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UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Greeley, Colorado

The Graduate School

A TOPICAL AND NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF
NAPOLEONIC ERA BATTLE PIECES

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Music

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College of Visual and Performing Arts
Department of Music
Music History and Literature

May 2019

This Thesis by: Robert J. Gassner

Entitled: A Topical and Narrative Analysis of Napoleonic Era Battle Pieces.

has been approved as meeting the requirement for the Degree of Master of Music in the College of Visual and Performing Arts, Department of Music, Program of Music History and Literature

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ABSTRACT

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The instrumental battle piece, as it was at the time of the Napoleonic Wars, was a genre largely reserved for amateur musicians. However, within these commercial compositions there was a distinct topical language. Analysis of multiple pieces that discuss the same battle, but come from composers of different nations reveals that composers of different nationalities often changed the narrative of the battle being portrayed in order to paint their country—or adopted country—in a better light. This can be seen in a comparison of compositions based on the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo, by composers writing for English and Germanic audiences. This was likely due to composers pandering to their intended audience; a composition intended for publication in England is going to see increased sales if the English forces play a prominent and positive role in the narrative.

Daniel Steibelt is the exception to these general traits; His battle pieces are written for his own use as a concert pianist, not the commercial music market. As such, the topical language employed by Steibelt in his compositions is on a whole more creative than other composers, and elements of theater are often incorporated, as are popular songs and opera arias. In addition, Steibelt

traveled regularly during the time period, and thus his output includes compositions written from both the pro-French and anti-French perspectives.

Though the genre of the battle piece is often critically panned, examples of the topical techniques developed in these pieces can be found in more respected orchestral works that depict battle from the mid to late Romantic era, including works by Tchaikovsky and Liszt. Thus, musicologists and others who write off the compositions of Steibelt and his contemporaries are ignoring a part of the repertoire that clearly influenced these later canonical works.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER

INTRODUCTION: The INSTRUMENTAL BATTLE PIECE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.....	1
I. NARRATIVE AND NATIONALITY IN THE INSTRUMENTAL BATTLE PIECE.....	4
Trafalgar: Lord Nelson's Great Victory.....	4
Waterloo: The End of the 100 Days.....	29
II. DANIEL STEIBELT: A TOPICAL ANALYSIS.....	46
III. CONCLUSIONS.....	71
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	78

INTRODUCTION

THE INSTRUMENTAL BATTLE PIECE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

The Napoleonic wars were a time of chaos and turmoil in Europe, as monarchies fell before the French armies, and the continent's other traditional powers, fearful of what the spreading of revolutionary ideals would do in their own nations, scrambled to preserve the remaining monarchies and defeat France. The turmoil of this period was also a source of inspiration for a number of composers, who wrote music about the heroes, battles, victories, and tragedies that took place. These compositions were often battle pieces, a genre dating back at least to the Renaissance.¹ The Napoleonic Wars perhaps saw the pinnacle of compositional technique, output, and popularity for the genre, as there seems to have been more battle pieces composed during this period than at any other time in the history of western music. The rise of the battle piece during this time period was not only due to patriotic fervor, Napoleonic

¹ William Byrd's keyboard piece *The Battell* from *My Ladye Nevells Booke* (1591) is just one example of battle music from the Renaissance era. The genre continued into the Baroque, where Claudio Monteverdi often used a style known as *stile concitato* to depict battles, and can be seen in his eighth book of Madrigals: *Madrigali guerrieri e amorosi*. There were, of course, other battle pieces written during the Renaissance and Baroque, but these are perhaps the most well known works. Byrd's *Battell* is especially similar to the piano fantasia-based battle pieces of the Napoleonic Wars.

propaganda, or a desire for music about current events, but was also the result of market forces.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the growing middle class was increasingly able to afford luxuries such as music lessons, especially for their children. This created a growing need for compositions that were technically suitable for the amateur or student pianist, but were also captivating enough to both allow the performer to appear talented, and to entertain both performer and audience alike. Two compositions in particular took the piano fantasia and applied it to the battle piece, creating popular and influential works: Both *The Battle of Rossbach*, and *The Battle of Prague* (1788), attributed to the Bohemian František Kočvara, proved to be popular with the emerging market of amateur musicians, and commercially successful for publishing companies. These pieces, following the model of older battle pieces, such as William Byrd's *Battell*, were broken up into several sections, each depicting a different episode of battle, and often given a caption so that performer and audience alike would be aware of what was being depicted.²

Piano was perhaps the most common vehicle for the battle piece, although not every piece written for the Napoleonic Wars was a piano fantasia. Among those composed for instruments other than the piano: Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg*, perhaps the most famous battle piece from the time period. While the instrumentation and genre of the compositions varied, one element

² Though *The Battle of Rossbach* is an exception, and has no captions.

that was quite common in battle pieces of the Napoleonic Wars was national narrative. The pieces predictably fall into pro-Napoleon and anti-Napoleon categories. pro-Napoleon compositions almost always depict French victories, while anti-Napoleon compositions usually depict battles in which the French were defeated. Often, the narrative of the composition does not accurately reflect the historical realities of the battle: in many cases, the national origin of the composer, or of the intended audience, can often explain the differences between the compositional narrative and the historical record.

CHAPTER I
NARRATIVE AND NATIONALITY IN THE
INSTRUMENTAL BATTLE PIECE

Trafalgar: Lord Nelson's Great Victory

The Battle of Trafalgar was a naval battle that took place in the fall of 1805, and would live on in English history, commemorated in Trafalgar Square in London. The British forces, under Vice Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson, had (after months of dogged pursuit) finally found and defeated the combined Franco-Spanish navy, commanded by Admiral Pierre-Charles Villeneuve although Nelson was mortally wounded in the battle. The ultimate result of the battle was a status quo that remained for many years: French forces would be unmatched on the continent, but the British Navy was the supreme power at sea, and kept Napoleon's ambitions limited to European shores.

Nelson's heroic victory and subsequent death was a source of compositional inspiration for at least two composers: Johann Baptist Wanhal and Johann Bernhard Logier. Wanhal (1739–1813), of Czech origin,³ was a Viennese contemporary of Mozart and Haydn. His piano fantasy on Trafalgar is titled *Seeschlacht bei Trafalgar und Tod des Admirals Nelson* (The Naval Battle of

³ As such, several spellings of his name exist, including Vanhal and Van Hall. A modern Czech version also exists: Jan Křtitel Vaňhal. Despite the confusion, and his Czech origins, Wanhal himself was known to prefer the Germanic version of his name. See: Paul R. Bryan, "Vanhal, Johann Baptist" *Oxford Music Online* (Last Updated 2001, accessed on 27 December, 2018).

Trafalgar and the Death of Admiral Nelson), much of the early portion of the piece is reminiscent of *Roszbach* and *Prague*: Following an introduction, is presented. The march retains trumpet call aspects in its opening motif, by using notes from the overtone series, much like a bugle. The middle section of the march quickly modulates through multiple keys on the way to an arrival at G major, where the narrative of the piece begins with “Das Signal zur Schlacht” (the signal to the battle). This depiction consists of a descending figure outlining a G major chord in the right hand—another potential trumpet call figure—over a pedal in the left hand that could be reminiscent of large cannon fire or an ominous bell, which is notated as “bom.” The march can be seen in Example 1.

Example 1. Wanzhal, *The Battle of Trafalgar and the Death of Nelson*, “March.”

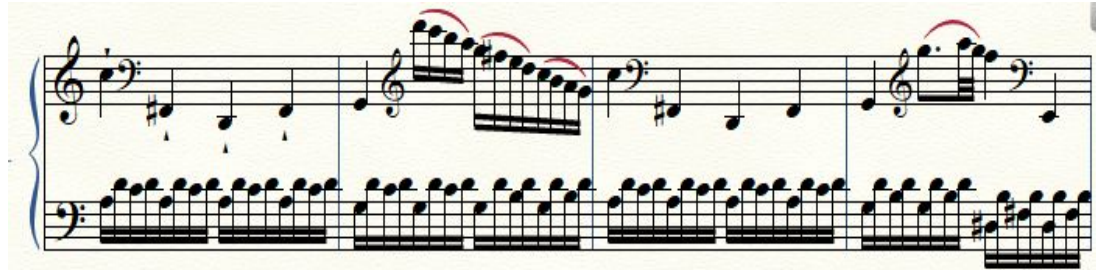
The battle begins in earnest during “Die Schlacht fängt an” (the battle begins). Wanzhal’s battle rhetoric includes not only the use of march topics and

fanfares, but also the rapid motion and scalar passages commonly seen in such pieces. These figures continue in “Die Schlacht wird heftiger” (The battle intensifies), shown in Example 2.

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Die Schlacht wird heftiger" from Franz Liszt's "Seeschlacht bei Trafalgar". The score is presented in four systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The music is characterized by a driving, rhythmic bass line and a melodic line in the right hand that features rapid motion and scalar passages. The score includes dynamic markings such as *cresc.*, *ff*, and *sf*. The title "Die Schlacht wird heftiger" is written above the third system. The score shows a progression of intensity through rapid motion and scalar passages.

Example 2. Wanhal, *Seeschlacht bei Trafalgar*. “The battle begins” - “The battle intensifies” m 1–10.

Half notes are used to portray canon fire, while the rapid passages in the right hand portray bullets flying by the heads of the sailors. This is shown in example 3.



Example 3. Wanhal, *Seeschlacht bei Trafalgar*. “the battle intensifies,” m. 18–21.

Lord Nelson first enters the narrative during “Nelson ist von einer Kugel Verwundet, und wird bedauert” (Nelson is wounded by a bullet, and is lamented), a section that features a soft melody in the left hand, accompanied on the off-beat, by the right hand. When the right hand returns to melodic material, it is marked as a slow recitative under the caption “Nelson empfiehlt sich” (Nelson gives his final commands).⁴ This section alternates between slow sections marked as recitative, a clear depiction of a dying Nelson giving his final orders, and a faster allegro section, and ends with the caption “Und stirbt in wahrer Schlacht” (and [Nelson] dies in battle). Nelson’s demise is shown in example 4.

⁴ The French translation of this depiction is “*les dernières Paroles du Nelson*” (Nelson’s last words)

Nelson ist von einer Kugel Verwundet und wird bedauert

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. It consists of four systems of music. The first system is a piano introduction in 4/4 time, featuring a steady eighth-note bass line and a treble line with chords. The second system continues the piano introduction, with a tempo change from *Lento* to *Allegro*. The third system begins with a vocal line (soprano) marked *Recit.* and *p*, with the lyrics 'Nelson am emmpfehl sich'. The piano accompaniment is sparse. The fourth system continues the vocal line, with lyrics 'und stirbt in wahrender Schlacht', marked *p* and *Recit.*, and ends with a piano accompaniment marked *pp*.

Example 4. Wanhal, *Ibid.* “Nelson is wounded by a bullet” - “the battle continues” m. 1–5.

Upon Nelson’s death, battle motifs return during “Die Schlacht wird fortgesetzt” (The battle continues) and a reprise of “Die Schlacht wird heftiger.”⁵ In Wanhal’s narrative, Villeneuve appears to realize the battle is lost, and attempts to retreat in the section captioned “Der Feind fängt an sieh [sic] zu

⁵ The reprise is in the caption only. Musically both of these sections employ stereotypical battle rhetoric, but the material of the first does not appear in the second.

retten aber unfamft” (the enemy attempts to save themselves), only to be pursued by the British Navy in “Die Verfolgung der Feinde” (the pursuit of the enemies). Finally, the battle won, the section captioned “Vittoria” (Victory) celebrates with an ascending arpeggiated motif in the left hand that gives rhythmic energy to block chords in the right hand, a victory fanfare, seen in Example 5.

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. It is divided into four systems. The first system has a treble clef with a *sf* dynamic and a bass clef with a *f* dynamic. The second system has a treble clef with a *f* dynamic and a bass clef with a *sf* dynamic. The third system has a treble clef with the word "Vittoria" and a *ff* dynamic, and a bass clef with a *ff* dynamic. The fourth system has a treble clef and a bass clef. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Example 5. Wanhal, *Seeschlacht bei Trafalgar*. "The Pursuit of the Enemies," m. 5–13 - "Victory."

With the battle over, the piece begins to wind down. Nelson's funeral is depicted in "Marsch bey der Begräbnis des Nelson" (Nelson's Funeral March), which ends with a musical reprise of the same trumpet call that sounded just

before the battle began. The piece finally ends with a rondo based on musical battle rhetoric, appropriately captioned “Militarisches Rondo o Finale.”

Wanhal’s narrative is scant on actual details of the battle, and instead emphasizes the British victory and Nelson’s death. This is not particularly surprising when Wanhal’s location—Vienna—is taken into account. Trafalgar, on the Spanish coast, was far away, and the Viennese public would have likely been more concerned with the fact that Napoleon had been dealt a major defeat than with the actual details of the battle. In addition, Nelson was known in Austria, having met previously met Haydn on a visit, and his heroic sacrifice would have added to the frenzy surrounding the French defeat. Up to this point, French forces may have seemed invincible, and by defeating them, and losing his life, Nelson provided hope to the rest of Europe and instantly became a major hero of the Napoleonic Wars. All of this is to illustrate why a battle piece composed on the Battle of Trafalgar, even in far-away Vienna, capital of a country that did not take part in the battle, would have been appealed to the amateur musicians of the Austrian middle class.

Though also originally from Central Europe, Johann Bernhard Logier (1777–1846) was living in an area that was more closely affected by the Battle of Trafalgar; this is reflected in the way he composed his narrative. Logier was born in Kassel, which at the time of the Battle of Trafalgar was part of the Electorate of Hesse (now part of Germany). At the age of 14, Logier moved to England and

began playing in military bands.⁶ At the time of the battle, he was living in Dublin, where he held a variety of musical positions; with the exception of a three-year stint in Berlin, he remained in Dublin for the rest of his life. His composition on Trafalgar, *The Battle of Trafalgar, A Grand Characteristic Piece Composed for a Military Band and Dedicated with High Respect to Admiral Lord Collingwood*, is set for military band and is dedicated to Vice Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood, 1st Baron Collingwood (1748–1810), who was a colleague of Nelson, often serving as Nelson's second in command.

Having been involved in military bands for over a decade by the time of Trafalgar, Logier made the interesting decision to forgo the standard piano fantasia, and instead compose his battle piece for a military band. The piece is scored for E-flat trumpet, two E-flat horns, two flutes, four clarinets, two bassoons, bass horn, and bass drum. In the preface to his composition, Logier notes,

When I first conceived the idea of writing a battle piece, I [had] clearly foreseen the difficulty it would be attended with, a number of compositions of this description having already been written by very able masters, yet I don't recollect to have seen one published for a full military band, nevertheless, it required some care and circumspection not to be thought guilty of Plagiarism—how far I have succeeded in this and other respects, I leave to the public to judge.⁷

⁶ Logier is best known as the inventor of the Chiroplast, a pedagogical device intended to help guide the hands while playing the piano, however he held a variety of musical positions, and was an active composer.

⁷ Johann Bernhard Logier, preface to *The Battle of Trafalgar: A Grand Characteristic Piece Composed for a Military Band and Dedicated With High Respect to Admiral Lord Collingwood*, London, 1806, 4.

Logier's piece begins with the caption "The Commanders reflecting on the events of the Battle." Logier writes of this section in the preface:

This movement ought to be well conceived, because it represents the thoughts of Commanders before an Action; the first nine Barrs represent the Combined Fleet, these Barrs [sic] are picturesque of fear; the five following represent the English Fleet, and imitate confidence; the rest in the Combined Fleet, represent despondency and fear.⁸

In this description Logier references something that was commonplace in English battle pieces at the time: a stark contrast between the British and French. The French are often depicted as causing fear, or being scared, and their appearances often feature chromaticism. British forces on the other hand are often depicted with a quiet confidence, and often much more musically consonant than passages depicting their opponents. Further examples of this pattern can be seen in compositions such as Neville Butler Challoner's *Battle of Waterloo*, which will be discussed in further detail below. In addition, Logier uses chromatics in sighing figures to portray the anxiety the commanders may have felt going into the battle, see Example 6.

⁸ Ibid, 4.

The image shows a musical score for a military band, specifically measures 5 through 8. The staves are arranged vertically from top to bottom: E♭ Cnt., Hn., Fl., B♭ Cl. 1, B♭ Cl. 2, Bsn., B.H., and B. Dr. The key signature has one flat (B♭). The score includes various musical notations such as rests, notes, and dynamic markings. The E♭ Cnt. and Hn. parts have a measure rest in measure 5 and play a note in measure 6. The Fl. part has a measure rest in measure 5 and plays a melodic line in measure 6. The B♭ Cl. 1, B♭ Cl. 2, and Bsn. parts play a rhythmic accompaniment starting in measure 5, marked with a forte (*fz*) dynamic. The B.H. part has a measure rest in measure 5 and plays a melodic line in measure 6. The B. Dr. part has a measure rest in measure 5 and plays a low note in measure 6, marked with a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic. A fermata is placed over the final measure (measure 8) of the B. Dr. part.

Example 6. Logier, *The Battle of Trafalgar: A Grand Characteristic Piece Composed for a Military Band and Dedicated With High Respect to Admiral Lord Collingwood*. “The Commanders reflecting on the events of the Battle,” m. 5–8

Nelson enters Logier’s narrative with “Lord Nelson’s Grand March,” a 24-measure section that (unsurprisingly) uses a march topic. The section is further divided into two sub-sections, an eight-measure introduction and a sixteen-measure section, each of which are repeated. Trumpet fanfares, dotted rhythms, staccato, and many other stylistic elements of a march topic are present. The beginning of the march is seen in Example 7.

Lord Nelson's Grand March

The image displays a musical score for the first three measures of "Lord Nelson's Grand March." The score is arranged in a grand staff format with seven individual staves. From top to bottom, the staves are labeled: Eb Cnt. (E-flat Contrabass), Hn. (Horn), Fl. (Flute), 3> Cl. 1 (Three Clarinets in B-flat), 3> Cl. 2 (Three Clarinets in B-flat), Bsn. (Bassoon), and B.H. (Bass Drum). The Eb Cnt. staff begins with a whole note rest, followed by a quarter note G2, and then a quarter rest. The Hn. staff starts with a whole note chord of G2, B2, and D3, followed by a half note chord of G2 and B2, and then a quarter note G2. The Fl., 3> Cl. 1, and 3> Cl. 2 staves all begin with a whole note chord of G2, B2, and D3, followed by a series of eighth notes in a rhythmic pattern. The Bsn. staff starts with a whole note chord of G2, B2, and D3, followed by a half note chord of G2 and B2, and then a quarter note G2. The B.H. staff begins with a whole note chord of G2, B2, and D3, followed by a half note chord of G2 and B2, and then a quarter note G2. Dynamics include *ff* (fortissimo) and *Stac.* (staccato) markings throughout the score.

Example 7. Logier, *Ibid.* "Lord Nelson's Grand March," m. 1—3.

While the caption "Nelson's Grand March" does not itself have any explicit narrative implications, it is not difficult to imagine a grandiose march being played in the background as heroic military figure makes his debut in a play, opera, or—for modern audiences—a cartoon or movie. While not explicitly stating what Nelson was doing, the presence of a "Grand March" implies that a character of great importance is present, in this case the titular Lord Nelson.

When the battle finally begins on page 10 of the score, it is the English fleet that begins the attack. This is historically accurate; Nelson had been hunting the combined fleet for some time, while the combined fleet, though numerically greater (33 ships compared to the British fleet of 27), was not looking for battle. Their orders were to avoid combat, rendezvous with another smaller fleet, and then make for Naples to assist in a campaign taking place there. The caption Logier provides for the beginning of the battle is “The English Fleet moves to the Attack,” in which the 1st and 2nd clarinet repeat a rapid ascending and descending melodic line, depicting the rising and falling of the waves. Shortly thereafter, in “General Attack,” Logier takes advantage of the instruments of the military band to create more complicated battle rhetoric than what is often seen in keyboard-based battle pieces. In keyboard music, battle rhetoric is generally limited to two layers, one in each hand. It is usually portrayed as either rapid sixteenth-note figures in one hand and a melody in the other, or by both hands presenting rapid motivic figures. While Logier does, at times, limit the texture of his battle sections to just two layers, he begins “General Attack” with four, as seen in Example 8. The 1st and 2nd clarinets, having just finished their depiction of waves, are given a brief respite and join the horns, 2nd bassoon, bass horn, and bass drum in the foundational layer: an alternation between dotted-quarter notes and eighth notes. The flutes are given a layer of busy sixteenth-note figures that increases tension through the interval of a minor second, while the 3rd and 4th clarinets, along with 1st bassoon, provide the requisite running

sixteenth note figures. Above it all the trumpets play a fanfare. This whole section is marked fortississimo. The music is quite accessible and idiomatic for the instruments, and as mentioned earlier, offered some slight reprieve after more difficult passages. Logier wrote of this section in the preface to the composition: “Although in appearance difficult to the Performers, yet it will be found that all the passages are well disposed for the Fingers. This the Author has always considered as an object very necessary to cause a good effect.”

General Attack
Allegro
Furioso

Duo tromba

The musical score consists of eight staves. The top staff is for E♭ Cornet, followed by Horn in E♭, Flute, Clarinet in B♭ 1, Clarinet in B♭ 2, Bassoon, Bass Horn, and Bass Drums. The music is in common time (C) and marked 'Allegro Furioso' with a 'fff' dynamic. The score is divided into two sections: 'General Attack' and 'Duo tromba'. The 'General Attack' section features a complex texture with multiple instruments playing active parts. The 'Duo tromba' section features a simplified texture with only the two trombones playing.

Example 8. Logier, *Battle of Trafalgar*. "General Attack," m. 1–7".

The battle lasts for some time, during which the texture varies from the 4 layers seen at the beginning of Example 8, to the small number of textures seen at the end of the example. At the height of the battle, the music suddenly stops at an implied grand pause. No caption is provided for 28 measures after the pause,

and while the music is clearly less intense, the battle rhetoric can still be found. What were sixteenth-note runs are now given as eighth notes, and fanfares, while still present, are shorter. Though no caption is provided, and the grand pause seems a strange inclusion, perhaps a waning of intensity. A possible explanation is found in the next narrative caption, which sees “the enemy” flee, pursued by the British. However, their attempted retreat was unsuccessful, and the battle continued. As the battle continues, Logier portrays “Bullets flying” and “The Enemy attempt to board,” as seen in Example 9.

Example 9. Logier, *Battle of Trafalgar*. “And are pursued,” m. 27–29 - “The Enemy attempt to board,” m. 1–2.

Logier’s narrative includes a major turning point in the battle, which he captions “The Spanish Admiral makes his escape.” Federico Gravina (1756–1806), was the Spanish Commander at Trafalgar, though technically subordinate to Villeneuve and the French Navy. Seriously wounded, and viewing British victory as inevitable, Gravina withdrew what remained of the Spanish Navy.⁹ Logier depicts this with a descending chromatic line that begins in the

⁹ Gravina was actually promoted for this action, though he ultimately succumbed to the wounds he sustained during the battle, and died in May of the following year. Gravina had previously fought against the French during the Revolutionary Wars, taking part in the Battle of Toulouse.

clarinets, but is ultimately passed to the bassoons and the bass horn. See Example 10.

necessarily an enthusiastic ally of the French (He supposedly called Nelson a hero while on his deathbed), and that he was well respected by both the British and French alike.

Clarinet 1
 Clarinet 2
 Bassoon 1
 Bassoon 2
 Bass Horn
 Bass Drums

B♭ Cl. 1
 B♭ Cl. 2
 Bsn. 1
 Bsn. 2
 B.H.

Example 10. Logier, *Battle of Trafalgar*. “The Spanish Admiral makes his escape,” m. 1—8.

Gravina’s escape provides some dynamic contrast to the piece, which has been almost exclusively forte or louder until that caption. The dynamic likely

portrays Gravina as sneaking away from the battle, hoping to be unnoticed. Another section that sharply contrasts the normally loud volume is “Lord Nelson is wounded,” where the dynamic drops down to pianissimo. The battle is seemingly forgotten by those around the British commander, as a somber melody, marked *con espressivo*, is sounded in octaves by the 1st and 3rd clarinets, while chromatic ascending and descending lines can be found in the other clarinets and bassoons. The high brass are absent, and the bass horn, which doesn’t enter until the serious nature of the injury is well established, simply doubles the 2nd bassoon. Nevertheless, even if the focus is on the wounded Nelson, Logier doesn’t allow the battle to fully die away, as after only 10 measures of this mournful melody, the dynamics revert to forte, and the brass re-enter. The battle is still being fought, see example 11.

The image shows a musical score for the scene "Lord Nelson is wounded" from Logier's *Battle of Trafalgar*. The score is divided into two systems. The first system includes staves for High Brass, Flute, Clarinet 1, Clarinet 2, Bassoon, and Bass Horn. The second system includes staves for Brass, Flute, Clarinet 1, Clarinet 2, Bassoon, and Bass Horn. Dynamics include *pp*, *p*, *con espr.*, and *f*.

Example 11. Logier, *Battle of Trafalgar*. "Lord Nelson is wounded," m. 2—12.

After a few measures reminding the audience of the battle, the dynamics return to pianissimo, and a seemingly strangely-placed fermata interrupts a clarinet melody. Almost immediately after the fermata, the caption "He is DYING!"

[sic]" appears, along with both a *rallentando* and *diminuendo*. Further, the 1st and 2nd clarinet parts play an eighth-note figure that appears similar to an *alla breve* accompanied figure from a tragic *opera seria*. The implied narrative then is Nelson being examined by William Beatty, the surgeon aboard Nelson's flagship, the HMS *Victory*. The fermata is perhaps the examination, or a pause as Beatty came to grips with the reality of the situation himself, prior to informing the others gathered around Nelson. Even though Nelson died over three hours after first being examined by Beatty, Logier's narrative places his final breaths shortly thereafter, in a measure marked *pianississimo*. Again, the brass are not present, and the woodwinds play on beat one and three only, the dying breaths of a great British hero. Immediately after this measure, the caption "Enemy striking their colours" appears. "Striking the colors" is when a ship lowers its national flag, a sign of surrender. The volume, which had been *pianississimo* just the measure before, is immediately brought to *fortissimo*, and the bassoons and bass horn play a descending melodic line representing the flag being brought down the mast, as seen in Example 12.

He is DYING!

Comet

Horn

Flute

Clarinet 1

Clarinet 2

Bassoon

Bass Horn

*Ritardando
dim.*

ppp

ppp

Enemy Striking their Colours.

Cnt.

Hn.

Fl.

Cl. 1

Cl. 2

Bsn.

B.H.

f

ff

ff

ff

ff

ff

The image shows two pages of a musical score. The first page is titled 'He is DYING!' and features staves for Comet, Horn, Flute, Clarinet 1, Clarinet 2, Bassoon, and Bass Horn. The Flute, Clarinet 1, and Bassoon parts are active, with the Flute and Clarinet 1 playing a melodic line and the Bassoon providing a bass line. The Flute and Clarinet 1 parts are marked with a *ppp* dynamic. The Flute part includes a *Ritardando dim.* marking. The second page is titled 'Enemy Striking their Colours.' and features staves for Cnt., Hn., Fl., Cl. 1, Cl. 2, Bsn., and B.H. The Cnt., Hn., Fl., Cl. 1, Cl. 2, Bsn., and B.H. parts are active, with the Cnt., Hn., Fl., Cl. 1, Cl. 2, Bsn., and B.H. parts playing a rhythmic pattern. The Cnt., Hn., Fl., Cl. 1, Cl. 2, Bsn., and B.H. parts are marked with a *f* dynamic.

Example 12. Logier, *Ibid.* "He is DYING!" - "Enemy Striking Their Colors," m. 1-4.

Logier's post-battle narrative has much in common with similar sections in other such works. He begins with the obligatory "Cries of the Wounded" section, he includes national songs, and ends with a larger musical form that has no narrative function, though the choice of a Rondo does seem to deviate from the theme and variation form that is often seen in such circumstances. Like the variations found in the piano fantasias, this is a rather pleasant and relaxed section that requires little skill to understand, making it attractive to both performers and listeners. However, Logier includes an extra section, one that seems to be unique to his composition: the reaction of the losing commanders. Specifically, Villeneuve and the other high ranking French officers are highlighted in "The French Admirals rage after losing [sic] the Battle." This triple meter section is marked *furioso*, beginning at a fortissimo dynamic, although the dynamics change throughout this musical depiction of a tirade. Of this section, Logier wrote: "To be played in an agitated, boisterous manner."¹⁰ The beginning of this section is seen in Example 13.

¹⁰ Logier, *Battle of Trafalgar Preface*, 4.

The French Admirals rage after loseing the Battle

The image shows a musical score for a band. The title is "The French Admirals rage after loseing the Battle". The score is for seven instruments: Cornet, Horn, Flute, Clarinet 1, Clarinet 2, Bassoon, and Bass Horn. The music is in 3/4 time and features a forte (ff) dynamic. The score shows the first six measures of the piece. The Flute part is mostly silent, indicated by a long rest. The other instruments have various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Example 13. Logier, *Ibid.* “The French Admirals rage after loseing [sic] the battle,” m. 1–6.

After this section, Logier indicates that “Rule Britannia” should be played, but he doesn’t actually include the music. Instead, the score features a single empty measure stack between two double bar lines, with the text: “After this movement Rule Britannia is to be played, & as most bands have that popular Air, the Author has not thought it necessary to set it.”¹¹ Logier, himself a veteran of the British military band system that was to be his customer base for this piece, was most likely quite safe in assuming this. Bands would simply insert whatever arrangement of “Rule Britannia” they had in their repertoire. After the sailors to celebrate their important and hard-fought victory with “Rule Britannia,” word

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

spreads through the fleet of the death of their commander, leading to the final narrative caption of Logier's piece: "The Fleet lamenting the Death of their Beloved Commander." As with previous depictions of the wounded and dying Nelson, Logier leaves the primary melodic focus to the clarinet section, while the trumpets, flutes, and bass drum are absent, throughout the section. At the same time, Logier notes in the preface that some percussion should be present.¹² As mentioned above, this is followed by a section marked "Rondo Allegro" that, while full of battle rhetoric, has no explicit narrative function.

Logier's narrative is much more focused on military details than that of Wanhal, and the reasons for this are not difficult to extrapolate. Logier was a military man himself, and while he also wrote an arrangement of his piece for the piano, his intended ensemble was a military band. Furthermore, the piece was dedicated to Nelson's second in command, and was intended for performance by British forces. Despite the important victory, one that would have normally caused great celebration, since it all but assured that Napoleon would never be able to touch British shores, Nelson was such a revered figure that many were uncertain if they should celebrate or not. King George III reportedly broke into tears upon hearing the news of both the victory, and of Nelson's death, and is believed to have said "we have lost more than we have gained."¹³ Similarly, *The Times* wrote: "We do not know whether we should mourn or rejoice. The country

¹² "This movement must be played extremely slow, in the stile of a dirge, accompanied by the roll of a a pair of Kette [timpani] or muffled Drums; within six Barrs of the end, the time and sound to be gradually diminished [sic]." Ibid, 4.

¹³ Christopher Hibbert, *Nelson: A Personal History*. (London: Penguin Biography, 1995), 381.

has gained the most splendid and decisive Victory that has ever graced the naval annals of England; but it has been dearly purchased.”¹⁴ Logier’s battle piece includes almost no celebratory music: “Rule Britannia” is played, but then the music immediately moves to a somber section about Nelson’s death, perhaps reflecting the mixed feelings of the British public.

In addition, Logier was writing from a nation that had been directly involved in the battle, and for whom the victory represented safety: The French no longer possessed the naval might to attempt to cross the English Channel. A national hero had lost his life, one who is still lionized to this day, even if more modern accounts of his zealous support of slavery in the Caribbean has somewhat diminished his aura. By contrast, Wanhal was writing from far away Vienna. The victory certainly would have been welcome news, but it did not have the immediate significance for the Viennese public that it did for the British. This is reflected in the much greater detail Logier gave to his narrative than Wanhal.

Waterloo: The End of the 100 Days.

The Battle of Waterloo marked the end of the Napoleonic Wars; after Napoleon’s defeat, he was eventually exiled to St. Helena, a remote island in the middle of the Atlantic. Given the general exuberance that comes with peace, it is not surprising that several composers wrote music to commemorate this historic battle.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Neville Butler Challoner (1784– after 1835) was involved in a variety of musical activities during his life. He sang first tenor in the the UK premier of Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, was the harpist at the Italian Opera in London, was a violin teacher, published reviews of music, conducted, and composed.¹⁵ His piece, *Battle of Waterloo*, begins with an introduction titled “Lord Wellington in front of Waterloo,” Which likely evokes a painting of Wellington standing in front of the battlefield. This section is a short binary piece that serves as an introduction for what is to come.¹⁶

The first actual programmatic element is “Arrival of the Brunswickers and Hanoverians,” depicting the forces of a smaller German state, the Kingdom of Hanover, which had just recently been established afrom lands Napoleon had conquered; these lands had previously been part of the Electorate of Brunswick-Lüneberg, more commonly known as the Electorate of Hanover. The English Royal family at the time were members of the House of Hanover, and King George III and ruled over both the British Empire and the smaller German state in a Personal Union. After his death in 1820, the personal union would continue until 1837, when Queen Victoria ascended to the British throne, but was not able to claim the Hanoverian Crown, which could not be held by a woman.

¹⁵ Alice Lawson Aber-Count, “Challoner, Neville Butler,” *Oxford Music Online* (Last updated 2001, accessed 31 October, 2018)
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/om-o-9781561592630-e-0000005374>.

¹⁶ Halina Goldberg and Jonathan Bellman, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: Descriptive Piano Fantasias*. (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., Forthcoming).

Following the portrayal of Wellington, Challoner depicts these Provincial German forces with a dance-like triple-meter Allegretto that alternates between eighth-note and sixteenth-note passages with a Ländler topic, as seen in Example 14.



Example 14. Challoner, *Battle of Waterloo*, “Arrival of the Brunswickers and Hanoverians.” m. 1—8.

The gathering of the allied forces continues with the arrival of scottish troops in “The Gallant Highlanders Arrive.” This section is described as a “Scotch March” in which Challoner balances the march topic and Scottish style, such as “Scotch Snap” rhythms and prominently placed drones, meant to imitate bagpipes (see example 15).

The Gallant Highlanders Arrive

Scotch March

Example 15. Challoner, *Ibid*, “The Gallant Highlanders Arrive.”

Challoner uses the Scotch Snap rhythm to portray bagpipes in the right hand, while finger pedaling creates a drone in the left. One can imagine highlanders, perhaps even clad in kilts, marching into Waterloo to the sound of bagpipes and drums. The second half of this section includes fewer Scotch Snaps, though they are present. Challoner also creates more forward motion through the running eighth notes, allowing him to include short drones, indicated by the half notes on beats one and three in the left hand.

Challoner depicts the gathered allied forces them with an ornamented, quasi-operatic song-like section that features ornamented notes and

performance directions such as *Andante Espressivo* and *Dolce*. This section, titled “The Allies express their unity and Friendship,” has some propaganda value, especially when the sweetness of how the allied forces are portrayed is contrasted with Challoner’s later depiction of Napoleon. Challoner also continues to make reference to the Scottish forces, including two Scotch Snap rhythms just before the forte in Example 16.

The Allies express their unity and Friendship
Andante Espressivo

The musical score consists of two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system shows the beginning of the piece in 4/4 time, marked 'Andante Espressivo' and 'f'. The melody in the right hand features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a steady bass line. The second system continues the piece, featuring a 'Scotch Snap' rhythm (a dotted quarter note followed by an eighth note) and a 'forte' (f) dynamic marking. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

Example 16. Challoner, *Waterloo*, “the Allies express their unity and Friendship.” m. 1—7.

Next, Challoner presents depictions of the commanders, beginning with the British Commander, the Duke of Wellington, the very same Duke after whom Beethoven’s famous battle piece is named. Challoner’s caption not only lets the performer or audience know who is being depicted, but what is going on in the preparations for the battle: “The Duke of Wellington occupies Hougoumont, and

the Farm of La Haye Sainte, where he afterwards meets Prince Blucher.”

Hougoumont, a chateau, was a critically important position during the battle, and it saw some of the fiercest and bloodiest fighting. Eventually, Napoleon ordered his artillery to destroy it, but despite the fact that all but the Chapel was destroyed, its reinforcement by both Hanoverian and Scottish forces allowed the British forces in the area held out. The location was strategically important, both Wellington and Napoleon directed significant manpower and resources to it throughout the battle.

The Duke’s initial occupation of the area prior to the battle is depicted with a stately *Maestoso* march topic titled “British March,” shown in Example 17.

Example 17. Challenor, *Waterloo*, “The Duke of Wellington occupies Hougoumont and the Farm La Haye Sainte, where he afterwards meets Prince Blucher [sic].” m, 1–4.

The next section, “Bonaparte Collects his Troops on the Heights in front of the British,” is chromatic, as if Napoleon is scrambling to get his forces arranged, in extreme contrast to the song-like depiction of the allied forces.

The image shows two systems of musical notation. The first system is labeled 'Piano' and features a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody consists of eighth notes, starting on G4 and moving upwards in a stepwise fashion, with some notes beamed together. The bass line consists of eighth notes, starting on G3 and moving upwards in a stepwise fashion. The second system is labeled 'Pno.' and features a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody consists of eighth notes, starting on G4 and moving upwards in a stepwise fashion, with some notes beamed together. The bass line consists of eighth notes, starting on G3 and moving upwards in a stepwise fashion. The notation includes various musical symbols such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

Example 18. Challoner, *Waterloo*. “Bonaparte collects his Troops on the Heights in front of the British,” m.1—9.

As seen in Example 18, Challoner uses constantly moving eighth-notes in ever higher registers to create a sense of unease. The section depicts the French forces as hurried and anxious, further drawing a contrast between the friendly allied troops and the unnerved French forces. Clearly, Challoner intends to play up the idea of Napoleon as some sort of bogeyman, consistent with how he was portrayed in British propaganda at the time. This concludes the first half of the piece, which largely served as an introduction to the various forces. Challoner has also drawn a distinct line between the “good guys,” as depicted by the “Allies” coming together in friendship, and the “bad guys” as depicted by the chaotic gathering of Napoleon's troops.¹⁷

The second half of the piece represents the battle and its aftermath. Challoner continues to favor the British forces, depicting them as joyous and

¹⁷ While it would be more accurate to use the term “Coalition Forces,” “Allies” is the term Challoner himself used to refer to the nations aligned against Napoleon, as mentioned earlier.

resolute at the outset of battle, when many were likely nervous and scared. After “The Joy & Resolution of the British Soldiers,” the Battle begins.

In some battle compositions, the battle is split into several distinct episodes. Challoner writes one long battle section, with various captions and depictions throughout. It begins fairly generically, with running sixteenth-note lines marked “The engagement commences” over whole-note octave drones noted as “cannons.” This is standard battle writing for the time. However, after this generic beginning, Challoner begins to depict specific events. Three times French forces are notated as charging the allies, and each time they are repulsed. Musically (and probably intentionally), very little changes from one charge to the next. One of these charges is seen in Example 19.

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. The top system is titled "The French Charge The Allies" and features a bass clef with a treble clef above it. The music consists of a running sixteenth-note line in the bass clef and a whole-note octave drone in the treble clef. The dynamic marking is *p*. The second system is titled "They are repulsed" and features a treble clef with a bass clef below it. The music consists of a running sixteenth-note line in the bass clef and a whole-note octave drone in the treble clef. The dynamic marking is *fz*. The score includes a *cresc.* marking and a measure number of 6.

Example 19. Challoner, *Waterloo*. “The French Charge the Allies” - They are repulsed.”

Here, Challoner again falls back on the contrast between the two sides, established during the first half of the piece. As seen in Example 19, the French are still portrayed with chromatics, but also with low notes, drawing on the old cliché of low pitches for evil and threat, a cliché that would continue to be used throughout the romantic period in pieces such as Liszt's *Hunnenschlacht*. The battle continues with "The British Assail the Enemy, and drive them from the heights" and "The English pursue the French," resulting in "Shouts of Victory among the British Troops."

When the battle is finally over, the celebrations begin. "Rule Britannia" is given its own section, followed by "The Victorious Allies offer thanks to Providence for their success," an *adagio* section that, after an ornamented introduction, would be slightly reminiscent of four-part vocal writing, if not for the syncopations. The obligatory representation of the wounded and dead is present, this time as "the disabled and wounded complain," followed by a 2/4 dance topic in the piece's finale, "The Happy News arrives in Town, General rejoicing."

Of note is the fact that, despite the crucial role they played in the actual victory, the only mention of the Prussians at all is in passing; before the battle begins, one of the captions states that Wellington and Blücher would meet after the battle, but in Challoner's narrative the Prussians play no part. This musical account of the battle overlooks key contributions made by not only the Prussians, but other coalition members as well. In fact, the only non-British troops mentioned by Challoner among the forces opposing Napoleon are the

Brunswickers and Hanoverians, peoples who were from a nation in a Personal Union with Great Britain, and thus subjects of the same king as the British forces.

Challoner's reasons for downplaying the role of the Prussian forces are perfectly clear: they are equal parts economic and nationalistic. Battle pieces were both popular and profitable. Challoner was likely hoping to make money off the sale of the piece, and thus in order to maximize his profit, he focused almost exclusively on the British. Rule Britannia would have been well known, but was not necessary to include in the piece. However, familiar tunes probably fed national pride, thus leading to increased sales. Because the British public wouldn't have wanted to play or hear a piece of music about Prussian soldiers, Challoner focuses almost exclusively on the British, drawing a stark contrast between them and their allies on the one hand, and the French enemy on the other.

Much like Challoner's composition, other battle pieces about Waterloo sought to present their nation as central to the battle. A fruitful comparison may be made with a piece by Johann Wilhelm Wilms (1772–1847), a German composer, but by the time of The Battle of Waterloo he had been in the Netherlands for over 20 years.¹⁸ His *Die Schlacht bei Waterloo* is also a piano fantasy, although a version for wind band also existed.¹⁹

Wilms' narrative is a very different from Challoner's, largely due to national identity. Challoner, an Englishman, focuses on the British forces, as well as those

¹⁸ Jan ten Bokum, "Wilms, Johann Wilhelm," *Oxford Music Online* (Last Updated 2001, accessed on 31 October, 2018)

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

German troops who were fighting under them according to their nation's personal union with the UK. Wilms, a German living in the Netherlands, focuses much more on the forces of General Blücher, the Prussian Commander, and the Prince of Orange, William II, crown prince of the newly proclaimed Dutch kingdom.

Like Hanover, the Netherlands had been conquered by Napoleon, who set up a client state there in 1795, the Batavian Republic. In 1806, it was transitioned to a monarchy, under the rule of Napoleon's brother. After Napoleon's initial exile, the Congress of Vienna liberated the Netherlands, establishing a Dutch monarchy in its place.²⁰ Wilms stayed in the Netherlands during this time. During the 100 Days, the brief period when Napoleon again became Emperor after escaping Elba, and many of the nations that had been restored by the Congress of Vienna joined Napoleon's principal enemies of Britain and Prussia in an alliance, the Netherlands among them.

Wilms's narrative starts with a blatantly fictitious event: "Die alliierten Armeen unter Wellington und Blücher ziehen sich zusammen" ("The Allied armies under Wellington and Blücher merge"). Wilms depicts this using a march topic, however as previously stated, while the two commanders were in contact with each other prior to the Battle, the bulk of the Prussian forces had not arrived by the time the battle began. In fact, a key element of the battle was the calculations both Napoleon and Wellington had to make about how much time

²⁰ It is worth remembering that prior to 1806, The Netherlands had republican governments of one form or another since 1581, though the Union of Utrecht, a treaty that declared the area to be a republic, was not recognized by Spain, the former overlords of the area, until 1648.

they had until the Prussian forces arrived, with Napoleon hoping to deal with the British as quickly as possible so that his troops would be able to turn around and fight the Prussians, after it became clear that the forces he had sent to delay the Prussian arrival had failed. When the Prussians did arrive, it proved to be the proverbial nail in Napoleon's coffin, but they would not have been present at the beginning of the battle. True, other allied armies did come together, but the Prussians were, for the most part, not there. Blücher was with his main forces, marching quickly in an attempt to arrive at the battle field as soon as possible. Beyond this initial bit of fantasy, there is nothing in Wilms's narrative that seems demonstrably false, although his emphasis on the Dutch and Prussian forces keeps his narrative away from some of the fiercest areas of fighting.

The next element of Wilms' narrative is the arrival of the French forces, which he represents with one of the most iconic songs from the French Revolution: "Ah, ça ira."²¹ Depicting various armies by using a national song or air was standard practice at the time, as Challoner and Logier had done with "Rule Britannia."²²

²¹ This is perhaps a bit ironic, given how many of the ideals of the Revolution Napoleon brushed aside during his days as emperor, however the Revolutionaries scared the European establishment just as much as the conquering armies of Napoleon.

²² "Rule Britannia" and "God Save The King" were the most common selections for depicting the British. For the French, it was usually "Marlborough March," because composers seemed to be hesitant to include songs associated with the French Revolution in their compositions. Wilms is thus an exception to the rule. Another example of using a revolutionary song is found in Daniel Steibelt's *The Conflagration of Moscow*, where he uses a minor mode version of "La Marseillaise."



Example 20. Wilms. *Die Schlacht bei Waterloo*. "The French forces under Napoleon advance." m.1–6.

After the arrival of the French forces, Wilms uses cliched battle piece sections: Generals giving orders (one section of this each for Wellington and Blücher) and trumpet and drum calls. Finally, the battle begins, and for 87 measures Wilms presents battle music with no narrative caption describing what is happening. When he does focus in on a specific narrative, it does not involve the British or French forces, or even the Prussians, which are present in Wilms' version of events, but the Dutch. The initial caption is "Der Prinz von Oranien ist verwundet" (the Prince of Orange is wounded); seen in Example 21, this section includes a brief fanfare rhythm followed by several measures featuring descending half-step motion. The descending minor second portrays the reaction of the Dutch forces on seeing their prince in such a state (see example 21).



Example 21 *Die Schlacht*. “The Prince of Orange is wounded.” m. 1–5.

Because he was based in the Netherlands, Wilms did not simply end the portrayal of his adopted country on a negative note. Instead, in his narrative, seeing their injured prince lights a metaphorical fire under the Dutch forces, as depicted in the section “Die Niederländische Armee rächt sich dafür am Feinde” (The Dutch army takes revenge on the enemy), shown in example 22.

Example 22. *Die Schlacht*. “The Dutch Army takes revenge upon the enemy.” m. 1–3.

The melody is heard in octaves in the left hand, portraying the supposed fury of the Dutch forces. It is debatable just how upset the Dutch forces would have been about the prince’s injury. Prior to 1815, the Netherlands had largely been a Republic dating back to the 1500s. In 1806, the Batavian Republic had

been turned into a monarchy under Napoleon's younger brother, but other than that brief stint, the nation had largely been a republic for over 200 years. The House of Orange had been powerful and influential during this time, but the idea that they were worthy of being monarchs over a people long accustomed to Republican government was fairly new, and thus it is entirely possible that the Dutch soldiers wouldn't have been as distressed as Wilms portrays them. Nevertheless, that would not have made for good propaganda, or led to good sales, so Wilms provides a heroic portrayal, potentially increasing sales within the Netherlands and bolstering pride in the newly formed kingdom—a propaganda message in support of the newly-formed monarchy.

After the Dutch take their revenge, we find an apparent contradiction in Wilms' narrative. In the beginning of the piece he depicts Blücher and the Prussian forces as already present at Waterloo, but in "Der General Bülow rückt von der Seite an" (General Bülow moves from the side) and "Bülow greift die Franzosen an" (Bülow attacks the French). Wilms accurately portrays the arrival of the Prussian Forces. General Wilhelm Freiherr von Bülow, the Graf (Count) of Dennewitz, commanded the Prussian IV corps, the first of the Prussian forces to arrive at Waterloo and engage the French. A small group of his forces were sent to link up with Wellington's left flank, while Napoleon was forced to deploy his reserves away from Wellington in order to stop the rest of Bülow's forces from joining with their allies. Essentially, the arrival of Bülow's forces, and eventually other Prussian corps, forced Napoleon to split his forces in an attempt to prevent

the Prussians and British from joining their lines together. This meant that neither ally was facing the full force of the French, which was a key factor in their victory.

Why Wilms contradicts himself in his narrative of the battle is not clear. It is possible that his earlier caption that depicts Blücher at Waterloo prior to the beginning of the battle was meant to simply portray that he and Wellington were in contact despite the fact that the Prussians had not yet arrived. It is more likely to have been an attempt to give the Prussian troops a more important role in the battle than they actually played.

After his two depictions of the Prussian forces, Wilms generally sticks to standard musical battle formulas for the remainder of the piece. The battle continues and, the French retreat, followed by “Cries of the wounded” section. The three allied nations all sing patriotic songs: for the British, “God Save the King;” for the Dutch, “Wilhelmus; and for the Prussians, “Der König rief, und Alle, Alle kamen” (The King called, and all came). After a celebratory section, Wilms concludes with a theme and variations section, as found in other battle pieces from the time period, most notably several compositions by fellow German Daniel Steibelt. Wilms uses what appears to be a Dutch song titled “’t Is voor uw geliefden Koning,” providing just two variations, one of which is specified as a Waltz.

Like Challoner, economic prospects and national identity probably play a major role in Wilms’ narrative. Much as Challoner would have sought publication in London, Wilms would have gone to places like Amsterdam, or Berlin, given the

emphasis on the Prussians. Like the English, customers in these markets would be more likely to purchase music that portrayed their own soldiers and included tunes that were familiar to them.

In these two compositions, national pride, propaganda, and economic benefit sculpt narrative. Neither composer accurately recounts the events of the battle, as each sought to downplay the contributions of other nations within the alliance, to the benefit of the nations they represented. Given the disrespect usually accorded such pieces today, it is important to point out the importance they played at the time; they were not just shaped by the events of battles, but by the aims and goals of the composers and the national markets they hoped to tap. By studying battle pieces, modern scholars can assess how contemporary narratives were being told, and how propaganda messages were distributed.

Despite the fame of the Battle of Waterloo, other compositions on the subject of lesser known Napoleonic battles are much better known today. Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg* and Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*, for example, are about much more obscure battles. This likely has to do with the fact that most of the pieces about Waterloo were written by composers that are not well remembered today, while Beethoven and Tchaikovsky remain titans of the canon. However, that does not mean that works by lesser known composers are less valuable. Compositions written during the Napoleonic wars more clearly reflect contemporary awareness and reactions, while later pieces like Tchaikovsky's are less reliable. Through the works examined in this chapter, ,

scholars can see how the British, Dutch, and others viewed Waterloo, a useful insight for both musicologists and historians of the period.

CHAPTER II

DANIEL STEIBELT: A TOPICAL ANALYSIS

After Beethoven and Tchaikovsky, perhaps the next most familiar composer of Napoleonic battle pieces was Wanhals. As demonstrated by his composition about the battle of Trafalgar, he wrote from an Anti-French perspective, as did most other composers. However, perhaps the most prolific composer of Napoleonic Battle Pieces was Daniel Steibelt (1765–1823), a German pianist and composer who traveled to various countries during the Napoleonic wars. Most, but not all, of Steibelt's battle compositions are pro-French. Today, Steibelt tends to be trivialized as a historical figure for a variety of reasons, but nonetheless his battle pieces employ a level of creativity not seen in most contemporary battle pieces.

Steibelt had a military background. His father had forced him to join the Prussian army at some point, but he deserted in 1784.²³ He had also displayed musical talent from a young age, having caught the attention of the Prussian Crown Prince, Friedrich Wilhelm II.²⁴ In 1790, Steibelt—who had some French ancestry, as his mother was from a Huguenot family that had previously fled France—moved to Paris, although it seems he had likely been to the city before,

²³ Frank Dawes, Karen A. Hagberg, and Stephan D. Lindeman, "Steibelt, Daniel" *Oxford Music Online* (Last Updated 2001, accessed on 25 October 2018)

²⁴ *Ibid.*

as he was already well known there.²⁵ While based in France, he traveled extensively, primarily to London, but visiting many other European capitals (often touring while war raged around him). By 1809, he was based in Russia, and remained there for the rest of his life.²⁶

Interestingly, Steibelt's compositional activities during the Napoleonic Wars played to both sides of the conflict. He had performed in Napoleon's presence multiple times; records indicate that he was involved in the performance of a French translation of Haydn's *Creation*, but do not specify his role in the performance, which took place in December of 1800, after Napoleon had become Consul (but prior to being crowned Emperor). In 1806, when his *La Fête de Mars*, written in honor of Napoleon's victory at the battle of Austerlitz, was performed in the Emperor's presence. In between, however, from 1802 to 1805, Steibelt spent three years in London, the seat of anti-Napoleon sentiment. In 1809, he moved to Russia, another center of anti-Napoleonic sentiment, remaining there for the rest of his life. Despite his time in anti-Napoleon capitals, much of his musical output during the revolution and the days of the French Empire was written from a pro-French perspective.

Chronologically, the first of these pro-French pieces is his work for piano, *Bataille de Nerwinde*, or to use its full title, *Bataille de Nerwinde: Pièce Militaire et Historique Arrangée pour le Piano et dédié à la mémoire du Maréchal de Luxembourg et aux armées royales Françaises par D. Steibelt*. Historically, two

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

different battles are known as “The Battle of Neerwinden.” One took place in 1693, and was a part of the Nine Years War; the other, took place in 1793. Both involved France.

It is likely that Steibelt based his piece on the first battle, to help energize the French People for the French Revolutionary Wars, of which the second battle was a part. One strong argument for this is the posthumous dedication to the Marshall of Luxembourg,²⁷ the commander of the French forces during the first Battle of Neerwinden, also known in English as the Battle of Landen.

The 1693 battle was a victory for the French; in fact, the Marshall was never defeated during his campaign in the Spanish Netherlands.²⁸ The Second Battle of Neerwinden, however, was not as successful. A part of the French Revolutionary Wars, the second Battle of Neerwinden took place in March of 1793 in the Netherlands, then under the control of Austria. The battle was a defeat for the French, one of several during the early conflict that is credited with helping the Jacobins seize power in France.²⁹

Although a firm date for this piece is difficult to establish, there are several clues. The dedication to a nobleman and members of the royal army mean that

²⁷ François Henri de Montmorency-Bouteville, Duke of Piney-Luxembourg (1628-1695) was a celebrated French General. A surviving anecdote claims that he sent home so many captured flags during his campaign in the Spanish Netherlands that he was nicknamed “The Upholsterer of Notre Dame.” See: *Encyclopedia Britannica*, “François-Henri de Montmorency-Bouteville, duc de Luxembourg,” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online* (Last Updated June 1998, Accessed 28 October 2018)

²⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, “War of the Grand Alliance,” *Britannica Online* (Last Updated 31 December 2016, Accessed on 28 October 2018)

²⁹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, “French Revolutionary Wars,” *Britannica Online* (Last updated 14 February 2017, accessed on 28 October 2018).

this composition was most likely published prior to the Jacobins' fully taking control of the French Nation. The Jacobins, a group of republicans under the leadership of Maximilien Robespierre, ruled from May 1793, just two months after the second battle of Neerwinden, until July 1794. They were fanatically anti-monarchist, and today their rule is often referred to as the "Reign of Terror," when thousands people were sent to the guillotine for royalist sentiments.

Steibelt would not have been able to get away with publishing this piece with that dedication during this time. Most likely, it was published prior to the second battle. The French forces fought several other battles in the Netherlands prior to Neerwinden, and it is plausible that Steibelt was attempting to capitalize on current events by publishing a piece invoking previous French victories in the region.

The piece includes performance directions relating to the creation of specific sound effects, such as a cannon. Written in the martial key of D Major, the piece cycles through several battle piece elements: a trumpet call, a march, and two fanfares. More specific battle elements follow, including a three part sequence in which the cannon is loaded, the fuse runs down, and the canon is fired. Other commonly used depictions include a section depicting the "complaints" of the wounded and dying.

One of his captions describes alarm bells ringing in the villages nearby.³⁰

Steibelt depicts this by having the right hand play broken octaves on A while the church bells toll in the distance, adding a sense of foreboding (see example 23).

Tocsin des Villages aux environs de la Bataille.

p

1 2 3 4 1 2 3

Ce coup doit être exprimé sourdement avec le plat de la main gauche, en touchant toutes les notes indistinctement dans les basses et conserver la main dessus pendant les quatre mesures. Même effect.

Example 23. Steibelt, *Bataille de Nerwinde*, “Tocsin des Villages aux environs de la Bataille.” m. 1-19.

This minor second, with the dominant being significantly louder than the flat six, depicts not only the ringing of the bells, but perhaps also the mental state of the villagers. To add to the growing chaos in the villages, in the last system of Example 23, Steibelt directs the performer to use flat of the left hand to strike indeterminate notes in the bass voice, and hold them throughout the four

³⁰ The caption reads: “Tocsin des villages aux environs de la Bataille,” as seen in Example 23.

measures.³¹ The right hand plays widening on the offbeats, to create a dark, bell-like resonance.

Another interesting effect is the loading and firing of the cannon. In “La Charge,” the back-and forth-between two pitches represents soldiers packing the gunpowder into the barrel. In the “Feu de file,” the fuse of the cannon is lit, and the ascending scalar passage of alternating notes between the left and right hands is both a musical and visual depiction of the fuse burning down into the barrel (see Example 24). “Coup de Canon” is simply an empty measure with a fermata, not even a rest is provided. This indicates the performer is free to represent the actual cannon fire however they wish, however standard practice for depicting cannon fire at this time, such low octaves in the left hand, as seen in previously discussed pieces, would have most likely been used. The whole sequence repeats itself twice, and the second version can be seen in Example 24.

Example 24. Steibelt, *Nerwinde*, “La Charge (2) - “Coup de Canon (2).”

³¹ “Ce coup doit être exprimé sourdement avec le plat de la main gauche, en touchant toutes les notes indistinctement dans les basses et conserver la main dessus pendant les quatre mesures.”

Rolling Cannon is an effect that Steibelt uses in multiple compositions. In Example 25, it is portrayed by quarter notes in the left hand against arpeggiated sixteenth note sextuplets in the right hand. The root of each arpeggio is left out, replaced by a rest. Rolling cannon fire was a technique where, instead of firing a single broadside in unison, cannons would fire at irregular intervals, whenever the gunners were ready. Musically, each beat is one cannon firing.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Canon roulant." from the work "Nerwinde" by Steibelt. The tempo is marked "Allegro". The score is written for piano and consists of two systems, each with two staves. The right hand (treble clef) plays a series of arpeggiated sixteenth-note sextuplets, where the root note of each arpeggio is replaced by a rest. The left hand (bass clef) plays a simple quarter-note bass line. The title "Canon roulant." is written between the staves of the first system.

Example 25, *Nerwinde*, "Canon roulant." m.1-4.

Interestingly, Steibelt makes no specific national allusions in this piece. Were it not for the title and dedication, it could just be a generic battle piece, with no musical identification of the actual combatants. This is, again, possibly due to the anti-royalist sentiments in Revolutionary France. Steibelt was already taking a risk dedicating a piece to a member of the nobility; he may not have wanted to go any further to depict royal armies or the noble Marshall.

Steibelt's next battle piece came four years later, in 1797. This piece is clearly in the anti-French camp, even though the French are not specifically portrayed; *Britannia: An Allegorical Overture in Commemoration of the Signal Naval Victory obtained by Admiral Duncan over the Dutch Fleet the 11th of October 1797. Composed for the Piano-Forte and humbly inscribed to his most gracious majesty the King of Great Britain* depicts the Battle of Camperdown.

In the years since *Nerwinde*, French forces had finally enjoyed some military success, having conquered much of the low countries, and leaving behind a client state known as Batavia, or The Batavian Republic. This nation's navy was the Dutch Fleet, mentioned in the music's title. This battle was a decisive victory for the British, who captured 11 ships without losing any of their own. The pattern established at Trafalgar remained: Napoleon ruled the land, while England ruled the sea.

Naval battle pieces have a slightly different musical lexicon from those evoking battles on land, as discussed when analyzing Wanhal and Logier's compositions about the battle of Trafalgar. Cannon fire and other depictions are still common, but things like charges are replaced with "The Sailing of the fleet." "The Sailing of the Dutch Fleet Announced" from *Britannia* is shown in Example 26. The texture resembles chorale writing, and the melody is clearly a song of some kind. It bears a similarity to modern versions of *Wilhelmus*, the Dutch national anthem, which has been an important song in the Netherlands since at least the late Renaissance.

Sailing of the Dutch Fleet announced

Example 26, Steibelt, *Britannia*, “Sailing of the Dutch Fleet announced.”

Later in the piece, Steibelt uses a British patriotic song, Henry Purcell’s “Britons Strike Home!,” from *Bonduca, or the British Heroine* (1695); Steibelt sets the text in the score to bring home the point (see Example 27). This is particularly significant given the role it played in events only one month after the battle took place. In a speech to Parliament, Prime Minister William Pitt “The Younger,” announced that peace negotiations with France had fallen through,

and that he intended to see the war through to the end. The response from the assembled MPs was to sing *Britons Strike Home*.³² Later in the piece, Steibelt includes lyrics to another known melody: “Britain’s best bulwarks are her wooden walls” appears to come from a poem titled “The Wooden Walls of England” that was published by Henry Green in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on 25 June 1773. Music for this poem was composed by written by Thomas Augustine Arne (1710–1778), who is perhaps best remembered as the composer of *Rule Britannia*. The Poem sings the praises of the Royal Navy, appropriate since it appears shortly before “The Heat of the Action” and ultimately “Cry of Victory.”

The image shows a musical score for the piece 'Britons Strike Home' by Steibelt. The score is in 3/4 time and marked 'Maestoso'. It consists of two systems of music. The first system shows the piano accompaniment in the bass clef and the vocal line in the treble clef. The lyrics are: 'Britons Strike home, re - venge re - venge your Country's Wrongs.' The second system continues the piano accompaniment and the vocal line with the lyrics: 'Fight, Fight and re -'. The score includes dynamic markings 'f' (forte) and 'p' (piano).

Example 26. Steibelt. *Britannia*, “Britons Strike home, revenge your Country’s Wrongs.”

Around the same time, another military campaign was taking place that Steibelt later depicted in music, this one back on the French side of the Revolutionary Wars. *La Grande Marche de Bonaparte en Italie* is a march for the

³² William Hague, *William Pitt The Younger: A Biography* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 415.

piano that depicts Napoleon and the Army of Italy, the military campaign that catapulted Bonaparte to fame. Bonaparte was involved in the campaign from March of 1796, when, still a relatively unknown military officer, he was appointed commander of the Army of Italy. Over the course of the next year he proceeded to conquer, or “liberate,” much of northern Italy, defeating larger Austrian armies led by more experienced commanders. This was the campaign in which Napoleon made a name for himself.

Rather than being a work for a single performer, like his other works discussed here, *La Grande Marche* is for solo piano and tambourine accompaniment. Adding the percussive sounds of the tambourine certainly helps to create a militaristic sound, but it is not a unique occurrence in his music. Steibelt’s wife played the tambourine, and he occasionally added tambourine parts to his music so that his wife could perform with him.³³ While the march is full of musical topics, including the obvious march topic, and many drum like passages, Steibelt did not include any captions or descriptions of what he was depicting. That being said, the use of French, and the touting of Napoleon’s victories make this piece rather obviously pro-French.

Another work, *La Rappel d’Armee* is in some ways the opposite of *La Grande Marche*. We know the subject matter for the latter—Napoleon’s Italian campaign—from its title, even though Steibelt neglects to use programmatic

³³ Dawes, Hagberg, and Lindemann, “Steibelt.” In addition, former *New York Times* music critic Harold Schonberg (1915-2003) writes critically of Steibelt, in part due to his attempts to “sell tambourines” in his book *The Great Pianists*. Harold Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963)

captions. In *La Rappel*, Steibelt includes captions, but does not make clear if there is a specific battle that the piece is based on. The indeterminate nature of the battle underscored by the work's subtitle: *Fantaisie Militaire*. Steibelt's captions make it clear that an army is in retreat; one caption even implies that the army French.³⁴ The retreat is depicted as rather hectic, as the piece is full of sixteenth and faster, such as in Example 27, which employs 64th notes.

Example 27. Steibelt *La Rappel d'Armée*, "Our general recalls you" m. 1–4.

³⁴ *Notre Général vous rappelle* "Our general recalls you." The use of "our" implies the French army was the one in retreat. This would perhaps make sense if it was composed during the early days of the French Revolutionary Wars, when the French armies were often defeated. That would also help explain why he chose not to portray a specific battle; it would have been a dangerous time to portray the French forces poorly.

Chronologically, the next of Steibelt battle pieces is *La Journee d'Ulm*. The campaign for Ulm took place from late September to late October 1805, although the piece itself is likely based in part on the final Battle of Ulm, which took place near Ulm, Bavaria. In the aftermath of the battle, the French secured the total surrender of Bavaria, and taken more than 60,000 Austrian prisoners. It was an impressive feat considering that the French Army had been stationed in northeastern France just one month prior to the beginning of the campaign, having been preparing for an invasion of England.

Steibelt indicated a number of different pedal techniques to be used in this composition. He also called for an instrument with a number of stops, meaning that only certain pianos would have been able to fulfil the composer's intentions. Musically, he begins with a depiction of Napoleon himself, captioned "l'Empereur donne l'ordre du depart" (see Example 28). While this section simply represents just a general giving orders to the troops, Steibelt goes for a regal, quasi-mythological portrayal of the French emperor, a much nobler representation of a commander than found in similar sections of other battle pieces, such as *The Battle of Prague's* "Word of Command."

All Maestoso. l'Empereur donne l'ordre du départ

Départ des troupes.

Example 28. Steibelt, *La Journée d'Ulm*, "l'Empereur donne l'ordre du départ."

Steibelt's melody is marked *maestoso*, a stately, quasi-recitative depicting Napoleon as a glorious figure. When the troops begin to follow the orders, a march topic is presented, representing them as they march towards their next battle with the Austrians.

Steibelt quotes other works throughout *La Journée d'Ulm*, labeling borrowed melodies with captions that reference the original source, the first of is given as "La Garde passé," which is a quotation from André Grétry's 1790 opera *Les deux avares*. "Air d'Armide" is a quotation from Christoph Gluck's 1777 opera *Armide*. Other quotations include melodies from Niccolò Piccinni's *Didon* (1783), Grétry's *Caravane de Caire* (1783), and the second movement of Joseph Haydn's Symphony no. 100 ("Military").³⁵ It is interesting to note that the majority

³⁵A detailed study of this piece appears in Halina Goldberg and Jonathan Bellman, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: Descriptive Piano Fantasias*. (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., Forthcoming).

of Steibelt's quotations come from non-French composers, some of whom were invited to France by the much maligned Marie Antoinette. Steibelt himself was a non-French composer who arrived in the country during the years prior to the revolution, and may have felt some connection with his fellow foreigners in France, Gluck and Piccinni; Haydn was an Austrian, like Marie Antoinette. Quotations of operas that were associated with Marie Antoinette certainly would not have been possible for Steibelt to write a decade earlier, during the reign of the Jacobins. In addition, the quotation of Haydn is interesting owing to Haydn's own Austrian nationality, and the fact that Napoleon's primary opponents in this battle were the Austrians.

Steibelt's final piece relating to the Napoleonic Wars, *The Conflagration of Moscow*, is one of his most interesting. Steibelt relocated to Russia permanently in 1809, on the invitation of the Czar, and thus would have been in Russia for approximately three years when the first fires broke out on 14 September 1812. The major inferno began the next day, and lasted until 18 September. This event, though not explicitly a battle, is tied directly to the Napoleonic Wars, since the fire occurred while Napoleon occupied the city. Although *The Conflagration of Moscow* includes a battle section, which will be discussed below, the composition is less of a battle piece and more of a fantasia that simply includes a battle element. As with *La Journee d'Ulm*, Steibelt provides instructions for the use of pedals, although this time his instructions are limited to the sustain pedal, and

there are no directions for stops; apparently the stops required for *La Journée d'Ulm* ended up being a commercial failure.

Of historical interest to this piece is that residents of Moscow had fled the approaching French armies en masse, so the city was largely empty when the fire broke out. Today, the general consensus seems to be that the Russian army had some level of involvement in starting the fires, but some debate remains. At the time, Napoleon's enemies would have been swift to place the blame on the French.

Steibelt's version of events begins with an introduction that lasts for a full two pages, much longer than the stereotypical two or three lines per caption that can be seen in more well-known battle pieces, such as Kotzwara's *The Battle of Prague*. Most of Steibelt's captions in *The Conflagration of Moscow* are longer than what might be expected. The program begins as "Napoleon enters Moscow." (see Example 29). As is common in Napoleonic battle music written in anti-Napoleon nations, the French army is depicted by the Marlborough March.

Example 29. Steibelt, *The Conflagration of Moscow*, “Napoleon enters Moscow.” mm.1–8.

Steibelt depicts the fire through the use of an ostinato bass line in the left hand. In the right hand, the notes gradually get higher, reflecting either the growing size of the fire, the growing concern over the fires, or both (see Example 30)

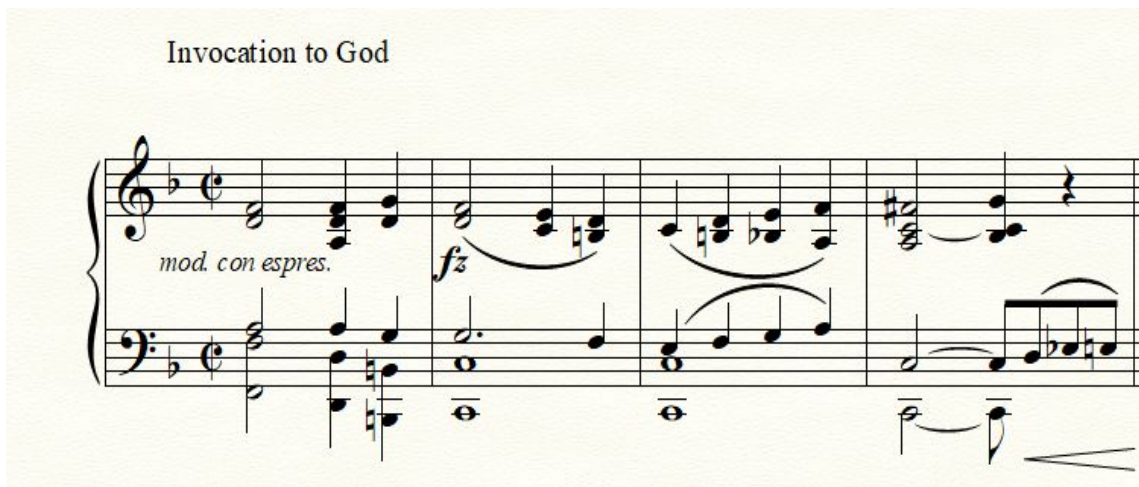
Example 30: Steibelt, *Moscow*, “The Conflagration begins,” mm. 20–28

As the fire begins, three shorter captions are provided, all of which transmit reactions to the fire, though whether the reaction is from the remaining residents, occupying French Forces, or both is not immediately clear. The first of these, “Lamentations” (Example 31), features a descending motif, as if the people are crying. The second, “Despair”, is more songlike, and in a sorrowful D minor. The third, “Invocation to God” (Example 32) seems to be a plea for divine intervention. The music is chorale-like, suggesting religious symbolism.

Lamentations

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Lamentations". The score is written for piano and is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of music. The first system shows a descending melodic line in the right hand and a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the left hand. The second system continues the piece with a "ped." (pedal) marking and dynamic markings like "fz" and ">".

Example 31. Steibelt, *Moscow*. “Lamentations”



Example 32. Steibelt *Moscow*. "Invocation to God."

The next section, "Vows for the preservation of Alexander the Emperor. On the Air of God Save the King," is the first time that Steibelt obviously invokes Russia, oddly by quoting the English national anthem, *God Save the King*. Steibelt likely chose this over a Russian anthem for the purpose of publication. The work was published in London, and he may have hoped to increase sales of the piece by including the familiar anthem. British forces played no part in the events of the Fire, or the battles immediately before or after it, so there is no reason for them to be represented this piece. This is certainly not "God Save the Czar," which Tchaikovsky quoted in his *1812 Overture*.³⁶

At first glance the texture of the music looks like constant 64th notes with no discernable melody (see Example 33), but analysis of the top pitch on each beat in the right hand reveals quite clearly the famous British Anthem. In terms

³⁶ "God Save the Czar" First appeared in the 1830s. Steibelt died in 1823.

of performance practice, pedalling and articulation will make the tune recognizable.

Vows for the preservation of Alexander the Emperor.
On the Air of God save the King.

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. It consists of four systems of music, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second system is marked with a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic. The third system is marked with a crescendo (*cresc.*) dynamic. The music features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the bass and a more complex melody in the treble, often with sixteenth-note runs.

Example 33. *Steibelt. Moscow*, “Vows for the Preservation of Alexander The Emperor.” m. 1-4.

Despite Steibelt’s choice to use a British anthem instead of a Russian one, the wording of the first part of the caption, “Vows for the Preservation of Alexander The Emperor” is significant. After the Fire, Napoleon expected

Alexander to sue for peace, and the French armies lingered in Moscow for one month while Napoleon waited. This meant that they left the relative safety of the ruins of the city in October, and before long were exposed to the harsh conditions of the Russian Winter, which famously decimated the French Army.

“God Save the King” is the longest section of the piece, lasting three pages, during which at least one hand is always engaged in 64th notes. After this, the Fire returns, looking very similar to its representation in the first section. The fire ends with an ascending scalar passage captioned “The Explosion of the Kremlin,” followed by a very brief “Universal Terror,” which consists of octave sixteenth notes on the tonic in the left hand. From this point on, Steibelt shifts from a program depicting the burning of a city, to one a battle, beginning with the arrival of the Cossacks. Steibelt what appears to be a very generic battle fanfare, with a typical march rhythm. However, Steibelt takes a unique turn by shifting this figure to the left hand, and intensifying it with sixteenth-note passages in the right hand (see Example 34).

Maestoso

Example 34. Steibelt, *Moscow*, “Maestoso,” m. 1-4.

The battle begins, and it is full of the typical battle language, including chromatic harmonies, scalar passages, and similarly familiar ideas. Steibelt's narrative continues as the Russian Infantry arrives, presumably joining the Cossacks in battle. Rather than resuming the battle, Steibelt jumps ahead in time to after the battle is over, with the caption “Lamentation of the conquered; on the Air: Allons, enfants, &c.” This is an interesting sequence, that features an elaborate arrangement of “La Marseillaise,” in the minor mode, and written in a style reminiscent of a Mozart adagio variation (see Example 35).

Adagio con Espressivo Lamentation of the conquered; on the Air: Allons, enfans &c.

Example 35. Steibelt, *Moscow*, “Lamentations of the conquered; on the Air: Allons, enfans &c.”

The piece ends with “Joy of the Conquerors: Russian Dance with Variations,” Which depicts just what it says. A Hopak-type melody is followed by several variations, ending the piece in a similar way to how both his *La Rappel d’Armee* and *La Journee d’Ulm* end.

The obvious question here is, which battle Steibelt was depicting? The next noteworthy battle to take place in this war was over a month later, after

Napoleon decided to stop waiting for Alexander to surrender. The Battle of Maloyaroslavets was a victory for Napoleon, but it convinced him that he would be unable to draw the main Russian Force into a decisive battle, leading to his long retreat west. Because Steibelt clearly portrays the Russians as the victors, not the French, this section can not be a musical portrayal of Maloyaroslavets.

It is possible that Steibelt is depicting some subsequent battle, especially if it took place a little later in the retreat, when Napoleon was closer to traditional Cossack territory, which would explain why the Cossacks arrived separately from the main Russian Force. But if that is the case, why would Steibelt place it in the same piece of music as the fire of Moscow? I think it is most likely that Steibelt made up this battle himself to further appeal to the London market. Napoleon was a hated figure, and portraying his forces occupying a burning Moscow and then beating a Russian Force would not have sold well, even with “God Save The King” snuck into the music. By adding a Napoleonic defeat, even a fictional one, into the music, Steibelt could not only appeal to a sense of history by depicting a real world event, and patriotism with “God Save the King,” but also to Britain's pervasive anti-Napoleonic sentiment. Moreover, a defeat for Napoleon is far more symbolic and captivating than the historically accurate narrative: Napoleon grew tired of waiting for the Czar to surrender and decided to return to France. Another, perhaps more metaphorical, interpretation is that this battle was not actually fought against the Russian army, but against the Russian winter, which decimated the French forces during their long retreat west.

Steibelt's music differs from the other compositions discussed in a number of ways. His music has a higher level of difficulty, especially this last work, and many of his narratives include captions and depictions that are more clever than those of the other composers mentioned. In some cases, such as the "feu de fille," they are almost theatrical. In addition, Steibelt uses quotation to a much greater extent than his contemporaries. Most composers of battle pieces use popular song to represent countries, often national anthems or patriotic songs, with "Rule Britannia," "God Save the King," and "Marlborough March" among the most popular. Steibelt too quotes these patriotic airs, but in addition he quotes passages from operas by Purcell, Glück, and others. In a number of ways, Steibelt transcends a genre and style that are often criticized for being too literal and lacking creativity, simply repeating the same topics again and again.

The increased difficulty of Steibelt's music allows for more virtuosity, theatrics, and embellishment. Economics can provide some insight for the differences between Steibelt's music and others. The music of Challoner, Wilms, Wanhal, and others was often written specifically with the intention of publishing and selling the music. As such, it needs to be accessible for intermediate pianists. Steibelt, on the other hand, appears to have intended his battle pieces for his own use as a performer. The music is more difficult, and while some compositions may still have been accessible to talented amateur pianists, the increase in technical demands may have limited the commercial success of the compositions as publications. This perhaps explains his inclusion of some of the

more theatrical elements, such as the “feu de fille” from his piece on the battle of Nerwinde. Instead of selling his music, he was selling himself. Steibelt, known to have been extremely arrogant, would have been able to entertain his audience by showing off, theoretically generating word-of-mouth publicity about his abilities, and leading to increased ticket sales.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSIONS

In the decades following the Napoleonic Wars, the battle piece declined in popularity, and works that had previously been praised, such as Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg*, became the object of fierce criticism. By the mid-nineteenth-century, the battle piece— a genre and style style that had been in use since Byrd during the Renaissance—had all but disappeared from European concert halls.³⁷ Composers continued to depict battle, as with Tchaikovsky's famous *1812 Overture*, which represents Napoleon's invasion of Russia during the Napoleonic Wars, but the form and style were completely different. Gone were the obvious captions. To this day, the instrumental battle piece, as constructed around the time of the Napoleonic Wars, remains largely overlooked by the musical establishment, or is simply the target of disrespect. Nevertheless, the legacy of these pieces remains. They share a topical language that was influential throughout the Romantic period, and many later composers would use figures based on these caption-filled compositions in their battle-themed works. Examples of this included not only Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*, but also Liszt's *Hunnenschlacht*, among others.

³⁷ Though the genre did last in the U.S.; examples of such pieces can be seen in Goldberg and Bellman.

Liszt, like his predecessors, uses distinct melodies to identify the forces involved in the battle; a distinct parallel to what composers were doing during the Napoleonic Wars. Liszt uses the *Stile hongrois* to depict the huns, while the Christians are given a bit of chant, the hymn *Crux Fidelis*. Clearly, battle pieces were popular during the Napoleonic era, as evidenced by the many composers who wrote them, hoping to capitalize on the popularity of the genre, but as well by the fact that even composers of some acclaim wrote in the genre. One can easily make the argument that composers such as Logier, Challoner, and Wilms are largely irrelevant, but Wanhal is often proclaimed as one of the “minor masters,” and Beethoven is unquestionably one of the most beloved and influential composers of the time period.

In addition, Steibelt’s compositions provide evidence of the popularity of public performances of such works. Much of his music was far too difficult for amateurs, and yet he is arguably the most prolific battle piece composer of the era. If his music was not intended for the commercial market, he must have had success using these pieces in his own concerts, since he continued to write in the same genre. This success is also mirrored in Beethoven’s *Wellingtons Sieg*, which, while not discussed in great detail here, enjoyed many years of popularity as a standard element of Viennese concert life before it declined in popularity. Not only were these pieces popular in their time, but their influence can be found throughout the Romantic period, even long after the musical establishment began to ignore or dismiss them

These compositions provide an important model for modern music scholars: that of a non-sonata based composition. Despite the current academic emphasis on sonata form when analyzing Classical and Romantic music, many compositions, some still a part of the modern canon, are not in sonata form at all. Nevertheless, many scholars attempt to analyze these compositions, somehow, within the framework of that form. By better understanding pieces such as depictive piano fantasias, and developing ways to analyze the form and stylistic elements of these pieces, musicologists and music theorists can come to a better understanding of compositions that don't fit into the typical sonata-allegro structure, while providing a clearer context for sonata-form compositions that owe some influence to their contemporary non-sonata music. To ignore compositions that are not structurally based on sonata form, or to attempt to analyze and understand such compositions within the constraints of sonata form is to distort the historical reality.

Napoleonic-era battle pieces also reflect an important societal development: the growth of amateur music. Steibelt was a notable exception, but the majority of these compositions were not destined to be performed in concert halls, but in salons and the homes of the ever-growing middle class. That composers of such contemporary notoriety as Wanhäl chose to bend historical reality to better suit the sensibilities of their target audience shows that composers gave serious thought and consideration to the amateur market. This music was composed for amateurs, yet it influenced "master" composers long

after its heyday. In such compositions, one can glimpse something about contemporary musical life in the early nineteenth-century, a valuable tool for scholars and performers alike.

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