

THE TRUMPET IN FUNERAL CEREMONIES IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND DURING THE 17TH CENTURY

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“The trumpet sal sound, and deidmen sal ryse agane, without corruptionn, and wesalbe changet.” (Corinthians 1/15 v. 52 (Scottish translation, c. 1520)

When James VI of Scotland ascended to the English throne as James I in 1603, moving his court from Edinburgh to London, Scotland witnessed a significant reduction in the number of royal events in its ceremonial calendar. The records of the Court of the Lord Lyon, Scotland’s court of heraldic jurisdiction, reflect the shift in ceremonial activity during the 17th century from events centered on the royal court to those associated with the Scottish parliament and individual members of the aristocracy. The responsibilities of the Lord Lyon King of Arms, the principal officer of the Court of the Lord Lyon, included the organization and marshalling of aristocratic funeral ceremonies.¹

Three manuscript sources emanating from the Court of the Lord Lyon contain, among them, descriptions of over fifty funeral ceremonies performed in Scotland during the 17th century. The *Volume of funeral processions and ceremonies containing thirty-nine notices of funerals in the first half of the seventeenth century*,² written in an 18th-century hand, is believed to be a copy of earlier records of the Court of the Lord Lyon. The *Registir of interments and Funeralls Since the Yeir of our Redemptione 1620*,³ in the hand of Sir James Balfour, who served as Lord Lyon between 1630 and 1654, contains accounts of five funeral processions performed between 1625 and 1637. This manuscript was published in the 19th century as part of a collection of Balfour’s manuscripts.⁴ The third source; *The Lyons Register of Processions, Letters of Precedency, Testifications, and Forfaultures*,⁵ although dated 1681, contains details of six funerals performed between 1675 and 1681, as well as a number of important state ceremonies up to the 20th century.

The funeral accounts contained in these sources record the order of the processions that accompanied the transportation of a corpse from its place of rest prior to the burial to the church where the funeral service was conducted and occasionally also describe the ceremony at the interment. Trumpeters are mentioned as participating in all but a few of the earliest funerals and the players are named on a number of occasions, revealing that it was the royal household trumpeters who formed the nucleus of the groups employed.⁶ Many of the accounts offer an illuminating insight into the role of the trumpet in these ceremonies and a number are of particular interest in that they contain references to “open” and “closse” trumpets. The number of ceremonies documented and the clarity with which they are described enables us to obtain a clear picture of the format of an aristocratic funeral in 17th-century Scotland to be formed. In this article I will examine the role of the

trumpet in the Scottish funeral rite and assess the extent to which this reflects the practices encountered in accounts of funerals performed elsewhere in Europe.

The earliest ceremony in the *Volume of funeral processions* to mention trumpeters is the funeral of Patrick, Earl of Kinghorn in 1616. Two groups of three players, the second of which was “Cled in Dule” (dressed in dark attire), were placed at different points in the procession and after the funeral service “the Corpes was putt in the earth with sound of Trumpet.” At many of the funerals four trumpeters were in attendance and at the funeral of Sir Thomas Otterburn of Redhall in 1618 they are described as “sounding the Mort Sound.”

Four trumpeters, proceeding in pairs, are portrayed in two almost identical rolls depicting a Scottish funeral procession of the early 17th century (Figure 1).⁷ The heraldry delineated has been interpreted as being intentionally vague and it is believed that the rolls were used as sources of reference for the preparation and marshaling of funerals. A note on one of the rolls referring to the funeral of the Marquis of Huntly in 1636 suggests that it was used on that occasion; however the costumes depicted appear to belong to a slightly earlier period. Only the first pair of trumpeters is actually playing, and a note on one of the rolls reads: “the one two to relieve the other two,” suggesting that the players played in alternation to produce continuous musical provision for the procession.



Figure 1
Scottish funeral procession, early 17th century

References to trumpeters in the account of the funeral procession for Alexander, Earl of Home in 1619 are particularly explicit. Towards the front of the procession “came riding a trumpet in Livery or Colours of the house...Sounding and Denouncing war.” Two groups of three trumpeters followed, the first “cled in dule Sounding a mort Sound”, and the second “cled in Dule.” After the funeral service “[the corpse] was Inter’d in The earth with Sound of Trumpets of a bone vae and a joyfull resurrection.”⁸ A similar conclusion to the solemnity is recorded in several of the accounts of the 1620s, including that of the funeral of the Chancellor of Scotland, Earl of Dunfermline in 1622. Two groups of three players participated in the procession and at the interment “all the People Craved at God a Happy Resurrectione of his Soull with sound of trumpets.” At the funeral of George, Earl of Marischall, in 1623 “William Marr Cled In colours...in a manner sounding and Denouncing Warr” preceded four other trumpeters in the procession. Four players took part in the procession to the burial of Lady Yester in 1625 and as the corpse was lowered into the grave, “the trumpets Sounded her Last bouvale.”

William Marr is the only player who held positions with both the English court and the Scottish administration to be listed in the Scottish funeral accounts.⁹ He was appointed royal trumpeter in Scotland in 1609¹⁰ and to the same position in England in 1624/5.¹¹ In May 1625 he was one of twenty trumpeters (excluding the sergeant trumpeter) to receive mourning liveries for the funeral of James VI and I, in London,¹² and in 1630 he was granted leave to go to Scotland for six months.¹³ He was the only one of the five trumpeters who served at the funeral of the Earl of Marchel in 1623 to be named and between 1628 and 1634 he is recorded as participating in a further seven funerals in Scotland.

The earliest reference to an “open” trumpet is in the funeral procession for Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow in 1622, when “the open Trumpet or Trumpet of war in Cullers...Riding...” was followed by two groups of three trumpeters, the first of which was “Cled in Dule”. At the interment of the body into the vault the trumpeters sounded “with a bone vae and a joyfull resurrection.” At the funeral of Sir Andrew Kerr in Jedburgh in 1629 “George Fergusone trumpeter...in reid & whyt Sounding an open trumpete” was followed later in the procession by a group of four trumpeters. An “open” trumpet is mentioned at, or near the front of, a further two processions recorded in this source. In one of these, four trumpeters followed, and in the other, “an opon trumpitt” preceded two groups of three players each, the first of which was “in Murning aperall.

Two groups of three trumpeters are mentioned at the funeral of James, Marquis of Hamilton in 1625, the earliest funeral recorded in the Balfour manuscript. At the funeral of Walter, Earl of Buccleuch in 1634 “A trumpet cled in the defuncts Livery, ryding one horsse back sounding” was followed by two groups of three players “in mourning,” the first of which is also described as being “one foot” and “sounding sadlie.” “Ane opin trumpett, cled in Livery” was followed by two groups of “4 trumpets in mourning, 2 and 2” at the funeral of George, Earl of Kinnoule in 1635, and at the funeral of the Countess of Wigtown, the following year, “A trumpett, open” preceded “Four trumpetts in mourning, crosse 2 and 2 in order.” A lone trumpeter is not mentioned towards the front of the procession in the fifth funeral detailed in this source; that of the Countess of Nithsdale in 1637, however

“Four trumpetts closse, 2 and 2” are recorded as taking part.

The records of the Lyon Court contain no information on funeral ceremonies during the years of turmoil between the uprisings of 1637 and the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660. The triumphal overtones of the heraldic funeral did not accord with the ideology of the Presbyterian leaders and it is safe to say that there was a decline in the number of such ceremonies during the 1640s. At the funeral of Sir James Fraser of Brea at Kirkhill, near Inverness, in 1649 however, thirteen trumpeters from the military forces garrisoned in the area added to “a most glorious funeral.”¹⁴ The same chronicle describes the transportation of the cortege at a later funeral ceremony performed in the Scottish highlands; that of Hugh Fraser of Foyers, at which “my Lord [Lovat], with many Grants, Cumings, Frasers, croassed the Lough Ness in 4 great boats, trumpets sounding, pipes playing, with echoes rebounding, and convoying Foyers corps to his interment at Boleskin.”¹⁵

Following the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1661 it was decreed that a state funeral should be given to James, Marquis of Montrose, the royalist leader who had been executed in 1649 for leading an ill-fated expedition into Scotland. Consequently, his remains, which had been buried on the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh, were recovered and various limbs which had been exhibited in towns across Scotland were gathered together. To the sound of trumpets positioned on a specially erected stage, his head was removed from the stake above the city’s toll booth where it had been on display for the previous twelve years.¹⁶ During the funeral procession, which was recorded in a published tract, “An open Trumpet, cloathed in a rich Livery of the Marquis’s Colours, carrying his Arms on his Banner,” was followed at a later stage by “Four close Trumpets in Mourning, carrying the Defunct’s Arms on their Banners.” The next group of “Four close Trumpets” was preceded by “An Horse in close Mourning.” A further “Two close Trumpets in Mourning” were situated towards the rear of the procession.¹⁷

The diarist John Nicoll informs us that at the funeral of Andrew Fairfull, Archbishop of Glasgow in 1663, “the corps...wer transportit from the New Kirk of Edinburgh to the Abbay church of Halyrudhous, four trumpettis sounding.”¹⁸ He provides a more detailed description of the funeral of the Earl of Glencairn in 1664, at which “Ane ranting trumpet in liverie” was followed by two groups of “four trumpettis in murning” in the procession, and at the interment, “aucht [eight] trumpettoris sounding at the graves mouth endit the solempnitie.”¹⁹

Of the six 17th-century funeral ceremonies recorded in *The Lyon’s Register*, all but one, that of the Lord Lyon, Sir Charles Erskine in 1677, at which “Ane Open Trumpet in Livery” was followed by “Sex Trumpets in Mourning...2, 2 & 2,” make a distinction between “open” and “closse” trumpets. At the funeral of James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews in 1679 three groups of “Two closse trumpets” took part in the procession and “Efter Sermon the Corps wer removed to the place of interment and laid in The Ground with Sound of Open Trumpets.” An “open” trumpet followed by two groups of two and three “closse” trumpets respectively took part in the procession at the funeral of the Countess of Roxburgh in 1675 and “After the coffin was taken out of the Hearse to be caryed in to the place of Interment First went Sex or Fyve closse trumpetts.” At two other funerals

in 1679; those of David, Earl of Wemyst and Lord Cochran, two groups of “two crosse Trumpets” followed “Ane Open Trumpet” in the procession.

The final funeral procession recorded in this source, that of John, Duke of Rothes in 1681, was illustrated along with the procession at the opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1685 in a series of engravings dating from the early 18th century.²⁰ The engravings, which were later published, have been attributed to Roderick Chalmers who served as Herald Painter and Ross Herald²¹ between 1724 and his death in 1746.²² *The Lyons Register* records “Ane Open Trumpet in the defuncts Livery with a Banner of his Armes” followed by three groups of “Two Crosse Trumpets,” the first of which was “in mourning,” in the procession from St. Giles Church in Edinburgh to Holyroodhouse. A troop of guards was positioned at the rear of the procession. In another almost identical account of this funeral “the Kings trowp of guard...wt Kettle drum and Standart in ane mourning posture” is referred to,²³ and in the text accompanying the published illustrations “Two Trumpets & Kettle Drum, Followed by his Majesties Troop of Guards” concluded the procession. The following day the corpse was transported across the River Forth to Burntisland in Fife and, in the same processional order as before, to Leslie where it was “Laid in the Grave with Sound of Open Trumpet.” In the original illustrations the lone trumpeter in livery and on horseback, and the pairs of trumpeters in mourning attire and on foot have the captions “An open Trumpet” and “two close Trumpets” written above them respectively; however these designations are absent from the printed versions (Figures 2 & 3).



Figure 2

Edinburgh, Scottish National Museum, Adv. Mss. 31.4.22

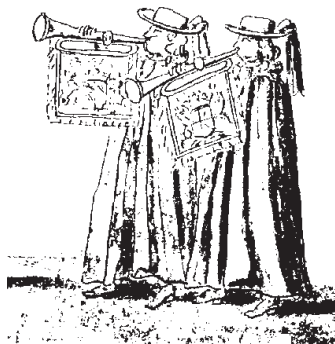
Close Trumpets.

Figure 3

Edinburgh, Scottish National Museum, Adv. Mss. 31.4.22

Heraldic funerals involving the participation of trumpeters continued to be performed into the 18th century;²⁴ however it is doubtful if the scale and grandeur of the obsequies for the Earl of Rothes were again witnessed in Scotland. Trumpeters are referred to in *The Lyons Register* in connection with one other 17th-century funeral; that of Lady Balmerino in 1684, when the five royal trumpeters were admonished for an unspecified misdemeanor committed on that occasion. The entry in the register, occupying a full page, and containing no details of the ceremony, appears curiously out of place in a document otherwise reserved almost exclusively for recording major state ceremonies and is perhaps indicative of the seriousness with which the incident was viewed. A declaration promising to comply with the orders of the Lord Lyon in future is signed by the five royal trumpeters and also by subsequent appointees in 1688 and 1691.

Almost all the participants in the Scottish funeral ceremonies can be seen as fulfilling a symbolic role associated with one of two motifs central to the occasion—*triumph* and *mourning*—motifs which can be traced back to funeral ceremonies of the middle ages, both in Scotland and across Europe. The personal achievements of the deceased and the distinction of the family were honored by a display of heraldry and military accoutrements in which the officiating heralds took a leading role. The passing of the individual was solemnized with the wearing of black mourning attire by numerous individuals and the covering of items such as banners, horses and the coffin with black cloth.

The “open” trumpet, dressed in the livery of the deceased and performing militaristic trumpet calls, and the groups of “close” trumpets, dressed “in mourning” and sounding the *mort* sound, were inextricably linked to the *triumph* and *mourning* motifs respectively. The word “close” is defined in dictionaries of old Scots as “shut” or “closed.”²⁵

If this definition is applied to the references to “closse” trumpets, then the theory that muted trumpets were being referred to seems plausible.²⁶ This interpretation is problematic on two counts, however. First, no mutes are portrayed in the drawings of the Rothes funeral. It has been suggested that Chalmers copied the drawings from an earlier set, since mention of illustrations of these events was made in 1696 in connection with the contents of a proposed publication.²⁷ Although the unknown provenance of the original set of drawings renders an assessment of its value as a historical source difficult, the fact that it appears to represent a contemporary delineation of the procession is significant. Second, several funeral accounts refer to “closse mourners.” The word “closse,” in this context, has been interpreted as meaning “nearly related.”²⁸ In another manuscript source dealing with heraldry Sir James Balfour lays down the trappings to which the various degrees of nobility were entitled at their interments.²⁹ A Gentleman was to have “Moorners bot not closse,” and an Earl, “A closse moorner, and viii assistant closse moorners.” It is possible that the designation “closse” merely signified a symbolic association between the trumpeters and the “closse mourners,” as appears to have been the case with the horse in “close Mourning” at the funeral of the Marquis of Montrose; however this then raises questions as to the meaning of “open” trumpet. It is conceivable that the word “open” alluded to the declamatory nature of the trumpeters role, in which exaltation for the deceased manifested itself both visually and aurally. The terminology is perplexing since the words “open” and “closse” can be seen as antithetic in both the physical and non-physical sense (i.e. in relation to the application of mutes and their symbolic allusions) and it is not possible to determine if the designations apply to the player or the instrument. The proposition that the militaristic calls and the music performed at the graveside were performed on the unmuted trumpet, and the solemn music on the muted trumpet, with its less sonorous timbre, remains a credible interpretation of the terminology; however the sources are inconclusive on the matter and an equally strong case could be proposed for regarding the designations as being purely symbolic.

In his study of the muted trumpet, Wolfgang Osthoff cited an example of muted trumpets, sounding mournfully (“al suono di certe trombe sorde e con suon roco e morto”), accompanying a “Carro della Morte” (chariot of death) in a carnival procession in Florence in 1511.³⁰ Accounts of Italian funeral ceremonies of the late 16th and 17th centuries refer to both muted trumpets and covered trumpets sounding mournfully, and attest to the practice of trumpeters carrying their covered instruments in silence.³¹ One such account of 1587 refers to trumpeters on horse-back dressed in black with “Trombe velate, . . . rappresentavano con flebil suono mestizia” followed by “due Trombetti . . . che havevano Trombe velate esprimevano col non sonarle mai mestizia continova.” It cannot be assumed therefore that references to covered trumpets invariably denote a dampening of the sound.³²

Detlef Altenburg has noted the possible use of muted trumpets at the funeral of Archduke Karl of Graz in 1590³³ and it has recently been shown that an ensemble of muted trumpets was regularly included amongst the musical forces employed in funeral processions of the Lutheran Church in Germany during the 17th century. Accounts of these processions frequently refer to drums covered with black cloth, producing a dampened sound, and

to trumpeters carrying their instruments inverted, with the mouthpieces downward, in a manner similar to the carrying of reversed muskets.³⁴ This suggests that, at a certain point in the procession, the silencing of the trumpets was a feature. In the semi-autobiographical novel by Daniel Speer, *Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus* (1683), the hero, Simplex, reveals that at funerals of the prelate and nobility in Northern Hungary and in Transylvania muted trumpets (“Trompeten mit Sartinen versteckt gebraucht werden”) were utilized.³⁵ The practice is not mentioned in an account of the funeral of the palatine of Hungary, Count Thurzó, György in 1617; although six trumpeters and a kettle-drummer dressed in black, with black taffeta on their instruments, took part in the procession.³⁶ In the title of his trumpet method of 1638 (*Modo per imparare a sonare DI TROMBA TANTO DE GUERRA Quanto Musicalmente in Organo, con Tromba Sodina, col Cimbalo, e ogn'altro istrumento*), Fantini refers to the muted trumpet, associating it with the *musical*, as opposed to the *warlike* role of the instrument, but no mention of any funereal connotation is made in the text of the work.³⁷ The trumpet mute is also mentioned in the treatises of Pierre Trichet and Marin Mersenne, but only as an implement used on the battlefield, enabling trumpet signals to be conveyed quietly.³⁸

At the funeral of Charles VIII of France in 1498 the trumpets were silenced by the removal of their mouthpieces during the various processions involved in transporting the body from Amboise to Paris.³⁹ The instrumentalists likewise proceeded in silence in the funeral procession for François I in 1547 at which “Les haultboys, tabourins et phifres, le tout non sonnans et l’anbouchoir de leurs instruments contre bas” preceded “Quinze trompettes, leurs embouchouers contre bas et banderolles desployées.”⁴⁰ At the funeral of Henry II in 1559 “Les trompettes ordinaires de la maison du Roy, la bouche de la trompette renversée et la bannière ployée” took part in the procession and at the interment, after calls of “Le Roy est mort!” and “Vive le Roy,” “commencèrent a sonner toutes les trompettes, tabourins et fifres du dict sieur Roy.”⁴¹ The funeral of Henry IV in 1610 was recorded in a tract which was published in English.⁴² In the procession transporting the body to the place of interment in Paris “...the maisters of the ho-boyes, flutes, instruments of musicke, trumpets, and drums, all covered with black, sounding mournfully,” were followed at a later stage by “...8 trumpetters in mourning weedes, the trumpets couered all with black sipres.” At the funeral of Louis XIII in 1643 the drums and trumpets were silent during the procession to St. Denis. The privilege of carrying the coffin of the monarch into the Abbey, where it lay prior to interment, was awarded on this occasion to a company of Scots Guards which, from the 15th century, had served as the king’s personal bodyguard and had traditionally played a prominent role in French royal funerals.⁴³

At the funeral of King Frederik II of Denmark in 1588 the royal trumpeters marched in silence with their instruments, which were covered in black silken banners, placed on their shoulders. Eighteen trumpeters and two timpanists took part in the funeral procession for King Christian IV in 1647 and again are recorded as proceeding in silence.⁴⁴

In a tract relating proceedings at the funeral of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden in 1634, published in Edinburgh the same year, “twelue trumpetters, and foure kettell drummes, playing sorrowfully,” followed a contingent of the military dressed in black, in the proces-

sion to Stockholm where he was buried.⁴⁵ The Scotsman, Robert Douglas, died in 1662 while serving as an officer in the Swedish army. In his funeral procession, also held in Stockholm, “four companies of horse in their armour, carrying the muzzles of their pistols downward, one beating the kettle-drums, and three trumpets riding before them,” led the procession. At a later stage, “a pair of kettle-drums and eight trumpets” followed a display of “a hundred standards and collours (taken from the enemy under the deceased his general command) born by officers all in black.”⁴⁶

Trumpeters are documented as participating in the funerals of royalty and military leaders in England during the 16th and 17th centuries but are often not mentioned in accounts of funerals of members of the nobility. In 16th-century accounts, choristers are often the sole musical participants recorded and during the course of the following century heraldic funerals in England began to decline in popularity with the nobility as torchlight burials at night came into fashion.⁴⁷

The funeral of Sir Philip Sidney in London in 1586, following his death on the battlefield in the Low Countries, was illustrated in a series of engravings in which a group of four trumpeters is portrayed near the front of the procession, carrying, but not playing their instruments. Later, a group of drums and fifes, described as “playing softly”, is depicted.⁴⁸ In 1596 Sir Francis Drake took ill and died during an expedition to the West Indies. His burial is recorded in an anonymous journal which describes the lowering of the coffin into the sea: “the Trumpets in dolefull manner echoing out this lamentation for so great a losse.”⁴⁹

The orders to be observed at the funerals of the English nobility are prescribed in a 17th-century manuscript.⁵⁰ Trumpeters are not mentioned in the order of processions laid down for any of the specific ranks of nobility, but for those that fell in battle: “the trumpett must be formost sounding a dead sound.” As the body was laid in the ground: “the whole noyse of trumpets must sound fast by the buryall. And after them the drummes & fifes must strick & play a dead sound.”

The funeral of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 was recorded in a published tract and in a series of drawings, thought to be by William Camden, one of the Officers of Arms.⁵¹ Three groups of four trumpeters are depicted, all of whom are dressed identically, in mourning cloaks, and none of the players is shown playing an instrument. No distinctions are made in the tract for the music played by the different groups. A group of “Musitions” and “Two Drummes and a Fife, their Drummes couered with black cloth” are mentioned in the tract but not shown in the drawings.

A series of drawings depicting the funeral procession for General Monck, Duke of Albemarle in 1670, was produced by Francis Sandford.⁵² Five groups of three and one group of four trumpeters took part in the procession (see Figures 4 and 5), along with sixteen trumpeters and four kettle-drummers attached to the four troops of horse guards, mentioned in the text but not depicted in the drawings. The trumpeters shown are again all dressed identically and no details of their musical contribution are given. The only group of trumpeters shown playing their instruments is that consisting of four players (Figure 4). At the conclusion to the funeral service in Westminster Abbey the trumpeters, “placed

over the Door going into the Quire,” were given a sign by the Sergeant-trumpeter, and they immediately sounded.



Figure 4

From F. Sandford, *The Order and Ceremonies Used for, and at THE SOLEMN INTERMENT OF The most High, Mighty and most Noble Prince GEORGE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE...A.o. 1670*

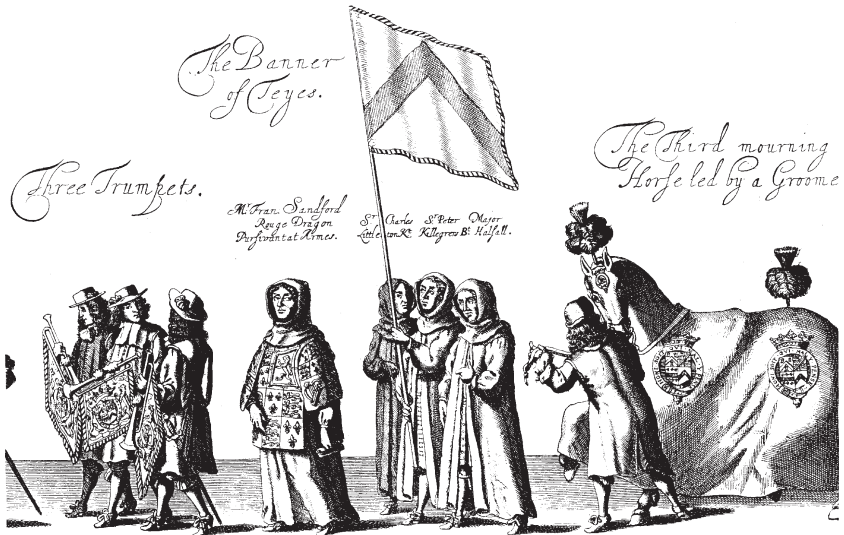


Figure 5

From F. Sandford, *The Order and Ceremonies...*

A distinction between trumpeters fulfilling contrasting symbolic roles is implied in the account of at least one 17th-century English funeral; that of Edward, Earl of Sandwich, who was killed in a sea battle against the Dutch in 1672.⁵³ The funeral cortege made its way to Westminster in a series of barges. The first is described as a “Mourning Barge” and carried “Trumpets and Drums all in Mourning.” The second and third barges represented the *triumph* motif, the former carrying the heralds with the coat of arms and military accoutrements, and the latter, the coffin draped with escutcheons and “six Trumpets with Banners” at the stern. Although the symbolic associations of the trumpeters resembles that of the Scottish ceremonies, we can only speculate as to how this affected the musical contribution of the two groups of players.

The practice of trumpeters and drummers marching in silence is depicted in illustrations of 16th- and 17th-century funeral processions performed in various parts of Europe.⁵⁴ In the engraving of the funeral procession for Count George Frederick in 1603 the drummer is positioned about two paces to the rear of his instruments.⁵⁵ The engraving of the funeral procession for Charles V in Brussels in 1558 does not appear to depict the procession in motion; however the manner in which the drums, which are draped in cloth, are positioned on the individuals carrying them—they each have an instrument attached to the front and the back of their body—would make it almost impossible for the instruments to be played on the march.⁵⁶ The possibility that the drums depicted in these iconographical sources were sounded at some point in the ceremony cannot, of course, be ruled out since there is ample evidence that the dampening of the drum sound was common to funerary practice throughout much of Europe. References to, and depictions of, covered drums must be treated with caution however, since it would appear that in certain funeral rites drums may have been covered as a means of symbolizing the silencing of the instruments. It is also possible that in certain funeral rites the covering of drums was a visual feature which may not have involved a dampening of the sound. In the account of the funeral of the Duke of Albemarle in 1670, mentioned above, the trumpet-banners and kettle-drums of the players attached to the troops of guards were covered with “Mourning Scarffs” during the procession. The covering of trumpet banners was clearly a visual feature symbolizing death and mourning, and it seems plausible that the drums were similarly appareled.⁵⁷

It is frequently stated that the march for four *flatt* trumpets by Henry Purcell was performed during the funeral procession for Queen Mary II from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey on 5 March 1695. This theory derives from the interpretation of the title of the march in the manuscript held in Oriel College, Oxford: *The Queens Funerall March sounded before her Chariot*.⁵⁸ William Barclay Squire, while not discounting this theory, has drawn attention to the fact that this is not corroborated by the various eye-witness accounts that exist.⁵⁹ The most valuable description of the procession is that printed by Edward Jones, by appointment of the Earl Marshal. As head of the College of Arms, the Earl Marshal was responsible for regulating the order of the procession at state ceremonies. In this account, the participation of five groups of two and one group of three trumpeters is documented. Although it has been suggested that the “official” order of ceremony published by authority of the College of Arms for events such as this was not always accurate in every detail,⁶⁰ it

seems extremely unlikely that the spectacle of a quartet of slide brass instruments taking part in the procession escaped the attention of any of the observers who described the procession. It has also been proposed that both the march and the canzona were performed during the procession and repeated during the funeral service.⁶¹ The remark that the march was “sounded before her Chariot” could conceivably refer to it being played as the coffin was being transported within the building or, alternatively, by the players in a stationary position in front of the bier. The version of the canzona contained in the Oriel manuscript is entitled *Canzona. As it was sounded in the Abby after the Anthem*. This designation, along with the testimony of Dr. Thomas Tudway, writing about twenty years later, confirms that the trumpet was used during the funeral service. Since the only evidence linking the march with the procession is the rather ambiguous title of the manuscript and there are no grounds on which to dismiss the evidence of the published account of the ceremony certified by the Earl Marshal, it can be surmised that the only trumpet sounds heard during the procession were those of the *natural* trumpet and that the *flatt* trumpet was reserved for the funeral service in the Abbey in which, as a relative of the sackbut, it would not have been out of place.⁶² It is interesting that the Baroque slide-trumpet in Germany, like the *flatt* trumpet in England, appears to have been associated with music of a funereal nature from close to its inception, the earliest work having been identified as being written for the *tromba da tirarsi* being the funeral motet *Trauer-vnd Begräbnüs-Lied* of 1648 by Adam Drese.⁶³

A manuscript collection of instrumental music from the London theaters, compiled around 1700, contains a funeral march by James Paisible, in four parts and in G minor. Beneath the uppermost stave, which appears to represent a part intended for more than one instrument, are the designations “Trum” and “Houtboy.”⁶⁴ Apart from a passage between bars 11 and 15, in which one of the parts is indicated as being *tacet*, this melodic line is playable on the natural trumpet (Example 1). Although the piece was written for the theater and does not necessarily represent the characteristics of the music actually performed on the trumpet at funerals, the manifestation of the funereal connotation of the trumpet by employing both the slide trumpet and the natural trumpet in the minor key is intriguing.



Example 1

J. Paisible, *funerall march*, top line.

None of the early sources of trumpet music, which are on the whole quite detailed in describing the specific functions of the various military trumpet signals in use and the type of music performed on different ceremonial occasions, refer to the role of the trumpet, and the music performed, at funeral ceremonies. The fact that the trumpeters who compiled these sources make no mention of the instrument's distinct symbolic and musical role at funerals, while this was frequently commented on by individuals recording the events, suggests that the music performed came from the standard trumpet repertoire. The military signal *Au Guet* (to watch), found in the various late 16th and early 17th-century trumpet books, has been identified by Anthony Baines as an early version of the *Last Post*.⁶⁵ Peter Downey has drawn parallels between the function of the two versions of the call and has suggested that, as well as being used to signal the night curfew in military camps, *Au Guet* was sounded at military funerals as a means of indicating the passing of the deceased to an eternal state of rest.⁶⁶ The references to the "open" trumpet in the Scottish funeral processions suggest the sounding of trumpet calls traditionally associated with war. The "mourning" sound of the "close" trumpets in the procession and the music performed by the groups of trumpeters (occasionally designated "open" trumpets), highlighting the mood of adoration at the interment, although distinct in character, were both clearly associated with the funeral rite. It is possible to conjecture therefore, that either, or both of these calls may have derived from the signal *Au Guet*.

It is evident that trumpet music with distinct funereal connotations was performed at funeral ceremonies throughout much of Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries and that this, in certain localities, was performed on the muted trumpet. The sources pertaining to funerals in 17th-century Scotland, although falling tantalizingly short of denoting the use of mutes, are particularly explicit in differentiating between the militaristic calls sounded by an "open" trumpet and the solemn music played by "close" trumpets. The association of the music performed by the "open" and "close" trumpets with the main symbolic motifs; motifs which were prevalent in funeral ceremonies across Europe, and the visual attachment of the trumpeters to these motifs, illustrates the incorporation of the trumpet as an integral element in the symbolism permeating the Scottish funeral rite. The clarity with which this is alluded to in the Scottish sources prompts further inquiry into aspects of the role of the trumpet in funeral ceremonies performed elsewhere in Europe and even from a limited overview of the role of the instrument at funerals in various European countries, it becomes clear that the trumpet was afforded a role which was quite distinct from its traditional militaristic and heraldic ceremonial function.

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NOTES

- 1 See J.H. Stevenson, *Heraldry in Scotland*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1914).
- 2 Edinburgh, The Court of the Lord Lyon.
- 3 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (En.) Adv. Mss. 33.2.1.
- 4 Sir James Balfour, *Ancient Heraldic and Antiquarian Tracts*, ed. J. Maidment (Edinburgh, 1837).
- 5 Edinburgh, The Court of the Lord Lyon.
- 6 When James VI traveled to London in 1603 he was accompanied by his five trumpeters, who were duly incorporated into the establishment of the English court. The same players continued to be listed in payment records of the Scottish exchequer (Scottish Record Office, Comptroller's Accounts - E.24), as did a number of their descendants who were also appointed royal trumpeters in England. Later in the reign of James VI, players began to be appointed in Scotland independently of England. The appointment of trumpeters in Scotland is recorded in the Register of the Privy Seal (S.R.O., PS.1 and PS.3). The participation in funeral ceremonies is stipulated in appointment records as one of the duties of the royal trumpeters from 1636 onwards.
- 7 See T. Innes of Learney, "Processional roll of a Scottish armorial funeral, stated to have been used for the obsequies of George, 1st Marquess of Huntly, 1636," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 77 (1943): 154-173.
- 8 "Bone vale" can be translated from the Latin as "fond farewell." J. Jamieson, in *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (revised ed., Paisley, 1879-1882), defines Bone as "prayer" and To vail, vale as "to make obeisance, to bow". Thus, with reference to the Scottish sources, the term can be interpreted as "a prayer of homage."
- 9 The other three players appointed in both countries were descendants of William Ramsay, one of the trumpeters who moved to London with James VI in 1603. Although the sources are inconclusive, it appears that these players were based at the royal court in London.
- 10 Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, PS1/78 f. 256v.
- 11 Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music* 4 (Snodland, 1991): 69.
- 12 Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music* 3 (Snodland, 1988): 2.
- 13 *Ibid*, p. 54.
- 14 Rev. J. Fraser, *Chronicles of the Frasers: The Wardlaw manuscript ... 916-1674*, ed. W. Mackay, Scottish History Society, First Series 47 (Edinburgh, 1905): 348.
- 15 *Ibid*, p. 484.
- 16 R. Williams, *Montrose: Cavalier in Mourning* (London, 1975), pp. 391-392.
- 17 *A Relation of the true Funerals of the great Lord Marquis of Montrose, his Majesty's Lord High Commissioner, and Captain-General of his Forces in Scotland; with that of the renowned Knight, Sir William Hay of Delgity* (Edinburgh], 1661); reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany: Or, a Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts...* 7 (London, 1746): 283-293.
- 18 J. Nicoll, *A Diary of Public Transactions and Other Occurrences, Chiefly in Scotland, from January 1650 to June 1667*, ed. D. Laing (The Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1836): 403-404.

- 19 Ibid, pp. 415-417.
- 20 En. Adv. Mss. 31.4.22.
- 21 Ross herald is one of six heralds attached to The Court of the Lord Lyon.
- 22 A. Kincaid, *The Funeral Solemnities at the Interment of the Corpse of John Duke of Rothes* (Edinburgh, 1780).
- 23 Sir J. Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, *Copies of Historical Documents* (16th and 17th centuries), En. Ad. Mss. 31.6.15.
- 24 For example, at the funeral of the Duke of Douglas in 1761 two pairs of trumpeters "sounding a dead march" took part in the procession through Edinburgh and in those performed at various stages of the long journey to Douglas Castle in the southwest of Scotland. (*The Glasgow Journal*, 30 July - 6 August, 1761)
- 25 See Jamieson, *Etymological Dictionary*, s.v. "closse."
- 26 H.G. Farmer, in *A History of Music in Scotland* (London, 1947), p. 205, refers to the open and close trumpets in the account of the funeral of the Duke of Rothes, interpreting the latter designation as denoting muted trumpets.
- 27 Captain John Slezer mentioned drawings of the processions to be included in his proposed publication entitled *Ancient and Present State of Scotland*. See *Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club* 2 (Edinburgh, 1836): 323.
- 28 Sir W. Craigie, *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (Chicago and London, 1938 -): s.v. "closse." The citation from the account of the funeral of the Countess of Niddisdaill given by Craigie was unfortunately taken from the 19th-century collection of Balfour's works (see note 4) in which the word "closse," as applied to the trumpet is misspelt as *cosse*, for which the dictionary contains no entry.
- 29 Sir James Balfour, "Notes on Funerary Trappings and the Order of a Funeral Procession," *Rolls containing theological, heraldic and historical material* (Nos. iii & iv), En. Adv. Mss. 34.4.16.
- 30 W. Osthoff, "Trombe sordine," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1956): 86-87. The description of the carnival is found in a biography of Piero di Cosimo, the artist responsible for the design of the float, contained in G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, 2nd ed. (Florence, 1568). The reference to the carnival was not included in the first edition of 1550.
- 31 G. Stefani, *Musica Barocca* (Milan, 1974): 33-34.
- 32 Ibid, p. 63 (n.152).
- 33 D. Altenburg, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Trompete im Zeitalter der Clarinblaskunst* (1500-1800), 3 vols. (Regensburg, 1973), 1: 133-134.
- 34 G.S. Johnston, "Music and musical practices in funeral processions and ceremonies in 17th-century Germany." Unpublished paper presented at the Sixth Biennial conference on Baroque Music, The University of Edinburgh, 1994. The paper was based on a study of numerous published *Leichenpredigten*. Examples of the terminology found in these sources for muted trumpet include *durch Sertin*, *durch das Serdin* and *durch Sourdinen*. The drums are often described as *überzogen und gedämpft*.
- 35 See also Henry Howey, "The Lives of Hoftrumpeter and Stadpfeiffer as Portrayed in Three Novels of Daniel Speer," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3 (1991): 65-78. In this article, which presents a succinct but luminous summary of the literary works of Speer, muted trumpets are not referred to, but we are informed that at the funerals of Hungarian nobility and bishops in the Catholic areas of the country the kettledrums were covered with cloth and trumpets with satin (p. 68).
- 36 B. Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. et XVII. században* (Budapest, 1879): 366.

- 37 Girolamo Fantini, *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba ...* (Frankfurt, 1638); facs. repr. and English transl. by E.H. Tarr (Nashville, 1976).
- 38 See Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721* (London, 1973), pp. 231-233.
- 39 R.E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960): 110.
- 40 L. Royer, "Relation inédite des obsèques de François 1er par le héraut Guyenne," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris* 47 (1924): 55-86.
- 41 M.L. Cimber and F. Danjou, *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France depuis Louis XI jusqu'à Louis XVIII* (Paris, 1834 -), 3: 331-347.
- 42 *THE FVNERALL POMPE AND OBSEQVIES OF THE MOST mighty and puissant HENRY the fourth, King of France and Nauarre, solemnized at Paris , and at St. Dennis, the 29. and 30. daies of Iune last past.1610* (London, 1610).
- 43 K.A. Patmore, *The Court of Louis XIII* (London, 1909). See also W. Forbes-Leith, *The Scots Men-at-arms and Life Guards in France from their Formation until their Final Dissolution, A.D. 1418 - 1830* (Edinburgh, 1882), 1: 120.
- 44 N. Friis, *Det danske hoftrumpeter korps* (Copenhagen, 1947), pp. 20, 32. An engraving of the trumpeters at Frederik II's funeral, depicting the trumpeters proceeding as noted in the text and the timpanist holding both beaters in one hand, is reproduced in this publication (p. 19). I am indebted to Peter Downey for drawing my attention to this source.
- 45 *The order of his Vmquhile maistie of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus his burial which was caried from Newkiping where hee was landed out of Germany, and to his buriall, being 48. myles to Stock-holme The 22. day of June, 1634. Where Hee was buried* (Edinburgh, 1634).
- 46 "Ceremonial of the funeral of Field-Marshal Robert Douglas, Stockholm, June 1662," *The Spottiswoode Miscellany* 2, ed. J. Maidment (Edinburgh, 1845).
- 47 A number of sources relating to 17th-century funeral ceremonies in England are listed in C. Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in early Modern England* (London, 1984).
- 48 Theodor De Bry, *Funeral Procession of Sir Philip Sidney*, Oxford, Christ Church Library (Aldrich Collection).
- 49 K.R. Andrews, ed., *The Last Voyage of Drake and Hawkins*, The Hakluyt Society (Cambridge, 1972).
- 50 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashm 763., f. 180v. This is one of many manuscripts dealing with heraldry in the collection bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Elias Ashmole. Since Ashmole served as Windsor Herald from 1660 until his death in 1692, it is reasonable to assume that these sources represent reliable testimony to the practices of the College of Arms.
- 51 *The Order and Proceedings at the Funerall of the Right High and Mightie Princesse Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland ...* (London, 1603?), reprinted in J. Somers, *A third collection of scarce and valuable tracts, on the most interesting and entertaining subjects...* (London, 1751), 1: 51-54. The series of drawings was printed in *Vetusta Monumenta, quae ad rerum Britannicarum ...* 3 (London, 1747; reprint, 1799).
- 52 F. Sandford, *The Order and Ceremonies Vsed for, and at THE SOLEMN INTERMENT OF The most High, Mighty and most Noble Prince GEORGE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE ... A:o.1670* (London, 1670).
- 53 *The London Gazette*, July 4, 1672.
- 54 See the illustrations of 17th-century funeral processions contained in T.L. Naylor, *The Trumpet and Trombone in Graphic Arts 1500-1800* (Nashville, 1979), plates 140-143. In the two illustrations of 18th-century funeral procession reproduced in this source, the trumpeters and drummers are depicted playing their instruments, and the drums heads covered in cloth are

discernible (plates 144 & 145).

- 55 Ibid, plate 143. Naylor states: "The drums are draped in keeping with funeral practice. This custom to muffle drums continues to the present" (p. 198).
- 56 Ibid, plate 140. The illustration is also reproduced in Edmund Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500- 1800: an Iconographical & Documentary Survey* (London, 1989), fig. 18. Bowles states that "the small timpani were draped to muffle their sound" (p. 41).
- 57 Sandford, *Order*.
- 58 Oxford, Oriel College, MS. Ua 37. This hypothesis has been espoused by Thurston Dart in his edition of the March and Canzona (London, 1958) which also includes spurious parts for timpani, and F.B.Zimmerman in *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: His Life and Times* (London, 1967): 252.
- 59 W. Barclay Squire, "Purcell's Music for the Funeral of Mary II," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 4 (1902-1903; repr. 1970): 225-233.
- 60 The discrepancy between the account of the procession at the coronation of James the VII and II by Francis Sandford, and the illustrations of the event by Gilbert Yeats, which were included in the same publication, has been attributed to an error on the part of Sandford and not the artist, in E. Halfpenny, "Musicians at James II's Coronation", *Music and Letters* 32 (1951).
- 61 Smithers, *Baroque Trumpet*, p. 225.
- 62 A similar conclusion was reached by Crispian Steele-Perkins (*Historic Brass Society Newsletter* 6, 1994: 14) who also remarked on the practical difficulties that would have been encountered in playing the flat trumpets outdoors while marching on a bitterly cold day. The role of the sackbut in church services in England is discussed in Trevor Herbert, "The Sackbut in England in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Early Music* 18 (1990): 609-616.
- 63 Peter Downey, "Adam Drese's 1648 Funeral Music and the Invention of the Slide Trumpet" in G. Gillen & H. White, ed. *Musicology in Ireland*. Irish Musical Studies, 1 (Dublin, 1990): 200-17. Despite the fact that no actual trumpet parts were published, the inclusion of a trumpet *Intrada* is indicated. The piece is in the key of C minor, and Downey concludes that the short passages that punctuate the homophonic vocal writing during which the voices rest and which are marked *Tr.* represent trumpet parts that would have been playable only on a slide instrument.
- 64 Lcm. MS 1172. Reproduced in *Music for London Entertainment 1660-1800*, Series A, vol. 3: C. Price, ed., *Instrumental Music for London Theatres 1690-1699* (Withyham, 1987): 39v. The piece is described as a "Funeral march, with trumpet and oboe" in the inventory of this volume (p. xv.)
- 65 Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments* (London, 1976), p. 84.
- 66 Private correspondence with Peter Downey. He has conjectured that the version contained in the manuscript book of Magnus Thomsen may offer clues as to the variant used in Scotland, since Danish trumpeters came to Scotland in 1590 with Queen Anne of Denmark on the occasion of her marriage to James VI.