

THE TRUMPET SHALL SOUND: SOME REASONS THAT SUGGEST WHY BERLIOZ ALTERED THE PART FOR TROMPETTE *A PISTONS* IN HIS OVERTURE *WAVERLEY*¹

Diana Bickley

INTRODUCTION

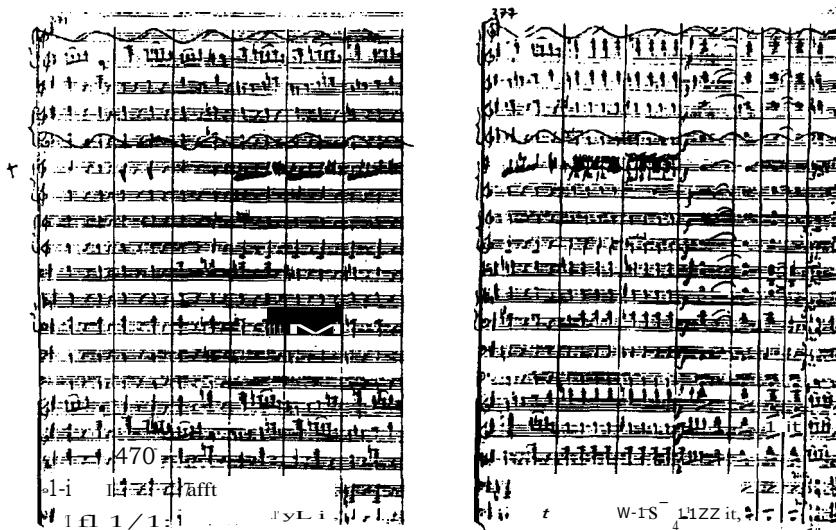
Notwithstanding the real loftiness and distinguished nature of its quality of tone, there are few instruments that have been more degraded than the trumpet. Even including Beethoven and Weber, every composer — not excepting Mozart — has persisted in confining it to the unworthy limits of fillings-up, or in causing it to sound two or three commonplace rhythmic formulz, as vapid and ridiculous as they are incompatible, very often, with the character of the pieces in which they occur. This detestable practice is at last abandoned; all composers now-a-days, of any merit and style, make accord with their melodial designs, with their form of accompaniment and with the trumpet's powers of sound, all the latitude, the variety and independence which the nature of the instrument affords. It has needed almost a century for the attainment of this much.²

Thus wrote Berlioz in his *Grande :mite d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (1843). This article focuses on the *trompette A pistons* part in Berlioz's autograph of the overture *Waverley* and aims to account for the reworking of the part, as seen both in the autograph and in the published version of 1839. I hope it will also help to explain the passion with which Berlioz writes in his *Treatise*. In this process I will examine some aspects of the development of brass instruments during the 1820s and 1830s — specifically two- and three-valved instruments — in relation to contemporary accounts and archival information, and the *Waverley* autograph and its surrounding circumstances.

Until he came to Paris, Berlioz' only knowledge of brass instruments would have been what he used to hear in the local National Guard band in La Cote St. Andre, whose members were "enthusiastic but inexpert." Hearing a professional orchestra for the first time in Berlioz' circumstances must have been an extraordinary experience for him and one that is almost impossible to recapture today. The *Memoirs* and letters, which give us some insight as to the impact of this experience,⁴ also show that he always took the matters of instrumentation and orchestration very seriously. From the time he arrived in Paris in November 1821 he made regular use of the expertise to be found in the orchestra pit of the *Opera*. He recounts, for example, his uncertainty about the trombone parts in the overture to *Les Francs-Juges* (1826). He showed the music to one of the trombone players at the *Opera*,

who set his mind completely at rest as to the suitability of the writing.⁵ Instrumentation and its close relation, orchestration, were not regarded as being sufficiently important to merit a place in the curriculum at the *Conservatoire*. Berlioz wrote that it was up to him to make a systematic study of the subject himself. He continues, "this, and the company of virtuoso players of various instruments and the experiments I induced them to make, plus a dash of instinct, did the rest."⁶ Further evidence of his impressive breadth of knowledge in this area at this early stage in his career can be found in his use of brass in the *Messe Sok.nnelle* (1824; rev. 1825). There are also striking brass timbres to be heard in the cantata *La Mort d'Orphee*.⁷ It is not surprising to find that such details continued to be of importance to him.

The general assumption concerning the introduction of the *tromp ette a pistons* has been that Gaspare Spontini (1774-1851) sent some of these and other brass instruments to Paris in 1826⁸ and that Hippolyte Chelard (1789-1861) was the first to use them in his opera *Macbeth* (June 29, 1827), which contains a trio for three valved trumpets. The autograph of *Waverley*⁹ shows that the part for the *tromp ette a pistons* has been rewritten (see Example 1), the explanation hitherto being that Berlioz first heard the instrument at one of the performances of *Macbeth*, and included it in *Waverley* but without realizing that he had misunderstood this new instrument's capabilities.¹⁰ It has been speculated that after hearing that what he had written would not work, presumably at the rehearsals for the first performance, he revised the part: hence the changes. A more detailed examination of this



Example 1

Waverley, autograph (facsimile). The part for *tromp ette & pistons*'s on the sixth staff.

THE CENTRAL "CHARACTER": WAVERLEY

The autograph manuscript of this overture is the earliest extant score of an orchestral composition conceived by Berlioz solely for concert use. Itself an interesting insight into his early writing, the questions raised by the inclusion of a part for one *trompette à pistons* also merit attention, if for no reason other than Berlioz's reputation as a master of the orchestra. Neither the exact date of its composition nor when Berlioz read the novel *Waverley* are known, although there are many references in Berlioz' letters to Scott's writings, and it is known that Berlioz' sister Nancy read *Waverley* to keep awake at night while nursing her younger brother, Prosper, early in 1825. At the earliest, however, it was not written until after Berlioz had completed the overture for the opera *Les Francs Juges* in 1826. The *terminus post quem* is confirmed in a letter dated February 11, 1828 from Berlioz's teacher, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, to Alexandre Boucher. In it Le Sueur talks in the plural about 'overtures' by Berlioz, presumably referring to both *Waverley* and *Les Francs Juges*. Within this broad time-scale it is worth noting that at certain times Berlioz was occupied with other matters, like revising and copying parts for *Les Francs Juges* during late 1826 and early 1827, rehearsing and performing in the chorus at the *Théâtre des Nouveautés* from November 1826 until September 1827, and being busy for some of July and August 1827 with the *Prix di' Rome* competition. Soon after this, the advent of Shakespeare and Harriet Smithson into Berlioz' life threw him into a state of emotional turmoil, fluctuating between intellectual incoherence and patches of constructive activity, such as organizing the St. Cecilia's Day performance of his recently rediscovered early mass. It seems, therefore, that the most likely time when *Waverley* could have been written is between March and early June, 1827.¹¹

There are two distinct layers of revisions to be seen in the *Waverley* autograph. First, changes in paper type, a full-page collette, and other details indicate that the exact structure of the overture was not originally as is seen in the manuscript today. Although it is not known exactly when Berlioz made the structural revisions, corroborative evidence in reviews and the correspondence¹² suggest the possibility that it was between the second and third performances of 1829. What is certain is that Berlioz made these revisions, which are found in the recapitulation and coda, for the original instrumentation, which can be seen in full on both the original (Example 1) and later paper types (Example 2). It was at some point after this that he made the second layer of revisions, which reduced the size of the orchestra, with concomitant adjustments to the disposition of the harmony (Example 3, but also seen in Example 2). This was most likely around the time that he decided to publish it — it was at the engraver's by early in January 1839 — and presumably because he, or perhaps his publisher, thought that a more conventional instrumentation was desirable for a wider dissemination.¹³ The autograph shows that originally the work required 110 players, not especially excessive for the period apart from the large string complement. Overall, the specification followed the current trend, except for the inclusion of the single *trompette à pistons*, something of an oddity, since it was customary for trumpets to be used in pairs. The final instrumentation was for two flutes, the second doubling piccolo, and two clarinets, the other wind and brass instruments remaining the same, but with a reduced string comple-

ment, now 15-15-10-12-9.¹⁴ Apart from the changes to the woodwind parts because of the reduction in numbers, there are also substantial alterations to the part for the *trompette à pistons* that do not appear to be similarly connected, as a comparison of the original and revised parts shows (Example 4). In general the changes involve the elimination of certain notes and octave transpositions of other notes, but in neither case are they connected with the redisposition of the harmony.



Example 2

Waverley, autograph (facsimile). The part for *trompette à pistons* is on the seventh staff. In the autograph, the change of paper is apparent from color and texture. One can also note different forms of clefs and key signatures. Also the rastra on this leaf are evenly spaced. (Note the unevenness of the twelfth rastrum in Example 1 by comparison.)



Example 3

Waverley, autograph (facsimile). The *trompette à pistons* is silent in this example. It can be seen that apart from adjustments to the disposition of the harmony in the woodwind, Berlioz has also refined the rhythm of the *trompettes ordinaires* on the seventh staff.

Original

Revised

Example 4

Original and revised versions of the part for *trompette à pistons* in *Waverley*.

A musical score consisting of six staves of music. Staff 1 (top) starts at measure 371, featuring a treble clef, common time, and a key signature of one sharp. It consists of two measures of eighth-note patterns followed by a measure of sixteenth-note patterns. Staff 2 (second from top) starts at measure 376, featuring a treble clef, common time, and a key signature of one sharp. It consists of two measures of eighth-note patterns. Staff 3 (third from top) starts at measure 388, featuring a treble clef, common time, and a key signature of one sharp. It consists of two measures of eighth-note patterns. Staff 4 (fourth from top) starts at measure 387, featuring a treble clef, common time, and a key signature of one sharp. It consists of two measures of eighth-note patterns. Staff 5 (fifth from top) starts at measure 417, featuring a treble clef, common time, and a key signature of one sharp. It consists of two measures of eighth-note patterns. Staff 6 (bottom) starts at measure 422, featuring a treble clef, common time, and a key signature of one sharp. It consists of two measures of eighth-note patterns.

Example 4 (cont.)

In theory all these notes are available on a three-valved trumpet. It will be seen, however, that there are areas of unreliability, particularly around the seventh and eleventh partials, bb' and F' respectively. Given that the distance of a semitone is measured as 100 cents, the N^o partial is 267 cents above the g', when it should be 300 cents above to be in tune. Conversely, the F' is 165 cents above e'', when it should be 100, making it closer to ?" than ♭. The tendency was for the valve to flatten the pitch in *excess* of what was needed, so it can be seen that the addition of valves when using the flat partial was a hazardous business. As a bonus, the sharpness of the eleventh partial, hitherto a perennial problem, could now, in theory, be solved: the F' could be played with more accuracy using the twelfth partial, g'', and the valve that lowers the pitch by a whole tone. The flatness of the seventh partial, however, remained problematic, even though the bb' itself could now be reached from the eighth partial, c'', as could the g#'', by using a combination of valves. This would make bar 209 and other similar places practical (Example 4). Both of these weaknesses are mentioned by Berlioz in the commentary on the natural trumpet in his *Traité*.¹⁵ One possible reason, therefore, why Berlioz revised this part could have been to eliminate some of the more unreliable areas of intonation, in particular the g#7a1;', which have been removed from the revised version.¹⁶ It is certain, however, that in the 1820s he had not miscalculated the instrument's theoretical capability. To discover why Berlioz rewrote the part requires looking at events surrounding the arrival of the *trompette à pistons* in Paris in the 1820s, which are summarized in the following section.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ: SPONTINI, DAUVERNE, and CHELARD

Spontini, the naturalized French, Italian-born composer whom Berlioz idolized as a youth, is a key figure. While working in Berlin as music director to the King of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm III, he was, as already outlined, responsible for the arrival in Paris of the first valved brass instruments. Jean-Georges Kastner's *Manuel Générale de Musique Militaire* contains extracts from a letter dated April 6, 1840,¹⁷ written by Spontini to the Académie des Beaux Arts:

I sent from Berlin to Paris between 1823 and 1831, a number of valved horns, trumpets or cornets with two or three valves (the first known in Paris), notably to M. Barrillon, to the horn professor M. Dauprat, and to the head of the Guards' band, M. David Buhl....¹⁸

Spontini's opera *Alcidor* had received its first performance in Berlin on May 23, 1825 and is noteworthy here because Spontini has added the rubric *Kromatische trompete* at some point to the manuscript of *Alcidor* held at the *Bibliothèque de l'Opéra* in Paris, although there is no specific evidence as to what sort of chromatic trumpet that might have been.¹⁹ Example 5 illustrates some of the music in the section requiring the chromatic trumpet.

Seconde Acte

Tr.

Trom.

etc.
■ re..
of ibis
material.

Trio 95V

Example 5

G. Spontini, *Alcidor*, excerpt from act 2, showing some of the music requiring chromatic trumpet.

In his three trumpet tutors, Dauverne²⁰ further documents the arrival of the first valved instruments in Paris. All of the tutors contain some common prefatorial matter, acknowledging Spontini's part in the arrival of the instrument in Paris. The first one, written like the third specifically for a three-valve instrument, was published by Janet and Cottelle, c. 1827-28 (see Figures 1 and 2). Dauverne explains how he had owned the first of these new trumpets and how he was able to appreciate its merits. Having received no instruction as to how to play this new instrument, he had to study its mechanism with much care so as to become as fully acquainted as possible with the best possible fingering, and thus it was that he hoped this little *Mithode* would help to give others an idea about this new instrument. The preface includes the comment that the *trompette à pistons* had been in use in Germany for about three years and that on December 26, 1826 M. Labbaye²¹ had been given a *brevet d'importation* for making these instruments.²² He then expresses his reservations: the time needed to depress the pistons and the tiring nature of this and producing the extra air pressure were problematic, and trumpets with keys and holes were currently better. Nevertheless, with careful work he thought that these difficulties could be overcome and the instrument could become very useful in the orchestra.

From this certain questions arise. For example, what caused Dauveme to say that valves had been in use in Germany for about three years, i.e., c. 1824-25? Mahillon says that Stolzel

offered a new type of valve around 1825, which was a general improvement on earlier ones: maybe it is to this which Dauverne refers.²³ It has to be assumed that the use of the instrument in *Macbeth* (see introduction and below) is not mentioned because Dauverne was writing this before the question of using the trumpet in the opera arose.²⁴ This, however, gives rise to another question: namely, would it have been possible for a trumpet to have arrived in Paris in October 1826, for Dauverne to have learned how to play it, for Chelard to have been able to know about the instrument and decide to use it, and for three to have been made in time for *Macbeth*? It seems unlikely; no matter which angle is taken, this fails to fit satisfactorily within the framework of facts as we know them. One has to consider the possibility that Spontini had indeed taken trumpets with him to Paris on the 1825-6 visit and left one behind or allowed a copy to be made while he was there. Somewhere, somehow it seems that we are missing some information that would enable us to complete the picture in a logical way.

Dauverne published his second tutor c.1834-35 — significantly, for a two-valve instrument (see Figures 3 and 4). This seemingly retrogressive step needs clarifying. The publisher this time was Halary, who was also an instrument maker. It seems that the three-valved instrument had been having considerable problems, especially with the intonation of the third valve, the tendency being for each additional valve to compound the lowering of the previous one. Halary, who later had the idea of adding valves to the cornet, had worked on improving a two-valved instrument by adding independent tuning slides for each valve, as well as the usual overall tuning slide. Dauverne writes with much enthusiasm about these modifications, praising the tuning of the instrument, etc. He also mentions that the invention of the valve is attributed to M. Stolzel "about ten years ago," i.e. 1824-25 (cf. the first method) and he talks about the piece written by Strunz for five valved instruments, which was performed in April, 1833.²⁵ Again, in this preface there is no mention of Chelard's *Macbeth*. One presumes that this is because the method is for the two-valved trumpet and Chelard had written for a three-valved instrument in *Macbeth*. There is an anomaly here, though, because Dauverne does mention Strunz' piece, which is not solely for two-valved instruments. It is odd that he fails to mention *Macbeth*. On the other hand, the Strunz piece seems to have received considerable media coverage; its performance was attended by such eminent persons in the musical world as Cherubini, Berton, Reicha, Habeneck, Nourrit, and others.

The *Methode pour la trompette* (1857), Dauverne's third, and published this time by Brandus, Dufour et Cie, is the most extensive of the three.²⁶ By this time he was a well-established figure in Parisian musical circles, and he writes:

The valved trumpet which served as type and starting point to the manufacturing of these instruments was not known in France until about the end of 1826, and it is in the early days of October of that same year that the celebrated Spontini, then General Music Director to HM the King of Prussia, sent to M. Buhl, Chief of Music for the King's Lifeguards, as well as to myself, who was also a member of that band, a trumpet of this new system, but which left to

be desired with regard to the sonority and to the precision of the valves' play. It was at this point that the whole of French manufacturing put itself into a flutter at the arrival of this new and ingenious invention and that it succeeded in eliminating the original inconveniences.

He goes on to explain that he himself worked on improving the instrument and then heard it "to great advantage" in Chelard's *Macbeth*. As first trumpet at the Opera, he was accustomed to playing a circular trumpet, for hand-stopping,²⁷ but he played a valved instrument in Chelard's *Macbeth*, with Legros and Bernard playing the other valved instruments in the trio. It is strange, therefore, that in this preface of 1857 Dauverne writes about "trumpet" in the singular. In the third part of the *Mithode* itself, as opposed to his summary of the history of the instrument, he discusses the various kinds of chromatic trumpet and writes:

Also, without underestimating the special qualities of the piston or cylinder trumpet, the preponderant advantages that we find with the slide trumpet have motivated us to adopt it to complete the study of the trumpet; the results that we have achieved are crowned by the great success in the scholarly and public competitive examinations of the conservatory.

He explains the changes made to the slide trumpet which "should assure the supremacy of the slide trumpet over the cylinder or piston trumpet." He then fills his book with exercises and studies, three-quarters of which are for natural trumpet.

The person already mentioned several times, but yet to be discussed in any detail, is Chelard, together with the part he and his opera *Macbeth* play in the unraveling of this puzzle.²⁸ The logistics of presenting an opera in Paris were long and complex, especially at the *Opera*, and the acceptance of this opera, *Macbeth*, by a composer who was a violinist in the *Opera* orchestra, seems unusual. The archives are a rich source of information on the course of events. Although *Macbeth* did not appear until June 1827, it was written by October 1825, since there is a letter indicating that the score might be accepted, subject to certain changes.²⁹ Since Spontini said he sent instruments from 1823 to 1831, they could have been in Chelard's mind as early as this, irrespective of Dauvernes account. In the absence of further evidence, it is unlikely that exactly what happened will ever be known. A clue that there were probably discussions about the orchestra for *Macbeth* is to be found in the summary booklet, kept by the secretaries of the *Opera* administration office. Dated April 22, 1827, and addressed to Chelard, it referred to *observations sur l'orchestre*. Unfortunately, it is one of the few letters from that year that is missing from the archive.³⁰ As late as June 19th, however, Habeneck was asking for horns in Ab, which were needed for *Macbeth*,³¹ indicating that there were still instrumental matters to be discussed even at that late stage. Looking at the letters sent from La Rochefoucauld's office around this time, instruments, in particular the purchase of trumpets, natural and keyed, and expenses surrounding *Macbeth*, particularly the costumes, take their full share of the attention.³²

Example 6 shows that Chelard took full advantage of the theoretical capacities of this instrument.

The musical score consists of four staves of music for three three-valve trumpets. The first staff is labeled "Tr 3 mixons cal n4". The music is in common time, with various key signatures and dynamic markings. The score includes measures of eighth and sixteenth-note patterns, some with grace notes and slurs. The bassoon part is also present in the score.

Example 6

H. Chelard, *Macbeth*, excerpt from trio for three three-valve trumpets.

There are inconsistencies in correlating the available evidence concerning the introduction of valved instruments in Paris. Although Spontini states that he was sending trumpets to Paris from 1823-31, Dauverne anomalously makes no mention of trumpets before 1826 in the forewords to his tutors. Given Dauverne's enthusiasm for the instrument, as expressed in all three prefaces, this omission seems odd to say the least, but having omitted it in the first preface, it would have been difficult to change the story in the following two. Moreover, it seems unlikely that he would have forgotten if Spontini had had trumpets with him in 1825. It is possible, of course, that Spontini did not have any with him on the earlier visit to Paris, but merely talked about them, although, as already suggested, this seems unlikely. On the other hand, it could be that for some reason Dauverne simply chose not to mention them. This seems more likely, given the practical circumstances outlined above in the discussion of Dauverne's first method.

In the absence of further evidence, the possibility that Dauverne was being economical with the truth opens a new path of thought.³³ Closer examination of some of the statements he makes so convincingly reveals some interesting anomalies. Why, for instance, did he write so enthusiastically about the slide trumpet in his third preface and yet fill that tutor with more exercises and studies for natural trumpet than any other? Also, he only mentions instances when the *trompette à pistons* is used in operatic works, not in concert works.³⁴ There was a period, especially in the 1820s and 1830s, when instrumental works were regarded in some circles as being of less significance than their operatic companions. As a founding member of the *Societe des Concerts*, a confirmation of his interest in instrumental music, his failure to mention Berlioz's *Waverley* overture is strange, although he does list Berlioz as being among the composers who have used the valved trumpet.³⁵ Finally, he refers to a trumpet, in the singular, being used in *Macbeth*, when three of them were required.³⁶

Possible reasons for this telling of the truth, but not the whole truth, could be accounted for by looking at the development of Dauverne's career from a political point of view. By the time his second method was published, he had been made the first professor of trumpet at the Conservatoire, the instrument having been recognized in its own right for the first time in 1833;³⁷ and by the time he wrote the third method, he was a person of some standing in the musical world. Records show that soon after 1833 he was a part of several committees, becoming a prominent figure in the administration of the Conservatoire. It is possible that right from the start he decided that it was not diplomatic to remind people of Spontini's visit or to mention concert works using the *trompette à pistons*, which were mostly by Berlioz, still the *enfant terrible* in some circles. It could also be that once he became part of the Conservatoire he was influenced by Dauprat, the virtuoso horn player, who promoted the natural horn until well into the second half of the 19th century. This would explain, at least in part, why three-quarters of Dauverne's third method is devoted to exercises and studies for natural trumpet.

WEAVING THE STRANDS TOGETHER: THE DENOUEMENT

The time has come to link the characters together. It is easy to see this connection among Spontini, Dauverne, and Chelard, but Berlioz's position is slightly different. As far as Spontini was concerned, he could only admire from afar: Berlioz did not approach him for a personal meeting until 1830, but there is no doubting his adoration of the master. He was becoming familiar with *La Vestale* and *Ferdinand Cortez* as early as 1822; in August 1823 he wrote an article in *Le Corsair* defending *La Vestale* and by November 1826, when he auditioned for the *Nouveautés*, he knew *La Vestale* and *Ferdinand Cortez* by heart.³⁸ It would indeed be strange if Berlioz had not been aware of Spontini's part in bringing the trumpet to Paris. He was such a regular *habitué* at the *Opera* that undoubtedly he knew Dauverne, who was probably one of the virtuoso players to whom he refers in his *Memoirs*, although there is not, as yet, any extant primary evidence in support of their acquaintance. The earliest source indication that Berlioz and Chelard knew each other is a letter dating from 1829 in which Berlioz notes that Chelard was one of the people wanting a copy of his recently published *Huit Scènes de Faust*.³⁹ It seems reasonable that this came about as a result of previous interaction emanating from conversation around the orchestra pit at the *Opera*; perhaps Chelard had advised him on some detail of the orchestration, such as the harmonics used in the *Huits Scènes de Faust*. From this evidence, however, if Chelard knew about the *trompette a pistons*, then Berlioz would have known about it, too.⁴⁰ All this confirms that Berlioz had every opportunity to keep well-informed about the development of instruments, including the *trompette a pistons*.

At this point some interesting conclusions may be drawn. That Spontini was responsible for the arrival of valved instruments in Paris is indisputable; that two sets of dates are mentioned, namely 1823-1831 (by Spontini) and October, 1826 (by Dauverne) is not necessarily contradictory; and Chelard's importance for making specific use of valved instruments in *Macbeth* must be acknowledged. Nevertheless, the final denouement belongs to Dauverne and, of course, to Berlioz and *Waverley*. What emerges is that both versions are playable, but the first version on a three-valved instrument in accordance with Dauverne's first method and the revised version on a two-valved instrument, as advocated in the second method. This corresponds with what was being recommended around the time of composition, as demonstrated in the method published by Janet and Cotelle c. 1827-28, and publication, as demonstrated in the method published by Halary c. 1834-35. The chart below compares the notes used in the original *trompette a pistons* part in *Waverley* with those used in the revised version:

original version:	bb	c'	d'	eb'	e'	f	g'	ab	a'	136'	b'	c"	cl"	d"	e6"	e"	f g"
revised version:	c'		e'		g'		bb'		cr,	"	d",	e,,					

The one note not available on the two-valved trumpet is and this has been eliminated from the revised part. As for the other revisions, there are inconsistencies that perhaps result from Berlioz's haste. For example, he eliminates c' except four bars from the end; is this

deliberate or an oversight? Why are many of the changes octave transpositions? At this point it has to be considered that Berlioz might have been thinking about the part being played on the *cornet à pistons*, this having been "invented" by Halary, the publisher and instrument maker already mentioned. In theory it would be a convenient solution, but in practice at that time it was not possible because the instrument was pitched in Bb, and could not have been crooked down to D, the key of *Waverley*. It seems that Berlioz, having heard how the instrument sounded, decided that some of the notes, mainly those in the lower register, were too inconsistent in production to use.

In terms of melodic interest, the part Berlioz wrote for the *trompette à pistons* in *Waverley* may not be in keeping with his own advice seen in the extract from the *Treatise* that opened this article, but the fact that he altered the part indicates his awareness of the issues surrounding the technical problems of the instrument, and highlights an essentially practical side to his composing persona. Examination of this question has offered insight into the administrative process of the day; it affects editorial decisions because it enhances our understanding of Berlioz and confirms his musical integrity; it highlights an interesting period from an organological viewpoint; and the whole issue reflects on Berlioz's reputation as a master of the orchestra.

This has not been an exercise in trying to prove that Berlioz did not make a mistake. Fortunately these days there is no need to set him up on a pedestal of infallibility and make "special pleading" to keep him there. It is hoped, however, that this article has helped to explain the passion with which he writes, as shown in the quotation from his *Treatise*. We see how Berlioz's earliest extant composition, conceived from the start as a purely orchestral work, has played the part of catalyst, weaving together many of the strands to be found in one small section of the nineteenth-century musical tapestry. To change the metaphor, it is impossible to resist saying that Berlioz was justified in blowing his own trumpet.

AFTERWORD

The next chapter in this story will include a detailed examination of Berlioz's writing for the *trompette à pistons* in all his early works to see whether or not it is possible to determine if, and if so when, he stopped writing for three-valved trumpets in favour of two-valved ones. Many other questions arise, but to indicate the variety of Berlioz's usage, the Appendix lists the works using trumpet(s) of all kinds, with the nomenclature as it appears on the listed source. This variety of names alone is indicative of the changes that were occurring in instrumentation during this time.

APPENDIX

List of Berlioz' Works with Trumpet, Showing Original Nomenclature

Work	Status	Nomenclature
Messe Solennelle-1824-5	autograph score	Trompettes
Scene Herdque-1826	ms copy	Trompettes en La natural bas
Les Francs-Juges-1826	autograph remnants	Trompettes en ut
Les Francs-Juges-1836	1st ed. score	Trompettes en Mi natural
		Trompette a pistons en mi flat
Les Francs-Juges	copy score n.d.	Trompettes en Mi natural
	Then at bottom:	Trompettes a pistons en mi flat
Les Francs-Juges-183?3	pr. parts	Trompette a pistons in Mi flat (The word 'trompette' is crossed out in pencil and 'cornets' written over it. Note that in pr. score it is in the singular and the pencil 'cornets' is in the plural. There is also a separate ms cornet part, F-Pn ms 17666.)
La Mort d'Orphee-1827	ms copy	(Natural) Cornet in Si flat Trompettes in Ut ...and later in work (Natural) Comets in Ut
		Trompettes en Mi flat
Waverley-by 1827	autograph score	Une trompette a pistons en re 2 trompettes ordinaires en La bas
Waverley-1829	pr. parts	Trompettes 3 Pistons en Re Ire et 2de Trompettes en La has
Cleopatre-1829	autograph score	Trompettes en Si flat
Huit Scenes-I828	ms frag of pts.	'Chceur de Soldats', Tr en Si natural
Symphonie Fantastique	autograph score	
1 st-Reverie		No brass till later in movement
2nd-Le bal		Cornet a pistons en A, added to score
3rd-Scene aux...		No brass except horns
4th-March au...		3me Trompette 3 pistons en mi flat (the '3me' is heavily written) Ire et 2me Trompettes en Si flat
5th-Song d'une...		Trompettes en mi flat (lo & 2do added)
Le Roi Lear-1831	autograph score	Trompettes en C
Le Roi Lear-1839	pr. score	Trompettes en C
Le Roi Lear-1831	pr. parts	Trompettes en Ut. C
Lelio-1831-2		
Cheer des ombres...	autograph score	Trompettes en Mi flat
Scene des Brigands	autograph score	2 Trompettes a pistons en Fa
Chanson des Brigands	pr. score	Trompettes en Mi
La Tempete	autograph score	Cornets a pistons en Si flat
		Trompettes en Fa
	pr. score	Trompettes a pistons en Fa
		Trompettes en Re
Intrata Rob Roy	copyist's score	Comets a pistons en Si flat
Macgregor		I Tromba a (sic) pistons en Re
		2 Trompettes en La Basso

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Hugh Macdonald for raising this question with me; to Jeremy Montagu, curator of the Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, St. Aldate's, Oxford, without whose patience and expertise I would have been unable to proceed; and last, but not least, to Edward H. Tarr, for giving me so much information and advice in very detailed correspondence. His article "The Romantic Trumpet," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993), 213-62, is a mine of information for anyone interested in this period. I take the liberty of suggesting one or two small adjustments concerning his section Na, which are the result of recent research and deduction on the subject, and offer them in sincere acknowledgement of the breadth of Tarr's erudition on this subject. This present article is an adaptation of material that is part of the author's Ph.D. thesis entitled "Berlioz: a critical edition of the five concert overtures, with particular reference to the historical and literary background" (hereafter *Thesis*) to be submitted to the University of London in 1995.
2. Hector Berlioz, *Grande traite d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*, transl. Mary Cowden Clarke (London 1858), p. 162. For further information about this and other Berlioz sources, see D.K. Holoman, *Catalogue of the Works of Hector Berlioz*, New Berlioz Edition, vol. 25 (Kassel, 1987).
3. David Cairns, *Berlioz*, vol. I (London, 1989), pp. 77ff.
4. *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, ed. and trans. David Cairns (London 1975), ch. 5, or Hector Berlioz, *Correspondance générale*, vol. I (Paris 1972), p. 80.
5. Berlioz, *Memoirs*, ch. 13.
6. Ibid.
7. The specification in *theMesse* is as follows: 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones and low brass, serpent, ophicleide, and buccin, a kind of military trombone, in which the bell came over the shoulder and was fashioned into a dragon's head, complete with a tongue that waggled when in use, presumably to amuse the children during military parades. Labbaye is known to have made one as late as 1829. See Constant Pierre, *Les facteurs d'instruments de mürigue, les luthiers et la facture instrumentale* (Paris 1893), 332 ff. For more details about *La Mort d'Orphee*, see Peter Bloom, "A Return to Berlioz" "Retour à la Vie," *Musical Quarterly* 64 (1978), 354ff.; "Orpheus' Lyre Resurrected: a *Tableau Musical* by Berlioz," *Musical Quarterly* 61 (1975), 189 ff.; and D. Bickley, "A Critical Edition of *La Mort d'Orphie*" (M.Mus. Special Study, University of London, 1989). Regarding the use of brass in the cantata, the approach of the Bacchantes is heralded by chords on the brass, which are repeated with mutes, and there is the stunning C pedal heard against a D⁷ chord, not just in the bass, but piercing the middle of the texture on the (natural) cornets at bars 289-292.
8. See, for example, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Trumpet," by Edward H. Tarr. There is a problem of semantics here, because Tarr talks about Spontini "taking" trumpets to Paris, and other sources say that he "sent" them. It is possible that he did both, and for the purposes of this study it is not vital to know exactly what he did and when he did it, but such ambiguities outline the current lack of clarity surrounding specifically this question, and in general attendant problems

in translation and interpretation.

9. F-Pn 1507.

10. It is very possible, in fact, that Berlioz did not get to *see Macbeth*, and anyway his knowing that it contained music for three valved trumpets was not dependent on him attending a performance of the work.

11. A detailed survey of the genesis of *Waverley* may be found in Bickley, *Thesis*, and a more general one in the Foreword of the *New Berlioz Edition*, vol. 20. See also *Correspondance générale* vol. I.

12. See, for example, *Le Correspondant*, November 3 1829, *Correspondance générale* I: 278-89, and Bickley, *Thesis*.

13. It is possible, however, that he made these changes in time for the last performance before publication, which was in November, 1838. See Bickley, *Thesis*.

14. There are other changes to the autograph that are not relevant here.

15. Berlioz, *Grande traité*, p. 142.

16. Ibid.

17. Jean-Georges Costner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire* (1848; rpt. Geneva, 1973), p. 192. Kastner adds that the letter, of which he possesses the original, is written entirely in Spontini's hand. Original text: "J'envoyai de Berlin à Paris, de 1823 à 1831, nombre de curs à pistons, de trompettes ou comets à deux ou trois pistons ou ventiles (les premiers connus à Paris), notamment à M. Barrillon, au professor decor, M. Dauprat, et au chef de musique des gardes, M. David Buhl...." Trans. in Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet," p. 225, n. 177.

18. Louis-François Dauprat (1781-1868) was horn professor at the Conservatoire from 1816 to 1842. David Buhl was the uncle of the celebrated trumpet virtuoso, François-Georges-Auguste Dauverne. It has not, as yet, been possible to find any information on M. Barrillon.

19. See F-Po, MS 21 063, fol. 90v. The orchestra list says *trombe in es* and then *tromba la Kromatisch* has been added. I am indebted to Anno Mungen in Berlin for drawing my attention to this. He is currently completing his thesis in Berlin entitled "Gasparo Spontini's *Agnes von Hohenstaufen* als Beitrag zur deutschen Oper." There is also a non-autograph copy of this opera in Vienna at the Bibliothek der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, but it is not known whether or not this contains a similar rubric.

20. Such was his ability on the trumpet that he was enrolled *dans la musique des escadrons de service des gardes du corps du roi* in 1814 at the age of fourteen. In 1829 he was promoted to first trumpet of the King's Music, an appointment that was initially short-lived because of the July Revolution, but was reinstated thereafter, and Dauverne remained there until the 1848 Revolution. He was a founding member of the *Société des Concerts* and he became the first professor of trumpet at the Conservatoire in 1833. His uncle was the M. Buhl mentioned above and the person to whom the first method is

dedicated.

21. The firm of Llbbaye consisted of Jacques-Charles, pere and Jacques-Christophe, fir, born in 1814. Mahillon mentions a Jacques Michel Labbaye and gives his address as "73, rue St. Lazare, 3 Paris." See Victor-Charles Mahillon, *Catalogue du Musé Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*, (1893, rpt. Brussels, 1978), p. 285.
22. He made one of these in 1827, winning a bronze medal in the same year for his *con ii pistons*. See Pierre, *Les Facteurs*, pp. 332-23.
23. Victor Charles Mahillon, *Les Instruments à Vent (Brussels, 1906-07)*, p. 285.
24. This is corroborated by the autograph of *Macbeth*, which shows that the trio for valved trumpets was an addition to the original layer of the autograph.
25. Fétis gives a lengthy commentary in *Revue Musicale*, 4 May, 1833, beginning with a brief history of the development of the valve up to that point. He says that pistons applied to the trumpet were less satisfactory than those being applied to the horn, but that some of the problems have been exaggerated. He finishes by praising Strunz and the playing of Dauverne, among others. One has to question changing fashion and associated issues. Just over a year later Fétis wrote that trumpets are imperfect and crying out for the attention of makers to improve their systems (*Revue Musicale*, 1 June, 1834). It is possible that in the first instance Fétis had not been above being open to receive "encouragement" to give the Strunz piece a favourable report. (I acknowledge Jeremy Montagu for sharing this plausible idea with me.)
26. For translation, see François-Georges-Auguste Dauverne, "Method for Trumpet," trans. Gaëtan Chenier, Ruby Miller Orval, Rebecca Pike, and Jeffrey Snedeker, *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3 (1991): 179-261.
27. One made by Raoux fils in 1820. See Pierre, *Les Facteurs*, p.107. According to Pierre, thereafter he played a *trompette droite*. (*Histoire de l'Orchestre de l'Opéra*, ms in F-Pn). The order for two *trompettes ordinaires* and two *trompettes à clefs* was made in October 1826 (Archives Nationales de Paris, AJ13/117, 1826, no. 960); the purchase of a *trompette droite* was not made until July 1827 (idem, AJ13/119, 1827 no. 526 bis). Perhaps this was delayed until it was realized that the valved instrument would not be satisfactory in general use.
28. He had studied the violin with Kreutzer and composition with Gossec, Mehul, and Cherubini at the Conservatoire, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1811, and joined the orchestra at the *Opéra* in 1816, where he was when *Macbeth* was performed. He seems to have been a versatile and energetic person, running a publishing business and, in 1829, starting the Concerts Athénée at which Berlioz had some songs performed with great success. After the July Revolution of 1830 his publishing business folded and he moved abroad. He was helpful to Berlioz when they met again in Weimar some years later, and although there is little extant correspondence between them it is apparent that they knew each other over a number of years. For more details see *Encyclopédia dello Spettacolo*, 3: 578-9; Fétis, *Biographic universelle des musiciens* (Paris 1877), and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Chelard, Hippolyte-André (-Jean)-Baptiste," by Brian Primmer. Primmer sums him up as a first-rate

conductor and music director, but only a mediocre composer. He was one of the composers to have his *Chant Grec* performed at the benefit for the Greeks in 1826; Berlioz had also written such a work in 1826 to a libretto by Humbert Ferrand called the *Scene Heraque*: this could have been another point of contact between the two men.

29. Archives Nationales de Paris, AJ13/117, 1826, no. 32; from La Rochefoucauld to Du Plantys, dated January 12, 1826: "J'ai l'honneur de vous informer, Monsieur, que dans le seance de 24 octobre dernier, le Jury musical a recu a correction la partition de M. Chilard [sic] sur la poeme de *Macbeth*...." etc. Also no. 1090, November 20, 1826: "Je m'impresse de vous informer, Monsieur, de la reception definitive fake par le jury musical de la partition de *Macbeth*..." etc. I am grateful to Jean-Louis Tamvaco for the time he has taken in sharing his incomparable personal archives of this period with me, for familiarizing me with the Archives, and for drawing my attention to various details concerning matters operatic and theatrical during the early 19th century.

30. Archives Nationales de Paris AJ13/119, 1827, no. 289 bis. Others concerning these issues are under this call number and can be identified easily from the contemporary *sommaires*.

31. Ibid., AJ13/119, 1827, no. 435.

32. E.g ibid., AJ/13 117, 1826, nos. 389, 914 (in connection with the Gambati brothers) and nos. 435, 526, 526 bis, 531, 960, 961 bis (in connection with purchase of horns and trumpets).

33. This possibility has already been hinted at. See Tarr, "The Romantic Trumpet," p. 256, n. 180.

34. Tarr, in "The Romantic Trumpet," p. 235, cites the mention of Berlioz's overtures *Waved** and *Les Francs-Juges* which the author cannot trace in Dauvernes writings.

35. The overture *Les Francs-Juges* is not included here because the autograph is lost and the additions involving valved trumpets and *cornets a pistons* date from the first edition c. 1836 and an undated ms. copy, which seems later rather than earlier, judging by the quality of the paper. My apologies if I am responsible for any misunderstanding over this question because I failed to clarify information I gave to Tarr.

36. This could be a matter of literary license; he talks about hearing the trumpet "to great advantage." Interpretation has more than one angle of perception. On the other hand, one might have expected him to make something of the fact that three three-valved trumpets were used.

37. Constant Pierre, *Conservatoire de Musique: documents historiques* (Paris, 1900) p. 386.

38. Berlioz, *Memoirs*, ch. 12. See also his letter to Fédinand Rocher, recounting the "February Fracas"; *Correspondance générale*, vol. I, no. 61, p. 126.

39. *Correspondance générale*, vol. I, no. 126, p. 254.

40. I am indebted to David Cairns for sharing his thoughts on this question with me.



Figure 1

A. Dauverné, *Théorie ou tablature de la trompette à pistons* (c. 1827-28), title page.

*Figure de la Trompette à Pistons,
juste de la moitié de sa grandeur naturelle.*

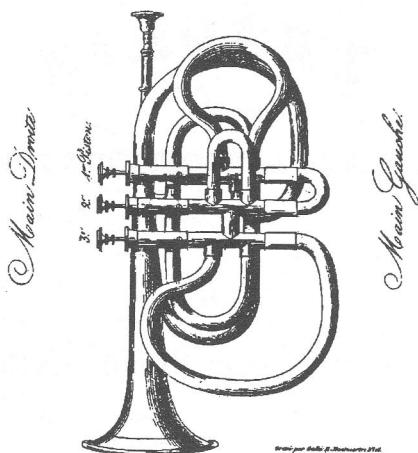


Figure 2

Engraving of a three-valve trumpet from Dauverné's *Théorie*.



Figure 3

A. Dauverné, *Méthode de trompette à pistons* (c. 1834-35), title page.



La Trompette à Pistons se tient de la main gauche et la droite, faire agir les Pistons, comme le démontre la figure au-dessous.

Dans les Gammes suivantes le zéro (0) représente les notes naturelles de l'Instrument, et les chiffres déterminent les Pistons et le doigt de la main droite. Ainsi le 1^{er} Piston, tenu par le 1^{er} doigt de l'embouchure sera mis par l'index de la main droite; et le 2nd par le majeur. Ces deux chiffres éliminé indiquent les deux Pistons à la fois.

Il ne servira pour la partie du tout, de bien appuyer le Piston.

Comme je l'ai déjà dit, la Trompette à Pistons a l'avantage de jouer deux tons les deux. L'Instrument se compose de cinq corps de recharge qui sont : Fa, Mi, Mi b, Ré et Ut. Chaque corps de recharge nous donne une Gамme Chromatique et reproduit ensuite par le moyen des Pistons une échelle diatonique servant à l'exécution des parties de Trompette ordinaire sans rien changer à la notation, ce qui fait conserver toujours un tonique de chaque ton.

Le tableau suivant mettra à même de voir la série de tous que donne chaque corps de recharge, et l'emploi qu'en doit faire le Piston dans le tableau.

Figure 4

Engraving of a two-valve trumpet from Dauverné's *Méthode*.