians, although normally there were three trumpeters to each company of two hundred men, who typically stayed near the commanding officer. This was also the case with the French by at least the seventeenth century.[72] On the march they rode at the head of the troops, and in addition to sounding the many calls in camp and on the battlefield, they performed the confidential tasks of carrying messages and secret letters, and conducting parleys and negotiations with the enemy. In these duties, the kettledrummers, where available, would supplement the trumpeters or substitute for them. Because of these crucial responsibilities, as well as the stringent guild considerations and rigorous training period of field trumpeters and kettledrummers, when captured and imprisoned by the enemy, they were exchanged only for other officers.[73]

Protocol was strict. When trumpeters were dispatched to the enemy to deliver messages, they were obligated by international agreement to deliver the message only to the intended recipient, and not to disclose their business to anyone else. This tradition applied to their own forces as well as to the enemies'. Furthermore, all subordinate officers were to see that a trumpeter's letters and messages proceeded unopened and uninvestigated to the colonel in the field. This duty often went to the 'Trompet Major', who, according to Digges's *Arithmetical Warlike Treatise* 'not only taught the other trumpeters, but also took charge of the enemy's trumpeters when they came to parley'.[74]

Writing in the late seventeenth century, two authors indicate the proper bearing of trumpeters as messengers. Sir James Turner in his *Pallas Armata* states that as trumpeters

> are frequently sent to an Enemy, they ought to be witty and discreet, and must drink but little, that so they may be rather apt to circumvent others, than be circumvented; they should be cunning, and wherever they are sent, they should be careful to observe warily the Works, Guards, and Sentinels of an Enemy, and give an account of them at their return to him who sent them.[75]

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[67] Lodovico Melzo, *Regole militari sopra il governo e servitio particolare della cavalleria (Military Rules on the Government and Particular Service of the Cavalry)* (Antwerp: G. Trognoesius, 1611).

[68] There are many spelling variations of the harquebusk (from the Dutch haakbus meaning 'hook gun'), which were early muzzle-loaded firearms.

[69] Developed in the sixteenth century, cuirassiers were another style of cavalrymen armed with firearms. As holdovers from medieval warfare, they wore cuirasses (body armor made of metal or leather covering the chest and sometimes the back). There were many variations and additions to these units especially later on within Napoleon's cavalry, which also incorporated carabiniers, dragoons, chasseurs, hussars and guard cavalry.

[70] Providing an accurate description of dragoons has been difficult for centuries. In 1622, Francis Markham could not decide '…whether I may tearme them Foot-Horse-men, or Horse-Footmen…'. *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (London, 1622), p. 83.

[71] Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Band*, p. 142, citing Alessandro Vessella, *La Banda* (Milano, 1935), pp. 123-124.

[72] Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Band*, p. 125, citing National Archives, Paris, MS 01/715, fol., pp. 171, 173, 179, 181-187.

[73] Titcomb, *Kettledrums in Western Europe*, p. 268, citing Leonhard Fronsperger, *Baron of Mindelheim, Von kayserlichem Kriegsrechten Malefitz und Schuldhändlen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1564-65), folio 130a. Peter Panoff, *Militärmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin: Karl Siegismund Verlag, 1938), p. 35.

[74] Leonard Digges and Thomas Digges, *An Arithmetical Warlike Treatise…* (London: Richard Field, 1590), cited in Henry George Farmer,' Trumpet-major', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 2001).

[75] Turner, *Pallas Armata*, p. 235.

Concurring, Richard Brathwaite (1588?-1673) suggests that these measures result in high praise:

> I have reade that the French King Lewes the Eleventh (wanting an herald) sent a trumpetter to King Edward the Fourth, who delivered his message with so good a grace and pleasant speech, that he got great commendation for the same: which is an example for Trumpetters to learne to speake well, for often times they are to be sent on messages.[76]

Consequently, a trumpeter held a distinctive position as a messenger, as evidenced by international law, which accorded him all the rights and privileges of higher ambassadors, and further (after sounding an introductory signal upon his instrument), allowed him to advance to the enemy without a passport. That even high ambassadors were arrested immediately when attempting any kind of contact without these identifying credentials is evidenced by John Evelyn: 'the Earl of Feversham the general of the forces: who going without Trumpet or passport is detained prisoner by the Prince'.[77]

Our friend Johann Altenburg, who would have served in this liaison capacity, indicates that the trumpeter, upon receiving his clearance and instructions from the colonel in the field, must be careful to put the messages entrusted to him in a safe place, and must then immediately begin his journey to the enemy lines. Further, on the occasion of approaching the enemy, a trumpeter was to keep his trumpet at a ready position, and to ride directly toward the enemy picket and to get as close as necessary in order for the signal to be heard. Altenburg also indicates that the trumpeter should stop short and blow a signal, and if the picket still gives a challenge out of ignorance, the trumpeter should ignore it and give another signal as an answer. Finally the enemy picket will approach and bring the trumpeter — generally blindfolded, according to the customs of war — to the commanding officer who received the dispatches.[78]

As this all put the trumpeter into a strategic and precarious position, it was his duty to remain silent about his own army's circumstances while gaining as much information about the enemy as possible. On the occasion that a letter of response was not sent in return, trumpeters were to ask for written statements confirming that the dispatches had been properly delivered. Altenburg concludes his instruction with a statement that indicates that field trumpeting was indeed serious business: 'Furthermore I would like to give everyone a bit of well-meant advice, that in such cases one should conduct oneself soberly, moderately, and carefully, since one can otherwise easily run the risk of being shot dead'.[79]

The life of a trumpeter certainly would have been an interesting one, combining the roles of soldier, liaison and spy, all coupled with the life of a musician. Like military musicians over the centuries, being a cavalry trumpeter would have required a special set of skills and personality traits, as expressed by Fortescue when he likened them to infantry drummers:

> [they] were not the mere signal-makers that they now are [1899], but the men were regularly employed in all communications with the enemy, and as such expected to possess not only discretion but some skill in languages. They received far higher pay than the common soldier, and, if they did a tithe of that which was expected of them, they were worth every penny of it.[80]

KETTLEDRUM USE AND DEVELOPMENT

Both trumpeting and military kettledrumming would have appealed to a particular group of individuals, with the aura of the profession resulting in a subculture of music making, signaling, trumpet accompanying and message rendering. The employment of kettledrums signified a certain stature and status within military units and were reserved for a king's troops, as in England where only the Life Guards had them, with each troop being allowed four trumpeters and one kettledrummer. Gradually, all regiments closely associated with the

[76] Richard Brathwaite, *Some Rules and Orders for the Government of The House of an Earle* (London: R. Triphook, 1821), pp. 44-45.

[77] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. De Beer, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), IV [1678-1689], p. 610, entry for 13 December 1688.

[78] Altenburg/Tarr, *Trumpeter's and Kettledrummer's Art*, pp. 43-45.

[79] Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Trumpeter's and Kettledrummer's Art*, pp. 43-45. Giohannes Wintter, living and working as a cavalry timpanist and trumpet at the same time as Altenburg, gives similar advice. Carter, *Giohannes Wintter's Regola da osservarsi*, pp. 105-106.

[80] John William Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, Vol.1 (London, 1899/1910), p. 153.

king and nobility, including the cavalry and artillery were allotted their use.[81] Mention should be made here that kettledrums in artillery units were often transported in a carriage, a four-wheeled chariot, rather than mounted on horseback. Farmer suggests that the earliest reference of this practice on the continent was in the Swedish army under Field-Marshall Wittenburg in 1655. He also refers to 'our Trains of Artillery' having them decades earlier during the reign of King James I (r. 1603-1625) and were in common use during the Irish Rebellion of 1689 when the kettledrums of the Royal Artillery were drawn in a carriage by six white horses.[82]

Kettledrums were not only prohibited from being used by civic musicians, even military musicians outside of the king's troop couldn't use them. Gradually, ordinary cavalry regiments were permitted to use kettledrums; one pair was allowed for the colonel's troop, with two trumpeters. The other troops employed two trumpet players with no kettledrums. When these trumpeters and drummers massed together, they formed a band of twelve to fourteen men under the direction of a trumpet-major, typically learning marches and flourishes by ear and playing mainly in unison in line regiments until the eighteenth century when harmony was gradually introduced.[83] Performance technique was a lofty art with kettledrummers, as symbols of nobility and wealth, being expected to show extravagance in their playing. This was described by Altenburg as 'artful figures, turns, and movements of their bodies', by Manesson Mallet, who stated that 'he should have a pleasing motion of the arm, an accurate ear, and take a delight in diverting his master by agreeable airs',[84] and by Johann Heinrich Zedler writing in 1735 (a little less respectfully): 'which elsewhere would seem ridiculous'.[85]

In France, while kettledrums were initially only allowed in cavalry troops when captured in battle (originally from German troops), it gradually became customary by the end of the seventeenth century to provide kettledrums for all of the king's household troops except the musketeers. They served on foot and horseback like the dragoons who also employed mounted musicians, initially trumpets and fifes, and, as Kastner indicates, by 1663, hautbois and sidedrums but not kettledrums.[86] However, Titcomb states that the dragoon regiment commanded by Colonel de la Bréteche, who had captured two pairs in battle, were permitted to use them.[87] Appropriating kettledrums and trumpets to cavalry units and disallowing them within dragoon units was a result of the high position the two instruments had attained by this point, as well as the stature and the nature of the respective units—especially of full-fledged cavalry units, which were typically comprised of gentlemen. The pervading attitude of the time (which lasted for centuries) was that a nobleman's place was to fight on horseback above the common soldier. This was stated by one of Maximillian's German men-at-arms when it was suggested that the cavalry dismount to help storm a breach during a sixteenth-century battle: 'they were not such as went on foot, nor to go into a breach, their true estate being to fight like

[81] Fox, *Instruments of Processional Music*, p. 53.

[82] Farmer, 'The Great Kettledrums of the Artillery', in *Handel's Kettledrums and Other Papers on Military Music* (London: Hinrichsen Edition Ltd., Printed by Brunce Ltd., 1950). p. 85.

[83] Farmer, *Rise & Development*, p. 40. Kappey, *Military Music*, p. 79. Line regiments were normal field regiments as distinguished from regiments attached to royal or other noble households.

[84] Farmer, *Rise & Development*, p. 43, citing Manesson Mallet, *Les Travaux de Mars ou l'Art de la guerre* (Paris, 1691).

[85] Altenburg/Tarr, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*, p. 124. Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, (Halle, 1732-54), XII, col. 1092-3, quoted in Titcomb, 'Baroque Court', p. 60, and Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1940), p. 330.

[86] Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire*, p. 110. Michel Brenet, 'French Military Music in the Reign of Louis XIV', trans. Mariola Chardon, *The Musical Quarterly* 3/3 (July 1917), pp. 347-348.

[87] Titcomb, *Kettledrums in Western Europe*, p. 301. It appears that dragoons not being allowed to have kettledrums was a matter of status and position rather than of logistics or practicality. Dragoon units were not typically regarded as full-fledged cavalry units (probably because they were not comprised of gentlemen), and thus soldiers held lower positions (and pay) than those in cavalry units, which is why permission had to be sought for a dragoon unit to retain captured kettledrums. Hans Delbrück writes that they often rode 'nags of little worth', (p. 125) which of course would have contributed to their second-class nature. If a dragoon regiment captured kettledrums, in time it was often promoted to a cavalry/cuirassier regiment. Grose writes that, 'In modern times, that is, since the revolution, kettle drums and trumpets have been chiefly appropriated to the horse. The dragoons long had the hautbois and side drum, but about the year 1759 changed them for the trumpet; the infantry had only the drum, till the introduction of fifes…'. Francis Grose, *Military Antiquities Respecting a History of the English Army, from the Conquest to the Present Time*, Vol. II (London: T. Egerton Whitehall & G. Kearsley, 1801), pp. 49-50.

gentlemen on horseback.'[88] Hence dragoons did not fit this image. By the middle of the eighteenth century, as dragoons began gradually to be looked upon as cavalry, the trumpet, which worked better as a signaling instrument, was substituted for the side drum,[89] but kettledrums were generally still reserved for traditional cavalry units.

Kettledrum construction changed, probably with use, over the years. By the eighteenth century, they were in the shape of two large round kettles (one larger than the other) made of bronze, brass, copper, or silver, the openings of which were covered with strong parchment skins of donkey, goat, sheep, or calf. Originally the skin was pulled taut by the aid of ropes, but by the beginning of the sixteenth century, a circle held tight by wing nuts or screws was used. This was tightened by means of a tuning key and thus the drums could be tuned (if desired) to the trumpets. Diameters varied over time between 17 and 28 inches,[90] with a typical pair measuring approximately 18 and 20 inches in diameter and from 11 to 15 inches deep.[91] Although the size of kettledrums grew from the late Renaissance until late in the nineteenth century, they were small by today's standards. For centuries they did double duty — mounted and dismounted — and consequently needed to be lightweight and capable of being slung over the animal's shoulders by means of a special harness. They could not become too big because they still were being carried on horseback. When dismounted use gradually became established in the early Baroque period, the timpani were set on low stands.[92]

Kettledrummers used various types of drum sticks made of different hard woods, initially mainly knobbed sticks and later, sticks with small wooden disks, or *rosettes*, for heads. While battlefield music was normally loud and vigorous, some special occasions on the battlefield and in processions, like that of trumpets, called for soft playing, including echo effects in special pieces where the player played softly near the rim and then boomed loudly near the middle of the head. Further, the drum tone could also be muffled for funerals and other occasions by covering the heads with woolen cloth, and sticks could be covered with chamois leather.[93]

The forerunners of European kettledrums, those used in the Middle East at the time of the Crusades, were not tuned to specific pitches, but probably rather to timbres.[94] As the tradition spread north and westward, kettledrums became tuned (more or less) to specific pitches. By the sixteenth century, kettledrums were tuned to correspond with tonic and dominant functions[95] in association with contemporary compositional developments. However, this development, along with assigning the lower and higher drum to the tonic or dominant and then to the right or left side of the horse, was probably gradual. Edmund Bowles writes, 'Following the cavalry tradition, during most of this era the smaller drum was tuned to the dominant and the larger to the tonic... However… composers later started writing music calling for the high drum to be tuned to the tonic and the larger one [below] to the dominant (modern d and A)'.[96] As orchestral instruments gradually evolved from horse-mounted ones, and larger sizes became more available, accepted practice put the dominant below, resulting in notated music that indicates the dominant playing below the tonic.[97]

However, tuning the kettledrums would have depended on the country, the era and the regiment.

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[88] John Ellis, *Cavalry, the History of Mounted Warfare* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1978), p. 104. In fact, writing in 1670 and '71, Turner states, 'It is not above fourscore and ten years since in the raign of Maximilian the Second, all that were Enrolled in the German Cavalry were by birth Gentlemen…'. *Pallas Armata*, p. 163.

[89] Farmer, *Rise & Development*, p. 54. Sumner indicates that trumpeters replaced drummers in Britain's Dragoon Guards and Dragoons by an ordinance of 11 March 1766, 'Uniforms and Equipment of Cavalry Regiments', p. 88.

[90] Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History*, pp. 231-232.

[91] Edmund A. Bowles, 'The Double, Double, Double Beat of the Thundering Drum: The Timpani in Early Music', *Early Music* 19/3 (August 1991), p. 419.

[92] Bowles, 'The Double, Double, Double Beat', p. 419.

[93] Roger Nourisson, *Timbales & Timbaliers*, Notices sur la Musique Militaire (Paris: unpublished, n.d.), p. 9. Titcomb, 'Baroque Court', 60, citing J.P. Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktos*, (Erfurt, 1738), p. 66.

[94] Jeremy Montagu, *Timpani and Percussion*, p. 27. Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History*, p. 232.

[95] As one indication of this, Montagu cites William Byrd's keyboard piece *Battell* (*c.* 1591), which incorporates a tonic to dominant relation in the left hand in imitation of kettledrum patterns. *Timpani & Percussion*, p. 47.

[96] Bowles, 'The Double, Double, Double Beat', p. 419.

[97] Titcomb, 'Baroque Court', passim; p. 66. As military kettledrummers played without notation, keys and transposition were probably not prominent in their minds. Adding to the complexity, especially when these same

The tendency in British mounted units has been to not tune the drums to specific pitches, as noted by Percival R. Kirby in 1928:

> accurate intonation is, at any rate in England, not considered vitally necessary; the Eastern practice survives to this day, the two drums being called 'bass' and 'tenor' respectively.[98]

Paul D'Arcy, kettledrummer of the United Kingdom's Band of the Life Guards states that this bass and tenor practices lives on to the present time: 'The drums are not tuned to a specific pitch, just a high and low thud. They really take the role of a bass drum. Also, due to the fact that we hit them so hard, they would go out of tune if we did tune them'.[99] However, marches of Sweden's present-day *Livgardets Dragontrumpetarkår* are typically in E♭, along with the brass instruments, and therefore the kettledrums assume the role of the bass voice playing the tonic and lower dominant.

Compounding the situation were issues of logistics. While for centuries it was common to have the lower, larger drum on the right side of the horse, originally to balance the weight of the sword and smaller drum on the left,[100] tradition shifted to putting the larger lower drum on the left side, consistent with orchestral placement, although, this varied with the particular drummer.[101] James Blades however supports evidence that the naqqareh (naker, naqqara)[102] custom was to have the larger drum on the right, which continued with European cavalry, reasoning that the animal bore the burden better with the greater weight on its right side, and that the majority of players are right handed, with 'the right hand being stronger, so that with the pulse maintained on the less penetrating lower sounding drum, it would be natural to have that drum (the larger) to the right'.[103]

Along with accompanying trumpets in battle and in camp, there are indications that kettledrums were also used alone. Giohannes Wintter, who served as a military trumpeter as well as a kettledrummer in Italy and Austria at the turn of the nineteenth century, includes several signals for timpani alone in his *Regola da osservarsi*, including a *Marchia* (fol. 8v). He writes: 'For playing in camp, for mass or prayers each evening, an hour before nightfall, the timpanist must play, three-quarters of an hour before, [and] each quarter hour, the following… In camp, when the timpanist has finished sounding the third *Chiamata* for prayer, all the trumpets together

97 (continued) kettledrummers found themselves playing at court, timpani were regarded as transposing instruments along with trumpets, with extant timpani parts typically calling for drums in G and c, with the intent that they would sound A and d. Works by Daniel Speer indicate C and g. In contrast, Bach and Handel wrote G and C. Jeremy Montagu (personal communication, 5 January 2008) suggests that practice was a result of sizes of drums available and that notational practice may not reflect what actually happened.

98 Percival R. Kirby, 'Kettle-Drums: An Historical Survey', *Music & Letters* 9/1 (January 1928), p. 37.

99 Paul D'Arcy, London, England, personal communication, 24 November 2005.

100 Jeremy Montagu, *Timpani & Percussion*, p. 49, 220, note 72: Jeremy Montagu citing Edmund Bowles: 'This explanation was offered to me by the late timpanist of the Dresdner Staatskapelle (Peter Sondemann), who said that it had been passed down to him by his teacher, whose teacher had told him, etc., back through the generations;' personal communication from Bowles to Montagu, 19 July 2001.

101 Altenburg/Tarr, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*, p. 122. Roger Nourisson, *Timbales & Timbaliers*, Notices sur la Musique Militaire (Paris: unpublished, n.d.), p. 9. Blades and Bowles hold that 'the majority of Dutch, German, central European and Russian timpanists position the large drum(s) to the right. This tradition may go back to cavalry drums: the mounted cavalry drummer counterbalanced the combined weight of the ceremonial sword worn at his left and the smaller drum by placing the larger and heavier instrument on his right. Most American, British, Italian and French players position the large drum(s) to the left, following the layout of keyboard instruments', James Blades and Edmund Bowles, 'Timpani', *New Grove*. At the present time, of the mounted bands visited by the author, only the Omanis continue to place the lower drum on the right (Roy Wearne, bandmaster of the *3rd Band Squadron*, personal communication, 5 April 2002, Muscat, Oman) while the Swedish *Livgardets Dragontrumpetarkår* (Stig Rydqvist, bandmaster, personal communication, 12 December 2001, Stockholm, Sweden), the French *La Fanfare* (Jean-Marc Lanois, trompette cor player, personal communication, 22 January 2002, Paris, France), the Danish *Gardehussarregimentets Hesteskadron Trompeterkorps* (Per Holm, personal communication, 12 February 2002, Naestved, Denmark), the Belgian *Kliek van de Federale Politie/Corps des trompettes de la Police fédérale* (Ivan Myers, trumpet major, personal communication, 11 December 2001, Brussels, Belgium), and the bands of the British Household Cavalry (Paul D'Arcy, kettledrummer with the Band of the Life Guards, personal communication, 10 March 2002, London, England) place the lower drum on the left.

102 See Gleason, 'Cavalry Trumpet and Kettledrum Practice', p. 236

103 *Blades, Percussion Instruments and Their History,* p. 233.

sound *L'Appruch*, that is, *La Retirata*, without timpani'.[104]

Because trumpeters and kettledrummers were crucial for communication and status and served as a rallying point, they were a 'protected species' on the battlefield and remained near the commander when moving and in camp.[105] Kettledrummers in France (presumably in other countries as well), like trumpeters, rode in front of the commander during parades and near the commander to the rear of the action in wartime,[106] safely conveying various orders through signals.[107] Further, tradition dictated that the honor of kettledrummers and trumpeters was to be upheld since these soldier-musicians were noncombatants, and should therefore be protected on the battlefield. While this was not always the case — especially when opposing enemies from dissimilar traditions (such as later during the nineteenth-century American Indian wars) — several seventeenth-century writers suggest that this idea was international law. Writing in 1622 in his *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre*, Francis Markham indicates that a drummer was to be regarded as 'rather a man of Peace than of the sword, and it is most dishonourable in any man wittingly and out of his knowledge to strike him or wound him'.[108] Similarly, Gervase Markham, writing in his 'The Souldier's Accidence' indicates that 'the Trumpeter is not bound to any Armes at all, more than his Sword, which in former times was not allowed, but with the point broken', showing that trumpeters were non-combatants and were to be revered in battle.[109]

CAPTURING KETTLEDRUMS

By the seventeenth century, because of their signaling and status aspect, capturing kettledrums from the enemy, a custom borrowed from the Saracens,[110] was an important turning point in battle. Accordingly, they were prized trophies of war up through the nineteenth century. Thus, while official policy protected kettledrummers on the battlefield, Manesson Mallet felt it necessary to include in his *Les Travaux de Mars* of 1691, an exhortation for kettledrummers to be courageous as well as good musicians: 'The kettledrum player should be a man of courage, preferring to perish in the fight, than allow himself and his drums to be captured'.[111]

Mallet's exhortation suggests that kettledrummers of this period were indeed filling a martial, as well as aesthetic role. The coupling of the pageantry of the court with the tradition of the battlefield throughout the seventeenth century saw the status of the kettledrum rise with the addition of a sense of splendor to its signaling aspects. This heightened sense of ceremony was evident in Britain at the ascent of Charles II and the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, which generally brought a renewed sense of glory and pageantry to England that matched the character and tone of courts on the continent. The rejuvenated sense of splendor brought an expanded role for kettledrums, which provided a major turning point for military music. As a heightened adornment in the previously utilitarian world of military music, kettledrums came to represent regimental status, and capturing the enemy's drums represented far more than merely negating communication.[112]

So respected was the idea of captured kettledrums that they were initially only allowed to be played when they were taken from the enemy. Titcomb states that this was the case for the French who adopted them during the reign of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715),[113] and for the Prussians, Altenburg indicates that 'Kettledrums are looked upon as a great decoration for [any] regiment. If they have been

[104] Carter, *Giohannes Wintter's Regola da osservarsi*, p. 89.

[105] Stephan, 'German Military Music', p. 12.

[106] Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Bands*, p. 128.

[107] Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire*, p. 107ff.

[108] Francis Markham, *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (London: Augustine Matthewes, 1622), p. 59.

[109] Markham, Gervase, 'The Souldier's Accidence', in his *The Souldiers Exercise: in Three Bookes* (London: printed by John Norion, for John Bellamy, Hugh Perry, and Henry Overion, 1639), facsimile published as part of The *English Experience*, No. 677 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., and Norwood, New Jersey: Walter J. Johnson, Inc., 1974), pp. 44-45.

[110] Henry George Farmer, 'Turkish influence in military music', in *Handel's Kettledrums and Other Papers on Military Music* (London: Hinrichsen Edition Ltd., Printed by Brunce Ltd., 1950). p. 41.

[111] Farmer, *Rise & Development*, p. 43, citing Manesson Mallet, *Les Travaux de Mars ou l'Art de la guerre* (Paris, 1691), n.p.

[112] Gordon Turner and Alwyn Turner, *The History of British Military Bands, Vol. I. Cavalry & Corps* (Staplehurst, UK: Spellmount Publishers, 1994), p. 11.

[113] Titcomb, *Kettledrums in Western Europe*, p. 301.

lost in an encounter, the regiment is not allowed to carry any again, according to the rules of war, until it has acquired another pair by conquest from the enemy'.[114] Turner adds other countries to this list when he states that 'The *Germans*, *Danes* and *Sweedes* [sic] permit none to have them under a Lord Baron unless they have taken them from an Enemy'.[115] Along with capturing the enemy's kettledrums, Titcomb reports that with the Prussian army, 'the only honor greater than the actual permission itself to use kettledrums was the further permission for these drums to beat specific marches, namely the *Grenadiermarsch* and the march *Unserer Cürassier-Reuther* (usually called for short the 'Reuthermarsch')'.[116] Pannoff further reports that after the battle of Crefeld during the Seven Years' War, Frederick the Great allowed the hussar[117] regiment of Lieutenant General Prince of Holstein-Gottorp to sound the Reuthermarsch on captured kettledrums, but 'as concerns the playing of the Grenadier-Marsch on these drums, however, the regiment must still wait for that until it has distinguished itself still more in battles hereafter'.[118]

One kettledrum capture that warranted a painting depicting the event, was that of the Battle of Ramillies in Flanders during the War of the Spanish Succession, between British forces commanded by the Duke of Marlborough and those commanded by the French Marshal Villeroi. According to Falkner, 'the Queen's Regiment of Horse seize[d] the well-known negro kettle-drummer of the Bavarian Electoral Guards; some reports say that the drummer was mortally wounded in the process, others that he was immediately taken into the Queen's service' (Figure 1 in the colour section).[119] Also taken at the same battle were a pair of French kettledrums captured by the *Danish 5. Jydske Kavaleri Regiment*, which are now in the collection of the Tojhusmuseet (Royal Danish Arsenel Museum) and on permanent loan to the Holstebro Museum.[120]

Other captured kettledrums residing in European museums include a Swedish pair from the battle of Poltava (1709) during the Great Northern War, still housed at the Kremlin Armoury in Moscow,[121] and the 132 kettledrums (in addition to numerous shawms, snare drums, fifes, oboes and one *tabl*[122]) dating from at least 1688 to 1708, taken as trophies by the Swedish

[114] Altenburg/Tarr, *Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*, p. 122.

[115] Turner, *Pallas Armata*, p. 236.

[116] Titcomb, *Kettledrums in Western Europe*, p. 283.

[117] 'Hussars' were a form of cavalry that appeared in most Western armies. Originally a Slavic word, the name first appeared in Hungarian documents in 1378, first spelled *huszár*, and meaning light-cavalry soldier (used for reconnaissance and raiding sources of fodder and provisions in advance of the army, and in battle used for harassing enemy skirmishers, overrunning cannon positions, and pursuing fleeing troops). The original hussar units in many armies were indeed comprised of Hungarian mercenaries, who were hired and sometimes conscripted to serve in foreign armies, especially when their prowess became famous worldwide after the Rákóczi rebellion (1703–1711). Adopting the ornate uniforms of the original Hungarian units whom they emulated, hussar units appeared throughout Western armies, initially armed with sabers and later with pistols. Kettledrummers were a typical component of these units. Anthony Tihamér Komjáthy, *A Thousand Years of the Hungarian Art of War* (Toronto: Rákóczi Foundation, 1982), pp. 105-113, 186.

[118] Panoff, *Militärmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, p. 88, translated by Titcomb, *Kettledrums in Western Europe*, p. 286.

[119] James Falkner, Ramillies, *1706, Year of Miracles, Battleground Marlborough* (Barnsley, England: Pen & Sword Military, 2006), p. 99. The present whereabouts of both this painting and the actual kettledrums is unknown. James Falkner, personal communication, 18 January 2008.

[120] Karsten Skjold Petersen, Tøjhusmuseet (The Royal Danish Arsenal Museum), Curator (personal communication, 29 January 2008); Ole Melthin, Holstebro Museum, Curator (personal communication, 5 March 2008). Holstebro has been the hometown for the Jydske Dragon Regiment since 1953.

[121] Aleksey Levykin, Director of Scientific Research, Kremlin Museum, personal communication, 5 February 2008. Hans Riben, 'The Musical Instruments in the Swedish State Trophy Collection', in *In Hoc Signo Vinces. A Presentation of The Swedish State Trophy Collection*, Ed. Fred Sandstedt, Lena Engquist Sandstedt, Martin Skoog and Karin Tetteris. (Stockholm: The National Swedish Museums of Military History, 2006), p. 157. J.Bertil R. Wennerholm, 'Livregementets karolinska silverpukor återfunna', in *Meddelanden från Armémuseum 50* (Stockholm, 1990), pp. 47-55.

[122] Edward Drenzel indicates that tabls (small hand drums) were 'used by the Turkish cavalry as late as the Seventeenth Century, and in Poland by the Tartars during the Great Northern War (1700-1721)', with this one being acquired in Lithuania in 1702. 'Trofésamlingens pukor', *Meddelande XXXXV-XXXXVI Armémuseum, 1984-1986*, (Stockholm: Utgivet med stöd av Föreningen Armémusei Vånner (Provided with support from the Society of the Army Museum Friends), 1986), p. 217.

army (the majority originating east and south of the Baltic, many from Russian and Polish armies), housed in the Swedish State Trophy Collection at the *Kungliga Armémuseum*, Stockholm.[123] While it has not been possible to determine the origin and age[124] of many of these copper, tinplate, and brass instruments, their intended use is often plainly evident, as indicated by Hans Riben, who states that 'many bear traces of battlefield wear and tear, in the form of bullet holes… [with] a few kettledrums also [showing] traces of deliberate damage, perhaps an attempt to deprive the victors of any joy of their tropies'.[125] Edward Drenzel adds that these damages were 'caused by countless sword or pike strokes as well as by heavy blows from axes or hammers'. He also reminds us that war was pleasant for neither men or horses, and that 'bloodstains are to be seen on some kettle drums, as well as traces of musket balls. There are a couple of examples of supporting straps which horses have bitten through'.[126]

The threat of losing kettledrums warranted serious precautions to the extent that it became customary for four cavaliers to precede the kettledrummer at port arms when traveling through enemy territory and into battle. They were also safely guarded when the troops were in garrison.[127] The Hungarian Imperial Army began employing kettledrummers and trumpeters for signaling and parade work with the establishment of two cavalry regiments on the model of the French cuirassiers in 1688 after 150 years of Turkish occupation. Writing about this practice, Marosi felt that: 'their loss represented a disgrace. Their recovery, on the other hand, was regarded as an even greater honor than the retrieval of the regimental flags'.[128]

TRUMPETER BANDS

In the eighteenth century, while the infantry continued fife and drum bands, the idea of *harmoniemusik* was taking root as well with the addition of more woodwinds, and what would become the basis for concert military bands. The cavalry however, continued with its trumpets and kettledrums, and cavalry trumpeter corps became common. By the Classical period, signals had become extensive multi-sectional calls,[129] and soon, mounted ensembles of various-sized trumpets with a pair of kettledrums were attached to most cavalry regiments. These trumpeter bands consisted of three or four trumpets, each with its own part accompanied by a pair of kettledrums. Kappey maintains that these cavalry regiment trumpeter-bands 'consisted of the trumpeters attached to each squadron, who, when massed as a band, played upon the regulation trumpets used for signaling'.[130] In addition to signals, Titcomb states that these musicians 'played all sorts of marches, flourishes and fanfares often met under the names of *Aufzug*; *Abtrupp*; *sonnade*, *sonnada*, sennet (and other variants); *serssemeda*; *entrade*, *Intrade*; *tocceda*, *toccata*, tucket, tuck, *touche*, and *Tusch*'.[131]

These bands of trumpets and kettledrums were uniformly in the key of D natural until the last half of the eighteenth century when cavalry units moved to trumpets in E♭. Titcomb adds further that 'about the second half of last century [eighteenth] the first attempt was made to enlarge the very limited capacity of these bands, by adding to the usual trumpets in E♭ or D some of a different pitch'.[132] Of this era, he states that 'the kettledrums were never more highly regarded than by King Friedrich II ('the Great'), who

[123] Blades mentions both of these institutions stating that a single drum (67 cm) housed in Stockholm is from the Holy Roman Empire taken at the battle of Lutzen in 1632 during the Thirty Years War, *Percussion Instruments*, p. 231. Leszek Bonikowski, Project leader at the Kungliga Armémuseum, states that museum staff misidentified this instrument in 1800, and that its source and date are unknown. Leszek Bonikowski, personal communication, 1 February 2008.

[124] 'There is a chance that we have kettledrums from as far back as to 1610, but we lack the evidence for that'. Leszek Bonikowski, project leader, Kungliga Armémuseum, personal communication, 14 February 2008.

[125] Riben, 'The Musical Instruments in the Swedish State Trophy Collection', pp. 153-154.

[126] Drenzel, 'Trofésamlingens pukor', pp. 217-218.

[127] Titcomb, *Kettledrums in Western Europe*, p. 307. Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Bands*, p. 127, citing Mallet, III, p. 98.

[128] Marosi, 'A History of Hungarian Military Music', p. 9.

[129] David Whitwell, *The Wind Band and Wind Ensemble of the Classic Period* (1750-1800) (Northridge California: Winds, 1984), p. 107.

[130] Kappey, *Military Music*, p. 79.

[131] Titcomb, 'Baroque Court', p. 69.

[132] Kappey, *Military Music*, p. 79. A discourse on the keys and pitch of cavalry and court trumpets, which varied through the years and by country, is outside the parameters of the present study. Qualified authors, including Anthony Baines delve deeper into this topic. Baines, *Brass Instruments*, pp. 120, 124 129.

ruled Prussia from 1740 to 1786. He inherited from his father twelve cuirassier regiments, each of which had trumpeters and a kettledrummer', all of whom were adorned with stunning uniforms.[133] As previously stated, within cavalries through the Baroque period, while the signals were not harmonized, they may have been doubled for strength.[134] Of these trumpeter bands, Farmer writes:

> That they played in parts, in 'line' regiments, at any rate, before the eighteenth century is doubtful. Of music for these bands, there is little or none extant; at least in this country. No doubt most of the marches and flourishes were learned by ear, for we are told that these army trumpeters were not learned musicians, but were generally able to enliven the march of their corps with a few tunes. Even in France, up to the time of Rousseau, their trumpeter bands played in unison.[135]

Although they played at the same pitch, the diameter of the tubing differed slightly for the instruments designed to play the higher or lower parts. The 'clarini' (the two highest parts) were made of narrow tubing with a small shallow-cupped mouthpiece. The 'tromba' (the third part of the trumpet choir) had both tubing and mouthpiece slightly enlarged, and the 'principale' (the fourth part) had still wider tubing and a larger mouthpiece for producing the lowest notes, doubling the bass voice of the kettledrum. Kappey states that 'if the latter were absent, the timpani-part had to be played by a "principale" player, and the part was then designated "toccato"'.[136] These trumpeter corps varied in instrumentation over the years as well as by region and nation. The 'Trompetenmusik' of Germany up until the Napoleonic Wars of 1805-1807 consisted of twelve to thirteen players: ten trumpets (four in G, four in F, and two in low C), with three trombones.[137]

Apart from the calls, when trumpeters and kettledrummers did not play from memory, they relied heavily on improvisation, drawing from their large basic repertoire of motifs and patterns. While the trumpet parts for signals and marches were set, kettledrummers were expected to supply a rhythmic bass part and to fill this in with improvisations.[138] Playing technique was therefore passed down from generation to generation with students learning by rote from masters, all of whom played by memory throughout their careers.

PART II: HORSE-MOUNTED TRUMPETERS AND KETTLEDRUMMERS AT COURT

Musicians serving in the aforementioned battle capacities also found work in safer environs. Part II of this study focuses on horse-mounted musical work in noble and royal households, many of whom employed large staffs, including musicians and numerous horses. By the time of the Renaissance, horses had held a prominent place in European society for centuries; commoners, nobility and royalty owned and used them for work, transportation and pageantry. Noble and royal households maintained full stables for the purposes of recreational riding and daily transport, for work in the field, mill operation, armor bearing, and for drawing carts, wagons and carriages. Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland maintained a stable of twenty-seven to thirty-three horses in 1512,[139] and the Duke of Clarence maintained ninety-three in 1469.[140]

The many staff (grooms, farriers, trainers, horse keepers, hostlers, etc.) who looked after these animals were all beholden to the Gentleman of the Horse. He oversaw the stablemen's duties from purchasing to training, served as the Lord's personal attendant, and supervised the other horsemen during journeys. These staff were in addition to the scores of household and grounds workers that estates employed, which could routinely number 100 persons; several English noble households (and presumably those of other countries) employed over 200, including musicians.[141] Among the 166 men, women and

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[133] Titcomb, *Kettledrums in Western Europe*, p. 281.

[134] Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 231ff., says they were often doubled as many as four to the part.

[135] Farmer, *Rise & Development*, pp. 40-41, citing J.J. Rousseau, *A Musical Dictionary* (London: J. Robson, 1768/9).

[136] Kappey, *Military Music*, pp. 46-47.

[137] David Whitwell, *The Nineteenth Century Wind Band and Wind Ensemble in Western Europe* (Northridge, California: Winds, 1984), p. 17.

[138] Titcomb, 'Baroque Court', p. 61.

[139] Paul V.B. Jones, *The Household of a Tudor Nobleman (1462-1640)*, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. VI, No. 4, December 1917 (University of Illinois Press, 1918), p. 216.

[140] Ibid, p. 217.

[141] Ibid, pp. 9-12.

children employed in the Earl of Northumberland's household in 1512, in addition to scores of kitchen and dining staff, personal aids, stable hands, horse trainers and grooms, clerks, pages, carpenters, gardeners, slaughtermen, footmen, laundresses, coachmen, coach and wagoners, were the Dean of the Chapel with his staff including six chaplains, who included an Almoner, a Master of Grammar, a riding Chaplain for the Earl Percy, a Sub-Dean, a 'Gospeller' (a priest who read the Gospel), and a Lady Mass Priest. The Earl took chapel services seriously, as no fewer than fifteen people were required to conduct them, including nine Gentlemen of the Chapel: choirmaster, two tenors, four countertenors, the 'Pistoler' (epistle reader), and the organist. Added to these were six children, 'trebles and means'.[142]

Other musicians and entertainers performed for the family and their guests on tabors, lutes, rebecs, shawms, sackbuts, viols, cornets, and other instruments at dinners and numerous gala events,[143] and of course on trumpets and drums. The poet and *littérateur* Richard Brathwaite, writing in the seventeenth century, indicates that the model establishment should include 'Five Musitions [and] A Trumpeter [and] A Drumme'.[144] Ferdinand, governor of Germany ('Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia'),[145] indicates that several of the staff merited a horse ('*Yedem ain Pferdt*') ('a horse for each') including trumpeters and kettledrummers, not simply for the personal convenience of the player and as a symbol of prestige, but because the trumpeters and timpanist needed horses to accompany their sovereign on various journeys and during military campaigns.[146]

JOURNEYS

With the preceding glimpse at the enormity of many a nobleperson's household, it is evident that staffs, which included musicians and horsemen, were large and complex. To complicate matters further, noblemen and royals often owned several major and minor residences, living in each for several months at a time, resulting in 'moving house' several times a year, an immense affair carried out with considerable ceremony that required horse-mounted musicians. Moving consisted of the transport of the family and their personal belongings, as well as housewares and furniture, food, and scores of staff, along with their personal effects and servants. Thus, because these movements occurred on a regular basis, a nobleman maintained a 'Riding Household', which was a reduced set of staff members in comparison with the regular home organization. This Riding Household as Jones explains, 'was organized to give such service, as far as circumstances would permit, as that which a nobleman enjoyed at home, to guarantee satisfaction of his every want, and by no means least, to assure the royal splendor and maintain the dignity of the house before the world'.[147]

However, even a Riding Household still employed numerous different kinds of grooms and a considerable number of personal attendants, kitchen staff, sewers (meal servers), a carver, a cupbearer, horse attendants, and other servants; altogether, the entourage was considerable. When the Duke of Clarence journeyed in 1469, records indicate that his entourage, in addition to his domestics, personal attendants and horsemen, also included the high officers, chaplains, bachelor knights, secretary, ushers, yeomen and grooms, herald-messengers and trumpeters, making a total of 188 people![148]

On these house-moving, and other official journeys, music-loving rulers employed musicians who announced the arrival of the lord with trumpet and kettledrum flourishes and relieved the boredom of the journey by concerts during rest stops. Brathwaite indicates that, the trumpeter 'is to ride formost [sic], both out and into any towne, sounding his trumpet. Upon the way he may sounde for pleasure. But if he see the day so spent that they are like to bringe late to their lodging, he is to sounde the Tantara, to move

[142] Jones, *Household of a Tudor Nobleman*, p. 13.

[143] Ibid, pp. 14, 175, 232, 233.

[144] Richard Brathwaite, *Some Rules and Orders for the Government of The House of an Earle* (London: R. Triphook, 1821), pp. 3-4.

[145] Appointed by his brother, emperor Charles V to govern Germany in 1521, Ferdinand became Emperor Ferdinand I in 1558.

[146] Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet Before 1721* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press), p. 167, citing Bruno Hirzel, 'Dienstinstruktion und Personalstatus der Hofkapelle Ferdinand's der Erste aus dem Jahre 1527' *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, Vol. X. (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 151ff.

[147] Jones, *Household of a Tudor Nobleman*, p. 227.

[148] Ibid, pp. 228-229.

them to hasten their pace'.[149]

Within these traveling entourages, the numbers of trumpeters and kettledrummers varied. Hirzel mentions a journey of Friederich IV von der Pfalz in 1600 during which he was escorted by seven mounted trumpeters.[150] In France, the *Garde du Roy*, the King's elite bodyguard, had four trumpeters and one kettledrummer, and according to Titcomb, the 'truly elite' *Gardes du Corps* employed twenty-eight trumpeters and five kettledrummers. On journeys however, this entourage was toned down a bit with the king riding in an eight-horse carriage headed by the four chamber trumpeters, with four *trompettes des plaisirs* (tr. delight, entertainment, pleasure) and the *timbalier des plaisirs* following the carriage at the head of the Gardes du Corps.[151]

Transcribing official records having to do with the maintenance and ordering of musicians attached to the English court [1460-1700] from the Lord Chamberlain's records in London, Andrew Ashbee mentions payment of 2 shillings per diem to Robert Ramsey, Randolph Flood and Richard Stock, 'riding trumpeters' on 5 December 1632 and again on 30 August 1633.[152] These were presumably for some type of official journey where trumpeters were needed. Brathwaite further clarifies their duties:

> When the Earle is to ride a Journey, he is early every morning to sownde, to give warning, that the Officers may have time to make all things ready for breakefast, and the groomes of the stable to dresse and meate the horses. When it is breakefast time, he is to make his second sounding: breakefast ended, and things in a readines, he is to sounde the third time, to call to horse.[153]

CAVALCADES

Popular in England, France, Spain, and Germany during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, cavalcades (horse-mounted processions) were huge affairs where horsemen, including mounted trumpeters and kettledrummers, and horse-drawn carriages ceremonially processed in honour of nobility.[154] These events were a popular amusement for occasions such as the crowning of a ruler, election of a pope, honouring visiting dignitaries, the celebration of feast days and the observance of events in national history. The whole city would turn out for such occasions with both civil and ecclesiastical officials taking part alongside plenty of music, including mounted trumpeters and kettledrummers. A description of one of these events (the visit of King Christian IV of Denmark to his brother-in-law, King James I of England in 1606) states that the royal retinue was an impressive display and contained 'the Kinge of Denmarke's Drume, riding uppon a horse, with two drumes, one on each side of thee horse's necke, whereon hee strooke two little mallets of wood, a thinge verie admirable to the common sort and much admired'.[155]

The Spanish crown, not to be outdone, hosted a procession in Madrid in 1623 to honor the unsuccessful espousal treaties of Charles, Prince of Wales with the Lady Infanta Maria Anna of Austria, youngest daughter of King Philip III of Spain and Margaret of Austria. Along with chariots, pages, officers, trumpeters and others from several local 'troupes', the procession contained royal musicians: 'Leonardo, Sergeant-trumpet to his Majesty, entered richly clad and on horseback, whom followed sixteene Kettle-drums, three-score Trumpets and Clarions, and foure-and-twentie Musicians, all his Majestie's servants'.[156]

The church had their horse-mounted musicians as well, including those of the pope, who had his

[149] Brathwaite, *Some Rules and Orders*, pp. 44-45.

[150] Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 167, citing Bruno Hirzel, 'Dienstinstruktion und Personalstatus', p. 151ff.

[151] Caldwell Titcomb, 'The Kettledrums in Western Europe: Their History Outside the Orchestra', (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1952), p. 312, citing *L'état de la France…pour l'an 1718*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1718), pp. 420-421.

[152] Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, Vol. III (1625 – 1649), pp. 68 and 72, transcribed from the Lord Chamberlain's Records, LC5/312, p. 312 and LC5/132, p. 338.

[153] Brathwaite, *Some Rules and Orders*, pp. 44-45.

[154] Titcomb, 'Kettledrums in Western Europe', pp. 203-207. Charles Warren Bolen, 'Open-Air Music of the Baroque: A Study of Selected Examples of Wind Music', (M.M. thesis, Indiana University, 1954), p. 107.

[155] Titcomb, 'Baroque Court and Military Trumpets and Kettledrums: Technique and Music', *Galpin Society Journal* 9 (June 1956), p. 60. Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music, Their History and Character* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1911), p. 185. John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James The First, His Royal Consort, Family and Court Collected from Orginal Manuscripts, Scarce Pamphlets, Corporation Records, Parochial Register, &c. &c.* Vol. II (London, printed by Nichols, 1828), p. 65. Nichols cites Henry Roberts, who professes to have been an attendant 'on these courtly festivities…', p. 54.

[156] Nichols, 'Tournament with Canes at Madrid', in *The Progresses*, pp. 891-892.

concerto de' 4 trombetti dell'Inclito Popolo Romano, comprised of four principal members in 1717, to which a timpanist was officially added in 1734. These musicians participated in university and diplomatic ceremonies, horse parades, fireworks, funeral processions, the celebration of cardinals, and coronations of popes.[157]

TOURNAMENTS AND JOUSTS

Tournaments were essentially miniature mock battles on horseback; a joust was a single combat between two mounted cavaliers running at each other with lances. Both were popular in the Middle Ages for battle training as well as entertainment with mounted trumpeters and kettledrummers taking part, and continued into the Renaissance.[158] Like cavalcades, tournaments and jousts were held as parts of coronation celebrations, royal marriages, celebrations of national interest, or other occasions where pomp and pageantry were desired.[159]

Affording an opportunity for knights to display publicly their compliance to the rules of chivalry, rulers were anxious to hold tournaments to provide entertainment for guests and to provide a training ground for their warriors to develop fighting skills, as well as to gain confidence and courage, and to keep themselves ready for war.[160] It was the custom for court musicians to perform at these tournaments, with music adding gaiety to the occasion, as well as aiding to the functions of the combat itself with trumpets and kettledrums sounding the signal to commence combat just as they did in real battle. By the mid-seventeenth century, tournaments and jousts had, for the most part, run their course, which had lasted nearly six centuries.[161]

CARROUSELS

The most popular outgrowths of tournaments and jousts were the great carrousels and equestrian ballets, in which knights, noblemen and musicians simulated battle allegorically.[162] The carrousel dates from the twelfth century when Arabian and Turkish horsemen played war games tossing small clay balls filled with scented water between themselves; losers were those who missed a catch and consequently smelled of perfume for days. Italian and Spanish crusaders who watched, described the event as 'little war' or *garosello* and *carosella* respectively, and brought the game back to Europe where it developed into an extravagant display of horsemanship and finery that the French called *carrousel*. A major event of the European version was the ring-spearing tournament in which competitors rode horses or chariots at full speed with their lances toward a small ring hanging by brightly colored ribbons from a tree limb or pole.[163]

In these early Italian and French horse ballets, movement of the horses was accompanied by music, and was used to a greater extent than in the tournament, where it was limited to flourishes and signals.[164] Menestrier, writing in 1682, suggests that the combination of horses and instruments worked well, and in fact was a natural collaboration:

> Horses are always made to dance to the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums, because they are accustomed to march and move to the sound of these trumpets… [and because]… horses have leisure to take breath when the trumpeters do. Nor is any other instrument more agreeable to them, for it is martial, and the horse (which is naturally courageous) loves this animating sound.[165]

While Menestrier does not mention the substantial work of accustoming the horses to the trumpet and kettledrum sounds, his positive report nevertheless suggests that these events made it appear that the horses took to these instruments naturally and that the events were popular. In reality, ease with loud sudden sounds is not natural to horses, who must be systematically trained as Brathwaite suggests when he comments: 'He [the trumpeter] and the Drummer are to goe often into the Stable, to acquainte the horses with the sounde of the trumpet, and the noise

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[157] Whitwell, *The Baroque Wind Band* , pp. 64, 66.

[158] Bolen, 'Open-Air Music of the Baroque', pp. 30 – 33.

[159] Ibid, p. 31.

[160] Ibid, p. 31. Bolen adds in his footnote: 'It is to be understood that only knights did the fighting in the Middle Ages. Army conscription did not begin until the mid-sixteenth century'.

[161] Ibid, p. 34.

[162] Ibid.

[163] Frederick Fried, *A Pictorial History of the Carousel* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1964), pp. 18-19.

[164] Bolen, 'Open-Air Music of the Baroque', p. 51.

[165] Werner Menke, *History of the Trumpet of Bach and Handel* (London: William Reeves, 1934), pp. 30-31, citing Menestrier, *Les Ballets Anciennes et Modernes selon les règles du Théâtre* (Paris, 1682), pp. 149, 239.

of the drumme'.[166]

As the carrousel developed in Renaissance Europe, these horse-mounted musicians added to the celebratory aspect of these events, and according to Smithers were the most splendid use made of the Baroque trumpet in France during the seventeenth century.[167] By this point, the carrousel, or equestrian ballet, had become a stylized event in which costumed horse-mounted participants (riders, kettledrummers, and trumpeters) performed intricate exercises, showing off military prowess and heroic martial music.

Along with musicians, officers and non-commissioned officers of cavalry regiments participated in carrousels, but the real stars were the magnificently dressed ruling dukes, princes, or even the king himself, who served as the leaders of the groups or quadrilles. The French Bourbon monarchs had a particular fondness for such events, and toward the end of the reign of Henry IV, the first great carrousel at the French court took place at the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon in 1605. Another *Carrousel du Roi* was choreographed in 1612 in celebration of the engagement of Louis XIII to the Spanish Princess Anne of Austria, by Antoine de Pluvinel, director of a military academy for young noblemen and widely acknowledged as the father of modern dressage. A description of the carrousel held in the Place Royale (now the Place des Vosges) in Paris, lists in addition to trumpeters, 'twelve mounted drummers dressed in silver cloth, each having two drums across the saddlebow, and giving forth some pleasant sounds'.[168]

During the reign of the Sun King, Louis XIV (1643-1715), the carrousel reached its peak. An elaborate carrousel was held on 5-6 June 1662 and included five chief squadrons of mounted horsemen as well as many ordinary units. These squadrons were designated by the Latin term *turmae* which, originally designating troops of Roman cavalrymen, on this occasion indicated horsemen representing different nations. The first *turma*, led by King Louis himself, represented Romans. The other *turmae*, led by the Duke of Orléans, the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Enghien and the Duke of Guise, represented Persians, Turks, Indians and Americans (American Indians). These units, which included military personnel (brigadier-general, the first aide-de-camp, etc.) as well as many assistants, thirty trumpeters and nineteen kettledrummers, entered a large amphitheater in front of the *Tuileries* where they participated in a series of spectacles called pompae beginning with the King's Quadrille. The area in Paris between the Tuileries Garden and the Louvre where this carrousel took place is still called the *Place du Carrousel*.[169]

Carrousels were also performed in other parts of Europe. The Swedish court staged a brilliant affair in 1672 in connection with the coronation of Karl XI (Figure 3). For the wedding of Cosimo di Medici and Maria Magdalena of Austria at Florence in October 1608, there was a '*ballo di persone a cavallo*'. Callot's engravings of the '*guerra d'amore*', held in the same city in 1615 show a carrousel that includes mounted trumpeters and drummers.[170]

In 1667, the wedding festivities of Emperor Leopold I and Margareta Theresa of Spain included the 'Balletturnier' *La contessa dell'aria e dell' aqua festa a cavallo*, with cavalrymen, dancers, mounted trumpeters and timpanists, and according to Smithers, was 'probably the most spectacular event of its kind'.[171] The musical accompaniment to this event, consisting of five pieces was composed by Antonio Bertali and Johann Schmelzer and included three pieces for *Trombe et Timpani*, each of which is about twenty-four measures long, in two sections of six bars, each with repeats. Smithers suggests that the ballet would have been longer than the five pieces and thus the 'mounted corps of trumpets and drums shown in the various contemporary illustrations

[166] Brathwaite, *Some Rules and Orders*, p. 45.

[167] Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 233.

[168] Titcomb, 'Kettledrums in Western Europe', p. 209, citing Michel Brenet, *Dictionnaire pratique et historique de la musique* (Paris: A. Colin, 1926), p. 441.

[169] Caldwell Titcomb, 'Carrousel Music at the Court of Louis XIV', in *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison by His Associates* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1957), pp. 206-207. Several museums possess illustrations of this event by François Chauveau and Israël Silvestre, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York: Charles Perrault, *Courses de Testes de Bague...en l'Annee 1662* (Paris: Impri. royale, 1670) accession number: 31.67.2.

[170] Smithers indicates that a copy of *Mostra della Guerra d'amore festa del serrenissimo gran duca Cosimo secondo di Toscana fatta in Firenza il Carneuale del 1615*, in Firenze…Zanobi…Pignoni…MDC. XV resides in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library. *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 171.

[171] Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 172.

Figure 3. *'Secundum Agmen Turcarum' from Certamen Equestre celebrating the coronation of Karl XI (1672) by Georg Eimmart (1638-1707) after David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl (1629-1698). Used by permission of the Statens Konstmuseer, Stockholm.*

must have supplied additional pieces (fanfares, Feldstücke, etc.)... [with]... probably three or four trumpeters to a part, with several pairs of timpani mounted on horseback'.[172] Of the five trumpet parts, the first two are independent of one another, with the second trumpet frequently ending above the first. The third part, notated in soprano clef, has only the notes, c, e and g. The fourth part in alto clef consists of one tone, G, and the lowest part plays the tonic and dominant notes C and G; this is obviously the timpani part which, as was typical, served as a bass line rather than a percussion part, and was probably intended to be doubled by trumpets with large, deep-cupped mouthpieces.[173]

The visual aspect of tournaments and carrousels was just as important as the auditory with kettledrummers and trumpeters richly adorned in silk trousers, boots, blouses, vests, and turbans, with richly ornamented shabracks, banderoles, and saddles adorning the horses, a custom that continued with French mounted musicians throughout the time of Napoleon. Drummers developed stylized movements including stick tosses corresponding to the rhythm of the music and movement of the horses. Contemporary images of these grand occasions show these vivid adornments; examples found in museums include those at the *Lissabon Museu Nacional dos Coches* depicting the Entrance of the Lord Ambassador Mountague into the City of Lisbon on 28 March 1662. Others, like the *Triumph of Maximilian I*, a series of 137 woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair, Albrecht Dürer, and others commissioned by Maximilian I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire to graphically represent his 'glories', depicts groups of marchers, horsemen and chariots, including several mounted musicians. Maximilian himself dictated to his secretary, Treitzsaurwein, the subject matter of the woodcuts, including: 'after them [a group of people carrying statues] shall come on horseback a goodly number of trumpeters and drummers with the Imperial flags on their trumpets, and wearing laurel wreaths'.[174]

The carrousel still exists within several present-day mounted units, including the *Corps des*

[172] Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 173.

[173] Ibid, p. 174. Printed in score and followed by engravings by Van Hoye and Ossenbeeck, the five pieces by Schmelzer were included in the descriptive account published in 1667 with editions in German and Italian. Copies of both are in the New York Public Library. Similar illustrations appear in the Diarium Europaeum XV, 1667, Appendix 1 and can be found in the Nationalbibliothek at Vienna and the British Museum. See Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, pp. 172-173.

[174] Stanley Appelbaum, ed., *The Triumph of Maximilian I, 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others*, with a

trompettes de la Police fédérale/Kliek van de Federale Politie (Royal Escort) of Belgium and *La Fanfare de Cavalerie de la Garde Républicaine* of France. In North America, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police continue to perform a carrousel, under the English name, 'Musical Ride'. While the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are known the world over for these performances, the ride does not include mounted musicians. In fact, there have been only a few instances where mounted bands were attempted in the force's 132-year history. Confusion exists even in official quarters, including the website for the Edinburgh Tattoo, which indicates that the 1957 Tattoo included the RCMP mounted band. Nicole Smith of the RCMP Historical Office states: 'A possible explanation for the Tattoo website is that the RCMP Band and Musical Ride were travelling and performing together in 1957. Though they are two separate organizations, it is possible that people did indeed think it was a Mounted Band'.[175]

MUSIC AND INSTRUMENTATION

The notated music of the 1667 wedding festivities of Leopold and Margareta has been mentioned above, but most music for court and cavalry trumpeters and kettledrummers of these centuries was not written down. Reasons for this include the strong guild system and also, because many court musicians were military musicians, they had learned everything by rote for fear of signals falling into unauthorized hands; consequently, many had not learned to read music.[176] Some of the first military signals however, did make it into notation and have survived in composed art music from the sixteenth century. Janequin's chanson, *La bataille* (Paris, 1528), which probably depicts the French victory at Marignano in 1515, is one of the earliest of a genre of vocal and instrumental 'battle pieces'. The two trumpet calls, 'Le boute-selle' and 'A l'étendart', are found in the second section along with drum effects, all of which imitate sounds of battle.[177] In England, the keyboard manuscript collection *My Ladye Nevells Booke* (1591) includes William Byrd's 'Battell', with several sections containing evident imitations of trumpet sounds that were probably military signals of the period.[178]

Gradually, a few pieces for trumpet and kettledrum were notated. Some may be found in the collection of music copied and assembled by André Danican Philidor (Philidor l'aîné) and François Fossard,[179] and played by the *Fifres et Tambours* and the *Trompettes de la Grande Écurie*,[180] the wind

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[174] (continued) translation of descriptive text, introduction and notes by Stanley Appelbaum (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), p. 15. See also Herbert Myers, 'The Musical Minatures of the Triumphzug of Maximilian I', *Galpin Society Journal* 60 (2007), pp. 3-28. A landmark publication that gathers the illustrations of the musical units of these and other events is Edmund A. Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500-1800, An Iconographical & Documentary Survey* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1989).

[175] Nicole Smith, RCMP Historical Office, Ottawa, Ontario, personal communication, 1 December 2003 and 16 April 2004. See also Bruce P. Gleason, 'The Mounted Bands of the North-West Mounted Police', *Band International, Journal of the International Military Music Society* Vol. 27, no. 3 (December 2005), pp. 99-103, 120.

[176] Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Band*, pp. 53, 54, 57, 59. 90. William Barclay Squire, H.G. Farmer, Edward H. Tarr/Peter Downey, 'Signal (i)', 'Military signals', *New Grove* (2001). Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History*, p. 228. Military signals became parts of several trumpet instructional manuals by the turn of the seventeenth century. See above, pp. 33-35. Whitwell, *Baroque Wind Band*, p. 59.

[177] William Barclay Squire, H. G. Farmer/Edward Tarr, 'Military Calls', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980).

[178] Armin Suppan and Wolfgang Suppan, 'Military Music', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Publishers, Ltd., 2001). Additionally, several modern sources give glimpses of some of this notated music, including Bolen, 'Open-Air Music of the Baroque; Susan Goertzel Sandman, 'Wind Band Music Under Louis XIV: The Philidor Collection, Music for the Military and the Court' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1974); and the works of David Whitwell including several volumes of his thirteen-volume set of *The History and Literature of the Wind Band and Wind Ensemble* (Northridge, California: Winds, 1984).

[179] According to Smithers, 'the earliest surviving music for these gargantuan "horse ballets" is found in the Bibliothèque de Versailles, and in the Conservatoire de Paris collection of music now in the music division of the Bibliothèque Natitionale de Paris'. *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 233.

[180] The *Grande Écurie*, a select group of instrumentalists was established about 1530, continued until the end of the eighteenth century, and 'was responsible for the performance of music in the king's private chambers and in his chapel; they were also required for various occasions and ceremonies, such as balls and masquerades, religious and state celebrations, special military events, and at any other times when music was desired by the king'. Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 230.

bands that performed outdoor music at the Court of Louis XIV (r.1643-1715) of France. While this band was comprised mainly of fifes, hautbois and drums, there are several pieces for kettledrums and trumpets, including music for the 1686 Carousel de Monseigneur. The title page of the volume, *Partition de Plusieurs Marches et Batteries de Tambours* reads:

> Score of several marches and drum beats, as many French as foreign, with airs for fife and hautbois in 3 and 4 parts and several marches for kettledrums and cavalry trumpets, with airs from the Carousel of 1686 and trumpet calls and fanfares for the hunt.[181]

While German, Italian and Austro-Bohemian trumpet parts were usually performed by only one trumpeter per part, Smithers indicates that 'the French made an enormous noise, with sometimes as many as four players on a part', stemming from a military tradition as evidenced in illustrations of the carrousel of 1662 showing vast numbers of trumpets and timpani.[182]

Exemplifying a type of music performed mounted during this period, as well as on foot by trumpet and kettledrum ensembles at German-speaking and associated courts for ceremonial processions, festive mealtimes and on other special occasions, were entrance and exit fanfares, termed Aufzüge and Auszüge respectively and (after 1740) *Marsch* or *Fanfare*.[183] First appearing about 1570, apparently in Dresden, the Aufzug contrasts a Clarino melody with rhythmically active lower parts.[184] By the eighteenth century, the ensemble included three to six trumpets, typically with timpani, which improvised a tonic-dominant accompaniment. J.A.Kappey includes several score examples of the Aufzug in *Military Music, A History of Wind-Instrumental Bands*.[185]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Court functions of horse-mounted musicians co-existed with those on the battlefield for several centuries and were often undertaken by the same personnel. In a centuries-old tradition, as signalers in battle and entertainers in camp, cavalry musicians provided direction in warfare and diversions for the war weary. Adding a sense of grandeur and nobility to cavalry units, trumpeters and kettledrummers also did duty as court musicians in royal and other noble households for pageantry in tournaments, jousts, cavalcades, journeys and carrousels.

However, with the turn of the nineteenth century looming, several changes in military music were on the horizon. Courts were dissolved along with their trumpeter corps; the trumpeters and kettledrummers guild was dying across Europe; the invention of the valve for brass instruments was just around the corner; and kettledrums were losing their place on the battlefield. These developments, coupled with political changes, not the least of which was the French Revolution, laid a foundation for an arena that would see the transformation of small mounted trumpet and kettledrum ensembles into the grand mounted bands of enhanced and varied instrumentation in the next stage of cavalry music history in the nineteenth century.

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[181] Sandman, 'Wind Band Music Under Louis XIV', p. 87 citing *Partition/ de Plusieurs Marches et batteries de Tambour/ tant françoisen qu'Etrangèren, avec les Airs/ de fifre et de hautbois à 3 et 4 partien/ et PLrs Marches de timballes et de trompetten/ à cheval avec les Airs du Carousel en 1686, Et les appels et fanfares de trompe pour/ la Chasse…1705*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. F. 671. Philidor was a kettledrummer to Louis XIV and librarian of the Royal Music Library at Versailles; Fossard was a court violinist.

[182] Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 236. See the Chauveau and Silvestre illustrations: Charles Perrault, *Courses de Testes de Bague…en l'Annee 1662* (Paris: Impri. royale, 1670).

[183] Jeremy Montagu, *Timpani and Percussion*, p. 57.

[184] Peter Downey, 'The Trumpet and its Role in Music of the Renaissance and Early Baroque' (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, Belfast, 1983), p. 105.

[185] J.A. Kappey, *Military Music*, pp. 50, 79.

BRUCE P. GLEASON

Cavalry and Court Trumpeters and Kettledrummers From the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century

Figure 1. *The Queen's Regiment of Horse capturing French Drums and Standards, Ramillies 1706. By permission of 1st The Queen's Dragoon Guards Regimental Museum, Cardiff Castle, Cardiff, Wales.*

Figure 2. *Le regiment de Bercheny, c. 1752. By permission of the Musée de l'Armée, Paris.*
Trumpeter Corps of trumpeters and kettledrummers began forming when signalers gathered from their individual units at the fronts of columns to lead a regiment to and from battle. These early cavalry bands were comprised of military signalers who did double duty as musicians, an idea that propelled the notion of mounted bands.