

## Braun's *Gamme et Méthode pour les Trombones*: Some New Evidence

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Translated by Maurice Whitehead

The *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones Alto, Tenor et Basse*, the existence of which was formerly attested to only in bibliographies, was long considered lost until Howard Weiner rediscovered a copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (F-Pc / Cm 52) in the early 1990s.<sup>1</sup> Between 1993 and 2011, spurred on by this discovery, Weiner published several important articles on trombone method books, casting fresh light on the considerable historiography relating to this instrument. Significantly, he attributed this work to a certain André Braun (fl. 1773–1806), identified its first edition as having been published in Paris by Jean-Georges Sieber (1738–1822) between 1795 and 1797, and emphasized its influence on subsequent method books.<sup>2</sup>

However, the unique surviving copy on which Weiner based his analysis can now be shown not to be the *first* edition of the work, but a later version made between 1825 and 1834 by the Parisian publisher Georges-Julien Sieber (1775–1847), son of the earlier publisher. The purpose of the present article is to use the discovery of yet another copy of the *Gamme et Methode*, which differs notably from the Paris copy, to revisit this method book, its history, and its author.

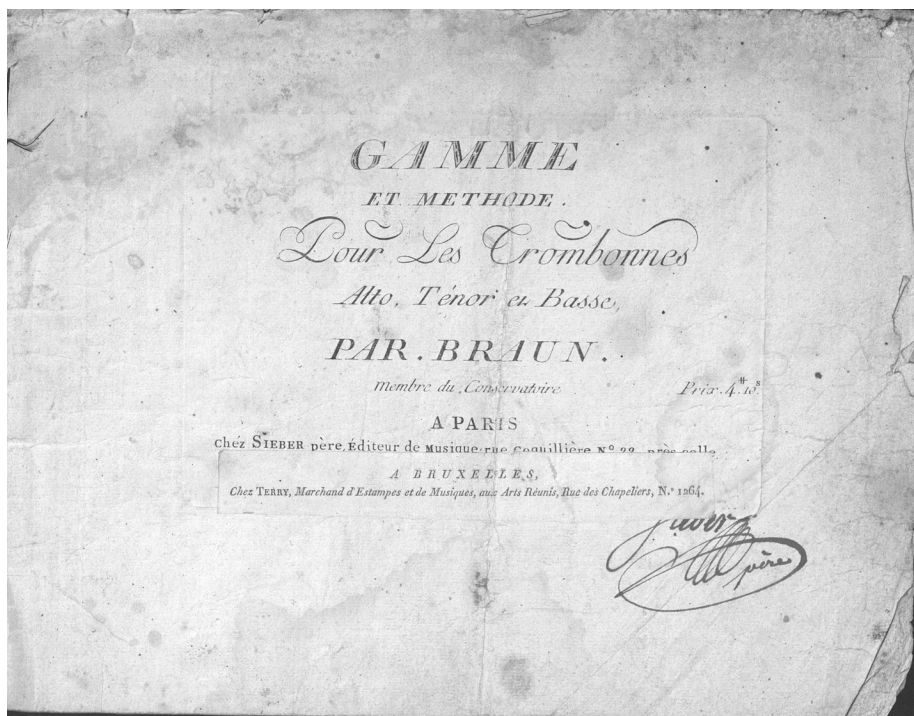
### **A newly discovered edition of the *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones***

This newly discovered copy of the *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones* is today preserved in Belgium, in the music archives of the collegiate church of Saint-Vincent de Soignies (B-Ssv); it has been on deposit in the Archives de l'État in Mons (B-Ma) since 1967, where it bears the shelf mark 1921.<sup>3</sup> It is made up of six oblong folios (24 x 33 cm) sewn together to form a small volume protected by a brown paper cover. The title page appears thus:

GAMME / ET METHODE / Pour les Trombones / Alto, Ténor et Basse, / PAR . BRAUN.  
/ Membre du Conservatoire / A PARIS / Chez SIEBER père, Éditeur de Musique  
rue Coquillière N°22, près celle / J.J. Rousseau. / 1387.

In line with standard commercial practice, the handwritten signature of “Sieber père” appears near the bottom of the title page (Figure 1), partially obscured by a printed slip bearing the address of a Brussels bookseller:

Chez TERRY, Marchand d'Estampes et de Musiques, aux Arts Réunis, Rue des Chapeliers,  
N.° 1264.



**Figure 1:** J.-F. Braun, *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones* (Paris: Sieber, [1815–17]), title-page. © Archives de l'État à Mons.

The folios are unpaginated, but the engraved plates bear numbers in an incomplete sequence: 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, and 9. With the exceptions of plates 2 and 4, the volume as a whole is printed only on the recto side of each page and is divided ¶ into five parts, indicated by the titles in block capital letters.

The dealer's address pasted on the title page makes it clear that the copy was purchased, not in Paris, but in Brussels. Indeed, to enhance sales, Jean-Georges Sieber had established an extensive network of agents, both in the provinces and in the principal capitals of Europe, and stretching as far afield as Saint Petersburg and New Orleans.<sup>4</sup> In Brussels, in addition to Louis-Joseph Terry (1760–1834),<sup>5</sup> Sieber employed the services of François Godefroy (1740–1806).<sup>6</sup>

It is not particularly strange that a method book for the trombone should exist among the archives of the collégiale Saint-Vincent de Soignies. In Austrian Habsburg culture, trombones were closely associated with “the affairs of churches and the solemnities” (*Kirchen-Sachen und Solennitäten*).<sup>7</sup> Indeed, their use was far from rare in the former southern Netherlands, and notably in Brabant. In 1666, the inventory of music books in the collégiale Sainte-Gudule in Brussels mentions, for example, several

Folios	Plates	Titles and addresses
1 <sup>r</sup>		<i>GAMME / ET METHODE / Pour les Trombones / Alto, Ténor et Basse, / PAR . BRAUN . / Membre du Conservatoire</i> [address:] A PARIS / Chez SIEBER père, Éditeur de Musique rue Coquillière N°22, près celle / J.J. Rousseau. / 1387.
1 <sup>v</sup>	2	GAMME ou MÉTHODE / <i>Pour apprendre la Basse Trombone.</i> [paragraphs 1–7]
2 <sup>r</sup>	3	[paragraphs 8–12]
2 <sup>v</sup>		[Blank].
3 <sup>r</sup>		[Blank].
3 <sup>v</sup>	4	GAMME où Methode. <i>Pour la Basse Trombone. / Par Braun.</i> [address:] A PARIS <i>Chez Sieber Musicien rue honoré entre celle des Vieille Etuve et celle D’Orleans N 85.</i>
4 <sup>r</sup>	5	GAMME NATUREL
4 <sup>v</sup>		[Blank].
5 <sup>r</sup>	8	ETENDUE ET PRATIQUE DU TROMBONE TENOR
5 <sup>v</sup>		[Blank].
6 <sup>r</sup>	9	ETENDUE ET PRATIQUE DU TROMBONE TENOR
6 <sup>v</sup>		[Blank].

**Table 1:** Plan of the *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones* (B-Ssv / 1921).

works with scores for obligato trombone and such items are still attested to in the eighteenth century in the *Missa jubilemus* (1751) by the singing master Charles-Joseph van Helmont (1715–90).<sup>8</sup> In Antwerp at the turn of the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, the Jesuits also called for the use of the instrument during meditations held during Lent.<sup>9</sup> More commonly, the trombone was used to provide reinforcement to works for choir and orchestra,<sup>10</sup> in line with the definition given on this subject by Louis de Jaucourt (1704–79) in the entry for *Sacquebute* in the *Encyclopédie* (1765): the trombone “serves as bass in any sorts of concerts of wind instruments as do the serpent, the fagott or the bassoon and [also] serves as bass to the oboes.”<sup>11</sup>

However, the use of the trombone is not documented at the collégiale de Soignies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, neither in the musical archives, nor indeed even in the administrative archives.<sup>12</sup> The presence of a method book in the present-day archival collection seems to be associated instead with the *Société Philharmonique de Soignies*, which was founded by Charles-François-Eugène Binon (1754–1814) in

or about 1799 and still going strong in the 1830s;<sup>13</sup> a substantial part of this society's musical archives survives and includes scores requiring trombone.<sup>14</sup>

### A method book in three editions and four printings

The copy of the *Gamme et Methode* preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France contains two distinct publishers' addresses: one on the title page and the other at the foot of the fourth page. In 1993 this double reference led Howard Weiner to hypothesize that there were two separate editions: one published by Jean-Georges Sieber between 1795 and 1797, the other by Georges-Julien Sieber between 1825 and 1834.<sup>15</sup> The copy preserved at Mons has similarities to both of these, but yet a third address, revealing a more complex bibliographical history that includes at least two re-editions. Thanks to the research of Anik Devriès, it is possible to provide more or less exact dates.<sup>16</sup>

1795–96	A PARIS <i>Chez Sieber Musicien rue honoré entre celle des Vieille Etuve et celle D'Orleans N 85.</i>
1815–17	Chez SIEBER père, Éditeur de Musique rue Coquillière N°22, près celle J.J. Rousseau.
1825–06.1834	<i>Chez Sieber et Fils Rue des filles St Thomas N°21 Quartier Feydeau</i>

**Table 2:** The three Parisian addresses of the *Gamme et Methode*.

### The first edition (1795–96)

No copy of the first edition has yet come to light. A careful reading of the copy from Soignies, however, suggests that it might have comprised both the *Gamme ou Méthode Pour apprendre la Basse Trombonne* on plates 2–3 and the *Gamme où Methode Pour la Basse Trombonne* on plates 4–5 (see Figures 2–5). These four engraved plates effectively provide organic unity to the subject (the bass trombone) and to the content by means of a series of alphabetical cross-references linking the text of the method book to the diagrams and to the musical examples provided. Three further factors lend weight to this hypothesis: the continuous numbering of the first four plates (plates 2–5), the explicit mention of the author's name (*Par Braun*) and inclusion of a publisher's address on the fourth plate that could have been conceived as a title page: the method book would then have been sold in the form of a single quarto engraving

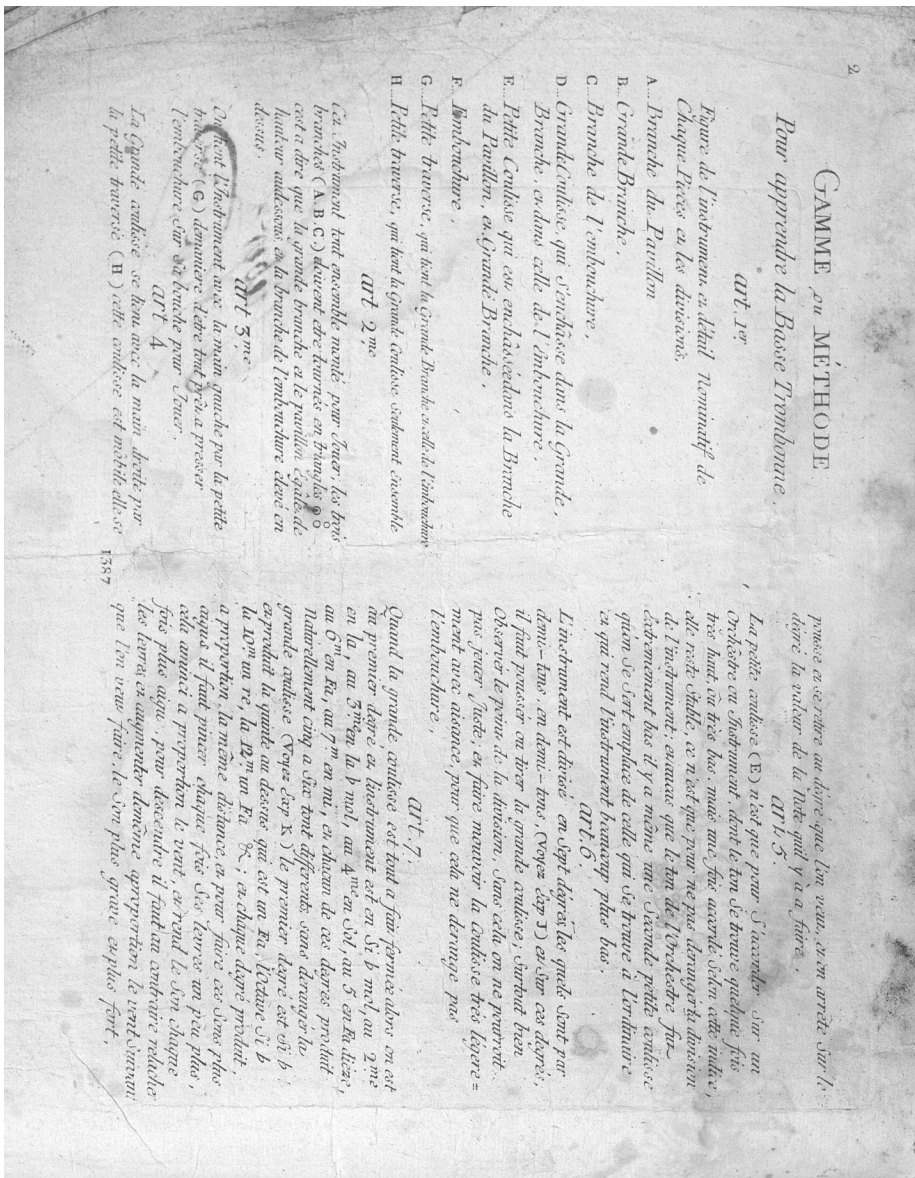


Figure 2: J.-F. Braun, *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones* (Paris: Sieber, [1815–17]), plate 2. © Archives de l'État à Mons.

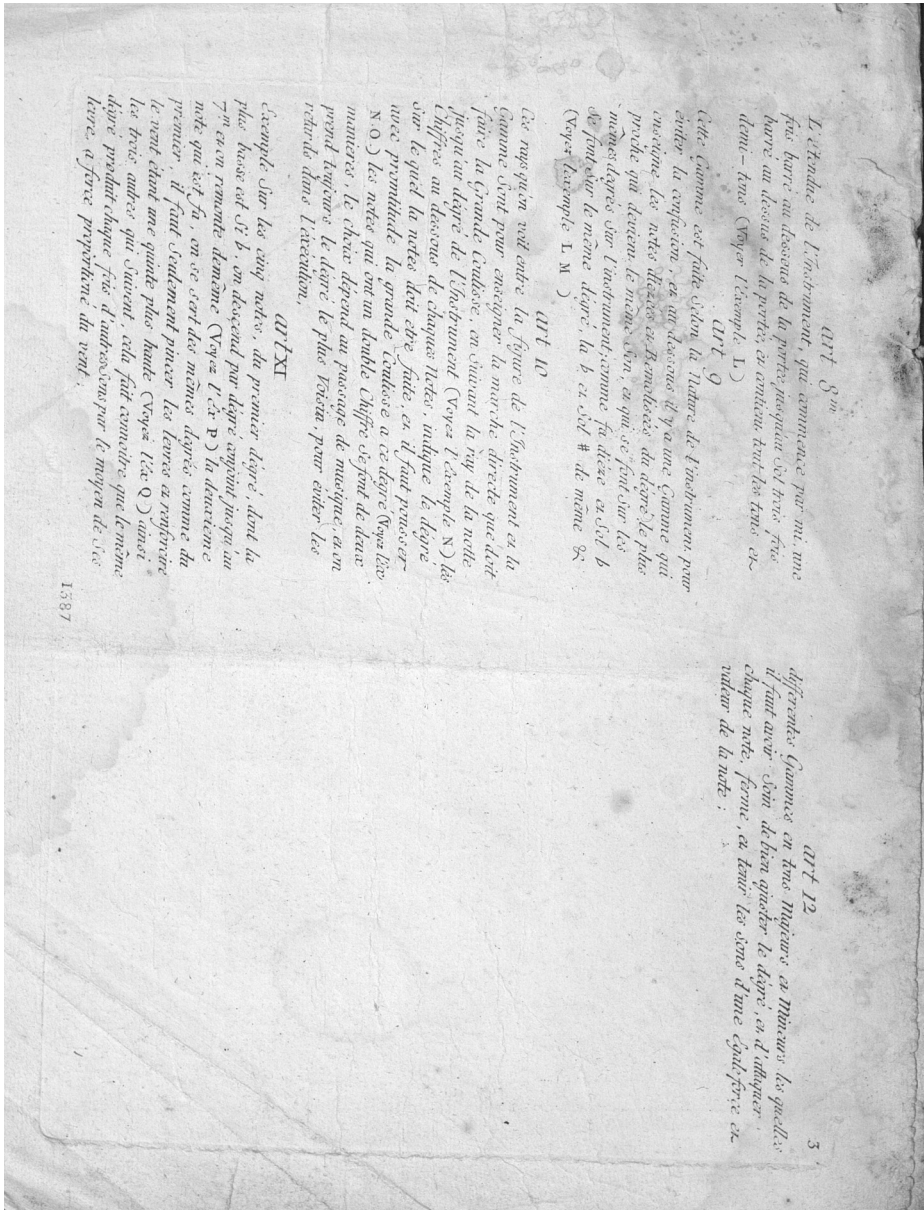


Figure 3: J.-F. Braun, *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones* (Paris: Sieber, [1815–17]), plate 3. © Archives de l'État à Mons.







As Howard Weiner has already emphasized, the address “Chez Sieber Musicien rue honoré entre celle des Vieille Etuve et celle d’Orleans N 85” does not facilitate the dating of the first edition, as this designation was not noted by Anik Devriès.<sup>17</sup> The designation “Sieber musician” is, in fact, recorded between November 1771 and 2 December 1797; and the address at number 85 “rue Honoré” between 1793 and July 1800. Conflation of this data points towards a possible publication date for this *editio princeps* within a wide timeframe between 1793 and 2 December 1797.<sup>18</sup> The title-page reference to Braun being a member of the Conservatoire de Paris led Weiner to consider a shorter timeframe, starting with the official foundation of the Conservatoire, of 3 August 1795 to 2 October 1797<sup>19</sup>—but, in the absence of any publication announcement in the Parisian press, it is difficult to be any more precise than this.<sup>20</sup> However, if the earlier hypothesis—i.e., the possibility of plate 4 having been the title page of the *editio princeps*, is taken into consideration—the significant absence of any reference to Braun having been a *membre du Conservatoire* points towards a different chronology of between 1793 and August 1795. The presence of a plate number (1387) on the Soignies copy allows us to narrow this down even further to the years 1795 and 1796, but without providing any firmer conclusion one way or the other.<sup>21</sup> To sum up: made up of four plates, published under the title *Gamme où Methode Pour la Basse Trombone*, the first edition of Braun’s method book, duly engraved, was put on sale at the earliest between the start of January and 3 August 1795, and at the very latest, between 3 August 1795 and the end of December 1796.

### Second edition: two printings (1796–1802, 1815–17)

The Soignies copy has to be considered an expanded version of the *editio princeps*. In comparison with the earlier version, it in effect has two supplements dedicated respectively to the alto trombone (plate 7) and the tenor trombone (plate 9) (Figures 6–7). A new title page explicitly referring to the three instruments (*Pour les Trombones Alto, Ténor et Basse*) was added, together with a new address: *Chez SIEBER père, Éditeur de Musique rue Coquillière N°22, près celle J. J. Rousseau* (Figure 1). The presence of this new address points to this addition having been made between February 1813 and the death of the publisher on 13 January 1822;<sup>22</sup> indeed the inventory drawn up on 13 March 1822, following his death, notes the presence of engraving plates in the publisher’s workshop.<sup>23</sup> The absence of any reference to the *50 Leçons pour la Trombone Basse, Alto & Tenor* by François-René Gebauer (1773–1845), which is found in the Paris copy, ought to help refine the chronology further, but the only surviving edition of the *50 Leçons* is in fact a new edition published in October 1820 by Johann Anton André (1775–1842) at Offenbach am Main. However, the *Handbuch der musikalischen Litteratur* records a *Méthode p. les Trombones alto, tenore et basse. Paris, Sieber* among the musical publications released in the years 1815–17.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, it is possible to date the publication of this new edition of the *Gamme et Methode* to between 1815 and 1817.

ETENDE ET PRACTIQUE DU TROMBONE ALTO

Gammes

la sol la si ut re mi fa sol la si ut re

1387

**Figure 6:** J.-F. Braun, *Gammes et Méthode pour les Trombones* (Paris: Sieber, [1815–17]), plate 8. © Archives de l'État à Mons.

ETENDE ET PRATIQUE DU TROMBONE TENOR

Gamme

si ut re mi fa sol la si ut re mi fa sol

1387

9

Figure 7: J.-F. Braun, *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones* (Paris: Sieber, [1815–17]), plate 9. © Archives de l'État à Mons.

In reality, this second expanded version could be older and the copy of Soignies may be only a second printing. Indeed, in 1810, in Offenbach am Main, the music publisher Johann Anton André published a bilingual version (authorized or pirated?) of the *Gamme et Methode*. This German edition already presents the expansion of the *édition princeps* for bass trombone to tenor and alto trombones. Two possibilities can be envisaged: 1. this edition reflects a lost expanded edition published by Sieber before 1810; 2. it is the first version of the expanded edition. Here in the André edition, the reference to Braun as a member of the Conservatoire could tilt in favor of the first hypothesis and makes it possible that a second expanded version was published by Sieber in Paris while Braun was teaching at the Conservatoire, a short time after the first edition, i.e., between 1796 and 1802.

There are several reasons why an expanded version of the first edition was needed. The main reason lay in the growing success of the trombone as an orchestral instrument in France during the period of the Directoire, the Consulat, and the Empire.<sup>25</sup> An instrument for accompaniment that gradually took on an identity of its own, with its own parts for alto, tenor, and bass, is reflected in the development from the *Gamme où Methode Pour la Basse Trombonne* to the *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones Alto, Ténor et Basse*. At Soignies, this development is noticeable in the period between 1794 and 1814, during which time the town was effectively annexed to France: the surviving repertoire is exclusively Parisian in origin and includes several examples of parts for the three types of trombone. As a consequence, the acquisition of a method book for the three instruments (alto, tenor, and bass) must have seemed essential to the musicians of Soignies.

This state of affairs doubtless provides the second reason for the publication of a new edition of Braun's method book, especially for an instrument that was not yet taught in any formal way during this period. A trombone class was in fact founded at the Conservatoire de Paris in 1795 and most likely entrusted to Philippe Widerkehr (1765–1816) and Pierre-François Marcillac (1750–1812). However, this course was disbanded in 1802 and not re-opened until 1836, under the direction of Antoine Dieppo (1808–78).<sup>26</sup> Therefore, between 1795/96 and the 1820/30s—the latter being a period that witnessed the success first of the *Methode complete pour les Trombones Basse, Tenor et Alto* (ca. 1826) by Sturm and then the *Méthode de trombone* (1831) by Victor Cornette (1795–1868), the *Grand Méthode de trombone* (1834) by Félix Vobaron (fl. 1815–1836), and the *Méthode de trombone* (1835) by Frédéric Berr (1794–1838) and Antoine Dieppo<sup>27</sup>—it is obvious that Braun's *Gamme et Methode* was for a time the only trombone method book available on the French market. Indeed, Johann Anton André reissued Braun's work in a bilingual (French-German) version in 1810.<sup>28</sup> One or several new editions of the work would have been needed to meet growing demand in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. From this point of view, the explicit reference on the title page of the second edition to Braun being a member of the Conservatoire de Paris seems to have been included for promotional purposes: by inference, the publisher Sieber appears to have wanted to associate this method

book with the prestigious series of method books produced by the Conservatoire—an institution that was not, in fact, to produce a trombone method book of its own until that of Berr and Dieppo in 1835, revised by Dieppo alone in 1837.<sup>29</sup>

### Third edition (1825–34)

The copy preserved in Paris constitutes a third edition and reveals the last known state of Braun's *Gamme et Methode*. Everything appears to indicate that this manuscript copy assembled for Georges-Julien Sieber was intended for a new edition.<sup>30</sup> Was it ever published? From the present state of knowledge, there is nothing to confirm this. The manuscript is essentially a “fair copy,” not yet bearing a plate number—something that was generally added during the engraving process—reproducing the text of the earlier edition, including the then obsolete original address of Jean-Georges Sieber, dating back to 1795–96. The title page naturally bears a new, then current address: “Chez Sieber et Fils Rue des filles St Thomas N°21 Quartier Feydeau,” allowing the document to be dated between 1 January 1825 and 1 July 1834.<sup>31</sup>

In reality, this version is not simply a new edition: it is two pages longer than the earlier edition, as it includes new *Exercices* and several *Petits Airs* (pp. 6–7). Even the page layout is revised, as plates 2–3 from the second edition are here presented over three pages (pp. 1–3), thereby allowing continuous numbering across the nine pages of the manuscript.

Apart from the addition of several cautionary naturals in the chromatic scales (musical examples P, Q, R, S, T), the text is identical to that of the earlier edition. Furthermore, as already mentioned, the work also includes an announcement in the form of a *nota bene* advertising the *50 Leçons pour la Trombonne Basse, Alto & Tenor* by François-René Gebauer (1773–1845):

There is a very useful work that can be used following this Method. It is entitled 50 Easy and Progressive Lessons in the Most Common Major and Minor Tonalities. Composed by F. Gebauer, it includes six pieces or trios for three trombones.<sup>32</sup>

The new edition of the *50 Leçons*, published in 1820 by Johann Anton André from a lost Parisian original, explicitly presents itself as *Suite à la Méthode de Trombonne de Braun*.<sup>33</sup> However, the absence of this announcement in the Soignies copy casts doubt on the hypothesis put forward by Howard Weiner, who suggested that the first edition of the *50 Leçons* was published a short time later than the *editio princeps* of the *Gamme et Methode*—probably ca. about 1800.<sup>34</sup> It now seems much more likely that it was published considerably later, before 1820 (perhaps concurrently with the bilingual edition by J. André?), and at the very latest by 13 March 1822, as the existence of the printing plates for this work is attested to in the posthumous inventory of Jean-Georges Sieber's belongings, drawn up on that date.<sup>35</sup>

Pages	Titles
[i]	<i>GAMME   ET METHODE Pour les Trombones   Alto, Tenor et Basse,   PAR .BRAUN.   Membre du Conservatoire</i> [address:] à Paris   <i>Chez Sieber et Fils Rue des filles S' Thomas N°24 Quartier Feydeau.</i>
[ii]	[Blank].
1	<i>Gamme ou Méthode   pour apprendre la Basse Trombone.</i> [paragraphs 1–6]
2	[paragraphs 6–10]
3	[paragraphs 10–12]
4	<i>Gamme où Methode pour la Basse Trombone.   Par Braun.</i> [address:] à Paris, <i>Chez Sieber Musicien rue honoré entre celle des Vieille Etuve et celle D'Orleans N° 85.</i>
5	<i>Gamme Naturel.</i>
6	<i>Exercices.</i>
7	
8	<i>Étendue et Pratique du Trombone Alto.</i>
9	<i>Étendue et Pratique du Trombone Tenor.</i>
[10]	[Blank].
[11]	[Blank].
[12]	[Blank].
[iii]	[Blank].
[iv]	[Blank].

**Table 3:** Plan of *Gamme et Methode pour les Trombones* (F-Pn / Cm 52)

### The authorship of the *Gamme et Methode*

The copy of the *Gamme et Methode* from Soignies does not provide any new clues concerning the authorship of the work: it is currently attributed to a certain “Braun,” noted as being a *Membre du Conservatoire* and whom Weiner, following the lead of François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), identified as André Braun, a trombone player active in Paris between 1773 and 1806. In the light of fresh documentary evidence, this attribution needs to be re-examined.

As earlier research has demonstrated, several musicians active in Paris and bearing the name Braun are rival candidates for authorship of the work: the prime candi-

dates being André Braun, Jean-Christophe Braun, and Jean-Frédéric Braun.<sup>36</sup> If one is to trust the testimony of François-Joseph Gossec (1734–1829), as reported in the year of his death by François-Joseph Fétis in the *Revue musicale*, it was in 1773, on the occasion of the premiere of *Sabinus*, that the Braun brothers, two trumpeters of German origin, first appeared, both recruited to play the trombone in the orchestra of the Académie royale de Musique along with a certain Lowitz:

In 1773, this work [*Sabinus*] was given in the large theater at the court of Versailles for the marriage of the Comte d'Artois, and then at the Opéra in Paris. For the first time, trombones were heard in this theater, and for the second time, clarinets were heard there, along with horns and trumpets. But since the Opéra had only one large cavalry trumpet, and that played by a non-musician, it was necessary, in order to perform *Sabinus*, to make trumpets in different keys and to hire two Germans (the Braun brothers) to play them. These men, along with the Transylvanian Lowitz, played the trombones.<sup>37</sup>

It is however necessary to exercise caution when dealing with Gossec's recollections. Indeed, in this case Gossec makes at least two errors. First, Gossec here ascribes as his own an initiative that should be credited to Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–87).<sup>38</sup> According to archival sources, only from 1774 onwards can we find records of payments to trombone players in the Opéra orchestra—payments associated with the names of the musicians Sieber, Moser, Braun, and Nau. On 19 April 1774, for example, it was a certain Braun who played the trombone at a performance of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide*; on 2 August 1774, it was again a Braun, doubtless the same one, who took part in a performance of Gluck's *Orphée et Eurydice*, this time along with his colleagues Moser and Sieber.<sup>39</sup>

The second error is that, at that juncture (1773–74), only one of the brothers Braun was active in Paris, the other appearing in the annals only from 1777. The main problem here is that none of the contemporary published sources ever mentions the first names of the brothers Braun. Between 1773 and 1800, for example, they are regularly mentioned in *Les Spectacles de Paris* (1751–1815), but only as “Braun l'aîné” and “Braun cadet.” The elder Braun was employed as a trumpeter at the Concert spirituel (1773–91) and at the Académie Royale de Musique (1774–94), where he was also employed to play double bass (1778, 1781–82, 1792), horn (1779–82), bassoon (1781–82), and trombone (1784–94).<sup>40</sup> It was the same Braun the elder who, about 1780, addressed to Louis-Joseph Francoeur (1738–1804)—director of music (1764–79) and subsequently director and conductor of the orchestra (1779–90) of the Académie royale de Musique—a manuscript note concerning the *Etendue des trombones Donnée par M.r. Braune L.é.* This was probably intended for a revision, which was never completed, of Francoeur's *Diapason de tous les instruments à vent* (Paris, 1772). As Weiner has pointed out, this volume seems to prefigure the *Gamme ou Méthode*.<sup>41</sup> Braun junior also enjoyed similar employment as a trumpeter in the

orchestra of the Concert spirituel (1777–90) and of the Académie royale de Musique (1777, 1785–94), where he was additionally employed as a trombone player (1781–82, 1785–94).<sup>42</sup> The surname “Braun” also features among the names of musicians employed in the brass section of the Comédie-Italienne in July 1781,<sup>43</sup> at concerts organized by Charles-Barnabé Sageret at the Théâtre Feydeau (Théâtre de Monsieur) between November 1796 and May 1797,<sup>44</sup> and again at the Opéra de Paris in 1799 and 1800.<sup>45</sup>

From the archives of Parisian Masonic lodges, it can be established that the first name of the younger of the brothers Braun was Jean-Christophe.<sup>46</sup> Membership in a Masonic lodge was very common among foreign musicians active in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century, so there is indeed nothing strange about Jean-Christophe Braun featuring in such lists.<sup>47</sup> Described as a horn player and trumpeter, he belonged to several lodges between 1782 and 1786, first at Saint-Jean-d’Écosse du Contrat Social (1782), where more than forty musicians from the Opéra were members,<sup>48</sup> at the Sainte-Cécile lodge (1784), and at the Société Olympique lodge (1786); in the latter lodge, in the same year, another “Braun” is described as being a *musicien*, but the first name of this “Braun,” who was probably the older brother, is not mentioned.<sup>49</sup>

From the archives of the Opéra, the name of the elder of the two brothers can be determined with a good degree of certainty as having been Jean-Frédéric Braun. On 19 brumaire An XIII (10 November 1804), the Académie Impériale de Musique submitted to the Secrétairerie d’État a request concerning pensions to be granted to several retired musicians, including a certain “M. Braun”:

Mr. Braun [*sic*], trombonist in service for thirty years, is entitled to a double pension calculated on his salary of 1500 francs according to the decision and the order of the First Préfet du Paris, who established that players of wind instruments with fifteen years of service are entitled to the sum of 1500 francs.<sup>50</sup>

On 21 August 1806, a decree signed by Napoleon at the Château de Rambouillet and recorded in the minutes of the Secrétairerie d’État approved the request and granted, “To Sr. Jean-Frédéric Braun, musician retired after thirty years of service, a pension of fifteen hundred francs” (“Au Sr. Jean-Frédéric Braun, musicien retiré après 30 ans de service, une Pension de quinze cent francs”).<sup>51</sup> These two references allow us to identify Jean-Frédéric Braun as the trombone player who had been active at the Académie royale de Musique since 1774.<sup>52</sup> It is thus possible also to identify him as one of the founding fathers of the Conservatoire de Paris. At a date that is difficult to determine, but very probably before 1785, Jean-Frédéric Braun was recruited by the École royale de chant (1784–95), perhaps as an accompanist and professor of music theory.<sup>53</sup>

On 6 July 1785, Jean-Frédéric Braun married Anne-Marie Dufieu, the daughter of a burgher from Landau (Alsace). The marriage contract, which he signed before a notary, indicates that he was a *pensionnaire du Roy* living “in the rue Montmartre,



Paris, in the parish of S. Eustache” (“à Paris rue Montmartre, paroisse S. Eustache”). This was confirmed by an announcement in *Les Spectacles de Paris* of the same year, providing the additional information that his lodgings were located in the “rue Montmartre, chez M. Martin”.<sup>54</sup>

In front of the advisers of the king, solicitors in Chatelet of Paris undersigned, were present M. Jean Frédéric Braun, pensionnaire of the King residing in Paris, street Montmartre, parish Saint Eustache, elder son of M. Jean Gaspard Braun, deceased, regent of the College of Kitzingen in Franconia and Mme. Eve Cunégonde Speiser, his wife, now his widow, of whom he is said to have the consent for a marriage, for him and on his behalf because of the aforementioned marriage on one hand and of Miss Ann Marie Dufieu, adult, daughter of Antoine Dufieu, inhabitant of Landau in Alsace and Mme Marie Marguerite Knobloch, deceased, stipulating for her on her behalf and of his consent has the effect of the marriage on the other hand. Who for reason of marriage proposed between them and that mutually intended to be celebrated in the Montmartre Church, the clauses and civil conditions have been made in the following way.<sup>55</sup>

The marriage contract indicates that he hailed from Franconia, where his late father had held the post of *Régent du Collège de Kitzingen*, thereby confirming Jean-François Gossec’s recollection of the Braun brothers being German. In 1785 he was clearly in comfortable circumstances, as he was able to provide his wife with assets valued at 3000 *livres* and “made up of clothes, linen, rags and ready cash.”<sup>56</sup>

Following the dissolution of the *École royale de chant* (3 August 1795), Jean-Frédéric Braun joined the staff of the *Conservatoire de musique*, where the new administration was forced on short notice to “replace the absent citizen Rifaut with the citizen Braun” (“remplacer par le citoyen Braun, le c. Rifaut absent”). Between 1795 and 1801 his name thus features regularly in the archives and the faculty lists as “master of solfège” (*maître de solfège*), “assistant master and accompanist” (*sous-maître et accompagnateur*) and as a teacher of the “second class” (*deuxième classe*). On 1 October 1802, together with other members of the teaching staff, he was discharged during a round of budgetary cuts.<sup>57</sup> Pensioned off from the orchestra of the *Opéra* in 1804, Jean-Frédéric Braun died in Paris, in the first *arrondissement*, on 1 May 1806.<sup>58</sup>

Is Jean-Frédéric Braun the author of the *Gamme et Méthode*? Before answering this question, it is first necessary to turn our attention to the mysterious André Braun whose name is found neither in the archives nor in contemporary chronicles. Did André Braun really ever exist? The question is indeed worth posing because it was only in 1861, in the second edition of the *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, that his name appeared for the first time:

BRAUN (André), trombonist of the opera of Paris, German origin, entered

the orchestra of this theater in 1797, having been, for a few years, attached to that of the Théâtre Feydeau. He died in Paris in 1806. We have of him: *Méthode pour les trombones basse, tenor et alto*, Paris, Sieber. An edition of this work in French and German was published in Offenbach, by André. Braun had been a professor to the Conservatoire of Paris from the origin of this establishment, when military bands for the Army of the French Republic were formed; he was discharged in 1802.<sup>59</sup>

Because of its late date, Fétis's entry must be treated with caution. It is strange indeed that François-Joseph Fétis, active in Paris since 1806 and in close contact with the teachers of the Conservatoire, of which he was librarian from 1826 to 1831, should not have been able to identify with certainty the author of the method book. On this point, the first edition of the *Biographie universelle* (1837) is somewhat coy:

BRAUN. Some works were published under this name but the authors of these productions are not indicated so in such a way as to identify them specifically. One of these works has for its title: *Méthode pour les Trombones basse, tenor et alto*, Paris, Sieber. A German and French edition was published, in Offenbach, by André.<sup>60</sup>

To confuse things even more, the biographical entry for André Braun in the second edition of 1861—an entry probably from the pen of Aristide Farrenc (1794–1865), a colleague of Fétis<sup>61</sup>—mentions details about the career of Jean-Frédéric Braun as a staff member of the Conservatoire—his 1802 discharge and death in 1806—that are indeed accurate. Could Fétis or Farrenc have been the perpetrators of an error, substituting the name “André” for “Jean-Frédéric”?<sup>62</sup> Could Jean-Frédéric therefore be the author of the *Gamme et Méthode*? Often compiled hastily and sometimes rather carelessly, the entries in the *Biographie universelle* are far from free of errors and confusion of this kind.<sup>63</sup> Restoring Jean-Frédéric Braun to his rightful place as the author of the *Gamme et Methode* can thus be justified by the presence of his designation as a *Membre du Conservatoire* on the title page of the second edition. Contrary to Howard Weiner's assertion, the old card index of the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, effectively containing its institutional memory, is correct in attributing the work to Jean-Frédéric Braun.<sup>64</sup> My article now demonstrates that at least two of Weiner's sources—the catalogue of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the records of the publisher André—have long perpetuated an error first made by the *Biographie universelle*.<sup>65</sup> While rehabilitating Jean-Frédéric Braun as the author of the *Gamme et Methode* does not in any way change the significant place that the method book holds in the history of the trombone, it does shed important new light on the cultural context that brought about its creation.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Howard Weiner, “André Braun’s *Gamme et Méthode pour les Trombones*: The Earliest Modern Trombone Method Rediscovered,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 288–308; idem, “André Braun’s *Gamme et Méthode pour les Trombones* Revisited,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 11 (1999): 93–106. For the impact of this rediscovery, see Benny Sluchin and Raymond Lapie, “Slide Trombone Teaching and Method Books in France (1794–1960),” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 9 (1997): 7–8; and Trevor Herbert, *The Trombone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 127–41.

<sup>2</sup> Howard Weiner, “Andreas Nemetz’s *Neueste Posaun-Schule*: An Early Viennese Trombone Method,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 (1995): 12–35; idem, “François René Gebauer’s *50 Leçons pour la Trombone Basse, Alto & Ténor*: The Earliest Book of Études for the Trombone,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 11 (1999): 107–12; idem, “Andreas Nemetz’s *Neueste Posaun-Schule* Revisited,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 23 (2011): 103–18.

<sup>3</sup> Fabien Guilloux, *Inventaire des Archives musicales de la collégiale Saint-Vincent de Soignies* (Brussels: Archives Générales du Royaume, 2016), n° 1921.

<sup>4</sup> Anik Devriès, “Les éditions musicales Sieber,” *Revue de Musicologie* 55 (1969): 20–46, here 22–23.

<sup>5</sup> Antoine Massin, *Bruxelles. Qui est qui en 1812. D’après les registres du recensement de la population de la Mairie de Bruxelles* (Brussels: A. Massin, 1997), 875; and *Catalogue d’une superbe et riche collection de livres, de peintures, histoire, voyages, arts et métiers, théologie et autres, délaissés par Louis Joseph Terry* (Brussels: [n.p.], 1834).

<sup>6</sup> Marie Cornaz, *L’édition et la diffusion de la musique à Bruxelles au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 2007), 265–70; Sandrine Thieffry, “L’édition musicale à Bruxelles au temps de Léopold I<sup>er</sup> (1831–1865)” (Ph.D. diss., Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2011), 65–81.

<sup>7</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: Johann Mattheson, 1713), 266–67; Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna: J.V. Degen, 1806), 315.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Wangermée, *Les maîtres de chant des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles à la collégiale des SS. Michel et Gudule à Bruxelles* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1950), 60, 128, 219–22.

<sup>9</sup> Céline Drèze, “Un corpus inédit de méditations pour le carême, conservé dans le fonds d’archives jésuites à Anvers (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles),” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3 (2011):

267–303, here, 289–92.

<sup>10</sup> Herbert, *The Trombone*, 111, 120–21.

<sup>11</sup> “sert de basse dans toutes sortes de concerts d’instruments à vent, comme font le serpent & le fagot ou basson, & elle sert de basse-taille aux hautbois.” Quoted in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* (Neufchâtel: Samuel Faulche, 1765), “Sacquebute,” by D.J. [= Louis de Jaucourt]. Jaucourt compiled his article from earlier sources. There are few documents giving evidence of the use of trombones as reinforcement of the vocal basses in choirs or instrumental ensembles in the 1760s in France.

<sup>12</sup> Jacques Nazet, *Inventaire des archives du chapitre et de la paroisse Saint-Vincent de Soignies (XII<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Brussels: Archives générales du Royaume, 1986); Francine Deneubourg, “La maîtrise et les musiciens de la collégiale Saint-Vincent à Soignies (1662–1794)” (Mémoire de Licence, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1980); Myriam Lorette, “P. L. Pollio (1724–1796): Maître de musique à la collégiale Saint-Vincent de Soignies” (Mémoire de Licence, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1989).

<sup>13</sup> Léon Destrait, “Soignies sous la Tourmente,” *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Soignies*, 6, no. 4 (1934): 357; Guilloux, *Inventaire des archives*, 23, 26, 32, 35.

<sup>14</sup> Guilloux, *Inventaire des archives*, n°1693–1796.

<sup>15</sup> Weiner, “André Braun’s *Gamme et Méthode*,” 288–308.

<sup>16</sup> Devriès, “Les éditions musicales Sieber,” 40. Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, vol. 1: *Des origines à environ 1820* (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1979): 141–48.

<sup>17</sup> Devriès, “Les éditions musicales Sieber,” 45–46.

<sup>18</sup> Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire*, 144.

<sup>19</sup> Weiner, “André Braun’s *Gamme et Méthode* revisited,” 93–94.

<sup>20</sup> Anik Devriès-Lesure, *L’édition musicale dans la presse parisienne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Catalogue des annonces* (Paris: CNRS-Éditions, 2005).

<sup>21</sup> Devriès, “Les éditions musicales Sieber,” 40; Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire*, 144–45.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Paris, Archives nationales, MC / ET / XXXVIII / 921.

<sup>24</sup> *Handbuch der musikalischen Litteratur oder allgemeines systematisch geordnetes Verzeichniss der bis zum Ende des Jahres 1815 gedruckten Musikalien* (Leipzig: Anton Meysel, 1817), 232.

<sup>25</sup> Guion, *The Trombone*, 167–95.

<sup>26</sup> Sluchin and Lapie, “Slide Trombone Teaching,” 4–6; Herbert, *The Trombone*, 126–41.

<sup>27</sup> Sluchin and Lapie, “Slide Trombone Teaching,” 9–12; Herbert, *The Trombone*, 137–41, 327–30.

<sup>28</sup> Britta Constapel, *Der Musikverlag Johann André in Offenbach am Main: Studien zur Verlagstätigkeit von Johann Anton André und Verzeichnis der Musikalien von 1800 bis 1840* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1998), 189.

<sup>29</sup> Between 1800 and 1815 the Conservatoire de Paris published fourteen method books for a range of instruments. See Constant Pierre, *Le magasin de musique à l’usage des fêtes nationales et du Conservatoire* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1895), 157–60.

<sup>30</sup> Contrary to what Weiner stated, the copy preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France is a manuscript, not a published edition.

<sup>31</sup> Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire*, 147.

<sup>32</sup> “Il existe un ouvrage tres utile qui fait suite a cette Methode, et qui est intitule 50 Lecons faciles et progressives dans les modes majeurs et mineurs les plus usites. Composee par F. Gebauer et à la suite desquelles il y a six morceaux ou Trios pour trois Trombones.”

- <sup>33</sup> Weiner, "Gebauer's *50 Leçons*," 107 and 110.
- <sup>34</sup> Weiner, "Communication," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 14 (2002): 466.
- <sup>35</sup> Paris, Archives nationales, MC / ET / XXXVIII / 921.
- <sup>36</sup> Weiner, "André Braun's *Gamme et Méthode*"; Raymond Lapie, "The Braun Brothers: Two Names, One Method," *International Trombone Association Journal* 21 (1995): 30–31; Weiner, "André Braun's *Gamme et Méthode* revisited."
- <sup>37</sup> "En 1773, cet ouvrage [*Sabinus*] fut représenté sur le grand théâtre de la Cour, à Versailles, pour le mariage du comte d'Artois, et de suite sur le théâtre de l'Opéra à Paris: ce fut pour la première fois qu'on entendit à ce théâtre les trombones, et pour la seconde fois les clarinettes réunies aux cors et trompettes. Mais comme il n'existait alors à l'Opéra qu'une grande trompette de cavalerie, sonnée par un homme qui n'était pas musicien, il fallut, pour l'exécution de *Sabinus*, faire fabriquer des trompettes dans différents tons, et, pour en sonner, appeler deux musiciens allemands (les deux frères Braun). Les mêmes y embouchaient aussi les trombones, avec le transylvain Lowitz". Quoted in François-Joseph Fétis, "Notice sur l'introduction des cors, des clarinettes et des trombones dans les orchestres français, extraite des manuscrits autographes de Gossec," *Revue musicale* 3, no. 5 (1829): 222–23.
- <sup>38</sup> Georges Cucuel, *Études sur un orchestre au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'instrumentation chez les symphonistes de La Pouplinière. Œuvres musicales de Gossec, Schencker et Gaspard Procksch* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1913), 34–35.
- <sup>39</sup> Théodore de Lajarte, "Introduction du trombone dans l'orchestre de l'Opéra," in *Curiosité de l'Opéra* (Paris: Calman Levy, 1883), 123–32.
- <sup>40</sup> *Les Spectacles de Paris* (Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1774–1815). See also Michel Brenet, *Les Concerts en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1900), 313; Eugène Borrel, "L'orchestre du Concert Spirituel et celui de l'Opéra de Paris, de 1751 à 1800, d'après *Les Spectacles de Paris*," in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'esthétique musicales offerts à Paul-Henri Masson* (Paris: Richard-Masse, 1955), 2:9–15; and, with certain caveats, Jan La Rue and Howard Brofsky, "Parisian Brass Players, 1751–1793," *Brass Quarterly* 3 (1960): 139.
- <sup>41</sup> Louis-Joseph Francoeur, *Diapason général de tous les instruments à vent, avec des observations sur chacun d'eux, auquel on a joint un projet nouveau pour simplifier la manière de copier* (Paris: Des Lauriers, [1772]). Francoeur's personal copy (F-Pn / Ms 1843) includes various supplements, corrections, and annotations, including a manuscript folio (11,5 x 25,5 cm) written by Braun the elder, as cited by Lapie, "The Braun Brothers," 30, and reproduced in Weiner, "André Braun's *Gamme et Méthode* revisited," 104.
- <sup>42</sup> Borrel, "L'orchestre du Concert Spirituel," 9–15; La Rue and Brofsky, "Parisian Brass Players," 139.
- <sup>43</sup> David Charlton, "Orchestra and Chorus at the Comédie-Italienne (Opéra-Comique), 1755–99," in *Slavonic and Western Music: Essays for Gerald Abraham*, ed. Roland J. Wiley and Malcolm H. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 108, n. 33.
- <sup>44</sup> Patrick Taïeb, "L'exploitation commerciale du concert public en l'an V: l'exemple de Charles-Barnabé Sageret," in *Organisateurs et organisation du concert en Europe (1700–1920)*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker, Patrice Veit, and Michel Werner (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008), 57–82; Alexandre Dratwicky, *Un nouveau commerce de la virtuosité: Émancipation et métamorphose de la musique concertante au sein des institutions musicales parisiennes (1730–1830)* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2006), 36–39.
- <sup>45</sup> *Les Spectacles de Paris* (Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1799), 39; idem (1800), 74.
- <sup>46</sup> Alain Le Bihan, *Francs-maçons parisiens du Grand Orient de France (fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1966), 94; Roger Cotte, *La musique maçonnique et ses musiciens*. 2nd

edn. (Le Mans: Éditions du Borrégo, 1991), 169; Gérard Gefen, *Les Musiciens et la franc-maçonnerie* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), 78; Pierre-François Pinaud, *Les musiciens francs-maçons au temps de Louis XVI de Paris à Versailles. Histoire et dictionnaire biographique* (Paris: Véga, 2009), 110, 134, 170.

<sup>47</sup> Pinaud, *Les musiciens francs-maçons*, 107–25.

<sup>48</sup> Youri Carbonnier, “Le personnel musical de l’Opéra de Paris sous le règne de Louis XVI,” *Histoire, économie et société* 22/2 (2003): 205; Le Bihan, *Francs-maçons parisiens*, 17; Roger Cotte, “Les musiciens francs-maçons à la cour de Versailles et à Paris sous l’Ancien Régime” (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris IV, 1982), 212–44.

<sup>49</sup> Based on Fétis’s *Bibliographie universelle* (1861), Roger Cotte identifies this second Braun brother as “André Braun.”

<sup>50</sup> “M. Breau Trombone pour un service de trente ans a droits pour la double pension calculée sur ses appointemens de 1500 fr d’après les dispositions desd. reglements et de l’arrêté du Premier Préfet du Palais du 10 nivose an 12 [1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1804] qui fixe à 15 ans le service des artistes jouant des instrument à vent, a droit a la somme de 1500 fr.” Paris, Archives nationales, AJ<sup>13</sup> 68 / XVIII, pièce 491.

<sup>51</sup> Paris, Archives nationales, AJ<sup>13</sup> 69 / VI, pièce 152. On 11 February 1806, a similar decree granted a pension “to Sr. Widerker, trombone, retired after thirteen years of service, a 583-franc pension” (“Au Sr. Widerker, trombonne, retiré après treize ans de service, une pension de cinq cent quatre vingt trois francs”) Paris, Archives nationales, AJ<sup>13</sup> 69 / VI, pièce 150.

<sup>52</sup> Théodore Lassabathie, *Histoire du Conservatoire impérial de Musique et de déclamation* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1860), 240, 341–51, 427; Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation. Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 57–61, 229–37, 407–12. The Jean-Frédéric Braun (who died on 1 May 1806) discussed here should not be confused with either Johann Friedrich Braun (1759–1824), a German oboist and composer, nor with Jean-Frédéric Braun (d. 29 August 1745), a musician active in Paris. Concerning the first of these two men, see *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), s.v. “Braun. 3. Johann Friedrich,” by Werner Braun; and; for the second, see Paris, Archives de Paris, Fichiers alphabétiques de l’état civil reconstitué (xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle–1859), fichier V3E / D 192; and Bernadette Gérard, “Inventaire alphabétique des documents répertoriés relatifs aux musiciens parisiens conservés aux Archives de Paris,” *Recherches sur la Musique française classique* XIII (1973), 186.

<sup>53</sup> Michel Noiray, “L’École royale de chant (1784–1795): crise musicale, crise institutionnelle,” in *Musical Education in Europe (1770–1914)*, ed. Michael Fend and Michel Noiray (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 49–77.

<sup>54</sup> Paris, Archives nationales, MC / ET / XLV / 590; *Les Spectacles de Paris* (Paris: Vve Duchesne, 1785), 5, 23.

<sup>55</sup> “Pardevant les Conseillers du Roy notaires au Chatelet de Paris soussignés furent présents Sr. Jean Frédéric Braun, Pensionnaire du Roy, demeurant à Paris rue Montmartre, p[ar]ois[s]e S. Eustache, majeur fils de M. Jean Gaspard Braun, décédé, Régent du Collège de Kitzingen en Franconie et de D<sup>me</sup> Eve Cunégonde Speiser, son épouse, à présent sa veuve, de laquelle il a dit avoir le consentement à l’effet d’un mariage cy après, pour lui et en son nom, à cause dud[it] mariage d’une part et de D<sup>lle</sup> Anne Marie DuFieu, majeure, fille d’Antoine Dufieu, Bourgeois de Landau en Alsace et de D<sup>me</sup> Marie Marguerite Knobloch, décédée, stipulant pour elle en son nom et de son consentement à l’effet du mariage d’autre part. Lesquels pour raison de mariage proposé entre eux et dont ils se promettent réciproquement de faire faire la célébra[tion] en face d’Eglise Mont[matre] fait et arrêté les clauses et conditions civiles de la manière suivante.”

Paris, Archives nationales, MC / ET / XLV / 590.

<sup>56</sup> “composée d’habits, linge, hardes et deniers comptants.” Paris, Archives nationales, MC / ET / XLV / 590. The archives of the St. Johannes Church, Kitzingen (now in the Diözesanarchiv Würzburg) contain records of the 1734 marriage of Caspar Braun and Eva Cuni-gunde Spiesser, and of the baptisms of three children: two daughters and one son. However, information about Johannes Friedrich and Johannes Christoph is found neither there nor in the Kitzingen municipal archives. Ironically, the only son mentioned in the records was named Johannes Andreas; thus, if he, too, had moved to Paris, he would likely have been known as Jean-André Braun. I thank Howard Weiner for this information.

<sup>57</sup> Pierre, *Le Conservatoire*, 159, n°CCLXXVIII.

<sup>58</sup> Paris, Archives de Paris, Fichiers alphabétiques de l’état civil reconstitué, V3E / D 192.

<sup>59</sup> “BRAUN (André), tromboniste de l’opéra de Paris, d’origine allemande, entra à l’orchestre de ce théâtre en 1797, après avoir été, pendant quelques années, attaché à celui du théâtre Feydeau. Il mourut à Paris en 1806. On a de lui: *Méthode pour les trombone basse, ténor et alto*; Paris, Sieber. Il a été publié une édition française et allemande de cet ouvrage, à Offenbach, chez André. Braun avait été professeur au Conservatoire de Paris à l’origine de cet établissement, lorsqu’on y formait des corps de musique militaire pour les armées de la République française : il fut réformé en 1802.” François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd edn. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1861), s.v. “Braun (André).”

<sup>60</sup> “BRAUN. Quelques ouvrages ont été publiés sous ce nom; mais les auteurs de ces productions ne sont pas désignés de manière à les faire connaître d’une façon particulière. Un de ces ouvrages a pour titre; *Méthode pour les Trombones basse, tenor et alto*, Paris, Sieber. Il en a été publié une édition allemande et française à Offenbach, chez André.” François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837), s.v. “Braun.” The *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst* (Stuttgart: Franz Heinrich Röhrler, 1841), s.v. “Posaune,” by Gustav Schilling, does not offer a more precise attribution.

<sup>61</sup> Katharine Ellis, “The Making of a Dictionary: François-Joseph Fétis, Aristide Farrenc, and the *Biographie universelle des musiciens*,” *Revue belge de musicologie* 62 (2008): 63–78.

<sup>62</sup> It is possible that Fétis or Farrenc confused the name of the author with that of the publisher.

<sup>63</sup> On Fétis’s work, see Robert Wangermée, *François-Joseph Fétis: Musicologue et Compositeur. Contribution à l’étude du goût musical au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1951), 139–72; Marguerite Sablonnière, “Aux sources de la *Biographie universelle des musiciens*: les catalogues de la Bibliothèque nationale et de la bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Paris,” *Revue belge de musicologie* 62 (2008): 31–46; Katharine Ellis, “The Making of a Dictionary,” 63–78; and Rémy Campos, *François-Joseph Fétis musicographe* (Genève: Droz, 2013).

<sup>64</sup> Weiner, “André Braun’s *Gamme et Méthode*” and idem, “André Braun’s *Gamme et Méthode* revisited,” 93.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

