

with the evidence of the scores. Only Méhul's Henri IV (ca. 1790, but not performed until 1797) demanded a trombone before 1791. Méhul's surviving autograph, convincingly argued by Pougin to have been written in 1790, bears witness to this composer's priority in specifying the instrument in opéra-comique. Approximately half the Favart operas examined that date from 1791 to 1800 require a trombone. The first opera specifically to demand two trombones was Boieldieu's Beniowsky (1800), although two players could well have played single line parts since about 1798. Beniowsky thus demanded eight woodwind instruments and eight brass instruments simultaneously, and the overture to Méhul's Bion, of the same year, was the first piece for this theatre to require nine woodwind and either seven or eight brass instruments simultaneously (depending on the number of trombones playing the single line part). In just over a decade there was therefore an increase in the available number of wind instruments amounting to about two hundred per cent.

The average number of wind instruments used in the course of an opéra-comique during this decade was much less than sixteen or seventeen; something over half this figure would be a representative average. The greatest concentration of forces occurred in the overtures, entr'actes and choral finale movements.

The overtures to opéras-comiques were frequently used to display a composer's skill with the orchestra and were the foundation of nineteenth-century French orchestral music. The performances of these overtures should be thought of as having taken place with the subtlety, agility and strength which many of them imply on the printed page. They were a vital development out of acquaintance with the music of Haydn, and not infrequently avoided the outward form of the sonata yet exploited the French propensity for tone-colour within a framework of coherence.

e) Continuo

Unlike the records for the Feydeau, those for the Favart do not indicate the presence of any keyboard player. No well-known keyboard executant such as Jadin at the rival theatre appears anywhere in the lists. Yet a continuo player was essential in dealing with thinly-orchestrated works. The two-part passage, for example, at the opening of the overture of Grétry's Raoul Barbe-Bleu, or that which opens the finale to act 2 of Propiac's La fausse paysanne (both 1789) must have been written with an unscored continuo in mind; like instances could be multiplied. However, they became markedly less frequent as the orchestra took new shape and fuller scoring ^{became} more normal. The change in the internal proportions of the string section during the decade is further evidence of the displacement of a functional continuo.

(3) Théâtre de Monsieur, afterwards known as the Théâtre de la rue Feydeaua) Introduction

This theatre, created through the aristocracy just before the Revolution, was initially biased towards the Italian repertory; only gradually did Frenchmen like Le Sueur and Gaveaux enjoy successes there. Moreover, in its early history at least, it gave several different forms of stage work:

"Ce théâtre réunit l'Opéra Italien, l'Opéra François, la Comédie et le Vaudeville." 1)

The orchestra had been strongly established from the beginning; we have already noted evidence for its artistic superiority of ensemble and leadership. From orchestra lists it may be seen that its constitution was

1) SPECTACLES 1792. Fétis/CURIOSITES p.364 states that La Nuit Espagnole by Persuis and Lodoiska by Cherubini (both 1791) were the first operas composed specifically for the company. A complete list of productions 1789-92 is in Giazotto/VIOTTI p.236

more stable than that of the Favart. Figures in SPECTACLES and ALMANACH have been compared below with the requirements of 46 scores written for the Feydeau between 1789 and 1800.

b) The strings

	VIOLIN I	VIOLIN II	VIOLA	CELLO	DOUBLE-BASS
1789 ¹⁾	8	8	2	4	3
1791-2 ²⁾	8	7	3	6	3
1792	8	8	4	6	3
1793	8	6	4	6(5)	4
1794	6 8 [miscount 9 source]	6	4	6	3
1799-1800	8	8	4	6	4

This table, which represents in part a conflation of the two sources, indicates an increase in the lower strings as at the Favart. The low figures for 1794 were obviously exceptional. Unlike the Favart records, however, those for the Feydeau strings show no direct evidence of doubling between strings and other instruments. This was one manifestation of stability. The other notable one was the rapid bringing up to strength of the lower strings so that already in 1791-2 the proportion of strings, with more cellos than the Favart possessed, was almost 4 (violins)- 1 (violas) - 2 (cellos) - 1 (double-basses), a ratio maintained in 1799-1800. The omission of any mention of a timpani before 1794 and in 1800-1 alone suggests that a string player had responsibility for an instrument other than his own.

c) The woodwind

	FLUTE	OBOE	CLARINET	BASSOON
1789	2	1 ³⁾	2	2
1791-2	2	3	2	2
1793-4,	2	2	2	2
1800				

- 1) Taken from Péricaud/MONSIEUR. Giazotto/VIOTTI p.84 agrees.
 2) Taken from SPECTACLES and ALMANACH./I and II
 3) Giazotto/VIOTTI p.84 claims two oboes.

The completeness of this section offered no restriction to the composer except perhaps in 1789. Clarinets were used in at least three operas produced in this year. The third oboist in 1791-2 is not explained by any demand in the music and may (if the lists were accurate) have represented a short-lived attempt to reserve one player for solos. Only one piece examined, Eler's L'habit du chevalier (1800) required a piccolo as well as two flutes, in direct contrast to the situation at the Favart.

d) The brass

	HORNS	TRUMPETS	TROMBONE
1789	2	1	1
1791	4	1	1
1792	4	0	1
1793	4	0	0
1794	3	2	0
1799- 800	4	0	1

Although irregular in appearance this table broadly fits the pattern described by a study of the orchestral constitution of contemporary works.

As at the rival theatre two of the horn players doubled as trumpeters. A certain player, Vauchelet, was recorded as a trumpeter in 1794 as well as a horn player from 1791 to 1800. Duvernoy, a horn player during the same period at the Feydeau, was a trumpeter at the Favart from 1791 to 1794. Cimarosa's L'Impresario (1789) required three horns but no trumpets. Berton's Eugène (1792) used four horns in an air (number 6) that omits the trumpets heard elsewhere in the work. Only in 1793 with Le Sueur's La Caverne and Steibelt's Roméo et Juliette were more than four upper brass instruments heard together; this coincides with the additional players listed in SPECTACLES 1794. This tendency towards a larger brass section

might be thought likely to have flourished. Yet the absence of trumpets from ALMANACH/II 1799-1801 was not fortuitous. After the two operas of 1793 above only Le Sueur's Télémaque (1796) and Paul et Virginie (1794) of those pieces I have seen specifically needed six players for the horn and trumpet. No other work needed more than four players, and the majority of operas excluded the trumpets, even while including one or two trombones. Since this was so we may infer a preference by composers for the timbre of four horns and an enrichment of the orchestral sound as a result. The Feydeau pioneered the introduction of a single trombone into the smaller orchestra in France. Péricaud and Giazotto note the instrument in 1789. Les Spectacles de Paris, listing the players of the Monsieur for the first time in its 1791 edition, names the trombonist as one Mariotti; the same journal noted this player as the trombonist of the Concert Spirituel from 1789. Mariotti may therefore be fairly assumed to have joined the Monsieur from its beginning. His rôle, as will be seen, much needs clarification, but since his name appears in no reference work there are few clues.¹⁾

The Almanach général, 1791, particularly remarked on the novelty of the trombone:

"Trombonne: M. Mariotti, étonnant pour sa précision sur cet instrument, dont le bel effet était inconnu en France." 2)

From this we may infer that Mariotti was a specialist who had come to Paris from elsewhere. He does not appear in the lists of the regular Parisian orchestras before 1789, so he may have come to the capital when Viotti was assembling the new company.

The writer intended to point a contrast between Mariotti's style and the established style of the Académie. Here, under conditions characterised

1) Perhaps English material will provide an answer. A Mariotti (? from Bradford) played first Bass Trombone at the Yorkshire Grand Music Festival, 1823. See The Harmonicon, Vol.I (1823) p.153

2) ALMANACH/I, 1791, p.54

by doubling^{and} rather stiff chordal writing for the instrument, trombone playing had had little chance to develop.

What Mariotti played before Cherubini's Lodoiska (July 1791) has not survived. Méhul's Henri IV (the MS of no certain date), the Lodoiskas of Cherubini and Kreutzer (the latter in August 1791) and Dalayrac's Philippe et Georgette (Favart, December 1791) all employ the trombone exclusively in larger-scale movements, whether overtures, choruses or ensembles. In this respect, and in their consistent use of the trombone as a reinforcement of either the principal bass or the bass of a subsidiary wind group, these pieces must be a guide to the way the instrument was used from the time of its introduction. It cannot be established whether Mariotti had a part-book, whether he doubled the bass part where possible or whether he improvised in some way. In all events, as the music / ^{shows}, his contribution was in sharp contrast to the trombone writing of the period at the Académie. That is why the writer talked of "précision": it was the most obvious part of Mariotti's performance.

A year after the first comment in the Almanach général, when the fashion of using a single trombone had spread to other theatres, a second note (directed at the Monsieur) suggested that the new instrument was now subject to abuse.

"Quant au Théâtre de Monsieur, on y tombe quelquefois dans le même défaut; mais ce n'est que dans les grands Opéras, à cause du Trombonne, qui écrase tout: et c'est la faute du Compositeur et non celle de l'Orchestre." 1)

Thus the critic half shows what the situation was, but stops short of allowing us to judge whether his impressions can be linked with the music that we have to hand. One may guess that Cherubini's opera above, the only "grand" work of 1791, was the main target of criticism. As for 1792,

1) ALMANACH/I, 1792, p.107 et seq.

neither Devienne's Les Visitandines (printed score) nor Berton's Eugène (B.N. MS 3634) bears a trace of the trombone.

From 1797, with Plantade's Palma and Boieldieu's La famille Suisse, we find the occasional demand for two trombones, sometimes in addition to four other brass players. Who the second player was is not known.

The use of three trombones in Steibelt's Roméo and Le Sueur's Télémaque seems to be the result of the intention in each case that the works were to have been given at the Académie. There is no certainty that the need for their extraordinary resources was met at the Feydeau.

e) Continuo

The provision of instruments for the continuo is relatively fully recorded. A keyboard player is mentioned every year from 1789 to 1794. In SPECTACLES 1791 Ferrari was "claveciniste" and Jadin "pour les répétitions"; but in ALMANACH/I for the same year the listing was, "Au fortepiano, pour le récitatif, M. Ferrari, premier". This information as to the instrument concerned is probably accurate in view of the greater detail normally recorded in this journal than its opposite number. ALMANACH/I also lists two cellists as "Deux premiers violoncelles accompagnant" in addition to four others. The following year, one of these two, Schmerzka, was "Premier violoncelle accompagnant", and Bréval was "Premier basse". The former player was employed, therefore, in the recitatives of the many Italian works presented. The stipulation "pour le récitatif" perhaps meant that the use of the keyboard continuo in orchestral music was officially moribund or even extinct.

(4) The Opéra-Comique

The competition between the Favart and Feydeau resulted in their bilateral collapse in April 1801 and the establishment of a new company,

the Opéra-Comique, on 16 September 1801; this was the result of a merging of the two former troupes.¹⁾

The only orchestra list found for this ensemble (1809) shows the constitution of the strings very similar to the Feydeau in 1800.²⁾ The woodwind figures list three players each for the flute, oboe and bassoon. Only eight opéras-comiques that I have examined out of a total of 58 written for this company between 1801 and 1810 specifically require a piccolo simultaneously with two flutes. A few other pieces, such as revivals, may also have done so. At what date the third oboe and bassoon players became active is not known. Their presence is not satisfactorily explained by any proportional demand for solo work: the clarinet was the more commonly-chosen wind soloist, and only two clarinetists were listed in 1809.

Four horn, no trumpet, and no trombone players were listed in 1809, a reduction in forces compared with the Favart and Feydeau of 1800, but one that is well illustrated in the music itself. Out of 57 operas examined that were first given between 1801 and 1809, only eleven required the trumpets at all and only eight the trombone. Two operas only demanded all three brass instruments at the same time. Dalayrac's Léhéman, first performed three months after the inception of the new company, made this demand extensively: in all three finales, the overture and the ensemble, no. 7. Berton's Le vaisseau Amiral (1805) needed these forces only for a single finale. The exceptional nature of these works is striking and suggests first that the trombone player was not permanently employed in that capacity, and second that only four upper brass players may have been employed in them.

The four performers recorded as horn players in 1809 very probably dealt with virtually all the upper brass writing of the period, although

1) Fétis/CURIOSITES p.369 et seq.

2) See Appendix 2, page 507

there is ~~no~~ more absolute proof that this was so than that six players were available and four permanently assigned to the horns in the several years for which orchestral information is lacking. The operas that require (two) trumpets together with horns (in two written parts) were chiefly by notable composers: three were by Berton, four by Méhul and two by Dalayrac. They were first given, one or two each year, between 1801 and 1808. Yet even within these operas the incidence of trumpet writing is so limited - the odd overture or finale - that one is not tempted to consider the possibility of six upper brass players. As before 1800, two of the four players must have doubled. Vauchelet, the dual-labelled performer of the old Feydeau, was with the Opéra-Comique in 1809.

If the presence of only four players appears an unlikely, because apparently retrograde, orchestral situation, the attitude of Napoleon towards rank-and-file musicians and the economics of public taste must be recalled. While happy to give away many thousands of francs to individual singers and composers who had pleased him,¹⁾ the only exception to his parsimony towards lesser musicians appears to be the pension of the trombonist Wiederkehr, which in any case came under a general scheme recognising long service at the Académie.²⁾

The Opéra-Comique was created by act of government and was given fully official status in 1807, but before this date frequently found it difficult to attract audiences who tended either to attend the principal operatic show-case, the Académie, or more vulgar entertainments at smaller theatres.³⁾ 100,000 francs was granted to see its finances through the winter of 1805-6. The times were not propitious for Opéra-Comique musicians; and no indemnity was paid to the actors and players of the 25 theatres compulsorily shut down in the summer of 1807.⁴⁾

1) Fleischman/NAPOLEON p.251. Le Sueur received a golden snuff-box and 6,000 francs for Les Bardes.

2) ibid. p.215. Mongrédién/SACRE p.168 shows that for his coronation chorus singers were paid twice as much as instrumentalists for rehearsals and half as much again for the performance.

3) ibid. p.211

4) ibid. p.213

Composers were often modest in orchestral style at the Opéra-Comique partly because public taste under the Empire dictated a return to less sensational subject-matter than that of the preceding decade. Only half the new operas at this theatre from 1801 to 1810 required the timpani. The timpanist in 1809, Hardouin, was also officially a violinist. Harps were in vogue, however, and the harpist listed in ALMANACH/II reflects the number of opéras-comiques to use this instrument.

Although the date of the harpist's appointment is not known, that of the forte-pianist can be placed at or before the spring of 1802. In this year three opéras-comiques were presented that required this instrument; Le concert interrompu by Berton, given at the end of May, allows no alternative instrument: indeed, the "concert" of the title consists of a kind of sinfonia concertante for fortepiano, violin and cello. Isouard's Michel-Ange, of December the same year, apparently allows either fortepiano or harp (see Ex.17); but, as discussed in chapter 5, not only is the general idiom of the music more suited to a keyboard instrument, but one passage is not technically playable on a normal harp of the period. Only Une Folie (by Méhul, beginning of April) could have included either instrument, as indicated in the score.

A "pianiste" was separately listed in 1809, although his particular duties were not specified. I have suggested above that the rôle of the general continuo was in decline. In a theatre devoted to opéra-comique the presence of spoken dialogue, given a steady progression of public taste, would have rendered the keyboard player even more dispensable. But as Boieldieu's successes, with a typically full and advanced style of orchestration were making good,

"Elleviou entreprit de remettre en vogue les ouvrages de Grétry et de Monsigny; le succès surpassa son attente ... Ce fut le coup de grâce pour les opéras qui avaient vu le jour dans le cours de la révolution." 1)

Grétry's and Monsigny's music certainly demanded a continuo; the question arises whether it was provided or whether their music might have been re-arranged. Evidence by the Baron de Trémotⁿ shows that the problem had met with a solution abroad:

"On my first trip to Germany in 1802, I saw several of his (Grétry's) operas, the accompaniments of which had already been touched up." 2)

In France, however, Grétry and Monsigny were still living (until 1813 and 1817, respectively), and in positions of respect and power that could not have allowed arbitrary re-orchestration. Performance practice with a continuo would have been almost mandatory.

New developments in stage music were taking place at the Opéra-Comique, nevertheless. Although extra instruments were never required, three printed scores give some notion of how co-ordination was attempted. Isouard's Michel-Ange (1802) contains the romance which begins with the soloist accompanied by a harp, both offstage. When the pit orchestra joins them, "Pour qu'il y ait de l'ensemble dans l'exécution, l'orchestre suivra le chant de coulisse". (See Ex.17) The same composer specified a more elaborate solution in Un jour à Paris (1808) where, in the overture, an eight-piece stage group elicited the instruction, "Un domino avec le tambourin fera correspondre les 2 orchestres." Dalayrac's Deux mots (1806) simply instructs the stage group (p.72) to stop playing if by chance they lose the main tempo.

- (5) Théâtre de Mlle. Montansier, afterwards Montansier-Variétés, afterwards Théâtre du Variétés

"Ce théâtre réunit la Tragédie, la Comédie et l'Opéra ... C'est le premier Théâtre qui ait reçu son existence du code de la liberté ..." 3)

- 1) Fétis/CURIOSITES p.134
 2) Prod'homme/TREMONT p.384
 3) SPECTACLES/1792 p.181

The first laws proclaiming the freedom of the theatres were in January and July, 1791. ALMANACH/I, 1791 includes the Montansier and reveals that the operatic repertory was largely Italian, with other pieces by Storace (Les époux mécontents), Gebauer, Champein, etc., none of which have survived. The orchestra was well established (see Appendix 2) and by 1792-3 possessed numbers of string players equal to those of the Feydeau, and the woodwinds were generally as complete as the equivalent Favart sections. Two horns were normal. Illustrating the power of fashion, a trombone appeared almost every year whereas only SPECTACLES for 1793 lists trumpets. These were distinct from the horn players and did not apparently double with other instruments.

There was a decline in the orchestra by 1800; by 1809 no oboes were recorded and two opéras-comiques given in 1805 do not need them.

No statistical evidence can be summoned to support these records since so many pieces played at the theatre have disappeared. Most of the eight works that have been studied do not require a full band, but those that do, such as Rigel's Alix de Beaucaire (1791) would have been fully accommodated before 1800.

(6) Théâtre des Beaujolais, afterwards Théâtre de la rue de Louvois, afterwards Théâtre des Amis de la Patrie

When records commenced (1791), with the veteran Cambini as director, there were 14 string and 6 wind players. Spoken plays formed the greater part of the repertory and of the musical pieces at this time, such as Cambini's own Cora and La Revanche, I have discovered nothing in London or Paris. In 1791 the theatre was reorganised and Martin replaced Cambini: SPECTACLES 1792 noted that "l'Opéra a de l'ensemble". Thereafter there were increases in the strings up to 1794, when records end, but no clarinettists were listed, nor further brass players.

Two operas that have survived, both first given at the Beaujolais, paint a different picture. Martini's Sapho (1794) and Jadin's Le Défi (1796) contain full-scale orchestral writing, needing four brass players and clarinets. The case of this company is therefore interesting, because it shows how, in the rush of theatres established during the earlier 1790's, a very modest musical section could expand rapidly until ostensibly capable of presenting sizeable musical tragedy. These works were the exception (even at the Feydeau) but they were performed notwithstanding, and their scores were published just as those for the Académie had traditionally been.¹⁾

(7) Smaller theatres²⁾

I have now accounted for almost all the theatres presenting musical works which are to form the basis of the last part of the present study.

The remaining cases are:

1789	<u>Les Amazones</u>	(H. Jos. Rigel)	Ambigu-Comique
1794	<u>Timoléon</u>	choruses (Méhul)	Théâtre de la République

The repertory of the many other smaller theatres - the Théâtre-Français, Théâtre du Marais, de Molière, du Vaudeville - all of which possessed small orchestras whose lists of players survive, has vanished. An entire section of theatre music has therefore had to be ignored.

Performance practice at smaller theatres was haphazard, as the records show, and the very few surviving manuscripts also reveal. The 4 violins, 1 viola, 1 cello, two oboes/clarinets and one horn at the Délassement Comique gave rise to the following paragraph in ALMANACH 1791:

"Il manque encore à cet orchestre trois Violon, une Basse, une Flutte et une Contre-Basse; sans cette augmentation nécessaire, jamais le chant ne sera bien accompagné; il faut alors renoncer aux Opéras."

¹⁾ Martini, in a letter of complaint, claimed that he was forced to put on Sapho at the "petit Théâtre de Louvois" owing to an artistic embargo by the musical establishment in Paris, and that "cet ouvrage ...n'y est que très foiblement représenté". Letter of February 19, 1796, printed in Tierstein/LETTRES, Vol.I p.256

²⁾ The new Italian theatre (L'Opéra-Buffera), opening on 31 May 1801, presented only Italian opera. The theatre remained active throughout the Empire.

The hypothetical minimum was thus 7-1-2-1, 1-2-(2)-0, 1-0-0.

Ambitious works were indeed given in less than ideal conditions; and the love of spectacle and opportunity meant that at the same time light theatrical music was, perhaps for the first time in musical history, given by exceptionally well-furnished ensembles. The incidental music by Méhul to M. J. Chénier's Timoléon, requiring horns, trumpets, three trombones and tuba curva, was performed by between a mere 25 and 30 players, according to SPECTACLES 1794. On the other hand, the Palais-Variétés, opening under new management in October 1792, advertised "un spectacle uniquement consacré à la gaité", and gave "du vaudeville, d'un joli ballet et d'une pantomime".¹⁾ For this they had 32 strings, 7 woodwind, 5 brass, a serpent and percussion.

When orchestras made do with fewer players these had to be correspondingly more versatile. Oboes and clarinets would be played by the same men (Délassement Comique, 1791; Ambigu-Comique, 1793-4); flutes and oboes were often doubled; some orchestra lists did not specify any particular instrument against players' names.

Conclusion

In general, pieces that were orchestrally ambitious were similarly demanding dramatically and scenically, particularly up to 1801, the year that saw the tangible effects of a reaction against the Conservatoire school. Economics being the governing factor, such pieces were much less performed than comedies which would automatically use existing costumes and stage scenery. Nevertheless, public taste succeeded for a time, hand in hand with the tide of speculation, in advancing the cause of orchestral innovation. The very high rate of production of theatre music of itself made both for an atmosphere of experiment and a high degree of mutual compositional influences. Reforms in constitution and numbers, and also in the organisation of orchestras, took place with rapidity, even to 1806. The seeds of the

¹⁾ SPECTACLES 1793

cultural decadence that precipitated the closing of the small theatres by Napoleon was already present in the competitive situation of 1790 onwards; but when the tide receded towards the end of the Directory, the established theatres were left with good musicians, more stable numbers and orchestras of classical proportions. The Académie, in particular, was brought up to date.

Other theatres were not nearly so well provided with state patronage and most received none; their orchestras were the first unit of the company to suffer from the effects of economies. As measures were gradually taken by Bonaparte to ensure the cultural superiority of the Académie, all the remaining theatres were placed under strain. The serpent disappeared from the orchestra pit; the practice of doubling remained. In 1809 the average strength of the violin sections of all the Parisian theatre orchestras except the Académie was ten; and of the cello sections, three.

(8) Concert music

Owing to the conditions under which orchestras operated when not connected with stage works, analyses of the kind conducted with regard to operatic performance are not feasible. Much music has disappeared; for example, only two of Méhul's four symphonies are known today. Printed references to concerts of the time almost never enable individual pieces to be identified. A new orchestral piece would be prepared with less ceremony than a stage work, and stood far less chance of survival through print. Therefore, although it is possible to draw up concordances of concert music in libraries,¹⁾ matching each piece with its original or even a subsequent Parisian orchestra is often impossible. Even in the case of the Conservatoire student concerts whose records are relatively

¹⁾ Brook/SYMPHONIE is the outstanding example.

complete, symphonies and concertos are rarely identifiable.

Information on style and performance practice is less easy to come by than in the field of dramatic music. J. F. Reichardt's critical remarks on the Cléry concerts are given by Carse;¹⁾ all the material found by the present writer has been placed in chapter 2. The aspect of concert orchestras that may be most appropriately described is their size. Brook's study was not concerned with this aspect and the records of the SPECTACLES for the Concert Spirituel were only briefly discussed by Borrel.²⁾ Orchestras regularly responsible for concerts after 1791 do not appear in this journal; the loss is more apparent than real, however, since the best Parisian theatre orchestras (already analysed) gave many of them.³⁾ The information concerning each orchestra will be summarised below.

a) Concert Spirituel

Numbers of players in SPECTACLES are as follows:

	Vn.1	Vn.2	Vle	Cellos	D-basses	Flutes/ Oboes	Clarinets	Bassoons	Trumpets & Horns
1784	10	10	4	9	4	4	2	4	6
1787	11	12	4	10	4	4	2	4	6
1788	10	10	5	11	4	4	2	4	6
1789	11	10	4	10	4	4	2	4	6
1790	10	8	4	9	4	5	2	3	5
1791	10	8	4	10	4?	5	2	3	5

A timpanist is also recorded for each year. The single trombonist, Mariotti, ^{first} was listed in 1789.

This orchestra, "le plus important de toute l'Europe"⁴⁾ had grown by a third between 1751 and 1791.²⁾ It represented a standard of excellence

- 1) Carse/BB pp.88-9
 2) Borrel/ORCHESTRE
 3) See Appendix 4 for a chronological concordance of orchestral performances and concert series.
 4) Brook/SYMPHONIE, Vol.I p.29

that was long remembered. The proportions of numbers of the strings will be seen to have been already in 1784 very close to the 4 - 1 - 2 - 1 patterns towards which the Académie moved under the Empire, and which the Feydeau achieved by '79¹-2. Four horns and four bassoons, and later five flutes and oboes, made duplication of parts as normal with this orchestra as it was at the Académie.¹⁾ Mariotti's rôle is at present not known; no surviving work recorded by Brook played at the Spirituel in 1789 or 1790 includes the trombone, so the instrument probably only played in choral or vocal pieces.

b) Concerts de la rue de Cléry

"En l'an VII de la République française, les concerts de la rue de Cléry furent organisés. L'orchestre, composé de quatre-vingts exécutants, était dirigée par Grass et..."²⁾

This total is notably larger than for the Conservatoire concerts (see below) and also for the Académie in 1800-01, which had 68 players. Accounts by Reichardt of the crowded atmosphere bear witness to a large ensemble; yet 80 is too large an estimate.

c) Conservatoire students' orchestra

Sixty student performers composed this orchestra, according to Sarette in a speech before the Conservatoire on 24 February 1802.³⁾ This total is comparable with the Concert Spirituel, and it is reasonable to assume a similar internal constitution.

d) Société Académique des Enfants d' Apollon; Concerts de la rue de Grenelle

No figures found.

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- 1) Evidence for this in the form of a single annotated score is given in Borrel/ORCHESTRE
 2) Elwart/CONCERTS
 3) Reprinted in Pierre/SARRETTE p.192

e) Theatres Feydeau and Favart; Académie

In all these three cases, performances of concert music habitually took place between theatrical items, as well as on more exclusively musical occasions.¹⁾ Although in Appendix 4 I have not listed a concert at the Académie until 1795, the varied uses to which this theatre was put from 1790 to 1794 inevitably included the performance of concert music, as described in ALMANACH/I, 1792, p.107:

"L'orchestre de l'Opéra, quoique la plus nombreuse de Paris, et celle qui contient le plus d'hommes à talens, n'est pas pour cela celle où l'on exécute avec le plus d'ensemble; c'est-à-dire que pour des concertos et des symphonies, aucune autre ne l'égale, excepté celle du Concert Spirituel ... "

f) Other orchestras

Brook mentions that concerts were given at the Cirque du Palais Royal (1790) and the Théâtre de la République (1798-9), and numerous others may be assumed. Domestic orchestras began to flourish again during the Directory; a guide to their average size is suggested by a parallel with Napoleon's "Band of the First Consul" which performed at Malmaison and consisted of 27 musicians.²⁾

The single feature which unites all those Parisian orchestras whose numbers of strings are known is the comparatively high proportion of cellos to violins. This tendency of French orchestras was noted by Haas³⁾ as occurring as early as 1754, when there were 16 violins and 6 cellos at the Concert Spirituel. Throughout all the figures for later eighteenth-century orchestras in Europe quoted in Haas/FRAGE and in Carse/ORCHESTRA, only two sets are comparable with Paris. The Ansbach court had 12 violins and 5 cellos in 1782; that of Berlin in the same year had 13 violins and 4

1) Carse/BB p.20 misses the fact that it was precisely owing to the "lack" of suitable public concert-halls that many works were performed in the theatres themselves.

2) Prod'homme/NAPOLEON

3) Haas/FRAGE p.162

PART-BOOKS

	Picc.	Fl.	Ob.	Cl.	Fg.	Serp.	Cor.	Trp.	Tb.	D-bass	Timp	Cym.& B-D	T.C.& Buccin	TOTAL
20 November 1793														
<u>Catel Ode (P.31)</u>	2			6	6	3	4	2	3		1			27
10 August 1794														
<u>Catel Ode (P.66)</u>	8		14	8	8	6	6	4	10	2	2			62
<u>Ménil Chant (P.70)</u>	6		14	8	6	6	6	4	3	6		1	1	56
<u>Gossec Symphonie (P.2301)</u>	6		2	12	6	4	4		3	6			1	44
21 September 1794														
<u>Cherubini Hymne du Pantheon (P.79)</u>	6		16	8	4	8	8	4	3	12	2	4 & Tam-tam	2	70
7 November 1794														
<u>Le Sueur Scène (P.93)</u>	2	2	4	20	16	3	12	4	3	4	1		1	72
<u>Catel Ouverture (P.2313)</u>	4	4		14	8	4	6	2	3	4	2			51
<u>Catel Ode (P.31)</u>	2			6	6	3	4	2	3		1			27

cellos, and five years later 20 violins and 8 cellos. No other orchestra had less than four times the number of violins as cellos, and many had five or even six times. In Paris the practice was to have between a third and a half the number of violins. The figures may be tabulated for comparison:

	VIOLINS	CELLOS		VIOLINS	CELLOS
Académie			Feydeau		
1789	28	11	1791	15	6
1809	23	12	1800	16	6
Favart			Spirituel		
1789	17	6	1790-1	8	10
1800	14	7	<u>The Creation</u>		
			24 December	48	22
			1800		

These and conjecturally other Parisian orchestras therefore enjoyed a comparative richness of bass and tenor tone that was exceptional for the period in Europe.

A unique set of figures has been preserved in the form of a copyist's detailed list of orchestral parts made for certain items in a concert sponsored by the Institut at the Théâtre Feydeau on 7 November 1794.¹⁾

The only piece containing strings of which such details remain is Devienne's Sinfonia Concertante for flute, oboe, bassoon and horn, whose music is *seemingly* lost.²⁾ The part-books appear in the following form:

Violin 1	: 5	Oboe	: 2
Violin 2	: 6	Bassoon	: 1
Viola	: 5	Serpent	: 2
Cello	: 5	Horn	: 2
Double-	: 2	Timpani	: 1
bass			

- 1) See Appendix 5 for programme.
- 2) This appears to be the same as "Devienne 7" in Brook/SYMPHONIE, Vol.II p.24. Brook has not mentioned the present performance in his catalogue of Devienne's works. The qualification "new" as applied to the sinfonia concertante (Pierre/SARRETTE p.101) would seem to imply that it was not the same as Brook's "Devienne 4", 1789, for the same combination of soloists, whose music survives.
- 3) Pierre/CONSERVATOIRE p.98. The few extra parts copied by a different scribe for the same piece have not been included since they could have been replacements. No bassoon part was re-copied.

The single bassoon book suggests that there were twice as many players as there were part-books provided. If this were so, the resulting totals of about 46 strings and 14 winds might be taken to represent an ideal size of public concert orchestra unrestricted by financial difficulties, since the expenses of this concert were paid from public funds.¹⁾ This prompts a number of considerations.

First is the exceptionally high number of violas. Almost all eighteenth-century orchestras were poorly provided with violas, but the 1794 figures show that such a situation was not necessarily the desired one. A far more equal distribution of strings, it may be said, now perhaps represented the ideal. The normally generous French ratio of cellos to violins obtained, but double-basses were few, so that the predominance of bass and treble was in this case rejected in favour of homogeneity of tone-quality.

Contributing to this, the four horns would have created a timbre whose sonority the orchestras of the Concert Spirituel and Feydeau had already demonstrated. The presence of four oboes is instructive, because it shows that multiplication of woodwind in larger orchestras was not a meaningless relic of pre-classical practice, but felt as a necessary balance when the number of violins exceeded about twenty.

The serpents, probably assisting the double-basses in the tutti passages, would have provided a similar balance to the tone of the middle and lower strings against which four or fewer double-basses may have found it difficult to compete. Serpents, in fact, of which there was no shortage in Paris, are likely before 1800 to have been present as a matter of course in concert ensembles of more than about 50 players. (Four serpents participated in Haydn's The Creation in 1800;²⁾ the orchestra numbered 150.³⁾

1) Pierre/CONSERVATOIRE p.101

2) See Appendix 5

3) Carse/BB p.62

The trombone: Trombones were far less common in Paris than serpents, but as we have already seen, one or more trombones were found in the principal orchestras up to 1800. The instrument was required in the following concert works by Parisian composers; the list is as exhaustive as it is possible to make so far:

- Devienne : Symphony, "La Bataille de Gemmapp" (1792-3)¹⁾ [3 required]
- Rode : 1st violin concerto (1794)²⁾ [1 required; B.M. h.210.b.(ii)]
- Rode : 2nd violin concerto (1795) [1 required; B.M. h.1666.b]
- Cambini : Sinfonia concertante, "La Patriote" (?1796)³⁾ [1 required]
- Rode : 4th violin concerto (1798) [1 required; B.M. h.1729.b.(3)]
- Auber : 2nd cello concerto (1804-5) [1 required; B.N. Vm²⁴ 171]

A trombone is also required in Steibelt's third and fifth piano concertos,⁴⁾ which could have been performed during their composer's several visits to Paris.

The contemporary establishment of the band of the Garde Nationale and the Institut under Sarette - performances of this body at the Feydeau are noted from 1793 - probably guaranteed the three players needed for the Devienne symphony. For the other works, theatre orchestras must be accounted responsible, and indeed the presence of the trombone in concertos must have been inspired by its part in dramatic music.

g) Performances organised by the Institut

Appendix 4 lists some of the wind ensemble performances mounted by the Institut which took place chiefly in the year preceding that in which it was re-organised and became the Conservatoire. As part of the Republic's

1) Brook/SYMPHONIE, Vol.II p.246

2) The Rode concertos dated by B. Schwartz in MGG.

3) Idem. p.160

4) B.M. h.301 (1) and h.1567.ss.2, written in about 1798 and 1802.

educational and cultural schemes they were, at least in part, paid for by the state. The painter, J-L. David had, by the end of 1793, created a commanding political position for himself and was vigorously organising both public festivals and plans to replace old institutions like the Academy of Arts. His influence and that of Robespierre may therefore be seen in the extensive musical programme of 1794¹⁾ and, indirectly, in the establishment of the Conservatoire of Music.

During this period various music copyists' lists were made in support of official monetary claims; these have survived, and many were printed in Pierre/HYMNES. These lists constitute the most accurate record of the size and constitution of wind instrument ensembles. Other information such as surviving scores and parts, manuscript or printed, can only incidentally be used to establish the numbers used in performance.

The four indoor performances to which copyists' lists may be linked were on 20 November 1793 at the Feydeau; 10 August 1794 at an unknown concert room; 21 September 1794 at the Panthéon;²⁾ and 7 November of the same year at the Feydeau. All these concerts involved wind ensembles, and certain general observations about this type of performance may be drawn from them. For comparison, the lists for all four performances have been tabulated opposite.

Although it cannot be unequivocally established how many players read from each part-book, it would seem probable that whatever the practice in orchestral music, wind ensembles of all types used one part per player. This is so because it is unlikely that Le Sueur would have had 144 players, the strength of the Institut in 1794 being 65,³⁾ and because those manuscript

1) Dowd/PAGEANT pp.87 et seq

2) The music was performed inside: "Le cortège, remis en marche et arrivé au Panthéon, l'Institut exécutera, à l'entrée du corps de Marat, une musique mélodieuse ... " Official description, taken from Pierre/HYMNES p.360

3) Pierre/HYMNES p.282

and printed parts which I have examined in Paris, in comparison with the part-books of the Académie, appear too minutely written or printed to have been used by two players at once.

Double-basses were employed in every piece ¹⁾ except the first Catel Ode, a practice which did not occur in open-air performance. The advantages of using double-basses were considerable, the only other bass instruments being the third trombone, the serpents and the bassoons. No more than three trombones were ever recorded as having been provided for by copyists, which is evidence of their scarcity. The serpents produced a certain volume but could provide neither satisfactory articulation nor truly formed notes below D natural. The bassoons were often needed as tenor instruments and their rôle was often too much divided between this function, providing the bass for sub-groups, and providing a bass for the tutti. Double-basses were regarded as indispensable in concert performance, and evaluation of their rôle in terms of surviving parts naturally gives an incomplete notion of the situation. ²⁾

The participation of cellos, violas and violins in ensemble music in concert performance is difficult to assess, since the only evidence rests in the unsatisfactory area of surviving parts. Pierre/HYMNES noted the manuscript viola part for Eler's Overture (P.2322); it is in the alto clef, but I have found that the paper and handwriting are different to and probably later than the other manuscript parts. Dudley/HARMONIE noted manuscript labelling of the bassoon parts of Devienne's Overture (P.2305), "Alto" and "Basse", and also strong evidence that a first clarinet part of Méhul's Overture (P.2286) had been used as a violin part. This is the sum

¹⁾ And in all other such pieces of which records survive.

²⁾ Dudley/HARMONIE, whose investigation covered only twelve pieces, has particularly underestimated their use. Pierre/HYMNES p.360 pointed out that the double-basses were omitted mention in the printed full score of Cherubini's Hymne because they were understood to share the bass-line.

total of the evidence; on balance it would appear that the addition of higher strings may have been favoured during the period 1795-99, when a less severely militaristic effect was needed and the initial enthusiasm for wind ensembles on the wane.

The balance of numbers between the different instruments as shown in the table is fairly consistent. The clarinets on one hand and the bassoons with the double-basses on the other show equal or almost equal numbers, representing the principal treble and bass parts. The flutes, piccolos and serpents represent ancillary treble and bass voices and are correspondingly far fewer in number, but the serpents are, at the same time, almost equally balanced with the double-basses. The horns and trumpets, occupying a similar rôle to that played in orchestral music, are not greatly in excess of numbers found in the theatre pit. (To this, Le Sueur's piece is a striking exception). Oboes appear twice as optional extras, never numerous.

In many cases the numerical relationship of clarinets to bassoons is about 2 to 1, recalling the kind of relationship between violins and cellos in the concert orchestra. The percussion, tuba curva and buccin, the trombones and oboes played a very secondary part in the aural constitution of the group, so that, again recalling the orchestra, greater tonal weight fell to the clarinets and the bass.¹⁾ Through the natural ability of the clarinet to make sharp gradations between soft and loud there was a good basis for musical expressiveness, and the developing sophistication of ensemble scoring between 1790 and 1794 suggests also that the medium was capable of musical flexibility in concert performance.

Three conclusions may be drawn. First, no distinction was made in the size of ensemble when used for purely instrumental pieces or as the

¹⁾ This may suggest that Farmer/MILITARY was mistaken in writing of the clarinet in ensemble use that, "an open embouchure - as in jazz bands today - produced a clarino (high trumpet) tone." (p.39)

accompaniment to a chorus. Still less was there any re-proportioning of the types of instruments within the ensemble in either of these rôles. Second, that the extent of string participation (apart from double-bass) in wind music after about 1794 is more than notional; and third, that it is necessary to state that the brief accounts of Republican wind ensembles in Kastner/MANUEL, Farmer/RISE and LAVIGNAC pertain to regimental music, not to the groups discussed above.

(9) Religious Music

Information on the size of commemorative ensembles in the early Revolution is provided by a manuscript¹⁾ detailing the arrangements for the "Service de Mirabeau, Le 17 Mai à Ste Eustache." (Mirabeau died in April 1791.) Folio 6 lists the players, whose numbers were:

Violins	12	Flute	1	Horns	2
Violas	4	Oboes	2		
Cellos	6	Bassoons	5		
Double-basses	2	Serpents	8		

To this total and that of 28 singers (who were paid 414 livres in all) "Il est ajouté à cette musique 60 amateurs".

The usual Parisian ratio of strings was thus used; the high number of serpents compared with cellos, presumably occasioned by the ecclesiastical setting, is to be contrasted with the reverse situation in the table of Institut performances. However, it is not clear whether the amateurs played or sang.

Special effects were known before the Revolution, anticipating a habit characteristic of organised public occasions:

¹⁾ B.N. Nouv. Acq. Fr.312 (old sub-section 3101)

" ... un Musicien qui, pour vouloir imiter parfaitement la nature ... imiteroit ... une décharge d'artillerie par une décharge d'artillerie (comme on l'a fait dans l'exécution de plusieurs Te Deum) ... " 1)

The accuracy of Castil-Blaze's account of the cessation in Paris of orthodox religious music has not been questioned:

"Depuis ce fameux 10 août [1792] jusqu'au 20 juillet 1802, époque de l'organisation de la chapelle consulaire ... la musique religieuse fut abandonnée en France." 2)

In 1790 the royal chapel possessed 44 musicians, 35 of whom were described as follows:

Violin	Cello	Fl.	Ob.	Cl.	Fg.	Trumpet	Timpani ³⁾
16	6	2	2	2	5	1	1

In 1806 there have been stated to have been 43 musicians in the Imperial chapel, with a greater weight of wind players than before. The ratio of cellos to violins, as in 1790, was about 1 to 3.

Violin	Viola	Cello	D-bass	Fl.	Ob.	Cl.	Fg.	Cor	Harp ⁴⁾
13	4	4	4	2	3	4	4	4	1

Napoleonic taste for quiet music accounts for the absence of trumpet and drum. By 1810 there were 50 musicians.⁵⁾

The manuscript parts and scores belonging to the Tuileries chapel have recently been discovered, but were not available to the present writer owing to cataloguing. Through the kindness of M. Jean Mongrédien, however, it has been possible to modify the number of instruments as stated above by comparison with three sets of parts known to date from the Empire:

- 1) Le Sueur/PENTECOTE p.14 (1787)
- 2) Castil-Blaze/CHAPELLE p.164
- 3) Servières/EPISODES p.62
- 4) Castil-Blaze/CHAPELLE p.173
- 5) Servières/EPISODES p.63

PART-BOOKS

	Vn.1	Vn.2	Vle.	Cello	D.B.	Fl.	Ob.	Cl.	Fg.	Co.
Le Sueur: Mass in G, no. 2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	3
Le Sueur: Mass in A, no. 7	4	4	2	6	-	1	1	2	2	2
Le Sueur: Three choruses for the Emperor's birthday 1)	6	6	4	8	-	2	2	2	2	-

They reveal that the string section was at times larger than has been previously suggested, comprising between 32 and 48 performers, the cellos always in a higher ratio to the violins than appears from Castil-Blaze's figures, which are necessarily put in doubt. It may also be established that three or four flutes and four oboes may have been available, playing two to each part as the clarinets appear to have done.²⁾ For the private baptism of the King of Rome in 1811 Le Sueur wrote or re-wrote a motet, Joannes in deserto,³⁾ whose material included eight books for harps.

Such fluctuations of forces reflects a centre of musical experiment during the Empire (yet to be investigated) roughly analogous to the wind-groups of the National Guard before 1796, each a unique product of the political forces of its time.

(10) Open-air music

Republican open-air performances of extremely large proportions will be discussed below in the next section. They were, of course, exceptional, and only the simplest music could actually be performed by such forces. The undoubted historical importance of their size has obscured the interest due to other and smaller open-air performances.

Such performances were of particular interest during the Republic, when the musical creation was almost as spontaneous as the creation of the

1) Mongrédien, unpublished catalogue pp.32, 37, 61

2) There were 3 flutes and 3 oboes in the royal chapel just after the restoration; these figures are reproduced in Almanach des Spectacles de Paris ... pour l'an 1815. Two harpists are also recorded.

3) Mongrédien catalogue p.63 (Paquet A)

festivals of which it frequently formed a part. In the festivals and ceremonies of the revolutionary decade occurred an extraordinary flux between the arts, the neo-classical consciousness and political activity. Music had thrust upon it the rôle of popular communication, which it sought to accommodate by inventing new forms, styles and instrumental resources. Under the Consulate and Empire certain military ensembles were encouraged, and these groups performed the only open-air music in Paris. Yet although they were musically cultivated, having grown out of the experience of the Garde Nationale and the Conservatoire, their function became one of entertainment and ceremonial. No first-ranking composer wrote for them.

"Sous l'Empire ... la musique militaire ne s'est guère enrichie."¹⁾

Michael Gebauer was the best-known band composer; even the 48-man ensemble he directed every morning at the Tuileries appears to have had a limited repertoire.²⁾ I shall therefore only consider the music and performances of the earlier groups.

Examination of Pierre/HYMNES and Pierre/CONSERVATOIRE reveals that, to his knowledge, no copyist's list had survived of a normally sized festival performance, either of purely instrumental music or of accompanied choral music. But since the same group of performers was responsible for the Institut concerts and open-air performances - for which latter purpose the Institut and the Conservatoire were partly founded - the figures contained in the table opposite p. 14 are representative of outdoor forces during 1794.

Since the first ceremony for which music was paid for by the Convention was not until 10 August 1793³⁾ accounts and receipts before this date had no official authority, and records were thereby lost. But it is notable that the available information shows that the musicians of the Garde

1) Robert/FRANCAISE p.13

2) Fleischman/NAPOLEON pp.258-9

3) Pierre/SARRETTE p.33

Nationale already numbered 45 in mid-1790.¹⁾ In September of the following year there were 78 musicians²⁾ and in 1792 there were 54 owing to the transfer of men elsewhere; but after the formation of the Institut in November 1793 a further 11 players were added to the group.³⁾

As for the composition of the ensemble before the end of 1793, this has been calculated as follows:⁴⁾

Flute	Oboe	Clarinet	Bassoon	Horn	Trumpet	Trombone	Serpent	Unknown
3	2	11	7	8	3	1	1	17

from this it may be seen that the proportions of the group were very much the same during the first period of its history.

Some attempts may be made to imagine the conditions of outdoor performance. In music written for marching the addition of drums should naturally be imagined; in music including a numerous chorus a fusillade signified the end of the last verse;⁵⁾ the extempore addition of bass drum and cymbals is suggested by their presence in some of the few remaining autograph scores, such as Gossec's Chant de Triomphe (P.16).⁶⁾ It is likely also that outdoor performances were assisted by the addition of the tuba curva and buccin where these could be included in order to secure a satisfactory volume and in order to ensure that the musical portion of processions might display instruments visibly taken from antique models, in common with the costumes and emblems. Parts for these instruments appear regularly in manuscript scores but were omitted from printed editions of out-door works.

Double-basses, as has been said, were not used in the open air, but timpani were, although only, so far as may be established, in the accompani-

1) Pierre/SARRETTE p.18

2) Pierre/SARRETTE p.23, footnote

3) Pierre/SARRETTE p.52

4) These figures have been compiled from the list of musicians printed in Pierre/SARRETTE pp.36-37

5) The participation of firearms may well have been even more common than this; Chamfort/TABLEAUX Plate 50 shows several muskets being fired inside the Panthéon at Mirabeau's funeral on 4 April 1791. Musicians are known to have played at the ceremony.

6) B.N. MS 1462

ments to choruses. Although the rôle of the oboe has been rightly said to have diminished before that of the clarinet in wind music of this period,¹⁾ it appears continually in music accompanying choruses, even that designed for the open air. Two examples are Gossec's Peuple éveille-toi (P.8) and his Hymne à la Victoire (P.113)

One or more trombones appear in almost every open-air ensemble. When a composer wrote for these instruments, usually in three parts, they were not performed by more than three instruments. Copyists' lists for indoor performances never indicate more than three parts - and therefore players - and in the case of the open-air concert of 14 July 1794 (discussed in the next section) the same pattern is strikingly apparent. In almost all cases more serpent parts were made up.²⁾ The lack of trombonists was reflected elsewhere also. A draft plan for the Conservatoire specified only one trombone teacher, but four for the trumpet and six for the serpent.³⁾ The first list of Conservatoire professors, 1795, contains only two names that might be linked with the trombone; Marciliac and Guthmann.

The rather cavernous timbre of the serpent made the more necessary a strong element of rhythmic help from percussion, giving simultaneously the aural illusion of a heavy bass. In the performance of 14 July 1794 referred to above, records show that 24 drummers were supplied to balance an ensemble of 120 players.⁴⁾ If drums would often have been conspicuous, cymbals, smaller and thicker than today's, were ^{conjecturally} not so prominent. It was perhaps because of this that the tambour turc was introduced into open-air music. The first such occasion (as far as information survives) was on 8 June 1794,

1) Farmer/MILITARY p.39

2) For example, Gossec's Ronde Nationale (P.13), and others discussed in section (11) below.

3) Pierre/SARRETTE p.118

4) Pierre/HYMNES pp.192-3

in Gossec's Hymne à l'Être Suprême (P.47, 48).¹⁾

(11) Large-scale performances

Not unnaturally, large-scale performances have attracted the attention of several writers. Despite their peripheral significance in the present study a summary of what is precisely known of the forces involved on such occasions is included because some of the music to be discussed in later chapters was never given elsewhere.

On the first anniversary of the taking of the Bastille an oratorio by Desaugiers (P.2) was performed at Notre-Dame. One account described "Plus de 600 musiciens", another compared the forces to those at the London Pantheon, "où le nombre des concertans se monte quelquefois jusqu'à huit, neuf cents, mille."²⁾ Following the information in the MS concerning the service for Mirabeau, it is safe to assume the participation of the amateur public.

In festivals on the Champ de Mars the number of participants is impossible to ascertain, as the public were intentionally included. Two accounts of the Fête de Fédération (14 July 1790) give contradictory figures; the more probable gives 300 drums and 300 wind instruments, of which 50 were serpents. The Fête de l'Être Suprême (8 June 1794), recognised as the largest of all Republican festivals, incorporated 1,500 musicians according to Castil-Blaze;³⁾ Dufrane claimed a prepared choir of 2,400.⁴⁾ David's original plan was for 100 drums; but true figures are simply not known.

On 14 July 1794 a "people's concert" was held in the Tuileries gardens.⁵⁾

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- 1) The instrument itself was not new in Paris. Gluck wrote for it in La Cynthère assiégée (1775), p.69
 - 2) Quoted in Pierre/HYMNES p.189. The reference may in this case be to St. Paul's Cathedral rather than the Oxford Street Pantheon. The Charity Children performed in April 1789 for the first time in St. Paul's. (GROVE/V, articles "Charity Children", "Pantheon")
 - 3) Castil-Blaze/ACADEMIE, Vol.II p.39
 - 4) Dufrane/GOSSEC p.141
 - 5) Programme reproduced in Appendix 5.

In that it presented a full band of strings in the open air it was probably exceptional, though it would be difficult to claim unique, even at this time. Known lists of part-books, taken from Pierre/HYMNES, are reproduced for comparison:

	Gossec: (P. 13) <u>Ronde Nationale</u>	Philidor: Serment <u>d'Ernelinde</u>	Anon: Pas <u>de charge</u>	Gluck: Poursuivons <u>jusqu'au trépas (Armide)</u>
Violin 1	20	20	20	20
Violin 2	20	20	20	20
Viola	15	15	15	15
Cello	12	12	12	12
D-bass	6	6	6	6
Flute	6	-	6	6
Oboe	6	6	-	-
Clarinet	8	6	4	8
Bassoon	8	8	8	8
Serpent	10	10	10	10
Horn	6	6	6	6
Trumpet	4	6	6	-
Trombone	-	-	-	-
Timpani	-	-	2	-

and 120 voices

Nothing illustrates the incertitudes of outdoor performance practice better than these figures, because although one book for each player might seem to have been needed it is pointed out elsewhere by Pierre¹⁾ that 135 extra instrumentalists were hired for this concert. About 200 players may be assumed, with about 140 strings and about 60 winds. Considering the above table, it appears that the proportions of the stringed instruments bear no resemblance to the 4 - 1 - 2 - 1 ratio towards which Parisian orchestras were otherwise moving. Rather it approximates to 8 - 3 - 2 - 1; more effective support for the tenor and bass was given by 18 bassoons and

¹⁾ Pierre/SARRETTE p.91

serpents, as if suggested by the experience of the festival performances. The distribution of instruments for Haydn's symphony is unfortunately lacking; the omission of trombone parts from the Gossec and anonymous pieces suggests a discreet absence from Haydn. It is an interesting speculation that these instruments, normally required in the Gossec, may have been omitted because it was thought that their limited tone could make no possible impression among such large forces.

A Napoleonic influence on performance practice may now be described. This took the form of the encouragement of multi-dimensional works through the provision of large-scale ceremonies, all politically directed as may be seen from their description:

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------|---|
| 14 July 1800 | Invalides | The most respected Republican festival, combined with a ceremonial thanksgiving for the Napoleonic victory of Marengo.

Méhul: <u>Chant National du 14 juillet</u> for 3 choirs and 3 ensembles |
| 23 September 1800 | Invalides | Eighth anniversary of the founding of the Republic. Strong patriotic and anti-English sentiments with references to Napoleon as the French hero.

Le Sueur: <u>Chant du 1er vendémiaire</u> for 4 choirs and 4 ensembles. |
| 18 April 1802 | Notre-Dame | Promulgation of the Concordat, Easter day.

Paisiello: <u>Te Deum</u> for 2 choirs and 2 orchestras. |
| 2 December 1804 | Notre-Dame | Coronation of Napoleon.

Paisiello: <u>Te Deum</u> , as before but with separate wind ensemble.

Paisiello: Mass for 2 choirs, 2 orchestras and separate wind ensemble. |

There is no doubt that the profound impression caused by Méhul's Chant National, one singular manifestation of which was its immediate printing in full score by order of the Minister of the Interior (Lucien Bonaparte), prompted Napoleon to consider using the newly-displayed accomplishments of Parisian musicians to ceremonial ends on a scale fitting to his ambitions.¹⁾ The pieces listed above constitute a progression culminating in the most lavish ceremony possible. That the guiding hand of Napoleon extended to the musical contribution is obvious; Paisiello was his preferred composer and the first master of his chapel at the Tuileries.²⁾

The Chant National, Chant du 1er vendémiaire and Mass received their only performances of the period on the occasions for which they were composed, so that it is a particular loss not to know the size of the ensembles that performed the first two pieces. Owing to the recent discovery of the material used at the coronation, however, the exact constitution of the ensembles in the Mass may be seen.

PART-BOOKS³⁾

First orchestra:	Vn.1	Vn.2	Vle.	Cello	D-bass	:	Fl.	Ob.	Cl.	Fg.	:	Cor	Trp.	
	10	10	9	9	6	:	2	2	2	2	:	2	2	
												also horn & harp solo		
Second orchestra:	7	7	5	5	4	:	2	2	2	2	:	2	2	
Wind group:							:	0	4	4	2	:	4	4
												also bass-dru and tambour		

Again a high number of violas is apparent, and the absence of serpents and trombones may indicate the result of Napoleonic preferences.

The figures for the Te Deum are almost identical, but include two organ parts. The first orchestra thus comprised some 57 players, if there were

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- 1) "Si depuis longtemps on ne savait à quel haut point de perfection le Conservatoire de musique a porté l'exécution, on aurait pu être étonné de celle d'hier ..." Le Moniteur, 25 September 1800, quoted in Pierre/HYMNES p.452.
- 2) "Durant son séjour à Paris le compositeur italien sera fêté par le Premier Consul à l'égal d'un prince": Mongrédien/SACRE p.154
- 3) Mongrédien/SACRE p.160

only one musician to a part, the second orchestra about 40 players and the third group about 20 players. Until it is ascertained by examination of the music how many musicians read each part, these minimum totals must serve as the only guide.¹⁾

The location of the three ensembles in Méhul's Chant National was not indicated at the time apart from the remark "à une si grande distance", and the score gives no further clue.²⁾ The women's choir with harps and horn solo seems likely to have been situated in the gallery mentioned in connection with Le Sueur's work for the same building. In this piece two instrumental and choral ensembles were "aux extrémités", the third in the organ gallery and the last in "une gallerie collatérale".³⁾ For the coronation ceremony the two principal groups were at either extremity of the transept.⁴⁾

Press reports had only praise for the smoothness and excellence of execution of all these works, which is to be treated with suspicion; all journalists appear to have been ignorant of matters technical in music, and a copyist's note has come to light indicating changes in the Mass owing to the distance between the orchestras.⁵⁾ In this piece there were four conductors, one for each choir and ensemble apart from the wind group, and it is not known how, if at all, further coordination was attempted.

Whether or not independently of these pompous occasions, large-scale church performances of religious music seem to have become established in Paris as a natural consequence of the Concordat and the public's approbation

1) The music could not be consulted by the present writer owing to cataloguing.

2) Mohiteur universel, quoted in Pierre/HYMNES p.439

3) Journal de Paris, similarly quoted

4) Mongrédien/SACRE p.170

5) Ibid. p.172

of this mode of performing. The Courrier des Spectacles of 18 November 1804 carried notices of Haydn's "Oratorio" to be given, adapted to take the words of the Latin mass, four days later at St. Roch with the united orchestras of the Académie and the Opéra-Comique, and for the Conservatoire performance of the Mozart Requiem. Owing to preparations for the coronation the latter had to be postponed until 21 December (see Appendix 5) when two hundred orchestral players and an unknown number of choristers gave it at St. Germain-l'Auxerrois.

Cherubini, who conducted, probably instigated the performance through motives of public education; the rather partisan Correspondance des Amateurs Musiciens stressed the artistic integrity of the occasion:

"Jusqu'à présent donc aucun ouvrage complet de ce compositeur... n'avait été encore exécuté [i.e. in France]. Il étoit réservé à un établissement public ... de faire connoître un des chefs-d'oeuvre de Mozart ... " 1)

At any rate, the performance received an unusual measure of advance notice in the press, and one feature on the subject (in the form of a dialogue) shows that emulation of the English annual concert of Charity Children could be used to help justify prices of 20 francs (about £10 according to the calculations on page 17).

Since the concert was a success there can be no doubt that the ethos of large-scale performances was established in its own right: but also that these were now typically organised on a professional basis.

"Ce prix de 20 francs qu'on demande pour les places du chœur, ne vous a étonné que parce que cela est nouveau pour vous. Mais ... il y a longtemps que les anglais nous ont donné l'exemple d'une pareille institution. Trois cents musiciens se réunissent tous les ans à l'abbaye de Westminster, pour y exécuter l'Oratorio du Messie de Hendel. On paye une guinée d'entrée; l'Eglise est toujours pleine, et le produit de cette collecte est versé dans la caisse des pauvres musiciens ... " 2)

1) CAM, 29 December 1804, p.782

2) COURRIER, 8 November 1804

THEORETICAL INSTRUMENTAL RANGES

FLUTE

LABORDE 8^{va} ----- \ominus or $b\ominus$ FRANCOEUR & CHORON 8^{va} ----- \ominus or $b\ominus$ or \ominus VANDENBROECK 8^{va} ----- \ominus

BLASIUS 8^{va} ----- \ominus KOCH 8^{va} ----- $b\ominus$ but usually 8^{va} ----- \ominus

PICCOLO

FRANCOEUR \ominus [# \ominus and \ominus are difficult and shrill] VANDENBROECK \ominus

(written) \ominus

OBOE

FRANCOEUR \ominus VANDENBROECK \ominus "et plus" BLASIUS \ominus GARNIER \ominus [last 4 semitones little used]

CHORON \ominus [\ominus is possible] KOCH \ominus or \ominus

CLARINET

FRANCOEUR \ominus VANDENBROECK \ominus "et plus"

[written] $h \ominus \ominus h \ominus h \ominus h \ominus \# \ominus h \ominus h \ominus h \ominus$

COR CONED.

VANDENBROECK ca. 1795

Handwritten musical notation for Vandenbroeck ca. 1795. The first staff shows notes with labels: SOURDS, IMPRACTICABLE, PAS SI SOURD, SOURDS. The second staff is empty.

Handwritten musical notation for Vandenbroeck ca. 1795. The first staff shows notes with labels: PAS SI SOURD, SOURD, PAS SI SOURD, SOURDS, PAS SI SOURDS. The second staff is empty.

HAMPL / PUNTO ca. 1797

Handwritten musical notation for Hampl / Punto ca. 1797. The first staff shows notes. The second staff is empty.

DUPERNOY 1807

Handwritten musical notation for Dupernoy 1807. The first staff shows notes. The second staff is empty.

DOMMICH 1807

Handwritten musical notation for Dommich 1807. The first staff shows notes. The second staff shows a chromatic scale with the label "CHROMATICALLY".

CHORON 1813 "Solo de concerto"

Handwritten musical notation for Choron 1813. The first staff shows notes with the label "CHROMATICALLY". The second staff is empty.

"Solo d'adagio"

Handwritten musical notation for Choron 1813. The first staff shows notes. The second staff is empty.

HORN RANGES : ^{AS} WRITTEN

FRANCOEUR 1772 VANDENBROECK ca. 1789

COR 2^e 1^{er} COR

HAMEL/PUNTO ca. 1797 DUVERNOY 1807

1^{er} COR COR IN G, A, Bb alto 2^e COR 2^e COR

DOMNICH 1807 FIRST HORN: SOUNDING SECOND HORN: SOUNDING

(IN ANY KEY) IN C BASS IN Bb ALTO (IN ANY KEY)

TRUMPET

FRANCOEUR

(C) (B) TOO HIGH TOO LOW

TROMBONE

LABORDE

ALTO TENOR BASS [C-BASS]* bB [C-BASS]*

FRANCOEUR, CHORON REICHA

ALTO TENOR BASS HAUT-CONTRE TENOR BASS

VANDENBROECK

ALTO TENOR BASS



* There is some uncertainty in laborde's terminology