

## ABSTRACT

### The Trombone as Signifier in Sacred Germanic Works of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

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During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Germanic composers recognized and propagated certain rhetorical associations of the trombone. Following a tradition of signification in sacred dramatic works, these composers used the trombone to represent or reinforce religious ideology in a variety of sacred genres. In part, these associations were the consequence of Germanic vernacular translations of the Bible which began in the fifteenth century. Centuries later, musical and literary examples attest to the influence of the psycho-linguistic association between trombone and biblical text.

The trombone also shares a rich tradition of symbolic association with its organological ancestor, the trumpet. Numerous iconographic and literary sources from ancient cultures support the importance of symbolism in this instrument family. The associations identified with the trombone's ancestors help to establish the framework out of which the Germanic tradition of the trombone as a signifier emerges centuries later.

The Trombone as Signifier in Sacred Germanic Works  
of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

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To Ann

whose endless patience,  
understanding, and encouragement  
sustains me



## CHAPTER ONE

### LIP-VIBRATED AEROPHONES IN THE ANCIENT WORLD ORGANOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TRUMPET-TROMBONE FAMILY

Many of the trombone's musical roles result from the heritage it shares with the trumpet. This common background illuminates the trombone's extra-musical associations in the Germanic tradition.<sup>1</sup> The intertwined physical evolution of the trumpet and trombone and the use of early forms of this instrument family establishes the foundation for the trombone's symbolism in Germanic circles that would remain intact well into the nineteenth century.

The relationship between the trumpet and trombone is critical to this study. Organologically, instruments are classified according to the means by which they produce sound. The trumpet and trombone belong to the family known as aerophones and are sub-classified as instruments which produce sound when activated by the vibration of a player's lips. Francis Galpin's classification scheme identified this sub-class as "lip-voiced aerophone." In this study, the term "lip-vibrated aerophone" will replace and clarify the former term.<sup>2</sup>

#### Lip-Vibrated Aerophones in the Ancient World

Lip-vibrated aerophones, the common denominator of the trumpet and trombone, have roots in a host of cultures and geographic areas. The earliest peoples to create such

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<sup>1</sup>The term "Germanic" appears throughout this thesis instead of the more commonly used adjectival form "German." The former term is preferred for two reasons: the term "Germanic" more aptly describes the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century geography, peoples, and languages discussed in Chapter 3 which have a more indistinct relationship than implied by the term "German." The former term is also employed in Chapter 5 to describe musical examples of a particular tradition from a geographic region larger than the area now known as unified Germany.

<sup>2</sup>For the complete scheme, see Francis W. Galpin, *A Textbook of European Musical Instruments: Their Origin, History, and Character* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1937): 25-36.

instruments used naturally hollow materials such as shells, animal horns, bone, or tusks.

Other primitive aerophones were created by hollowing out vegetable matter.<sup>3</sup> As the knowledge and skill of metal-working emerged, mankind fashioned the aerophones in new and more enduring methods.

Surviving instruments and iconographic representations appear in a number of ancient cultures. One of the oldest surviving types of this instrument group is the Scandinavian *lur*. Often made in matching pairs, *lurs* were cast from molten bronze. Archeologists have recovered more than forty *lurs* dated between 1100 and 600 B.C. (Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Another northern European metal lip-vibrated aerophone was the *carnyx* of the Iron Age Celts. Used in battle, the bell of the *carnyx* was fashioned to resemble the head of a frightening animal (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup>

Metal lip-vibrated aerophones also existed in the Mediterranean. The Greeks named their version of this instrument the *salpinx*. This straight form of trumpet was made of bronze, with a separately fabricated bell. Scholars disagree as to whether any *salpinx* survives.<sup>6</sup> Iconography of the instrument, however, does exist. The *salpinx* appears in the

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<sup>3</sup>Nicholas Bessaraboff, *Ancient European Musical Instruments: an Organological Study of the Musical Instruments in the Leslie Lindsey Mason Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (New York: October House, 1964), 215.

<sup>4</sup>For more information about *lurs*, see Hans C. Broholm, William P. Larsen, and Godtfred Skjerne, *The Lurs of the Bronze Age: An Archaeological, Technical and Musicological Investigation* (Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlage, 1944).

<sup>5</sup>Frank Harrison and Joan Rimmer, *European Musical Instruments* (London: Studio Vista Ltd., 1964), 6.

<sup>6</sup>Organologist Curt Sachs claimed that the only surviving Greek *salpinx* had been acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. At the time of the acquisition, the instrument was assigned to the second half of the fifth century by curator L. D. Caskey. The instrument's main tube is comprised of thirteen sections of ivory joined with bronze rings and its funnel-shaped bell is made of bronze. Anthony Baines, curator of Oxford University's Bate Collection of Historical Wind Instruments, discredited the authenticity of the instrument because it was only reputed to have come from Olympia by a dealer, and because the bell is a different shape than what appears in iconography of the *salpinx*, being more Roman in style. See Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1940), 145; and Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development* (London: Faber & Faber, 1976), 64.

sixth-century on an eye-cup kylix (Fig. 3).<sup>7</sup>

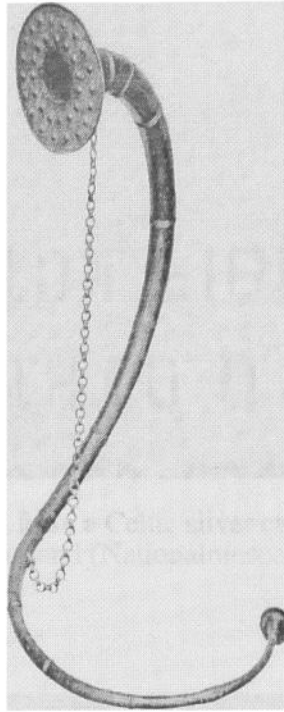


Fig. 1. Scandinavian Lur. (Folvisdam, Graedstrup Parish, Tyrsting County).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>This kylix, or shallow, bowl-shaped cup with a footed base and handles on the sides, is by the vase painter Oltyos (active ca. 525-500 B.C.). It is referred to as an "eye cup" because of the apotropaic eyes painted on the exterior. See Bill Jensen, Bill\_Jensen@Baylor.edu, "RE>question regarding greek art," personal e-mail (1 October 1996); Robert S. Folsom, *Attic Black-Figured Pottery* (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1975), 30, 38, 120. The depiction of the *salpinx* is dated as fourth quarter of the sixth century B.C. by Max Wegner and as ca. 520 B.C. by James W. McKinnon. See Max Wegner, *Griechenland*, Bd. 2, Lfg. 4, in *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, n.d.), 78-79; and McKinnon, "Salpinx," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, 6th ed.

<sup>8</sup>Broholm, pl. 16.



Fig. 2. Carnyx players. Detail from a Celtic silver cauldron, ca. 1st or 2d century B.C., found at Gunderstrup, Jutland (Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen).<sup>9</sup>



Fig. 3. Salpinx player. Detail from Greek *kylix* by Oltos, ca. 520 B.C. from Volci (Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Rome).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>James McKinnon, "Carnyx," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*.

<sup>10</sup>McKinnon, "Salpinx."

Evidence for the use of trumpet-type instruments appeared in several ancient Middle-Eastern cultures. Iconographic sources survive from Mesopotamia. The first example, a fragment from a Sumerian relief (ca. 2600-2500 B.C.), shows a trumpeter with instrument in the playing position (Fig. 4).<sup>11</sup> The next examples, from alabaster reliefs during the reign of Assyrian king Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.), show trumpeters signalling laborers (Fig. 5-7).<sup>12</sup> Two sections of relief from the temple in Hatra also depict trumpets ca. 160 B.C. (Figs. 8, 9).<sup>13</sup>



Fig. 4. Sumerian Trumpeter. Fragment of Sumerian relief, ca. 2600-2500 B.C. (Chicago, University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum, A9273).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Subhi Anwar Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, in *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, ed. Werner Bachmann, Bd. II, Lfg. 2 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1984), 60-61.

<sup>12</sup>Figure 6 is a sketch by Austen Henry Layard, who excavated Nineveh in the nineteenth century. The original relief is in very poor condition. Rashid, 124-25; and John E. Curtis, and Julian E. Reade, eds., *Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 40-41.

<sup>13</sup>Hatra (modern day Al Hadhr) was a Mesopotamian city state of the Parthian Empire. See Norman Stone, ed., *The Times Atlas of World History*, 3d ed. (London: Times Books, 1989), 89, 344.

<sup>14</sup>Rashid, 61, pl. 37.

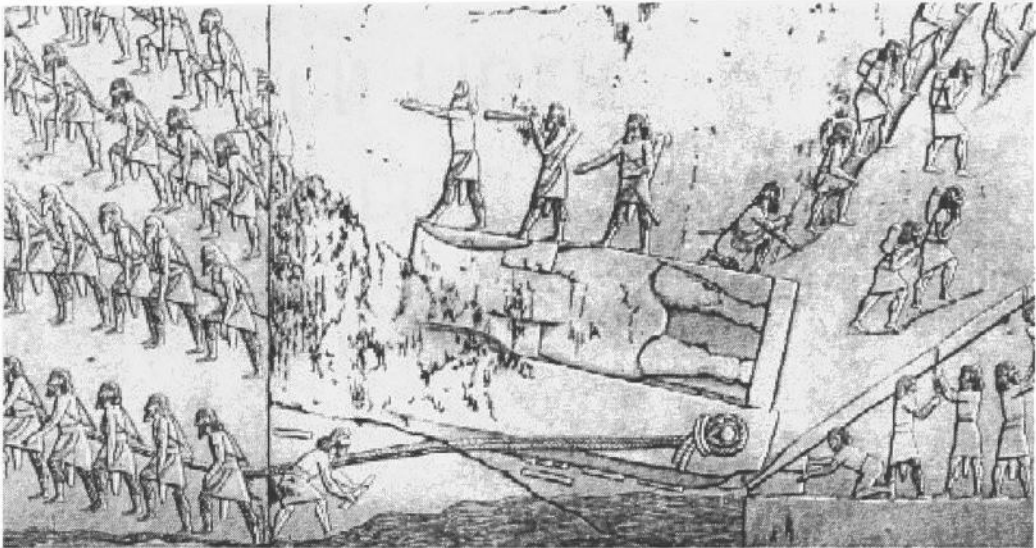


Fig. 5. Assyrian trumpeters. Engraving after a drawing by F. C. Cooper, based on alabaster relief from reign of Assyrian King Sennacherib, 704-681 B.C. (London, British Museum, BM 124820-4).<sup>15</sup>



Fig. 6. Assyrian trumpeters. Detail from engraving after a drawing by F. C. Cooper, based on alabaster relief from reign of Assyrian King Sennacherib, 704-681 B.C. (London, British Museum, BM 124820-4). See Fig. 5.

<sup>15</sup>Rashid, 125, pl. 143/144; and Curtis, 40-41.

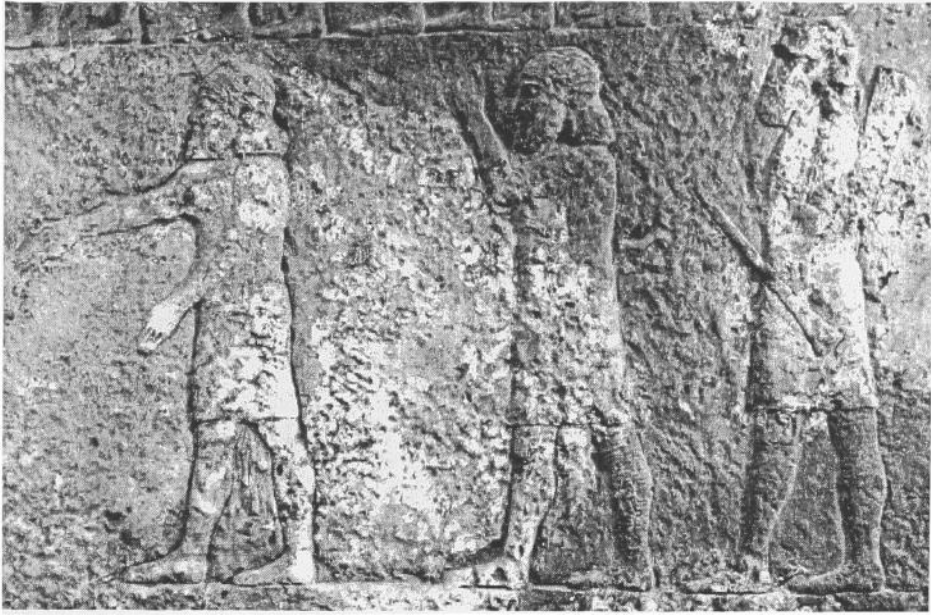


Fig. 7. Assyrian trumpeters. Section of alabaster relief from the Southwest palace in Nineveh, from the reign of King Sennacherib (London, British Museum, BM 124820-4).<sup>16</sup>



Fig. 8. Parthian Trumpeter. Segment of wedding relief from Hatra Temple, ca. 160 B.C. (Hatra Museum).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup>This section of relief depicts the same events found in Fig. 6. See Rashid, 125, pl. 144.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 161, pl. 196.





Fig. 9. Triton playing trumpet. Section of relief from Hatra Temple, ca. 160 B.C. (Hatra Museum).<sup>18</sup>

Another important early example of metal lip-vibrated aerophones in Middle-Eastern cultures is the Hebrew and Egyptian *hatzotzerah*. Like the Scandinavian *lurs*, *hatzotzerah* were made in pairs. However, they were unlike most other ancient metal-aerophones in that they were fashioned out of hammered sheet metal. From as early as ca. 2345 B.C., Egyptian iconography suggests the use of trumpet-type instruments. A relief from a grave at the necropolis of Saqqara depicts a young boy playing a wind instrument presumed to be a trumpet. The area in which the sounding end of the instrument would appear has unfortunately been damaged, but scholars suggest that this wind instrument is a trumpet based on the boy's single-handed grip and hand position. (Fig. 10).<sup>19</sup> Several depictions of the instrument survive from Dynasties XVIII (1552-1305 B.C.) and XIX (1305-1186 B.C.). The *hatzotzerah* is present in the reliefs of the Egyptian Temple of Queen Hatshepsut

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 164, *Textillustration*.

<sup>19</sup>Saqqara is a city in Lower Egypt, the location of the earliest complete building of hewn stone in Egypt, the step pyramid of King Zoser (ca. 2667-2648 B.C.). See Hans Hickmann, *Ägypten*, in *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, eds. Heinrich Bessler and Max Schneider, Bd. II, Lfg. 1 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, n.d.), 40-41.





Fig. 10. Egyptian lip-vibrated aerophone. Section of a relief, end of the V and beginning of the VI Dynasties (grave of Kagemni, necropolis of Saqqara).<sup>20</sup>

(1490-1468 B.C.) at Thebes (Fig. 11). Frescoes from the time of Tuthmosis IV (1412 B.C.) also include the instrument (Figs. 12, 13). Tut'ankhamun's reign (1347-1337 B.C.) provides not only iconographic evidence (Fig. 14), but also physical specimens. Archeologists recovered a pair of *hatzotzeroth* from Tut'ankhamun's tomb (Fig. 15).<sup>21</sup> The instrument is also depicted in a stele (an upright, stone slab monument or marker) from the reign of Ramses II (1298-1232 B.C.) (Fig. 16). Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (ca. A.D. 37-97) described the instrument as follows: "In length it was a little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker a flute, but with so much breadth as

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<sup>20</sup>Hickmann, 41.

<sup>21</sup>Hickmann, 120-21. For information on the Egyptian rulers, see R. F. Tapsell, *Monarchs, Rulers, Dynasties, and Kingdoms of the World* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1983), 288.

was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth: it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets."<sup>22</sup>



Fig. 11. Egyptian *hatzotzerah* in procession. Detail of drawings by Howard Carter, based on relief from the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut (Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, c. 1480 B.C.).<sup>23</sup>



Fig. 12. Egyptian *hatzotzerath* in procession. Detail from fresco, ca. 1412 B.C. (Thebes, necropolis, grave 74).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 3.12.6, cited in *Complete Works*, trans. William Whiston (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1960), 82.

<sup>23</sup>Tarr, "Trumpet," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*.

<sup>24</sup>Hickmann, 75, pl. 44.

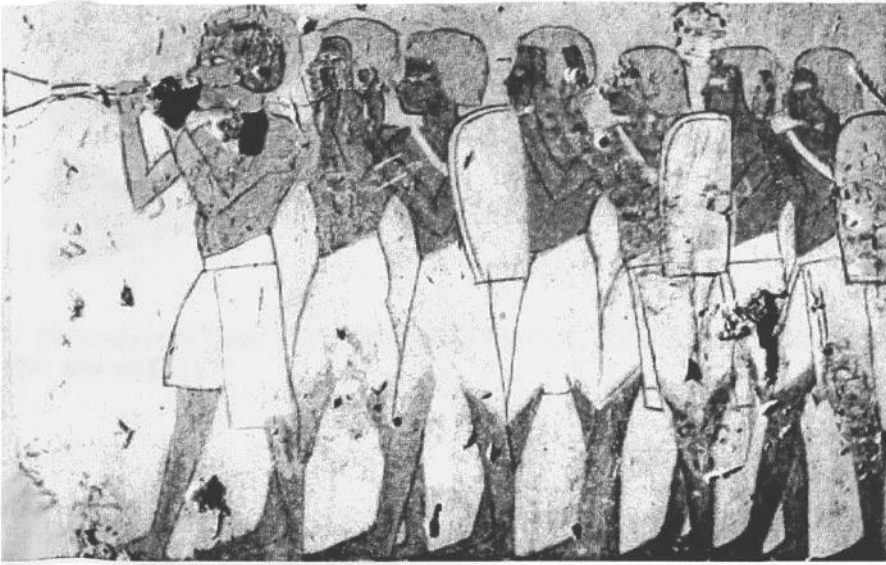


Fig. 13. Egyptian *hatzotzerah* player leading military procession. Detail from fresco, ca. 1412 B.C. (Thebes, necropolis, grave 90).<sup>25</sup>



Fig. 14. Egyptian *hatzotzerah* player in New Year's procession. Section of relief from the reign of Tut'ankhamun, 1347-1337 B.C. (Temple of Luxor)<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Hickmann, 75, pl. 43.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 123, pl. 90.

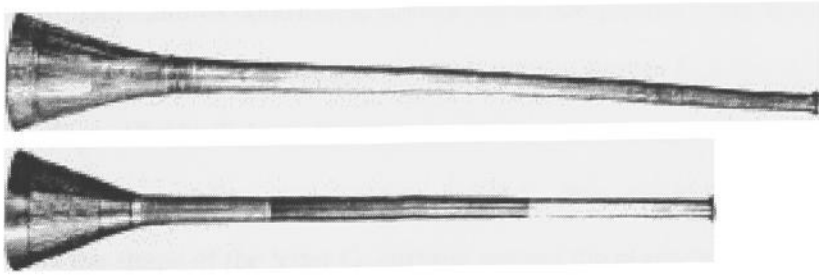


Fig. 15. *Hatzotzeroth* from Tut'ankhamun's tomb, c. 1350 B.C. (Cairo Museum, Cat. Nr. 69850 and 69851).<sup>27</sup>



Fig. 16. Egyptian *hatzotzerah* player. Detail from stele during the reign of Ramses II, 1298-1232 B.C. (Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum, Stele 397).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 120-21. Also see Jeremy Montagu, "One of Tutankhamon's Trumpets," *The Galpin Society Journal* 24 (May 1976):115-17.

<sup>28</sup>Hickmann, 123, pl. 89.

Etrusco-Roman cultures contributed several metal aerophones: the *tuba*, *bucina*, *cornu*, and *lituus*.<sup>29</sup> The *tuba* was a straight trumpet, approximately four feet in length and made of bronze (Figs. 17-20).<sup>30</sup> Latin literature describes the *bucina* as a curved instrument, possibly depicted in an Etruscan relief ca. 3-2 B.C. (Fig. 21).<sup>31</sup> The *cornu* was a large aerophone in the shape of the letter G, curving around the player's body and terminating over his head. Etruscan and Roman art provides numerous examples of this instrument (Figs. 22-25). The fourth metal lip-vibrated aerophone of the Etrusco-Roman cultures was the *lituus*, a hooked or J-shaped instrument made of bronze (Figs. 20 and 21). (For examples of surviving Etruscan and Roman *litui*, see Figs. 26, 27).

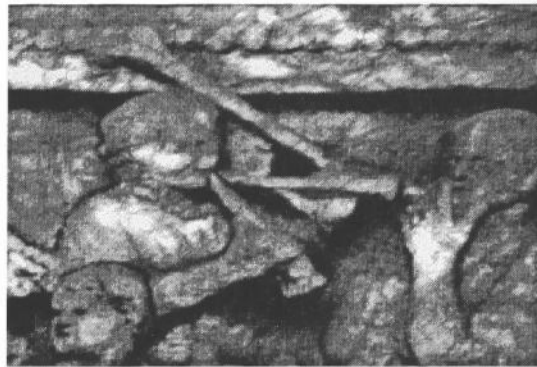


Fig. 17. Etruscan *tuba* player. Detail of ash urn from Volterra, ca. 300-200 B.C. (Florence, Museo Archeologico).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup>The Romans credited the Etruscans, whose culture they absorbed, with the invention of the metal aerophones, but it is clear from iconography from earlier cultures that this is not accurate. The Etruscans were responsible, however, for introducing these instruments into Italy. See Günther Fleischhauer, *Eturien und Rom*, in *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, eds. Heinrich Bessler and Max Schneider, Bd. II, Lfg. 5 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, n.d.), 42; and Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 145.

<sup>30</sup>Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 145.

<sup>31</sup>Don Michael Randel, ed., *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1986), s.v. "buccina."

<sup>32</sup>Fleischhauer, 43, pl.17.

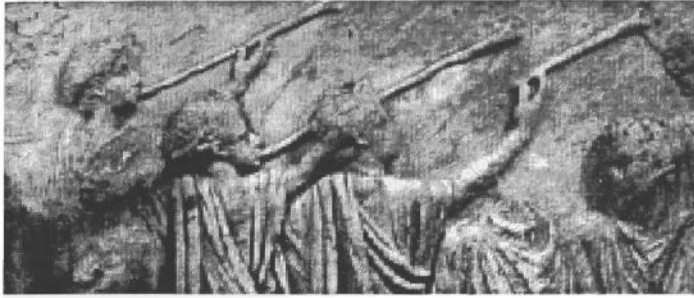


Fig. 18. Roman *tuba* players. Detail from altar frieze, ca. A.D. 50 (Rome, Museo del Vaticano, Belvedere).<sup>33</sup>

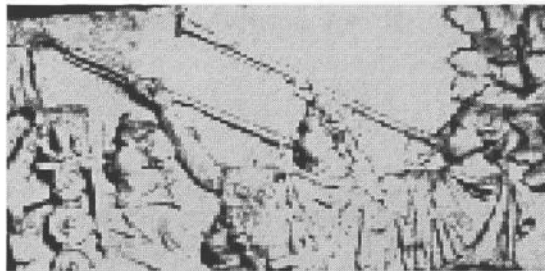


Fig. 19. Roman *tuba* players. Detail from relief on Trajan's Column, A.D. 113 (Rome, Trajan's Forum).<sup>34</sup>

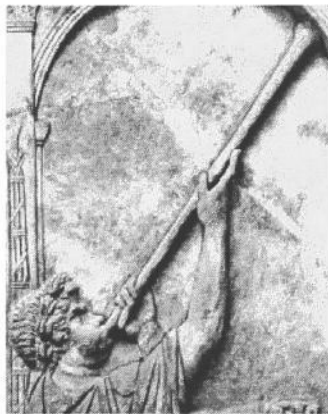


Fig. 20. Roman *tuba* player in triumphal march. Detail from relief, ca. A.D. 150-200 (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 63, pl.30.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 65, pl.32.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 71, pl.36.



Fig. 21. Etruscan *bucina* (?) player. Detail of relief on ash urn from Volterra, ca. 300-200 B.C. (Volterra, Museo Etrusco, Inv. Nr. 168).<sup>36</sup>



Fig. 22. Etruscan *cornu* and *lituus* players. Detail from fresco of Tomba di Castel Rubello, Orvieto, ca. 400 (?) B.C. (Florence, Museo Archeologico).<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 43, pl.16.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 45, pl.18.

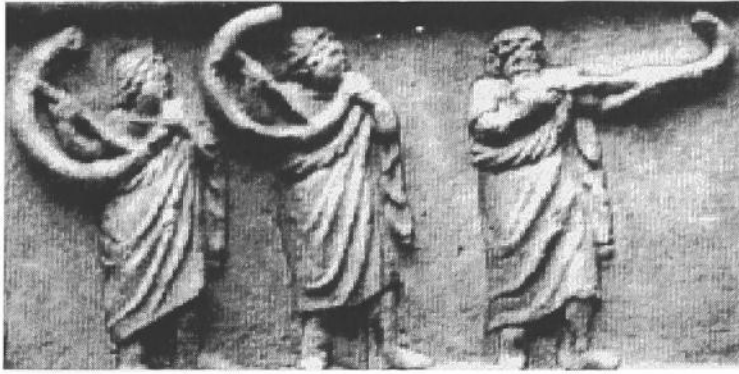


Fig. 23. Roman *cornu* and *lituus* players. Detail of relief from Amiternum, ca. 100 B.C. (Aquila, Museo Civico).<sup>38</sup>



Fig. 24. Roman *cornu* players in military procession. Detail of relief from Trajan's Column, A.D. 113 (Rome, Trajan's Forum).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 55, pl.25.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 65, pl.31.





Fig. 25. Roman *cornu* players in sacrificial procession. Detail of relief from Trajan's Column, A.D. 113 (Rome, Trajan's Forum).<sup>40</sup>



Fig. 26. Etruscan *lituus* discovered in Caere, Italy (Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, Saal III, Vitrine H, Nr. 14).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 65, pl.33.

<sup>41</sup>Caere is the modern city of Cerveteri in central Italy. Ibid., 45, pl.19.

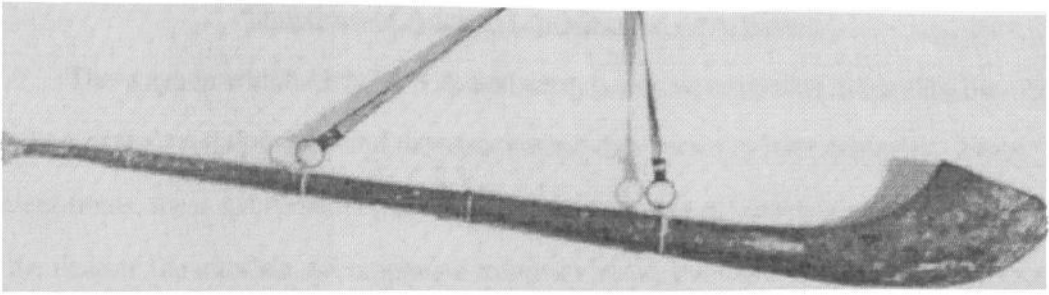


Fig. 27. Roman *lituus* found in the Nogat River, near Malbork, Poland, ca. 1964 (private collection).<sup>42</sup>

At its zenith, the Roman Empire included almost all of the known world. With its impressive network of roadways extending all over western Europe, Britain, Northern Africa, the Mediterranean, and much of the Middle East, the empire dispersed its armies, certainly taking with them the aerophones with which its troops are so often depicted.<sup>43</sup> Despite the widespread presence of aerophones in the ancient world, there exists a curious gap in the history of these instruments following the dissolution of the Roman Empire. Noteworthy development of the lip-vibrated aerophones does not occur again until the Middle Ages. Edward Tarr credits organologist Curt Sachs with the idea that these instruments dissappeared in Europe following the fall of Rome (A.D. 476).<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Tarr, "Trumpet."

<sup>43</sup>For map of the Roman Empire and its roadways, see R. I. Moore, ed., *Rand McNally Atlas of World History*, rev. ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1987), 30.

<sup>44</sup>Tarr, "Trumpet." While historians commonly mark the fall of Rome in A.D. 476, the Western Roman Empire was in steady decline from ca. A.D. 400 due to invasions and poor leadership. On September 4, 476, invading Germans under the leadership of Odoacer (A.D. 433-493) forced the abdication of the throne of the boy Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, the last Emperor in the West. See Isaac Asimov, *Asimov's Chronology of the World* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 108-10.

### Functions of Ancient Lip-Vibrated Aerophones

The ways in which early lip-vibrated aerophones were used is integral to the understanding of their relationships and the associations they retain in later centuries. From ancient times, these instruments shared the common thread of ceremonial use. They ushered the dead to the afterlife, accompanied troops in battle, punctuated religious observances, and accompanied all manner of pageantry. Literary and iconographic sources provide powerful insight into their ritual function. These instruments functioned in civil, military, and cultic rituals, though the lines of distinction are not always clear.

Trumpets were used in a variety of civil functions such as announcements, summonings, processions, and festivities. Such use in ancient community is apparent in the following biblical texts: “So he blew the trumpet, and they dispersed from the city, and all went to their homes, . . .” (2 Samuel 20:22b), “And Saul blew the trumpet throughout all the land, saying, ‘Let the Hebrews hear!’” (1 Samuel 13:3).<sup>45</sup> Josephus details the way in which trumpets were used to summon the community:

. . . one of [the trumpets] was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble and consult about the affairs to them properly belonging; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together.<sup>46</sup>

Trumpets also heralded the initiation or conclusion of civil events. In *Electra*, Sophocles (496-406 B.C.) indicates that the “sound of the bronze horn” signaled the start of the chariot race.<sup>47</sup> Athenaeus of Naucratis (end of 2d century B.C.) records that it was a common custom in Macedonian banquets to conclude the event with the sounding of

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<sup>45</sup>All English translations of Biblical texts are from the New Revised Standard Version as found in Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy, eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, New Revised Standard Version (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>46</sup>Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 3.12.6, cited in *Complete Works*, trans. William Whiston (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1960), 82.

<sup>47</sup>Sophocles, *Electra* 711, cited in *Electra*, trans. William Sale (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 53.

trumpets.<sup>48</sup> Etrusco-Roman art depicts aerophones used in civil events such as public parades and entertainment (Figs. 28-30).



Fig. 28. Etrusco-Roman aerophones in public parade. See note for Fig. 21.



Fig 29. Etrusco-Roman aerophones in public parade. See note for Fig. 17.

<sup>48</sup>Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 4.130b cited in *The Deipnosophists*, trans. Charles Burton Gulick (London: William Heinemann, 1928), 99.



Fig. 30. Roman *tuba* and *cornu* players accompanying a gladiatorial contest. Detail of mosaic (amphitheater at Zliten).<sup>49</sup>

A number of ancient literary and iconographical sources support the use of the lip-vibrated aerophones in a variety of military functions. These include sounding battle signals, gathering or moving troops, inspiring the attackers, and confusing or frightening the enemy.<sup>50</sup> Sentries used the trumpet to sound an alarm in time of danger and to instruct the community to move inside the walls of the city. Several biblical texts illustrate this use. “. . . for I hear the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war” (Jeremiah 4:19b). “. . . Blow the trumpet through the land; shout aloud and say, ‘Gather together, and let us go into the fortified cities!’” (Jeremiah 4:5), “Flee for safety, O children of Benjamin, from the midst of Jerusalem! Blow the trumpet in Tekoa, and raise a signal on Beth-haccherem; for evil looms out of the north, and great destruction” (Jeremiah 6:1), “. . . and if the sentinel sees the sword coming upon the land and blows the trumpet and warns the people; then if any

<sup>49</sup>Karl Geiringer, *Instruments in the History of Western Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pl. IV/2.

<sup>50</sup>See sources listed in Gerhard Friedrich and Geoffrey W. Bromiley, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. s.v. σαλπξ (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1971.)

who hear the sound of the trumpet do not take warning, and the sword comes and takes them away, their blood shall be upon their own heads” (Ezekiel 33:3-4).

Military use of trumpets included gathering and moving of troops. “When he arrived, he sounded the trumpet in the hill country of Ephraim; and the Israelites went down with him from the hill country, having him at their head” (Judges 3:27). “But the spirit of the Lord took possession of Gideon; and he sounded the trumpet, and the Abiezrites were called out to follow him” (Judges 6:34). “Raise a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations; prepare the nations for war. . .” (Jeremiah 51:27). Iconography also supports the use of trumpets in the movement of troops (Figs. 12, 13). These visual sources also show that Roman aerophone players and standard bearers shared responsibility for signaling troops during battle and on the march (Figs. 24, 31).

Another important military use of the trumpet involved strengthening the morale of the soldiers in battle. “So the people shouted, and the trumpets were blown. As soon as the people heard the sound of the trumpets, they raised a great shout, and the wall fell down flat; so the people charged straight ahead into the city and captured it” (Joshua 6:20). “. . . Then the men with Judas blew their trumpets and engaged in battle” (I Maccabees 4:13b-14a).

Armies also used trumpets to frighten or confuse the enemy. Xenophon of Athens (ca. 430-354 B.C.)<sup>51</sup> records that the continual sounding of the trumpet instilled fear in the enemy.<sup>52</sup> Polybius of Megalopolis<sup>53</sup> recalls in his history of Roman domination that the

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<sup>51</sup>Xenophon, a pupil of Socrates, authored various historical, philosophical, and scholarly works. See Friedrich, 1: xxxix.

<sup>52</sup>Xenophon 7.4.19, cited in *Anabasis*, trans. Carleton L. Brownson (London: William Heinemann, 1947), 3:315.

<sup>53</sup>Polybius (ca. 210-120 B.C.), Greek historian and general, was a hostage of Rome in 167. His forty books detail the rise of Roman domination. See Friedrich, 1: xxxiv.

Celts achieved a terrifying effect with the mass sounding of instruments during a Roman invasion (Fig. 2).

For there were among them such innumerable horns and trumpets, which were being blown simultaneously in all parts of their army, and their cries were so loud and piercing, that the noise seemed not to come merely from trumpets and human voices, but from the whole country-side at once.<sup>54</sup>

Military groups also used trumpets to signal various tactical maneuvers. Often such signalling combined aerophones and standards as seen in the frieze plinth from Trajan's monument (Fig. 31). A number of biblical passages join the sounding of trumpets with the commencement of war. "Flanked by the two companies, the phalanx advanced to the sound of the trumpets; and the men with Judas also blew their trumpets" (I Maccabees 9:12b). The Greek historian Thucydides of Athens (ca. 460-396 B.C.) records in his history of the Peloponnesian Wars that trumpets signaled the foot soldiers (*hoplites*) to charge.<sup>55</sup> Another Greek historian, Xenophon, recalls in his *Anabasis* (of Cyrus the Younger against Artaxerxes II) that "when they did catch sight of one another, the trumpet sounded and the Greeks raised the battle cry and rushed upon the enemy."<sup>56</sup> In the following chapter he again notes that "the trumpeter sounded the charge."<sup>57</sup> Both Xenophon<sup>58</sup> and Polybius<sup>59</sup> record that trumpets also signaled retreat.

Detailed information regarding the military use of trumpets appears in the *Qumran*

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<sup>54</sup>Polybius 2.29.6, cited in *The Histories of Polybius*, trans. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974), 2: 126.

<sup>55</sup>Thucydides 6.69.2, cited in *The Peloponnesian Wars*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, rev. P. A. Brunt (New York: Washington Square Press, 1963), 226.

<sup>56</sup>Xenophon, 4.2.7, cited in *Anabasis*, 3:15.

<sup>57</sup>Xenophon, 4.3.29, cited in *Anabasis*, 3:35.

<sup>58</sup>Xenophon, 4.4.22, cited in *Anabasis*, 3:45.

<sup>59</sup>Polybius, 15.14.3, cited in *The Histories of Polybius*, 2: 148.





Fig. 31. Roman *tuba* and *cornuus* signaling in battle. Detail of frieze plinth on the Trajan Monument, ca. A.D. 200 (Rome, Museo della Civiltà Romana).<sup>60</sup>

*War Scroll* (1QM).<sup>61</sup> This source provides the first comprehensive collection of Jewish military information from the late period of the Second Temple.<sup>62</sup> Philip Davies, author of *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History*, suggests that the section of the scroll which details the use of trumpets (columns 2-9) is derived from a Hasmonean military manual from the period prior to Roman presence in Palestine (63 B.C.).<sup>63</sup> As indicated in the scroll, a number of special trumpet

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<sup>60</sup>Fleischhauer, 69, pl. 35.

<sup>61</sup>1QM, a component of the Dead Sea Scrolls, was discovered in 1947 at the Jordanian archeological site known as Khirbet Qumran near the northwest coast of the Dead Sea. The scroll is referred to as 1QM because it was one of the seven scrolls found in what has been designated as Cave One. The “Q” represents “Qumran” and the “m” stands for *milhamah*, the Hebrew word for “war.” See Bruce Cresson, Bruce\_Cresson@Baylor.edu, “Qumran War Scroll,” personal e-mail (17 September 1996); and Menahem Mansoor, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964), 57. For translation and commentary concerning 1QM, see Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, trans. Batya and Chaim Rabin (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

<sup>62</sup>Mansoor, 57. The period of the Second Temple was 515 B.C.- A.D. 70.

<sup>63</sup>Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 65-67.



calls signaled retreats, ambushes, attacks, pursuits, and the positioning of troops in battle.<sup>64</sup>

In some ancient cultures, military and ritual functions of the trumpet are not clearly delineated. Even in war, the sounding of the trumpet served as an invocation for divine assistance.<sup>65</sup> “When you go to war in your land against the adversary who oppresses you, you shall sound an alarm with the trumpets, so that you may be remembered before the Lord your God and be saved from your enemies” (Numbers 10:9). Supplication to God in the midst of war often paired prayers with the sounding of trumpets. “Then he came up behind them in three companies, who sounded their trumpets and cried aloud in prayer” (1 Maccabees 5:33). “When Judah turned, the battle was in front of them and behind them. They cried out to the Lord, and the priests blew the trumpets” (2 Chronicles 13:14). During Alexander’s anabasis against the Persians, Arrianus records that the sound of trumpets and the cry of the soldiers were raised to the “God of Battles.”<sup>66</sup> The story of the Battle of Jericho (Joshua 6:4-20) demonstrates the use of the trumpet in religious ritual during war. Here God prescribes a parading of religious symbols (seven trumpets carried by seven priests and the ark of the covenant) around the city. On the seventh day, the priests were instructed to circle the city seven times while sounding the trumpets, thereby securing military success.

Trumpets played a significant role in the cultic function of many ancient cultures. Their use in funereal, sacrificial, and religious ritual is widespread. In some ancient cultures, tradition dictated that only cult leaders could play these aerophones. Following the account of God’s instruction to Moses to fashion two silver trumpets, the writer of the biblical record orders that “The sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow the trumpets; this

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<sup>64</sup>Cols. 2-3, cols.7-9, and col. 7 respectively, cited in Yadin, 266-70, 292-300.

<sup>65</sup>Friedrich, 3:79.

<sup>66</sup>Arrianus, *Anabasis Alexandrii* 1.14.7, cited in *Anabasis Alexandrii*, trans. E. Iliff Robson (London: William Heinemann, 1946), 2:63.

shall be a perpetual institution for you throughout your generations” (Numbers 10:8). A similar relationship existed in imperial Rome where *tuba* players, known as *tubicines sacrorum populi romani*, had priestly status.<sup>67</sup>

Cultic use of the trumpet included announcement of ritual activity and summons. “Blow the trumpet in Zion; sanctify a fast; call a solemn assembly; gather the people” (Joel 2:15-16a). “And on that day a great trumpet will be blown, and those who were lost in the land of Assyria and those who were driven out to the land of Egypt will come and worship the Lord on the holy mountain at Jerusalem” (Isaiah 27:13). The use of trumpets to call participants to prayer is recorded by Thucydides. “When the ships were manned and everything required for the voyage had been placed on board, silence was signaled by the sound of the trumpet; and [the Athenians] offered the prayers customary before setting sail. . . .”<sup>68</sup> Trumpets announced the opening of the gates and the morning and evening sacrifices in the Jewish Temple.<sup>69</sup> The command to sound the trumpet for special days appears throughout the biblical texts. “Blow the trumpet at the new moon, at the full moon, on our festal day” (Psalm 81:3). “Speak to the people of Israel, saying: In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, you shall observe a day of complete rest, a holy convocation commemorated with trumpet blasts” (Leviticus 23:24). “Then you shall have the trumpet sounded loud; on the tenth day of the seventh month--on the day of atonement--you shall have the trumpet sounded throughout all your land” (Leviticus 25:9).

Old Testament literature points to the use of trumpets in special dedications. 2 Chronicles indicates that 120 priests playing trumpets participated in the dedication of Solomon’s temple (5:12-13). The book of Ezra records that priests again sounded trum-

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<sup>67</sup>James McKinnon, “Tuba,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th ed.; and Fleischhauer, 62.

<sup>68</sup>Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars* 6.32.1, cited in 204.

<sup>69</sup>Trumpets regularly sounded in the temple (as many as twenty-one times during ordinary days and forty-eight on special days). Friedrich, 7:83.

pets at the laying of the foundation for the new temple during the leadership of King David (3:10). The writer of Nehemiah noted similar use of trumpets at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (12:35, 41). Trumpets also accompanied the parading of religious symbols, notably the transportation of the Ark of the Covenant (2 Samuel 6:15; 1 Chronicles 13:8; 15:24, 28) and the movement of the tabernacle.<sup>70</sup>

Many sources support the use of trumpets in funereal ritual. Arrianus (ca. A.D. 96 - ca. A.D. 180), a Greek-born Roman governor, records the use of trumpets at the funeral pyre of Calanus in his history of Alexander's anabasis.<sup>71</sup> Horatius Flaccus (65-68 B.C.) of Venusia also notes the use of horns and trumpets in this setting.<sup>72</sup> To the Greeks and Romans, the sounds of the trumpets accompanying funeral processions were thought to secure safe passage to the underworld for the deceased.<sup>73</sup> In a work attributed to the Roman philosopher Seneca (ca. 4 B.C.- A.D. 65), the author claims that at the funeral of Claudius there were so many "trumpet players and horn players and every variety of brass instrumentalists that even Claudius could hear it."<sup>74</sup> Persius Flaccus (34-62 A.D.) also mentions the presence of trumpets in a funeral description.<sup>75</sup> Etrusco-Roman art includes many depictions of aerophones in funeral processions (Fig. 32). During Imperial Rome, the *lituus*, *cornu*, and *tuba* belonged to the funeral tradition. Literature supports the existence of guild-type organizations of aerophone players, known as *siticines* who were

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<sup>70</sup>Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 3.12.6, cited in *Complete Works*, 82.

<sup>71</sup>Arrianus, *Anabasis Alexandrii* 7.3.6, cited in *Anabasis Alexandrii*, 2:213.

<sup>72</sup>Horatius, *Sermonum* 1.6.44, cited in *The Satires of Horace*, ed. Arthur Palmer (London: Macmillan, 1949), 33.

<sup>73</sup>Friedrich, 7:75.

<sup>74</sup>Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 12.1, cited in *Apocolocyntosis*, ed. P. T. Eden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 53.

<sup>75</sup>Persius, *Satura*, 3.103, cited in *The Satires of Persius*, trans. W. S. Merwin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 75.

hired to accompany funeral rituals.<sup>76</sup> Aerophones recovered from graves, such as the Etruscan lituus mentioned above (Fig. 26) further support the funereal association of these aerophones.<sup>77</sup>



Fig. 32. Roman aerophones in funeral procession. (See note for Fig. 23).

Trumpets also accompanied sacrificial ritual. Julius Pollux of Naucratis in Egypt (A.D. 178)<sup>78</sup> and Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica<sup>79</sup> both report that trumpet players announced sacrifices. Josephus instructs that trumpets should sound while sacrifices are delivered to the altar.<sup>80</sup> Various Old Testament texts support this role as well.

Then Hezekiah commanded that the burnt offering be offered on the altar. When the burnt offering began, the song to the Lord began also, and the trumpets, accompanied by the instruments of King David of Israel. The whole assembly worshiped, the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded; all this continued until the burnt offering was finished. (2 Chronicles 29:27-28)

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<sup>76</sup>Fleischhauer, 44.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>Julius Pollux, *Onomasticum* 4.86, cited in Friedrich, 7:74.

<sup>79</sup>Eustathius, *Commentarii in Homeri Iliadem, Odysseam* 18.219, cited in Friedrich, 7:74.

<sup>80</sup>Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 3.12.6, cited in *Complete Works*, 82.

“Also on your days of rejoicing, at your appointed festivals, and at the beginnings of your months, you shall blow the trumpets over your burnt offerings and over your sacrifices of well-being. . .” (Numbers 10:10). Following Simon’s offering at the altar, “the sons of Aaron shouted; they blew their trumpets of hammered metal; they sounded a mighty fanfare as a reminder before the Most High. Then all the people together quickly fell to the ground on their faces to worship their Lord, the Almighty, God Most High” (Sirach 50:16-17).

Iconographic sources also support the use of trumpets in sacrificial ceremony. Reliefs from Trajan’s column (A.D. 113) depict such instruments leading sacrificial processions around a military camp (Figs. 25 and 33). Figure 34 shows a similar civil procession during the first century A.D.

The trumpet’s association with theophany, or manifestation of a deity, is particularly important in ancient cultures. In some instances the instrument initiates the theophany. Plutarchus of Chaeronea (ca. A.D. 50-120) reports that the trumpet is important in the cult of Dionysus and that its deity is summoned by its sounding.<sup>81</sup> In other records the sound of the trumpet occurs during the theophany: “As the blast of the trumpet grew louder and louder, Moses would speak and God would answer him in thunder” (Exodus 19:19). The New Testament also reflects the association of trumpet and theophany in the Revelation of John (1:10 and 4:1) as the author likens the supernatural voices which address him in his vision to the sound of a trumpet.

Jewish literature also uses the imagery of the watchman’s trumpet sounding the warning in the context of impending judgment. “Blow the horn in Gibeah, the trumpet in Ramah. Sound the alarm at Beth-aven; look behind you, Benjamin! Ephraim shall become a desolation in the day of punishment . . . .” (Hosea 5:8). “Set the trumpet to your lips! One like a vulture is over the house of the Lord, because they have broken my covenant, and transgressed my law” (Hosea 8:1). “Blow the trumpet in Zion; sound the alarm on my

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<sup>81</sup>Plutarchus, *Quaestiones Convivales* 4.6.2.(2.671e) and *De Iside et Osiride* 35.(2.364f), cited in Friedrich, 7:74.

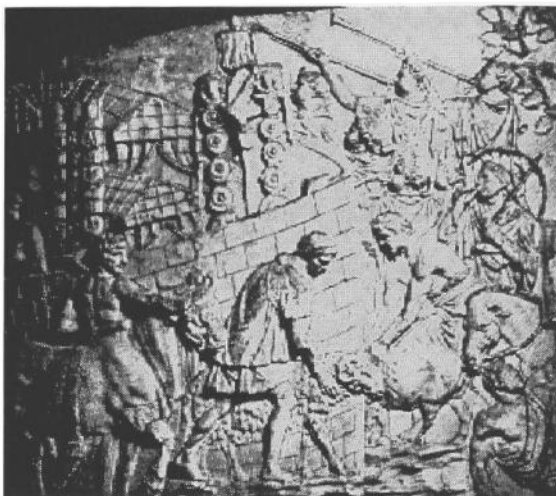


Fig. 33. Roman aerophones in sacrificial procession (see note for Fig. 19).

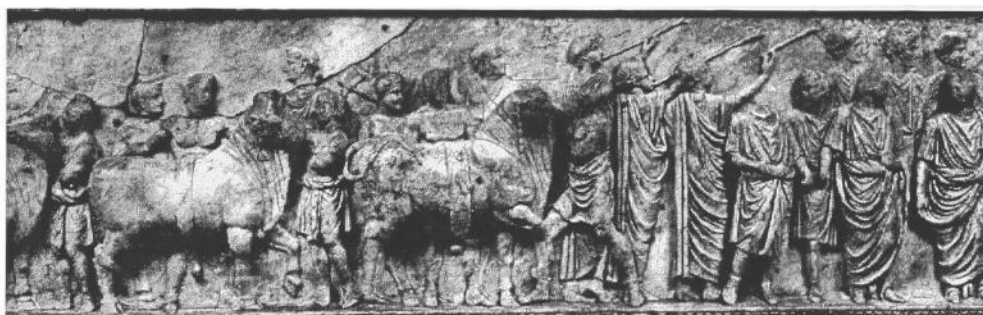


Fig. 34. Roman *tubae* in sacrificial procession. Detail of altar frieze, ca. A.D. 50 (Rome, Museo del Vaticano, Belvedere).<sup>82</sup>

holy mountain! Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble, for the day of the Lord is coming, it is near" (Joel 2:1). "The great day of the Lord is near . . . That day will be a day of wrath, . . . a day of trumpet blast and battle cry . . . ." (Zephaniah 1:14-16).

Early Christian literature draws on the the Jewish tradition of the trumpet's cultic association in its eschatological imagery. In apocalyptic writings the trumpet heralds the transformation of the living and the summoning of the dead: "And he will send out his

<sup>82</sup>Fleischhauer, 63, pl. 30.

angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other" (Matthew 24:31). "We will not die, but we will all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable. . . ." (1 Corinthians 15:51b-52). "For the Lord himself, with a cry of command, with the archangel's call and with the sound of God's trumpet, will descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ will rise first" (1 Thessalonians 4:16). The New Testament also continues the Old Testaments's association between trumpet and judgment. In the Revelation of John, the various stages of final judgment of the earth and mankind are ushered in by trumpeting angels (8:7; 8:8-9; 8:10; 8:12; 9:1; 9:13; 11:15).

Unlike previously discussed literary and iconographic sources, there are no known sources of Christian iconography depicting aerophones that are contemporary with the literature.<sup>83</sup> The earliest extant Christian art is from the end of the second century.<sup>84</sup> Robert Milburn, author of *Early Christian Art and Architecture*, suggests that the lack of Christian art in the first two centuries was a result of more pressing concerns than aesthetic sensibility, such as the belief that the apocalypse was near.<sup>85</sup> That Christianity was not publicly tolerated until the late second and early third century certainly contributes to the delayed presence of Christian art. With the conversion of Emperor Constantine I (A.D.

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<sup>83</sup>Though dating of the New Testament writings is tentative and widely disputed, most dating systems place the bulk of the writings between the middle of the first century and middle of the second. See Richard G. Walsh, "Dating the New Testament: The Methodological Relevance of Theological Criteria" (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1984), 134.

<sup>84</sup>See the following sources for descriptions of these earliest sources. Yves Christe, et al., *Art of the Christian World, A.D. 200-1500: A Handbook of Styles and Forms* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 11; and John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 2d ed. (London: Pelican Books, 1979), 19.

<sup>85</sup>Robert Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 1.



324-337) in the the fourth century, Christian art began to flourish.<sup>86</sup> Apart from depictions of Christ's passion, resurrection, and ascension, exant early-Christian art portrays only themes from the Old Testament. It was not until approximately the sixth century that New Testament themes were well represented.<sup>87</sup> It is during this century that trumpet-type instruments appear in Christian iconography. These instruments occur primarily in theophanic and apocalyptic themes. (See Appendix B for early Christian iconography including trumpets.)

Iconographic and literary sources from a number of early cultures clearly indicate extra-musical associations of lip-vibrated aerophones. These instruments often functioned in ceremonial and ritual events. Their association with religious activity is of particular interest to this study. As will be shown in following chapters, the trombone, an evolutionary step in the history of lip-vibrated aerophones, will maintain many vestiges of its predecessor's associations.

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<sup>86</sup>Christianity was established as the official state religion by Imperial edict in 380, with a similar edict prohibiting pagan worship in 391. See André Grabar, *Early Christian Art from the Rise of Christianity to the Death of Theodosius*, trans. Stuart Gilbert and James (New York: Odyssey Press, 1968), 3, 394.

<sup>87</sup>Christe, 12-17.



## CHAPTER TWO

### LIP-VIBRATED AEROPHONES IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE

#### Reintroduction of Lip-Vibrated Aerophones into Europe

Contact with Middle-Eastern cultures during the Crusades resulted in the reappearance of the metal lip-vibrated aerophone in Europe. European Crusaders adopted the straight, metal trumpets of the Muslims known by the Arabic name *nafir* and the Persian name *karna*, taking them as spoils of war. Ceremonial and battle scenes depicted in Middle-Eastern iconography illustrate the trumpets encountered by Western Crusaders. Introduction of new terms in the various languages of the European Crusaders attests to the widespread presence of the instrument. Transforming the Arabic name, Spanish Crusaders called the instrument *añafil*, while the English called it *trumpe* or *beme*. Reflecting the Muslim origin of this trumpet, the French called it *cor sarrazinois* (Saracen horn).<sup>1</sup> The French also used the term *buisine* (*boisine*), which clearly derives from the Latin term *bucina*.<sup>2</sup> The term *Buisine* first appears in literature in the *Chanson de Roland*, ca. 1100.<sup>3</sup> The German Crusaders adopted similar forms (*busune*, *busine*, *bazuin*, *baſune*, *puſane*, and *baſaune*).<sup>4</sup> The chronicles of Jean de Joinville reveal the European crusaders' awareness of this Muslim trumpet (which was often joined with kettledrums). He wrote the

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<sup>1</sup>Medieval Western European literature often refers to Muslims as Saracens.

<sup>2</sup>*Bucina* derives from the Latin *boucana*, presumably a compound formation based on the terms *bos*, *bovis* (ox or cow) and *canere* (to sing, sound, or play). See Paul Grebe, *Duden Etymologie: Herkunftswörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1963), 522.

<sup>3</sup>"si fait suner ses cors et ses buisines." See Howard Mayer Brown, "Buisine," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*.

<sup>4</sup>The modern German term for trombone (*Posaune*) clearly demonstrates the etymological relationship to the medieval *buisine*. See Grebe, *Duden Etymologie*; 522; Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 280-81; and Bowles, *Iconography*, 104.

following in 1309: "The noise that they made with drums and Saracen horns was horrible to hear."<sup>5</sup> Figure 35 depicts the use of such instruments by Middle-Eastern military.

During the Crusades, the Europeans also adopted the ensemble tradition with which these trumpets were associated.<sup>6</sup> Thought to be of Persian and Asian origin, this ensemble consisted of shawms, trumpets, and nakers, and was commonly used for military, court, and temple music throughout the Middle East (Figs. 36-38).<sup>7</sup>

The constituency of the Middle-Eastern wind band reflected a tradition which would become the standard of instrumental groupings throughout the Middle Ages. Unlike ensembles of later periods, which were organized according to instruments of the same family, instruments at this time were grouped according to whether they were loud (*haute*) or soft (*bas*). *Bas* instruments included recorders, organs and all stringed instruments (bowed, keyed, or plucked). *Haute* instruments included trumpets, shawms, bagpipes, and drums. Early Western loud consorts incorporated any or all of these loud instruments.

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<sup>5</sup>"La noise il menoient de leurs naquaires et de leurs cors sarrazinois estoit espouventable a escouter." See Natilis de Wailly, ed., *Histoire de Saint Louis* (Paris: Firmin Didot freres, fils et cie, 1874), 82; and Jean de Joinville, *History of St. Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly, trans. Joan Evans (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 44.

<sup>6</sup>Herbert Meyers states that this ensemble was adopted by Europeans in the thirteenth century, though he does not identify any supportive evidence. Keith Polk notes that there are references to such European ensembles during the twelfth century, but does not cite any sources to support this statement. See Herbert W. Meyers, "Slide Trumpet Madness: Fact or Fiction?" *Early Music* 27, No. 3 (August 1989): 383; and Keith Polk, "Wind Bands of Medieval Flemish Cities," *Brass and Woodwind Quarterly* 1, nos. 3& 4 (Spring/Winter 1968): 94-95.

<sup>7</sup>Some versions of this ensemble included other percussion such as cymbals, cylindrical drums, and bass drums. See John Baily and Alastair Dick, "Naqqarakhana," *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*. Similar ensembles are found in many Islamic areas such as India, Iran, and West Africa. Names for this ensemble include: *naqqarakhana* (West and Central Asia, Indian subcontinent, Malaysia and Sumatra), *naubat* (India), *naubatkhana* (South Asia), and *nobat* (West Malaysia and Indonesia). For other related trumpets, see the following entries in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*: Anthony King, "Kakaki;" "Karna;" William J. Conner and Milfie Howell, "Nafir;" Baily and Dick, "Naqqarakhana."

Figure 39 shows both the separation of *haut* and *bas* groupings and illustrates the constituents of the early loud consort in Western Europe.



Fig. 35. Persian military musicians playing trumpets and kettledrums (*karna* and *tabira*). Detail of miniature depicting the defeat of Tur Tabriz by the forces of King Minuchihr of Iran, ca. 1370 (Topkapi Sarayi Museum and Library, Istanbul; Hazine 2153, f.102).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Henry George Farmer, in *Islam, Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, Heinrich Besseler and Max Schneider, eds., Bd. 3, Lfg. 2 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, [1966]), pl. 71.



Fig. 36. Arabic military band. Miniature from *Manuscript of Hariri*, 1237, Bagdad (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. arabe 5847, fol. 19).<sup>9</sup>



Fig. 37. Arabic loud band. Miniature from Mesopotamian MS of al-Jazari's *Treatise on Automata*, 1354 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Goloubew Collection 14.533).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Farmer, 76-77.

<sup>10</sup>Farmer, 90-91; and Joseph R. Strayer, ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 8 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987), 613.



Fig. 38. *Naqqarakhana* ensemble. Detail from a painting depicting the surrender of Kandahar, seventeenth century (private collection).<sup>11</sup>



Fig. 39. Groupings of *haute* (2 buisines, nakers, shawm and bagpipe) and *bas* (oval-fiddle, psaltry, and lute) instruments. Illumination from Angevin Court, fourteenth century (Naples, National Library, Boethius, *De arithmetica e musica*, ms. V.A. 14, f. 47).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Baily, "Naqqarakhana."

<sup>12</sup>Instruments in the middle of illumination include timbrel, portative, and clappers. Dino Formaggio and Carlo Basso, *A Book of Miniatures*, trans. Peggy Craig (London: Peter Nevill, 1962), 40.

Many medieval sources support the distinction between loud and soft instruments.

The thirteenth-century poem, “*Li Roumans de Cléomadès*,” lists instruments in two groups: the first containing a number of *bas* instruments, and the second including trumpets and drums:

Vièlles et salterions,  
Harpes et rotes et canons  
Et estives de Cornouaille . . .  
On lui avoit guintarieus,  
Et si avoit bons leüteurs,  
Et des fläüteurs de Behaingne,  
Et des gigueöurs d’Alemaigne

Tabours et cors sarrazinois.<sup>13</sup>

Vièlles and psalteries,  
Harps and rotes and rectangular psalteries  
And bagpipes of Cornouaille. . .  
They used guitars,  
And also good lutes,  
And flutists of Behaingne  
And rebec players of Germany

Drums and Saracen trumpets.

The fourteenth-century poem, “*Floriant et Florete*,” groups *buisines*, shawms, horns, and drums together, noting them as the instruments which “are going to stir up too much gaiety,” separate from the *rotes*, *vièlles*, *psalteries*, *citoles*, harps, bagpipes, and hurdy-gurdies.<sup>14</sup> Note that bagpipes, normally considered *haute* instruments, are included among the *bas* instruments. The anonymous poem “*Echecs amoureux*” groups the *haute* group as follows:

Et quant il vouloient danser  
Et faire grans esbattemens,  
On sonnoit lez haulz instrumens,  
Que mieulx au dansez plaisoient

...  
Trompez, tabours, tymbrez, naquaires,  
Cymballes . . .  
Cornemusez et chalemelles  
Et cornes . . . .<sup>15</sup>

Whenever that they were fain to dance  
And frolic, gathered in a crowd,  
They played the loud instruments,  
which was more pleasant for the dances

...  
Trumpets, drums, timbrals, kettledrums,  
Cymbals . . .  
Bagpipes and shawms  
And horns . . . .

<sup>13</sup>Adenet le Roi, *Li Roumans de Cléomadès*, ed. André van Hasselt (Brussels: V. Devaux et cie, 1865), 91; cited in Edmund A. Bowles, “Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages,” *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1954): 119-20.

<sup>14</sup>*Floriant et Florete, a Metrical Romance of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Francisque Michel (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1873), 214; cited in Bowles, “Haut and Bas,” 120.

<sup>15</sup>Hermann Abert, “Die Musikästhetik der *Echecs amoureux*,” *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 6 (1904-5): 354 ff; cited Bowles, “Haut and Bas,” 120.



The specific terms *haute* and *bas* appear in civic and courtly Franco-Flemish sources. The letters-patent granted by King Charles VI of France (1380-1422) recognizes this distinction among the minstrels of the Parisian Confraternity of Saint Julian and Saint Genesius.

“Menestrels, joueurs d’instruments, tant hauts que bas.”<sup>16</sup> Also noting this distinction was the letters-patent granted to the guild of Parisian city musicians in 1407. “Nous avons reçu l’umblé supplicacion du roy des ménestriers et des autres ménestriers, joueurs d’instrumens tant haulx comme bas, en la ville, viconté, et dyocese de Paris et des autres de nostre royaume . . . .”<sup>17</sup> Olivier de la Marche’s *Memoires* record the following distinction among the musicians of the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good (1396-1467): “Le duc a six haulz menestrelz, qui par l’ung d’eulx six sont gouvernés, et portent les armes du prince, et sont comtez par les escroez comme les trompettes; le duc a quatre joueurs de bas instruments pareillement comtez. . . .”<sup>18</sup>

The instrumentation of the *haute ensemble*, which became increasingly standardized in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most often consisted of two shawms and a lip-vibrated aerophone.<sup>19</sup> Initially, the role of the lip-vibrated aerophone in the *haute ensemble* must have been similar to its role in Islamic wind bands, serving as a drone and providing rhythmic punctuation for the ensemble. The trumpets connected with shawm bands of the Middle East were capable of producing a very limited number of pitches. Conner and

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<sup>16</sup>See Hans Schletterer, *Geschichte der Spielmannskunst in Frankreich*, in *Studien zur Geschichte der französischen Musik*, 2 (Berlin: 1885), 96; cited in Bowles, “Haut and Bas,” 119. Saint Genesius was the patron-saint of minstrels. The Confraternity was established between 1328 and 1335, see Edmund Kerchever Chambers *The Mediaeval Stage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1903), 44, cited in Bowles, “Haut and Bas,” 119.

<sup>17</sup>B. Bernhard, “Recherches sur l’histoire de la corporation des ménétriers ou joueurs d’instruments de la ville de Paris,” *Bibliothèque de l’école des Chartes*, 4 (1842-43), 526; cited in Bowles, “Haut and Bas,” 119.

<sup>18</sup>Olivier de la Marche’s *Memoires*, ed. Henri Beaune and Jules d’Arbaumont (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1888), 4/71; cited in Bowles, “Haut and Bas,” 119.

<sup>19</sup>Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 46.

Howell suggest that the *nafir* has no more than two pitches. King states that the *kakaki* has two primary pitches and a rarely-used third pitch. The unnamed author of the *karna* article suggests that it produces only one pitch.<sup>20</sup> The trumpet of the fourteenth-century *haute ensemble* produced only tonic and dominant pitches. The writings of the early fourteenth-century theorist Johannes de Grocheo, support this limited use; he notes that the trumpet used only the first four partials of the harmonic.<sup>21</sup>

### Physical Evolution of the Lip-Vibrated Aerophone

After its reintroduction into Europe in the thirteenth century, the lip-vibrated aerophone experienced two design advancements which dramatically altered the development of the instrument. During the latter half of the fourteenth century, instrument makers advanced the technique of bending metal tubing to achieve smaller and tighter bends, thereby creating a more compact instrument. Initially, this was accomplished by folding the instrument twice in one plane, creating an S-shape. In an effort to improve this constructionally weak design, instrument makers looped the two bends, creating a folded form (Fig. 40 b and c). The next evolutionary advancement occurred as instrument makers experimented with adjustable tube length. Early experiments resulted in the addition of a single slide between the mouthpiece and the body of the instrument. Sometime during the early fifteenth century, instrument makers realized that the instrument would be greatly improved by creating a U-shaped slide, similar to the modern trombone. With this design, the player could achieve greater pitch variability with less distance. This design also allowed the player to move only the slide, instead of the entire instrument as was done with the single slide instrument.<sup>22</sup> Keith Polk suggests the following time frame for these steps:

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<sup>20</sup>See respective articles in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*.

<sup>21</sup>Tarr, "Trumpet."

<sup>22</sup> Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721*,



ca. 1375	technology available for the development of single slide design on S-shaped instruments, in common use ca. 1400
ca. 1400-	double-folded form with single slide emerged, in common use ca.1430
pre-1450-	double-slide forms existed prior to 1450 though not preferred until the end of the century. <sup>23</sup>

The evolution of these various forms was a fluid process, not a series of insular occurrences; however, for the purpose of clarification and uniformity, the following terms will be used to label the various stages of development mentioned above:

natural trumpet	instrument without any adjustable tubing (straight or folded form)
slide trumpet	instrument with a single slide mechanism
trombone	instrument with a double slide mechanism <sup>24</sup>

Through this series of design advancements, it becomes clear that the trombone evolved from the trumpet.

By the fifteenth century the role of the lip-vibrated aerophone began to change. Two distinct ensembles which involved members of the trumpet family emerged from the related traditions of *haute/bas* and the Middle-Eastern Muslim band. The first ensemble consisted of natural trumpets (often joined by kettle drums) and like the Muslim band, provided simple ceremonial fanfares. The second ensemble consisted of a slide trumpet and shawms. While this group maintained the trumpet-shawm association of the Muslim ensemble, its function would prove to be quite different.

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2d. ed. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 43.

<sup>23</sup>Keith Polk, "The Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition of the Early Renaissance," *Early Music* 17/3 (August 1989): 395-96.

<sup>24</sup>Designations for early forms of the trombone such as "sackbut" or "renaissance trombone" will not be used except as they appear in documentary examples since any constructional differences between modern and early forms are inconsequential to this study.

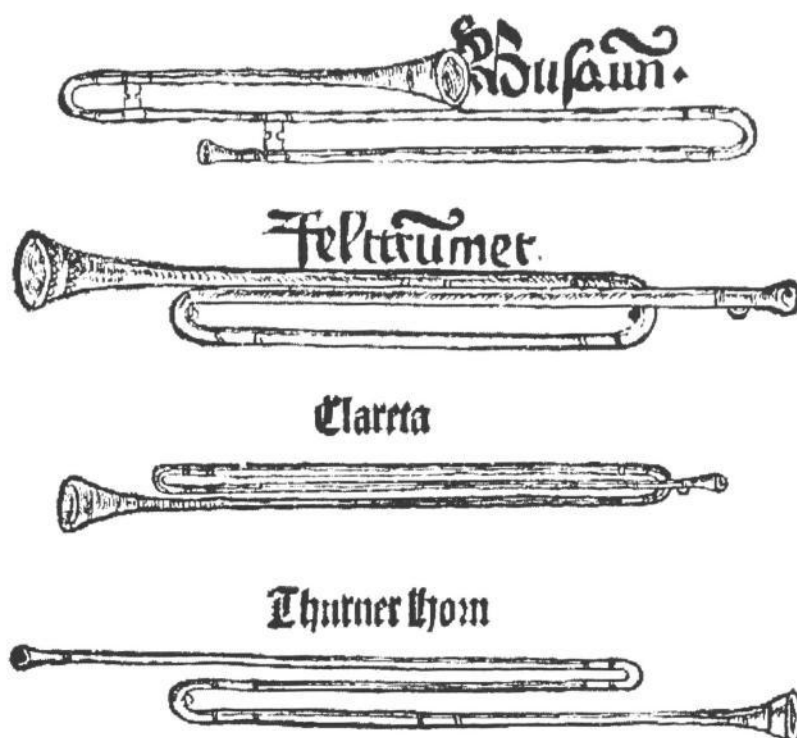


Fig. 40. Various trumpet types demonstrating evolutionary steps of trumpet construction: a) *Busaun*, b) *Felttrumer*, c) *Claretta*, and d) *Thurnerhorn*. Woodcut from Sebastian Virdung's, *Musica getutscht*, 1511, Basel.<sup>25</sup>

#### Terminology in Archival Documents

Seeking a means of differentiating between the roles of the newly-evolved slide instrument and its predecessor, new terms began to appear in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.<sup>26</sup> Some of the clearest terminological distinctions appear in Burgundian records beginning in the late fourteenth century. Archival documents such as account ledgers showing payment to musicians include terms which demonstrate the emerging

<sup>25</sup>Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht: a treatise on musical instruments (1511)*, trans. Beth Bullard (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 108.

<sup>26</sup>Due to the the lack of standardization of terminology and spelling during this time period, the following system was devised to distinguish between specific terms and terminological families: Specific terms will appear in italics and terminological families (which would include any and all related forms), will appear in all capital letters followed by a dash (e.g., HORN-, POSAUN-, TRUMP-) to denote core forms.

distinction between the two instruments and their functions. That the two roles were indeed different is evident in the records of the City of St. Omer, which lists payment to Jehan Poulain, *menestrel de la ville*, for two trumpets, “one for war and the other for peace.”<sup>27</sup> In many Burgundian records, wind players are described as *haute ménestrels*. The slide trumpet, which was part of the *haute ensembles*, was designated as *trompette des ménestrels* (minstrel trumpet) while the natural trumpet was called *trompette de guerre* (war trumpet).<sup>28</sup> Burgundian documents also demonstrate the evolution of the early slide-instrument forms into the trombone. The term *trompette sacqueboutte* appeared increasingly ca. 1470, replacing *trompette des ménestrels* by ca. 1500.<sup>29</sup> The later English variety of terms for the trombone (*sackbut*, *sagbut*, *shagbushe*, etc.) clearly derive from *sacqueboutte*.<sup>30</sup>

Though terminology varied in different regions, the distinction between the slide instrument and the signal instrument is still apparent. In the area of Lower Lorraine (Flanders, Brabant, Cologne), the term *trompet* was used to indicate the slide instrument while the terms *trompe*, *horn*, *cornu*, *claroen*, *clarette*, or *velt trompet* were used for the signal instrument.<sup>31</sup> Flemish documents from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provide examples of civic loud bands (*stad pijper*) consisting of shawms and trumpet. In

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<sup>27</sup>“l’une pour guerre et l’aut(re) pour la paix.” See J. de Pas, *Ménestrels et écoles à Saint-Omer . . . XVe et XVIe siècles* (reprint, Geneva, 1972), 174, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 27.

<sup>28</sup>J. Marix, *Historie de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Court de Bourgogne sous la régné de Philippe le Bon* (Strasbourg, 1939), 264-65, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 27.

<sup>29</sup>Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 27-28.

<sup>30</sup>The etymology of the term *sacqueboutte* is unclear, but some have suggested a connection to the archaic French term *sacquer* (meaning “to draw out”) or to the Spanish term *sacabuche* (meaning “to draw out the innards”). See Philip Bate, “Trombone,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*.

<sup>31</sup>Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 28.

1438, Mechelen records indicate payment to the “stede pipers met haeren trompette.”<sup>32</sup> A 1412 record from Leiden mentions “3 pijpers ende den tromper.”<sup>33</sup> Salary payment to “een trompette ende twee pijpers” appears in Aelst records from 1410.<sup>34</sup> Accounts from Utrecht list wind band members by name in 1402/03, indicating that provisions were made for “Bertout de piper[,] Gompert de piper, Peter der stat trompenaer.”<sup>35</sup> Records from Deventer in 1390 mention “Meyster Clawes mit dem drumpen ende twee andern pipers” who were present at a council banquet.<sup>36</sup>

In the records of Northern Italy (courts of Ferrara, Mantua, and Milan; and cities of Florence, Siena, and Verona) the signal trumpet was referred to as *tromba*, *trombetta*, or *trombettino*, while the slide instrument that was a part of the wind band (referred to as *alta capella*) was indicated by the term *trombone*. In the mid-fifteenth century, records from Ferrara and Florence mention a “tuba ductili . . . trombonus vulgo dictus” and a “trombono grosso (or) tromba retorta.”<sup>37</sup> Forms of the term *trombone* appeared consistently throughout the latter half of the fifteenth century in Italian documents.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Mechelen, Brussels, *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, B31234, SR, 1438/9, fol. 249 verso, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 28.

<sup>33</sup>A. Meerkamp van Embden, *Stadsrekeningen van Leide, 1390-1434*, (Leiden, 1913-14), I p. 259, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 28.

<sup>34</sup>Aelst, Brussels, *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, B38369, SR, 1411, fol.55 verso, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 28.

<sup>35</sup>M. A. Vente, *Bouwstenen van een Geschiedenis der Toonkunst de Nederlanden*, 1 (Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1954), 273, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 28.

<sup>36</sup>J. van Doorninck, *De Cameraars-Rekeningen van Deventer* (Deventer, 1885-1914), 7/2, 19, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 28.

<sup>37</sup> These terms appear in the documents in 1439 and 1445 respectively. See L. F. Valdrighi, “Capelle, concerti e musiche de Casa d’Este,” *Atti e memorie delle R. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, serie 3, 2 (1884), 439 and Florence, Archivio de Stato, *Notario di Camera*, B4, fol. 52, cited in cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 26.

<sup>38</sup> Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 26.

Various Germanic documents support the association between pipers and the evolving slide instrument, identified as *posaune* or *basun*. The records of Hildesheim make several references to a musician identified as a *basuner* in connection with city pipers. In 1428, the city pipers were seeking a new *basuner*.<sup>39</sup> In the preceding year, records indicate payment to the the new *basuner* and the bombard player for drink money.<sup>40</sup> In 1419, the accounts reflect both a salary payment for the city pipers (“des rades piperen”) and payment for the *basuner*’s silk banner.<sup>41</sup> Braunschweig accounts reflect salary payments to “2 piperen unde 1 bassuner” in 1403 and 1405.<sup>42</sup> The city account book of Nuremberg indicates equal payments for two “pfeiffn” and “dem pazawn” in 1388 and 1389.<sup>43</sup> Polk suggests that in contrast to TRUMP/TROMP- terms (*trummet* or *trompete*), which were basic to Germanic languages throughout late middle ages, POSAUN- terms (*busawm* or *pusawm*) began to appear in the late fourteenth century and perhaps implied an instrument of larger size. By ca. 1400, POSAUN- began to indicate some form of slide instrument and by mid-century, POSAUN- was rarely associated with the signal instrument.<sup>44</sup>

Terminology used in documents from various regions suggests that the slide

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<sup>39</sup>“Der rades piperen to hulpe . . . do se na enem nigen basunere gin.” See R. Doebner, *Urkundbücher der Stadt Hildesheim*, 6 (Hildesheim, 1896), 408; cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 29.

<sup>40</sup>“Dem nigen basuner unde dem bumharde te dranckgelde.” See R. Doebner, *Urkundbücher*, 6: 408; cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 29.

<sup>41</sup>“ . . . des basuners syden banre.” See Doebner, *Urkundbücher*, 6: 385; cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 29.

<sup>42</sup>H. Schroeder, *Verzeichnis der Sammlung alte Instrumente im städtischen Museum Braunschweig* (Braunschweig, 1928), 39,67; cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 29.

<sup>43</sup>Nuremberg, Bavarian State Archive, *Great Registers*, fols. 324, 335; cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 29.

<sup>44</sup>Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 46.

instrument often possessed a Germanic association. Italian accounts include references to Germanic trombonists working in Italy and a mid-century entry in an account from Verona lists payment for the performance of a “trombonus teutonicus.”<sup>45</sup> In a ledger from 1386, the instrument is listed in the entourage of an unnamed Germanic bishop visiting the Burgundian court.<sup>46</sup> The Count of Holland, who visited the Burgundian court in 1417, had among his musicians a *trompener* from Bavaria (“uit Beyeren”).<sup>47</sup>

### Iconography in the Middle Ages and Renaissance

As in earlier periods, iconography provides substantial clues about the function of lip-vibrated aerophones in medieval and renaissance periods. While literary sources do illuminate the subject, they often lack the finer details needed to piece together the puzzle of how these instruments functioned. Emanuel Winternitz writes:

The historian of musical performance, especially that of early instrumental music, often has occasion to regret the sparseness of his sources of information. He draws on contemporary reports, but they are often vague and technically inaccurate. He draws on musical treatises, but they are usually devoted to pedagogical ideals rather than to descriptions of contemporary usage; understandably they take everyday routine for granted and thus leave untold what would interest him most.<sup>48</sup>

However, iconography of this period is even more valuable than that of earlier times because of the realism for which the artists strove. Though the Renaissance artist sought to present people and their surroundings realistically, does this mean that musical subjects would likewise be portrayed accurately and with informative detail? In the following

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<sup>45</sup> Paganuzzi, *La Musica a Verona* (Verona, 1976), 79, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 26-27.

<sup>46</sup> Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy*, 41-42, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 27.

<sup>47</sup> André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin de XVI<sup>e</sup>* (Paris, 1940), 88, cited in Polk, “Trombone in Archival Documents”: 27.

<sup>48</sup> Emanuel Winternitz, “On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century: A Critical Approach to Realism and Symbolism in Sacred Painting,” *The Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963): 450.

iconographic examples, it is clear that the artists strove for accurate detail in all aspects of their work. The first example, an Italian miniature from ca. 1470, shows three men singing from a manuscript: though these singers are not the central focus of the scene, the artist provided enough detail to make the notation and text recognizable. The manuscript bears the text of the three-voice rondeau *Mon seul plaisir*, the most widely known setting of which has been attributed to Guillaume Dufay and Johannes Bedingham (Fig. 41).<sup>49</sup> Another notable example of attention to musical detail is the anonymous fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting known as *Mary, Queen of Heaven* (Figs. 42, 43).<sup>50</sup> Among the forty angels depicted in this ascension and coronation scene are two angels flanking Mary's head, each holding a music manuscript. Though they represent a small portion of the painting, each consisting of approximately 0.1% of the painting's area, these manuscripts bear enough detail to see the mensural notation, part labeling, and text of the Marian antiphon *Ave Regina coelorum*. Don Smithers suggests that if iconographic sources provide this level of musical detail, it seems likely that one could expect reliable organological information as well.<sup>51</sup> It is reasonable to expect that scholars could deduce from relevant iconography many important clues about particular instruments and their function.

### Iconography of the Wind Band in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Between 1350 and 1500, the most prolific source of iconography consists of manu-

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<sup>49</sup>Howard Mayer Brown, "Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson," in *Current Thought in Musicology*, ed. John W. Grubbs, et al. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), 93-95.

<sup>50</sup>This painting is part of the Samuel H. Kress Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. See Philip Kopper, *America's National Gallery of Art: A Gift to the Nation* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 186; Winternitz, plates 5-6. Scholars refer to this unknown artist thought to have flourished in the last quarter of the fifteenth century as the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy because of stylistic similarities to the *Legend of St. Lucy* (1480; Bruges, St. Jacob). See A. M. Roberts, "Master of the Legend of St. Lucy," *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York: Grove Dictionaries, 1996).

<sup>51</sup>Smithers, 34.





Fig. 41. Minstrels singing from MS. Detail from *Fountain of Youth*, northern Italian miniature, ca. 1470 (MS lat. 209 (α.X.2.14), pl. 9; Libro "De sphaera" c. 10r; Biblioteca Estense, Modena).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup>Edmund A. Bowles, *Musikleben im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Bachmann, in , *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, Bd. 3, Lfg. 8 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1977), 103, pl. 89.





Fig. 42. *Mary, Queen of Heaven*. Painting by the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, ca. 1485-1500 (Samuel H. Kress Collection , National Gallery of Art, Washington D. C.)<sup>53</sup>

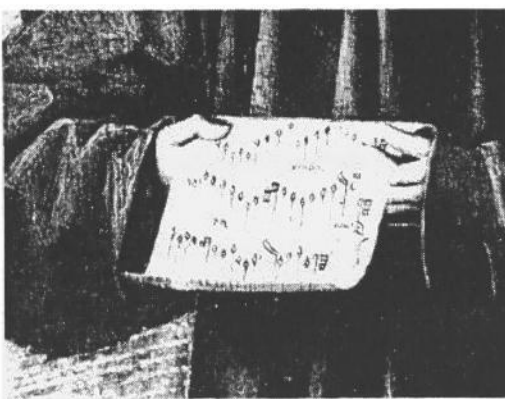
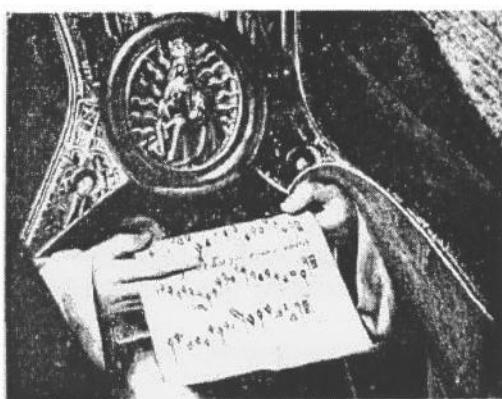


Fig. 43. Detail from *Mary, Queen of Heaven* (Fig. 42)

<sup>53</sup>Master of the Saint Lucy Legend, "Mary, Queen of Heaven," as reproduced in Kopper, 186.

script illuminations.<sup>54</sup> Edmund Bowles's survey of loud consort iconography identifies and categorizes nearly 400 manuscript illuminations held throughout Europe and the United States.<sup>55</sup> In his survey, Bowles found that iconography from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century most commonly depicted pairs of *haute* instruments, usually *buisine* and shawm or shawm and bagpipe. However, from the middle and remainder of the fifteenth century, groupings of three instruments are most common.<sup>56</sup> The predominant instrumentation of loud consorts during this period comprises two shawms and a slide trumpet (Fig. 44-47).<sup>57</sup> Other sources depict this ensemble with three shawm players, but often with only two of the shawms playing, perhaps indicating that the third is alternating with the other shawm players (Fig. 48-51).

Judging from the hand positions of the players, scholars have suggested that the lip-vibrated aerophones in many of these examples are slide instruments. All lip-vibrated aerophones require the player to apply some degree of pressure against the embouchure in order to produce sound. While simple forms, such as the natural trumpet only require the player to use one hand, slide instrument players must use one hand to maintain the embouchure pressure and the other to operate the slide. Early slide trumpets used a telescopic mouthpipe, between the mouthpiece and first bend. Thus, to maintain the required pressure, it would have been necessary for the player to place one hand on or near the mouthpiece while moving the remainder of the instrument with the other hand. In Figure 46, the player's left hand illustrates the means of applying pressure against the embouchure and the

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<sup>54</sup>Edmund A. Bowles, "Iconography as a Tool for Examining the Loud Consort in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 3 (1977): 102.

<sup>55</sup>Bowles, "Iconography": 100-121. See p. 114 for list of manuscripts included in survey.

<sup>56</sup>Bowles, "Iconography": 110.

<sup>57</sup>Whereas French iconography usually depicts three *buisines* or two *buisines* and a trumpet, illuminations from the Netherlands, Italy, and Germany most often depict two shawms and one trumpet. See Bowles, "Iconography": 110.

extended slide and telescoping joints of the instrument are well defined. Sections of the Nájera panels by Hans Memling (ca. 1430-94) clearly illustrate this two-handed position of the slide trumpet (Fig. 52 a and b)<sup>58</sup>. Figure 47 shows an example of a double-slide instrument with a perpendicular hand brace with which the player operates the slide.



Fig. 44. *Haute ensemble* of slide trumpet and two shawms. MS Illumination, 1470 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 8, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>)<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup>Peter Downey argues that the two-handed position mentioned above does not suggest a slide instrument since, in the Memling panels, the angel playing the straight trumpet is using the same technique as those thought to be playing slide instruments. See Peter Downey, "The Renaissance Slide Trumpet: Fact or Fiction?" *Early Music* 12/1 (February 1984): 28.

<sup>59</sup>Bowles, *Musikleben*, 47, pl. 29.



Fig. 45. *Haute ensemble* (slide trumpet/two shawms) (Detail of Fig. 44)



Fig. 46. *Haute ensemble* (slide trumpet/two shawms). Detail of miniature, 1455-1461 (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. lat. 422 [V.G. 12], fol. 280<sup>v</sup>)<sup>60</sup>



Fig. 47. *Haute ensemble* (slide trumpet/two shawms). Detail of miniature, 1500 (Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Nor. K 444, fol. 1)<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup>Bowles, *Musikleben*, 60, *Textillustration*.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, 157, pl. 151.



Fig. 48. *Haute ensemble* (slide trumpet/shawms). Excerpt from painting on wood by a follower of Jan van Eyck, ca. 1430 (Versailles, Musée du Château, Inv. Nr. MV 5423).<sup>62</sup>



Fig. 49. *Haute ensemble* (slide trumpet/shawms). Detail of Fig. 48.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 91, pl. 75.



Fig. 50. *Fountain of Youth*. Miniature, northern Italy, ca. 1470 (MS lat. 209 (α.X.2.14), pl. 9; Libro “De sphaera” c. 10, Biblioteca Estense, Modena).<sup>63</sup>



Fig. 51. *Haute Ensemble* (slide trumpet/shawms). Detail of Fig. 50.

<sup>63</sup>Brown, “Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson,” 94.





Fig. 52. Hand positions of slide trumpets. Detail from Nájera panels, ca. 1487-90 by Hans Memling (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 778-780).<sup>64</sup>

### Iconography of the Wind Band in the Sixteenth Century

Iconography of the sixteenth century suggests several changes to the wind band. First, sources portray an increased number of musicians participating in the ensemble. While most fifteenth-century sources depict three players, sixteenth-century sources often include four or five. Secondly, sixteenth-century iconography suggests that the instrumentation of the wind band was changing. One of these changes was the use of crumhorns and/or cornetti. Sources indicate that these instruments were used in conjunction with shawms or as replacements for shawms. Most significant to this study is the change in the lip-vibrated aerophone member of the wind band. Iconography shows an increase in the use of trombone over the slide trumpet.

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<sup>64</sup>Hans Memling, *Three panels with Christ as Salvator Mundi amongst musical angels* (Nájera panels), painting on oak panels, ca. 1487-90, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, as reproduced in Dirk De Vos, *Hans Memling: The Complete Works* (Ghent: Ludion Press, 1994), 288-93.

Iconographic sources associated with the city of Nuremberg demonstrate the evolution of the wind band. A manuscript from the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek contains a miniature depicting two shawms and a slide trumpet accompanying a dance, ca. 1500 (Fig. 47).<sup>65</sup> An anonymous colored drawing from *Nürnberger Schembarhandschrift* shows the wind band, consisting of two shawms and one trombone, accompanying a dance, ca. 1519-1539 (Fig. 53).<sup>66</sup> Albrecht Dürer depicted the Nuremberg wind band constituency as two trombonists, two shawmists, two cornettists, and one percussionist in a mural located in the Nuremberg Town Hall (Fig. 54).<sup>67</sup> In another Stadtbibliothek holding, an anonymous engraving depicts the civic wind band with cornetto, three shawms, and trombone, ca. 1550.<sup>68</sup> The Nuremberg *Stadtpfeiferei* (trombonist and four (?) shawmists) appear in the anonymous sixteenth-century pen and ink drawing of a New Year celebration.<sup>69</sup>

Woodcuts from the Triumph of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, ca. 1508-19, reinforce the sixteenth-century predilection for trombone as the lip-vibrated aerophone of

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<sup>65</sup>MS Nor. K. 444, fol. 1, Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek. See David Whitwell, *The Renaissance Wind Band and Wind Ensemble*, vol. 2, *The History and Literature of the Wind Band and Wind Ensemble* (Northridge, CA: Winds, 1983), 198.

<sup>66</sup>Anon. *Nürnberger Schembarhandschrift* (D2, fol. 66), in the Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 5664. Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>David Whitwell refers to a work by Albrecht Dürer ("Nürnberger Stadtpfeifer," 1520) which he says "pictures a four-man band of two shawms and two trombones, (two percussionists are not playing)." No such work exists in Willi Kurth's *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer*, Walter Strauss's *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*, or relevant volumes of *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*. Perhaps Whitwell refers to a mural by Dürer in the Nuremberg Town Hall, which depicts two trombonists, two shawmists, two cornettists, and one percussionist. Whitwell must have seen a photographic excerpt of this mural which had cropped out the cornetto player on the left, as he does not mention the presence of cornetto players and mistakes one of them for a percussionist. See Whitwell, 198; Willi Kurth, ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1946); and Walter L. Strauss, *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*, 6 vols. (New York: Abaris Books, 1974).

<sup>68</sup>Whitwell, 198.

<sup>69</sup>Nuremberg. D-B MS.Germ.Fol.442, f.91<sup>v</sup>-92; reproduced in Heinrich W. Schwab, "Stadtpfeifer," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 6th ed.



the wind band.<sup>70</sup> One of the woodcuts depicts an ensemble of trombone, two tenor shawms, and two crumhorns.<sup>71</sup> A second woodcut shows an ensemble of trombones and shawms on horseback. A third woodcut depicts trombone and cornetto accompanying a choir.<sup>72</sup>



Fig. 53. Wind band accompanying dance, ca.1519-39, anonymous (Nuremberg, *Nürnberger Schembart-handschrift* D2, fol. 66).<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup>The Triumph of Maximilian, which chronicled the reign of the emperor and depicted it through a procession of pageant wagons included 135 woodcuts. See Edmund A. Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500-1800: An Iconographical and Documentary Survey*, no. 103, Studies in Music, ed. George J. Buelow (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 5-13.

<sup>71</sup>Reproduced in Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books*, 8, Fig. 2.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., Figs. 5-6.

<sup>73</sup>Walter Salmen, *Musikleben Im 16. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 3, Lfg. 9, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, ed. Werner Bachmann (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag, 1976), 79, pl. 27.



Fig. 54. Nuremberg wind band. Detail from “The Nuremberg Town Band,” mural by Albrecht Dürer, ca. 1500 (Nuremberg Town Hall)<sup>74</sup>

### The Germanic Wind Band and its Function

From as early as the fourteenth century, archival documents in Germanic language areas recognize the formation of civic wind bands, individual members of which were often known as *stadtpfeifer* (town piper).<sup>75</sup> The original function of the *stadtpfeiferei* was to serve as watchmen for the city. Posted at city gates, in towers, and from belfries, these instrumentalists would communicate important news to the city such as threat of invasion or fire. Signaling by sound was especially important at night, when visible signs such as banners would not be practical.<sup>76</sup> The civic band of Lübeck played chorales to announce the hours of 4 a.m., mid-morning, noon, and 9 p.m.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Reproduced in Anthony C. Baines, “Trombone,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 6th ed.

<sup>75</sup>Records from Rostock and Zwickau report such ensembles as early as 1348. The term *Statt pfiffer* appears in documents from Berne in 1378. See Keith Polk, “The Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition of the Early Renaissance,” *Early Music* 17/3 (August 1989), 390; and Heinrich Schwab, “Stadtpfeifer,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th ed.

<sup>76</sup>Edmund A. Bowles, “Towers Musicians in the Middle Ages,” *Brass Quarterly* 5 (1962): 91.

<sup>77</sup>W. Stahl, *Musikgeschichte Lübecks*, vol. 2 (Kassel, 1952), 45; cited in Whitwell, 202.

Duties of the *stadtpfeiferei* also included music for other functions. The records of Frankfurt from 1362 indicate that its tower musicians were to provide musical entertainments in addition to giving signals and posting watch.<sup>78</sup> While the *stadtpfeiferei* in smaller towns continued to perform both watchman duties and other municipal music needs, those in larger cities became more specialized. Before the end of the fifteenth century, the cities of Hamburg, Dresden, and Leipzig had distinguished between the watchman (*Türmer*) and the *Stadtpeifer*.<sup>79</sup> Nuremberg, a notable center for instrument making, was another important city in the development of the civic wind band.<sup>80</sup> The *Stadtpeiferei* performed for a wide range of civic occasions and festivities.<sup>81</sup> Records of 1599 indicate that the Leipzig town council instructed its civic wind band to perform each morning.<sup>82</sup>

*Stadtpeiferei* also participated in wedding festivities. According to a guest at the wedding of John the Steadfast (later the Elector of Saxony) held in Torgau in 1500, the ceremonial music included *Stadtpeiferei*. This included a Te Deum which was accompanied by “my Lord’s trumpets, trombones, shawms, and other instruments of which the German princes have so many.” The wedding ceremony also included the performance of several Masses in the castle chapel, which were accompanied by organ,

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<sup>78</sup>C. Valentin, *Geschichte der Musik in Frankfurt-am-Main* (Frankfurt, 1906), 42; cited in Bowles, “Tower Musicians”: 94.

<sup>79</sup>Annelise Downs, “Tower Music of a Seventeenth-Century Stadtpeifer: Johann Pezel’s *Hora decima* and *Fünff-stimmige blasende Music*,” *Brass Quarterly* 7 (1963): 4.

<sup>80</sup>Nuremberg boasted one of the strongest traditions of instrument making (trumpets, trombones, and other instruments of the *stadtpfeiferei*) during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Instrument makers active in Nuremberg during this time include: Hanns Franck (fl. 1427), Hans Neuschel the elder (d. 1503/4?), Hans Neuschel the younger (d. 1533), Jörg Neuschel (d. 1557), Anton Schnitzer the younger (b. 1564), Erasmus Schnitzer (d. 1566), Anton Schnitzer (d. 1608), Hans Schnitzer (1571-1609), Jobst Schnitzer (1576 - ca. 1615), and Eberhard Schnitzer (1600-1634). The earliest surviving trombones were built by Erasmus Schnitzer (1551) and Jörg Neuschel (1557). See Harold E. Samuel, “Nuremberg”; Edward H. Tarr, “Neuschel,” and “Schnitzer,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 6th ed.

<sup>81</sup>Schwab, “Stadtpeifer.”

<sup>82</sup>Whitwell, 201.

three trombones, cornetto, and four crumhorns.<sup>83</sup> The wedding of Casimir von Brandenburg (Augsburg, 1518) included music by “singers, organists, trombones, and cornetti.”<sup>84</sup> The 1575 Stuttgart wedding of Duke Ludwig included music for singers and trombones.<sup>85</sup>

Wind bands also participated in the music of the church. In 1572, the Dresden wind band was required to play on feast days, Sundays, and weddings, and was also required to double the choir (*Kreuzchor*) as needed.<sup>86</sup> Records indicate that in 1578 at St. Anne’s Church in Dresden, the wind band performed two six-voice motets with the choir: Clemens non Papa’s *Jubilare Deo* and Orlando di Lasso’s *Te Deum Patrem*.<sup>87</sup> An order of the Zwickau civic council from 1569 stated that its wind band must play in the church whenever polyphonic music was performed.<sup>88</sup> This was also required of the wind band in Delitzsch, in 1580.<sup>89</sup> Civic wind bands were also engaged in the church at Weissenfels and the cathedrals of Munich and Munster.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> “. . . te deum laudamus mit sambt der orgall, vber welche auch meiner gnedigste vnd gnedige Hern Drampfer, Posawner, pfeiffer vnd andere Instrumentisten vor alle andere deutsche Fürsten viel haben . . . .” See Wilhelm Ehmman, *Tibilustrum* (Kassel, 1950), 38; cited in Whitwell, 235.

<sup>84</sup>“cantores, Organisten, Passawner vnd Zinnkenplasser,” see Ehmman, 150; cited in Whitwell, 235.

<sup>85</sup>Josef Sittard, *Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Württembergischen Hofe* (Stuttgart, 1890); cited in Whitwell, 235-6.

<sup>86</sup>Whitwell, *The Renaissance Wind Band*, 201-2.

<sup>87</sup>Ehmman, 149; cited in Whitwell, 237.

<sup>88</sup> “. . . mit seinen Dienern, inn der Kirchen, so offft man figural singett . . . mit den Instrumenten den Chor sterken helffen.” “. . . zwue messen gesungen mit Hulf der orgall, dreyer posau vnd eins zincken, desgleichen vier Cromhorner zum positief fast lustig zu hören.” See Ehmman, 149; cited in Whitwell, 240.

<sup>89</sup>Whitwell, 240.

<sup>90</sup>Walter Salmen, *Musikleben im 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1976), 18; cited in Whitwell, 240.

Wind bands also performed in the private chapels of the aristocracy. The private church music of Emperor Maximilian I included “trumetten, pfeiffen und orgeln.”<sup>91</sup> During his visit to Trier in 1512, the emperor reportedly heard trombones, cornetts, and trumpets accompanying the church music.<sup>92</sup> Elector Moritz of Saxony hired six cornetto and trombone players for his chapel.<sup>93</sup> A visitor to the chapel of Philip the Fair, son of Emperor Maximilian, noted that trombones accompanied the *Deo gratias* and *Ite missa est* of the Mass.<sup>94</sup>

The existence of wind bands was widespread in Germanic areas. Both municipalities and nobility supported such ensembles. Keith Polk has identified records which substantiate at least 75 cities between 1350 and 1440 which were sponsoring wind bands. In addition, he notes an equal number of wind bands supported by Germanic nobility and bishops.<sup>95</sup>

### Music of the Wind Band

Even though archival documents and iconography have provided ample evidence of the wind band and its constituents, knowledge of its repertoire is less concrete. Howard Mayer Brown suggests that the most difficult question about the instrumentalists of the Renaissance is the nature of their repertoire. More specifically, did they make use of

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<sup>91</sup>Wolfgang Suppan, *Lexicon des Blasmusikwesens* (Freiburg, 1976), 23; cited in Whitwell, 234.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

<sup>93</sup>Whitwell, 234-35.

<sup>94</sup>“A Innsbruck, Philippe se recontra avec le Roi des Romains, dont la chapelle comprenait des sacqueboutes qui pendant la messe comenchèrent le grade (graduell) et jouèrent le *Deo gratias* et *Ite missa est*, et les Chantres de Mgr. chantèrent l’offertoire.” See M. Brenet, “Notes sur l’introduction des instruments dans les ‘eglises de France,’” in *Riemann-Festschrift* (Leipzig, 1909), 281; cited in Whitwell, 234.

<sup>95</sup>See Tables 1 and 2 in Keith Polk, “The Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition of the Early Renaissance,” 390-91.

polyphonic music, the bulk of extant music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?<sup>96</sup>

Scholars suggest that the repertoire of the wind band included original music as well as borrowings from other genres.<sup>97</sup> Manuscripts from Copenhagen indicate that the wind band of King Christian III of Denmark in 1541 played Mass movements, motets, songs, dances, and music originally conceived for the ensemble.<sup>98</sup>

Iconographic sources support the inclusion of dance music in the wind band's repertoire (ex., Fig. 46 and 52).<sup>99</sup> One type commonly associated with the wind band is the *basse danse*. Surviving sources record only a pre-existing *tenor* (over which the other instruments improvised) with letters beneath the notes of the *tenor* to indicate the dance steps.<sup>100</sup> Otto Gombosi suggests that the wind band was ideal for the performance of *basses danses* with the lip-vibrated aerophone playing the existing melody, "the single tones of which had to be heard very clearly, since the steps had to correspond to them. The rich figuration of the counterparts could not have been better performed than by the

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<sup>96</sup>Howard Mayer Brown, "Minstrels and Their Repertory in Fifteenth-Century France: Music in an Urban Environment," in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 151.

<sup>97</sup>Brown, "Minstrels and Their Repertoire," 155; Howard Mayer Brown, "*Cleriadus et Meliadice*: A Fifteenth-Century Manual for Courtly Behavior," in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23-24 March 1990*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 219; Bowles, "Iconography," 107; Keith Polk, "Municipal Wind Music in Flanders in the Late Middle Ages," *Brass and Woodwind Quarterly* 2 (1969):13-15; Howard Mayer Brown, "Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth Century Chanson," 122.

<sup>98</sup>The MS, Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, G1. kgl. Samling 1872.4°, is partially published in the modern edition, *Musik fra Christian III's tid, Dania Sonans 4*, ed. Heinrich Glahn (Copenhagen: Dansk Selskab for Musikforskning, 1978). See Brown, "Minstrels and Their Repertoire," 154-55.

<sup>99</sup>For iconography of the *basse danse*, see Frederick Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth Century Basse Danse* (New York: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968), 114-18.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, 44-61. For information of the sources of *basses danses*, see Crane, 3-30.

shawms, which were able to play rapid passages and timbre that contrasted with the *tenor*.”<sup>101</sup>

A number of sources indicate that vocal music was also part of the wind band’s repertoire. In Olivier de la Marche’s description of the 1468 marriage festivities of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York, he noted that the players of the *trompette saicqueboute* and shawms played a motet.<sup>102</sup> The three-voice music of Dufay and his contemporaries, with the *cantus* accompanied by the simpler *tenor* and *contratenor* voices would have been ideal material for the early wind band. The treble shawm was well suited to the *cantus* and the tenor shawm and slide trumpet, sharing similar ranges, adapted well to the *tenor* and *contratenor*.<sup>103</sup> Thought to be the earliest example of part books, the MS known as the *Glogauer* (or *Berliner*) *Liederbuch*, contains a significant number of textless works, evidently intended for instrumental performance. Many of these have been identified as chansons by Dufay, Ockeghem, Tinctoris, Busnois, and others.<sup>104</sup> Letters written by the Venetian civic musician Giovanni Alvisi in 1494 and 1505, offer further evidence of wind band’s use of vocal music. The letter of 1505 indicates arrangements made for various combinations of trombones, shawms, and cornetti.<sup>105</sup> The letter of 1494 specifies wind band arrangements of motets by Obrecht and Busnois:

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<sup>101</sup>Otto Gombosi, “About Dance and Dance Music in the Late Middle Ages,” *The Musical Quarterly* 27 (1941): 289-305, 301.

<sup>102</sup>Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires*; cited in Brown, “Iconography,” 104.

<sup>103</sup>The following terms appear in archival literature to differentiate between the shawms: treble shawm was often designated by the terms *schalemie*, *piffaro*, or *schalmei*, while the tenor shawm, usually identifiable by the fontanelle or covering above the bell and larger size, was often referred to as *bombarde*, *contra piffaro*, or *bomhart*. See Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 50-51; Agricola, 79; Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, 47.

<sup>104</sup>Of the 292 compositions included in the *Glogauer Liederbuch*, 59 of them are textless. See Jessie Ann Owens, *Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellńska, Glogauer Liederbuch, Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol. 6 (New York: Garland, 1986), v.

<sup>105</sup>Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 73.



In the past days we have made instrumental arrangements of certain motets, of which I am sending two to your Lordship. One of these is a work of Obrecht, i.e., for four voices, two sopranos, a tenor and a contra alto [bassus]. And because we are six, I have added two bass parts to be played by trombones . . . I am also sending you another motet, 'Dimandase Gabrielem'; it is by Busnois and is for four voices. I have done another bass 'contra' because we play it in five [parts].<sup>106</sup>

Evolution of the wind band in the sixteenth century reinforces the ensemble's use of vocal music. Changes in the wind band's size and instrumentation reflect similar alterations that were occurring in vocal music. For most of the fifteenth century, three parts were most common in secular vocal compositions.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, the wind band of that time most often consisted of three musicians, as evidenced by iconographic and literary sources. Toward the end of the century, secular vocal sources reveal an increasing preference for the fuller sonorities of four or more parts, a practice already established in the sacred vocal music of the time.<sup>108</sup> The wind band again reflects these changes, as iconography and literature depict and describe four or more musicians as the norm in the sixteenth century.

Along with the addition of the fourth part (a second *contratenor*), composers began exploring lower ranges. The widening overall range that resulted from this allowed each part greater distinction, melodic independence, and equality.<sup>109</sup> One could argue that since vocal adaptations were a known part of the wind band's repertoire, the evolution of slide

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<sup>106</sup>Translated in William F. Prizer, *Power and Pleasure, Music in the Culture of Renaissance Mantua, 1400-1540* (forthcoming from Oxford University Press), ch. 4; cited in Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages*, 85.

<sup>107</sup>*The Mellon Chansonier*, eds. Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Gary (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 2:19.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, 2:19-20.

<sup>109</sup>Examples of equal-voiced *a 4* chansons occur in the works of Josquin Des Près, Heinrich Isaac, Loyset Compère, and Pierre de La Rue. See Brown, "Instruments and Voices," 89; Howard Mayer Brown, "The Transformation of the Chanson at the End of the Fifteenth Century," in *Report of the Tenth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Ljubljana, 1967*, ed. Dragotin Cvetko (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 78-94; Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1954), 97-101, 105-6.



trumpet to trombone, with lower range and increased chromatic ability, occurred as a result of these changes. In his treatise *De Inventione et Usu Musicae* (ca. 1487), Tinctoris describes how the wind band accommodated the additional contratenor:

However, for the lowest contratenor parts, and often for any contratenor part, to the shawm players one adds brass players who play, very harmoniously, upon the kind of *tuba* which is called, as was said above, *trompone* in Italy and *sacque-boute* in France. When all these instruments are employed together, it is called “the loud music.”<sup>110</sup>

As noted above, the instrumentation of the wind band evolved during the sixteenth century. In addition to the trombone, the cornetto increased in popularity. The combination of cornetto and trombone became the preferred instrumentation of the *Stadtpfeiferei*. This combination continued throughout the seventeenth century as well.<sup>111</sup> Extant wind band music reinforces this preference. Original music for the wind band survives in two seventeenth-century collections published by Johann Pezel (1639-94). These two important wind band collections are scored for five-part ensemble of two cornetti and three trombones.<sup>112</sup> The first collection, *Hora decima* (1670), includes forty separately numbered single-movement sonatas.<sup>113</sup> Pezel’s second collection, *Fünff-stimmigte* (1685), contains seventy-six intradas and dance pieces (mostly sarabandes and balleta).<sup>114</sup>

The development of the wind band during the Middle Ages and Renaissance created a need for improvements in the trumpet which resulted in the emergence of the trombone.

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<sup>110</sup>“Imos tamen contratenores semper: ac sepe reliquos: tibicinibus adjuncti tubicines: ea tuba quam superius tromponem ab Italis: et sacque-boute a Gallicis appellari diximus: melodiosissime clangunt. Quorum omnium omnia instrumenta simul aggregata: communiter dicuntur alta.” See Tinctoris, *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*, bk. III; cited and translated in Anthony Baines, “Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris’s *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*” *The Galpin Society Journal*, 3 (March 1950): 21.

<sup>111</sup>Downs, 5-6; Whitwell, 150.

<sup>112</sup>Selections from both collections appear in *Johann Pezel Turmmusiken und Suiten*, ed. Arnold Schering, Bd. 63, *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel; Graz: Akademische Druck, 1959).

<sup>113</sup>*Hora decima Musicorum Lipsiensium oder Musicalische Arbeit zum Abblasen um 10. Uhr Vormittage in Leipzig*. See Downs, 9.

<sup>114</sup>*Fünff-stimmigte blasende Musik*. Ibid.

As an evolutionary product of the trumpet, the trombone maintained many of the trumpet's associations. The wind band's participation in rituals similar to those with which ancient lip-vibrated aerophones were allied is a direct result of this common heritage.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### ECCLESIASTICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF THE TROMBONE

The most obvious impetus for the shifting role of the trombone appears in the Germanic vernacular versions of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> Here several scholars have credited Martin Luther with this shift in the trombone's role by translating the lip-vibrated aerophones of the Bible as *Posaune*, but he was not the first to do so.<sup>2</sup> However, a careful study of the predecessors of Luther's editions shows that the term appeared at least fifty-seven years prior to his first publication of any portion of the Bible.<sup>3</sup> Table 1 shows the chronology of Germanic vernacular editions beginning with the earliest and concluding with the last edition of Martin Luther's work.

A comparative study of four editions from Table 1 reveals that variants of *Posaune* appear as early as the first edition of 1466, and thereafter with increasing frequency. This study, which includes as many as 124 verses throughout the Bible, seeks to identify the variety of terms used to describe the instrument or the sounding thereof, and to trace an

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<sup>1</sup>Unless noted otherwise, all publications of scripture (whether partial or complete) discussed in this study will be referred to as editions or versions. Hereafter, the reader should assume that any sources discussed are vernacular editions unless otherwise noted. Since there was no unified German territory or language during the time in question, all references to the people, places, and language will appear as "Germanic."

<sup>2</sup>David M. Guion, *The Trombone: Its History and Music, 1697-1811*, Musicology Series, vol. 6. (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 48, 124, 151; J. Richard Raum, "The Eighteenth Century Trombone: Rumors of its Death were Premature," *Brass Bulletin* 77, no. 1 (1992): 97; Ernest H. Gross III, "The Trumpet and the *Unitas Fratrum*," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3 (1991): 19.

<sup>3</sup>Luther's first publication of any portion of the Bible was his *Das Neue Testament Deutsch* which appeared September of 1522.

TABLE 1

VERNACULAR PUBLICATIONS OF SCRIPTURE BETWEEN 1466-1545<sup>a</sup>

Date	Publisher	Place of publication	Translator	Title	Notes	Catalog numbers <sup>b</sup>
[1466] <sup>c</sup>	[Johann Mentel]	[Strassburg]	[? Rüdigerus (Andreas Rüdiger)]	(The Holy Bible)	<i>editio princeps</i> of Bible in German	DM 4176
[1470?]	[Heinrich Eggensteyn]	[Strassburg]	---	(The Holy Bible)	2d German Bible	DM 4177
[1473?]	[Heinrich Eggensteyn]	[Strassburg]	---	(The Psalter) <sup>d</sup>	<i>editio princeps</i> of the Psalter in German issued as a separate book	DM 4178
[1474?]	[Lucas Brandis]	Lübeck	---	(The Psalter)	earliest edition of Psalter in Low German	DM 4179
[1475?]	[Jodocus Pflanzmann]	[Augsburg]	---	(The Holy Bible)	3rd German Bible	DM 4180
[1475?]	[Günther Zainer]	Augsburg	---	(The Holy Bible)	4th German Bible	DM 4181

<sup>a</sup> This list includes all Germanic editions from the earliest to the last one revised by Martin Luther and excludes all reprints.

<sup>b</sup> Catalog numbers with "DM" prefixes reflect the numbering in Thomas H. Darlow's and Horace F. Moule's *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1963). Numbers with "H" prefixes reflect the numbering which appears in Hain's *Repertorium Bibliographicum*. Hain numbers are used where possible when a publication was not cataloged by Darlow and Moule.

<sup>c</sup> All information appearing in brackets was ascertained from other sources. See Darlow and Moule, 481 ff.

<sup>d</sup> Due to the large number of publications of the Psalter, only the first edition and the first Low German edition have been included in this table.

[1475?]	Johann Sensenschmid and Andreas Frisner	Nuremberg	---	(The Holy Bible)	5th German Bible know as "Swiss edition"	H 3132
1477	[Günther Zainer]	Augsburg	---	(The Holy Bible)	6th German Bible	H 3134
1477	Anth. Sorg	Augsburg	---	(The Holy Bible)	7th German Bible	H 3135
1480	Anth. Sorg	Augsburg	---	(The Holy Bible)	8th German Bible	H 3136
[1480?]	[H. Quentell]	Cöln	---	(The Holy Bible)	earliest Low German Bible	DM 4182
[1480?]	[H. Quentell]	?	---	(The Holy Bible)	Low Saxon Dialect version of DM 4182	DM 4183
1483	A. Koburger	Nuremberg	---	(The Holy Bible)	9th German Bible	DM 4184
1485	[Johann Grüniger]	Strassburg	---	(The Holy Bible)	10th German Bible	H 3138
1487	H. Schönsperger	Augsburg	---	(The Holy Bible)	11th German Bible	H 3139
1490	H. Schönsperger	Augsburg	---	(The Holy Bible)	12th German Bible	H 3140
1494	Steffen Arndes	Lübeck	---	(The Holy Bible)	3rd Low German Bible	DM 4185
1507	H. Otmar	Augsburg	---	(The Holy Bible)	13th German Bible	--
1518	H. Otmar	Augsburg	---	(The Holy Bible)	14th German Bible	--
1522	[Ludwig Trutebul?] or [C. Drake?]	Halberstadt	---	<i>Biblia dudesch . . .</i>	4th Low German Bible	DM 4187
1522	[Melchior Lotther]	Wittenberg	Martin Luther	<i>Das Neue Testament Deutsch</i>	New Testament, <i>editio princeps</i> of the N.T. translated by Luther	DM 4188
1524	[Melchior Lotther]	Wittenberg	Martin Luther	<i>Das Alte Testament deutsch</i>	Old Testament (partial)	DM 4189

1524	Wolff Köppel	Strassburg	Martin Luther	<i>Das gantz neuw Testamēt recht gründlich teitscht...</i>	N.T.	DM 4190
1526	?	Speyer	Jacob Beringer	(The New Testament)	N.T. <sup>e</sup>	--
1527	Wolfgang Stöckel	Dresden	Hierome Emser <sup>f</sup>	<i>Das naw testament nach lawt der Christliche kirchen ..</i>	N.T.	DM 4191
1527	P. Schoeffer	Worms	Ludwig Haetzer & Johann Denck	<i>Alle propheten nach Hebraischer sprach verteitscht</i>	Prophets	DM 4192
1528	V. Schuman	Leipzig	Hierome Emser <sup>g</sup>	<i>Das New Testamēt, So durch L. Emser sälige vteuscht ...</i>	N.T.	DM 4193
1527, 1529 <sup>h</sup>	Christoffel Froschover	Zürich	Martin Luther, et al. <sup>i</sup>	<i>Das Allt Testament [Das Neuw Testamēt]</i>	complete	DM 4194

<sup>e</sup> This edition, which Beringer intended for Roman Catholics, is a reproduction of Luther's version with minor changes. See Darlow and Moule, 488.

<sup>f</sup> Although this edition is credited to Emser, it is, with the exception of minor dialectical changes, the work of Martin Luther. See Darlow and Moule, 488.

<sup>g</sup> This is the same text as Emser's 1527 edition. See Darlow and Moule, 488.

<sup>h</sup> Published in six volumes, only volumes 1 and 4 bear dates (1527 and 1529 respectively). See Darlow and Moule, 489.

<sup>i</sup> Known as the Zurich, or Swiss-German Bible, this edition is the earliest example of a combined (*kombinierte*) Bible. The majority of the sections were taken from previous Luther publications. The portions lacking at the time of publication (the Prophets and the Apocrypha) were provided by the ministers of the Church of Zurich, and Leo Juda, respectively. Several reprints with minor alterations of the Zurich Bible appeared but will not be included in this table. See Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 489 ff.

1532	H. Lufft	Wittenberg	Martin Luther	<i>Die Propheten alle Deusch</i>	Prophets	DM 4197
1534	Ludowich Dietz	Lübeck	Martin Luther	<i>Die Biblie vñ der vñlegginge Doctoris Martini Luthers yn dyth diüdesche vñitich vñgesetzet</i>	first Low German edition of Luther's Bible	DM 4198
1534	H. Lufft	Wittenberg	Martin Luther	<i>Biblia, das ist, die gantze Heilige Schrift Deusch</i>	first complete edition of Luther's translation	DM 4199
1534	Peter Jordan	Mainz	Johann Dietenberger	<i>Biblia, beider Allt vñnd Newen Testamenten . . .</i>	complete, Roman Catholic version	DM 4200
1535	Heinrich Steiner	Augsburg	Martin Luther	<i>Das New Testament Deüdsch</i>	N.T.	DM 4201
1537	G. Krapff	Ingoldstadt	Johann Eck	<i>Bibel. Alt vñd new Testament, nach dem Text in der hailigen kirchen gebraucht. . .</i>	complete, Roman Catholic version	DM 4203
1541	H. Lufft	Wittenberg	Martin Luther	<i>Biblia: das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrift: Deusch . . .</i>	complete, new edition revised by Luther and colleagues	DM 4204
1545, 1544j	H. Lufft	Wittenberg	Martin Luther	<i>Biblia: das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrift, Deusch . . .</i>	complete, standard edition of Luther's Bible, last one revised by Luther	DM 4205

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j 1545 appears on general title and in the colophon at end of volume; 1544 appears in the colophon at end of part 1.  
See Darlow and Moule, 495.



evolution of terminology. Due to lack of standardized spelling and terminology, the same classification of terms used in Chapter 2 (see p. 42) will be used here so that terminological families will be more apparent.

This study includes the following Germanic Bibles: the first (Mentel 1466),<sup>4</sup> the ninth (Koberger 1483), the third Low German (Arndes 1494), and the standard edition of Luther's complete Bible (Wittenberg 1545).<sup>5</sup> It was unnecessary to examine all of the pre-Lutheran editions due to duplication among many of them. The relationships between editions range from substantial borrowings to unquestionable reproductions of contemporary or preceding editions. The *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* notes all known and suggested dependencies between the seventeen editions that preceded Luther's work.<sup>6</sup> Figure 55 illustrates these relationships.

Mentel 1466 is included in the study since it is the earliest German vernacular edition of the Bible. While Darlow and Moule have shown Quentell 1480 to be the source material for Koberger 1483, the preface to Koberger 1483 notes that this edition has been "diligently revised."<sup>7</sup> It has been included because of this revision and since it is an exemplar for a number of other editions. Arndes 1494 is included in the survey to illustrate terminological differences associated with Low German dialect, and to serve as a late fifteenth-century example.

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<sup>4</sup>References to the editions in this study are indicated by shortened names consisting of the editor's last name and the year of publication.

<sup>5</sup>Due to various posthumous alterations in the 1546 edition, the 1545 edition was established as the only "true and uncorrupted" edition. See S. L. Greenslade, ed., *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*. vol. 3, *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 103; and T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1963), 495.

<sup>6</sup>Darlow and Moule, 481-86.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 484.

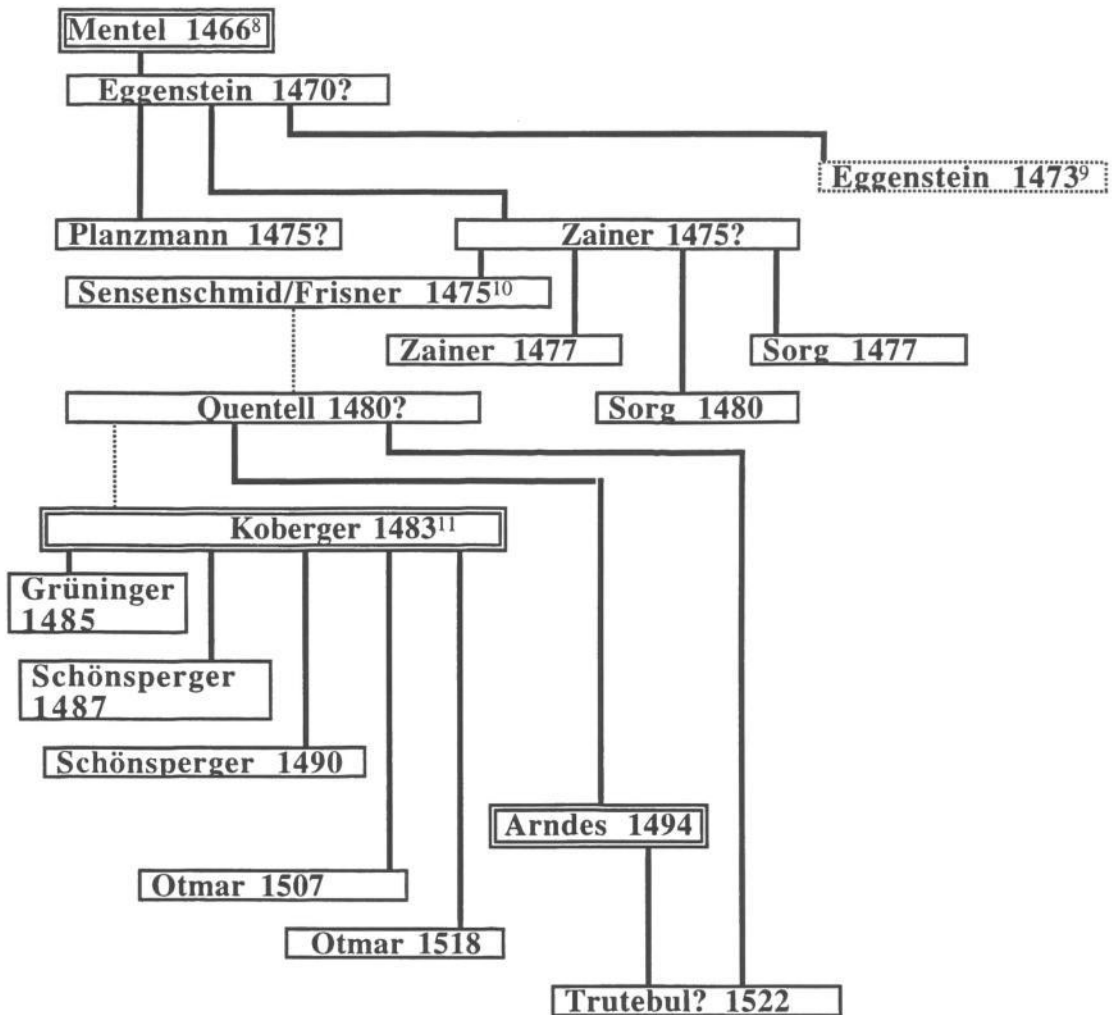


Fig. 55. Stemma of Pre-Lutheran Vernacular German Bible Editions

<sup>8</sup>Bibles marked with double-lined boxes are included in survey.

<sup>9</sup>Eggenstein 1473 was the first German Psalter (indicated by the dashed box). The numerous German Psalters that follow have not been included in this chart because of their limited impact on this study due to the small number of key verses found in the Psalms.

<sup>10</sup>Editions linked by a broken line indicate probable familial relationships but without conclusive supportive evidence. See Darlow and Moule for further explanation.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

In the earliest edition (Mentel 1466), the translator predominantly used the term HORN- to describe the instrument and its sounding. He did, however use POSAUN- (*pufanen*, *puſaunen*, *buſaunen*) in a small number of citations. While the translator based this edition entirely on the Latin Vulgate, different versions of the Latin texts would account for these terminological variations. Possibly the portions of text using POSAUN- were translated from fragments of the African Old Latin version which used the term *bucinare* as opposed to the European Old Latin version which used *tuba canere*.<sup>12</sup> Like Mentel 1466, Koberger 1483 reflects a similar ratio of terms. Koberger 1483 does not include all of the texts found in Mentel 1466, but the majority of the verses use HORN-with a small number of verses using POSAUN-.<sup>13</sup>

A significant change in the ratios occurs in the third and fourth editions of the survey (Lübeck 1494 and Wittenberg 1545, respectively). The Low German version of Lübeck shows a much greater use of the term *bassun*. Luther's 1545 version likewise uses *Posaun* more than any other term. Table 2 summarizes the percentages of use for the various terms found in each source. For complete listing of all terms and verses, see appendix A.

The first two German Bibles occasionally incorporate POSAUN-, but not until the Low German dialect of Arndes 1494 does the term becomes prominent. Luther 1545, while not Low German, does use POSAUN- in the majority of instances. The use of HORN-, though common in early German editions, all but disappears by the end of the fifteenth century.

While not the first to use POSAUN- in Germanic translations of the Bible, Luther's editions greatly impacted the religious associations of the trombone. His translations

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<sup>12</sup>Theodore A. Bergren, *A Latin-Greek Index of the Vulgate New Testament*, Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study, no. 26 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 204.

<sup>13</sup>See appendix A, "Terminological Comparisons in Key Germanic Bible Editions."

TABLE 2

## RATIOS OF TERMS USED IN THE GERMANIC BIBLE EDITIONS SURVEY

TERMS USED	Mentel 1466 (Strassburg)	Koberger 1483 (Nuremberg)	Arndes 1494 (Lübeck)	Luther 1545 (Wittenberg)
<i>horn-</i>	87.7%	87.2%	02.3%	00.8%
<i>posaun-/bassun-</i>	10.7%	12.8%	77.7%	60.2%
<i>trump-/dromet-</i>	01.6%	not used	17.7%	39.0%
<i>schalmei</i> - <sup>14</sup>	not used	not used	02.3%	not used

eclipsed all other Germanic editions preceding and succeeding his work. Luther recognized the unwieldy language of the earlier editions and actively sought to provide a translation that was comprehensible to all.<sup>15</sup> Part of Luther's solution involved a decision to translate from original-language sources.<sup>16</sup> Prior to Luther's translations, all other Germanic editions were based on either Latin texts or prior Germanic translations.<sup>17</sup> While the use of original-language sources was in Germanic Bible editions, there was an effort by the humanists of the early sixteenth century to be *trium linguarum gnarus* (well acquainted with the three languages Hebrew, Greek, and Latin). A renewed interest and emphasis in

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<sup>14</sup>The precedent for the inclusion of the term *schalmei* (shawm) in Arndes 1494 is unclear, though perhaps the tradition of the *haute ensemble*, which joined schawms and trumpets is the source. In each of the other versions surveyed, the comparable texts use either HORN-, POSAUN-, OR TRUMP-.

<sup>15</sup>Greenslade, 94.

<sup>16</sup>Luther based his first New Testament edition on the Greek texts by Erasmus (2d ed., 1518/19), see Darlow and Moule 2/2: 577. He used the Hebrew text printed in Brescia in 1494 as a major source for his Old Testament translations. Luther's own copy of the Brescia edition is housed in the Royal Library at Berlin, see Darlow and Moule, 2/2: 703.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

the three languages is indicated by the founding of trilingual colleges throughout Europe.<sup>18</sup>

Luther's editions were also successful because he sought to present the material in a way that would be meaningful to his audience. As was common with medieval writers and artists, Luther couched his subject matter in the trappings of the contemporary environment. The woodcuts and paintings included in earlier Germanic editions provide additional evidence. The illustrations convey much more about medieval European society than that of the ancient Middle East. Like those of preceding editions, the illustrations in Luther's editions helped to "Germanize" the Bible. The dress, hair styles, armor and weapons all reflect Germanic life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>19</sup> Bainton says that illustrations of "Moses and David might almost be mistaken for Frederick the Wise and John Frederick."<sup>20</sup>

Luther extended this practice of modernization to include the text as well, taking great pains to make the language and context of the Bible meaningful to his intended audience. One way in which he did this was to filter the subject matter through current theology. Like many of his contemporaries, Luther interpreted all scripture Christologically, that is, with Christ as the focus, even in the Old Testament texts. Evidence of Christological interpretation may be seen in the only illustration portraying the nativity of

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<sup>18</sup>Trilingual efforts in Europe: in England, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, founded by Bishop Fox; in Spain, The University at Alcalá, founded by Cardinal Ximenes; in France, the Noble et trilingue académie, College des lecteurs royaux, founded by Francis I; and in Germany, the endowment to the Univeristy of Wittenberg with chairs in the three languages by Frederick of Saxony. See S. L. Greenslade, *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 40.

<sup>19</sup>For discussion of styles of dress, hair, armor, and weapons customary for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see: Stephen Bull, *An Historical Guide to Arms and Armor*, ed. Tony North (New York: Facts on File, 1991), 58-83; Phyllis Tortora and Keith Eubank, *A Survey of Historic Costume*, (New York: Fairchild, 1989), 99-10, 136; Eduard Wagner, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons: 1350-1450* (London: P. Hamlyn, 1958), 27-46.

<sup>20</sup>Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1950), 330. Frederick III ("Frederick the Wise"), the protector of Martin Luther, was Elector of Saxony 1486-1525. His grandson, John Frederick, was Elector 1532-1547. See Tapsell, 216.

the Christ, that appears not within the Gospels, but on the title page of Ezekiel. In this way, Luther saw the "pre-existent Christ . . . working throughout the Old Testament, speaking through the mouths of the prophets and the psalmist."<sup>21</sup>

Another way in which Luther addressed the contemporary culture was to emphasize those elements in scripture that would be most meaningful to Germanic peoples. He sought to distinguish between that which applied only to the Jewish community (*Jüdisches Sachenspiegel*) and that which was universal law. An example of this is Luther's view of the Pentateuch and the Ten Commandments, parts of which he saw as pertaining to the Jews exclusively. Convinced that the commandment against graven images was intended for the Jews, he eliminated it from his translation. Taking into account the missing commandment, Luther divided the final commandment into two parts: first, the commandment against coveting a neighbor's house and second, that against coveting a neighbor's wife.<sup>22</sup> Luther states that he "endeavored to make Moses so German that no one would suspect he was a Jew."<sup>23</sup> Bainton says that if "the Germans make a procurator into a burgomaster, Palestine has moved west, and this is what happened to a degree in Luther's rendering. Judea was transplanted to Saxony, and the road from Jericho to Jerusalem ran through the Thuringian forest. By nuances and turns of expression, Luther enhanced the graphic in terms of the local."<sup>24</sup>

Luther often went to great lengths to select terminology that would be meaningful to his audience. Through letters to his friend Georg Spalatin, Luther demonstrated his great concern for a contemporary language. In a letter written ca. December 12, 1522, Luther

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<sup>21</sup>Bainton, 334.

<sup>22</sup>Greenslade, 18.

<sup>23</sup>"Si iam deberem Mosen transferre, folde man ihn wol teutzsch verſtehen; vellem Hebraismos tollere, ut nemo diceret esse Hebraicum Mosen." See *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Tischreden, Bd. 2 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus, 1967), 2771b; also Bainton, 327.

<sup>24</sup>Bainton 328-29.

requested Spalatin's help in identifying appropriate vernacular names for the animals listed in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.<sup>25</sup> Luther also made a similar request of Spalatin in a letter written on March 30, 1522, this time searching for appropriate terms for the colors and names of the gems mentioned in Revelation 21, even going so far as to request that Spalatin secure examples of such gems so that they might examine them. This letter illuminates Luther's interest in providing an edition of the Bible that would be unlike its predecessors, one that would not speak to the exclusive, small circles of the elite, but rather the common people. He reminds Spalatin to "give us simple terms, not those [used at] the castle or court, for this book should be famous for its simplicity."<sup>26</sup> Earlier, in a letter to John Lang written 18 December 1521, Luther expressed his desire for a widely-available Germanic translation of the Scriptures.

In the meantime I shall finish the *Postil* and translate the New Testament into German, an undertaking our friends request. I hear you are also working on this. Continue as you have begun. I wish every town would have its interpreter, and that this book alone, in all languages, would live in the hands, eyes, ears, and hearts of all people.<sup>27</sup>

Widespread availability was perhaps the single most important factor to contribute to the great success of Luther's editions. All of the publications prior to Luther's were elaborate, library editions and thus not intended for popular reading.<sup>28</sup> Luther's editions, however, were widely disseminated through countless editions and reprints. Luther stood at the dawning of a new era for the Germanic Bible, an era in which the masses gained

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<sup>25</sup>Leviticus 11:13-19, 29, and Deuteronomy 14:4, 12-19. See Gottfried G. Krodel, ed., *Letters*, 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), vol. 49, *Luther's Works*, ed., Helmut T. Lehmann, 17-20; and Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Weimar Ausgabe, Abt. 4: Briefwechsel, Bd. 2: (1520-1522) (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1931), 630-31.

<sup>26</sup>Krodel, *Letters* 2: 3-4; and Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Abt. 4, Bd. 2, 489-90.

<sup>27</sup>Krodel, *Letters* 1: 356; and Martin Luther, Abt. 4, Bd. 2, 413.

<sup>28</sup>George Wendell Prime, *Fifteenth Century Bibles : A Study in Bibliography* (Boston : Longwood Press, 1977), 90.



access to the Bible. Printing presses throughout the Germanic territories produced Bibles at unprecedented rates. During the second half of the sixteenth century, Wittenberg presses produced over sixty High and Low German editions, averaging two thousand copies each. Within 125 years, presses in Württemberg, which did not begin printing Bibles until 1675, produced 300,000 partial and complete Bibles. Bible printing steadily increased and in the eighteenth century, presses at Halle produced three million copies, joined by another million from other German presses. So aggressive was Bible distribution that societies issued them at little or no cost. In 1710, Baron Canstein (Carl Hildebrand), an official of the state of Brandenburg, proposed that the poor should be provided Bibles at a low cost. Through his work and the free delivery provided by the Prussian postal service, Baron Canstein made Bibles available at a price below the cost of production.<sup>29</sup>

Bibles published on Luther's behalf also took into account dialectal differences by providing glossaries or necessary changes in terminology.<sup>30</sup> Whereas Luther initially translated most of his works in a middle German dialect, low German editions followed shortly thereafter.<sup>31</sup> In addition, publishers provided Luther's work in related languages such as Dutch (N.T., 1523; Bible, 1532), Swedish (Bible, 1540), Icelandic (Bible 1540), and Danish (Bible, 1550).<sup>32</sup> Even after Luther's death, his work had tremendous impact on successive Germanic versions. From 1546 to 1906, Darlow and Moule list 500 separately printed Germanic editions (parts or whole), 389 of which used or were indebted to Luther's translations.<sup>33</sup>

Even efforts by Luther's opponents added to the success of his work. From as

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<sup>29</sup>The aforementioned information can be found in Greenslade, 102, 340-41.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>32</sup>Darlow and Moule, 492.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 495-550.

early as 1522, Catholic opponents sought to counteract Luther's influence by issuing their own versions of scripture. In addition to an edict against Luther's first edition, issued 7 November 1522, Duke Georg of Saxony, a chief representative of Roman Catholic orthodoxy, requested that his secretary, Hieronymus Emser, critique Luther's edition. Emser's report alleged that Luther's edition contained 1400 instances of heresy and should be forbidden. Duke George commanded that all copies of Luther's edition sold in Saxony be reclaimed, and Emser began work on a Catholic vernacular edition.<sup>34</sup> Published in 1527, this edition was no more than a reproduction of Luther's translation with minor dialectal changes. Within two years, six more editions appeared in the Catholic territories of Leipzig, Cologne, and Freiburg im Breisgau. Emser's version was reprinted well into the eighteenth century. Another significant attempt at a Catholic version by Dominican Prior Johann Dietenberger, who was then professor of theology at Mainz, appeared in 1534. Like those before him, Dietenberger failed to provide an independent version, using Emser's modification of Luther's New Testament texts and Luther's translations of Old Testament texts. While Dietenberger's publication was no match for that of his protestant opponent, it did serve as a substitute during the Counter Reformation when purchasers of Luther's Bibles were heavily punished. Dietenberger's Bible was published at least seventeen times at Cologne in the second half of the sixteenth century and was also popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>35</sup> Other subsequent Catholic vernacular editions followed this trend, merely making superficial alterations to Luther's work.

Though there were others before Luther to use forms of POSAUN-, no Germanic translators had explained any theological distinctions between the trumpet and the horn. Due to Luther's theological understanding of the differences between the two instruments, he established an association of *Posaunen* as an instrument of judgment and apocalypse. In

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<sup>34</sup> Strand, 35.

<sup>35</sup> Greenslade, 107-9.

his Latin lecture on Psalm 98, Luther described two different types of Biblical trumpets, clearly distinguishing the use of each:<sup>36</sup>

Among the Jews of old there were two kinds of trumpets [*tube*], silver ones [*argenteae*] (which we call *ductiles* in Latin) and bronze ones [*corneae*] (which blessed Jerome commonly calls *buccinas*). Hence the Hebrew reads, “with trumpets and the sound of the horn.” [Jerome’s *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* reads: *in tubis et clangore buccinae*.] And they used the trumpets [*tubis*] on festive and joyous occasions, while they used the horns [*buccinis*] in times of sorrow and affliction. . . . With the one [we proclaim] the sufferings and cross of Christ; with the other, the resurrection, the glory, and the consolations of Christ. Therefore, in short: To preach what has to do with salvation of the spirit and the new man is to sound the silver trumpet, but to preach what has to do with the humiliation of the flesh and of the old man is to sound the horn.<sup>37</sup>

Luther’s terminological choices in his translations reflect this idea to some extent. He does not distinguish between the two terms in instances involving assembly, priestly function, or military activity. However, in most of the relevant scripture passages containing themes of judgment, atonement, apocalypse, or theophany, Luther uses the term *Posaunen*.<sup>38</sup>

Several factors merge to create a strong association between the trombone and these scriptural themes. First, some early Latin translations used the term *bucina* to indicate certain lip-vibrated aerophones in scripture. In early Germanic editions, this translated as *buisine*. The form which gained greatest acceptance in succeeding Germanic editions was the closely related term, *Posaun*. During the time of widespread dissemination of Germanic vernacular bibles, *Posaun* came to represent the trombone rather than the earlier trumpet form. The trombone’s etymological and evolutionary relationship to the *buisine*, combined with Luther’s theological writings, and the widespread acceptance of his trans-

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<sup>36</sup>Psalm 98:4. “make a joyful noise . . . with trumpet and horn.” *Lobet den HERRN mit . . . Drometen und Posaunen . . .*

<sup>37</sup>Martin Luther, *First Lecture on the Psalms* 2, vol.11, *Luther’s Works*, ed. Hilton C. Oswald (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1976), 273-74; and Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)*, Bd. 4 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1966), 121-22.

<sup>38</sup>See the following passages indicated in Appendix B for examples of *Posaunen* reflecting the aforementioned themes: Theophany: Exodus 19:16, 19; 20:18; Atonement: Leviticus 25:9; Judgment: (of Jericho) Joshua 6:4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 16, 20.

lations, all combine to give birth to a psycho-linguistic association between the trombone and scripture that would penetrate other cultures and other times.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE TROMBONE IN THEORETICAL WRITINGS

The rapid dissemination of Germanic Bibles helped foster the concept of the trombone as an instrument closely aligned with the church. Bibles which reinforced this idea circulated well beyond the geographic and temporal boundaries of Martin Luther and the other early translators. Centuries later, the linguistic association initiated by these Bible translations still remained intact. Other literature such as musical treatises and encyclopedias reinforced this association and the performance practices which emerged from it (see Table 3).

Much of the literature includes physical and/or technical description of the instrument, but since this is not germane to the study, such information will not be discussed.<sup>1</sup> The earliest treatises discussing the trombone, many of which were written by Germanic writers, give no indication of the trombone's religious association.<sup>2</sup> Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (Basel, 1511) includes a depiction of the trombone (along with other similarly classified instruments), though he does not describe it except to say that it is of the category of instruments that have hollow tubes, no holes, and are played by blowing. He admits that little is known about these instruments but that he plans to explore this subject more thoroughly in a future book.<sup>3</sup> Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis duedsch* (1529), which is heavily dependent on Virdung's, includes a brief entry about wind instruments "that can be blown by human breath and have no finger holes." In this category he includes the trom-

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<sup>1</sup>See content coding for Table 3.

<sup>2</sup>Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529); Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum (De Organographica)* (1614-20); and Daniel Speer *Grund-richtiger, kurtz- leicht- und nöthiger. . .* (1697).

<sup>3</sup>Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht: a treatise on musical instruments (1511)*, ed. Beth Bullard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 107.

bone (*Busaun*) and several varieties of trumpet (*Türmer horn*, *Clareta*, and *Felt Trummet*). Agricola indicates that at the time of his writing, he had not actually examined these instruments and had no other knowledge of them. He does, however, like Virdung, include a woodcut of the four instruments (Fig. 55). Perhaps the reason these instruments were shrouded in mystery was because of the carefully-guarded trade secrets of music guilds of the time. The *Stadtpeifer*, or civic musicians, maintained a monopoly over the playing and instruction of wind instruments (notably the trumpets, trombones, and schawms).<sup>4</sup>

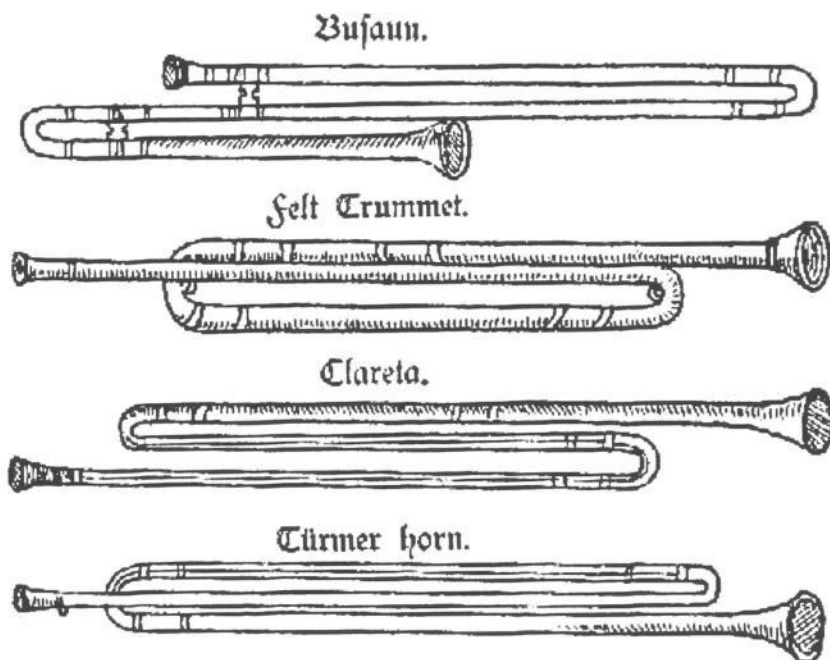


Fig. 55. Woodcut of trombone, field trumpet, Clareta, and Tower trumpet from Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529), derived from Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511).<sup>5</sup> For Virdung's woodcut, see ch. 2, p. 42, fig.40.

<sup>4</sup>Guion, 14.

<sup>5</sup>Agricola, *The 'Musica instrumentalis deudsch,'* 17, 145. See also, Virdung, 108.

TABLE 3  
LITERATURE DISCUSSING THE TROMBONE<sup>6</sup>

DATE	AUTHOR/EDITOR	TITLE	Content
1511	Sebastian Virdung	<i>Musica getutscht</i>	D,O
1529	Martin Agricola	<i>Musica instrumentalis deudsch</i>	D,E,O
1614-20	Michael Praetorius	<i>Syntagma Musicum (De Organographica)</i>	E,O, Th,PP
1635	Marin Mersenne	<i>Harmonie Universelle</i>	O,E, D,Th
1697	Daniel Speer	<i>Grund-richtiger, kurtz- leicht- und nöthiger, jetzt wolvermehrter Unterricht der musicalischen Kunst</i>	Th,Tu
1703	Sebastien de Brossard	<i>Dictionnaire de musique</i> [borrowing from Mersenne] <sup>7</sup>	E,D,O
1713	Johann Mattheson	<i>Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre</i>	E,D,PP
1721	Friedrich Erhard Niedt (J. Mattheson, ed.)	<i>Musicalischer Handleitung</i> [borrowing from Brossard, Speer]	E,D, H,A
1722	Filippo Bonanni	<i>Gabinetto armonico</i> [borrowing from Mersenne, et al.]	E,D,O H,PP
1728	Ephraim Chambers	<i>Cyclopedia, or An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences</i> [borrowing from Brossard and Mersenne]	O,PP, D,E,

<sup>6</sup>The following key identifies the the nature of the information contained in each source:

D=physical description	O=organographical
Tu=tutorial	PP=performance practice
Th=theoretical/technical	E=etymological
H=historical	A=aesthetic or critical evaluation

<sup>7</sup>All notes of borrowed material in this table are from information provided in Guion.



1732	Johann Gottfried Walther	<i>Musikalisches Lexikon</i> [borrowing from Niedt]	E,D, H,A
1732	Joseph F. B. C. Majer	<i>Museum musicum theoretico practicum</i> [borrowing from Mattheson and Niedt]	Th,Tu
1737	Johann Christoph and Johann David Stöbel	<i>Kurtzgefaßtes musicalisches Lexicon</i> [borrowing from Walther]	O,D, Th,Tu, E,PP
1738	Johann Philipp Eisel	<i>Musicus autodidactos, oder der sich selbst informirende Musicus</i> [some borrowing from Speer and Stöbel]	H,D, Tu,Th,
1740	James Grassineau	<i>Musical Dictionary</i> [borrowing from Brossard and Chambers]	O,PP, D,E,
1732-50	Johann Heinrich Zedler	<i>Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon</i> [some borrowing from Walther]	E,PP, D,H,
1761	Giovanni Battista Martini	<i>Storia della musica</i> <sup>8</sup> [borrowing from Zarlino and Mersenne]	A,Th,D
1761-65	Johann Samuel Halle	<i>Werkstätte der heutigen Kunst</i>	D
1751-80	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	<i>Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers</i> [borrowing from Brossard]	O,D,PP
1771	--	<i>Encyclopedia Britannica</i>	O,PP, D,E
1772	William Tans'ur	<i>The Elements of Musick Display'd</i>	H,O,D, PP,Th,
1780	Jean Benjamin de la Borde	<i>Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne</i> [borrowing from Bonanni]	O,D,E, H,PP
1790	Johann Georg Albrechtsberger	<i>Anweisun zur Composition</i>	Th
ca. 1794	Othon vandenbroek	<i>Traité général de tous les instrumens à vent à l'usage des compositeurs</i>	Th
1795	Joos Verschuere-Reynvaan	<i>Muzijkaal Kunst-Woordenboek</i>	D,O,PP,

<sup>8</sup>Only the volumes based on ancient music were completed before Martini's death.

1802	Heinrich Christian Koch	<i>Musickalisches Lexikon</i>	D,O,Th, H,PP,A
1806	Christian Friedrich Schubart	<i>Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst</i>	H,A, PP,O
1807	John Marsh	<i>Hints to Young Composers of Instrumental Music</i>	Th,H, PP
1811	Joseph Frölich	<i>Vollständige theoretisch- pracktsche Musikschule</i>	Tu,Th, O,H,E, A,PP,
1819	Charles Burney (ed. Abraham Rees)	<i>Cyclopedia</i>	D,Th,O E,A,PP

Praetorius describes four varieties of trombone in his *De Organographia* (1618/19). Here he does not address any religious association with the instrument; he is concerned primarily with technical differences between the various types. It is, however, the earliest source known to mention performance practice and make critical evaluation of the instrument.<sup>9</sup> The next work to discuss the trombone, Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (1635), makes one passing comment concerning the performance practice of the trombone, noting that it "serves as the bass in all sorts of concerts, as do the serpent and the bassoon."<sup>10</sup>

Not until Johann Mattheson's *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713) does the literature offer any suggestion of religious association. Mattheson writes that trombones are used "very rarely, except in church pieces and solemn music."<sup>11</sup> The next treatise reinforces the

<sup>9</sup>e.g., Praetorius noted that the *trombino* (or *trombetta picciola*) was well suited to play descant parts. He also remarked that the trombone is "the wind instrument *par excellence* in concerted music of any kind." Michael Praetorius, *De Organographia*, parts 1 and 2, in *Syntagma Musicum 2*, trans. David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 43-44.

<sup>10</sup>Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle, The Books on Instruments*, trans. Roger E. Chapman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), 342.

<sup>11</sup>"... aber ausser in Kirchen-Sachen und Solennitäten sehr wenig gebraucht werden." Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: Johann Mattheson, 1713), 266-67, cited in Guion, 25.

fact that public knowledge of the trombone was still clouded by the guilds. As editor of Friedrich Erhard Niedt's *Musicalischer Handleitung* (1721), Mattheson adds the following footnote:

Weil die Posaune ein Instrument ist, das zwar Kunst-Pfeiffen, sonst aber wenigen bekandt, so habe den *ambitum* desselben um so viel ausführlicher vor Augen legen wollen, da in ersten *Edition* schrecklich darüber hingehüpffet worden ist, und mancher, der gerne etwas mit *Trombonen* setzte, weil es prächtig klinget, nicht weiß, was sich drauff schicket.

Because the trombone is an instrument that is little known except perhaps to *kunstpfeifer*, I have tried to present the range of it in much more detail, since, in the first edition, this is skipped over so terribly much, and many, who wish to try something with trombones because they sound so magnificent, do not know what is proper on it.<sup>12</sup>

Filippo Bonanni's *Gabinetto armonico* (1722) provides one of the earliest identifiable sources to claim a physical relationship between the trombone and ancient trumpets.<sup>13</sup> He notes a connection to the trumpet of the ancient Egyptians and also points to Apuleius, *Metamorphosis*, book 11, as additional support for this idea. Bonanni also remarks on the use of the trombone during contemporary religious festivals in Rome.<sup>14</sup>

Johann Eisel's *Musicus autodidactos, oder der sich selbst informirende Musicus* (1738) is the first treatise specifically linking the trombone to the Bible:

#### VON DER POSAUNEN.

1. Wer is der Erfinder der Posaunen?

Auch dem Zeugnisse *Philonis* soll die Posaune von dem grossin Gott-

#### ON THE TROMBONE

1. Who is the inventor of the trombone?

According to Philo's testimony, the trombone is supposed to have been

<sup>12</sup>Friedrich Erhard Niedt, *Musicalischer Handleitung*, 2d ed., ed. Johann Mattheson (Hamburg: Benjamin Schillers Wittwe, 1721), 2:112-13, cited and translated in Guion, 28.

<sup>13</sup>In the text of his treatise, Bonanni credits Fortunato Scacchi with noting this association in *Mirot*, bk. 3, ch. 54.

<sup>14</sup>Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico* (Rome: Giorgio Placho, 1722), 49-50; cited and translated in Guion, 31-32.

beliebten Propheten Mose um das Jar der Welt 2400. seyn erfunden worden, gleichwie den Psalter und Cyther eben dieser Jüdische *Scribent* dem ersten *Musico* dem *Jubal*, zuschreibet. So viel ist ausser Streit, daß die Posaune eines der allerältesten *musicalischen Instrumenten* ist. *Conf. Joesphus L. 1. Antiquit.*

invented by God's beloved prophet Moses around the year 2400 of the world, just as this same Jewish writer ascribes the psalter and zither to the first musician, Jubal. This much is indisputable: that the trombone is one of the very oldest musical instruments. See Josephus, *L. 1 Antiquities*.<sup>15</sup>

Johann Zedler's sixty-four volume *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* (1732-50) provides the most detailed coverage to this point of the trombone and its history. This monumental encyclopedia includes four articles on the trombone that greatly reinforces the religious associations of the instrument. The following excerpts from Zedler illustrate connections with the ancient Hebrews and apocalyptic symbolism:<sup>16</sup>

POSAUNE, *Buccino, Trompe*, wird von den Stadtpfeifern auf den Thürnen; Rathhaußgänglein, in Kirchenmusiqven und bey andern Gelegenheiten gebraucht.

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Es sind die Posaunen schon ehemahls so wohl bey dem Volcke Gottes, als dey denen Heyden im Gebrauch gewesen. Von diesen, schreibt Sal. van Till, in der *Dicht-Sing- und Spiel-Kunst der Alten*, p. 141 u. f. wurden sie bey ihrem Götzendienst gebraucht, dem Volcke nicht allein von dem vorhabenden Opffer Anzeigung zu geben, sondern auch die Opfferthiere bey ihrer ansehnlichen Umherführung anzufrischen, dem Hauffen zu folgen, auch die Proceßion desto ansehnlicher zu machen

POSAUNE, *Buccino, Trompe*, is used by the *Stadtpfeifer* of Thuringia in the towers, city hall corridors, in church music, and for other occasions.

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The *Posaunen* were used previously by the people of God and then heathen. Of these Salomon van Til writes in his *Dicht- Sing- und Spiel-Kunst der Alten*, pp. 141 ff., that they were used in their idol worship, not only to inform the people of the impending sacrifice, but also to enliven the sacrificial animals at their stately parading, to make them follow the crowd and thus to make the procession even more stately.

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<sup>15</sup>Johann Philipp Eisel, *Musicus autodidactos, oder der sich selbst informirende Musicus* (Erfurt: Johann Michael Funcken, 1738), 70-74; cited and translated in Guion, 41.

<sup>16</sup>Zedler's work does not include paragraph breaks, those provided are by David Guion. See Guion, 45.

After briefly describing several ancient aerophones the entry continues:

Was den Gebrauch der Posaunen  
bey dem Volcke Gottes anlaget, so  
pfl egte man dieselben zu blasen

1. um das Volck damit zusammen  
zu furren, wenn etwas  
hockwichtiges, das den gemeinen  
Nutzen betraff, zu berathschlagen,  
oder anzukundigen war, 4 B. Mos.  
X, 2. 3. 7;

2. wenn die Fürsten und Obersten  
über tausend in Israel solten  
zusammen kommen, v. 4;

3. wenn die Läger solten  
aufbrechen, v. 5,6;

4. wenn sie wolten im Streit zichen,  
v. 9;

5. in Erlangung des Sieges, und  
hatte alsdenn alle Feindseligkeit  
ein Ende, so bald die Posaunen  
geblasen wurden, 2 B. Sam XVIII,  
16; Cap. XX, 21;

6. bey Krönung der König, 1 B.  
Kön. I, 34;

7. wurde das Volck damit  
zusammen beruffen an den Festen  
und Neumonden, 4 B. Mos. X, 10.  
11; sonderlich wurden sie gebraucht  
am Tage der Versöhnung, bey  
Abkündigung des Jubel-Jahrs, und  
am Posaunen-Feste, . . .

-----

Wie es übrigens auch gebräuchlich  
war, daß die auf hohe Thürme und  
Warten bestellte Wächter, mit der  
Posaune ein Zeichen geben und  
blasen musten, wenn sich was  
feindliches oder gefährliches spüren ließ . . .

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POSAUNE Gottes. Wenn  
Paulus die majestätliche Ankunst  
CHristi zum jüngsten Gericht  
beschreiben will, so spricht er I  
Thessal. IV, 16: der HERR wird

Which brings us to the use of  
*Posaunen* among the people of  
God. They played it for the same  
reasons:

1. to call together the people in this way  
whenever something highly  
important that concerned the  
common needs was to be discussed  
or announced, Numbers 10:2,3,7.

2. whenever the princes and heads  
over thousands in Israel should  
come together, v.4.

3. whenever they should break  
camp, v.5, 6.

4. whenever they marched into  
battle, v. 9.

5. in the winning of victory, and all  
hostilities had an end as soon as the  
*Posaunen* were played, 2 Samuel  
18:16; 20:21.

6. at the coronation of kings,  
1 Kings 1:34.

7. when the people were called  
together at the festivals and new  
moons, Numbers 10:10-11. They  
were used especially on the Day of  
Atonement, at the proclamation of  
jubilee years, and at *Posaunen*  
festivals, . . .

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As it was otherwise common that  
the guards placed in high towers and  
watchtowers had to blow the  
*Posaune* to give a sign whenever  
something dangerous or hostile was  
spotted, . . .

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POSAUNE GOTTES. When Paul  
wants to describe the majestic arrival of  
Christ at the Last Judgment,  
he says in 1 Thessalonians 4:16, "For the  
Lord himself shall descend from heaven

mit einem Feldgeschrey, und Stimme des Ertz-Engels, und mit der Posaune GOTTes hernieder kommen von Himmel. Anderweit, da er davon redet, nennet ers ein Geheimniß, I Corinth. XV, 51. 52. darum auch die Gelehrten unterschiedene Meynungen davon geheget. Amelius sagt, es ziele Paulus auf die Gerichte der Juden so wohl als Heyden, in welchen die Posaunen gebraucht wurden, das Volck bey der Hinrichtung der öffentlichen Ubelthäter zu versammeln. Siehe dessen Erklärung dunckler Schriftstellen N. Test. I Th. p. 20.

Andere haben es von einer rechten natürlichen Posaune erklärt, und das darum, weil Paulus ausdrücklich von einer Posaune rede, und man in Geheimnissen nicht so leicht von dem Buchstaben weichen dürffe; wie den Johannes, da er im Geschichte das letzte Gerichte gesehen, den Schall der Posaunen gehöret, Offenb. Joh. VIII, 2. 6. u. ff. Cap. IX, 1. 13.

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Ein anderer Gottesgelehrter macht hierüber folgende Auslegung: Vorzeiten, schreibt er, ist der Gebrauch der Posaunen sehr üblich gewesen: da GOTT sein Gesetz auf dem Berge Sinai geben wolte, da hörete das Volck einen Ton einer starcken Posaune, welcher immer stärker ward, 2 B. Mos. XIX, 16. 19. siehe Offenb. Joh. VIII, 2. Jos. VI, 16. Es. XXXIII, 3. Jerem. IV, 19. 4 B. Mos. X, 8. 10. 1 B. Kön. I, 34. B. Richt. VI, 34. Cap. VII, 20; und dadurch wird auch die Ankunft des majestätischen Richters verkündiget werden; und heistet eine Posaune GOTTes, weil sie mächtig tönen wird, so daß von solchen Stimmen zusammen Himmel und Erden in einander brechen, die Gräber sich eröffnen, und die Todten lebendig hervor gehen werden; und halten die alten Lehrer

with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the *Posaune* of God." Elsewhere, when he speaks of this he calls it a mystery (1 Corinthians 15:51, 52), and for this reason, the scholars also foster differing opinions of it. Amelius says that Paul is aiming at the courts of Jews as well as heathens, in which *Posaunen* were used to gather the people together for the execution of exposed evil-doers. See his *Erklärung dunckler Schriftstellen Neues Testament*, Part 1, p. 20.

Others have explained it as a quite natural trombone for the reason that Paul explicitly speaks of a *Posaune* and because one must not wander from the letters so easily with mysteries, for John also, when he saw the Last Judgment in the face, heard the sounds of *Posaunen* (Revelation 8:2, 6 ff.; 9:1, 13).

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Another scholar of God makes the following interpretation concerning this. He writes: previously the use of the trombone was very common. When God wanted to give his law on Mount Sinai, the people heard the sound of a powerful *Posaune*, which became ever more powerful (Exodus 19:16, 19; see also Revelation 8:2; John 6:16; Ezekiel 33:3; Jeremiah 4:19; Numbers 10:8, 10; 1 Kings 1:34; Judges 6:34; 7:20). And in this way, the advent of the majestic judge will also be announced; and it is called a *Posaune* of God, because it will sound mightily, so that heaven and earth will collapse into each other from such voices. The graves will open, and the dead will proceed alive. The old teachers mostly believe that this will not all be incomprehensible noise, but rather



meistentheils dafür, daß solches alles nicht werde seyn ein unverständlicher Klang, sondern eine Sprache und Rede, die man vernehmen werde.

Und schreibet Luther hierüber: “Ich “lasse mirs gefallen, daß es eine “solche Stimme seyn werde: Stehet “auf ihr Todten, wie Christus den “verstorbenen Lazarum aus dem “Grabe ruffet, Joh. XI. 43. und zu “dem Mägdlein und Jüngling Matth. “IX, 25. u. Luc. VII, 14. sprach: Ich “sage dir, stehe auf; also werde er “auch durch das Feldgeschrey, die “Stimme des Ertz-Engels und der “Posaune GOTTes die Todten “auferwecken; daß, wie jetzt auf “Erden des Predigers Stimme, der “GOTTes Wort predigt, nicht des “Menschen, sondern GOTTes Wort “heisset; so ist auch die Stimme des “Ertz-Engels GOTTes Stimme, welche “aus seinem Befehl und Kraft gehen “und tönen wird.”

a language and a speech which one will hear.

And Luther writes about this. “I can accept that there should be such a voice: arise, you dead, and Christ called the dead Lazarus from the grave (John 11:43), and said to the maiden and boy (Matthew 9:25 and Luke 7:14), I say to you, arise. Thus he will awaken the dead through the password, the voice of the archangel, and the *Posaune* of God, so that, as now the voice of the preacher on earth who preaches the word of God, that word is called God’s and not man’s, so it is that the voice of the archangel is the voice of God, which will proceed and sound from his command and power.”<sup>17</sup>

William Tans’ur’s *The Elements of Musick Display’d* (1772) provides another, quite different association of the trombone and Biblical literature. Of the trombone, Tans’ur says: “The *sackbut*, or *Trumpet harmonious*, is mentioned in the Book of *Daniel*; it being a large *Trumpet* in Kind, tho’ different in Form, and contrived to sound the *Basses* on; it being made longer or shorter, by drawing it out more or less, as the Tones require to be in *Acuteness* or *Gravity*.”<sup>18</sup> This treatise reflects a translation error found in early English Bible editions. In these editions, the translators erroneously used the word “sackbut” for the Hebrew stringed instrument *sabbekaa* which is listed among the various

<sup>17</sup>Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, 64 vols. (Leipzig: Zedler, 1732-50), vol. 6, col. 1145; vol. 28, col. 1695-1700; vol. 45, col. 1089-90; cited and translated in Guion, 48-59.

<sup>18</sup>William Tans’ur, *The Elements of Musick Display’d* (London: Stanley Crowder, 1772), 100-01; cited in Guion, 69.



instruments in Daniel 3:5.<sup>19</sup> The verse appears as follows in the Geneva Bible: [vs. 4 “Then an herald cryed aloud, Be it knowe to you, o people, nations, and langages,] That when ye heare the foud of the cornet, trupet, harpe, fackebut, pfalteries, dulcimer, and all inftru-ments of muficke, ye fall downe and worfhip the golde image, that Nebuchadnezzár the King hath fet vp.”<sup>20</sup> Earlier English editions did not make this same mistake, instead the translators used the term “Symphonyes,” a type of hurdy-gurdy.<sup>21</sup> However, the Geneva version, the first English Bible printed in Roman type and which included verse divisions, was by far the most important English Bible edition until the appearance of the “King James Version” in 1611.<sup>22</sup>

Treatises from this point forward establish a clear connection between the trombone and religious music. Jean Benjamin de la Borde, writing about the trombone in his *Essai*

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<sup>19</sup>Guion notes the translation error in the King James Version (1611), but the error occurs as early as the first edition of the “Geneva Bible” (1560). See Guion, 68.

<sup>20</sup>*The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 edition* (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 358.

<sup>21</sup>The three earliest English Bible edition to include the book of Daniel prior to the Geneva were the “Coverdale” (1535), the “Matthew’s Bible” (1537) and “Great Bible” (1539). These significant editions, all related, translated Daniel 3:5 almost identically. The following translation is from the Great Bible, 1549: “. . . the bedel cried out with all his myght: O ye people, kynreddes [&] tonges, to you be it fayde: . . . when ye heare the noyfe of the trompettes, which fhalbe blowen, with the harpes, Shawmes, Psalteryes, Simphonyes [&] al manner of mufyke: ye fall downe and worshyppe the golden ymage, that Nabuchodonofof the kynge hath fet vp.” See *The Byble in Englishe, that is the olde and new Testament, after the translation appoynted to bee read in the Churches . . .* (London: Edwarde Whitchurche, 1549); *The Holy Scriptures: of the Olde and Newe Testamente, with the Apocripha / faithfully translated from the Hebrue and Greke, by Myles Coverdale*, 2d modern ed. (London: Samuel Bagster, 1535 [1847]), and *The Byble, that is to say all the Holy Scripture; in whych are cotayned the Olde and New Testamente, truly & purely traslated into English, & nowe lately with greate industry & diligece recognised* (London: J. Daye and W. Seres, 1549).

<sup>22</sup>At least 140 editions of the Geneva Bible appeared between 1560 and 1644. See Darlow, v.1, 61. The King James Version of Daniel 3:5 reads: “That at what time yee heare the sound of the cornet, flute, harpe, sackbut, psalterie, dulcimer, and all kinds of musicke, yee fall downe, and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the King hath set vp:” See Chadwyck-Healy, Ltd., “Literature Online” The King James - ‘Authorized’ Bible.” <http://lion.chadwyck.com/ehh/kjbible/search> (1996).

*sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (1780) records that "It is much used in German church music."<sup>23</sup> Joos Verschuere-Rynvaan's *Musijkaal Kunst-Woordenboek* (1795) also reflects this use:

BAZUIN; (*Een bekend Blaasspeeltuig van dien nam;*) zijnde eene soort van schuiftrompet, het welk bij vreugdebe drijven in kerken, enz., gebruikt wordt; en in Duitschland van de Stadsmuzijkanten op de torens:

TROMBONE: (a wind instrument known by that name), being a kind of slide trumpet, which is being used at joyful occasions in churches, etc. and in Germany by the city musicians on towers. . . .<sup>24</sup>

Several treatises published in the early years of the nineteenth century give considerable insight into the changing role of the trombone. The writers of these treatises offer glimpses of trombone performance practice in the past and the present. Of particular interest is the commentary on this shifting role. Heinrich Christoph Koch, in his *Musickalisches Lexikon* (1802), records:

Vor Zeiten war dieses Instrument eines der vorzüglichsten bey allen Arten der Ausübung der Musik, und besonders der Kirchenmusik. zeither bedienten sich desselben nur noch hier und da einige Stadtpfeifer zur Begleitung des Zinken bey dem sogenannten Abblasen, oder bey dem neujahrblasen. Von aller übrigen Musik war es längst entfernt, bis Mozart in seiner Zauberflöte von neuem darauf aufmerksam machte. Diese neu erregte Aufmerksamkeit hat aber noch keine merklichen Folgen für die Wiedereinführung dieses Instrumentes haben können, weil das Traktement desselben zu sehr vernachlässigt worden war, und weil man wahrscheinlich geneigter ist, lieber Blasinstrumente zu

Years ago, this instrument was one of the most excellent of all types for the performance of music, particularly church music. Since that time, only a few *Stadtpfeifer* have continued to play it here and there as accompaniment for the cornetts at the New year's celebration. It was long kept out of all other kinds of music until Mozart made us aware of it anew in his *Zauberflöte*.

This newly generated attention, however, has not yet been able to have any marked results for the reintroduction of this instrument, because it has been neglected too much, and because people are probably inclined to prefer to study wind instruments whose use is more

<sup>23</sup>"On s'en sert beaucoup en Allemagne dans la Musique d'Eglise." See Jean Benjamin de la Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 4 vols. (Paris: Ph.-D. Piearres, 1780), vol. 1: 203, 232, 272, 275-6, 278, 407; cited and translated in Guion, 73.

<sup>24</sup>J[oo]s Verschuere-Rynvaan, *Musijkaal Kunst-Woordenboek* (Amsterdam: Wouter Brave, 1795), 75; cited and translated in Guion, 79.

erlernen, deren Gebrauch anjetzt  
allgemeiner ist.

common now.<sup>25</sup>

In his work *Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (1806),<sup>26</sup> Christian Schubart fervently defends the religious heritage of the trombone, propogating the alleged use of the instrument during Biblical times. In addition, he laments the contemporary performance practice of using the trombone in opera:

Dieses Instrument ist ganz kirchlich, . . . .  
Das Instrument ist uralte, und wie es  
scheint, eine Erfindung der Juden:  
denn schon im alten Testamente  
kommen Bemerkungen vor von  
Tonveränderungen auf blasenden  
Instrumenten; und diese lassen sich  
ausser der Posaune nicht denken.  
Jedes blasende Instrument hat nicht  
mehr und nicht weniger Töne als  
das Kuhhorn . . . .

Diess Instrument ist durch  
Jahrtausende nie profanirt worden,  
sondern immer gleichsam als ein  
Erbtheil dem Tempel Gottes  
geblieben. Man hing die heilige Posaune  
am Pfosten des Tempels auf, liess sie  
nur an Festtagen tönen,  
oder geboth ihr, den Flug des  
Kirchengesangs zu tragen. Aber in  
unseren Tagen hat man sie zum  
Operndienste entweiht; und die Posaune  
ist nicht mehr ein Eigenthum des  
Gottesdienstes.--  
Man gebraucht sie nun auch mit grossem  
Effect bey den Chören grosser Opern.

Man hat jetzt nicht nur Kirchengesänge  
für die Posaune gesetzt, sondern  
auch Concerte, Sonaten, Solis;  
und diess immer mit bewundernswerther  
Wirkung. Die Katholiken in Deutschland  
allein begünstigen indess diess Instrument  
noch, und wenn nicht in Wien Rath  
geschafft wird,\* so müssen wir fürchten,

This instrument is entirely  
ecclesiastical, . . . . The instrument is  
ancient, and, as it would seem, an invention  
of the Jews: for there appear references  
already in the Old Testament to tone  
changes on wind instruments,  
and this is unthinkable aside from *Posaune*.  
Each wind instrument has neither more nor  
fewer tones than a cow's horn. . . .

The instrument has never been  
profaned throughout the millennia,  
but rather has always remained a  
heritage of God's temple. The holy  
*Posaune* were hung on the  
doorpost of the temple and allowed  
to be sounded only on festival days  
or bidden to bear the soaring of  
church music. In our days, however, they  
have been desecrated for the  
service of opera, and the *Posaune*  
is no longer the property of God's  
worship. It is also used now with  
great effect in the choruses of large  
operas . . . .

Not only church music has now  
been composed for trombones, but  
also concertos, sonatas, and solos,  
and these always have an admirable effect.  
Only the Catholics in Germany still favor  
this instrument, and unless help is  
forthcoming from Vienna\*, we must fear  
the gradual and complete loss of this

<sup>25</sup>Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musickalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann dem Jüngere, 1802), col. 1163-65; cited and translated in Guion, 80-83.

<sup>26</sup>Schubart wrote *Ideen* between 1784-85, while in prison. It was not published until 1806 (fifteen years after his death). See David Ossenkop, "Schubart, Christian Friedrich Daniel," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

solches allmählig ganz zu verlieren.

Da sie heutiges Tages so gewaltig verabsäumt wird, und man nur armseligen Zinkenisten die Ausübung überlässt; so sollten unsere Muiklenker vorzüglichen Bedacht darauf nehmen, dieß göttlich autorisirte Instrument wieder zu wecken; Genies für sie zu beflügeln, und dadurch der Posaune den Donnerton wiederzugeben, den sie zu Salomos Zeiten hatte. Inzwischen gibt es doch noch jetzt sonderlich in Sachsen und Böhmen treffliche Posaunisten.

Ausgemacht aber ist es, dass der Posaunenton ganz für die Religion und nie fürs Profane gestimmt ist.

\*Auch hir hat Mozart Rath geschafft, und man findet seit ihm in den meisten neuen Opern Posaunen angebracht.

instrument . . . .

Since it is so greatly neglected today and the performance is left to wretched cornett players, so it is that our music directors should take into preferential consideration the reawakening of this divinely authorized instrument, and to urge geniuses in its favor, and thereby return to the thunderous sound of the trombone, which it had in Solomon's time. Meanwhile there are some outstanding trombonists in Saxonly and Bohemia.

But it is certain the the trombone is truly intended for religion and not at all for secular use.<sup>27</sup>

\*Here, too, Mozart had influence, and one finds trombones in most new operas after him.<sup>28</sup>

Joseph Fröhlich's *Vollständige theoretisch- pracktsche Musikschule* (1811) provides a similar record of Schubart's writing, though less inflammatory and legendary. Fröhlich notes that the instrument is related to the ancient trumpets, though he does not claim its use in Biblical times. He goes on to report that the instrument was in the past used in church music and supports the instrument's effective use in conveying solemn sentiments.

Fröhlich also credits Mozart with the positive revival of the instrument:

Von Der Posaune  
1 Werth des Instrumentes

Das der Trompete sowohl in Hinsicht  
des Alterhums als der Behandlungsweise  
nächstste Instrument ist die Posaune,  
von den Italiänern desswegen Trombone  
genannt. Der Volle feyerliche Ton  
derselben, und die grössere Ausdehnung,

On the Trombone  
1 Value of the Instrument

The trombone is the instrument that  
is closest to the trumpet in the  
regard of the ancients as well as in  
treatment. There, the Italians  
call it trombone [i.e. big trumpet].  
Its full, solemn tone (and the

<sup>27</sup>Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst*, ed. Ludwig Schubart (Vienna: J. V. Degen, 1806), 315-17; cited and translated in Guion, 83-86.

<sup>28</sup>David Guion suggests that this footnote was added by Ludwig Schubart, who edited the manuscript for publication, due to the fact that the manuscript predated significant use of trombones in the operas of Mozart. See Guion, 84.

welche dieses Instrument durch die bey demselben anzubringenden verschiedenen Züge erhält, wodurch man auch in den Stand gesetzt wird, aus allen Tonarten in ihrem ganzen Umfange spielen zu können, erheben es zu einem besonders brauchbaren musik-Werkzeuge. Der in ihm liegende volle klangreiche Ton befähigt den Spieler zum Ausdruck aller erhabenen eingreifenden Empfindungen, zur Darstellung und zur Unterhaltung der feyerlichsten Gemüthsstimmungen.

Daher es auch in den ältern Zeiten gewöhnlich zur Erhebung der Singstimmen in den Kirchenmusiken gesetzt wurde, und allerdings zur Erweckung der Andacht und Erbauung Vieles beytragen musste. Sein Gebrauch schien in den neuern Zeiten im Allgemeinen ziemlich abgekommen zu seyn, als Mozart, welcher so trefflich den Charakter aller Instrumente zu seiner Darstellung zu benutzen wusste, dieses würdige Instrumente in mehreren seiner Werke anwand, damit die vortrefflichsten Wirkungen hervorbrachte, und so das Meiste zu seiner Widereinführung beytrug. . .

Der Charakter des Instrumentes besonders geeignet zum Ausdruck des Erhabnen, Feyerlichen, welchem auf der andern Seite das Sanfte Ruhige entspricht . . .

greater extension that it receives through its ability to play all kinds of notes over its entire range) exalt it to an especially useful musical tool. Its full, sonorous tone enables the player to express all noble and effective sentiments for the exhibition and maintenance of the most solemn states of mind.

Therefore, it was usually played in the olden days for the exaltation of singing in church music, and to be sure, must have greatly contributed to the inspiration of prayer and devotion. In modern times, its use seemed in general to have fallen somewhat into disuse when Mozart, who knew how to take such excellent advantage of the character of all instruments in his compositions, used this worthy instrument in many of his works, with which he brought forth the most excellent effects, and so contributed the most to its reintroduction.

... This instrument is especially suitable for the expression of the noble and solemn, which suits the gentle and calm, as well as its usual role of doubling voices.<sup>29</sup>

This literature reflects the trombone's religious association established by Germanic vernacular Bibles beginning in the fifteenth century. More importantly, it shows that this association would have lasting effect beyond the bounds of the fifteenth-century ecclesiastical circle. These writers reveal that even four centuries later, amid changing roles for the trombone, its psycho-linguistic association to religious ritual and thought was still intact.

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<sup>29</sup>Joseph Fröhlich, *Vollständige theoretisch- pracktische Musikschule*, 4 vols. (Bonn: Simrock, [1811]), 3: 27-35; cited and translated in Guion, 94-97.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE TROMBONE AS SIGNIFIER IN SACRED GERMANIC WORKS

Numerous Germanic composers included the trombone in their sacred compositions. The rhetorical associations that the trombone has in such works derives from both the psycho-linguistic influence of Germanic vernacular translations of the Bible and the tradition of musical signifiers in sacred dramatic music. Though such signifiers initially represented a particular character in a dramatic work, they soon began to represent broader and often more abstract concepts. The technique of instrumental signifiers was especially favored by Germanic composers. This chapter will explore examples of Germanic sacred works from several genres which demonstrate the use of the trombone as signifier.

#### Sacred Dramatic Music: Background of Signification

From at least as early as the fourth century, Christian ritual included the recitation of the Passion narrative.<sup>1</sup> During the fifth century, a single reciter commonly presented the Passion. Desire to convey greater dramatic realism prompted the distinction of characters in the Passion story. Since Passion settings were chanted initially by one person, the differentiation of characters such as the Evangelist (or narrator), Christ, and the *turba* (or crowd, which included other minor characters) was accomplished by using different vocal ranges and tempos. Manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries include markings known as *Litterae significativae*, which indicated these distinctions.<sup>2</sup> Throughout follow-

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<sup>1</sup>The Passion narrative recounts the suffering, trial, and crucifixion of Jesus, as recorded in the synoptic Gospels (Matthew 21-28, Mark 11-16; Luke 19-24, John 12-21). See "Passion Narrative," *Mercer Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Watson E. Mills (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press). Also see Kurt von Fischer, "Passion," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th ed.; and Basil Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music: J. S. Bach and His Predecessors* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957).

<sup>2</sup>Fischer, "Passion."

ing centuries, the evolution of character distinction included polyphonic settings, different solo voices for primary characters, and the standardization of voice type for specific characters. Composers often assigned the words of Christ to a bass voice and those of the Evangelist to a tenor voice.

In the seventeenth century, a type of Passion setting known as “Oratorio Passion,” developed and flourished in Protestant Germanic areas. In this style of Passion setting, non-biblical sacred texts and contemplative passages supplement the biblical narrative.<sup>3</sup> Other significant changes include recitative in place of chant, and instrumental accompaniment. The earliest extant Passion with instrumental accompaniment is the *Passion nach dem Evangelisten Johannes* (1643) by Thomas Selle (1599-1663).<sup>4</sup> In this work, Selle systematically used specific instruments as signifiers for the main characters to enhance the older practice of signifying through different voice registers. The Evangelist (tenor) is accompanied by two bassoons. The voice of Christ (bass) is coupled with two violins and bassoon, while the voice of Peter (tenor) is accompanied by two flutes and bassoon. Two cornetti and trombone sound with the voice of Pilate (alto) (Example 1). The precedent of instrumental signifiers appealed to other seventeenth-century composers of Passion settings as well.<sup>5</sup>

### Sacred Dramatic Music in the Seventeenth Century

Another Germanic sacred dramatic work that reinforces the use of instrumental signifiers is Heinrich Schütz’s *Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi*. In Intermedium 6, Schütz

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<sup>3</sup>Curtis Price, ed., *The Early Baroque Era: From the late 16th century to the 1660s* (London: Macmillan Press, 1993), 191.

<sup>4</sup>Fischer, “Passion.”

<sup>5</sup>Notable examples include: *St. Matthew Passion* of Johann Sebastiani (1622-1680) and *St. John Passion* of Johann Theile (1646-1724). See Johann Sebastiani, *In nomine JESU Crucifix*, ed. Hans Joachim Moser, Folge 1, Bd. 17, in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Graz: Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958); and Johann Theile, *Passio, Domini Nostri Jesu Christi secundum Evangeli Mattheum*, ed. Hans Joachim Moser, Folge 1, Bd. 17, in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Graz: Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958).



The image shows a page of a musical score for Thomas Selle's *St. John Passion*, part 3, measures 46-67. The score is written for a large ensemble and includes vocal parts. The instruments shown are Flute I, Flute II, Violin I, Violin II, Cornet II, and Posaune (Trumpet). The vocal parts are for the Evangelist, Jesus, and Pilatus. The lyrics are in German. The first system shows the Evangelist singing 'Jo - sus ant - wor - tet:' followed by Jesus singing 'Mein Reich ist nicht von die - ser Welt.' The second system shows Pilatus singing 'Pi - la - tus sprach zu ihm:' followed by Jesus singing 'So bist du dennoch ein Kö - nig?'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

accompanies Herod's solo (bass) with trumpets, reflecting a longstanding visual and aural signifier practice for military, political, or royal leaders as demonstrated in Chapter 1 (Example 2). In Intermedium 5, Schütz uses a pair of trombones as signifier for the high-priests and scribes (Example 3). Schütz also uses trombones (doubling violas) in the opening sinfonia/chorus which heralds the birth of Christ. In Intermedium 5 and the opening chorus, Schütz incorporates the signifier/signified association reflected in the trombone's ancient predecessors. Example 2 reflects the association with religious or cultic personage. Example 3, reflecting an implied association with the angelic messengers who announced Christ's birth, recalls the link with heavenly or supernatural figures.

<sup>6</sup>Thomas Selle, *Passion nach dem Evangelisten Johannes*, ed. Rudolf Gerber, in *Das Chorwerk*, v. 26, ed. Friedrich Blume (Wolfenbüttel: Mösseler Verlag, n.d.).

Example 2. Trumpets as signifier for Herod in Schütz's *Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi*. Intermedium 6.<sup>7</sup>

### Intermedium 6

Herodes

Bassus solus cum duobus Clarinis vel Cornettinis. à 3

The musical score for Intermedium 6, Herodes, is written for Bassus solus cum duobus Clarinis vel Cornettinis. à 3. The score includes staves for Clarino primo, Clarino secundo, Gb. (Trombone), and Herodes (Bass). The Herodes part includes the lyrics "Zie - het hin, zie - het hin,". The score is in G major and 3/4 time.

### Sacred Dramatic Music in the Eighteenth Century

The trombone appears in several Germanic oratorios in the eighteenth century. Notable examples include works by Ernst Eberlin (1702-1762) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791). Eberlin uses a solo trombone in two Passion oratorios, *Der verurteilte Jesus* (The Condemned Jesus) and *Der verlorene Sohn* (The Lost Son). In *Der verurteilte Jesus*, Eberlin sets the aria *Fliess o heisser Tränenbach* (Flow, Oh Bitter Stream

<sup>7</sup>Heinrich Schütz, *Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi*, in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Bd. 1, ed. Friedrich Schöneich (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), 40.

Example 3. Trombones as signifier for highpriests and scribes in Schütz's *Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi*. Intermedium 5.<sup>8</sup>

**Intermedium 5**  
Hohepriester und Schriftgelehrte  
Quattuor Bassi cum duobus Trombonis à 6

Sinfonia

The musical score is for a piece titled 'Intermedium 5' by Heinrich Schütz, from his work 'Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi'. It is for a vocal ensemble of four basses and two trombones. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a 'Sinfonia' marking. The second system shows the vocal entries, with the lyrics 'Zu Beth - le -' appearing under the bass staves. The trombones play a melodic line with many sixteenth notes, while the basses have a more rhythmic, dotted pattern.

of Tears), for solo trombone and the allegorical character, the Daughter of Zion.<sup>9</sup> In this penitential text, the Daughter of Zion weeps, (even tears of blood) with the realization that her heart has destroyed her greatest treasure [Jesus] and her untrue heart has taken this hostage, and with “so many chains” bound him to so many burdens.<sup>10</sup> The trombone functions both in solo and *colla parte* capacities. Eberlin uses the trombone to emphasize the text: *Gut* (treasure), *Blut* ([tears of] blood), *Fesseln* (chains), and *Laster* (burdens). Eberlin’s *Der verlorene Sohn* includes solo trombone in the tenor aria, *Menschen sagt Was ist das Leben*. This text speaks of many great sufferings in life --”nothing but anguish, ter-

<sup>8</sup>Schütz, *Historia*, 33.

<sup>9</sup>Ernst Eberlin, *Fliess o heisser Tränenbach*, ed. Ken Shifrin, vol. 1, in *The Solo Baroque Trombone in Chamber Music* (Long Eaton, England: Virgo Music Publishers, 1987), 1-5.

<sup>10</sup>“Fliess o heisser Tränenbach! Schick o Herz ein banges Ach! Man zerfleischt dein höchstes Gut, wein, O Aug, ja weine Blut. Deise Geiseln und die Sünden, die mein falsches Herz getan so viel Fesseln als ihn binden so viel sieh ich Laster an.”

ror, and struggle” (*Nichts als Angst und Furcht und Streit*), but offers hope following the long struggle (*langem Streite*) when the “Lord will decorate you with laurels for your heroic valor” (*der Herr mit Lorbeer schmücken Euren tapfern Heldenmut*)<sup>11</sup>

Mozart’s contribution to sacred drama includes the Lenten oratorio *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* (KV 35).<sup>12</sup> Only the first part of this work is Mozart’s, the second and third parts were composed by Michael Haydn and Anton Adlgasser, respectively.<sup>13</sup> The title page reads “Die Schuldigkeit/ Des ersten und fürnehmsten Ge/bottes Marc. 12. v. 30./Du sollst den Hern, deinen Gott lieben von ganzen/ deinem herzen, von deiner ganzen Seel, von dei/nem ganzen Gemüth, und aus allen/ deinen Kräften.” (“The obligation of the first and foremost commandment Mark 12:30: ‘You shall love the Lord, your God, with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your mind and with all your strength.’”) The libretto of the oratorio concerns itself with the waywardness of humanity, and as a result, impending judgment. In the drama, the allegorical characters “Christian Spirit,” “Compassion,” and “Justice,” discover the apathetic character “Christian” sleeping in the bushes and discuss what should be done. After being awakened from his idleness, “Worldly Spirit” appears and attempts to sway “Christian,” but he recalls the words that woke him: “Awake, idle servant! You will render an exact account of your life.” Mozart chose to accompany this imperative and warning with a single alto trombone (Example 4), vividly

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<sup>11</sup>“Menschen sagt, was ist das Leben? Nichts als Angst und Furcht und Streit, wo mich tausend Feind umgeben, alles Euch das Ende dräut. Lasst ihr aber edles Blut in dem langem Streite blikken, wird der Herr mit Lorbeer schmücken Euren tapfern Heldenmut. See Ernst Eberlin, *Menschen sagt Was ist das Leben?*, ed. Ken Shifrin, vol. 2, in *The Solo Baroque Trombone in Chamber Music* (Long Eaton, England: Virgo Music Publishers, 1987), 3-6.

<sup>12</sup>Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots*, ed. Franz Giegling, Ser. 1, Wg. 4, Bd. 1, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958).

<sup>13</sup>The work was presented by J. A. Weiser. Only the libretto of the second and third parts of this work survive. Peter Branscombe, “Music for the Initiated: Mozart’s Oratorios, Cantatas and Masonic Music,” liner notes from *Mozart Oratorios - Cantatas - Masonic Music*, vol. 22 in *Complete Mozart Edition* (Philips 422-522-2), 43-44.

capturing the essence of the association by uniting the instrument with the judgment implied by the warning. Mozart uses this single trombone one other place in this work. In Christian's aria that follows (no. 5), he again recalls these words and brings the association of judgment and the trombone to a conscious level as Christian says, "The power of those thunderous words that penetrated into my soul calls me to account. Yes, as they are repeated, my fearful ear still hears the blare of the trombone [*Posaunenschall*] that reaches my fearful ear."<sup>14</sup> (Example 5). The solo alto trombone begins the aria accompanied by strings and then interacts with the voice. The trombone is independent of Christian's solo, but the two unite at the first two occurrences of the word "account" (*Rechenschaft*) in measures 29 and 35. Emphasis is given to the "blare of the trombone" by its insertion during dramatic pauses in the vocal line and other accompaniment and in ornamented fermatas (mm. 98-100, 114-16, 193-97). The haunting recurrence of the trombone reinforces the "thunderous words" which trouble Christian throughout much of the drama.

Though trombones were not originally included in Handel's oratorio *Messiah*, Mozart did use them sparingly in his orchestration of the work. They appear only in the first chorus of Part 3 during the texts "Wie durch Einen der Tod" (Since by man came death) and "Denn wie durch Adam alle sterben" (For as in Adam, all die). The sections which follow each of these statements contrast the tempo (*allegro* instead of *grave*) and text message which emphasizes the resurrection through Christ: "By man came also the resurrection of the dead" and "Even so in Christ shall all be made alive." The *grave* sections clearly demonstrate the instrument's association with the concept of death as judgment for the sin of humanity.

Mozart's sacred drama  *Davide penitente* (KV 469) incorporates symbolic trombones in several movements.<sup>15</sup> As would be expected, Mozart does not include trombones

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<sup>14</sup>Branscombe, 144, 148.

<sup>15</sup>*Davide penitente* was presented to the Vienna Society of Musicians (Wiener

in the solo or solo ensemble movements (3, 5, 6, 8, and 9). Of the the remaining five movements, which are all choruses, only three of them are scored for trombone (1, 7, and 10). The use of trombones in these movements reflects the instrument's association with penitential texts:

No. 1  
I raised my feeble voice up to the Lord,  
I raised my voice up to the Lord,  
sorely aggrieved.

No. 7  
If you wish, punish me,  
but first, Lord  
allow your scorn, your fury,  
at least to be diminished,  
at least to be moderated.  
See my pale, infirm cheek,  
ah, see my pale cheek, Lord.  
O heal me, O lend me aid and succour,  
Lord, you can, lend me succour,  
O heal me, lend me aid.

No. 10  
He who puts his trust only in God  
has no fear of such dangers.

This is in contrast to other movements in which the trombones are absent such as No. 2 (Chorus):

Let us sing the glories,  
let us sing the praises,  
and let us repeat them  
in a hundred and again a hundred ways,  
and let us repeat the praises, and sing  
the glories of the most lovable Lord.<sup>16</sup>

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Tonkünstlergesellschaft) in 1785 as a part of a Lenten concert series. Mozart borrowed much of the material for the work from his unfinished Mass, KV 427. Sources have classified *Davide penitente* as an oratorio, a cantata, and a sacred drama. Mozart's thematic catalog, begun in 1784, does not include a description of it, even though it was performed in 1785, as much of the material dates from before 1784. The catalog does include the two newly composed arias which were a part of *Davide penitente*, but they do not make reference to the entire work. See Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Mozart's Thematic Catalogue: A Facsimile, British Library Stefan Zweig MS 63*, trans. Albi Rosenthal and Alan Tyson (London: The British Library, 1990), 3, 17, 31-32; Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts*, 6th ed. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1964), 448, 509-11; Branscombe, 49; Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks, "Mozart," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th ed.

<sup>16</sup>Translations by Claudia Bedini. See Branscombe, 254-58.

Example 4. Solo trombone as signifier of judgment in Mozart's *Die Schuldigkeit*, recitative: "Wie, wer erwecket mich?", mm. 48-52.

Allegro 48 Adagio

*Trombone alto*

*Violino I* con sordini *pp*

*Violino II* con sordini *pp*

*Viola* con sordini *pp*

*CHRIST* wache, fau-ler Knecht! du wirst von dei-nem Le-ben ge-

*Violoncello o Basso* *pp* pizzicato *pp*

51

*senza sordini* *f*

*senza sordini* *f*

*senza sordini* *f*

*WELTGEIST*

nau-e Rech-nung ge-ben. Ich weiß nicht, was ich nun von dir ge-

*f*



Example 5. Solo trombone reinforcing the text “Posaunenschall,” in Mozart’s *Die Schuldigkeit*, aria no. 5, “Jener Donnerworte Kraft,” mm. 111-124.

The image displays a musical score for a scene from Mozart's *Die Schuldigkeit*. It features seven staves: Trombone alto, Violini I, Violini II, Viola I, Viola II, a vocal line for CHRIST, and Violoncello e Basso. The score is divided into two systems. The first system begins at measure 111, where the Trombone alto and Violini I/II have trills (tr) and the vocal line has a trill. The lyrics are: "CHRIST - ges Ohr er-kin-gen an-noch den Po-sau-nen-schall, mit ih-rem". The second system begins at measure 117, with the Trombone alto and Violini I/II having trills. The lyrics are: "Wi-der-hall an-noch den Po-sau-nen-schall." Dynamics include *pp* (pianissimo), *cresc.* (crescendo), and *p* (piano). The Trombone alto part is specifically noted with *tr* and *pp* in measures 111 and 117.

The score does not indicate the participation of trombones in No. 4 (Chorus) despite the text’s penitential emphasis. It reads: “Be always kind, O Lord, and may my prayers move you to pity.” One could argue, however, that the trombones should double the voices in this brief movement (12 mm.), as they do in much of the work.

### Concerted Motets

Substantial support for the symbolism associated with the trombone comes from concerted motets. Though influenced by Italian composers, such works were widely

popular in Germanic areas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> A subset of this genre, found in both Italian and Germanic areas, is identified as the “trombone motet.” These are works for one or more voice parts accompanied by at least one trombone.<sup>18</sup> The psycho-linguistic link between the instrument and the biblical text certainly must have contributed to this genre’s popularity with Germanic composers. Such contributors include Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), Johann Hermann Schein (1586-1630), Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654), Thomas Selle (1599-1663), Johann Vierdanck (ca. 1605-1646), Andreas Hammerschmidt (1611/12?-1675), Johann Rudolf Ahle (1625-1673), Christoph Bernhard (1627-1692), Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741), and Michael Haydn (1737-1806).

The motets of Johann Herman Schein and Samuel Scheidt include instrumental designations which could be rendered by trombones. The concerted motets (*Geistliches Konzerte*) of Johann Herman Schein published in *Opella nova I* (1618) all include a melodic bass instrument in addition to the voice and continuo.<sup>19</sup> Though the scores do not specify the instrument, prefatory notes by Schein suggest that the part be performed on “Trombone, Fagotto, [or] Viola grossa.”<sup>20</sup> One of the motets for two sopranos, “Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam” (no. 13), is scored for three melodic instruments (*alt-*

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<sup>17</sup>For discussion of the sacred concerto in Italy, see George Kay Halsell, “North Italian Sacred Ensemble Music of the First Third of the Seventeenth Century Calling for Participation by One or More Trombones: An Annotated Anthology With Historical Introduction and Commentary,” (D.M.A. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1989), 7, 14. Also see Ulrich Diekmann, liner notes from *German Music for Trombones*, Triton Trombone Quartet, BIS-CD-644.

<sup>18</sup>The term “trombone motet” appears in Jerome Roche, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi*. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1984), 82.

<sup>19</sup>See Johann Hermann Schein, *Opella nova- Erster Teil Geistlicher Konzerten, 1618*, ed. Adam Adrio and Siegmund Helms, Bd. 4 in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973).

<sup>20</sup>Johann Hermann Schein, *Geistliche Konzerte Opella nova I Teil, 1618*, Reihe 4, Nr. 12, in *Das Chorwerk Alter Meister*, ed. Paul Horn (Stuttgart-Hohenheim: Hänssler-Verlag, 1964), 4; Schein, *Opella nova I*, vii.

*Instrument, Tenor-Instrument, Instrumentalbaß*) which could be ideally rendered by a consort of trombones or cornetto and two trombones.<sup>21</sup> Many of Samuel Scheidt's concerted sacred works include designations for instruments paired with each of the voice parts (i.e., *cantus instrumentalis*, *altus instrumentalis*, *tenor instrumentalis*, *bass instrumentalis*), though the instruments are not specified.<sup>22</sup>

In other motets, the inclusion of trombone is much more clearly indicated. Michael Praetorius's *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica* (1619) offers examples of trombones in the accompaniment. In section 1 of *Wachet auf ruft uns die Stimme*, a quartet of trombones functions independently of the voices. Praetorius also specifies trombone in his setting of *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*.<sup>23</sup> Schütz scored his setting of *Domine, labia mea aperies* (SWV 271) for soprano and tenor voice accompanied by cornetto, trombone, and bassoon.<sup>24</sup> Scheidt's *Werke* does include one concerted motet with trombones, the *Urform* of no. 10, *Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herrn*. This sectional setting of Psalm 103 is scored for two choirs (SATB/SATB), the first doubled with strings and the second doubled by trombones and cornetto. Part 2 of this work, scored for two tenors and three trombones (*Posaun oder Fagott*), sets Psalm 103:7-12:

Er hat wissen lassen  
sein heilig Recht und sein Gericht,  
dazu sein Güt ohn Maßen,  
es mangelt an seiner Erbarmung nicht;  
Sein'n Zorn läßt er wohl fahren,  
straft nicht nach unser Schuld,

He has made known  
his holy law and his judgment,  
as well his blessings without number,  
I lack not in his mercy;  
His wrath he abandons [and]  
punishes not for our debt,

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 11, 73.

<sup>22</sup>See examples in Samuel Scheidt, *Concertus Sacri I-VI*, ed. Hans Grüss, Bd. 14 in *Samuel Scheidts Werke* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1970), 3, 55, 57, 61, 83.

<sup>23</sup>Michael Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica* (1619), ed. Wilibald Gurlitt, Bd 17 in *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius* (Wolfenbüttel: Mösseler Verlag, n.d.), 192-205, 229-33

<sup>24</sup>Heinrich Schütz, *Domine, labia mea aperies*, in *Symphoniae Sacrae I / 1629*, ed. Gerhard Kirchner, Bd. 14 of *Heinrich Schütz Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 56-69.

die Gnad tut er nicht sparen,  
den Blöden ist er hold.  
Sein Güt ist hoch erhaben,  
ob den'n die fürchten ihn,  
als fern der Ost vom Abend,  
ist unser Sünde dahin.

the grace he does not spare,  
to the feeble he is gracious.  
His goodness is sublime,  
for those that fear him;  
as far as the East is from the West,  
is our sin removed.

This hymn alludes to the concepts of judgment as it rejoices in punishment escaped, sin disregarded, and wrath abandoned. Because of these associations, it is fitting that Scheidt chose to accompany the text with trombones.<sup>25</sup> Eight of the concerted motets by Johann Vierdanck include two to four trombones as part of the accompaniment.<sup>26</sup> In addition to doubling voices, the trombones often function independently. Johann Rudolph Ahle used four trombones (with two violins) both *colla parte* with the voices and independently in his *Zwingt die Saiten in Cithara* (1665, Nr. 5).<sup>27</sup> The large-scale concerted motets of Christoph Bernhard employ multiple trombones.<sup>28</sup> The double-choir *Benedic animas mea* for nine voices (SSATB/SATB) uses two cornetti, four trombones, bassoon, strings, and continuo. Also for double choir is his *Tribularer si nescirem*, for ten voices (SSATB/SSATB) which uses the same instruments with the exception of one less trombone. The penitential mood of this text is heightened by the inclusion of trombones:

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<sup>25</sup>Samuel Scheidt, *Geistliche Konzerte Teil I*, ed. Christhard Mahrenholz, Bd. 8 in *Samuel Scheidts Werke* (Hamburg: Ugrino Verlag, 1957), 97-128.

<sup>26</sup>Motets that include trombone: 16. *Siehe, wie fein und lieblich*, 22. *Der Herr hat seinen Engeln befohlen*, 24. *Steh auf, meine Freundin*, 40. *Zion spricht*, 41. *Ei, du frommer und getreuer Knecht*, 44. *Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend*, and 45. *Der Herr*

*Zebaoth*. See Johann Vierdanck, *Geistliche Konzerte*, ed. Gerhard Weiss, Sonderreihe, Bd. 6 and 7 in *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988, 1990).

<sup>27</sup>Johann Rudolph Ahle, "Zwingt die Saiten in Cithara," no. 34 in *Ausgewählte Gesandgswerke mit und ohne Begleitung von Instrumenten*, Fg. 1, Bd. 5, ed. Johannes Wolf, in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957), 160-71.

<sup>28</sup>Christoph Bernhard, *Geistliche Konzerte und Andere Werke*, ed. Otto Dreschler, Bd. 90 in *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982), 55-74, 135-60; Christoph Bernhard, *Mattias Weckmann-Christoph Bernhard: Solokantaten und Chorwerke mit Instrumentalbegleitung*, ed. Max Sieffert, Folge 1, Bd. 6 in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957), 161-72.

Tribularer si nescirem  
 misericordias tuas, Domine.  
 Tu dixisti: Vivo ego et nolo mortem  
 peccatoris sed ut magis convertatur et vivat.  
 Qui Cananaeam et  
 publicanum ad poenitentiam vocasti et  
 lacrymantem Petrum misericors suscepisti,  
 miserere mei.

I would grieve if I didn't know  
 your mercy, Lord.  
 You said: I live and refuse the death  
 of the sinner but rather convert and live.  
 You who called the Canaanites and the  
 publicans to penance and  
 you who upheld the crying Peter,  
 have mercy on me.<sup>29</sup>

Bernhard's six-voice *O anima mea accipe pennas aurorae* uses three trombones, strings, and continuo. This motet conveys the theme of judgment:

O anima mea accipe pennas aurorae et  
 absconde in vulneribus salvatoris tui  
 donec per transeat ira, ira Domini  
 et in venies in eis requiem.

O my soul, accept the feathers of dawn and  
 hide in your savior's wounds  
 until the wrath, the wrath of God passes  
 and you find rest.<sup>30</sup>

The concerted motets of Fux often include, among other instruments, a standard grouping of cornetto and two trombones.<sup>31</sup> Variations in this grouping include the indication "*viola o trombone*" in *Accurrite fideles animae* (E 101) and parts for three trombones in *Oravi Deum meum, ego Daniel* (E 105).<sup>32</sup> Several motets by Michael Haydn use trombones in the accompaniment. These include *In Festis Pontificum* (1783), *In Epiphania Domini* (1784), *In Festis B.M.V.* (1784), *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (1784), *Pro Dominica XXII. post Pentec.* (1790), and *Laudate populi* (1800). These works appear in the catalog of Michael Haydn's sacred works.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Translation by Dr. Julio A. Jimenez, Professor, Modern Foreign Language Department, Baylor University.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup>Motets including two trombones and cornetto: *Estote Fortes* (K 159), *Sacris solemnibus iuncta* (K 160), *Plaudite Deo nostro* (K 167), *Reges Tharsis* (K 168), *O Ignis coelestis* (K 170), *Ave pia stella maris* (K 173), *Christe, Fili summi Patris* (K 175), *Concussum est mare* (K 177), and *Omnis terra* (K 183). See Johann Joseph Fux, *Offertoriumsmotetten*, ed. Rudolf Walter, Ser. 3, Bd. 3 and 4, in *Sämtliche Werke* (Graz, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992, 1996).

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 180-220, 221-49.

<sup>33</sup>See catalog of sacred works in Michael Haydn, *Kirchenwerke*, ed. Anton Maria Klafsky, Jahrg. 32/1, Bd. 62 in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1960), v-vi.

While many of the concerted motets include parts for trombone or parts likely to have been rendered on trombone, there are several works which emphasize the rhetorical associations to an even greater extent by using only trombones and continuo as accompaniment. Samuel Scheidt uses two trombones (tenor and bass) to accompany two sopranos in his motet, *Komm, heiliger Geist*.<sup>34</sup> Heinrich Schütz's *Veni, dilecte mi* (SWV 274), uses three trombones to accompany three high voices (two soprano and one tenor). Perhaps the exclusive use of trombones in the accompaniment reinforces that the text (Song of Solomon 5:1) is indeed biblical, despite its amorous tone.<sup>35</sup> Johann Rudolf Ahle's SATB setting of the *Nunc Dimittis* (Song of Simeon, Luke 2:29-32), *Herr, nun läßt du deinen Diener* (1658) uses cornetto and three trombones (with the option of substituting strings).<sup>36</sup> In the Luke narrative, Simeon's words upon viewing the Christ child are: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to thy people Israel." Perhaps Ahle permitted the use of trombones in this setting because of their association with death and life beyond. Simeon's request alludes to textual elements of the Requiem Mass, notably the Introit, Pie Jesu, and In Paradisium (see discussion of Requiem Masses below).

Even more striking are the motets using trombones and solo bass voice. These dramatic examples reveal an even more pointed rhetorical symbolism. The first example, Heinrich Schütz's *Attendite, popule meus* (SWV 270), is a setting of Psalm 78:1-3 ("Give

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<sup>34</sup>Samuel Scheidt, *Geistliche Konzerte, Teil III*, ed. Adam Adrio, Bd. 11 in *Samuel Scheidts Werke* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1964), 50-54.

<sup>35</sup>"I come to my garden, my sister, my bride, I gather my myrrh with my spice, I eat my honeycomb with my honey, I drink my wine with my milk. Eat, O friends, and drink; drink deeply, O lovers!" (Song of Solomon 5:1). See Heinrich Schütz, *Veni, dilecte mi*, in *Symphonie Sacrae I/1629*, ed. Gerhard Kirchner, Bd. 14 of *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 98-115.

<sup>36</sup>Johann Rudolf Ahle, *Ausgewählte Gesangswerke*, ed. Johannes Wolf, Folg. 1, Bd. 5, in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957), 132-46.



ear, O my people, to my teaching; incline your ears to the words of my mouth! I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings from of old, things that we have heard and known, that our fathers have told.”)<sup>37</sup> This setting reflects the ancient biblical tradition of the lip-vibrated aerophone’s association with pronouncement to the people. This pairing of text and instruments also recalls the ancient association between such instruments and theophany, as the text communicates a sense of God’s communication to his people.

Schütz’s *Fili mi, Absalon* (SWV 269), incorporates four trombones and bass voice to recount the story of King David’s lamentation following the death of his son, Absalom. In the prelude and interludes of the work, the trombones establish the dark atmosphere reflected in the biblical text and its themes of judgment, death, and lamentation.<sup>38</sup> Schütz composed this work following his studies with Monteverdi in Venice in 1628.<sup>39</sup>

Thomas Selle (1599-1663) also used four trombones and bass voice in his setting of *Domine, exaudi orationem meam*.<sup>40</sup> As in Schütz’s *Fili mi, Absalon*, rhetorical symbolism of the trombones heightens the setting of this penitential text, Psalm 102:1-2: “Hear my prayer, O Lord, let my cry come to thee! Do not hide thy face from me in the day of my distress! Incline thy ear to me; answer me speedily in the day when I call!”

Andreas Hammerschmidt scored *Gott sei mir gnädig* (1642) for bass voice and two

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<sup>37</sup>Heinrich Schütz, *Attendite, popule meus*, in *Symphonie Sacrae I/1629*, ed. Gerhard Kirchner, Bd. 14 of *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 40-55.

<sup>38</sup>As was foretold by the prophet Nathan in 2 Samuel 12:14, Absalom would die as a result of David’s sins associated with Bathsheba and Uriah (2 Sam 11:2-12:25). Heinrich Schütz, *Fili mi, Absalon*, in *Symphonie Sacrae I/1629*, ed. Gerhard Kirchner, Bd. 14 of *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 30-39.

<sup>39</sup>Monteverdi was an important influence in the use of the trombone as a signifier. His opera, *L’Orfeo* (1607) clearly uses the trombone as a signifier for the underworld. Other operatic uses of the trombone as signifier include Gluck’s *Orfeo* (1762), *Alceste* (1767), Mozart’s *Idomeneo* (1781), *Don Giovanni* (1787), and *Die Zauberflöte* (1791).

<sup>40</sup>Thomas Selle, *Domine exaudi*, in *Ausgewählte Kirchenmusik*, ed. Klaus Vetter, Reihe 4, Nr. 7 of *Das Chorwerk alter Meister* (Stuttgart: Hänssler Verlag, 1965), 184-89.



trombones. The instrumentation of this motet, which comes from Hammerschmidt's *Musikalische Andachten*, is unique; all of the other works of this publication indicate an accompaniment of violins or violin and bassoon.<sup>41</sup> As in previous examples, Hammerschmidt reinforces the penitential text with trombones:

Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy steadfast love; according to thy abundant mercy blot out my transgressions. Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin! For I know my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me. Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done that which is evil in thy sight, so that thou art justified in thy sentence and blameless in thy judgment. Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me. Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward being; . . . (Psalm 51:1-6a)

### Sacred Cantatas

Another genre important to this study of trombone as signifier is the sacred cantata. Especially noteworthy are works by composers associated with the Thomaskirche and school in Leipzig during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Contributions by Sebastian Knüpfer (1633-1676), Johann Schelle (1648-1701), and Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) show evidence of the trombone as signifier.<sup>42</sup>

Three examples from the cantatas of Knüpfer include three trombones, along with two cornetti, strings, and continuo, accompanying 5-8 voices.<sup>43</sup> In his chorale cantatas, *Was mein Gott will* and *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl*, Knüpfer uses trombones in the sinfonia and outer textured movements. Knüpfer also uses three trombones and two cornetti (or bombardes) in *Machet die Tore weit* (Psalm 24:7-10). In this setting of Psalm

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<sup>41</sup>Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Gott sei mir gnädig für Baß, 2 Posaunen und Basso continuo*, ed. Martin Lebenow (Gorsheim: Parow'schen Musikalien, 1994), 5.

<sup>42</sup>The following list chronicles the cantorships of Thomaskirche in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries : Sethus Calvisius (1594-?), J. H. Schein (1615-30), Tobias Michael (1631-57), Sebastian Knüpfer (1657-76), Johann Schelle (1677-1701), Johann Kuhnau (1701-22), J. S. Bach (1723-50), Gottlieb Harrer (1750-55), J. F. Doles (1756-89), J. A. Hiller (1789-1804).

<sup>43</sup>Sebastian Knüpfer, *Was mein Gott will* and *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl*, ed. Arnold Schering, Folg. 1, Bd. 58/59, in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), 1-29, 30-59, 91-121.

24:7-10, the ensemble accompanies the text “Lift up your heads, O Gates and be lifted up, O ancient doors that the King of glory may come in.” Originally part of an entrance liturgy, this psalm addresses the gates of Jerusalem.<sup>44</sup> The use of trombones and cornetti or bombardes in this context is reminiscent of the municipal wind band or *stadpfeifer* and its civic duties of conveying important information to the community.

Johann Schelle used trombones in at least two of his cantatas, *Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele*, and *Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar*. The instrumentation of both works contains five voices, cornetti (2), trombones (2 and 3), trumpets (2 and 4), timpani, strings, and organ.<sup>45</sup> As noted above with Scheidt’s setting of *Lobe den Herrn*, this setting of Psalm 103:1-5 alludes to the issues of sin and atonement, affliction and healing, and salvation from destruction -- themes often associated with the trombone. *Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar* is drawn from Luther’s hymn based on the Christmas story Luke 2:10-11 (“And the angel said to them, ‘Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good news of a great joy which will come to all the people; for to you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, who is Christ the Lord.’”) and Micah 5:2 (“But you, O Bethlehem Ephrathah, who are little to be among the clans of Judah, from you shall come forth for me one who is to be ruler in Israel, whose origin is from of old, from ancient days”). In addition to the trombone’s association with angelic pronouncement, this text also includes a verse that reflects the instrument’s connection to death and judgment: “What can sin and death do to you? You have with you the true God. Let devil and hell be angry, God’s son has become your companion.”<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Bernhard W. Anderson, *Out of the Depths: The Psalms Speak for Us Today* (Philadelphia: Westminster Pres, 1983), 30, 161, 181-82.

<sup>45</sup>Johann Schelle, *Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele*, and *Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar*, ed. Arnold Schering, Folg. 1, Bd. 58/59, in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), 122-66 and 167-206.

<sup>46</sup>Johann Schelle, *Six Chorale Cantatas*, xxiv.

Notable examples of signification in sacred cantatas occur in the works of Johann Sebastian Bach. With the single exception of the funeral motet *O Jesus Christ, mein Lebens Licht* (BWV 118/231), Bach limited his employment of trombones to sacred cantatas (See Appendix C, Trombones in the Compositions of J. S. Bach).<sup>47</sup> Well-known for his use of rhetorical devices, the inclusion of such a signifying instrument should come as no surprise, and to limit an instrument with religious associations to works of a sacred nature is understandable. It is curious however, that Bach did not include the trombone in Mass settings or sacred dramatic works, for which there was already a precedent of signification with trombone.<sup>48</sup> Upon investigation of Bach's use of the trombone, one finds support (though it is not absolute) for the rhetorical overtones affiliated with this instrument.

To gain a better understanding of the trombone's role in the sacred cantatas, one must understand the purpose of the genre and closely examine the instances in which Bach used the instrument. In the Germanic sacred cantata, literary imagery and textual conveyance were of utmost importance. The cantata was a significant part of the liturgy in the Lutheran church, serving a didactic role and illuminating liturgical themes of the day.<sup>49</sup> The cantata was "regarded as a significant medium for the proclamation, amplification, and interpretation of scripture."<sup>50</sup> When analyzing the texts of these works, it is important to note

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<sup>47</sup>Though one could sight the clear funereal association of aerophones in ancient cultures, Bach's use of the trombone occurs in only this motet, despite the fact that five of the eight motets were composed for memorial or funeral services. This work was formerly treated as a cantata (BWV 118) by nineteenth-century editors, but has since been renumbered as BWV 118/231. See Stephen Daw, *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Choral Works* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 141; and Wolfgang Schmieder, ed., *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach, Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis (BWV)*, 2d ed. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990), 374-75.

<sup>48</sup>See examples of trombones in Mass settings in following section.

<sup>49</sup>Unger, xi.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

that “because cantata librettists often developed theological themes through a sequential series of scriptural allusions, the full-import of a text emerges only after individual allusions interact in the reader’s mind.”<sup>51</sup>

The Calov Bible belonging to Bach attests to the importance he placed on the “amplification and interpretation of scripture.” The marginalia, corrections, and other markings in this bible provide a valuable window into Bach’s personal knowledge and understanding of the scriptures.<sup>52</sup> These marks in Bach’s own hand are “of the greatest importance, for they point to Bach’s interest in and concern for the integrity and significance of the Biblical text.”<sup>53</sup> “Taken as a whole, the Calov Bible provides strong evidence that Bach took keen interest in theological study and, hence, would have regarded the church cantata as a significant medium for theological proclamation.”<sup>54</sup> Though none of Bach’s marginalia comments on the rhetorical role of the trombone, this source does give evidence of his understanding of scripture which is reflected in his settings of biblical and biblically-based texts.

Upon careful examination of the cantatas, it becomes clear that Bach uses the trombone as a rhetorical signifier of particular themes. The texts accompanied by trombone (or the scriptures to which the texts allude) are predominantly concerned with themes of judgment and apocalyptic imagery. These include the sub-themes of sinfulness, wrath, earthly

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., xiii.

<sup>52</sup>Included in Bach’s personal library was the three-volume Bible with commentary edited by theologian Abraham Calov, published in Wittenberg in 1681-82. The commentary was largely assembled from the writings of Martin Luther with additions by Calov. See Howard H. Cox, ed., *The Calov Bible of Bach*, Studies in Musicology, no. 92, ed. George Buelow (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985); Robin A. Leaver, *J. S. Bach and Scripture: Glosses from the Calov Bible Commentary* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985), 11; and Melvin P. Unger, *Handbook to Bach’s Sacred Cantata Texts: An Interlinear Translation with Reference Guide to Biblical Quotations and Allusions* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), xi.

<sup>53</sup>Leaver, 29.

<sup>54</sup>Unger, xii.

suffering, death, eternal damnation, resurrection, salvation; and the juxtaposition of evil/good, earthly/other-worldly, death/resurrection, damnation/salvation. For detailed study of the trombone's use in the cantatas, see Appendix D, Trombones in the Sacred Cantatas of J. S. Bach.

In addition, Bach almost always uses the trombone for chorales or in chorale-based movements. One of the most notable and obvious examples of this is in *Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe* (BWV 25) in which three trombones and cornetto insert phrases of the chorale tune HERZLICH TUT MICH VERLANGEN, by Hans Leo Hassler on which this cantata is based (Example 6).<sup>55</sup> By the time Bach used this chorale, it was associated with the text "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," which deals with the suffering of Christ. The allusion to this image caused by the inclusion of the chorale tune reinforced the cantata libretto which it accompanied: "There is nothing sound in my body because of thy menacing and there is no peace in my bones because of my sin." This grouping of trombones and cornetto performing chorales also reflects the Germanic *stadtfeifer* tradition and its repertoire.

### Mass Settings

A number of Germanic Mass settings include the trombone. Though they often double voices, several works demonstrate independent trombone parts. Examples include

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<sup>55</sup>Originally associated with the secular text, *Mein Gmüt ist mir verwirret, das macht ein Jungfrau zart* (My heart is distracted by a gentle maid), this melody first appeared in Hans Leo Hassler's *Lustgarten neuer teutscher Gesäng, Balletti, Galliarden und Intradan* (1601). Other textual marriages include: the funeral hymn "Herzlich thut mich verlangen" (Christoph Knoll, 1613) and "Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder" (Johann Hermann Schein, 1625). Since 1656, the tune has been associated with the text "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" (O Sacred Head Now Wounded), which first appeared in that year's edition of Johann Crüger's *Praxis Pietatis Melica*. The German text is a translation by Paul Gerhardt of "Salve caput crentatum," the seventh part of a medieval Latin crucifix hymn. In addition to Bach's harmonization of it, the melody appears in several of his works including cantatas 25, 135, 153, 159, 161, and *Matthaupassion* (BWV 244), and *Weihnachts-oratorium* (BWV 248). See Marilyn Kay Stulken, *Hymnal Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 216-17; and *Handbook to the Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Convention Press, 1992), 208-9.

Example 6. Use of trombones in chorales in Bach's *Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe* (BWV 25), mm. 14-21.<sup>56</sup>

The musical score for Example 6, measures 14-21 of 'Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe' (BWV 25), is presented. The score includes staves for the following instruments and voices:

- Cornetto
- Trombona I
- Trombona II
- Trombona III
- Flauto dolce I, II, III
- Vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass)

The lyrics for the vocal parts are:

- en, es ist nichts Ge-sun-des an mei - nem Lei - be vor dei-nem Dräu - - -

en, es ist nichts Ge - sun-des an mei - nem Lei - - - be vor dei - - - - nem

- en, es ist nichts Ge - sun-des an mei - nem

- en, es ist nichts Ge-sun-des an

<sup>56</sup>Johann Sebastian Bach, *Kantaten zum 13. und 14. Sonntag nach Trinitatis*, ed. Werner Neumann, Ser. 1, Bd., 21, in *Neue Ausgabe sämtliche Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), 84-85.



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Dräu-en, es ist nichts Ge-sun-des an mei-nem Lei-be vor dei-nem Dräu-en.

Lei-be vor dei-nem Dräu-en.

mei-nem Lei-be vor dei-nem Dräu-en.

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Masses by Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), Franz Schneider (1737-1812), Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741), Georg Reutter (1708-1772), Michael Haydn (1737-1806), Antonio Salieri (1750-1825), and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791).

In sections of Praetorius's *Teutsche Missa: O Vater allmächtiger Gott*, he specifies the trombone (*trombone maior*) as the *bassus instrumentalis*. Though each section does not stipulate the instrumentation of the *bassus instrumentalis*, the trombone is indicated as the bass voice sings: "Christ, please hear us, hear [our prayer], for to us you were born of Mary, have pity on us."<sup>57</sup>

Franz Schneider's Mass in C uses alto and tenor trombone to double voice parts (AT). In the *Qui tollis*, however, Schneider uses only the two trombones, which serve as an obbligato accompaniment to the voices. The presence of the trombones in the "Qui tollis" emphasizes the petition for mercy and recognition of Christ as the atonement for mankind's sin.

Johann Joseph Fux uses two trombones in a number of his solemn Masses.<sup>58</sup> With rare exception, the trombones double the alto and tenor voices. In Fux's *Missa Corporis Christi* (K 10), a single trombone joined by violins plays independently of the voices in the "Christe eleison." Also highlighting the trombone's association with Christ's death and the implied theme of atonement, Fux introduces the "Crucifixus" with two trombones and continuo.<sup>59</sup>

Georg Reutter included a solo alto trombone in his *Missa S. Caroli*.<sup>60</sup> Reutter uses

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<sup>57</sup>"Christe wollst unser hören erhören, für uns bist du geboren von Maria, erbarme dich, über uns." See Praetorius, *Polyhymnia*, 13-15.

<sup>58</sup>Fux's Masses with trombone include: *Missa brevis solennitatis* (K 5), *Missa Corporis Christi* (K 10), *Missa Lachrymantis Virginis* (E 12), *Missa humilitatis* (K 17), *Missa Gratiarum actionis* (K 27). See Johann Joseph Fux, *Sämtliche Werke*, Series 1.

<sup>59</sup>Johann Joseph Fux, *Missa Corporis Christi*, ed. Hellmut Federhofer, Ser. 1, Bd. 1, in *Sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), 57.

<sup>60</sup>Georg Reutter, *Missa S. Caroli*, ed. Ken Shifrin, vol. 2, *The Solo Baroque*

the instrument during the “Gratias agimus” section of the Gloria. The section begins with a virtuosic trombone introduction. For most of the work, the trombone interludes during textual breaks.

The catalog of sacred works by Michael Haydn includes two masses which specify trombone.<sup>61</sup> Haydn’s *Missa Sti. Cyrilli et Methodii* (1758) uses four voices, 2 violins, 2 trumpets, 2 trombones, timpani, and organ. His *Missa ex C*, for 4 voices, 2 violins, 2 trumpets, timpani, and organ, includes a trombone solo in the “Agnus Dei,” another text which reinforces the concept of Christ as atonement. Presumably trombones are intended to play *colla parte* <sup>(w/ the soloist)</sup> with voices elsewhere.

During Antonio Salieri’s tenure as *Hofkapellmeister* in Vienna, he contributed four orchestral masses, including the Mass in D Major (1788). According to the *Hofmusik-kapelle* catalog, the standard orchestral accompaniment (*gewöhnliche Orchester-Begleitung*) for all of Salieri’s sacred works included two trombones (in addition to strings, oboes, bassoons, trumpets, timpani, and organ).<sup>62</sup> In the Mass in D, the trombones double the alto and tenor voices.<sup>63</sup>

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart contributed a number of settings of the *Missa solemnis*, the majority of which were composed in or for the Salzburg Cathedral between 1769 and 1780. It is important to note that in Mozart’s time, it was common practice at the Salzburg Cathedral to double the alto, tenor, and bass voices with three trombones. This practice, which began in the Baroque, continued into the early nineteenth century. Because of this,

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*Trombone in Chamber Music* (Long Eaton, England: Virgo Music Publishers, 1987), 7-9.

<sup>61</sup>See catalog of sacred works in Michael Haydn, *Kirchenwerke*, v-vi.

<sup>62</sup>Antonio Salieri, *Mass in D Major*, ed. Jane Schatkin Hettrick, vol. 39 in *Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1994), vii, xix.

<sup>63</sup>This doubling is indicated in the autograph score with the designations “*Tromboni*” and “*senza Tromboni*.” Trombone parts copied from the autograph score are among a set of instrumental parts located in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, See Hettrick, xi.

all of the Salzburg Masses in the *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (NAW) include either trombone parts in the score or footnotes indicating the possibility of trombones *colla parte* with the lower three voices.<sup>64</sup>

In contrast to Mozart's Salzburg Masses, those from Vienna do indicate the use of trombones. The *Missa solemnis* in c (KV 139) was presumably composed in Vienna in the Fall of 1768, premiering in December of that year.<sup>65</sup> Through much of the Mass, the three trombones (alto, tenor, and bass) function *colla parte* with the voices. However, in the "Crucifixus" and the "Agnus Dei," they perform independently of the voices. The presence of trombones in these two sections, which tell of Christ's crucifixion and ask for mercy from the one who "takes away the sins of the world," highlight the theme of death as atonement for sin. The trombones function orchestrally in the dramatic introduction to the "Crucifixus," joining the strings in syncopated, *forte piano* outbursts among the militant cries of the trumpets and timpani.<sup>66</sup> The "Agnus Dei" opens with a twelve-measure introduction by the three trombones that establishes the material for the following tenor solo. Mozart composed the Mass in c (KV 427) in Vienna between the Summer of 1782 and the Spring of 1783. This work was also performed in Salzburg in the Fall of 1783.<sup>67</sup> The autograph score indicates where the trombones were intended to double the voices. The trombones function both *colla parte* and independently in this work (see Sanctus for example of both functions).<sup>68</sup> In addition, MS parts for trombones exist from the original

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<sup>64</sup>See critical notes by Walter Senn in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Geistliche Gesangswerke*, Ser. 1, Wg. 1, Abt. 1, Bd. 1, in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), xvi.

<sup>65</sup>Sadie and Hicks, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus."

<sup>66</sup>Mozart, *Geistliche Gesangswerke*, Ser. 1, Wg. 1, Abt. 1, Bd. 1, 106 ff.

<sup>67</sup>Sadie and Hicks, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus."

<sup>68</sup>Mozart, *Geistliche Gesangswerke*, Ser. 1, Wg. 1, Abt. 1, Bd. 1, 132 ff.

### Requiem Mass Settings

Many of the themes signified by the trombone are reflected in the texts of the Requiem Mass. That the trombone has been linked in many ways to death imagery, makes it especially effective in these settings. The texts of the Requiem Mass are replete with images of petition, salvation, judgment, and apocalypse. The Sequence, Offertory, and Responsory are particularly concerned with these themes as demonstrated in the following excerpts:

#### Sequence:

Day of wrath, that day shall dissolve the world into embers, as David prophesied with the Sybil. How great the trembling will be, when the Judge shall come, the rigorous investigator of all things! The trumpet, spreading its wondrous sound through the tombs of every land, will summon all before the throne. Death will be stunned, likewise nature, when all creation shall rise again to answer the one judging. A written book will be brought forth, in which all shall be contained, and from which the world shall be judged. When therefore the Judge is seated, whatever lies hidden shall be revealed, no wrong shall remain unpunished. What then am I, a poor wretch, going to say? Which protector shall I ask for, when even the just are scarcely secure? King of terrifying majesty, who freely saves the saved: Save me, fount of pity. Remember, merciful Jesus, that I am the cause of your sojourn; do not cast me out on that day. Seeking me, you sat down weary; having suffered the cross, you redeemed me. May such great labor not be in vain. Just Judge of vengeance, grant the gift of remission before the day of reckoning. I groan, like one who is guilty; my face blushes with guilt. Spare they supplicant, O God. You who absolved Mary [Magdalene], and heeded the thief, have also given hope to me. My prayers are not worthy, but Thou, good one, kindly grant that I not burn in the everlasting fires. . . . When the accursed are confounded, consigned to the fierce flames: call me to be with the blessed. I pray, suppliant and kneeling, my heart contrite as if it were ashes: protect me in my final hour. O how tearful that day, on which the guilty shall rise from the embers to be judged. . . .

#### Offertory:

Lord Jesus Christ, King of glory, liberate the souls of all the faithful departed from the pains of hell and from the deep pit; deliver them from the lion's mouth; let not hell swallow them up, let them not fall into darkness . . . .

#### Responsory:

Deliver me, O Lord, from death eternal, on that dreadful day: when the heavens and the earth shall quake, when thou shalt come to judge the world by fire. I am seized by trembling, and I fear until the judgment should come, and I also dread the

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<sup>69</sup>Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Geistliche Gesangswerke*, eds. Monika Holl and Karl-Heiz Köhler, Ser. 1, Wg. 1, Abt. 1, Bd. 5, in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983), xx, xxiii.

coming wrath. O that day, day of wrath, day of calamity and misery, momentous day, and exceedingly bitter, when thou shalt come to judge the world by fire. . . .<sup>70</sup>

Seventeenth-century examples include settings by Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber (1644-1704) and Johann Joseph Fux. Biber's Requiem includes three trombones *colla parte* of the lower voices (ATB). During most of the work the voices are also doubled by strings. However, the text of the Communion is first introduced by trombones alone.<sup>71</sup>

Fux's two settings of the Requiem Mass (K 55 and K51-K53) use trombones throughout much of the work.<sup>72</sup> K 55 uses two trombones and K 51-53 uses two trombones coupled with two cornetti. Worth noting in the "Dies Irae" (K 52) is Fux's use of a fourteen-measure trombone solo introducing the text and melodic material of the "Tuba mirum" section. This method of setting the "Tuba mirum" appealed to other composers as well.<sup>73</sup> The text speaks of the trumpet of judgment sounding throughout the world raising the dead and calling them to judgment ("Tuba mirum spargens sonum per sepulchra regionum, coget omnes ante thronum").

Eighteenth-century examples include Requiems by Michael Haydn, Salieri (1750-1825), and Wolfgang Mozart. Michael Haydn's *Missa pro defuncto Archiepiscopo Sigismundo* (MH 154) includes trombones *colla parte* with the voices, though they do have

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<sup>70</sup>Translations of the Requiem Mass texts from Ron Jeffers, ed. *Sacred Latin Texts*, vol. 1 in *Translations and Annotations of Choral Repertoire* (Corvallis, OR: Earthsongs, 1988), 67-84.

<sup>71</sup>Franz Heinrich Biber, *Drei Requeim von Christoph Straus, Franz Heinrich Biber, and Johann Caspar Kerll*, ed. Guido Adler, Jahrg. 30/1, Bd. 59, in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1960), 41-72.

<sup>72</sup>Each section of the work is cataloged separately: "Introitus - Kyrie" (K 51), "Dies irae" (K 52), and "Offertorium" (K 53). See Johann Joseph Fux, *Requiem K51-K 53*, Ser. 1, Bd. 7 in *Sämtliche Werke* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1992), vii; Fux, *Requiem K 55* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1989).

<sup>73</sup>Requiems by Giuseppe Bonno, Carlo Campioni, and W. A. Mozart also treat the Tuba mirum as a separate section with instrumental introduction. See James W. Pruett, "Requiem Mass," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 6th ed.

occasionally independent parts.<sup>74</sup> Used sparingly, trombones also appear in the Requiem Mass of Antonio Salieri. In keeping with the established practice, Salieri scores the “Tuba mirum” with trombones.<sup>75</sup>

Though Mozart’s Requiem (K 626) was not complete at his death, his autograph sketches do include trombone in the “Introit” and the “Tuba mirum.”<sup>76</sup> Additions to Mozart’s Requiem by Joseph Eybler did not add or diminish the use of trombone, but the completion by F. X. Süssmayr did add trombones in a number of other sections. Though it is not possible to know the extent to which Mozart might have used trombones in his final version of the Requiem Mass, this is of little consequence. The inclusion of trombones in the work, by either Mozart or Süssmayr, reflects the Germanic understanding of the instrument’s association with death and judgment, particularly the Last Judgment. While the trombones frequently double or outline the voice parts, they do have some independence in sections of the Sequence. The solo trombone in the “Tuba mirum” (wondrous trumpet), and the fact that it was included in the fragments of the Requiem left by Mozart reinforce his clear understanding of the trombone’s rhetorical symbolism (Example 7).

#### Other Sacred Works: Litanies, Music for the Divine Office

Composers also used trombones in settings of litanies. These sectional liturgical prayers consist of a series of invocations and responses (“Kyrie eleison,” “Domine miserere,” “Ora pro nobis,” “Te rogamus audi nos”). A number of the litanies were written

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<sup>74</sup>Michael Haydn, *Missa pro defuncto Archiepiscopo Sigismundo*, ed. Charles H. Sherman (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1991).

<sup>75</sup>Antonio Salieri, *Requiem für vier Solostimmen, Chor und Orchester*, ed. Johannes Wojciechowski (Frankfurt: Henry Litolff’s Verlag; New York: C. F. Peters, n.d.).

<sup>76</sup>Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Mozarts Fragment*, ed. Leopold Nowak, Ser. 1, Wg. 1, Abt. 2, Tl. 1, in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 3, 24.

in honor of the Virgin. The *Litania Laurentana*, so named for its association with the Annunciation shrine of Loreto in Italy, has become the official Marian litany.<sup>77</sup> Germanic composers of litanies include Johann Fux, Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart, and Michael Haydn.

Johann Fux composed four litanies: *Litaniae Laurentanae* (K116), *Litaniae Sancta Dei Genitrix* (K 120), *Litaniae Sancta Maria* (K 121), *Litaniae Mater Divinae Gratiae* (K 122).<sup>78</sup> Fux uses cornetto and two trombones as a standard instrumental grouping, most often doubling the soprano, alto, and bass voices. There are, however, independent parts for the trombones in the Kyrie of the second and third litanies.

The four litanies by Mozart are also included among the works using trombone.<sup>79</sup> Though specific indications are not found in the autographs of three of the litanies, it was common practice in Salzburg to double the alto, tenor, and bass voice of sacred works with three trombones.<sup>80</sup> Proof of the trombone's use in the litanies does occur in the autograph score of the "Tremendum" from KV 243. Mozart also edited a Laurentine Litany composed by his father, Leopold. Trombones also appear in the autograph of this score. While the trombones double the voices for most of the work, there are independent parts in the

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<sup>77</sup>Mary Berry, "Litania Laurentana" and Michel Huglo and Peter Le Huray, "Litany," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th ed.; "Litany" in *New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, ed. Don Michael Randel.

<sup>78</sup>See facsimiles of title pages to Fux's *Litaniae Santa Dei Genitrix* and *Litaniae Sancta Maria* which lists instrumentation, Johann Joseph Fux, *Vier laurentanische Litaneien*, eds. Hellmut Federhofer and Renate Federhofer-Königs, Ser. 2, Bd. 4, in *Sämtliche Werke* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1995), xiv-xv.

<sup>79</sup>*Litaniae Laurentanae B.V.M.* (KV 109), *Litaniae de venerabili altaris* (KV 125), *Litaniae Laurentanae B.V.M.* (KV 195), *Litaniae de venerabili altaris sacramento* (KV 243). See Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Geistliche Gesangswerke*, eds. Hellmut Federhofer and Renate Federhofer-Königs, Ser. 1, Wg. 2, Bd. 1, in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969).

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, x.



“Kyrie” and “Agnus Dei.”<sup>81</sup>

A number of works for the Hours of Divine Office include trombone. Texts from the Offices of Matins, Lauds, and Vespers were especially suited to musical settings. One of the major texts from Matins to attract composers was the *Te Deum*. Both Fux and Michael Haydn included trombones in their settings of this text. Fux’s two *Te Deums* (K 270 and E 37) use the recurring unit of cornetto and two trombones.<sup>82</sup> Michael Haydn’s *Te Deum* of 1770, includes two trombones (ad lib.) and though not indicated in Anton Maria Klafsky’s catalog of Haydn’s sacred works, Karl Pfannhauser suggests that trombones were also included in Michael Haydn’s *Te Deum* in D major (1801).<sup>83</sup> Scheidt set this text in five sections for 2, 3, 4, and 5 voices with a variety of instruments. He uses trombones in the outer sections:

vs. 1: TT, cornetti, two violins, three trombones, b.c.

vs. 2: AB, strings, b.c.

vs. 3: TT, four bassoons, b.c.

vs. 4: SATB, cornetti, two violins, three trombones, b.c.<sup>84</sup>

Most important to the Office of Lauds is the three *laudate* psalms: 148, 149, and 150, which are sung every day in the Divine Office. Scheidt’s setting of Psalm 150,

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<sup>81</sup> Leopold Mozart, *Laurentanische Litanei in es von Leopold Mozart*, in *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Ser. 10, supplement (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1990), xiv.

<sup>82</sup> See Johann Joseph Fux, *Te Deum* (E 37), ed. István Kecskeméti, Ser. 2, Bd. 1 in *Sämtliche Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963); and Johann Joseph Fux, *Te Deum* (K 270), ed. Ingrid Schubert and Gösta Neuwrith, Ser. 2, Bd. 2 in *Sämtliche Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979).

<sup>83</sup> For Klafsky’s catalog Haydn’s sacred works, see Michael Haydn, *Kirchenwerke*, ed. Anton Maria Klafsky, Jahrg. 32/1, Bd. 62 in *Denkmal der Tonkunst in Österreich* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1960), xi. Also Michael Haydn, *Te Deum in D-dur*, ed. Karl Pfannhauser, Bd. 2, in *Österreichische Kirchenmusik* (Vienna: Verlag Doblinger, 1946), i.

<sup>84</sup> Samuel Scheidt, *Concertus Sacri I-VI*, ed. Hans Grüss, Bd. 14 in *Samuel Scheidts Werke* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1970), 37-48.

Example 7. Mozart's sketch of the "Tuba mirum" showing the use of trombone, mm. 1-18.<sup>85</sup>

**Tuba mirum**

Andante

*Trombone [tenore] solo*

*Violino I*

*Violino II*

*Viola I, II*

*Basso solo*

Tu - ba mirum spargens so - num,

*[Violoncello e] Basso*

*8 Trbn. solo*

*Viol. I*

*Viol. II*

*Va. I, II*

*Basso solo*

tu - ba mirum spar - gens so - num per se - pul - chra re - gi - o - num, co - get

*14*

*Trbn. solo*

omnes an - te thro - num, co - get o - mnes an - te thro - num. Mors stu - pe - bit et na -

*fp*

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 24.

*Laudate Dominum* [in *sanctis ejus*], for alto, tenor, and bass voices includes trombones in several of its sections:

vs. 1: ATB, three trombones	"Laudate Dominum..."
vs. 2: SS, strings (gamba)	"Laudate eum in virtutibus eius..."
vs. 3: ATB, three trombones	"Laudate eum in sono tubae..."
vs. 4: SS, strings	"Laudate eum in psalterio..."
vs. 5: ATB, three trombones	Laudate eum in tympano..."
vs. 6: SS, three trombones, strings	"Laudate eum in chordis..."
vs. 7: SS, strings	"Laudate eum in cymbalis..."
vs. 8: SSATB, three trombones, strings	"Omnis spiritus..."

Scheidt's setting of this work for the two instrumental groups of strings and trombones provides an aural undergirding of the text. Schein fittingly uses strings in verse 4 ("Praise him with psaltery and harp") and strings and trombones in verse 6 ("Praise him with strings and pipes"). In verse 6 trombones support the command to praise God with "the sound of trumpet." Though this setting of the psalm is in Latin, Scheidt would surely have been familiar with the Germanic vernacular, which reads "mit Posaunen."<sup>86</sup>

Texts from the Office of Vespers which would attract composers include the five Vesper psalms: *Dixit Dominus* (Ps. 110), *Confitebor Tibi* (Ps. 111), *Beatus vir* (Ps. 112), *Laudate Pueri* (Ps. 113), and *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* (Ps. 117), and also the Canticle of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Magnificat*, Luke 1:46-55). Musical settings of these texts provide numerous examples of the trombone in sacred works.

Scheidt's *Concertus XII* comprises a sectional setting of the Magnificat for twelve voices in three choruses with instruments. Each chorus includes SATB voices. The first and third choruses are accompanied *colla parte*, by strings and trombones, respectively. Ahle uses three trombones and cornetto in his setting of the Magnificat (1657).<sup>87</sup> This

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<sup>86</sup>All of the verses include continuo in the accompaniment. *Ibid.*, 15-34.

<sup>87</sup>Johann Rudolf Ahle, *Ausgewählte Gesangswerke*, ed. Johannes Wolf, Folg. 1, Bd. 5, in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957), 132-46.

instrumental unit supports the vocal lines and also plays independently.

Most of Fux's settings of Vesper texts are scored for SATB, cornetto and two trombones, strings, bassoon, and continuo. These include two settings of *Laudate Dominum* [omnes gentes] (K 91 and K92) three settings of the Magnificat (K99, K 100, and K 101), and one combined *Laudate Dominum* [omnes gentes] and *Magnificat* (K 94).<sup>88</sup> To this instrumentation he adds two trumpets and timpani in two settings of the Magnificat (K 97 and K 98).<sup>89</sup>

Mozart composed three works for Vespers. The first, *Dixit et Magnificat* (KV 193), combines the vesper psalm 110 and the Cantic of Mary. The other two works, *Vesperae solennes de Dominica* (KV 321) and *Vesperae solennes de Confessore* (KV 339), each consist of the five vesper psalms and the Magnificat. All three works were composed in Salzburg and use SATB voices, accompanied by 2 trumpets, timpani, 3 trombones, 2 violins, and continuo. The trombone parts double the alto, tenor, and bass voice parts, in keeping with the practice in Salzburg at that time. The autograph score of *Vesperae solennes de Dominica* does indicate trombones doubling the voice parts.<sup>90</sup> Michael Haydn also composed a setting of *Vesperae solemnes de Dominica* (MH 289) which used trombones.<sup>91</sup>

Of the texts associated with Compline, the most notable are the four Marian antiphons.<sup>92</sup> Compline concludes with the singing (or reciting) of the appointed seasonal

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<sup>88</sup>See Johann Joseph Fux, *Laudate Dominum- und Magnificat-Kompositionen*, ed. Walter Gleißner, Ser. 2, Bd. 3 in *Sämtlicher Werke* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1989).

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup>See autograph of *Vesperae solennes de Dominica* in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Geistliche Gesangwerke*, ed., Karl Gustav Fellerer and Felix Schroeder, Ser. 1, Wg. 2, Bd. 2, in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), xvii.

<sup>91</sup>Johann Michael Haydn, *Vesperae solemnes de Dominica* (MH 289), ed. Thomas C. Pumberger (Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1988).

<sup>92</sup>For the appointed seasons for each Marian antiphon, see Jeffers, 26.

antiphon: *Alma Redemptoris Mater* (Loving mother of the redeemer), *Ave Regina Coelorum* (Hail, Queen of heaven), *Regina coeli laetare* (Queen of heaven, rejoice!), or *Salve Regina* (Hail, Queen, mother of mercy). Fux's *Alma Redemptoris* (K 186) for solo soprano includes a prominent solo trombone in the opening "sonatina" and in the second and fourth (final) sections. The trombone engages in florid solo passages as well pairing off with the soprano in contrast to the violins.<sup>93</sup>

As demonstrated by the examples above, Germanic composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries recognized and propagated the rhetorical symbolism of the trombone. The impact of the vernacular bible translations combined with the tradition of signification in sacred dramatic music resulted in the trombone's ubiquitous participation in the religious compositions of Germanic composers. Though at times this participation is so pervasive in a particular work as to prevent the identification of the trombone's link to a specific theme, this only occurs in distinctly sacred works such as Masses and music for the Divine Office. In numerous other examples, the themes signified by the trombone are clearly delineated. These examples from motets, cantatas, Solemn and Requiem Masses, and dramatic music demonstrate that the Germanic composer associated the trombone with the interwoven, yet juxtaposed themes of death and life, damnation and salvation, judgment and absolution, burial and resurrection.

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<sup>93</sup>Johann Joseph Fux, *Motten und Antiphonen*, ed. Hellmut Federhofer and Renate Federhofer-Königs, Ser. 3, Bd. 1, in *Sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 99-120.

## CONCLUSION

The role of the trombone in Germanic sacred works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stems from a rich heritage spawned by some of the earliest civilizations. The lip-vibrated aerophones of ancient cultures were inseparably wed with ritual meaning. As the trombone evolved from its more primitive antecedents, it retained much of this extra-musical symbolism.

The symbolic connections and etymological relationship between the trombone and earlier trumpet forms were reaffirmed and strengthened in Germanic languages as a result of vernacular bible translations in the fifteenth and following centuries. The ensuing psycho-linguistic association between the trombone and the bible would greatly impact future use of the instrument. As a result, the trombone emerged as the most suitable musical signifier for particular religious themes. The widespread influence of this tradition is discernable in many sacred compositions of Germanic composers of the following centuries.

The influence of the trombone's semiotic relationship to religious themes extends well beyond the scope of this study. Certainly an important area of further exploration would be the use of trombone in Germanic opera. Notable examples of the trombone as signifier occur in the operas of Gluck and Mozart. Other areas of research to be examined include the ramifications of cross-cultural pollination that took place throughout continental Europe and England as it relates to this deeply-rooted tradition. Further investigation in this area could identify transformations of the signified as represented by the trombone.

## APPENDIX A

### SELECTED EXAMPLES OF TRUMPETS IN CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY

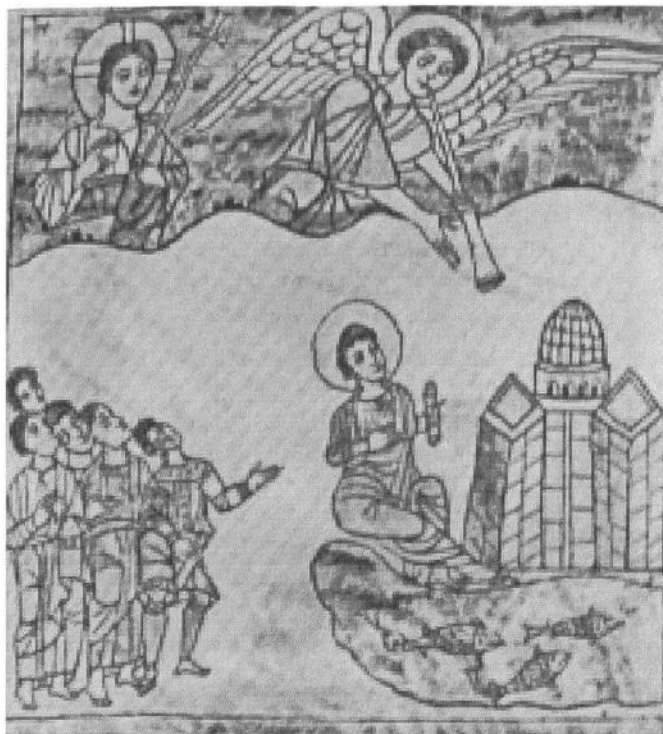


Angel trumpeters. Berlin, State Library Museum, Mosaic from St. Michele in Affricisco, Ravenna: Majestas, middle 6th century (after restoration in 1952). In Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (München: Francke Verlag, 1962), pl. 25.



Angel trumpeters announcing final judgment. St. Gallen, Seminary Library, *Irishes Evangeliar* (Irish Gospel): Last Judgement, 8th century. In Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (München: Francke Verlag, 1962), pl. 30.

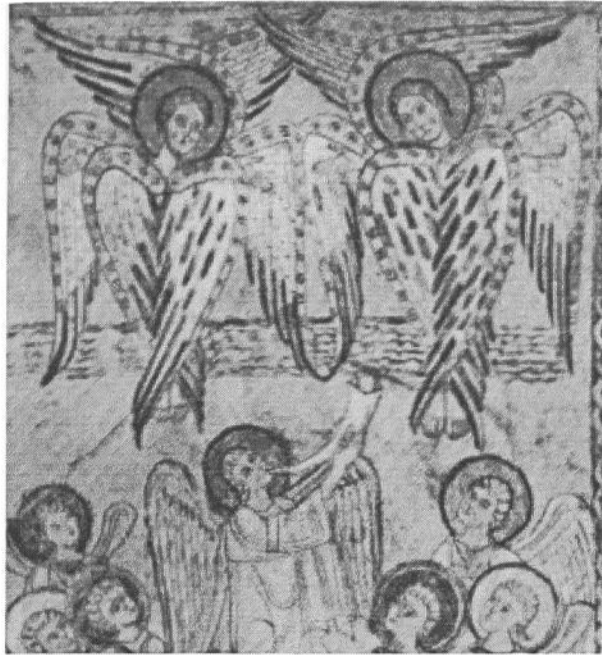




Angel trumpeter at Christ's appearance to a prophet. Trier, Stadtbibliothek: *Christus erscheint dem Seher*. 8th/9th century. In Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (München: Francke Verlag, 1962), pl. 21.



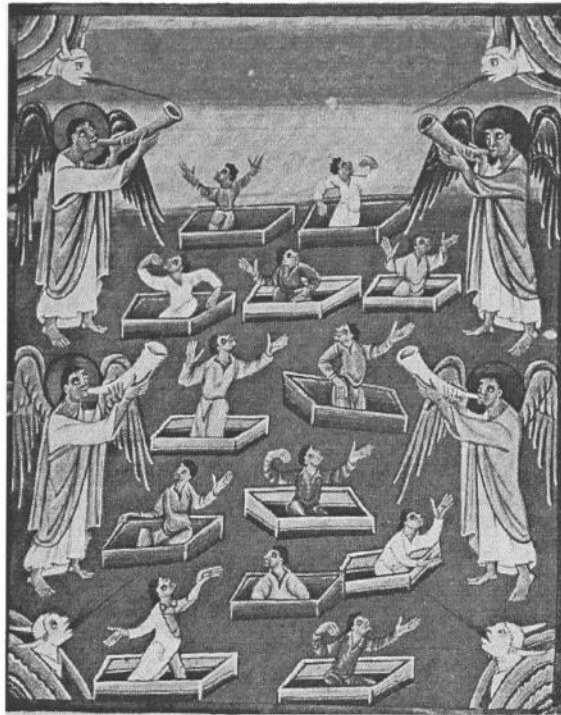
Angel trumpeters announcing the Apocalypse. Trier, Stadtbibliothek: 8th/9th century. In Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (München: Francke Verlag, 1962), pl. 26.



Angel trumpeter. Rome, Vatican Library, Exultet, end of the 10th century. In Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (München: Francke Verlag, 1962), pl. 48.



Angel trumpeters. Bari, Cathedral Archive: Exultet, ca. 1000. In Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (München: Francke Verlag, 1962), pl. 49.



Angel trumpeters announcing the resurrection of the dead at the final judgement. München, Staatsbibliothek, *Pericope Book of Heinrich II, Bamberg, 1007-14* (D-Mbs Clm. 4452, f.201<sup>v</sup>: Last Judgement (Ausschnitt-section), early 11th century. In Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (München: Francke Verlag, 1962), pl. 31



Angel trumpeters announcing Last Judgement, ca. 1325. Naples, S. Maria di Donna Regina, fresco. In Tilman Seebass, *Imago Musicae I*, 1984. International Yearbook of Musical Iconography (Durham and Basel: Duke University Press and Bärenreiter, 1984), pl. 71.



Angel trumpeters. Badia di Montecassino: Exultet, between 1105 and 1118. In Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (München: Francke Verlag, 1962), pl. 50.



Angel trumpeters flanking Christ as Judge. Martel, Portal tympanum: Christ as Judge, 12th century. In Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (München: Francke Verlag, 1962), pl. 37.

# APPENDIX B

## TERMINOLOGICAL COMPARISONS IN KEY GERMANIC BIBLE EDITIONS

(terms in this table are as they appear in source materials)

Citation <sup>1</sup>	Mentel 1466 <sup>2</sup> (Strassburg)	Koberger 1483 <sup>3</sup> (Nuremberg)	Arndes 1494 <sup>4</sup> (Lübeck)	Lufft [Luther] 1545 <sup>5</sup> (Wittenberg)
Exodus 19:16	horns	horens [sic]	ba une	Posaunen
19:19	"	"	ba unen	"
20:18	"	"	"	"
Leviticus 25:9	horn (marked as ch.26)	horn	"	"
Numbers 10:2a	(silbrin) hörner	(silbrin) pu auren [sic]	"	Drometen (von tichem silber)
10:2b	"	(silbrin) horner	"	Drometen
10:5	hörner	hornern	"	"
10:6	"	"	"	"
10:7	"	horner	"	"
10:8	"	hornern	"	"
10:9	"	heerhornern	"	"
10:10	"	hornern	"	"
31:6	höner [sic]	horner	ba  unen	Halldrometen

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviated references to source materials are based on the "Stemima of Pre-Lutheran Vernacular German Bible Editions," Ch. 3, Fig. 1, (p. 68).

<sup>2</sup> [The Holy Bible] ([Strassburg: Johann Mentel, 1466]).

<sup>3</sup> [The Holy Bible] (Nuremberg: A. Koberger, 1483).

<sup>4</sup> [The Holy Bible] (Lübeck: Steffen Arndes, 1494).

<sup>5</sup> *Biblia : Das ist : Die gantze Heilige Schrift, Deudsch, Auff's new zugericht. . .* (Wittenberg: H. Lufft, 1545).

Joshua	6:4	hörner	hornern, horns	"	Posaunen, Posaunen
	6:5	hörnern	?	"	Horn, Posaunen
	6:6	"	?	"	Posaunen
	6:8	horns	horner	"	Posaunen, Posaunen
	6:9	hörner	horner, hornern	"	" , "
	6:13	"	hornern	"	" , "
	6:16	"	"	"	"
	6:20	"	"	"	" , "
Judges	3:27	horn	horn	"	"
	6:34	"	"	"	"
	7:8	hörner	horner	"	"
	7:16	"	"	"	"
	7:18	"	horn	"	"
	7:19	"	hornern	"	"
	7:20	"	"	"	"
	7:22	"	"	"	"
I Samuel	13:3	horn	horn	"	"
II Samuel	2:28	"	"	"	"
	6:15	"	horns	baljune	"
	15:10	"	"	"	"
	18:16	herhorn	heerhorn	"	"
	20:1	"	heerhornern	"	"
	20:22	"	heerhorn	baljunen	"
I Kings	1:34	her horn	"	"	"
	1:39	"	" , heerhornern	baljune	"
	1:41	horns	horns	baljunen	"
II Kings	9:13	hörner	hornern	"	"
	11:14	hörnern	"	baljunen [sic]	Drometen
	12:13	hörner	horner	baljune	"
I Chronicles	13:8	pujanen	bujaunen	baljunen	Posaunen
	15:24	trumpié	heerhornern	(trumpettete myt den) baljunen	Drometen



	15:28	herhorns, hörner	heerhorns, hornern	ba  junen, trumpe	Posaunen, Drometen
	16:6	horn	horn	ba  june	Drometen
	16:42	"	"	"	"
II Chronicles	5:12	pu aunen	bu awmé	ba  junen	"
	5:13	"	bu awmen	"	"
	7:6	"	pu a[w?]men	"	"
	13:12	hörnern	heerhornern	ba  june	"
	13:14	hörnern	"	"	"
	15:14	horns, herhörner	horns, heerhoner	trumpens, ba  junen	Drometen, Posaunen
	20:28	hörnern	hornern	trumpetten	Drometen
	23:13	"	"	"	"
	29:26	hörner	honer	ba  junen	"
	29:27	hörnern	hornern	trumpetten	"
	29:28	hörner	honer	"	"
Ezra	3:10		hornern (marked as "erste buch Esdre")	ba  junen	"
Nehemiah	4:18		herhornern	ba  june	Posaunen
	4:20		horns	trumpette	"
	12:35		hornern	ba  june	Drometen
	12:41		"	trumpetten	"
Job	39:24	hornes	heerhorns	ba  june	"
	39:25	horn	"	"	Dromete
Psalms	47:5	hornes	horns	"	Posaunnen [sic]
	81:3	horn	horn	"	Posaunen
	98:6	hörnern, (búrnin) horns	gedreten hornern, hurmin horns	ghed[r?]egeter bu  junen, horne ba  junen	Drometen, Posaunen
	150:3	horns	horns	ba  junen	Posaunen
Isaiah	18:3	horn	[text not included]	trumpette	Drometen
	27:13	(micbeln) horn	[text not included]	trumpen	(grossen) Posaunen
	58:1	horn	[text not included]	ba  june	Posaune
Jeremiah	4:5	horn	[text not included]	"	Drometen
	4:19	here horns	[text not included]	"	Posaunen



	4:21	"		[text not included]	"	"	"
	6:1	herhorn		[text not included]	jchalmeyden	Drometen	
	6:17	horn		[text not included]	baßjune	"	
	42:14	horns		[text not included]	baßjune	Posaunen	
	51:27	herhorn		[text not included]	jchalmeyden	"	
Ezekiel	7:14	horn		[text not included]	(trompettet myt der) baßjunen	"	
	33:3	her horn		[text not included]	baßjune	Drometen	
	33:4	horn		[text not included]	"	"	
	33:5	"		[text not included]	trupete [sic]	"	
	33:6	"		[text not included]	"	"	
	3:5	"		[text not included]	baßjunen, jchalmeye	Posaunen, Drometen	
Daniel	3:7	"		[text not included]	"	posaunen, drometen	
	3:10	"		[text not included]	"	"	
Hosea	5:8	herhorn, horn		[text not included]	(baßjune mit der) trupet	Posaunen, Dromet	
	8:1	horn		[text not included]	baßjunen, baßjunen	Posaune	
Joel	2:1	"		[text not included]	trumpetten	Posaunen	
	2:15	"		[text not included]	baßjune	"	
Amos	2:2	horns		[text not included]	"	"	
	3:6	"		[text not included]	"	"	
Zephaniah	1:16	pußaunen, des rúffens		[text not included]	[text not included]	Posaunen, Drometen	
Zechariah	9:14	bußaunen,		[text not included]	[text not included]	Posaune	
I Esdras	5:59		bußawnen		[text not included]	[text not included]	
	5:62		"		[text not included]	[text not included]	
	5:64		bußawne		[text not included]	[text not included]	
	5:65		"		[text not included]	[text not included]	
	5:66		"		[text not included]	[text not included]	
II Esdras	6:23				[text not included]	[text not included]	
I Maccabees	3:54	pußaunen,		[text not included]	baßjunen	Posaunen	
	4:13	"		[text not included]	"	Drometen	
	4:40	"		[text not included]	trumpetten	"	
	5:31	"		[text not included]		"	

5:33	"	[text not included]	(trompete mit) trompetten	"	"
6:33	[no term in text]	[text not included]	(baßjunte mit) baßjunen	"	"
7:45	pujaunen,	[text not included]	(trumpetteden mit) baßjunen	"	"
9:12	trumpeté	[text not included]	(trumpetteden mit) baßjunen	"	"
16:8	[no term in text]	[text not included]	(trumpettede mit) trompette	Posaunen	Posaunen
II Maccabees 15:25	pujaunen,	[text not included]	baßjunen	Drometen	Drometen
Matthew 6:2	horn	[text not included]	horne	Posaunen	Posaunen
24:31	hörnern	[text not included]	baßjune	"	"
I Corinthians 14:8	horn	[text not included]	horne	Posaune	Posaune
15:52	" "	[text not included]	baßjune, baßjune	Posaunen, Posaune	Posaunen, Posaune
I Thessalonians 4:16	"	[text not included]	baßjunen	"	"
Hebrews 12:19	horns	[text not included]	baßjune	"	"
Revelation 1:10	"	[text not included]	"	"	"
4:1	"	[text not included]	"	"	"
8:2	horn	[text not included]	baßjunen	"	"
9:13	der vi engel sang mit dem) horn	[text not included]	"	(der sechste Engel) posaunete	(der sechste Engel) posaunete
9:14	"	[text not included]	"	Posaune	Posaune
10:7	"	[text not included]	baßjune	Posaunen	Posaunen
11:15	"	[text not included]	"	posaunet	posaunet

# APPENDIX C

## TROMBONES IN THE COMPOSITIONS OF J. S. BACH

BWV	Title	Occasion:	First Performance
2	<i>Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein</i> (chorale)	Trinity II	18 June 1724
3	<i>Ach Gott, wie manches, Herzeleid</i> (chorale)	Epiphany II	14 January 1725
4	<i>Christ lag in Todes Banden</i> (chorale -Martin Luther)	Easter	?1707-8
21	<i>Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis</i> (lib: ? Salomon Franck <sup>1</sup> )	Trinity III ['per ogni tempo']	before 1714
23	<i>Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn</i> (lib: ?, chorale added)	Quinquagesima	7 February 1723
25	<i>Es ist nicht Gesundes an meinem Leibe</i> (lib: Johann Jacob Rambach)	Trinity XIV	29 August 1723
28	<i>Gottlob! nun geht das Jahr zu Ende</i> (lib: Erdmann Neumeister)	Christmas I	30 December 1725
38	<i>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</i> (chorale -lib: ?)	Trinity XXI	29 October 1724
64	<i>Sehet, welch eine Liebe</i> (lib: Johann Knauer, chorales added)	3rd day of Christmas	27 December 1723
68	<i>Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt</i> (lib: Christiane Mariane von Ziegler)	Whit Monday	21 May 1725
96	<i>Herr Christ, der einge Gottessohn</i> (chorale -lib: ?)	Trinity XVIII	8 October 1724
101	<i>Nimm von uns, Herr, du treuer Gott</i> (chorale -lib: ?)	Trinity X	13 August 1724
118	<i>O Jesu Christ, mein Lebens Licht</i> (chorale) [motet]	burial or memorial service	1736-7
121	<i>Christum wir sollen loben schon</i> (chorale -lib: ?)	2d day of Christmas	26 December 1724
135	<i>Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder</i> (chorale -lib: ?)	Trinity III	25 June 1724

<sup>1</sup> Movements 3-9 possibly based on chorale by Johann Rist (*Jammer hat mich ganz umgeben*). See Melvin P. Unger, *Handbook to Bach's Sacred Cantata Texts* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 73.

# APPENDIX D

## RHETORICAL THEMES ASSOCIATED WITH TROMBONES IN THE SACRED CANTATAS OF J. S. BACH

Cantata (BWV)	Movement	Function	Text setting including trombones <sup>1</sup>	Scriptural allusions significant to this study
2	1. Chorus (choral vs. 1)	doubling voices	"Ah, God, from heaven look into this and please have mercy on us! How few are thy saints, forsaken are we needy-ones; Thy word is not held to be true, faith is also entirely extinguished among all mankind."	<b>Lam. 4:49-50; Ps. 12:1, 8</b> lamenting, lack of godliness, flourishing of evil <b>1 Jn. 3:10</b> distinction between children of God and children of evil
	6. Chorale (vs. 6)	doubling voices	"May thou, O God, preserve that pure from this evil generation; and may we to-you commended be, that it in us (does) not entwine. The godless multitude round-about (us) is found when such wanton persons are prominent amongst thy people."	<b>1 Jn. 3:10</b> separation of followers of good and of evil <b>Lk. 11:29; 14:24; Acts 2:40; 2 Pet. 2:1; Col. 2:8; Jude 1:3-4</b> presence of evil among the godly
3	1. Chorus (chorale vs. 1)	1 trombone doubling bass voice [appears at top of score, like an obbligato instrument]	"Ah, God, how many a grief meets me in this time! The narrow way is affliction-filled, which I must travel to heaven."	<b>Rom. 12:12, 14</b> moving beyond tribulation, persecution <b>Acts 14:22</b> through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God <b>1 Pet. 4:12-13</b> tribulation as fiery ordeal, revelation of glory

<sup>1</sup> Translations taken from Unger, *Handbook to Bach's Sacred Cantata Texts*.

4	2. Chorus (chorale vs. 1)	doubling voices	"Christ lay in death's bonds for our sin given, he is again risen and has brought us new life; for that we shall joyful be, shall praise God and be thankful to him, and sing hallelujah, hallelujah!"	<b>Mk. 16:6</b> the resurrected Christ <b>Ps. 18:4-5</b> cords of death <b>I Cor. 5:7</b> Christ life sacrificed as ransom for mankind's transgressions
	3. Soprano & Alto Duet	1 trombone doubling alto voice	"There was no one who could master death amongst all mankind, our sin caused all that; no innocence was to be-found. Because of that death came so soon and gained power over us, held us captive in its kingdom. Hallelujah!"	<b>Rom. 3:10-12; 5:12, 17, 19; 6:23</b> Sin of man, resulting in death/judgment <b>Heb. 2:14-15</b> Christ's destruction of the power of death <b>I Cor. 15:21-22</b> resurrection of the dead in Christ <b>Rev. 19:1</b> apocalyptic imagery
	8. Chorale (vs. 7)	doubling voices	"We eat and we live indeed (on) true Easter-bread, The old leaven shall not be with the word of grace, Christ wants to be our fare and feed the soul alone, faith would live on nought else. Hallelujah!"	<b>Jn. 6:48-51</b> Christ as bread of life, offering eternal life juxtaposed with earthly bread and death
21	9. Chorus (chorale- based) <sup>2</sup>	doubling voices (only as the A text [Ps. 116:7] leads into the B text [chorale])	A) "Be now again content, my soul, for the Lord does to thee good." B) "Think not in thy heat-of-affliction, that thou by God forsaken art, and that God him to his bosom takes, who on constant fortune feeds. The following age changes many-things and determines (for) everyone his final end."	<b>Ps. 116:7-8, 10</b> deliverance from death <b>Lk 16:19-25</b> Lazarus' death and afterlife experience, the rich man's judgment and damnation <b>Lk. 6:24-25</b> judgment, eternal punishment

<sup>2</sup> Possibly based on Johann Rist's chorale, "Jammer hat mich ganz umgeben." See Unger, 73.

23	4. Chorale	doubling voices	"Christ, thou Lamb of God, thou who dost bear the sin of-the world, have mercy on us! ... Give us thy peace! Amen."	Is. 53:3-7, 10 Christ bearing our sorrow and grief, wounded for our transgressions, by his suffering we are healed, taking our place in judgement
25	1. Chorus [c/3tbn playing passion chorale]	doubling voices	"(There) is nothing sound in my body because of thy menacing and (there) is no peace in my bones because of my sin." (Psalm 38:3)	Ps. 38:1-8 pleas against rebuke and wrath, lack of health as judgment for sins,
28	2. Chorus (chorale)	doubling voices	"Now praise the Lord, O my soul, all that is in me, praise his name! His benefaction doth he increase, Forget it not, O heart of mine! He hath forgiven thy sin, and heals they great weakness, saves they poor life, takes thee (to) his bosom, showers rich comfort upon thee, rejuvenates thee like an eagle. The king works justice: guards those (who) suffer in his kingdom."	Ps. 103:1-13 salvation from pit, God not dealing with mankind according to sins
	6. Chorale	doubling voices	"All this thy goodness we praise, Father, on heaven's throne, which thou to us dost show through Christ, thy son, and ask furthermore of thee: Give us a peaceful year; From all harm protect and feed us tenderly."	
38	1. Chorus (chorale vs. 1)	doubling voices	"Out of deep distress cry I to thee, Lord God, hear my supplication; Thy gracious ear bend toward me and open it to my petition! For if thou wilt regard deeds of sin and unrighteousness, who can stand before thee, O Lord?" (Ps. 130:1-3)	Jn. 4:46-47 official seeking Jesus' healing for his son who was near death Ps. 130:1-3; Ps. 28:2; Ps. 143:2 cry against judgment for iniquities/plea for mercy Mal. 3:2-3; Rev. 6:17 day of judgement/wrath, purification fire

	6. Chorale (vs. 5)	doubling voices	"Though there is much sin with us, with God (there) is much more grace; his hand for helping has no limit, however great may be the injury. he alone is the good shepherd, who will deliver Israel from all his sins."	<b>Jn. 10:11; 27-28; Mt. 1:21; Acts 4:12</b> Christ offering eternal life, salvation from perishing <b>Ps. 130:7-8</b> redemption in spite of iniquities
64	1. Chorus	doubling voices	"Behold, what a love has to us the Father shown, that we God's children are called."	
	2. Chorale	doubling voices	"All that has he done for us, to show his great love. Let all Christendom rejoice over this and thank him for this (through) (all) eternity."	<b>Jn. 3:16; 1 Jn 4:9-10; Phil. 2:6-8</b> eternal life through Christ's birth and death, expiation for our sins
	4. Chorale	doubling voices	"What do I care for the world and all its treasures, if I can only delight myself in thee, O my Jesus! I have chosen thee alone for my pleasure: Thou, thou art my delight; what do I care for the world!"	<b>2 Cor. 4:16-18</b> preparation for the afterlife <b>Col. 3:1-3</b> resurrection with Christ, death to sin <b>Jms. 4:4; 1 Jn. 2:15</b> separation from this world
	8. Chorale	doubling voices	"Good night, O existence That the world hath- chosen! Thou dost not please me. Good night, ye sins, remain far behind, come no more to light! Good night, thou pride and pomp! Thee be completely, thou life of wickedness. 'Good Night' given!"	<b>Phil. 1:23, 2 Tim. 4:6</b> departure from this world <b>Rom. 6:1-9, 12</b> death to sin, baptism into Christ's death, baptism symbolic of death-burial-resurrection, resurrection themes



68	5. Chorus	doubling voices	"Whoever in him believes, he will not be judged; whoever, however, does not believe, is already judged; for he believes not on the name of the only begotten Son of God." (John 3:18)	<b>Jn. 3:18</b> condemnation for not believing <b>Jn. 5:22-24</b> eternal life juxtaposed with death and judgment
96	1. Chorus (chorale vs. 1)	trombone doubling alto voice	"Lord Christ, the only Son of God, (who was) the Father's in eternity, out of his heart was sprouted, just as it stands written; he is the morningstar, his radiance does he extend so far that it is beyond (all) other stars (more) bright."	<b>Jn. 8:12</b> Christ as light of the world, followers walk in light as opposed to darkness
101	1. Chorus (chorale vs. 1)	doubling voices	"Take from us, Lord, thou faithful God, the severe punishment and great distress, which we for sins without number have earned altogether. Protect us from times of war and dearth, from pestilences, fire, and great suffering."	<b>Rev. 18:5</b> God remembering the sins of Babylon <b>Deut. 28:15, 21-22</b> judgment as a result of disobedience to God <b>2 Chron. 20:9; Jer. 14:7</b> calling on God in time of judgment
	7. Chorale (vs. 7)	doubling voices	"Lead us with thy right hand And bless our city and land; Give us always thy holy word, protect (us) from the devil's cunning and murder; grant a blessed little hour, so that we eternally with thee might be!"	<b>Ps. 3:8; 28:9; 60:5</b> deliverance from evil <b>1 Pet. 5:8</b> be watchful, the devil as prowling lion <b>Eph. 6:11, 16-17</b> God's protection against the devil
121	1. Chorus (chorale vs. 1)	doubling voices	"Christ we shall praise sweetly, the pure maiden Maria's Son, As far as the dear sun radiates, reaching to the ends of the world."	

	6. Chorale (vs. 8)	doubling voices	"Praise, honor, and thanks be to thee, Christ, born of the pure maiden, With Father and the Holy Ghost from now on until eternity."	
135	1. Chorus (chorale vs. 1)	1 trombone as continuo voice, doubling bass voice	"Ah Lord, do not punish this poor sinner In thy wrath, thy severe anger indeed soften, or else I am lost. Ah Lord, mayest (thou) forgive my sin, and be merciful, that I may eternally live, (and) Escape the pangs of hell."	<b>Ps. 6:1; 130:1-4; 143:2</b> plea against God's rebuke <b>Nah. 1:6</b> God's wrath as fire <b>Jn. 3:16</b> salvation instead of perishing for those that believe in God's Son
	2. Tenor Recit. (based on chorale vs. 2)	trombone still serving as continuo instrument?	"Ah heal me, thou physician of souls, I am very sick and weak; One can count all my bones, so wretchedly has my hardship, my cross and suffering dealt with me; (my) countenance is completely swollen with tears, which like rapid torrents, roll downward from (my) cheeks. My soul is fearful and anxious with terror."	<b>Ps. 38:1-8</b> plea for mercy in place of wrath
	3. Tenor Aria (based on chorale vs. 3)	same as above?	"Comfort, Jesus, my spirit, or I will sink into death, help me, help me by thy kindness out of (this) great distress of soul! For in death all is still, there no one remembers thee. Dearest Jesus, if it is thy will, then gladden my countenance!"	<b>Ps. 6:4-5; 119:76, 81-82 Mt. 26:39</b> plea for salvation and deliverance <b>Ps. 6:4-5; 13:3; 30:8-10</b> silence of death

4. Alto Recit. (based on chorale vs. 4)	same as above?	"I am weary from sighing, my Spirit has neither strength nor might, because I lie the entire night oft without peace of mind and tranquility in great sweat and tears. I grieve night to death and am with mourning old; for my fear is manifold."	<b>Ps. 6:6-7; 31:9-11; 38:1-8</b> agony/grief/ suffering and pleading for mercy
5. Bass Aria (based on chorale vs. 5)	same as above?	"Away, all you evildoers, my Jesus comforts me! He lets -- after tears and weeping -- the sun of joy shine again; the storm of affliction is transformed, foes must suddenly fall and their arrows backwards (against themselves) recoil."	<b>Ps. 6:8-10; 7:14-16; 37:12-15</b> banishment or punishment of evildoers, <b>Ps. 30:5</b> juxtaposing God's anger and favor, weeping/night vs. joy/mourning
6. Chorale (vs. 6)	same as above?	"Glory be in heaven's throne with great honor and praise to the Father and the Son and also in like manner to the Holy Ghost with glory for all eternity, may he grant us all eternal blessedness."	<b>Ps. 116:1-8</b> deliverance from the snares of death and pangs of Sheol <b>I Pet. 5:10-11</b> suffering replaced by eternal life <b>Rev. 7:11-12</b> apocalyptic imagery

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