

APPENDIX 1GRÉTRY'S ORCHESTRATION

Fétis made the following statement:

"Au reste, Grétry attachait si peu d'importance à l'instrumentation de ses ouvrages, qu'il en chargeait ordinairement quelqu'un de ses amis. L'orchestre de ses vingt derniers opéras a été écrit par Panseron".¹⁾

Professor A. Vander Linden kindly provided an opinion of this in a letter to the present writer of 26 February 1970.

"J'avoue que la phrase de Fétis sur Grétry-Panseron ne m'a jamais fort ému. Peut-être est-elle exacte, mais elle est (à ma connaissance tout au moins) le seul témoignage sur cette collaboration. Sans doute Fétis en a-t-il eu des échos uniquement par Panseron fils, encore bien jeune à la mort de Grétry.

Je connais peu d'autographes de Grétry, mais nous avons ici celui d'Elisca: il y a des pages d'une main étrangère, mais est-elle de Panseron? Par ailleurs, il y a des pages entières de Grétry - et ce sont les plus nombreuses, où toute l'instrumentation est de ce compositeur.

Le problème reste donc entier et ne peut-être éclairci que par l'examen des partitions de Grétry, de l'écriture de Panseron, des rapports entre les deux musiciens (chose curieuse, il n'y a pas une seule lettre conservée de l'un à l'autre).

A similar view on Panseron was expressed by Ernest Closson, editor of the Grétry C.E. volume of Delphis et Mopsa (Académie 1803). Closson, writing in the preface, found no evidence outside that of Fétis of Panseron's help, but traced what he was inclined to accept as conclusive evidence of collaboration by Momigny. ²⁾ Momigny stated:

"Témoin de son travail, j'en puis parler avec certitude, car nous étions liés au point qu'il me pria de lui établir la partition de l'un de ses opéras, dont il avoit rapporté de l'Hermilage, sa maison de campagne, les différens chants avec les ritournelles, écrits sur des petits morceaux de papier...J'allai donc chez lui, pendant trois semaines environ, tous les matins, à six heures. Nous nous enfermions jusqu'à neuf, et je lui instrumentois ses airs et ses choeurs, car cet ouvrage étoit pour le grand Opéra: c'étoit Delphis et Mopsa..."

No evidence of collaboration with anyone is to be found in Grétry's correspondence.³⁾

1) Fétis/HU, article "Grétry" p.105

2) METH, music volume II, article "Opéra"

3) Grétry/CORR

Grétry was nothing if not an instinctive composer, by his own testimony with writing quickly under the pressure of inspiration. He "wrote" four numbers of Le tableau parlant after dinner with the Swedish ambassador ¹⁾ which would hardly have left enough time for scoring. The narrative of the delirious state in which the chorus of janissaries in Les deux avarés was written indicates the same impatience, this time with actual mention of the orchestration:

"J'entendois exécuter ce choeur avec toutes ses parties; j'avoir beau me dire qu'il étoit impossible que je l'oublie...j'entrais inutilement dans les détails d'une partition, en me disant, les violons feront ce trait, les bassons soutiendront cette note, les cors donneront ou ne donneront pas..." ²⁾

These two operas date from 1769 and 1770. In talking of Andromaque (1780) Grétry gives the reverse of the impression that orchestration mattered nothing, since he claimed priority in the idea of scoring Andromaque's recitatives in a unified way using three flutes in harmony. ³⁾ Further, of the works of 1789-91 he wrote, "Je fis Raoul barbe bleu, Pierre le Grand, Guillaume Tell, où je cherchai à renforcer le coloris musical, c'est-à-dire, l'harmonie et le travail de l'orchestre". ⁴⁾

If we admit Fétis's statement that the last twenty operas had the services of collaboration the starting point is 1788. The slender fragments of Andromaque and La caravane du Caire that I have seen do appear to be entirely in Grétry's hand. ⁵⁾

It is in fact in works after the Mémoires were published that internal evidence suggests helpers. In Lisbeth (1797) the violas and bass have the following on p.4 of the original printed score.

*Allegretto
pastorale*

On the other hand the orchestration of the overture in general could hardly

1) Grétry/MÉMOIRES, Vol.II _____ p.182

2) Ibid. p.216

3) Ibid. p.356

4) Ibid. p.47

5) B. de l'Op. Rés 108 and Rés 104(2); Rés 104(1) seems to be another piece. I have not seen B. de l'Op. Rés 109 and B.N. MSS 15556 and 13749 (dating from 1775, 1776 and 1784).

have been simply filled in between a melody and a bass, because the decorative upper and the inner working is too complex. Either Grétry wrote it all himself (and his capricious musical nature could have been responsible for the above) or his assistant composed more than a filling.

In the case of Anacréon (1797) the difficulty of Ex.171 has been mentioned in chapter 9. Elisca (1799) has oddities. It contains a muted horn (see chapter 7), mixed 3/4 and 2/4 time signatures (p.124 of the original printed score) and untypical details of scoring.

Grétry,

Elisca p.74

Delphis et Mopsa covers the tracks of collaboration; perhaps these are only betrayed by the fact that care is taken not to make the double-basses descend below E natural, a nicety as far as Grétry's technique was normally concerned.

Pending some thorough study of the surviving Grétry MSS I should like to point to one MS that corroborates Momigny; here it is relevant to recall that Momigny's wording implies that Grétry sought assistance because a work was destined for the Académie. B. de l'Op. Rés 107(2), catalogued as "Fragments", is actually the newly composed central section of the overture, La rosière républicaine.¹⁾ As explained in the C.E. preface this overture was first designed for the 1792 Cécile et Ermance - performed at the Favart - when it had a central section containing a number of wind solos. As Ex.237 shows, the later Académie working is homophonic in its use of winds. Rés 107 (2) does not seem to be in Grétry's hand, yet is not a fair copy. It is in a single hand throughout, with unruled bar-lines. It could therefore be the full score by an assistant made from a short score by Grétry. Another MS of the same overture, part of the unaltered first section (B. de l'Op. Rés 105(1)) is sketchy, but apparently all in Grétry's hand.

The other later Grétry fragment in Paris also appears to be entirely autograph: B.N. W₂.53, from act 2 of Callias (1794).

1) Académie 1794; see chapter 9, p.436. Rés 107(2) is a double leaf, covered on three sides. There are 51 bars of "Andante sans lenteur", and two bars of "1er mouvement".

APPENDIX 2

LES SPECTACLES DE PARIS and the ALMANACH GENERAL DE TOUS LES SPECTACLES

Les Spectacles de Paris was an annual production intended initially both as a work of reference and as a cumulative record of what was performed on the chief stages of Paris. It was first published in 1751 and continued to appear, with occasional modifications of the title, for over a century. It not only gave details of works performed and accounts of new productions, but also contained the names and addresses of actors and musicians employed at the theatres, and the names of those actors making their début.

During the Revolution and Empire it did not appear from 1795 to September 1799 (the beginning of An VIII) inclusive, and from September 1801 (the end of An IX) to 1815 inclusive. Meanwhile a rival publication of similar intent and proportions, but containing a greater amount of critical commentary, was brought out in 1791 and 1792 under the title Almanach général de tous les Spectacles, and (uniquely) in 1809 as Almanach des Spectacles de Paris.

Copies of these periodicals are seemingly rare in England - the British Museum owns but two out of the complete run of Les Spectacles - and hitherto writers on the orchestra ¹⁾ have confined themselves to extracting a limited quantity of information from one or two years only. Yet following the freedom of the theatres the Almanach général for 1791 and Les Spectacles for 1792 began to include details of the personnel of the small theatres as well as the great (with notes on provincial theatres), and provide much possibly unique information on the sizes of the various orchestras. ²⁾

Naturally, in such a period of unrest, there are obvious errors and inexplicable omissions only to be expected in a reference book. One might point to the number of horns at the Feydeau in 1794 or violins at the Favart in 1793. I have silently altered the given totals in only three or four instances from the evidence of players' names in adjacent years. Moreover, a critical acceptance of the inexplicable may be beneficial: for instance, there may be a logical explanation for the omission of the Feydeau timpanist. ³⁾ More positively, a comparison of the titles given to the orchestra directors is always instructive, as is the way in which the instruments are grouped,

1) Notably Adam Carse and Eugène Borrel

2) B.N. Yf 1829-31; Yf 1903; B. de l'Op. Rés 786(1-2); 780.4(LL-00); 780.5(a-b)

3) See chapter 3, p.122.

especially at the Académie.

There is difficulty in interpreting the dating of the information in general in that lists of performed works cited were retrospective to the advertised year of the edition; the orchestra lists sometimes tally with other evidence in suggesting that they too are to be associated with the year preceding the date of the edition in question. My approach has therefore been flexible in the course of the dissertation but literal in the following lists.

In compiling the present appendix I have reproduced only the numbers of instrumentalists employed by those theatres at which works mentioned in the dissertation were presented, and figures for the Concert Spirituel until its dissolution. All information, save from 1809, is taken from Les Spectacles, and alternative totals from the Almanach général indicated in brackets. In the entry for the Académie in 1799-1800, which is unique in its method of grouping the instruments, I have reproduced the players' names as well as the usual figures.

The spelling of proper names has occasionally been edited to conform to a best-known version. The name and title of a director of music has been entered on its first appearance or on a subsequent alteration of any kind.

CONCERT SPIRITUEL

1783

Vn 1: 10	Vn 2: 10	Vle: 4	Vc: 9	DB: 4
Fl: 2	Ob: 2	Cl: 2	Fg: 4	
Cor: 4	Tp: 2	Timp: 1		

1787

Vn 1: 11	Vn 2: 12	Vle: 4	Vc: 10	DB: 4
Fl: 2	Ob: 2	Cl: 2	Fg: 4	
Cor: 4	Tp: 2	Timp: 1		

1788

Vn 1: 10	Vn 2: 10	Vle: 5	Vc: 11	DB: 4
Fl: 2	Ob: 2	Cl: 2	Fg: 4	
Cor: 4	Tp: 2	Timp: 1		

CONCERT SPIRITUEL1789

Vn 1: 11 Vn 2: 10 Vle: 4 Vc: 10 DB: 10
 Fl: 2 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 4
 Cor: 4 Tp: 2 Tb: 1 (after Brook/SYMPHONIE Vol.I p.404) Timp: 1

1790

Vn 1: 10 Vn 2: 8 Vle: 4 Vc: 9 DB: 4
 Fl: 2 Ob: 3 Cl: 2 Fg: 3
 Cor: 3 Tp: 2 Tb: 1 Timp: 1

1791*(May not be the original series)*

Vn 1: 10 Vn 2: 8 Vle: 4 Vc: 10 DB: 4
 Fl: 2 Ob: 3 Cl: 2 Fg: 3
 Cor: 3 Tp: 2 Tb: 1 Timp: 1

ACADEMIEMaître de Musique: ReyAssistants: Tissier, Bonnay1783

Vn 1: 13 Vn 2: 12 Vle: 6
 Supernumeraries: 3 Supernumeraries: 1
 Vc, petit choeur: 4
 Vc, grand choeur: 8 DB: 5
 Fl: 2 Ob: 4 Cl: 2 Fg: 4
 Cor: 2 Tp & Timp: 1 Harp: 1
 Tb: 2

1787

Vn 1: 13 Vn 2: 12 Vle: 6
 Supernumeraries: 3
 Vc; petit choeur: 4 DB: 5
 Vc, grand choeur: 8
 Fl: 2 Ob: 4 Cl: 2 Fg: 4
 Cor: 2 Tp & Timp: 1 Harp: 1 Picc and cymbal: 2
 Tb: 3

ACADEMIE1788

Vn 1: 13 Vn 2: 12 Vle: 6
 Supernumeraries: 3
 Vc, petit choeur: 4 DB: 5
 Vc, grand choeur: 8
 Fl: 2 Ob: 4 Cl: 2 Fg: 4
 Cor: 2 Tp & Timp: 1 Harp: 1 Picc and cymbals: 3
 Tb: 3

1789Maitre de Musique: Rey Assistant: Rochefort

Vns 1 and 2: 25 Vle: 6 Vc, petit choeur: 4 DB: 4
 Supernumeraries: 3 Vc, grand choeur: 7
 Fl: 2 Ob: 4 Cl: 2 Fg: 4
 Cor: 4 Tp & Timp: 1 Harp: 1
 Tb: 3
 Picc, Cymbals,
 drum: 3

1790

Vns 1 and 2: 28 Vle: 6 Vc, petit choeur: 4 DB: 4
 Vc, grand choeur: 8
 Fl: 2 Ob: 4 Cl: 2 Fg: 4
 Cor: 4 Tp & Timp: 1 Harp: 1
 Tb: 3
 Picc, cymbals,
 drum: 3

1791

Vns 1 and 2: 27

All else as for 1790

1792

Vns 1 and 2: 24 (28) Vle: 6 Vc, petit choeur: 4
 Vc, grand choeur: 7 DB: 4 (5)
 Fl: 4 (2) Ob: 4 Cl: 2 (3) Fg: 5
 Cor: 4 Tp & Timp: 1 Harp: 1
 Tb: 3
 Picc, cymbals,
 drum: 3

1809

Vns 1 and 2: 23	Vle: 6	Vc: 12	DB: 6
Fl: 3	Ob: 4	Cl: 3	Fg: 4
Cor: 5	Tp: 2	Tb: 3	
Timp: 1	Harp: 2		

THEATRE ITALIEN, SALLE FAVART1783Premier violon: La Houssaye

Vn 1: 7	Vn 2: 6	Vle: 2	Vc: 6	DB: 2
Fl and Ob: 2	Fg: 2	Cor: 2		

1787

Vn 1: 6	Vn 2: 11	Vle: 2	Vc: 6	DB: 2
Fl: 1	Ob: 2	Fg: 2	Cor: 2	

1788

Vn 1: 8	Vn 2: 10	Vle: 2	Vc: 6	DB: 2
Fl: 1	Ob: 2	Fg: 2	Cor: 2	Timp: 1

1789

Vn 1: 8	Vn 2: 9	Vle: 2	Vc: 6	DB: 2
Fl: 1	Ob: 2	Fg: 2	Cor: 2	Timp: 1

1790

Vn 1: 8	Vn 2: 9	Vle: 2	Vc: 5	DB: 2
Fl: 1	Ob: 2	Fg: 2	Cor: 2	Timp: 1

1791Premier violon: Blasius

THÉÂTRE ITALIEN, 1791

Vn 1: 7 (8) Vn 2: 7 (9) Vle: 3 Vc: 5 DB: 3 (2)
 Fl: 1 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 2
 Cor: 2 Tp: 2 Timp: 1

1792

Vn 1: 8 (9) Vn 2: 6 (8) Vle: 2 Vc: 5 DB: 3 (2)
 Fl: 1 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 3
 Cor: 2 Tp: 2 Tb: 1 Timp: 1

1793

Chefs d'orchestre: Blasius, Lefèvre

Vn 1: 5 Vn 2: 10 Vle: 2 Vc: 4 DB: 3
 Fl: 1 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 3
 Cor: 2 Tp: 2 Tb: 1 Timp: 1

1794

Vns 1 and 2: 15 Vle: 4 Vc: 5 DB: 3
 Fl: 1 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 3
 Cor: 2 Tp: 2 Tb: 1 Timp: 1

September 1799 to September 1800

Vns: 11 Vns "suite de Vle: 4 Vc: 7 DB: 3
 l'orchestre": 3
 Fl: 3 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 3
 Cor: 4 Tp: 2 Tb: 2 Timp: 1

September 1800 to September 1801

Vns: 10

All else as for 1799-1800

THÉÂTRE DE MONSIEUR,SALLE DES MACHINES,1789

(from Péricaud/MONSIEUR p.21)

TUILERIESVn solo: Bruni

Vn 1: 8 Vn 2: 8 Vle: 2 Vc: 4 DB: 3

Fl: 2 Ob: 1 Cl: 2 Fg: 2

Cor: 2 Tp: 1 Tb: 1 Claveciniste: 1

THÉÂTRE DE MONSIEUR,RUE FEYDEAU1791

"Au forte-piano, pour le récitatif, M. Ferrari, premier" (Almanach général;
Les Spectacles has
 Ferrari as claveciniste)

"1^{er} violons, chefs de l'orchestre": La Houssaye, Puppo

Vn 1: 7 Vn 2: 7 Vle: 3 Vc: 4
 DB: 3 ("Deux premiers violoncelles accompagnent")

Fl: 2 Ob: 3 Cl: 2 Fg: 2

Cor: 4 Tp: 1 Tb: 1

1792

Vn 1: 7 (8) Vn 2: 8 (9) Vle: 4 Vc: 4 (6)
 DB: 2 (3) ("Premier violoncelle accompagnant: 1")

Fl: 2 Ob: 2 (3) Cl: 2 Fg: 2

Cor: 3 (4) Tb: (1)

"Trois places vacantes"

1793

Vn 1: 8 Vn 2: 6 Vle: 4 Vc: 5 DB: 4

Fl: 2 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 2

Cor: 4 Tb: 1

1794

Vn 1: 8 Vn 2: 6 Vle: 4 Vc: 6 DB: 3

Fl: 2 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 2

Cor: 3 Tp: 2 Timp: 1

September 1799 to September 1800

Vn 1: 8 Vn 2: 8 Vle: 4 Vc: 6 DB: 4
Fl: 2 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 2
Cor: 4 Tb: 1

September 1800 to September 1801

Vn 1: 8 Vn 2: 7 Vle: 4 Vc: 5 DB: 3
Fl: 2 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 2
Cor: 4 Tb: 1

OPÉRA-COMIQUE, SALLE FEYDEAU

1809

Chefs d'orchestre: Blasius, Lefèvre

Vn 1: 7 Vn 2: 8 Vle: 4 Vc: 5 DB: 4
Fl: 3 Ob: 3 Cl: 2 Fg: 3
Cor: 4 Timp: 1 Harp: 1 Pianiste: 1

THEATRE MONTANSIER

1791 (from Almanach général)

Directeur et maître de musique: Gilbert

Vn 1: 6 Vn 2: 6 Vle: 2 Vc: 3 DB: 2
Fl and Cl: 2 Fg: 2
Ob: 2
Cor: 2

1792

Vn 1: 6 Vn 2: 6 Vle: 2 Vc: 4 DB: 2
Fl: 1 Ob: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 2
Cor: 2 Tb: 1 Timp: 1

THÉÂTRE MONTANSIER1793

Vn 1: 8 Vn 2: 8 Vle: 2 Vc: 6 DB: 3
 Fl: 2 Ob: 1 Cl: 1 Fg: 2
 Cor: 3 Tp: 2 Tb: 1 Timp: 1

September 1799 to September 1800

Vn 1: 5 Vn 2: 6 Vle: 2 Vc: 3 DB: 2
 Fl and
 Ob: 2 Cl: 1 Fg: 1
 Cor: 2

1809 (Here called the Théâtre des Variétés)

Vn 1: 6 Vn 2: 5 Vle: 2 Vc: 3 DB: 2
 Fl: 1 Cl: 2 Fg: 1
 Cor: 2 Tb: 1 Timp: 1

THEATRE DES BEAUJOLAIS1791 (from Almanach général)Maître de Musique: Leroi Directeur de l'orchestre: Cambini

Vn 1: 4 Vn 2: 4 Vle: 2 Vc: 3 DB: 1
 Ob: 2 Fg: 2
 Cor: 2

1792 (now the Théâtre de la rue de Louvois)Maître de Musique: Martin Premier violon: Bonnardot

Vn 1: (5) Vn 2: (5) Vle: 2 Vc: 4
 Fl: 1 Ob: 2 Fg: 2
 Cor: 2 Timp: 1

1793

Total number of musicians: 25

THÉÂTRE DES AMIS DE LA PATRIE(formerly Théâtre des Beaujolais)1794

Vns 1 and 2: 16 Vle: 2 Vc: 4 DB: 2
 Fl: 1 Ob: 2 Fg: 2
 Cor: 2

THÉÂTRE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE1793Maître de l'orchestre, ou premier violon: Lescot

Total number of musicians: 21

1794

Total number of musicians: 26

THÉÂTRE DE L'AMBIGU-COMIQUE1791Premier violon et directeur: Poulain l'aîné

Total number of musicians: 17

1792/3

Vns 1 and 2: 8 Vle: 2 Vc: 3 DB: 1
 Fl: 1 Cl: 2 Fg: 2
 Cor: 2

1794

Vns 1 and 2: 7 Vc: 3 DB: 1
 Fl: 1 Ob: 2
 Cor: 2

September 1800 to September 1801Chef d'orchestre: Quaisain

Total number of musicians: 17

1809

Vn 1: 4 Vn 2: 4 Vle: 2 Vc: 2 DB: 2
 Fl: 2 Cl: 2 Fg: 1

AMBIGU-COMIQUE 1809

Cor: 2 Timp: 1

THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS COMIQUE ET LYRIQUE(formerly the Théâtre des Jeunes-Artistes,
after Brazier/CHRONIQUES)1791 (from Almanach général)Directeur et Maître de Musique: Leblanc

Vns 1 and 2: 10	Vle: 2	Vc: 4	DB: 1
	Supernumeraries: 1	Supernumeraries: 1	
Fl and Cl: 1	Ob: 2	Fg: 2	
Cor: 2			

1792 (from Almanach général)

Vn 1: 4	Vn 2: 4	Vle: 2	Vc: 1
Fl: 2	Ob: 2		
Cor: 2			

THÉÂTRE DE L'IMPÉRATRICE1809Chef d'orchestre: Grasset

Vn 1: 6	Vn 2: 7	Vle: 4	Vc: 4	DB: 5
			<u>Accompagnateur: 1</u>	
Fl: 2	Ob: 2	Cl: 2	Fg: 3	
Cor: 3				

APPENDIX 3

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR

MONTH	YEAR- II,III	IV	V,VI,VII	VIII. - XI	XII	XIII,XIV
	(1793-5)	(1795-6)	(1796-9)	(1799-1803)	(1803-4)	(1804-6)
1 Vendémiaire	Sep. 22	Sep. 23	Sep. 22	Sep. 23	Sep. 24	Sep. 23
1 Brumaire	Oct. 22	Oct. 23	Oct. 22	Oct. 23	Oct. 24	Oct. 23
1 Frimaire	Nov. 21	Nov. 22	Nov. 21	Nov. 22	Nov. 23	Nov. 22
1 Nivôse	Dec. 21	Dec. 22	Dec. 21	Dec. 22	Dec. 23	Dec. 22
1 Pluviôse	Jan. 20	Jan. 21	Jan. 20	Jan. 21	Jan. 22	Jan. 21
1 Ventôse	Feb. 19	Feb. 20	Feb. 19	Feb. 20	Feb. 21	Feb. 20
1 Germinal	Mar. 21	Mar. 21	Mar. 21	Mar. 22	Mar. 22	Mar. 22
1 Floréal	Apr. 20	Apr. 20	Apr. 20	Apr. 21	Apr. 21	Apr. 21
1 Prairial	May 20	May 20	May 20	May 21	May 21	May 21
1 Messidor	June 19	June 19	June 19	June 20	June 20	June 20
1 Thermidor	July 19	July 19	July 19	July 20	July 20	July 20
1 Fructidor	Aug. 18	Aug. 18	Aug. 18	Aug. 19	Aug. 19	Aug. 19

APPENDIX 4

CONCERT-GIVING IN PARIS, 1789 TO 1810

The musical historian wishing to comment in any detail on aspects of concert life under the Revolution and Empire must go straight to the source material. It is to be regretted that the books planned by the French writer Constant Pierre (Histoire de l'orchestre de l'Opéra and a history of the Concert Spirituel), although sometimes quoted in dictionaries, did not appear. His volume on the Conservatoire quotes all the earliest concert programmes given by teachers and pupils in full, and these invaluable lists are therefore not reproduced in the present study.

What follows is a modest concordance of material concerned with concerts and concert series, mostly from secondary and occasionally from primary sources. It shows that the giving of concerts abated only temporarily with the general exodus; the evaluation of Schwartz ¹⁾ must be treated with caution:

"Being a subtler form of musical entertainment, [concerts] suffered more than the opera from the loss of their aristocratic clientele, and it took a number of years before a new concert audience was built..."

While it is certainly true that the well-established Concert Spirituel and Concert de la Loge Olimpique were obliged to cease some time after the fall of the Bastille, these were not the sole concerts before 1789 and their passing did not preclude the continuation and establishment of others. During the period under consideration a new range of concert events was made available, sometimes to a less wealthy public than previously. ²⁾ This is not to include the many concerts given by Conservatoire pupils.

Private concert-giving, a more influential practice than is sometimes recognised, lasted in Paris as long as the aristocracy and others could support it. These proceedings could be far from occasions of mere dilettante sociability, as Mme de la Tour du Pin informs us. ³⁾ Before the Revolution professional musicians from the Académie met weekly under Viotti for gatherings with amateurs at the Hôtel de Rochechoart, singing "the most difficult finales". These were rehearsed and eventually performed. "Everyone took the

1) Schwartz/FRENCH p.9

2) Musical manifestations of the cultural programme of the National Convention are briefly discussed in John/REFLECTIONS p.29.

3) la Tour du Pin/MEMOIRS pp.94, 155

greatest pains, and Viotti was excessively severe...On the evening of the final performance there would always be an audience of about fifty people of all generations." A year after the fall of the Bastille we learn from the same source that "One could be sure of hearing very good music there [i.e. at the Hôtel de Laborde], played by some of the finest musicians in Paris."

The Directory saw the steady return of self-exiled persons, with some of whom artists and composers were associated in salons. The concerts organised by the Duchesse d'Orléans began at the Palais-Royal ¹⁾, and in 1797 the Chevalier de Saint-Georges formed his "Cercle de l'Harmonie", whose orchestra he occasionally directed personally. ²⁾ Exiled musicians formerly favoured in fashionable households returned also: Martini, for example from Lyons in 1794 and Viotti from London four years later.

Under the Consulate and Empire the musical results of Napoleon's 'new aristocracy' quickly became manifest. A press report of May 1803 reads:

"Le retour de la belle saison n'a point encore interrompu les réunions d'amateurs. Les concerts de l'hôtel Pelletier, Vielle rue du Temple, se soutiennent avec avantage...
Mardi 21: M. et Madame Ladurner réunissaient un cercle brillant ou l'on a entendu entr'autres amateurs et virtuoses distingués..." ³⁾

The following list deals with other, less private concerts. Although far from comprehensive, all the better known series are included. Sources are listed at the end.

-
- 1789: a) 23 April: Final concert before the Revolution of the Société Académique des Enfants d'Apollon. (1)
b) "Le Concert Spirituel se transporta dans la salle du Théâtre Italien, pour émigrer peu de mois après dans celle de l'Opéra, à la Porte Saint-Martin..." (2)
c) "Quelques semaines plus tard [i.e. after 14 July] s'ouvrirent, au Cirque du Palais-Royal, de nouveaux concerts..." (3)
- 1790: a) Concert Spirituel: "Ce spectacle s'est donné à l'ancienne Salle du Panthéon." (4) *ie 13 May, the last listed in Pierre/Spirituel.*
b) The Monsieur, under Viotti's guidance, moved to a newly constructed theatre in the rue Feydeau, soon a noted rendezvous for concerts; first production in the new theatre 6 Jan 1791, after Giazotto/VIOTTI p.243. (5)

1) Brook/SYMPHONIE, Vol.I p.395
2) Goncourt/DIRECTOIRE p.373
3) CAM, 28 May 1803

1790 (?)c) The violinist Rode made his début in an interval during a theatrical evening at the Feydeau with the house orchestra. (6) Schwartz/FRENCH implies that such performances were already [were to become?] a regular feature.

- 1791:
- a) The Concert Spirituel ceased with the abolition of royal privileges. Its passing was marked by a historical note in SPECTACLES which concluded: "Vingt autres concerts ont pris sa place, et les plus célèbres virtuoses se font entendre, soit à la Cirque, soit au Musée; le Théâtre de la rue Feydeau particulièrement a satisfait des amateurs; et les Concerts qu'on y a donné les jours de Fêtes Solemnelles ont été très brillants." *The series proper may have ended in 1790.*
 - b) 30 March: Concert at the Cirque du Palais-Royal
 - c) 25 December: Concert at the Feydeau (7)

1791

onwards

So far from having been first organised in 1794 and of "une durée éphémère", (8) concerts by the Feydeau orchestra were continued from 1791. Brook (9) moreover refers to Feydeau concerts at which various French orchestral works were given their première in 1792, 1793 and 1794. A critique is quoted from the early part of 1797 indicating that the current season was very successful. According to the Goncourt brothers the speculator and impresario Sageret took positive advantage of the orchestra's known excellence in buying control of the operatic section of the theatre in the spring of 1795. The Feydeau concerts organised by Sageret which commenced after the autumn of that year were the most sought after and musically splendid of the time. (10).

- 1793:
- a) 20 November: Concert of the National Guard at the Feydeau. (11)
 - b) 30 November: "Les artistes des théâtres de la République et de l'Opéra célébrèrent la fête de la Raison à Saint-Roche." (12)
 - c) "Fête civique organisée par la Municipalité parisienne dans le temple de la Raison." [i.e. Notre-Dame] (13)
- 1794:
- a) 29 June: concert "exécuté par l'Institut national de la musique au concert du peuple...à l'occasion des victoires des armées de la République." (14)
 - b) 4 July: "Concert du peuple dans le jardin national des Tuileries, pour célébrer la reprise de la Belgique." (15)
 - c) 14 July: Bastille day concert in the Tuileries gardens given at the state's expense. Part of the Convention's cultural programme. (16)
 - d) 10 August: Concert given by the Institut (17)
 - e) 26 August: National concert for the victory of Fleurus (18)
 - f) 21 September: Festival of the 5th sans-culottide, dedicated to the victorious army and to the translation of Marat's body to the Panthéon. (19)
 - g) 11 October: Translation of the remains of Rousseau to the Panthéon (20)
 - h) 7 November: Concert of the National Guard at the Feydeau (21)

- 1795: a) 27 July: Concert at the Convention organised by the Institut (22)
 b) 10 August: ditto (23)
 c) 3 October: Concert at the Convention in memory of the victims of the Girondins (24)
 d) 16 October: Concert at the Académie (25)
- 1796: "Les évènements de la révolution ont détruit ce bel établissement [the Loge Olimpique], dont les concerts de Feydeau et ceux de la rue de Cléry n'ont été que de faibles copies, quoiqu'ils aient obtenu le plus grand succès en 1796 et en 1802.
 Ce succès fut dû surtout aux grands artistes qui y jouèrent des solos et qui y chantèrent. Rode, Kreutzer, F. Duvernoy, Garat et madame Barbier-Valbonne s'y firent admirer; mais quoique l'orchestre fût fort bon, il n'égalait pas celui du concert de la loge Olimpique." (26)
- 1797: Spring: Saint-Georges' Cercle de l'harmonie founded. (27)
 24 October: The first of the annual prizegiving concerts given by pupils of the Conservatoire, held at the Théâtre de l'Odéon. (28)
- 1798: a) "...à partir de l'an VII, des solistes engagés spécialement, parmi lesquels Sallentin, Ozi, Delcambre, F. Duvernoy, X. Lefèvre, appartenant au Conservatoire, se firent entendre à l'Opéra dans les entr'actes, où ils exécutaient des morceaux n'ayant aucun rapport avec l'ouvrage représenté. C'était des sortes de concerts de véritables intermèdes." (29)
 b) In the season 1798-9 the first notable concert subscription society to be created after the Revolution was founded, the Concerts de la rue de Cléry. (30) It grew to a high point of popularity and renown which lasted from about 1800 until 1804, after which it declined and apparently dispersed, some time after 1805. For the complete programme of the season 1802-3, see Appendix 5.
- 1799: Between 16 January and 4 June, "Garat, Rode, ^éFidéric Duvernoy, Mlle Henry, se font entendre dans trois concerts données à l'Opéra, suivis d'un ballet. Succès fou, recettes colossales." (31)
- 1800: a) "L'hiver passé les orchestres des trois grands théâtres lyriques se sont souvent réunis pour offrir au public la satisfaction d'entendre et les premiers talens et la plus belle musique" (32)
 b) 22 July: Concert at the Académie. Mme Grassini sang (by order of Napoleon) and 800 musicians participated, including reinforcements of military music. (33)
 c) 6 November. The first "exercice" or public concert given by pupils of the Conservatoire. Between 5 and 12 concerts were thereafter given each year, beginning in the winter or spring. The concerts continued beyond 1810 and long before that date had become valued by progressive audiences and commentators in France and abroad for their eclectic programme building and excellence of performance. They were also patronised by fashionable audiences.
 Apart from the season 1801-2, organised by the students themselves (which took place at the Théâtre Olimpique) the concerts were held in the original hall of the Conservatoire. (34)

- 1800: d) 24 December: Haydn's The creation at the Académie.
- 1800-1: "Later another symphony [by Reicha] was given at the Grand Opéra...while Rode performed an overture of mine at the Théâtre Favart. Cloiseau and Garat sang my Scènes Italiennes at various concerts." (35)
- 1801: a) 19 March: Concert at the Académie given by Grassini, Rode and Sallentin (36)
b) 9 November: Concert by the Conservatoire at the Temple de la Paix (37)
- 1802: a) "Société Olympique, Rue de la Victoire, Chaussée d'Autin. Here concerts of vocal and instrumental music are given weekly by a select company of musicians." (38) This is the only purely musical entertainment advertised in this English guide-book, which suggests that admission was relatively freely secured. Even if the concerts were only of chamber music the phenomenon would be interesting as an example of a semi-public series.
b) Week preceding 25 December: concert at the Théâtre Louvois for the departure of Rode to St. Petersburg. (39)
- 1803: Founding of the Concerts de la rue Grenelle, after the nature of a musical "Academy". Recognised as highly professional in standard, and able to compete with the Cléry concerts. (40) Appears to have ceased after 3 or 4 years.
- 1805: a) August: last annual Conservatoire prizegiving concert until 1811. (41)
b) "Lafont revint à Paris, et jeta les fondements de sa réputation dans les concerts qui furent données à l'Opéra et au Théâtre Olympique en 1805 et 1806." (42)
c) "L'administration du Concert Cléry a l'honneur de prévenir MM. les Abonnés que les concerts des amateurs auront lieu cette année dans la Salle Olympique..." (43) This move from the rue de Cléry may have been connected with the cessation of the series. The 1805 concerts began on 26 January. (44)
d) "En 1805, l'administration du Théâtre-Italien entreprit de rétablir les concerts spirituels, et débuta par les litanies de Durante, un offertoire de Jomelli et quelques morceaux de la Création de Haydn. Quoiqu'on y employât les meilleurs chanteurs français et italiens, l'exécution fut très-faible, et le succès ne répondit pas aux espérances qu'on avait conçues. Néanmoins on ne se rebuta pas; de nouveaux efforts, plus ou moins heureux, se reproduisirent chaque année, et les concerts spirituels continuèrent d'être exploités par les diverses administrations du Théâtre-Italien, tantôt au Théâtre-Louvois, tantôt à l'Odéon, ensuite à Favart, et enfin à Louvois de nouveau..." (45)
- 1807-10: The concerts of the Société Académique des Enfants d'Apollon began again, with one concert a year recorded to 1810. (46)
- 1808: 3 November: Méhul's first symphony performed at the Cercle Musical de la rue Mandar. (47)

Sources for Appendix 4

- 1) Decourcelle/APOLLON. For the programme and others mentioned below see Appendix 5.
- 2) Brenet/CONCERTS p.383
- 3) Idem p.383
- 4) SPECTACLES/1791
- 5) Selden/CHERUBINI p.100; Giazotto/VIOTTI
- 6) Schwartz/FRENCH p.10
- 7) Pierre/HYMNES p.354
- 8) Dandelot/CONCERTS p.8
- 9) Brook/SYMPHONIE Vol.I p.387 et seq.
- 10) Goncourt/DIRECTOIRE p.308 et seq. and 373 et seq.
- 11) Pierre/SARRETTE
- 12) Pierre/HYMNES p.296
- 13) Pierre/HYMNES p.848
- 14) Pierre/HYMNES p.332
- 15) Pierre/HYMNES p.352
- 16) Pierre/HYMNES p.222 etc. and John/REFLECTIONS p.29
- 17) Pierre/HYMNES p.353
- 18) Castil-Blaze/ACADEMIE
- 19) Pierre/HYMNES p.353
- 20) Pierre/HYMNES p.849
- 21) Pierre/SARRETTE
- 22) Pierre/HYMNES p.376
- 23) Pierre/HYMNES p.381
- 24) Pierre/HYMNES p.386
- 25) DPh An V
- 26) Fétis/CURIOSITES p.335
- 27) As for (9)
- 28) Pierre/CONSERVATOIRE. See Appendix 5
- 29) Pierre/MAGASIN p.91
- 30) Dandelot/CONCERTS p.8 is alone in crediting Gossec with its foundation.
- 31) Castil-Blaze/ACADEMIE Vol.II p.64
- 32) Journal Général de la Littérature de France, Vol.III, 1800, pp.63 and 189-91, quoted in Brook/SYMPHONIE Vol.I p.400
- 33) Idem, Vol.II p.80. Castil-Blaze places this concert in 1801, but mentions a slight deferment of date in order for the victors of Marengo to have time to return. The battle was on 14 June 1800.
- 34) Pierre/CONSERVATOIRE p.461; complete reproduction of programmes on pp. 476-490. Brook/SYMPHONIE Vol.I p.446 mistakenly gives 1803 as the year of foundation.
- 35) Prod'homme/REICHA p.344
- 36) Servières/EPISODES p.3. Prod'homme/NAPOLEON p.582 gives 17 March.
- 37) Pierre/HYMNES p.453
- 38) GUIDE p.103
- 39) CAM 25 December 1802
- 40) Schwartz/FRENCH p.33
- 41) Pierre/MAGASIN p.368
- 42) Fétis/BU, article "Lafont"
- 43) Courrier des Spectacles 19 December 1804
- 44) Idem, 13 January 1805
- 45) Fétis/CURIOSITES p.336
- 46) Decourcelle/APOLLON
- 47) Schwartz/FRENCH p.120; also Ringer/MEHUL p.548

APPENDIX 5SOME PARISIAN CONCERT PROGRAMMES 1789 TO 1810

The sources of this selective guide to musical taste in Paris are grouped at the end. Composers with their name bracketed are conjectural, though there is usually little uncertainty as to their identity. S.C. means sinfonia concertante.

a) 23 March 1789

La Société Académique des Enfants d'Apollon

Symphony	Guénin	Duo	Deshayes
Air	Aubert	S.C. for 2 vn	Berthaume
Scène (<u>Renaud</u>)	(<u>Sacchini</u>)	Scène	Plantade
Vn concerto	Eck	Vc concerto	Duport
		Scène: Le bonheur des campagnes	?

b) 20 November 1793

Garde Nationale concert at the Théâtre Feydeau

Overture for winds (P.2285?)	Catel	Hymne patriotique (P.31)	Catel
S.C. for fl, ob, fg, cor	Devienne	S.C. and march	Catel
S.C. for eleven winds (P.2279)	Gossec	Marche funèbre (P.2280)	Gossec
		O salutaris, arr. for 3 cors	Gossec
		Trio for 2 cls and fg	Lefèvre

c) 14 July 1794

People's concert in the Tuileries gardens

Overture, (<u>Démophon</u>) (P.2271)	Vogel	Finale from the symphony in C	Haydn
Hymne à l'Être Suprême (P.48)	Gossec	La prise de la Bastille (P.2)	Désaugiers
La bataille de Fleurus (P.66)	Catel	Poursuivons jusqu' au trépas (<u>Armide</u>)	Gluck
Le pas de charge des sans-culottides		L'hymne des Marseillais (P.14)	De Lisle
Serment (<u>Emeline</u>) (P.71)	Philidor	Ronde nationale (P.13)	Gossec
Minuet from the symphony in C	Haydn	Ça ira; La Carmagnole	
Le chant du Départ (P.68)	Méhul	Le pas de charge des Armées de la République	

d) 26 August 1794

National concert for the victory of Fleurus

Overtures:	
<u>Iphigénie en Aulide</u>	(Gluck)
<u>Démophon</u>	(Vogel)
<u>Horatius Coclès</u>	(Méhul)

Choruses:

Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas (<u>Armide</u>)	(Gluck)
Brahma, si la vertu, and Que l'ennemi, triste, abattu (<u>Tarare</u>)	(Salieri)
Jurons sur nos glaives sanglants (<u>Emelinde</u>)	(Philidor)
La victoire est à nous (<u>La caravane</u>)	(Grétry)

e) 7 November 1794

Garde Nationale concert at the Théâtre Feydeau

Overture for winds (P.2286)	Méhul	Choeur patriotique (P.93)	Le Sueur
Air de bravure	Langlé	Duo	Cherubini
S.C. for fl, ob, fg, cor	Devienne	S.C. for vn, vc	Kreutzer
Overture for winds (P.2313)	Catel	La bataille de Fleurus (P.66)	Catel

f) 16 October 1796

Concert at the Académie

Songs:	Cimarosa	Symphony	Haydn
	Rousseau	Concerto	Jenevich
	N. Piccinni	Cor concerto	Punto
Finale (<u>Figaro</u>)	Mozart	Ballet music (<u>Psyché</u>)	(Miller)

g) 24 October 1797

First Conservatoire end-of-year concert

Overture "La chasse du jeune Henri"	Méhul	Air (<u>Elisa</u>)	Cherubini
Cl concerto	Rosetti	S.C. for fl, fg, cor	Catel
Air (<u>Alceste</u>)	Gluck	Duo italien	Tritto
Piano concerto	H. Jadin	Piano sonata	Cramer
S.C. for 2 vc	Bréval	S.C. for 2 vn	Viotti
		Chorus (<u>Les Danaïdes</u>)	Salieri

h) 24 December 1800

At the Académie

The Creation	Haydn
--------------	-------

i) 19 March 1801

At the Académie

Concert for Grassini (soprano), Rode (vn) and Sallentin (ob)

j) 9 November 1801

Conservatoire concert at the Temple de la Paix

Chant d'Allegresse (P.163)	Martini	Overture, <u>Timoléon</u>	Méhul
Symphony	Haydn	Hymne à la Paix (P.164)	Méhul
Symphony	Gossec	Hymne religieux (P.165)	Le Sueur
Hymne à la République (P.146)	Martini		

k) 20 October 1802

At the Académie

Concert of Mme Mara, including S.C. for 2 vns

Kreutzer

1) Complete season of the Concerts de la rue de Cléry

27 December 1802

Two symphonies	Haydn	Concerto for vn	Rode
Scene (<u>Médée</u>)	Cherubini	Quartet (<u>Montézuma</u>)	Sacchini
Air (<u>Montano et</u> <u>Stéphanie</u>)	Berton		

ca.3 January 1803

Two symphonies	Haydn	Cor concerto	Duvernoy
Air (<u>Titus</u>)	Mozart	Duo (<u>Il matrimonio</u> <u>segreto</u>)	Cimarosa
Air	Paisiello	Air varié	(Rode)

ca.10 January 1803

Vc concerto	Romberg	Airs for soprano	Various
Air	Cimarosa	Turkish symphony	Haydn

ca.17 January 1803

Two "London" symphonies	Haydn	Fg concerto	Widerkehr
Air	Piccinni		

ca.1 February 1803

Air (<u>Dardanus</u>)	Sacchini	Vn concerto	Baillet
Air (<u>L'Olympiade</u>)	Cimarosa	Symphony 91	Haydn
Scene	Salieri	Early symphony in E	Haydn

ca.14 February 1803

Symphonies	Haydn	S.C. for horn and harp	Widerkehr
Excerpt (<u>Creation</u>)	Haydn		

ca.21 February 1803

Scene (<u>Apelle et</u> <u>Campaspe</u>)	Zingarelli	Scene	Paisiello
Duo	Fioravanti	Early symphony in D minor	Haydn
		Latest symphony in G	Haydn

ca.1 March 1803

Ft concerto	Hugot	Two symphonies	Haydn
Vn sonata	(Baillet)	Duo	Nasolini
Air	Zingarelli		

ca.8 March 1803

Scene	Andreozi	Concerto (?Vc)	Romberg
Air (<u>Creation</u>)	Haydn	Concerto (?vn)	Kreutzer
Air	Mengozi	Symphonies	Haydn

ca.15 March 1803

Concerto	Kreutzer	Airs (<u>Alceste</u> and	
Scene, "Cari figli"	Cherubini	<u>Echo et Narcisse</u>)	Gluck

ca.21 March 1803

Symphony	Haydn	(Extracts from?) act	
Air	Zingarelli	1 of <u>Iphigénie en</u>	
S.C. for fl, ob, cl	Widerkehr	<u>Tauride</u>	Gluck
		New vn concerto	Baillet

ca.1 April 1803

Air	Cimarosa	S.C. for 2 vns	Kreutzer
Rondo (<u>Don Giovanni</u>)	Mozart	Two symphonies	Haydn
Scene (<u>Orphée</u>)	(Gluck)	Horn concerto	Duvernoy

m) 1805 onwards Revival of concerts spirituels at various theatres

"Quelques versets du Stabat de Pergolèse, un ou deux airs de la Création de Haydn, l'Ave Verum de Mozart et quelques morceaux de l'oratorio de Beethoven le Christ au Jardin des Oliviers composent à peu près tout le répertoire des concerts spirituels depuis dix ou douze ans."

n) 21 December 1804 and 7 June 1805 The first at St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, both by the Conservatoire

Requiem	Mozart
---------	--------

o) 24 December 1807 Théâtre Favart

"Concert de Mlle Colbran" conducted by Grasset

Symphony	Haydn	Overture (<u>Faniska</u>)	Cherubini
Fl concerto	Tulou	Air	Nazolini
Scene (<u>I mysterii</u>		Vn concerto	Lafont
<u>Eleusini</u>)	Mayr	Scene (<u>Ariodante</u>)	Mayr

p) 11 June 1809 Société Académique des Enfants d'Apollon

Fantaisie concertante		Air (<u>Abel</u>)	Kreutzer
for harp, pf, ob, fg, cor		Overture (<u>La Frascatana</u>)	
	G. Dugazon		Paisiello
Air and scene	?	Vn concerto	Kreutzer
Hymne à Apollon	Berton		

q) 29 July 1810 Idem

Overture	Méhul	Scene (<u>Ariane</u>)	Haydn
Air (<u>Sapho</u>)	Martini	Excerpt from symph-	
Variations and sym-		ony	Haydn
phony for fl, ob, fg, cor		Quartet (<u>Nina</u>)	Paisiello
	Devienne	Vn concerto	Libon
		Adagio for vn	Haydn
		Hymne à Apollon	Lélu

Sources for Appendix 5

- a) Decourcelle/APOLLON
- b) Pierre/SARRETTE
- c) Pierre/SARRETTE p.90
- d) Castil-Blaze/ACADEMIE
- e) Pierre/SARRETTE
- f) DPh
- g) Combarieu/HISTOIRE Vol.II
- h) Castil-Blaze/ACADEMIE and Servières/EPISODES
- i) Servières/EPISODES
- j) Pierre/HYMNES
- k) Title-page of the Kreutzer, quoted in Brook/SYMPHONIE Vol.II
- l) CAM
- m) Fétis/CURIOSITES p.336
- n) COURRIER 22 December 1804; Pierre/CONSERVATOIRE p.464
- o) JOURNAL/D 20 December 1807
- p) and q) Decourcelle/APOLLON

APPENDIX 6COPYRIGHT NOTICES AS PRINTED IN CERTAIN SCORESa) Dalayrac: Camille (1791)

Non obstant l'impression et la Gravure des paroles (et) la Musique d'un ouvrage de Théâtre, d'après les Décrets de l'Assemblée Nationale constituante des 13 janvier et 19 juillet 1791.

MM. les Directeurs de Spectacles ne peuvent pas le Représenter sur les différens Théâtres du Royaume, avant d'avoir préalablement obtenu le consentement formel et par Ecrit des Auteurs, ou de leurs fondés de procurations.

b) Dalayrac: Philippe et Georgette (1791)

Décret de l'Assemblée Nationale du 30 Aoust 1792, relatif aux Propriétés Dramatiques. L'article 6 du dit Décret porte qu'aucun Spectacle ne pourra jouer les Pièces Imprimées ou Gravées depuis le 13 Janvier 1791 qu'en vertu du consentement expres par Ecrit signé de l'Auteur.

Les exemplaires souscrits du nom de l'Auteur sont les seuls certifiés véritables; tous les autres seroient tronqués et contrefaits. Tout contrefacteur et faussaires seront en conséquence poursuivis comme tels par l'Auteur qui reclamera contre eux la justice des Lois.

c) Méhul: Stratonice (1792)

Extrait du décret de la Convention nationale sur les propriétés musicales, en datte du 10 Juillet 1793, l'an 2^e de la République française.

Article 4^e: Tout contrefacteur sera tenu de payer au véritable propriétaire une somme équivalente au prix de trois mille exemplaires de l'édition originale.

Article 5^e: Tout débitant d'Edition contrefaite, s'il n'est pas reconnu contrefacteur, sera tenu de payer un véritable propriétaire une somme équivalente au prix de cinq cent exemplaires de l'édition originale.

The editors (Cousineau Père et Fils) advise people additionally to handle only signed editions.

Napoleon renewed and extended the protection of copyright to composers and their heirs in 1805, 1806 and 1810. (Fleischman/NAPOLEON p.214)