### THE RESURREXIT FROM HECTOR BERLIOZ'S

## MESSE SOLENNELLE (1825): A CASE

### STUDY IN SELF-BORROWING

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Hector Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*, his first publicly performed work, was important to his establishment in Paris as a composer. Although he later destroyed the Mass, he reused parts of the Resurrexit movement in three of his later works: *Benvenuto Cellini* (1836), the *Grand messe des morts* (1837), and the *Te Deum* (1849). This study examines the Resurrexit and its subsequent borrowings.

In each instance that Berlioz borrowed from the Resurrexit, he extracted large sections and placed them in the context of later works. Each time that borrowing occurred, Berlioz constructed the surrounding music so that portions from the Resurrexit would fit stylistically and a seamlessly into the texture. In each borrowing, he left the melody unaltered, changing harmony and orchestration instead. This pattern of borrowing demonstrates that Berlioz developed his concept of melody early in his career, and that his method of self-borrowing was consistent in each subsequent use of the Resurrexit.

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### PART I. THE RESURREXIT: SOURCE FOR FUTURE BORROWINGS

#### Introduction

Hector Berlioz (1803-69) tended to be a perfectionist concerning his compositions. If a work did not fulfill his expectations, he would revise it until he was satisfied, and if the revisions still failed to satisfy him, he would then destroy the music. In some cases, however, Berlioz could not destroy every copy of the work in question, and for years it could survive undetected. This is the scenario for the *Messe solennelle*, premiered on 10 July 1825.

This Mass played a crucial role in Berlioz's career as a composer. It was his first composition to be performed in public, and its success led to his admission to the Paris Conservatoire to begin formal musical training. Although both the public and press considered the *Messe solennelle* to be an indisputable success, Berlioz began to have reservations about it soon after its first performance (10 July 1825). Two years later, Berlioz had the newly revised work performed again on 22 November 1827. Despite the warm reception this second performance received, Berlioz now considered the work to be a complete failure. Expressing his disappointment in his *Mémoires*, Berlioz stated "After this second trial I could not help seeing how little my Mass was worth; so, having extracted the Resurrexit, with which I was quite pleased, I burnt the rest." In his translation of Berlioz's *Mémoires*, David Cairns states that Berlioz later destroyed the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hector Berlioz, Mémoires, trans. David Cairns (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 58.

Resurrexit as well. Before Berlioz destroyed it, however, the Resurrexit was performed once more at the Conservatoire on 26 May 1828.<sup>2</sup>

Berlioz may have destroyed the manuscript of the Resurrexit, but he certainly did not eliminate the idea of it. The movement appeared in another concert at the Conservatoire on 1 November 1829 under the title *Le jugement dernier* with the addition of four pairs of timpani in harmony.<sup>3</sup> It then became the center of a much larger work, first an oratorio, and then a three-act opera entitled *Le Dernier Jour du Monde*, which Berlioz worked on in 1831-33 but never completed.<sup>4</sup> In 1835, the Resurrexit became part of a seven-movement work entitled *Fête musicale funèbre à la mémoire des hommes illustres de la France*, which was likewise never completed.<sup>5</sup> In the end, the Resurrexit was to survive as borrowed material within the context of three other major works.

For over one hundred-fifty years, the *Messe solennelle* was presumed lost, along with the rest of Berlioz's earliest works. In 1991, however, Franz Moor, a schoolteacher and organist living in Antwerp, discovered a small volume in the library of St. Charles Boromeus bearing the title "*Messe solennelle* par H. Berlioz." Upon further investigation, he concluded that the score he had found was indeed Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*. Moor contacted Bärenreiter, the publishing company in charge of issuing Berlioz's complete works, and series editor Hugh Macdonald verified the score's authenticity. Macdonald himself considered this discovery to "rank among the most

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., 102

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hugh Macdonald, "Berlioz's Self-Borrowings," *Nineteenth Century Music*, vol. 9, Garland Library of the History of Western Music (New York: Garland, 1985): 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid.

substantial and startling musical finds of modern times."<sup>7</sup> Three years later, Bärenreiter published the *Messe solennelle* as volume 23 of the Hector Berlioz New Edition of the Complete Works.<sup>8</sup>

Although such a find would be considered important to the study of almost any composer, it is especially significant in the case of Berlioz. Because Berlioz destroyed so many of his early works, this recovered Mass now stands as the primary testament to his early style. Upon initial investigation of the Mass, scholars were astonished to find that Berlioz had used a great deal of material from this Mass in subsequent works. The selfborrowing from the Mass began when the composer adapted the Gratias agimus, the second section of the Gloria, to become part of the Scène aux champs from the Symphonie fantastique (1830). Six years later in 1836, Berlioz used material from both the Gloria and the Resurrexit when he was composing his first opera *Benvenuto Cellini*. Then in 1837, he inserted the Kyrie from the Mass into the Offertory of his *Requiem*. He utilized the brass fanfare from the Resurrexit in the Dies Irae movement of the Requiem as well. The final work to include material from the Mass was the *Te Deum* (1849) in which Berlioz used portions of the Resurrexit in the fourth movement, the Christe Rex Gloriae. He also re-used the music of the Agnus Dei of the Mass for the fifth movement of his *Te Deum*, the Te ergo quaesumus.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Hugh Macdonald, "Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*," *Nineteenth Century Music* 16 (Spring 1993): 272.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid., 273.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hector Berlioz, *Messe solennelle*, Hector Berlioz New Edition of the Complete Works, vol. 23, ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Macdonald, "Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*," 275.

Berlioz's reuse of music from this early Mass is not uncharacteristic, and scholars have known for some time that Berlioz frequently engaged in the practice of self-borrowing. Out of the movements in the *Messe solennelle*, the Resurrexit in particular proves to be the richest source for Berlioz's self-borrowing. In addition, the Resurrexit serves as a valuable source because the composer used portions of it in every subsequent sacred choral work he composed.

By studying the Resurrexit and its manifestations in later works, we may gain a greater understanding of Berlioz, the borrower. Yet, there is much more that can be learned from this examination of Berlioz's music.

One of the largest problems in Berlioz research is distinguishing his early from later styles. <sup>11</sup> This problem is largely due to the fact that most of Berlioz's early works are lost. Differentiating traits between Berlioz's early and late style is further complicated by the fact that he often borrowed ideas from early works. The result is that scholars do not have a clear enough picture as to how Berlioz developed musically throughout his career. The discovery of the *Messe solennelle* presents Berlioz scholars with a rare glimpse into the style of the twenty-one year old composer, prior to his Conservatoire training.

In this Mass (particularly the Resurrexit), one can find mistakes typical of a young and inexperienced composer—problems with part writing, harmony, and orchestration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Hugh Macdonald, "Berlioz's Self-Borrowings," *Nineteenth Century Music*, Garland Library of the History of Western Music, vol. 9 (New York: Garland, 1985): 27-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Macdonald divides Berlioz's life into three primary periods: 1803-31 (early life through his winning the Prix de Rome), 1831-1848 (Berlioz's period of greatest creative activity occurred during his years in Paris in the 1830's and his subsequent travels in the 1840's), and 1848-1869 (his late works and years of disillusionment). See Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1982), 1-67.

Yet, there are also brilliant ideas that prove to be very successful, and it is to those ideas that Berlioz later returns as a source for borrowing. When he returned to these ideas later in his career, however, he had the experience and knowledge to set them within the context of another work to his satisfaction. As a result, it is possible to compare the original material from the Resurrexit with the self-borrowings. This type of comparison is the best and perhaps only way to begin to understand the difference between early and late Berlioz.

Since its discovery in 1991, the *Messe solennelle* has not been the source of much academic investigation. In fact, the only person to publish on this subject has been Berlioz scholar Hugh Macdonald.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, this examination of the Resurrexit and its manifestations in *Benvenuto Cellini*, the *Grande messe des morts*, and *Te Deum* is, at present, the most detailed study.

In order to understand the borrowings, one must first have a firm understanding of the Resurrexit. In this examination of the Resurrexit, two primary issues will be addressed. First, patterns in Berlioz's self-borrowing will be identified so that one may better understand the manner in which Berlioz adapts material from one work to another. Second, by examining the alterations Berlioz makes to the original material one may also begin to differentiate later stylistic traits in Berlioz's compositions from earlier ones. Although the scope of this study is not intended to be representative of all Berlioz's self-borrowings, it will give a better insight into his reuse of the Resurrexit throughout his career and should spur others to attack these issues anew.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Macdonald, "Berlioz's Messe solennelle," 267-285.

### Genesis of the Messe solennelle

The *Messe solennelle* was a pivotal work in the career of Hector Berlioz (1803-69). Its success was of the utmost importance to Berlioz, as it was intended to establish him as a new and brilliant composer, provide for his entrance into the Conservatoire, and affirm to a disapproving family that he could, in fact, make a respectable career in music. Although Berlioz at the time could not possibly have realized the influence this work was to have on his career, he did recognize that its success was of a more immediate and practical importance—he hoped it would lead to approval from his family to continue his studies in music.

Before delving into a study of the Resurrexit from the *Messe solennelle*, it is important to understand the genesis of this work and the forces guiding Berlioz during this crucial stage of his early career. Few composers met such strong opposition from family members, as did Berlioz. Born the son of a wealthy doctor in the small town of La Côte-St.-André, Berlioz was educated at home primarily by his father and was expected to assume his father's role someday. As part of his education, Berlioz was exposed to the arts, music in particular, and seemed to have a great aptitude for it. He had been studying guitar and flute for several years, when, at age twelve, he discovered his passion for composing.<sup>13</sup>

Although young Berlioz knew that his father expected him to become a doctor, he resisted, adamant about his disinterest in medicine. In his *Mémoires*, he states,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Berlioz, Mémoires, 38.

My father intended me to follow his own [profession], which he considered the finest in the world. For a long while he had made no secret of his intention. I on my side had made no secret of what I thought of it, and my vigorous expressions of dissent on one or two occasions had not pleased him. Without being sure what I felt, I had a strong presentiment that my life was not going to be spent at the bedsides of the sick, in hospitals and dissecting rooms. I dared not yet admit to myself what career it was I dreamed of, but I thought I knew for sure that no power on earth was going to make me a doctor. <sup>14</sup>

In the end, Louis-Joseph Berlioz enticed his son into the study of medicine through bribery. Knowing that Hector had long desired a flute "with all the latest keys from Lyons," Dr. Berlioz offered to buy his son the instrument of his choice if he would agree to begin "seriously working" at osteology. Hector agreed and studied with his father until it was time to begin his formal medical training.

In 1822, at the age of nineteen, Hector Berlioz arrived in Paris to begin preparation for a career, which he stated "had been forced upon [him]." He knew almost immediately, however, that he would not complete his medical studies, and his description of the first time he entered the dissecting room leaves no doubt as his aversion to medicine:

At the sight of that terrible charnel-house—the fragments of limbs, the grinning faces and gaping skulls, the bloody quagmire underfoot and the atrocious smell it gave off, the swarms of sparrows wrangling over scraps of lung, the rats in their corner gnawing the bleeding vertebrae—such a feeling of revulsion possessed me that I leapt through the window of the dissecting room and fled for home as though Death and all his hideous train were at my heels.<sup>17</sup>

In total, Berlioz actively pursued his medical studies for just over a year. His coursework was interrupted twice, however, by closures of the school because of political

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 24.

unrest.<sup>18</sup> During those closures, Berlioz had a great deal of time in which he began to cultivate his interest in music. He attended the opera frequently and soon discovered that the library of the Conservatoire was open to the public.<sup>19</sup> He states in his *Mémoires*, "Once admitted to that sanctuary, I never left it. It was the death-blow to my medical career, and the dissecting room was abandoned for good."<sup>20</sup>

In late 1822, Berlioz, with the help of a friend, arranged to meet Jean-François Le Sueur (1760-1837) distinguished professor of composition at the Conservatoire. During their first meeting, Berlioz presented Le Sueur with a cantata and a three-voice fugue. Le Sueur's response was not exactly what Berlioz had hoped for, but the teacher did recognize Berlioz's raw talent. Berlioz recounts Le Sueur's reaction to his music in the *Mémoires*:

There is plenty of feeling here, plenty of dramatic life, but you do not yet know how to write, and your harmony is riddled with mistakes—far too many for me to begin pointing them out to you now. Gerono will oblige by making you familiar with our principles of harmony, and as soon as you have grasped them sufficiently to be able to follow me, I shall be glad to have you as a pupil.<sup>21</sup>

Berlioz quickly mastered the basics from Hyacinthe Gerono, his friend and a student of Le Sueur at the Conservatoire, and he soon was proud to call himself a student of the eminent Le Sueur

Under Le Sueur's tutelage, Berlioz composed a number of large-scale works before the *Messe solennelle*, including a cantata, *Le Cheval arabe*, an opera, *Estelle et* 

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Berlioz, *Mémoires*, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid., 50.

Némorin, an oratorio, Le Passage de la mer rouge, and a dramatic scene, Beverley. 22 All of these works are lost; consequently, the first large work of Berlioz's to survive is the Messe solennelle.

Le Sueur was much more than just a teacher to Berlioz. He invited Berlioz into his home, and the young composer became attached to the entire Le Sueur family. In this home, he received the approval for his desired career that his own family had never been able to give.<sup>23</sup> As part of his duties, Le Sueur shared responsibilities for the music at the Chapelle Royale with Luigi Cherubini (director of the Conservatoire), and, as Le Sueur's student, Berlioz attended services there every Sunday.

During this time, he was exposed to the musical styles of both his esteemed teacher and Cherubini. Because Cherubini and Le Sueur's Masses were a regular part of the repertoire, the idea of composing a Mass must have strongly appealed to Berlioz.<sup>24</sup> In May of 1824, Masson, the maître de chapelle at the church of St.-Roch, who was most likely introduced to Berlioz through Le Sueur, invited Berlioz to compose a Mass for the feast of the Holy Innocents on 28 December.<sup>25</sup>

Soon after this commission, Berlioz returned home to La Côte-St.-André for the first time since moving to Paris for medical school. This was a tense summer in the Berlioz home, and there were constant explosions regarding Hector's desire to pursue a career in music. To Berlioz, the commission by Masson was an indication of success, while his father viewed it with anxiety, knowing that his son was deserting the path he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Macdonald, "Berlioz's Messe solennelle," 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Holoman, 25. <sup>24</sup> Macdonald, "Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*," 270.

had chosen for him. This environment was obviously not conducive for composing.

Berlioz must have been frustrated, and wrote a letter to Le Sueur complaining, "I was so cold and frozen when I read the *Credo* and the *Kyrie* that I gave up, convinced that I would never be able to do anything acceptable in such a frame of mind."<sup>26</sup>

Berlioz returned to Paris at the end of the summer and was composing the Mass in earnest by this time. He had great hopes for the first performance, as it would be the first opportunity to hear his music performed, and was further encouraged by Masson's promises for a large orchestra and chorus. He notes in his *Mémoires*, "We should have an orchestra of a hundred picked musicians, and an even larger choir would rehearse for a month. The parts would not cost me a penny, as they would be copied for nothing, and with due vigilance, by the St.-Roch choirboys."<sup>27</sup>

In the months leading to the performance, Berlioz continued to work out details with Masson while composing the music, which, he believed, was "nothing but a clumsy imitation of Le Sueur." Upon its completion, he showed the score to his teacher.

Berlioz later noted in the *Mémoires* that, as with most teachers, "it was those passages in which his own style was most faithfully reproduced that he particularly approved of." <sup>29</sup>

Once his teacher had approved the score, Berlioz sent the score to be copied by the choirboys at St.-Roch, and the last important task was to find a conductor for the performance. Again, Berlioz's teacher came to his aid. Le Sueur persuaded Henri

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid. According to Macdonald's findings, no first name or dates have been recorded for

Masson.

<sup>26</sup> Hector Berlioz, *Corréspondance générale*, vol. 1, ed. Pierre Citron (Paris: Flammarion, 1972), 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Berlioz, *Mémoires*, 54.

Valentino, one the two primary conductors at the Opéra, to conduct. Valentino had applied for the job of conductor at the Chapelle Royale, and it was understood that if Valentino were to honor Le Sueur's request, his chances at being offered the job were greatly increased.<sup>30</sup>

The performance was set for 9:30 a.m. on Tuesday, 28 December 1824, with the dress rehearsal scheduled for 12:30 p.m. on Monday, the 27<sup>th</sup>. Berlioz, Masson, and Valentino arrived at the church in anticipation of the rehearsal, but much to Berlioz's chagrin, many of the members of the orchestra did not come. To complicate the problem further, once Valentino began the rehearsal, it was apparent that the choirboys had made many errors while copying the parts. Though the composer and conductor attempted to correct the most immediate problems, the rehearsal went poorly and musicians began to leave.<sup>31</sup> Berlioz describes this rehearsal in his *Mémoires*, stating,

On the day of the full rehearsal our "huge forces" assembled and proved to consist of a chorus of twenty (fifteen tenors and five basses), a dozen choirboys, nine violins, a viola, an oboe, a horn and a bassoon. My shame and despair at offering the celebrated conductor of one of the world's leading orchestras such a rabble of musicians may be imagined.<sup>32</sup>

It became increasingly obvious that the performance on the 28<sup>th</sup> simply could not occur. The rehearsal ended abruptly and a notice canceling the performance was posted on the door of the church.<sup>33</sup> Although Berlioz was at first crushed by this failure, Le Sueur, Masson, Valentino, and a host of his friends encouraged him to try again. One of Berlioz's friends, Humbert Ferrand, suggested that Berlioz contact François-René

<sup>30</sup> David Cairns, Berlioz 1803-32: The Making of an Artist (London, 1989), 160.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Berlioz, *Mémoires*, 55.

Chateaubriand (a famous poet who had recently been appointed to Minister of Foreign Affairs) and ask for 1,200 francs to fund a performance. Berlioz, with his usual audacity, sent a letter and received the following response on New Year's Day:

Paris, 31 December 1824

You ask me, sir, for twelve hundred francs. I have not got them. If I had, they would be yours. I have no means, either, of being useful to you with the government. I sympathize keenly with your difficulties. I love art and honor artists, but sometimes the trials that talent is put to are the cause of its succeeding, and the hour of triumph compensates for all that one has suffered.

My dear sir, please accept my regrets; they are very real. Chateaubriand<sup>34</sup>

This experience did not pass, however, without teaching Berlioz some important lessons. First, even by hearing only bits of the music, it became evident that he needed to spend some time revising the work. Once he had made the necessary changes, Berlioz copied all of the parts himself. Although the situation had been embarrassing for the young and inexperienced composer, it gave him an opportunity to strengthen his composition before presenting it to the critical Parisian public. He also learned the importance of securing trustworthy copyists and reliable musicians.

Berlioz, who was still financially dependent on his parents, had to report this disappointment to his family. The performance that was supposed to have proven that he could make a career in music instead strengthened his family's resolve to put an end to the problem. His sister Nancy, however, who had been acting as an uncritical intermediary between her quarrelling family members, began to recognize the faults of her parents' views. She wrote, "There is something terribly exaggerated in the way they

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Cairns, *Berlioz*, 161-2.

regard my brother's failings. If he were to cover us with shame and infamy their reaction could not be any stronger."35

This escalating controversy continued for months. Louis Berlioz continued to make clear to Hector that a musical career would never be acceptable, informing his son in a letter that he was "quite mistaken" if he supposed that success could persuade his father to change his mind.<sup>36</sup> During the first few months of 1825, Berlioz's father cut his allowance and on many occasions ordered him to come home. Hector's youngest brother, Prosper, was gravely ill and the family was under a tremendous strain. Of course, Berlioz refused his father's wishes. Believing his son was deaf to his requests, Louis Berlioz again delegated the responsibility of communicating with Hector to Nancy. In the second half of March 1825, Hector wrote this letter to her:

35 Ibid., 162. 164. Ibid.

....I told my father that if he insisted I would, despite my objections and the futility of my returning to La Côte, sacrifice a whole year's work, and my future for several years ahead, to his wishes. Let me know as soon as possible whether they have no intention of sending me any money either for setting off or for staying here, and what is supposed to become of me. I confess I cannot contemplate my stay at La Côte without alarm, since even you are so prejudiced against me that you have no compunction in writing me a letter in which you claim that I have to prove

- 1) that in being a musician I do not cease to be a son, a brother, and a friend
- 2) that the profession of composer is not incompatible with social life
- 3) that I am capable of reasoned thought
- 4) that I am not ruled by instinct
- 5) that I am able to observe time, place, custom, decency
- 6) that I am not hostile to all order, moral and physical
- 7) that I can combine the qualities of an honest man with that of a composer
- 8) that I can merit esteem while striving to win affection

It follows from this that if I possess all the defects that you tell me I must correct, I am a bad son, a bad brother and a bad friend, a social outcast, an idiot and a fool, a dishonest man, a vile and despicable creature, in a word a brute beast, a dangerous animal. In consequence I advise you strongly, in case I return to La Côte, to have a kennel built for me in the farm-yard where I can be kept chained up, for fear of accidents. You see, sister, what extremes of absurdity such irrational emotions and prejudices lead you to.<sup>37</sup>

Berlioz's father read this letter and then wrote at the bottom, "monument to folly and blind, unbridled passion."<sup>38</sup> It seemed that the situation with his family was hopeless.

While Berlioz was under such strained relations with his family, he was busy revising the Mass and copying parts. Soon he had completed these tasks, and the most immediate problem then became obtaining the funds and locating a church in which to have the Mass performed. Berlioz would not trust Masson's orchestra at St.-Roch again and there seemed to be neither location nor occasion to warrant a performance.

The next opportunity that arose was for a performance on 19 March 1825 at Ste.-Geneviève, but it never occurred, most likely because of Berlioz's inability to pay the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ibid., 164-5. <sup>38</sup> Ibid.

musicians.<sup>39</sup> His parents were more irritated than ever, but Berlioz was even more determined to prove himself to them by having this Mass performed.

A second opportunity for a performance arose at St.-Roch arose, for 10 July 1825, the feast of the Sacred Heart. Le Sueur had convinced several of the musicians from the Chapelle Royale orchestra to donate their services and bolster Masson's orchestra. The performance had been organized and advertised when disaster struck again. French king Charles X determined to take his orchestra, consisting of musicians that Berlioz needed desperately for the performance, to St.-Cloud on the tenth. 40 This would not have posed a problem had not Le Sueur relinquished all of his duties in the Chapelle Royale to Cherubini on the first of July. Without Le Sueur officially working for the court, there was no possible way to arrange for the musicians to be excused from their royal duties.

Berlioz was now desperate to obtain funds with which to hire new musicians. A friend by the name of Augustin de Pons came to his rescue and gave Berlioz twelve hundred francs. 41 With this money, Berlioz was able hire members of the orchestra and the chorus of the Opéra, knowing that these quality musicians would ensure the success of the performance.

Despite all obstacles, the first performance of the *Messe solennelle* took place on 10 July 1825, and it was the success of which Berlioz had dreamed. Valentino conducted, and many people attended the event. All of Berlioz's efforts to procure excellent

 $<sup>^{39}</sup>$  Macdonald "Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*," 271.  $^{40}$  Ibid., 272.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Berlioz, Mémoires, 57.

musicians were rewarded, and he noted in his *Mémoires* that the Mass was "splendidly performed."

This first performance was a crucial event in Berlioz's career for two reasons: it was the first time he would ever hear a work of his own in performance, and it was the first time his name would be brought to public attention and subjected to the press's scrutiny. Berlioz himself participated in the performance, playing the tam-tam. He later wrote in a letter that during the Resurrexit, he struck it with such force that "the whole church shook." He also noted that during the Kyrie he felt his chest "swell as if to burst" and that at the end of the movement Valentino had to ask him to remain calm. 45

At the conclusion of the performance, friends, musicians, and audience members surrounded the young composer with congratulations. Le Sueur's comments to Berlioz, which he recorded in a letter, were the most meaningful to the young composer:

Come let me embrace you. You will be no doctor or apothecary, I swear, but a great composer; you have genius—I tell you because it's true. There are too many notes in your Mass, you let yourself get carried away, but beneath all that torrent of ideas not a single effect misfires, every picture is true. It had an indescribable effect, an effect which I want you to know was felt by everyone. I deliberately found myself a place in the corner where I could watch the audience, and I can tell you that if we had not been in church you would have been greeted with three or four terrific rounds of applause.<sup>46</sup>

The press was equally complimentary, singling out the Gloria, the Crucifixus, and the Resurrexit (commonly referred to as the Et iterum venturus est). Seven newspapers

<sup>43</sup> Macdonald, "Berlioz's Messe solennelle," 272.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

reported on the event, and they were unanimous in their praise.<sup>47</sup> Their reviews included the following remarks:

We found the Mass to display great verve and energy, melodiousness and a great feeling for sacred music.

Le Journal de Paris, 11 July

The audience recognized the music's impressively sacred character, and the experts were saying that this young man already shows genius, verve, enthusiasm, and a fine sense of musical painting.

Le Moniteur universel, 11 July

The composer of this fine work should be encouraged; he is a pupil of M. Le Sueur, and his very successful debut is promise of distinguished works to come. But at a time when our young composers find it so hard to get themselves known, talent alone is not enough to gain the price of one's labor, one needs support and luck too.

*L'Aristarque français*, 11 July

This young composer is full of inspiring ideas; he seems to have escaped the clutches of counterpoint, which shows what an excellent course of study he is on. We should expect great things from such a brilliant debut.

Le Drapeau blanc, 11 July

The Mass does this young pupil of M. Le Sueur the greatest honor; this very encouraging first success is an indication that he might succeed in dramatic music.

Journal des Débats, 14 July

The qualities that mark this young composer are energy and great emotional power. *La Quotidienne*, 15 July<sup>48</sup>

Despite the excellent reviews he had received, Berlioz recognized immediately that there were places that he "failed to realize his intentions, and others that were just badly written." In a letter written to his family a few days later, he noted,

The first step has been taken successfully, but I have not the less been made aware how much work I have to do. Numerous defects, which escaped the audience as a whole, carried along by the force of my ideas, were brought home to me; I recognized them, and another time will strive to avoid them.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> All quotes are taken from Macdonald, 272.

<sup>49</sup> Cairns, Berlioz, 172.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid.

In this same letter, Berlioz also reported the success of his work. Plans were already underway for a second performance three weeks later, with sixty players instead of 150, but it never occurred. He had waited several days to write it until he could report that "success had been sanctioned by the papers." This success, as his father had warned him, did little to change his family's attitude toward his career. In fact, Nancy wrote a letter to her friend stating, "Papa has never been less favorably disposed towards his art."52

Despite the success of the Messe solennelle, Berlioz's conflict with his family would continue for years. Two years passed before another opportunity to have his Mass performed arose on 22 November 1827 on St. Cecilia's Day in the church of St.-Eustache. During that time, Berlioz had been accepted at the Conservatoire (largely due to the Mass's success) and had been composing other works. This performance was different from the first, for the performers were mostly amateur and Berlioz had revised a great deal of the work. Many of Berlioz's colleagues from the Conservatoire and from Parisian theaters, such as the Bouffes, the Odéon, and the Gymnase-dramatique, were not paid, and Berlioz saved the conductor's fee by conducting the work himself.<sup>53</sup>

Although this performance did not have a famous conductor or professional musicians, Berlioz felt that the success of this second performance was "twice as great as before."<sup>54</sup> Following the performance, he wrote in a letter to his friend Ferrand.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.
52 Ibid., 173.
53 Macdonald, "Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*," 273.

When I saw that depiction of the Last Judgment (Resurrexit), that declaration sung by six basses in unison, that terrifying clangor tubarum, those shrieks of terror from the crowd represented by the chorus, I was gripped by a convulsive trembling which I managed to hold in check until the end of the movement, although I then had to sit down and let the orchestra take a few minutes' rest. I couldn't have stayed any longer on my feet and I feared the baton might slip from my hand. 55

Despite Berlioz's obvious pride at this success, he was also having many doubts about the Mass. In his *Mémoires*, directly following his description of the second performance, he writes, "After this second trial I could not help seeing how little my Mass was worth; so, having extracted the Resurrexit, with which I was quite pleased. I burnt the rest." He also burned three other works, Beverley, Estelle, and La passage de la mer rouge.

In spite of the destruction of his four earliest large-scale works, Berlioz spared the Resurrexit. This movement had been the object of much admiration from the press, and Berlioz had already devoted much time to revising it. It was performed twice more in Berlioz's concerts at the Conservatoire on 26 May 1828 and 1 November 1829.<sup>57</sup> Later, Berlioz became as dissatisfied with the Resurrexit as he was with the rest of the Messe solennelle and subsequently destroyed it as well.<sup>58</sup>

The composition and first performance of the Messe solennelle occurred at one of the most formative stages of Berlioz's musical career. Between the time when Masson commissioned the work in the spring of 1824 and its first performance in July of 1825, Berlioz was under tremendous pressure from his family to abandon his hopes of a

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Berlioz, *Mémoires*, 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Macdonald, "Berlioz's Messe solennelle," 273.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Berlioz, Mémoires, 58 (footnote).

musical career. He was also having financial difficulties because his father had stopped sending him money.

In Paris, however, Berlioz found support in his excellent teacher Le Sueur. Le Sueur was the force balancing Berlioz's parents' opposition. He gave Berlioz the musical training and the emotional sustenance necessary to begin his career. It was Le Sueur who most likely arranged the initial meeting with Masson, who was able to convince Valentino to conduct, and who attempted to have the Chapelle Royale musicians participate in the first performance.

During this year when Berlioz was caught somewhere between the support of Le Sueur and the resistance of his parents, he was forced to choose between his dream of becoming a composer and his duty as a son. Yet, it in the middle of this turmoil, he managed to compose the *Messe solennelle*; he was extremely proud of the work and hoped would give him enough success to finally gain his family's approval.

In effect, the *Messe solennelle* represents our image of young Hector Berlioz: while unrefined, it is brilliant, full of talent, and dramatic to the core. It is no wonder that Berlioz would return this work throughout his career as a source for self-borrowing, and despite the fact that he claimed to have destroyed it, it is obvious that he was never able to leave it in his past.

The Chapelle Royale: Context for the *Messe solennelle* 

When Berlioz composed the *Messe solennelle* in 1824, he was an inexperienced composer. He had been studying with Jean François Le Sueur for approximately a year, and as Le Sueur's student, attended services at the Chapelle Royale (where Le Sueur and

Luigi Cherubini were co-directors) every week.<sup>59</sup> Upon hearing the compositions of both his teacher and Cherubini, Berlioz must have been compelled to write a Mass of his own, and was given his opportunity with Masson's commission in the spring of 1824.<sup>60</sup> It follows, then, that Berlioz's primary influences when composing this Mass were the sacred works he heard at the chapel. Therefore, to understand the *Messe solennelle*, it is necessary to place it within the context of sacred music to which Berlioz was exposed in Paris, particularly in the Chapelle Royale, during the time preceding the composition of his first Mass.

Napoleon Bonaparte's signing of the Concordat in July of 1801, granting official legalization and restoration of Christian worship after the French Revolution triggered the renewal of musical activity in French churches.<sup>61</sup> He created a chapel in the Tuileries Palace and hired his favorite composer, Giovanni Paisello, as director.<sup>62</sup> The services of the Chapelle Royale began in 1802, but Paisello left his post 1804 to return to his homeland of Italy.<sup>63</sup> Bonaparte then appointed Jean-François Le Sueur as Director of the First Consul's Music, which three months later changed to Director of the *Emperor's* Music.<sup>64</sup> Le Sueur was to hold this post until the closing of the chapel in 1830.

Upon the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1814, two co-directors were appointed to serve jointly with Le Sueur: Martini until his death in 1816, and Cherubini

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Berlioz, *Mémoires*, 51.

<sup>60</sup> Hugh Macdonald, "Berlioz's Messe solennelle," 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism*, trans. Sylvain Frémaux (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1996), 163.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibid., 164.

from 1816 to 1830.<sup>65</sup> Under the direction of Le Sueur and Cherubini, the Chapelle Royale served as the "center of sacred musical life" in France, and it was in this atmosphere that Berlioz was introduced to their music.<sup>66</sup>

The sacred works of Le Sueur, Cherubini, and later Berlioz were considered exceptional for their time. Ralph P. Locke, in assessing the condition of French sacred music during the early nineteenth century, notes, Plainchant, including the undistinguished seventeenth-century chants of Henri Du Mont, was most often sung lethargically, to the accompaniment of a raucous, ill-tuned serpent. Locke also finds that the chorale motets of the time, which frequently included arrangement of opera tunes, were little improvement on the chant. Even the music at Notre Dame was "dry, insignificant, and poorly performed."

In contrast to the sacred music Berlioz had most likely heard in the Masses at La Côte-St.-André, which was presumably comparable to Locke's above description, the performances at the Chapelle Royale, with its large choir and full orchestra, must have impressed the young composer. In fact, it is highly likely that the first exposure Berlioz had to such sacred music was in this chapel, and that the music in these services provided the primary, and perhaps only, model for the *Messe solennelle*. <sup>70</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Ibid., 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ralph P. Locke, "Paris: Centre of Intellectual Ferment" in *The Early Romantic Era Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848*, ed. Alexander Ringer (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990): 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ibid

 $<sup>^{70}</sup>$  I have not found any evidence indicating that Berlioz was attending services in other churches at this time.

The repertoire performed at the Chapelle Royale consisted of works by many composers who have since fallen into obscurity. Jean Mongrédien, a leading scholar in early nineteenth-century French music, has discovered the complete collection of Chapelle Royale manuscripts, which had been carefully preserved since its closing. The complete list of the repertoire is included below (Figure 1-1), and demonstrates what Berlioz might have heard during the chapel's services. Unfortunately, the dates of performances were not recorded in Mongrédien's list, and pinpointing what works were performed between 1822 (when Berlioz first arrived in Paris) and 1825 is not possible at this time.

Figure 1-1, Music Performed at the Chapelle Royale

Paisel	o Twe	nty-four Mass	es and variou	is sacred wor	ks, the g	reat Te Deum for
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the coronation of Napoleon, and ten miscellaneous pieces.

Le Sueur Twenty-nine Masses and thirty-two miscellaneous pieces.

Martini Nine Masses, one Te Deum, and fourteen miscellaneous pieces.

Cherubini Twenty-three Masses and forty miscellaneous pieces Plantade Ten Masses and thirty-six miscellaneous pieces.

Persuis Five miscellaneous pieces. Roze One miscellaneous piece.

Zingarelli One Mass and fragments of a Stabat Mater.

Pergolesi One Stabat Mater.

Giroust Le Passage de la mer Rouge

Gossec One O Salutaris.

Lefebvre One funeral march and one triumphal march.

Desvignes One *Pie Jesu*.

Jomelli One Mass, one *Requiem*, and one Miserere (with Italian words).

Naderman Three miscellaneous pieces.

Durante Litanies de la Vierge.

Homet Requiem.

Mozart One Mass (K. 192), the *Requiem*, and the Ave Verum. Haydn Six Masses, one Stabat Mater, one miscellaneous piece.

Paër One Mass. Rossini Ave Maria.<sup>71</sup>

It is possible, however, to determine, through knowledge of the Cherubini and Le Sueur's activities as co-directors of the chapel, what music Berlioz definitely would have heard between the years 1822 and 1825. After Cherubini's appointment to the Chapelle in 1816, he and Le Sueur agreed to divide their duties so that Cherubini took charge of the first and third quarters of the year, and Le Sueur had the second and fourth.<sup>72</sup> Thus, the music young Berlioz most likely heard during the time when he was composing the Messe solennelle can thus be determined. A letter dated 4 September 1824 indicated Berlioz's return to Paris from his summer holiday at La Côte-St.-André and the commencement of serious work on the Mass. 73 Based on the time frame between September and the Mass's scheduled performance in December and the sharing of the codirectors duties, Berlioz heard one month of services under Cherubini's direction and the rest of the year (October, November, December) under Le Sueur.

Naturally, Le Sueur and Cherubini would promote their own music during these guarter tenures. Le Sueur, however, took a more liberal approach to his position. He was much more willing to allow works by other composers to be performed during his tenure. In services under Le Sueur's direction, undetermined works by Martini, Paisello, Plantade, Zingarelli, Mozart, Lefèvre, and Persius were programmed together with Le Sueur's compositions.<sup>74</sup> Despite Le Sueur's willingness to program the music of other composers, a substantial amount of the music presented under his direction was his

Entire list taken from Mongrédien, 168.
 Macdonald, "Berlioz's Messe solennelle," 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Berlioz, *Corréspondance genérale*, Vol 1., 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Martin M. Herman, "The Sacred Music of Jean-François Le Sueur: A Musical and Biographical Source Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1964), 224.

own. 75 He preferred psalm settings, motets, and oratorios for his services, and Mass movements appeared less than half of the time.<sup>76</sup>

In his dissertation on Le Sueur's sacred music, Martin Herman has discovered that (in all of the surviving programs from the chapel) every Mass by Le Sueur performed in the Chapelle Royale had been heard years before during his post as director of the Chapelle Impériale.<sup>77</sup> Herman also notes that Le Sueur made few adjustments to the music for the Chapelle Royale, and that the previously composed music was often adapted to a new purpose. In fact, most of Le Sueur's works for the Chapelle Impériale were never performed in their entirety at the Chapelle Royale. 78 It then becomes clear that Berlioz's practice of self-borrowing had its roots in the example his esteemed teacher, Le Sueur.

The manner in which Le Sueur provided his Masses for services at the chapel is noteworthy. Le Sueur's Masses were constructed in one of two ways. He would take individual Mass movements written by different composers, often including his own, and group them into one complete Mass. <sup>79</sup> Alternatively, he could also compile a complete Mass cycle by gathering movements, which were originally composed as individual movements, and mold them into one service. 80

Cherubini, on the other hand, was primarily committed to the presentation of his own music, and seldom allowed works by other composers to be performed in his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Ibid., 225. <sup>79</sup> Ibid., 226.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. 226.

service.<sup>81</sup> Cherubini rarely set a text other than one taken directly from the Mass, and his contributions to the Chapelle Royale's repertoire consist almost exclusively of independent Mass movements.<sup>82</sup> Cherubini also followed the pre-Revolutionary practice of introducing an Offertory and an *O Salutaris* at the moment of Christ's exaltation.<sup>83</sup> Under him, the overall idea of a Mass changed, and it became "a series of short, separate numbers that were almost interchangeable from one Mass to another."

The services performed weekly in the Chapelle Royale rarely included a performance of all five parts of the Mass Ordinary. <sup>85</sup> In fact, complete Mass cycles were performed only when political or religious dignitaries were present. François Fétis noted,

The ordinary service of the chapel of Kings Louis XVIII and Charles X consisted of a low mass, with musicians singing various pieces not exceeding in length the mass said by the priest. It was rare that an entire Mass be sung in the Royal chapel. Often, the time of the service was taken up by a Kyrie followed by a motet.<sup>86</sup>

Berlioz himself supported this assessment of the chapel, noting that the works performed during the ordinary services of the Royal chapel, especially during Le Sueur's tenure, were rarely Masses in the "proper sense." Berlioz further described his experience at the Chapelle Royale in his *Mémoires*,

When I got to the Chapel Royal I used to join Le Sueur in the orchestra, and he would normally spend the few minutes before the service in telling me about the subject of the work to be performed and in outlining its general plan and explaining his intentions. A knowledge of what subject the composer had chosen was usually relevant, for it was rarely the text of the Mass.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Ibid., 223.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Mongrédien, 186.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid

<sup>88</sup> Berlioz, Mémoires, 51.

The music of the Chapel Royal followed French tastes of the early nineteenth century. The most important factors were the search for expression, for pleasing vocal lines, and for beautiful phrases.<sup>89</sup> Counterpoint was almost always absent, and octave doublings of the voices were frequent. 90 In fact, Mongrédien notes that the Masses by Plantade and Le Sueur were never written in four real voices.<sup>91</sup> The lack of contrapuntal writing in the repertoire of the chapel can be attributed to the fact that the composers who worked there (with the exception of Cherubini) were not experts in counterpoint. 92 One of the primary characteristics of early nineteenth-century French sacred music is extreme simplicity, which is a result of composers' refusal, either out of ignorance or taste, to make use of the richness of counterpoint.<sup>93</sup>

To summarize, through reconstructing the conditions under which music was performed at the Chapelle Royale, one can gain a much clearer image of what Berlioz heard there prior to and during his composition of the Messe solennelle. The services at the chapel rarely included a full Mass cycle. The music was simple, focusing on melody and phrases, and absent of counterpoint. In the quarters under Cherubini's direction, Berlioz would have heard works only by Cherubini, which were most often individual Mass movements. During Le Sueur's quarter tenures, Berlioz would have heard a conglomeration of individual movements, often by various composers, conformed to the length and subject of the service. In the services in which Le Sueur had only his music performed, Berlioz would have often heard text taken from sources other than the liturgy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Mongrédien, 176-77. <sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Ibid., 172.

or movements of the Ordinary that Le Sueur would have reworked for another part of the service.

In many ways, Berlioz's *Messe solennelle* conforms musically to examples set by Le Sueur and Cherubini at the Chapelle Royale. The Mass is harmonically simple and free of counterpoint. Like Cherubini's Masses, the *Messe solennelle* includes a motet during the Offering followed by an *O Salutaris*. Yet, the circumstances under which Berlioz composed this Mass cause it to be different from the services he heard at the chapel. Berlioz had several months to compose this work. It is a full Mass, and includes all five parts of the Ordinary. Furthermore, Berlioz composed this work to be a complete Mass cycle, and not the conglomeration of movements that he often heard at the chapel.

Examination of the Resurrexit in the next section will demonstrate that Berlioz's goal was not compose a Mass that would go against the musical tradition of the Chapelle Royale. It was, instead, composed clearly within the standard practice that Le Sueur and Cherubini had established in Paris. From this perspective, it is evident that the *Messe solennelle* was a student exercise based on the works of Le Sueur and Cherubini.

### The Music of the Resurrexit

To understand why Berlioz continually returned to the Resurrexit as a source for material in later works, one must first identify the properties that, in his opinion, made it a rich and viable foundation for further musical elaboration. The Resurrexit is part of the Credo, which has the longest text of the five sections of the Catholic Mass Ordinary. Due to its length and following the models of Le Sueur and Cherubini, Berlioz separated the

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

Credo into four movements: Credo, Incarnatus, Crucifixus, and Resurrexit. The Resurrexit serves as the climax of these four movements. It is, in fact, not only the longest movement in Berlioz's Credo, but also in this entire setting of the Mass. Based on the importance it has both liturgically and musically, and the fact that it was the only movement out of the *Messe solennelle* Berlioz initially saved from destruction, one can naturally assume that this movement should prove to be an ideal example of young Berlioz's music.

The Resurrexit serves as an excellent model of Berlioz's most advanced compositional efforts before his entrance into the Conservatoire. Examining the Resurrexit will help us understand Berlioz as a young and unseasoned composer, and studying his music can help us gain insight into the manner in which Berlioz assimilated his ideas, why they were successful, and why he was later able to borrow so freely from this movement.

Because the music was modeled on the work of his teacher, one does not find a break with tradition or the suggestion of innovation within this music. Yet, many of Berlioz's ideas transcended the musical expectations of that time, and the most creative moments served as resources to which Berlioz would return.

The Resurrexit (Allegro vivace), Christ's resurrection and expected return, is the fastest of the four movements of the Credo. It is also the only movement of the Credo to employ the forces of the entire orchestra and choir. Berlioz's construction of his movement is particularly interesting because it progresses in an arch shape. Sections are delineated by text, and the text then determines the character of the melody. The

following chart, Figure 1-2, indicates the sections in terms of tonality and relationship to the text.

The overall structure of the Resurrexit is particularly noteworthy because in the beginning of the second half of the movement, Berlioz began to create an arch structure. Sections D and D' ("Cujus regni non erit finis") divide the Resurrexit into two almost equal halves (D' begins in measure 206 out of 400 total measures). From the beginning of the Resurrexit through D, Berlioz has progressed through the text in liturgical order. Instead of advancing to the next section of text in the beginning of D', Berlioz returned to the beginning of D, restated the first line of text ("Cujus regni non erit finis"), and then proceeded to set new text over the music from D. While resetting text, he was able to create some variety by setting section D' in A-flat major in contrast to the B-flat major tonality of the initial section D. Berlioz then restated the text from section C ("Et iterum venturus est") and repeated most of the material, thus making this section C'.

FIGURE 1-2, The Structure of the Resurrexit and Its Text

<u>Form</u>	Key M	<u> Ieasure</u>	Resurrexit (Latin)	Resurrexit (English)
A	g	1-27	Et resurrexit tertia die	And the third day He arose again
			secundum scripturas.	according to the Scriptures.
В	G	28-75	Et ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris.	And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.
С	E-flat		[FANFARE & BASS SOLO] Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos.	And He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead.
D	B-flat	152- 206	Cujus regni non erit finis. Et in sanctum <i>spiritum</i> Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre et <i>Filio</i> procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur	Whose kingdom shall have no end. And in the Holy <i>Ghost</i> , the Lord and the giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the <i>Son</i> who with the Father and the Son
D'	A-flat	206-66	qui locutus est per Prophetas.  Cujus regni non erit finis.  Et in unam sanctam apostolicam et sanctam ecclesiam.  Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum.  Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum.	together is worshipped and glorified who spoke by the Prophets.  Whose kingdom shall have no end.  In And in one holy, catholic and apostolic <i>Church</i> .  I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.  And I look for the resurrection of the dead.
C'	E-flat	266- 317	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos.	And He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead.
Е	E-flat	317-45	Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi saeculi.	And I look for the resurrection of the dead. And the life of the world to come.
F	E-flat	346- 400	Et expecto vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.	And I look for the life of the world to come.  Amen.

<sup>\*\*</sup> **Bold** = repetition of text. \*\* *Italics* = addition to or changes in the order of the text

At this point, it appears that Berlioz was establishing an arch-shape structure for the Resurrexit, but he did not make the entire movement symmetrical. At the beginning of each repeated section, Berlioz would restate the original text over the repeated music. Then without changing the music, Berlioz would continue to set the next section of text (Figure 1-3). Therefore, part of the music was in a modified arch form, while the text was not. Note that the line delineates the symmetrical part of the structure from the rest of the movement.

FIGURE 1-3, The Arch Shape of the Resurrexit

MUSIC:				D	D'			
			C			C'		
		В					Е	
	A							F
TEXT:	A	В	C	D	Е	F	G	Н

One specific part of the Resurrexit that merits attention is the brass fanfare from section C. In the first two sections of the Resurrexit, the listener learns of Christ's Resurrection. At this point, Berlioz adds a brass fanfare as an interjection, marking the beginning of the prophetic part of the Resurrexit. It begins immediately in a new key, E-flat major, and is the first scoring for the entire brass section. This fanfare is obviously a reference the Last Judgment.

Although only fifteen measures long, the apocalyptic fanfare is achieved through the element of surprise. In addition to the sudden change of key and instrumentation, Berlioz planned for the fanfare to begin while section B was quietly concluding. In fact,

the fanfare begins before the last word ("patris") of the previous section is resolved. The forte trumpet interjection comes as a shock to an unsuspecting audience.

Berlioz concluded the fanfare with a stroke of the tam-tam, which he himself played for the first performance. In a letter to a friend, Berlioz related his experience in performing this section of the Resurrexit.

In the *Iterum venturus* (Resurrexit), after the announcement of the Last Judgment by all the trumpets and trombones in the world, the chorus of humans was heard in the grip of terror; O God! I swam on that stormy sea, I drank in those shock-waves of horror. I would not have entrusted the task of finishing off my audience to anyone else, so after a final broadside of brass informed the wicked that the time of wailing an gnashing of teeth was at hand, I struck such a mighty blow on the tam-tam that the whole church shook. It was not my fault if the ladies, especially, failed to think that the end of the world had come. 94

Though highly effective, the fanfare and use of the tam-tam to depict the Day of Judgment were not new. Cherubini had been experimenting with these brass and percussion effects in his Masses and *Requiems* for some time. In fact, one finds in Cherubini's first *Requiem*, at the beginning of the Dies Irae, that a stroke of the tam-tam announces the end of the world. Berlioz admired these new timbral effects, and the Resurrexit, as well as his later sacred choral works, pays homage to Cherubini's model. This fanfare is a particularly important one for Berlioz, as he was to rework and expand it for the Dies Irae of his own *Requiem*.

One of the most important factors to consider when studying the Resurrexit is Berlioz's concept of melody. In early nineteenth-century France, beautiful and pleasing melodies were of the utmost importance to a musical composition. While it did take

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Hugh Macdonald, foreword to Hector Berlioz, *Messe solennelle*, vol. 23, Hector Berlioz New Edition of the Complete Works (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994), viii.

<sup>95</sup> Mongrédien, 187.

prominence in his compositions, Berlioz's concept of melody differed from that of his contemporaries. Brian Primmer, in his book entitled *The Berlioz Style*, states,

The most noticeable features of Berlioz's melodies are their length, their comprehensiveness, their subtlety, their frequent waywardness and their generally deep expressive power. Their length is often extreme when compared with that of melodies by other composers and always unusual...<sup>97</sup>

Primmer also notes that Berlioz's melodies tend to "rest upon a plain, diatonic framework made up of step and triad, whatever degree of expressive chromaticism may colour them." Examination of the primary melodies from the Resurrexit demonstrates that they follow the above descriptions, and it is, in fact, remarkable to find that Berlioz's earliest melodies share the same characteristics as his later ones.

The melody to which Berlioz assigned the greatest importance in the Resurrexit is found in sections D and D' (Example 1-1). This melody is long, irregular in length (thirteen measures), and is the most lyrical melody found in the Resurrexit. Berlioz placed it at the climax of this movement, perhaps it serves as the climax for the entire Mass. It is based on two primary components: a rising and falling motion that encompasses one full octave, forming an arch. Outlining a B-flat major first-inversion triad, each note of the triad is given a whole note in every other measure as the melody ascends. As the melody descends, there is much more chromaticism.

One cannot examine this melody without taking into consideration the text to which it is set, "Cujus regni non erit finis" ("Whose kingdom shall have no end"). The addition of the text reinforces our understanding of the melody (Example 1-1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Brian Primmer, *The Berlioz Style* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Ibid., 17.

EXAMPLE 1-1, "Cujus regni non erit finis," mm. 158-170

Each word occupies two measures as the melody ascends. The beginning of each word, with the exception of "erit," is accented with a tied whole note (outlining the B-flat chord), and the second syllable is given to chromatic color. The effect is one of upward propulsion as Berlioz pushes the text forward and higher until it reached its climax. As he arrives at the climax of the melody, however, Berlioz has to make a slight change to the text setting. Each word, with the exception of "non," had two syllables, of which Berlioz usually stressed the first syllable in the first measure and tied into the second measure of the group. In the second measure which would be designated to finish "non," Berlioz placed the "e" from "erit," and then subsequently stressed the "rit" on the first note of the next measure (D), which forms the climax of the phrase.

The text setting in the second part of the phrase is much different from that in the first half. As the line descends, there is a chromatic motion, which helps give the melody a greater sense of color and expressiveness. With the descending motion of the line, the first four words, "Cujus regni non erit," of the text are restated. In this descending gesture, the syllables that had previously been on weak beats are now placed on strong beats. Though these syllables shift to strong beats, there is not a strong sense of accent as

one might expect, but its primary function seems to involve returning to the first pitch of the melody.

The final word of the phrase, "finis," enters in the twelfth measure. The stress placed on the first syllable occurs exactly as with each other word in the text. The text setting provides five accents throughout this melody, each one on the beginning of a new word. The accents that outline a B-flat-major chord draw attention to the melody's harmonic foundations and further support Primmer's findings that Berlioz melodies are based on a plain diatonic framework made of steps and triads.

Before any conclusions can be made about early Berlioz melodies, it is important to examine another melody of a much different nature than the previous example. This melody is found in section C, following the bass solo, and is set to "Et iterum venturus est" (Example 1-2).

EXAMPLE 1-2, "Et iterum venturus est," mm. 101-105



This melody shares some features with the previous example. It is based on a triad (this time E-flat minor), proceeds in an arch shape, and has an irregular length (five measures). In contrast to the lyrical melody, however, each syllable receives equal stress in this instance. As with the lyrical melody, Berlioz echoed both the text and the melodic

arch in the second half of the melody, and in this example, the outlined chord and arch shape imitate the primary part of the melody as well.

The above examples form archetypal examples of Berlioz melodies and conform to Primmer's analysis surprisingly well. The fact that any part of the Resurrexit, much less its two primary melodies, can correspond to Primmer's studies on Berlioz is noteworthy. The *Messe solennelle* was still lost when Primmer completed this study of Berlioz's music, so it naturally was not included in his study. That this melody belongs to the earliest surviving example of young Berlioz's works and can still apply to a study based on works from much later in his life indicates that Berlioz's concept of melody was firmly in place at his earliest stages of musical development. It is significant that the same criteria to examine Berlioz's later melodies can also be used to study his earliest ones, and it tells us that Berlioz's concept of melody changed little if at all throughout his career. Of course, this theory is best tested when compared to Berlioz's settings of these same melodies in subsequent works.

One of the most important points Primmer makes in his discussion of Berlioz melodies is the significance of the accompaniment part. He states, "With much of Berlioz's writing, the interest is concentrated not upon the line itself but upon the deepening relationship which develops between it and its varied accompaniments." This is an important point to consider in terms of Berlioz's borrowing techniques, as he always utilized essentially the same accompaniment under each borrowed melody. Therefore, when studying each instance of borrowing, it is necessary to examine not only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Ibid., 21.

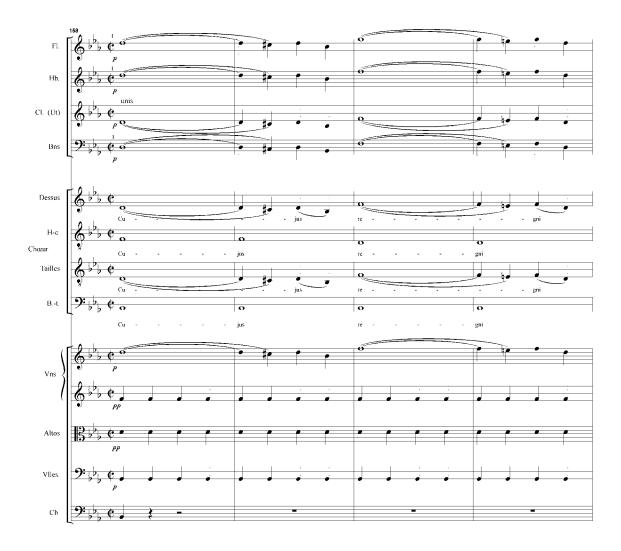
the melody, but also the accompaniment, harmony, and orchestration to see what Berlioz altered and what remained unchanged.

The harmony, orchestration, and accompaniment for the Resurrexit seem very conservative for what we know of later Berlioz. Several factors could explain the simplicity of the harmony in this Mass. Berlioz could have been following the standard practice of composing Masses, which leaned toward a more simple and diatonic approach to harmony, or he had not yet acquired the skills to develop his harmonic language. In either case, the result is a simple, yet pleasing, harmonic foundation for the Mass. As previously stated, the orchestration is also conservative for Berlioz. In most cases, certain sections of the orchestra (usually the strings) outline chords under the melody, while the other sections, usually the winds, double the vocal lines (Examples 1-3 and 1-4).



EXAMPLE 1-3 Orchestration in Section B, mm. 39-42

Example 3 illustrates the manner in which Berlioz typically orchestrated the Resurrexit. The winds doubled the choir while the strings have tonic and dominant arpeggiated chords. Within the choir, winds, and strings individually, Berlioz created two lines by pairing the outermost voices against the inner voices.



EXAMPLE 1-4, Orchestration in Section D, mm. 158-161

In Example 1-4, Berlioz used many of the same techniques he employed in Example 1-3, yet he created variety in several ways. The voicing is slightly different, as the sopranos and tenors are paired to sing the melody while the altos and basses have sustained notes. In this example, the wind section is not split into two parts as before, but instead is given the melody in octaves. Under this sweeping melody, the strings provide the harmonic foundation. With so many of the voices stating the melody, it seems

unusual that Berlioz would give the violins the melody as well, but with the lower strings repeating the same notes, it becomes clear that Berlioz wanted the audience to be aware of only the melody. Thus, he delegated the lower strings to the role of unobtrusively maintaining a beat and sustaining the harmony.

Though Berlioz based the accompaniment in the "Et iterum venturus" ("And he shall come again") of section C on arpeggiated chords, he created a sense of greater independence between the orchestra and voices through varying rhythms and by giving the strings more virtuosic parts (Example 1-5).

FI CI (U1)

Bris Desus Ci (U1)

Desus Ci (U1)

Desus Ci (U2)

Desu

EXAMPLE 1-5, Orchestration in Section C, mm. 108-112

Though based on the same principles as the previous examples, this section includes much more activity in the accompaniment than Berlioz has allowed thus far in the Resurrexit, demonstrating his attempt to orchestrate more creatively. It is clear that Berlioz was striving for a more dramatic effect in this example, as the tremolos in the violin parts indicate. Also, by eliminating the upper winds and placing most of the instruments in their lower range, Berlioz was able to create a darker, thicker texture,

which is much different than the textures of Examples 1-3 and 1-4. Above the instruments, the voices have a strong, declamatory melodic line, which is mostly syllabic. With all of the forces combined, the overall effect is one of impending doom, which is exactly what the text depicts.

Whenever Berlioz was not composing the type of accompaniment described above, the orchestra would double the choir melodically and rhythmically to create one tutti unison effect. This occurs specifically throughout section A of the Resurrexit. It is hardly surprising that Berlioz did not borrow at all from these large unison sections.

Before concluding this examination of the Resurrexit, it is important to note some characteristics that make it an excellent source to which Berlioz could return throughout his career. Because of its form, Berlioz was able to compose several sections that were different in character while experimenting with various types of melodies and accompaniments. The independence of each melody, inherent with sectional forms, made borrowing from the Resurrexit that much easier for Berlioz.

The success of this movement as a source for later borrowing lies in the nature of Berlioz's melodies with their accompaniments. By formulating melodies around a basic tertian harmony, Berlioz achieved a universal quality. Any of the melodies could be extracted from the context of the Resurrexit without losing their character. They could also be transposed into any key without losing their effect.

It is important to note that each time Berlioz borrowed a section of the Resurrexit he would take the entire idea, which meant that he also included both the melody and accompaniment as found in the Resurrexit. It becomes clear then that to Berlioz, a

melody and its accompaniment were not separate entities, but were in fact one idea, in which one part depended on the other.

Based on the sections that Berlioz himself highlighted in the Resurrexit through transposition and repetition, one may deduce which sections Berlioz would include in later works. From the letter Berlioz wrote to his friend, he was very impressed with the effect that the brass fanfare had on both himself and his audience. Logically, he chose to recycle this section. Also, the repetition of sections C and D indicate that Berlioz considered them very important, perhaps even important enough to return to as a source for later borrowing. The only example that Berlioz returned to that he did not seem to emphasize in the Resurrexit was section B, "Et ascendit en coelum," which found its way into the 1849 *Te Deum*.

For Hector Berlioz in 1825, the Resurrexit represented the best of his compositional abilities. While the Resurrexit does not exemplify great innovation or a break with tradition, it is an excellent example of early Romantic sacred music and provides the rare opportunity to glimpse into one of Berlioz's earliest works. At this early stage of his career, he had already developed his unique concept of melody. Since it appears from the examples in the Resurrexit that Berlioz's concept of melody changed little over the course of his career, it does not seem so extraordinary that he would return to it as a source for later borrowing. Viewed in this light, the Resurrexit becomes a very logical composition for Berlioz to recycle in subsequent works.

## The Revised Resurrexit

After its first performance in 1825, the *Messe solennelle* was performed in its entirety only once more during Berlioz's lifetime. This second performance took place on St. Cecilia's Day, 22 November 1827 at the church of St.-Eustache. Berlioz conducted this performance and believed he had achieved a success "twice as great as before."

The 1825 performance was the first time Berlioz had the opportunity to hear his own music performed. As a result, the young composer was given his first opportunity to make improvements to a composition, correct some of the problems that occurred as a result of his inexperience, and to expand on the ideas that were successful. Revision was to become an important element in Berlioz's compositional process, and many of the techniques that he was to use throughout his career had their roots in the revisions he made to the *Messe solennelle*.

Although Berlioz was able to compose his music in a short amount of time, he could not leave the first version of a work alone for long. <sup>102</sup> In fact, major works would undergo a long process of revisions, which would last from the completion of composition up to the date of publication. <sup>103</sup> D. Kern Holoman notes that Berlioz "reviewed every detail of his work in the course of its performances, usually noting in his own score the changes he wanted to make in the musical text." <sup>104</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Macdonald, "Berlioz's Messe solennelle," 273.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid

<sup>102</sup> D. Kern Holoman, *The Creative process in the Autograph Musical Documents of Hector Berlioz, c. 1818-1840* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 180.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

Berlioz revised his works in one of two ways. Either he would change the entire structure of a movement or, more frequently, he would revise minor details. 105 Often, it was the minor details that Berlioz revised over and over, a compositional technique that he called "retouching." <sup>106</sup>

Berlioz often referred to his revisions in his correspondence, and occasionally explained the reasons for his modifications. 107 Two references in particular discuss the Resurrexit. The first mention of it was in a letter written on 29 November 1827 to his friend Humbert Ferrand, "My Mass was played on St. Cecilia's Day, twice as successfully as the first time; the little corrections that I made noticeably improved it." <sup>108</sup> The second reference came in a letter dated 6 June 1828, which was again addressed to Ferrand:

But when the Resurrexit of my Mass came up—which you haven't heard since I retouched it and which was sung by fourteen female and thirty male voices, the room in the Royal School of Music saw for the first time the members in the orchestra leave their instruments after the last chord and applaud louder than the public. 109

The revisions Berlioz made to the Resurrexit involve mostly minor details. Structurally, the Resurrexit exists in its original form. Each section remains intact formally and harmonically, and the majority of revisions include alterations to the orchestration and voicing. Several examples illustrate the types of detailed revisions that Berlioz most commonly made to his music.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Berlioz, Corréspondance générale, Vol. 1, 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Ibid., 194.

In the 1827 version of the Resurrexit, Berlioz changed the climactic melody, "Cujus regni non erit finis" ("Whose kingdom shall have no end"). In the 29 November 1827 letter to Ferrand, Berlioz specifically mentioned this melody, stating,

The choir melody which followed [the Et iterum venturus] that had been executed by all the voices at the octave in the midst of a burst from the brass, produced a terrible impression on everyone; by my account, I had held my composure very well until then and it was important that it did not agitate me. 110

The original version of this melody can be found in Example 1-6. As has been discussed, the melody progresses in an arch-shaped melody that is based on a B-flat major first-inversion chord.

EXAMPLE 1-6, Original "Cujus regni non erit finis," mm. 158-170



When Berlioz changed this melody, he left the essential elements of it the same. It is still based on the B-flat major first-inversion chord and progresses in an arch shape. He did, however, extend the range of the melody by a third (Example 1-7).

EXAMPLE 1-7, Revised "Cujus regni non erit finis," mm. 168-180



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Ibid., 159-160.

As can be seen, the melody remains unchanged until the word "erit." At this point, instead of continuing the sequence of jumping down a fourth and then up a sixth as in the 1825 version, Berlioz (beginning on the same pitch) ascends a fifth by outlining a root position B-flat-major chord. The highest note of the melody is now F instead of D, and by doing this, Berlioz created a greater sense of upward propulsion and heightened the arch effect. Berlioz could have continued to change the rest of the melody from this point, but instead left it unaltered. He returned to the original pitch, D, at the beginning of the next word, "cujus," by a descending stepwise pattern.

Berlioz also changed the vocal parts in the revision of this melody. Whereas only the sopranos and tenors were given the melody in the original version, all four parts of the choir now sing in octave unison as the line ascends. Once the choir has arrived at "erit," however, the role of the altos and basses changes and their function is now to complete the harmony through sustained notes. It appears that the purpose of the revision was to give more emphasis to the first half of the melody, and that upon arrival at the climax, Berlioz was satisfied to return to the voicing of the 1825 version. The orchestration, with the exception of the changed pitches in the melody, remains exactly the same in both versions of the Resurrexit.

Although the changes to the melody only involve a few notes, Berlioz clearly was working to achieve a more dramatic effect as the melody progressed toward its climax.

The fact that these notes are the only ones altered within this long melodic line indicates that Berlioz's sole purpose in his revisions was to make this melody, which he

emphasized more than any other in this movement, even more effective than it was in 1825.

A second, and perhaps much more significant revision, occurs at the Et iterum venturus which is the Last Judgment. Berlioz had been quite pleased with its effect in 1825, yet, in his typical fashion, he could not leave it in its original form. The revisions in this section are more extensive and even include additional text that does not belong to the Credo. This new text will be discussed below.

After the 1825 performance of the *Messe solennelle*, Berlioz singled out the Et iterum venturus as having had an especially strong effect on him. He stated,

In the *Iterum venturus* (Resurrexit), after the announcement of the Last Judgment by all the trumpets and trombones in the world, the chorus of humans was heard in the grip of terror; O God! I swam on that stormy sea, I drank in those shock-waves of horror. I would not have entrusted the task of finishing off my audience to anyone else, so after a final broadside of brass informed the wicked that the time of wailing and gnashing of teeth was at hand, I struck such a mighty blow on the tam-tam that the whole church shook. It was not my fault if the ladies, especially, failed to think that the end of the world had come. <sup>111</sup>

After the 1827 performance, Berlioz again noted the effects of this section.

When I saw that depiction of the Last Judgment, that declaration sung by six basses in unison that terrifying *clangor tubarum*, those shrieks of terror from the crowd represented by the chorus, I was gripped by a convulsive trembling which I managed to hold in check until the end of the movement, although I then had to sit down and let the orchestra take a few minutes' rest. I couldn't have stayed any longer on my feet and I feared the baton might slip from my hand. <sup>112</sup>

From reading Berlioz's account of the second performance, some of the most important revisions to this section become clear. In the 1825 version of the Resurrexit, the declaration of the Last Judgment was a bass solo, whereas Berlioz, in 1827, described

<sup>111</sup> Macdonald, foreword to Messe solennelle, viii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Macdonald, "Berlioz's Messe solennelle," 273.

six voices singing that very part. Also, Berlioz also noted the "clangor tubarum," which had not been part of the original Resurrexit.

This section, in which six basses now sing, begins exactly the same as the original version of the Resurrexit (Example 1-8). Since Berlioz did not document why he changed the number of voices, the most logical explanation is that he wanted the line to be much stronger and more dramatic. He achieved this effect by simply adding extra performers to the solo, and therefore, the soloist's section could easily project in large performing venues.

EXAMPLE 1-8, Original "Et iterum venturus, "mm. 91-99



In the revised Resurrexit, Berlioz added extra text to this section. This is significant because it is the only time in his revisions of the Resurrexit that he made an alteration to the text. The new text comes from the Dies Irae of the *Requiem Mass*, and its reference the Last Judgment is an appropriate addition. The added text begins with the words, "tuba mirum." This addition (Figure 1-4), with its reference to the trumpet, validates the presence of the brass fanfare as well. Note that the bold text signifies additions to the text.

FIGURE 1-4, Berlioz's Additions to the Resurrexit Text

Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos.
Tuba mirum spargens sonum coget omnes ante thronum.

And He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead. A trumpet spreading a wondrous sound, will drive mankind before the throne.

Instead of repeating the original melody with a new text, Berlioz composed different music to accompany the added text (Example 1-9).

EXAMPLE 1-9, Revised "Et iterum venturus," mm. 91-106



As can be seen, the melodic line is comprised primarily of a sequence in which the first statement leads to D-flat and the second leads to tonic E-flat. Berlioz obviously made an attempt for this addition to fit seamlessly within the texture of the music, as both the harmony and orchestration are composed to match the style of this section. Also, the text setting is syllabic for the inserted line and the original, and the last note of the line ends on E-flat, the same pitch as the 1825 version.

By adding voices and text to the bass solo, Berlioz was placing greater emphasis on the Last Judgment. He would further expand this section in his *Requiem* by increasing the instrumentation of the brass fanfare. Also, the added text to this section made borrowing it in the *Requiem* at a later date much easier. The placement of text from the

*Requiem* is also significant because it indicates that Berlioz could have been experimenting with the idea of a *Requiem* at a very early stage of his career.

The revisions Berlioz made to the Resurrexit were by no means drastic. It is important to note, however, that the two sections he revised were the ones that he would later return to as sources for borrowing. Therefore, it becomes clear that there was a pattern in Berlioz's compositional process. Instead of focusing on improving the weaker parts of his music, he would return to the sections that had initially been the most successful, and would then refine them. By the time sections of the Resurrexit would find their way into Berlioz's later works, Berlioz presumably felt he had developed the material to its fullest potential. Berlioz's destruction of many of his early works also indicates that he made every effort to conceal his original ideas in the hopes that only the best revisions of each idea would survive within the context of other works. Therefore, through studying each version of the Resurrexit and its subsequent borrowings, we can follow the development of a musical idea throughout Berlioz's career. With the first two versions of the Resurrexit in mind, it is then possible to examine the borrowings.

## Berlioz as a Self-Borrower

To begin an examination of Berlioz's self-borrowings, it is important to understand the method in which the composer incorporated older compositions into his new ones. Although Bach, Handel, and Beethoven are well known self-borrowers, Hugh Macdonald notes that it is doubtful that Berlioz was aware that other composers engaged

in this practice. 113 Macdonald also states that the composer tended to "play down, by omission rather than denial, the role of earlier works in his finished compositions."114 Berlioz made several references in his correspondence and in the *Mémoires* to the most obvious examples of borrowing. There were many more instances, however, which he did not mention. Despite Berlioz's frequent borrowing, most of his music was original.

Some of the most important and interesting factors to consider are the sources of Berlioz's self-borrowing. It is significant that the majority of works from which Berlioz was to borrow were composed during his early years between 1825 and 1830. Hugh Macdonald notes,

...it was a period of intense activity in which not only the general trend of his literary and musical sympathies was established, but also a bank of musical material from which he drew in later years when time, money, or the immediate stimulus of a new literary movement (plus accompanying public sympathy) were lacking. 116

It is also important to note that most of the works that Berlioz was to destroy were composed during and prior to this period. One may logically conclude then that one of the reasons Berlioz destroyed so many of his early works, especially the Resurrexit from the Messe solennelle, was an attempt to conceal the evidence that would expose the extent of his self-borrowings. 117 Berlioz also could have realized that many of those early works were not representative of his best compositional abilities and consequently destroyed them, but he did manage to salvage what was good in them through reusing them in later works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Hugh Macdonald, "Berlioz's Self-Borrowings," Nineteenth Century Music, vol. 9, Garland Library of the History of Western Music (New York: Garland, 1985): 27.

114 Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

It is also striking that there were many fewer instances of self-borrowing in the later years of his career, especially in the 1840's. Moreover, there is no evidence of self-borrowing in works after the *Te Deum*. Considering the fact that Berlioz's first borrowing from the Resurrexit was in his first opera, *Benvenuto Cellini* (1836), and his last was in the *Te Deum* (1849), the last known instance of borrowing, the Resurrexit spans the composer's entire career of self-borrowing.

The role that self-borrowing played in Berlioz's compositional process is also noteworthy. D. Kern Holoman concludes, "At some preliminary stage in composing the masterpieces, Berlioz checked through his manuscripts and notes to find previously written material suitable for the new context." Macdonald also states that when Berlioz was pressed for time and money, he would reuse material from a previous work that had fallen into obscurity. 121

Berlioz's self-borrowing was both "clever and thrifty." Because he did not usually use sketchbooks to jot down individual ideas and he ordinarily finished the works that he began, Berlioz did not have a wealth of unutilized ideas to refer to when he was in a predicament. Naturally, he would then turn to works that had been unsuccessful and not likely be performed again. Holoman concludes, "What is important about the

<sup>117</sup> See Macdonald, "Berlioz's Self-Borrowings," 27 and Holoman, *Creative Process*, 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Macdonald, "Berlioz's Self-Borrowings," 40.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Holoman, Creative Process, 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Macdonald, "Berlioz's Self-Borrowings," 41.

<sup>122</sup> Holoman, Creative Process, 123.

procedure is the composer's unyielding belief in the strength of his early ideas and his ability to rework them viably into later compositions."123

With this in mind, it is not so surprising that Berlioz would return to the Resurrexit as a source for borrowing. On both occasions that the Resurrexit had been performed, Berlioz, the critics, and the public had praised it. Berlioz must have realized that it was one of the best movements out of the entire Mass, yet he also recognized that the Mass as a whole had weaknesses (which were his reasons for destroying it). 124 Due to the nature of its setting within a Mass, the Resurrexit could not enjoy great success separately from the Mass's context, as an independent movement would be of little value for subsequent performances. Berlioz, who obviously did not want the movement to fall into obscurity, had two options. Either he could rename it, as the 1829 title Le jugement dernier demonstrates, or he could allow it to survive in other works. Although Berlioz tried both options, the self-borrowing seemed to make the best use of the Resurrexit and it subsequently found its way into several of his most important works.

Berlioz's borrowings fall into two categories. The most obvious was the largescale removal of movements from one piece to another. 125 Of course, Berlioz had to plan exactly where to place the borrowed section so that it would fit seamlessly into the context of the music. Holoman notes that in borrowings such as this Berlioz copied intact with the source manuscript at hand. 126 To the contrary, Macdonald finds that when an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Ibid. <sup>124</sup> Berlioz, *Mémoires*, 58. <sup>125</sup> Holoman, 123.

entire section of material was re-used, Berlioz adjusted details of the composition. 127 When he did not borrow large sections, Berlioz would incorporate short phrases and motives into a work at a relatively late stage in the compositional process. <sup>128</sup> Borrowings such as this could have occurred inadvertently, however, if Berlioz simply remembered ideas out of their context. 129 Macdonald states that "At the smaller end of the scale, selfborrowing merges with the normal stylistic fingerprints to be found in the work of any composer."130

The following examples of Berlioz's self-borrowing allow one to gain a glimpse into his creative process through the lens of a single movement, the Resurrexit, and see how his most important ideas could be manifested in different contexts. Through understanding Berlioz's basic practices as a self-borrower, it is then possible to examine each subsequent borrowing of the Resurrexit in the study of Berlioz's development as a composer and a self-borrower.

Macdonald, 39. Holoman, 124. Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Macdonald, 27.

## PART II. THE BORROWING

## Benvenuto Cellini

The first example of self-borrowing from the Resurrexit occurs in Berlioz's earliest opera, *Benvenuto Cellini* (1838), which was based on the autobiography of the Florentine goldsmith and sculptor who lived from 1500-1571. Though he had considered many subjects for his first attempt at the genre, including *Hamlet* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, Berlioz decided to use the story of *Benvenuto Cellini*'s "swashbuckling adventures" to serve as the basis of the opera. Although composition began in 1834, Berlioz may have had the idea for this opera as early as 1832 during his Prix de Rome tour of Italy.

Berlioz had been successful thus far in his career, but he understood that composing an opera was generally a composer's recognized avenue both to success and to the ears of the Parisian public.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, Berlioz knew that it was of the utmost importance that his first opera succeed. Three men--Alfred de Vigny, Auguste Barbier, and Léon de Wailly--collaborated to prepare the libretto. Though the librettists produced a witty and humorous opéra-comique, with spoken dialogue, the Opéra-comique rejected *Benvenuto Cellini* in 1834. Through re-setting the dialogue to music and altering the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hugh Macdonald, Foreword to Hector Berlioz *Benvenuto Cellini, Hector Berlioz New Edition of the Complete Works*, vol. 1a (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994), xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1982), 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Macdonald, Foreword, xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Macdonald, *Berlioz*, 32. The remainder of the paragraph is based on information provided on this page.

plot, Berlioz modified *Benvenuto Cellini* to become an "opera semi-seria," which would be more suitable for performance at the Opéra.

In late 1835, the Opéra agreed to produce *Benvenuto Cellini*, but it was not until almost three years later on 10 September 1838, after the composition and performance of Berlioz's *Grand messe des morts*, that it was first performed.<sup>5</sup> The music of the opera was extremely complex for the time in terms of both rhythm and frequent meter changes. From the first rehearsals, failure seemed imminent. Musicians complained that the orchestral and vocal parts were extremely difficult to play, and it was clear long before the performance that opposition from all sides was strong.<sup>6</sup> The failure of the work was sealed when the principal tenor, Gilbert Duprez, quit after only three performances.<sup>7</sup> Hugh Macdonald discusses the effect this must have had on Berlioz, stating,

It is difficult to estimate the setback this represented for Berlioz, for his faith in his public and his faith in himself. He was now forever shut out from any return to the Opéra, whether he knew it or not. So much of his most brilliant genius had gone into the composition of the opera that he must have felt the first insistent scent of the disillusionment that oppressed the last years of his life.<sup>8</sup>

Despite *Benvenuto Cellini*'s failure, several important people, including both Franz Liszt and Nicolò Paganini, had been extremely impressed with it. Years later in 1852, Liszt arranged for a revival of the opera at Weimar. As part of his plan to place Weimar's court music at the head of the German league and to promote the music that he felt most deserved performance, Liszt asked Berlioz for permission to perform *Benvenuto Cellini*. Naturally, Berlioz agreed to the performance, and completed some major

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Macdonald, *Berlioz*, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid.

revisions of the opera between its first performance on 20 March 1852 and its second performance on 17 November of that year. After the opera's success at Weimar, the London Philharmonic Society engaged Berlioz to conduct *Benvenuto Cellini* at Covent Garden. Unfortunately, the performance on 25 June 1853 was a terrible failure and the opera was withdrawn.<sup>11</sup>

The section that Berlioz borrowed from the Resurrexit occurs in the second tableau of Act I. The opera begins as the Pope has commissioned *Benvenuto Cellini*, instead of his official sculptor Fieramosca, to create a bronze statue of Perseus. Balducci, the Pope's treasurer, is extremely unhappy because he has chosen Fieramosca to be his seventeen-year-old daughter Teresa's future husband. Unknown to Balducci, Teresa has secretly fallen inlove with *Benvenuto Cellini*. Together, the two lovers plan an escape for the next day when Balducci and Teresa attend a theatrical performance at the Piazza Colunna. While her father is occupied, Cellini and his assistant, Ascanio will dress as two friars, one in white as a Penitent the other in brown as a Capuchin, who will take Teresa to Florence. Unbeknownst to the lovers, Fieramosca, Teresa's betrothed, overhears the entire conversation and plans to intervene, but not before he is discovered hiding in Teresa's bedroom and is thrown out of the Balducci home.

In the beginning of the second tableau, Cellini is in a tavern courtyard. As the innkeeper requests payment of the bill, Ascanio arrives with an advance on the commission of the statue sent from Balducci. Angered at the amount the treasurer sent him, Cellini arranges to have one of the cast members in the performance the following

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid.

evening impersonate Balducci. Fieramosca again overhears this plan and recounts

Cellini's latest scheme to his friend Pompeo, a professional swordsman. They also

decide to dress as friars and plot to take Teresa before Cellini and Ascanio can get to her.

At the Carnival in the Piazza Colonna the next evening, the performance begins.

Of course, Balducci is outraged at the mockery of him and leaves Teresa's side. While he is gone, Teresa sees two pairs of friars coming toward her. A fight then breaks out in which Cellini stabs and kills Pompeo.

At this point in the music, Berlioz begins to borrow from the Resurrexit. Cellini is arrested just as three cannons from the Sant'Angelo fort announce that Carnival is over and Lent has begun. During the confusion, Ascanio manages to escape with Teresa while Cellini escapes his arrest. Fieramosca, who is still in his friar's white costume, is arrested by mistake, thus ending the first act of the opera.<sup>12</sup>

It seems rather strange that Berlioz would think to incorporate sections of the Resurrexit, which is about Christ's Resurrection and second-coming, in the midst of a raucous carnival and murder scene. Hugh Macdonald reconciles the manner in which two very different meanings of the same music can co-exist. He states, "The practice of self-borrowing in fact strengthens rather than undermines our appreciation of Berlioz's programmes, for the meaning of the music, so clearly defined in musical terms, is thus approached from more than one angle." He also notes that it is wrong to assume that one association "invalidates the other; they are simultaneous expressions of the same extra-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Macdonald, Foreword, Benvenuto Cellini, xviii.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Synopsis of the plot is taken from the notes to the BBC Symphony Orchestra with Conductor Sir Colin Davis in Philips Classics Recording 416955-2.

musical conception, different facets of the same idea." It is with Macdonald's words in mind that the study of the borrowing in *Benvenuto Cellini* will be approached.

The Carnival scene in *Benvenuto Cellini* represents Berlioz's most extensive borrowing from the Resurrexit. In fact, he borrowed both the "Et Iterum Venturus" and "Cujus regni non erit finis" melodies and their accompaniments, to which he had given the most importance in the Resurrexit, in the final scene of Act I. It is also important to note that the all of the borrowed material comes from the 1827 revision of the Resurrexit.

The borrowed section in *Benvenuto Cellini* begins with the line, "Assassiner un capucin" (measure 938), which is a re-setting of the "Et Iterum Venturus" melody from the revised Resurrexit. Although it may seem difficult to find some sort of connection between the respective situations, there is one unifying factor. The scene in *Benvenuto Cellini* revolves around Cellini's arrest after the murder of Pompeo, in which both he and the victim dressed as friars (monks), important figures in the Catholic religion. In the Resurrexit, the bass soloists and section following is intended to suggest several priests or monks singing chant. Though the presence of priests or monks may not seem the strongest correlation, it could have been this association between these central figures in the Catholic church that originally inspired Berlioz to think of inserting the "Et iterum venturus" here in the opera. <sup>14</sup> In addition, the pandemonium found in the Carnival scene is similar in spirit to the corresponding section of the Resurrexit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Hugh Macdonald, "Berlioz's Self-Borrowings," *Nineteenth Century Music*, vol. 9 (New York: Garland, 1990): 42.

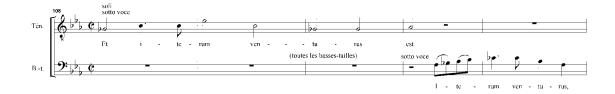
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> D. Kern Holoman, *The Creative Process in Autograph Musical Documents of Hector Berlioz, c.* 1818-1840 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press), 354, n. 18.

Berlioz's placement of the borrowed material was clearly the result of a premeditated plan. In fact, the borrowed material fits stylistically into the opera so well that Berlioz could have considered this insertion in the early stages of composition. Prior to the beginning of the borrowing, he established the key of E-flat (although the melody is in e-flat minor), as in the Resurrexit, and just before the borrowing begins, there is change to cut time, the time signature of the Resurrexit. At the meter change, tempo also shifts to Allegro assai (half note = 138), whereas in the Resurrexit the whole note = 72. With almost the exact tempi and key signatures, inserting and/or reworking material into the opera would not be difficult.

One of the most important features from the Resurrexit that Berlioz left intact in the opera was the role of the choir. Sensitive that much of the Resurrexit's success was in the strength of the vocal forces, Berlioz placed the borrowed section within a scene in which he could employ all the characters and chorus members on stage. Consequently, everyone in the Carnival scene joins to sing the same lines that the choir sang in the Resurrexit. While all of the main characters are also present, Balducci is the only one to sing in this section, doubling the basses in the choir.

The borrowed material in this section of *Benvenuto Cellini* is almost completely unaltered from the Resurrexit. With the exception of a few notes in later statements, the two melodies remain the same, as does much of the harmony. One of the most interesting factors in this example of borrowing is the manner in which Berlioz set new text to the melody. In the Resurrexit, the text setting was mostly syllabic, and, although the words pass by quickly, it was easy to understand in performance (Example 2-1).

EXAMPLE 2-1, Messe solennelle, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 108-112



In *Benvenuto Cellini*, however, Berlioz had many more syllables to set to the same melody. As Example 2-2 illustrates, the first portion of the melody, sung by the tenors, is successful because there are exactly the same number of syllables (eight) in the text as there were in the Resurrexit. Perhaps this was another reason for Berlioz's insertion of this specific portion of the Resurrexit at this juncture in the opera.

EXAMPLE 2-2, Benvenuto Cellini, mm. 941-945



It is in the second part of the melody, sung by the basses, that Berlioz made some alterations. In the Resurrexit, there is no overlapping between the vocal parts; in fact, the basses begin immediately after the tenor line concludes. Yet in *Benvenuto Cellini*, Berlioz added three notes preceding the original bass entrance, creating an overlap between the two parts. This overlapping actually helps to facilitate the entrance of the basses without compromising the intelligibility of the tenor line. It is likely that Berlioz added these notes create better text setting, for in this example Berlioz had more syllables to set to the melody. Actually, there are eight syllables in the poetic line, nine if one counts the mute "e" in "infâme," whereas Berlioz only had six syllables to set to the

melody in the Resurrexit ("Iterum venturus"). The addition of the three notes at the beginning of the melody gave Berlioz the extra time he needed to set the text convincingly and provided for an excellent setting of this text. This further demonstrates that Berlioz made a concerted effort to adapt the material from the Resurrexit into the opera as seamlessly as possible.

In this borrowed section, much of the orchestration remains the same as it was in the Resurrexit. Berlioz tended to use more instruments in the texture of *Benvenuto Cellini* than in the Resurrexit, which is logical since Berlioz had learned a great deal more about orchestration in the years following his composition of the *Messe solennelle*. In general, the "Et iterum venturus" section of the Resurrexit involves the only choir, strings, and bassoons. It is interesting that Berlioz gave the lower pitched instruments most of the activity, as this soft, low accompaniment helps create the sense of impending doom without intruding in the vocal line (Example 2-3).



EXAMPLE 2-3, Messe solennelle, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 116-119

In this same section in *Benvenuto Cellini*, Berlioz shifted the important lines to different instruments. Whereas the violas and cellos played the accompaniment in unison in the Resurrexit, here the violas are given tremolos with the violins, and the moving line occurs in the cellos, bassoon, and B-flat clarinet. In the opera, the bassoon has a much more prominent role in the accompaniment, along with the newly added clarinet playing in its low chalumeau register. Berlioz also added more activity to the accompaniment line in measures 950-951. By the end of this example, Berlioz included the horns and then later the trumpets, again in their low registers (Example 2-4).



EXAMPLE 2-4, Benvenuto Cellini, mm. 948-952

Perhaps one of the most noteworthy aspects in this section occurs at the conclusion of the borrowed melody. When Berlioz placed this part of the Resurrexit in *Benvenuto Cellini*, he did not insert the choral parts following the "Et iterum venturus est" melody, yet he continued to borrow the orchestral accompaniment for approximately

twenty more measures. Though the string parts remain almost exactly the same, Berlioz completely rewrote all the vocal parts. It is the only example of borrowing from the Resurrexit in which the accompaniment remains intact and the vocal line was completely changed.

The second instance of Berlioz's self-borrowing in *Benvenuto Cellini* closely follows the first. In fact, there are approximately twenty measures (with no references to the Resurrexit) of recitative separating the two sections before the Resurrexit's "Cujus regni non erit finis" melody begins. Considering the importance this line had in the Resurrexit, it is not surprising that Berlioz chose to place it in an important position in the opera—the finale of the first half.

The borrowed melody is based on a C-flat-major chord, the submediant of e-flat minor, and is raised a half-step from its setting in the Resurrexit. It is an exact transposition of both the melody and the orchestration. The only modification Berlioz made to the melody was that he doubled the length of the top note (G-flat).

As with the borrowing from the "Et iterum venturus" line, it is the new text setting that is of particular interest. In the Resurrexit, Berlioz had only five words (nine syllables) to set to the thirteen-measure melody. He was thus able to space the text setting so that each word was placed on a primary note (which outlined a first-inversion B-flat chord) of the melody (Example 2-5).

EXAMPLE 2-5, Messe solennelle, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 168-180



In *Benvenuto Cellini*, there are also eight syllables (nine if the mute "e" at the end is counted) that Berlioz convincingly set to the ascending part of the melody (Example 2-6). Due to the extra two words, Berlioz could not emphasize each word on a primary note of the melody as he did in the Resurrexit. Yet, the text setting works very well because almost all of the words have only one syllable and therefore each word can be clearly articulated.

EXAMPLE 2-6, Benvenuto Cellini, mm. 1023-1036



In the Resurrexit, Berlioz had used the second half of the melody to repeat the words from the first half, and he used the same technique here in the opera. Had Berlioz followed the exact text setting from the Resurrexit, the lyrical quality of in the descending portion of the melody could have been maintained. Yet, Berlioz restated each word and then repeated three of them ("ah! cher canon") again, thus saturating the music with too much text. The result is that the descending part of the line becomes a tonguetying series of words. Although it is clear that Berlioz, by adding a measure to the

climax, was emphasizing the dramatic element of the melody, he compromised its denouement through the unnecessary repetition of words.

As in the Resurrexit, Berlioz repeated the "Cujus" line in several different keys. Though the melody remains the same, the accompaniment changes almost every time the melody is stated. In the Resurrexit and in the first and second statements in the opera, the winds and first violins double the unison choir parts while the strings repeat a quarter note pattern throughout (Example 2-7).

EXAMPLE 2-7, Messe solennelle, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 168-175



When the melody returns for the third time, this time in E major, the string accompaniment alternates between quarter notes and triplets, which is the only major change Berlioz made to the second statement of the melody. In its final statement, the melody has returned to its original key from the Resurrexit. Ironically, it is when the original line comes back that Berlioz eliminated all traces of the original accompaniment and completely rewrote the string parts (Example 2-8).

The new string parts add much more interest to the musical texture. As the vocal melody (which also doubled by the woodwinds) ascends, the first and second violins chromatically descend, creating contrary motion above the violas, cellos, and basses, which alternate between D and C-sharp. These long notes in the lower strings give the section the temporary impression of being in D minor, although only a few measures later Berlioz re-established E-flat. This is one of the more significant changes that Berlioz has made to the section borrowed from the Resurrexit.

When this section occurred in the Resurrexit, the string parts do little other than to play B-flat chords, establishing the dominant of E-flat. The section in Example 2-8 is the first time that Berlioz departs from this dominant harmony, and sets the accompaniment (D minor) and the melody (B-flat major) in their related major and minor keys. This example, with all the chromatic color he added, clearly demonstrates that Berlioz's use of harmony was becoming more adventurous and that he no longer had to rely on the blocked chords, rhythmically or harmonically, when borrowing this section.

EXAMPLE 2-8, Benvenuto Cellini, mm. 1089-1092



The end of Act I in *Benvenuto Cellini* represents Berlioz's largest-scale borrowing from the Resurrexit. Both borrowed sections demonstrate a great deal of planning and reworking on Berlioz's behalf. Overall, Berlioz was not interested in completely changing the sections from the Resurrexit, but instead retouched details. In some cases, he had to add notes to a melody to facilitate better text setting, and in others, he changed the orchestration by adding instruments either to the texture or by rewriting entire parts.

It is clear that Berlioz did not take his self-borrowing lightly and that he carefully planned this borrowing. The borrowed selections from the Resurrexit were placed appropriately within the opera, yet he intentionally left many of the parts from the Resurrexit in their original form. It is interesting that Berlioz left most of the principal melodic lines untouched, while he exerted his creative energy on changing the orchestration. This further supports the hypothesis that Berlioz's concept of melody had changed little in the years between the composition of the *Messe solennelle* and *Benvenuto Cellini*.

## Grand messe des morts

During the time Berlioz was completing his first opera, *Benvenuto Cellini*, he was also in the process of composing his *Requiem*, the *Grande messe des morts* (1837).

Adrien de Gasparin, Minister of the Interior who wanted to "re-establish the prestige of sacred music," commissioned Berlioz to compose a *Requiem* in the spring of 1837. The scheduled date for the first performance was 28 July of that year, and Berlioz spent the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Macdonald, *Berlioz*, 33.

entire summer composing the work. He was extremely excited about the prospect of composing a *Requiem*, noting,

The text of the *Requiem* was a quarry that I had long coveted. Now at last it was mine, and I fell upon it with a kind of fury. My brain felt as though it would explode with the pressure of ideas. The outline of one piece was barely sketched before the next formed itself in my mind. It was impossible to write fast enough, and I devised a sort of musical shorthand which was a great help to me, especially in the Lacrymosa. <sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, the performance was cancelled for bureaucratic reasons, even though Berlioz had already paid for copying the parts and had hired the musicians.

After many pleas from Berlioz, an occasion to perform the *Requiem* was found. French general, Charles Denys de Damrémont, had been killed in the war in Algeria, and Berlioz's *Requiem* would be appropriate for his memorial services. The first performance occurred on 5 December 1837 at the Church of the Invalides and was a great success. Hugh Macdonald notes that this was a particularly important experience for Berlioz because it signified for him the blessing of official approval and wider knowledge in Parisian circles of how powerful his music was.<sup>17</sup>

Though inspired by the prospect of composing a *Requiem*, Berlioz was not a religious man, and, to him, the *Requiem*'s religious significance meant much less than its dramatic potential.<sup>18</sup> He envisioned the work to follow in the dramatic tradition of Gossec and his teacher Le Sueur, and therefore composed it with a "grand spatial design."<sup>19</sup> One of the most fitting examples of Berlioz's grand design is in the brass

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires*, trans. David Cairns (W.W. Norton: New York, 1975), 228.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Macdonald, Berlioz, 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid.

fanfare, in which four brass orchestras are placed in each corner of the church for acoustical effect, and bass solo in the Dies Irae movement.

The *Requiem* was Berlioz's second large scale-religious composition (the first being the *Messe solennelle*), and it represented a significant stylistic departure from his first Mass. The *Requiem* involved more counterpoint than Berlioz had used thus far in his career. However, Berlioz, who was in constant disagreement with Luigi Cherubini (Director of the Conservatoire and one of the leading contrapuntists in France at the time), made a conscious effort not to model the *Requiem*'s contrapuntal sections after Cherubini's works.<sup>20</sup>

For years Berlioz had been experimenting with a musical setting of the Last Judgment, which first found its way into the Resurrexit from the *Messe solennelle* and then into his incomplete project *Le Dernier Jour du Monde*. The *Requiem* gave Berlioz the opportunity he had been searching for and there ensued Berlioz's most definitive effort to bring his image of the apocalypse to life.

It is not surprising, then, that Berlioz would turn to the roots of the project, the brass fanfare and bass soloists from the Resurrexit, as a basis for composition. As stated above, Berlioz had used material following the fanfare, "Et iterum venturus," as the basis for his self-borrowing in *Benvenuto Cellini*, which he composed in the two years prior to the *Requiem*. Berlioz's use of the two connecting sections from the Resurrexit is hardly coincidental. Rather, it seems logical that Berlioz first returned to a manuscript of the Resurrexit and chose to use part of it for the end of Act I of *Benvenuto Cellini* between

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid.

1834 and 1836. When he began composition of the *Requiem* in 1837, the Resurrexit's brass fanfare and bass soloists would naturally have provided Berlioz the initial impulse to return to the Resurrexit. It would not be logical to use the same music in works composed within two years of each other, though. One finds, then, that the section he used in the *Requiem* ends exactly one beat before the section he borrowed for *Benvenuto Cellini* began. Therefore, no overlapping in the borrowing occurred.

The style and techniques Berlioz used in the self-borrowing in the *Requiem* were much different than in *Benvenuto Cellini*. Whereas Berlioz inserted large sections from the Resurrexit into the opera, the borrowed material forms only the framework for the corresponding section in the *Requiem*.

The Resurrexit's brass fanfare was very dramatic for Berlioz when he was a young composer. As he matured, however, he clearly envisioned the fanfare on a much grander scale, with more musicians and individual parts added to the texture. In the Resurrexit, the brass section includes four horns, four trumpets, and three trombones. The fanfare is sixteen measures long, and ends as the bass soloists enter. In the *Requiem*, however, Berlioz scored the fanfare for thirty-eight brass players separated into four groups. He noted in the score, "These four small brass wind-orchestras must be placed separately at the four corners of the grand group of choral singers and instrumentalists. Only the French horns remain in the grand orchestra."<sup>21</sup> Hugh Macdonald states,

Berlioz's vision of the apocalypse was here overwhelmingly realized, though it is not merely loudness that these huge forces generate, they combine with the vast space that the work needs to immerse the listener in sound coming from no particular direction, as if he were himself the very source of the music. It thus compels involvement and response.<sup>22</sup>

The Resurrexit's fanfare involves four primary parts. The entrances of the first three lines are staggered in two-measure increments, beginning with the E-flat horns and trumpets, then the F horns and trumpets, and finally the trombones. The horns in G round out the texture by entering one measure after the trombones (Example 2-9).

Overall, the primary rhythmic features are dotted rhythms and thirty-second notes.

Jürgen Kinderman, Foreword, Hector Berlioz, Grand messe des morts, Hector Berlioz New Edition of the Complete Works, vol. 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter: 1978), ix.
 Macdonald, Berlioz, 112.

Cos (Fa)

(So)

(Mi)

(Trend)

(Fa)

EXAMPLE 2-9, Messe solennelle, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 76-83

One can detect the outline of the original fanfare from the Resurrexit in the *Requiem*'s four brass choirs. In fact, three of the four parts from the Resurrexit's fanfare form the basis for the four orchestral scores (Example 2-10).<sup>23</sup> For example, the Resurrexit's E-flat trumpet and horn parts become the *Requiem*'s third brass choir, while the F trumpet and horn part from the Resurrexit becomes the first brass choir in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Berlioz actually designates the term "orchestra" in the score for each of the brass groups. They will be called "brass choirs" here to avoid confusion.

Requiem. The trombone part is then absorbed into the second brass choir's primary melody. The only part from the Resurrexit that Berlioz did not use in the Requiem was the G horn part, which was essentially a doubling of the F horn and trumpet part. In the Requiem, Berlioz then composed an entirely new line to replace the unused fourth part. Berlioz delayed the last entrance by two extra beats in the Requiem.

The expansion of the fanfare demonstrates another area in which Berlioz had matured—his concept and use of rhythm. He was actually a pioneer in his use of rhythm, especially in terms of harmonic rhythm and alternation between duple and triple divisions of the beat. The fanfare in the *Requiem* in comparison with the Resurrexit demonstrates just how far Berlioz's concept of rhythm had developed in the twelve years separating the two compositions. For example, while the first three brass choirs have thirty-second notes, sixteenth notes, or syncopation, the fourth brass choir employs two type of triple division of the beat. The trumpets have a sextuple division of the beat, while the trombones and ophecleide play triplets.

EXAMPLE 2-10, Grand messe des morts, Dies Irae, mm. 141-148

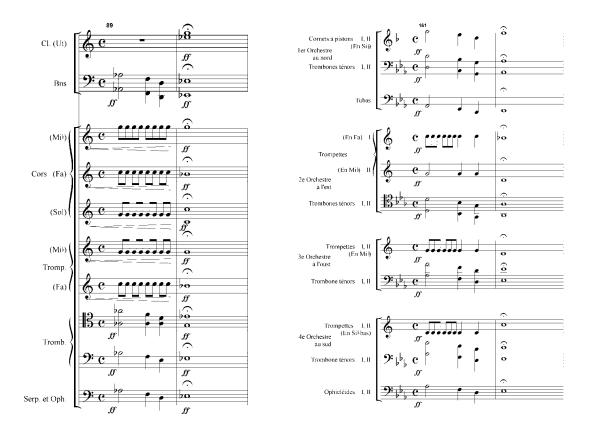


The similarity between the Resurrexit and *Requiem* fanfares then ends for awhile. Berlioz from this point moved on to expand the material. He returned to the Resurrexit, however, to close the fanfare.

The last two measures from the *Requiem*'s fanfare clearly originated in the Resurrexit. Though the rhythms leading into the E-flat chord are different, the pitches in each group remain the same, as does the instrumentation (Examples 2-11 and 2-12).

EXAMPLE 2-11, *Messe solennelle*, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 89-90

EXAMPLE 2-12, *Grand messe des morts*, Dies Irae, mm. 161-162



Upon the completion of the fanfare, Berlioz continued to use the bass soloists from the Resurrexit. In the 1825 original version of the Resurrexit, Berlioz strictly followed the Credo text when setting the bass solo. As early as 1827, Berlioz seemed to

be intrigued with the Dies Irae text. In the revisions Berlioz made to the Resurrexit that year, he actually added words from the Dies Irae ("Tuba mirum spargens sonum, coget omnes ante thronum.")/("A trumpet, spreading a wondrous sound, will drive mankind before the throne."). Thus, he used the revised bass soloists from the Resurrexit in the *Requiem*. In fact, Berlioz used the exact notes from the 1827 revision and reset the text of the Dies Irae to them.

Although different from the examples in *Benvenuto Cellini*, Berlioz's text setting was just as convincing in the *Requiem*. In the Resurrexit, Berlioz emphasized the beginning of each word, never allowing the beginning of a word to begin in the middle of a beat. By carefully spacing the words and the notes, Berlioz achieved a dramatic and effective scenario for the announcement of the Last Judgment (Example 2-13).

EXAMPLE 2-13, Messe solennelle, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 91-106



When re-setting this melody to the Dies Irae text, Berlioz used the same style of text setting as found in the Resurrexit. Although he did not change the notes, Berlioz altered individual rhythms as needed to suit the text, while maintaining the overall rhythmic structure.

At the beginning of the solo ("Tuba mirum spargens sonum"), the overall note values remain the same as they were in the Resurrexit although internal rhythms within

phrases change (Example 2-14). When examining the differences between the text, the reason why Berlioz changed many of the rhythms becomes clear. The Resurrexit text, "Et iterum venturus," consists of mostly three-syllable words. Each time a word such as this appeared, Berlioz used a dotted rhythm, stressing whatever syllable should receive the most emphasis. In the Dies Irae text, however, each word has two syllables.

Although the number of syllables to set to the melody remains the same (eight), the use of dotted rhythms is no longer the most effective way to set the text. Berlioz must have realized that the original rhythms would not have been as successful with the new text, and therefore changed the music. He accomplished this alteration by dividing the words so that almost every syllable shared the same rhythmic value.

EXAMPLE 2-14, Grand messe des morts, mm. 163-171



Berlioz's self-borrowing in the *Requiem* was much different from that in *Benvenuto Cellini*. While he left most of the Resurrexit material unchanged in the opera, Berlioz now used the Resurrexit as a point of departure from which he could take ideas and expand them as much as his imagination would allow. It is clear that the brass fanfare from the Resurrexit formed the basic outline for the corresponding section in the *Requiem*. As with *Benvenuto Cellini*, Berlioz set the fanfare in the same key, time signature, and tempo as it was it the Resurrexit. He also began the fanfare on the same notes and rhythms as in the Resurrexit. Once he had begun to develop the original

material, though, Berlioz began to compose completely different music, thus enlarging the fanfare by several measures.

The borrowing in the *Requiem* represents a new independence on Berlioz's part from the original Resurrexit material. While he did not attempt to abandon the primary ideas, he allowed himself to unleash his imagination much more than in *Benvenuto Cellini*. Though he was working on the two compositions during the same period, Berlioz seemed to exercise much more musical maturity in the borrowing in the *Requiem* than he did in his opera. One might suspect that Berlioz had long been contemplating the manner in which he would set the Dies Irae if he had the chance, and that this instance of self-borrowing was the fruit of years of contemplation.

#### Te Deum

Unlike the *Messe solennelle* or *Grand messe des morts*, Berlioz's *Te Deum* (1849) was not commissioned or composed for a specific occasion. Berlioz's ideas for the *Te Deum* most likely originated with his desire to honor the memory of Napoleon Bonaparte. The composer had been planning a military symphony since 1832 during his time in Italy. Three years later, Berlioz was contemplating a larger project entitled *Fête musicale funèbre à la mémoire des hommes illustres de la France*. Though neither of the projects was completed, Denis McCaldin notes that it is likely that the *Te Deum* grew out of a desire to use the residue of grandiose ideas from these and possibly other early pieces.<sup>24</sup>

Berlioz first mentioned the *Te Deum* in a letter dated 23 February 1849, stating, "At the moment I am working on a grand *Te Deum* for two choirs, orchestra, and

obbligato organ. It is taking definite shape. I have about two more months' work and there will be seven large movements." Though Berlioz did not discuss this work earlier than 1849, he listed the *Te Deum* as an "unpublished work" in his Labitte Catalogue, which was printed in the libretto of *La damnation de Faust* (1846). Hugh Macdonald suggests that Berlioz had not composed the *Te Deum* when he compiled the catalogue but only had the idea for it in mind.<sup>25</sup>

Although Berlioz completed the *Te Deum* in 1849, five years passed before its first performance. During this period, he persistently attempted to have the work performed. In fact, Berlioz vied for a performance of the *Te Deum* at the church of St.-Eustache in 1850, London in 1851, Notre-Dame in 1851, at Napoleon III's coronation in 1852, and his wedding in 1853, all in vain. Finally an opportunity arose, and Berlioz conducted the first performance of his *Te Deum* on 30 April 1855 at the church of St.-Eustache as part of the opening ceremonies for the Exposition de l'Industrie. Over nine hundred performers took part in the performance (six hundred of them comprised a children's choir), and a large audience attended the concert. Berlioz himself was extremely pleased with the performance and wrote in a letter to Liszt:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Denis McCaldin, Foreword, Hector Berlioz, *Te Deum, Hector Berlioz New Edition of the Complete Works*, vol. 10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), viii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Hugh Macdonald, "The Labitte Catalogue—Some Unexplored Evidence," *Berlioz Society Bulletin*, 1xix, (October 1970).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> McCaldin, ix. Location for the London performance is not listed.

I am writing three lines to tell you that the *Te Deum* was performed today with the most magnificent precision. It was colossal, Babylonian, Ninivite. The splendid church was full. The children sang like a single artist, and the artists as....I hoped and as I had the right to expect them to after the careful way I chose them. Not a mistake, not a hesitation...

My God, if only you had been there. I assure you that it's a tremendous work; the Judex surpasses all the enormities of which I have been guilty up to now. I am writing to you first, exhausted though I am, because I know very well that there is no other man in Europe who is as interested in this advent as you. Yes, the *Requiem* has a brother, a brother who came into the world with teeth, like Richard III (but without the hump), and I assure you that today he has bitten the public to the very heart.<sup>27</sup>

The press was equally impressed with the *Te Deum*. The critic Maurice Bourges reported on the concert and stated,

This *Te Deum* was to have been part of a composition conceived on a colossal scale, half epic, half dramatic and intended to celebrate the military glory of the First consul. It was originally called Le Retour de la campagne d'Italie. A the moment when General Bonaparte enters the arches of the cathedral the *Te Deum* bursts forth from all directions, standards are lowered, drums beat, guns sound, and bells ring out in great peals. This explains the altogether warlike aspect of this work.<sup>28</sup>

Though the work was unquestionably successful, this concert was the only complete performance of the work during Berlioz's lifetime.

Only one case of self-borrowing occurs in the *Te Deum*. In the Christe rex gloriae movement, Berlioz reused a large portion of the Resurrexit, "Et ascendit en coelum" ("And ascended into Heaven"), from the 1827 revision of the *Messe solennelle*. This case of borrowing is particularly appropriate since the texts from the Resurrexit and *Te Deum* reflect the same mood (Figure 5).

FIGURE 2-1, Similarity in the Texts of the Resurrexit and the *Te Deum* 

Resurrexit		Te Deum	
Et ascendit in coelum,	And ascended into Heaven,	Tu ad dexteram	Thou sittest at the
		Dei sedes	right hand of God,
Sedet ad dexteram	And sitteth at the right hand	in gloria Patris.	In the glory of the Father.
Patris.	of the Father		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid. Taken from *Revue et gazette musicale*, 6 May 1855, 137.

Berlioz relied heavily on the material from the Resurrexit when he was composing this section of the *Te Deum*. He did make a few adjustments to the material in the *Te Deum*, which are, for the most part, cosmetic. In the Resurrexit, Berlioz set the "Et ascendit in coelum" section in the key of G major, in which the melody was centered on a tonic chord. In the borrowing, however, the key signature for the corresponding section is D major, although the melody is clearly in the dominant, A, and is based on a first-inversion triad. These two factors will become important when discussing the changes Berlioz made to the melody from the Resurrexit.

The section that Berlioz borrowed from the Resurrexit was exactly forty-four measures long, yet he compressed it into only twenty-three measures in the *Te Deum*, almost exactly half of the original length. The tempo of the Resurrexit is Allegro vivace with the whole note = 72 beats per minute. In this section, the primary accompaniment is a series of broken quarter note chords in the strings (Example 2-15).

EXAMPLE 2-15, Messe solennelle, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 37-42



When Berlioz borrowed this material for the *Te Deum*, he chose to place it in the middle of the Christe rex gloriae movement. This meant that he had to fit the borrowed section into the context of the music in terms of tempo and key. Since the tempo of the movement is half note = 76 beats per minute, Berlioz could easily compress the material

so that what had occupied one measure of the Resurrexit now takes only one beat in the *Te Deum* (Example 2-16).

EXAMPLE 2-16, Te Deum, Christe rex gloriae, mm. 96-98



Although the alterations make the music look much different on the page, it sounds nearly the same in performance. In fact, the *Te Deum* is slightly faster than the Resurrexit, although the tempo difference would be almost imperceptible in performance. Though this type of borrowing was very easy for Berlioz to do, the compression reduced the material in half.

Despite the rhythmic compression in the *Te Deum*, Berlioz left the melody exactly as it was in the Resurrexit with only one exception, which occurs at the very beginning of the borrowed section. From the study of Berlioz's music and Brian Primmer's findings, it has been established that Berlioz composed his melodies around a strong harmonic foundation, usually the triad<sup>29</sup>. The same is true for this section of the Resurrexit and the borrowing in the *Te Deum*. In the Resurrexit, "Et ascendit in coelum" is based on a rising G-major root-position triad, and proceeds in an arch shape (Example 2-17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See the section from Chapter 1, entitled The Music of the Resurrexit.

EXAMPLE 2-17, Messe solennelle, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 34-48



Though this melody in the *Te Deum* follows the same principles, Berlioz set it to a first inversion A-major chord in the upper voices of the chorus, while leaving it in root position for the bass parts. The two parts are different until the third measure, when they begin to move together in octaves (Example 2-18).

EXAMPLE 2-18, Te Deum, Christe rex gloriae, mm. 99-102



Although the top line has the basic contours of the melody, it is clear that Berlioz placed the actual melody in the bass section, and thus extended the melody a third as it rose to a C-sharp. It is intriguing that Berlioz changed the melody in such a manner, as he altered another melody from the Resurrexit exactly as he did with this one. In fact, it was in the 1827 revision of the Resurrexit that Berlioz extended the "Cujus regni non erit finis" melody a third, just as he did with this "Et ascendit" melody. It seems that whenever Berlioz had the chance to expand one of these arch-shaped triadic melodies he almost always extended the range up a third to create a more soaring quality.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> See the section from Chapter 1, entitled The Revised Resurrexit.

In many ways, the text setting of this melody in the Resurrexit and *Te Deum* is similar. The first few measures of the borrowed section provide an excellent example of Berlioz's text setting. In both works, Berlioz set the text syllabically, and in each case, he was working with seven syllables. Each example had four words: two with one syllable, one with three syllables and one word with two syllables. In the Resurrexit, only one word preceded "ascendit," and Berlioz chose to give the last syllable of "ascendit" the least value (Example 2-17). For the *Te Deum*, however, Berlioz had to set two words, "Tu ad," before the "dexteram," which displaced the accents. (Example 2-18). He then used a dotted rhythm for "dexteram," thereby giving the middle syllable the least value so that the next word, "Dei," would fit into the contour of the accents and the line as established in the Resurrexit.

Overall, the orchestration for the *Te Deum* is much the same as it was in the Resurrexit. In the Resurrexit, the strings had quarter-note broken chords that moved in contrary motion, outlining the harmony, while the choir sang the melody in unison and was doubled by the winds (Example 2-19).



EXAMPLE 2-19, Messe solennelle, Revised Resurrexit, mm. 34-37

Much of the same orchestration occurs in the *Te Deum*. While the winds and brass double the first choir, the pizzicato strings move in eighth-note broken chords. The only new addition to the texture is the second choir, which, in this section, provides a harmonic foundation under the first choir's melodic line. In addition, the double basses have a new part, which is in unison with the basses from the second choir (Example 2-20). This added part contributes another feature to the overall texture, while the E-sharp resolving to the F-sharp in measure 102 adds some chromatic color to the predominantly diatonic harmony. This is not something that Berlioz did in either version of the *Messe* 

*solennelle*, and thus demonstrates that he was willing to use more chromaticism in his later works.

EXAMPLE 2-20, Te Deum, Christe rex gloriae, mm. 100-102



Berlioz's self-borrowing in the *Te Deum* provides the one of the most straightforward examples of his extracting a section from the Resurrexit and placing it

into a subsequent work with very little effort. Out of the three examples of self-borrowings, Berlioz altered the material that went into the *Te Deum* less than he did in the *Requiem* or *Benvenuto Cellini*. In fact, one can hardly call this an example of borrowing, because it is, for the most part, an insertion. The reasons for Berlioz selecting this particular portion of the Resurrexit for borrowing in the *Te Deum* are apparent, as both texts depict Christ sitting at the right hand of the Father.

Though the *Te Deum* was the last work in which Berlioz borrowed from the Resurrexit, it is ironic that it was the composition in which he exercised the least effort during the borrowing process. Unlike the *Requiem* or *Messe solennelle*, Berlioz did not compose the *Te Deum* on a commission but of his own volition. Consequently, this borrowing was most likely due to the similarities in the music and text. Therefore, the example of self-borrowing in the *Te Deum* presents perhaps the clearest scenario in which Berlioz must have believed that the corresponding section of the Resurrexit was too valuable not to be used again.

## Conclusion

The Resurrexit from the *Messe solennelle* provides the student of Berlioz with the rare opportunity to trace the music from its roots in his first publicly performed work through its subsequent borrowings in *Benvenuto Cellini*, the *Grand messe des morts*, and the *Te Deum*. The idea of self-borrowing is not unique to Berlioz's compositional process, and it was in fact a technique that he employed in many of his works. Yet, the Resurrexit presents a unique case in Berlioz's self-borrowings because he consistently borrowed large passages, mostly left untouched, every time he reused the music in

another work. Consequently, a comparison of the various forms of the Resurrexit in detail is a viable way in which to gain a better understanding of Berlioz as both composer and self-borrower.

One of the most interesting factors in this examination is that portions of the Resurrexit can be found in all of Berlioz's large-scale sacred works, demonstrating that, in most cases, he tried to keep borrowed material within the same overall context. The only exception to his pattern of borrowing occurred in his first opera, *Benvenuto Cellini*, in which he took the Resurrexit out of its sacred context and placed it in the Carnival scene at the end of Act 1.

In all three instances of borrowing, Berlioz relied heavily on the material from the Resurrexit; in fact, his borrowing presents a pattern of always recycling large sections of the Resurrexit. It is significant that in each case of self-borrowing, Berlioz reused both the melody and the accompaniment. Moreover, he never separated melody from accompaniment, or vice versa. It is clear, then, that to Berlioz, an idea was not just melody or harmony but a combination of the two, which could not exist as independent entities.

Though Berlioz continued to develop musically throughout his career, one facet of his borrowing never changed. In the twenty-five years between the time when he composed the Resurrexit and the time when he last reused it in the *Te Deum*, Berlioz did not find it necessary to change the melodies from the Resurrexit, although he did add to one in *Benvenuto Cellini*. In fact, the only time he truly altered the melodies occurred in 1827, when he revised the entire *Messe solennelle* for its second performance, which was

the version from which he took the subsequent borrowings. The primary differences that occur between borrowings, then, occur in the areas of text setting, harmony, and orchestration.

Whereas the melodies remained the mainstays in Berlioz's borrowing, the composer often felt free to add harmonic color to the accompaniments or experiment with the orchestration. Since the *Messe solennelle* was scored for a smaller orchestra, Berlioz expanded the orchestration in all subsequent borrowings of the Resurrexit. The most obvious example of this occurred in the *Grand messe des morts*, in which Berlioz enlarged the relatively simple brass fanfare from the Resurrexit into a fanfare for four brass choirs. In most cases, however, Berlioz's changes to the orchestration included the designation of more instruments to create a fuller texture. He also often reassigned different parts to different instruments.

In these examples of self-borrowing, it does not appear that Berlioz merely inserted a section of music from an old composition when he was under the pressure of a deadline. Instead, each borrowing demonstrates a carefully thought-out plan in which Berlioz prepared the preceding and following sections so that the borrowing would fit seamlessly in the musical context of the work. In fact, Berlioz usually designated the same key, time signature, and tempo of the Resurrexit. If he did make changes in tempo or time signature, the borrowed sections are very similar to the Resurrexit. An example of this occurred when he altered the tempo and time signature proportionally in the *Te Deum*.

Berlioz, the self-borrower, then emerges as a composer who believed in the value of one of his earliest large-scale compositions. He knew, however, that an independent Mass movement such as the Resurrexit would be of little use, and the Resurrexit therefore found its way into subsequent works. It is clear that Berlioz tried to retain as much of the Resurrexit as possible in terms of both content and context.

It is difficult to trace Berlioz's development as a composer in these borrowings because each one is so different in nature, yet one can assess the borrowings in terms of what they tell us about what Berlioz himself valued in his music. He obviously developed his sense of melody very early in his career, enough to leave melodies unaltered when he used them in other works. Yet, other factors such as his concepts of harmony and orchestration, changed and developed as he developed as musician, and it is in those areas where Berlioz modified the Resurrexit the most. The borrowings from the Resurrexit do not signify momentous developments in Berlioz's compositional career; rather they demonstrate the subtle changes that occurred as he continually borrowed from this movement throughout his career. Perhaps it is in these subtleties that we can learn the most about Berlioz from Berlioz.

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