



"Ouverture du Corps Législatif le 6 Nivose An 13"

in (i): David had spent the first of his student years in Rome obsessively studying the Trajan column.¹⁾ Bartoli/TRAIANA reveals only two wind instruments of trumpet type, one G-shaped, the other straight but conical. They are shown in several scenes, both separately and together. Their nomenclature is indistinct; the curved instrument is called "lituo tromba torta" (p.57); "lituo ritorto" (p.84) and "buccina" (p.271). The straight one was a "tuba dritta".

The clue to Sarrette's remarks is found in Laborde/ESSAI, which would have been well known in musical Paris if only through the hospitality of its author. Laborde's "Hebrew" trumpet (Vol.1, p.232) was quite straight. His straight Graeco-Roman trumpet

"est tirée de la Colone Trajane, et ne diffère de celle des Hébreux, qu'en ce qu'elle a une ouverture plus grande et plus recourbée".

The Romans, according to Laborde, knew both straight and curved trumpets; the latter type, or "trompette courbée" (but also "Bucina") was also said to be found on the Trajan column.

Although Sarrette's attribution of a "tuba corva" to the Greeks finds no counterpart in Laborde, yet there seems to be an historical distinction drawn at the time between the straightness of the older trumpet and the curved nature of the later one. Moreover, Sarrette's words are only preserved in second-hand reports; it is most likely that the gist of his remarks conformed to the same distinction.

Turning to engraving (iii) we may link Sarrette's "le premier faisoit partie des ornemens du char" with the four instruments leading the groups of musicians. These are clearly on the curved Roman pattern. In (iv) and (v) the curved instruments may be seen as approximations to this design, perhaps the results of unfamiliarity. Engraving (vi) of two years later

¹⁾ Dowd/PAGEANT p.49



"Leonidas at Thermopylai" (completed 1814)

shows two excellent reproductions of this type, which moreover are of about the length suggested by acoustical considerations for the tuba curva; (ix) again shows a similar pattern.

The straight type of instrument can be seen in (iv), about three feet long, and in (viii) and (ix), similarly proportioned. David's drawing provides the clearest representation, and may be compared with his "Léonidas" trumpets, presumed to date from 480 B.C., the date of the battle between Spartans and Persians.

Other forms of antique instruments do occur, chiefly as semi-curved specimens in (iv) and (ix), but also in looped forms, as in (v) and (vi). Those in (vi) appear to be too monstrous to be held by one man in the position shown, and I have already suggested the doubtful value of (v) as a good source.

In conclusion, the best evidence suggests a straight buccin and a Roman G-shaped tuba curva, with the possibility also existing of an upward-curving buccin. Principal doubts concern the straight instrument, since it would be quite easy for the straight examples in (v) and (ix) to be misrepresentations of conventional trumpets, and to argue that David's example in (viii) was as idealised musically as (vii) might suggest the scene was generally.¹⁾ Nevertheless, the paramount rôle which David played in designing the festivals, his known care and accuracy in neoclassical designs²⁾ and the verbal description of Sarrette are sufficient to establish the straight buccin and the Roman tuba curva, given the present extent of our factual knowledge.

(5) The Organ

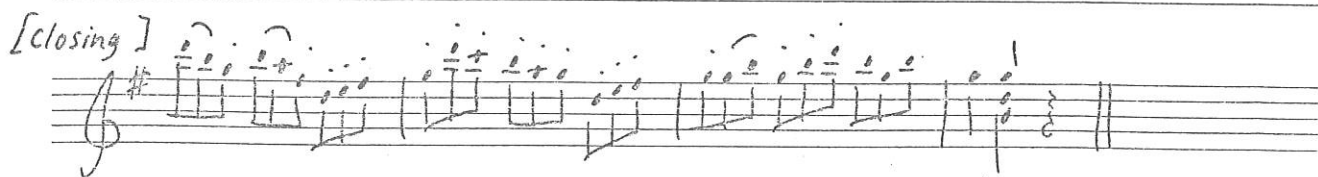
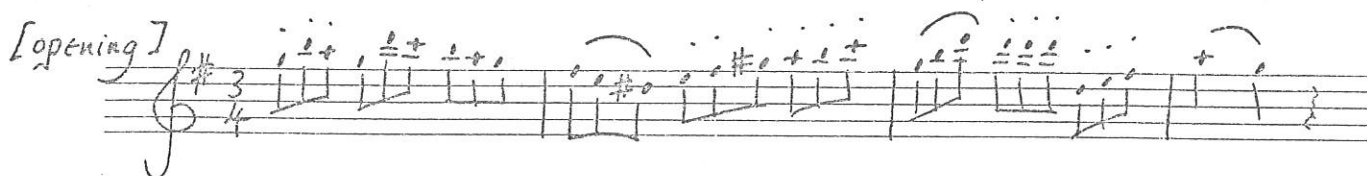
The only opera during the period under consideration that may have

¹⁾ JOURNAL/D, 16 December 1804, only gives details of the music that was played inside: "Une musique guerrière se fera entendre pendant tout le repas".

²⁾ Kemp/DAVID provides a full discussion of the derivations of "Léonidas".

used an organ was Grétry's La rosière républicaine, planned for performance at the Académie at the end of 1793 but not seen until September 1794, after revisions had been made at the request of the government. Castil-Blaze described the scene in question: "L'amant de la rosière [i.e. Lysis] ... chante un hymne en honneur de la déesse, nouvellement installée; l'orgue l'accompagne; c'est la première fois qu'un orgue a donné dans la salle de l'Opéra".¹⁾ This episode and the organ part are not to be found in the only printed score, the C.E. volume 29; but in Parisian manuscript copy scores²⁾ a version of the scene is preserved. (It occurs after the hymn to victory, p.72 of the C.E. score.)

On stage, church doors have opened to reveal an altar to Reason, which although odd in retrospect was no more than a fictive portrayal of the practice in contemporary Paris.³⁾ After a recitative comes an air for Lysis, labelled "Lysis seul accompagné par l'orgue". The opening and closing ritornellos for organ appear as follows, without a bass line.



The air itself, 30 bars long, equally appears without bass and lacks any accompaniment. As it stands, it is unlikely that the piece was performed,

- 1) Quoted in the introduction to the Grétry C.E., Vol.29 page V from "Les théâtres Lyriques de Paris".
- 2) B.N., D.5048 and B. de l'Op., A 353 b.
- 3) Organs too were employed in performing Republican hymns and songs in churches thus converted. See P. Williams, The European Organ 1450-1850, London, 1966, pp.197-8, and the engraving opposite page 472 below.

but the air might once have existed elsewhere in complete form. It is beyond dispute that an organ part was actively considered.

An organ appears in five Revolutionary hymns of 1794 by Cambini, P.64, 75-7, and 82. These are crudely scored pieces, and the organ part appears on the bottom stave simply as a figured bass. It is in fact dispensable, and without it the music would sound as well, if not better. The publisher (Imbault) and composer probably conceived the figured bass as an alternative to the wind instruments, intending the pieces for domestic or church use; their simple strophic construction seems to bear this out.

There is evidence that organs were used in open air ceremonies.¹⁾ Two documents show that four organists were employed to play on instruments transported from different churches or convents to the Place de la Révolution and Champ de Mars for the activities of 10 August 1793. It is not known whether this was done on other occasions.

(6) The Percussion

(a) Cloche, Beffroi, Tam-tam

Because the terminology of bell-types and gong-types was confused in the early nineteenth century it is not desirable to separate discussion of them. Nevertheless, it has been possible to draw distinctions between the employment of each type in the majority of cases.

Before embarking on the purely musical ramifications of these instruments a preliminary review of literary references will be made.

One of the most recent accounts of the history of the tam-tam gives the instrument a firmly Chinese origin.

"C'est un type particulier de gong, d'invention sans doute Chinoise ... Le terme de tam-tam, employé en France dès le XVIII^e siècle, proviendrait du malais tammittam. Mais sous l'influence des colons et des

¹⁾ Pierre/SARRETTE p.33

littérateurs européens, il s'est étendu abusivement à diverses sortes de tambours africains ou antillais, et finalement à tout orchestre de danse chez les Noirs; déjà Bernadin de St. Pierre l'emploie dans une acception fausse." 1)

The references in St. Pierre are the following:

- (a) "... le Tam-tam, c'est une espèce d'arc où est adaptée une calabasse" 2)
- (b) "Quelquefois, à la manière des noirs, elle exécutait avec Paul une pantomime ... Tantôt, au son du tam-tam de Domingue, elle se présentait sur la pelouse ... " 3)

The latter was carried over into Kreutzer's operatic version (January 1791):

"Domingue jouera du Tantam
Et nous danserons sous l'ombrage",

where the lively dactylic rhythms obviously carry the suggestion of a drum-figure. The same meaning was alone given in the third edition of Diderot's Encyclopédie, after 1781; no entry is found in the first two editions.

Wright/DICTIONNAIRE gives other similar definitions from the period.

The word "gong" was never subjected to the same degree of distortion.

The Supplément to the first edition of the Encyclopédie (1776) states:

"Gong: bassin des Indiens sur lequel ils frappent avec une baguette de bois. Comme le gong est de cuivre ou de bronze, il rend un son très-clair."

This is acceptable as a rough definition of the true gong or tam-tam type, and is the first such of the period. With it may be compared a succeeding definition which appears to indicate that "gong", by 1813 or before, had acquired the same meaning as "tam-tam".

"Le Tam-tam, ou Gong-gong ... a quelque chose de lugubre et d'effrayant. Quelques coups de cet instrument donnés à propos font un effet prodigieux." 4)

The characteristic physical form of the tam-tam was not described in detail for a further five years:

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- 1) Article "Tam-tam" by A. Schaeffner in Encyclopédie de la Musique, Fasquelle, Paris, 1958.
 - 2) B. de St.-Pierre, "Voyage à l'île de France", 1773, quoted in Wright/DICTIONNAIRE
 - 3) B. de St.-Pierre, "Paul et Virginie" [1788], Editions Garnier Frères, Paris, 1964, pp. 124-5
 - 4) Choron/TRAITE (1813) p.80

"Tam-tam: Instrument de percussion en usage chez les Orientaux et admis, de temps à autre, dans nos orchestres, pour des effets terribles et lugubres ... C'est, dans sa forme, une espèce de tambour de basque, tout entier d'un métal composé, qui a une vibration extraordinaire." 1)

A date of first public knowledge of such an instrument may be brought forward to 1780, since there is no mention of any comparable specimen in Laborde/ESSAI, a fact which, in view of the vast scope of this work, cannot be too stringently gauged. Dr. M. Whaples has found no musical instruments in eighteenth-century catalogues of chinoiseries set out in Belévitch-Stankévitch, Le goût chinois en France (1910) and J. Guerin, La chinoiserie en Europe au XVIII^e siècle (1911).²⁾

"Cloche" is defined in the first edition of the *Encyclopédie* as a normal bell "dont le son est devenue parmi les hommes un signe public ou privé qui les appelle". It had always been closely linked to the terms "tocsin" and "beffroi", originally "belfry", but commonly meaning the actual bells or a bell, particularly an alarm bell. Later confusions of these terms, being exceptional, are discussed below.

(b) Untuned bells

We may now proceed to examine the musical uses of each instrument, where no ambiguity exists. Bells of manageable size in the theatre have probably always been used in operatic works. Their importance in about 1789 derives from the popularity of subjects involving religious institutions, public alarms and situations portraying physical danger. Thus bells are asked for, but not specifically notated, in Berton's Les rigueurs du cloître (1790),³⁾ Devienne's Les visitandines (1792),⁴⁾ Rochefort's Toulon soumis (1794)⁵⁾ and others. Bells indicating the time of day were freely introduced in other contexts, for instance the entr'acte preceding

1) METH (1818)

2) In her unpublished dissertation, "Exoticism in Dramatic Music, 1600-1800"; information kindly communicated by correspondence to the present writer.

3) p.92: "on entend une cloche"

4) p.68: "les cloches sonnent"

5) f.159: "Le Tocsin"

act 2 of Les Deux Journées. At least one attempt was made to combine the sound of an untuned bell with an orchestral chord,¹⁾ in Berton's Le délire (1799). The bells in Cherubini's Elisa, p.176, are not notated but probably form another example of the same experiment (Ex.22). The reference to bells in Dalayrac's Camille (1791)²⁾ is on p. 40; justified by the printed score / no manuscript exists in Paris.

The assertion that bell effects were "discovered by Le Sueur"³⁾ is without foundation, and was taken in this case from mis-information elsewhere

(c) Tuned bells

Tuned bells were employed in the opera orchestra at an earlier date than Kastner/COURS or Kastner/TRAITÉ imagined, citing Rossini's Guillame Tell. A letter of 9 July 1794 by Rochefort,⁵⁾ second in command of the Académie orchestra, makes it known that since 1790 the Académie had been in possession of two bells tuned to C and G which had been saved from melting down precisely because of their unusual musical value. These bells were large enough to require carriages and trailers⁶⁾ for their transporting to the Tuileries for a certain performance in July 1794. They had been used at the Académie, according to Rochefort, for "l'hymne à la liberté", probably a dramatised version of a Republican piece. Their only employment in an opera, however, had been in La Patrie reconnaissante by Candeille (February 1793). The piece was only given twice; but this is partly a reflection of its undoubted musical interest. Ex.21 shows the extraordinary prolonged ostinato of a staged cortège. The bell, labelled "Cloche des Morts", is scored with wind instruments on chords of C minor, and is notated on bass clef C. The effect is Mahlerian in starkness and breadth.

1) See page 107 of the score, a dissonant orchestral d - e clash.

2) Lavoix/HISTOIRE p.159

3) Becker/INSTRUMENTATION p.25

4) From MGG, article "Le Sueur". Explanation in letter from H. Becker to the present writer.

5) Printed in Pierre/HYMNES p.192

6) "Gondoles"; Pierre/HYMNES p.193

The music for later Académie operas, containing no use of tuned bells, suggests that the two in question were left at the theatre on Boulevard St-Martin when the Académie moved to the Théâtre Montansier (now the Square Louvois) in August 1794.

It is not possible to say (the music having been lost) whether the bells in Désaugier's La prise de la Bastille (P.2) contributed tonally. They sounded against the orchestral music in some way:

"le tocsin se font entendre au milieu d'une musique alarmante".¹⁾

Rocheport's letter makes it clear that four bells were needed: the two at the Académie in C and G, and two others stored at Notre-Dame in D and A.

Grétry's Cécile et Ermance, produced at the Favart in 1792, includes a bell in the overture. A manuscript score²⁾ indicates this "Cloche des Religieuses derrière le théâtre" as repeated d' strokes on the first violin stave, unaccompanied. This could have been a tuned bell.

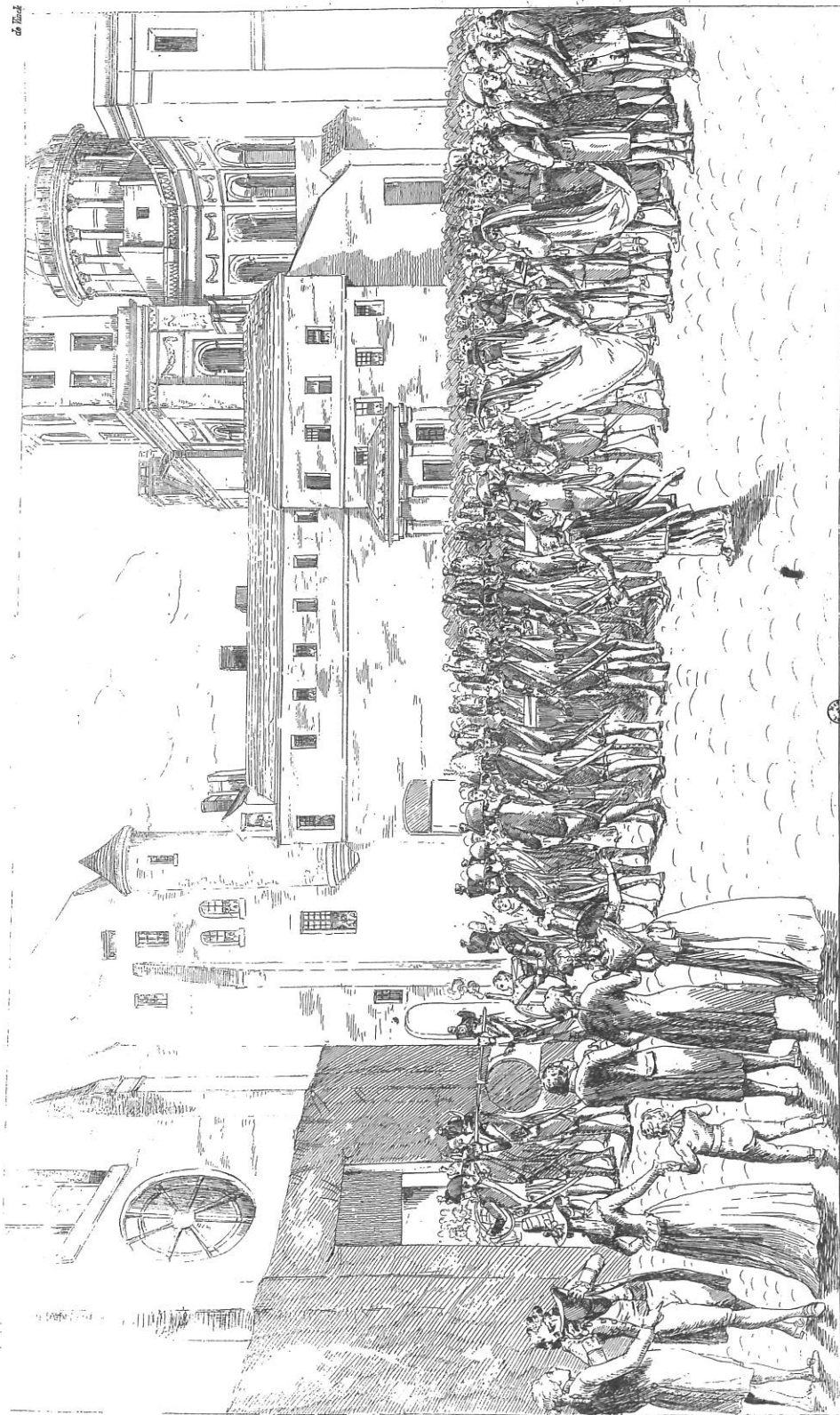
(d) The Tam-tam

Probably at a time after 1780 but preceding 1790 an oriental instrument in private possession became known in musical circles and came to the notice of Gossec. The possibility of using its sound for the composition of a processional funeral march clearly came to him from aural experience. The result, Marche lugubre, was one of the seminal influences on Revolutionary music. The provenance of this first tam-tam is still unfortunately unknown; only one published reference has been found to an instrument of the time:

"M. Beyer, physicien ... avoit dans son beau cabinet de physique un tam-tam remarquable par sa grandeur et son effet, qu'il a vendu pour la musique militaire de S.M. l'empereur d'Autriche." 3)

I have not been able to trace any MS documents concerning Beyer in the catalogues of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

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- 1) Journal de la Municipalité, 17 July 1790, quoted in Pierre/HYMNES p.189
 2) B. de l'Op., Rés.105(1)
 3) METH, footnote to article "Tam-tam". To the "Ind. Cimbale" requested in N. J. de Méreaux's Alexandre aux Indes p.37 (Académie, 1783) no critical attention has apparently been paid. Did this signify a gong-type?



de Paris

POMPE FUNÈBRE DU CONVOI DE MIRABEAU

Aux grands hommes la nation reconnoissante

A Paris, chez le Citoyen, M. L'Estampier, quai de Valmar, au chez Goyon, Citoyen, rue St. Jacques.

2

Mirabeau's funeral, 4 April 1791

Nevertheless the B.N. holds possibly the first visual representation of Gossec's instrument, almost certainly that which was used in Marche lugubre (P.2270) for the first time on 20 September 1790.¹⁾ The engraving²⁾ shows, according to the catalogue of the Collection de Vinck, a somewhat simplified view of the cortège on the occasion of Mirabeau's funeral, 4 April 1791 (see opposite page). Pierre/HYMNES p.843 confirms that Marche lugubre was performed at this ceremony.

It is fortunate that the style of the picture is not as elaborate as many others of the period; moreover, the closeness of the position of the artist relative to the cortège is slightly exceptional. The treatment suggests both interest and accuracy, and in any case the instrument itself offered less difficulty to the unaccustomed eye than, say, the tuba curva. By comparison with the musicians carrying it the tam-tam appears to be 2' 3" to 2' 6" in diameter, and is of the same familiar form as described in METH, with a shallow rim. The beater appears to have a head of some material.

Contemporary references to the first hearing describe the instrument as "arabe" and possessing a "bruit aigu".³⁾ M. J. Chénier called it a "timbre chinois" which gave "tristes hurlements".⁴⁾ In the two decades after 1790 the tam-tam, so designated, was heard in the following premières.⁵⁾

Champ de Mars	20 September 1790	Gossec, <u>Marche lugubre</u>
(Unperformed)	1792	Langlé, <u>Soliman et Eronime</u> ⁶⁾ (autograph)
Théâtre Feydeau	20 November 1793	Gossec, <u>Marche funèbre</u> (P.2280)
Panthéon	21 September 1794	Cherubini, <u>L'Hymne du Panthéon</u> (P.79)

1) Pierre/HYMNES, Tiersot/FETES etc.

2) Bibliothèque Nationale (Estampes), Collection de Vinck, Tome 11, no.1914; according to the catalogue probably designed by the engraver, Laurent Guyot.

3) Pierre/HYMNES pp.841-2

4) Pierre/MUSIQUE p.4

5) The reference to a tam-tam in Miller's Académie ballet Psyché (Botstiber/OUVERTURE p.149) cannot be verified in the scores at the B. de l'Op. The first performance was on 14 December 1790.

6) B.N. MS 2244 (2), f.61

Théâtre Feydeau	11 May 1796	Le Sueur, <u>Télémaque</u>
Champ de Mars	1 October 1797	Cherubini, <u>Marche funèbre sur la mort du général Hoche</u> (P.131) ¹⁾
Eglise des Invalides	14 July 1800	Méhul, <u>Chant National</u> (P.161)
Académie	10 July 1804	Le Sueur, <u>Ossian</u>
Opéra-Comique	17 May 1806	Méhul, <u>Uthal</u>
Académie	16 December 1807	Spontini, <u>La Vestale</u> (not certain)
Académie	21 March 1809	Le Sueur, <u>Adam</u>
Académie	28 November 1809	Spontini, <u>Fernand Cortez</u>
Académie	23 March 1810	Kreutzer, <u>Abel</u> ²⁾

Like the tuba curva and buccin the tam-tam entered French music as a direct result of the festivals of the Revolution; unlike the former, it became grafted on to the tradition of European music via the stage. At first only one tam-tam probably existed in Paris, to be retained by the composers nearest to Gossec. "Tam-tam divisi" on the Champ de Mars is a romantic myth.

For over ten years after Marche lugubre the associations of the instrument with death and ceremonial remained almost paramount. This was due to the powerful influence of the many solemn public gatherings in which it participated. Gossec's original piece was played many times. L'Hymne du Panthéon was written for Marat's funeral; the other marches above are self-explanatory.

More dramatic applications of the instrument were conceived for the musical theatre, although no operatic composer went so far as to write for the tam-tam (so labelled) in stage obsequies. Langlé in Soliman imagined the tam-tam as an adjunct of the cymbal in illustrating the word "frappe". Le Sueur's much more original employment in Télémaque (pp.134-5) was to

1) Berlin score only; not examined.

2) Lavoix/HISTOIRE p.332 claimed that a tam-tam was heard in Philidor's Le sorcier (1764), without naming any source. None appears in the printed score and parts, and no MS survives. A drum may have been meant in Lavoix's original source. Lavoix may simply have heard a tam-tam in J. A. Poise's arrangement of Le Sorcier of 1867.

create an atmosphere of terror as Télémaque, shipwrecked and separated from Mentor, finds himself on Calypso's island in the sole company of frightening birds (Ex.26):

"Ma voix dans cette horreur ténébreuse et cruelle
Se mêle seule aux cris des sinistres oiseaux".

It is after these words that the tam-tam enters for the first time.

The same composer's Ossian and Adam (both written around 1800) associate the tam-tam directly with death. In Ossian its sound on three occasions illustrates the striking on stage of an enormous suspended tribal shield of death; in Adam the protagonist's death calls forth a single fortissimo stroke.

It is possible that this latter procedure was an imitation of Méhul's Chant National. In this piece, during soft preparatory music for strings (p.88) a bass-drum stroke in one orchestra is answered a second later by a fortissimo tam-tam blow in the second ensemble, originally stationed on the opposite side of the Invalides. A soloist then declaims, "Tu meurs, brave Desaix". The young general had been killed at Marengo the preceding month; that he had been shot through the heart¹⁾ surely explains the unprecedented nature of Méhul's "stereophonic" invention.

After 1804 the theatre witnessed more freedom of imagination whereby the tam-tam rapidly lost its purely mortal associations. In Uthal it softly illustrates "la voix de la guerre", perhaps a token reference to the Bardic custom which Ossian had more extensively portrayed. The notion of an object being struck was repeated in Kreutzer's Abel (composed at about the time of Uthal); the tam-tam is heard in conjunction with the anvil²⁾ at the outset of a chorus of demons who have forged or who are forging Cain's club.

1) Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1963, Vol.VII p.280

2) See page 259 below

In La Vestale Spontini became the first to free the tam-tam from all pictorial ties and to use it merely as an additional instrument of percussion. It is introduced after Julia's discovery and Licinius's escape at the high priest's words, "Le terrible anathème" (Ex.28) and then to augment the volume of the succeeding finale.¹⁾ In Cortez it became simply one agent of the "musique barbare dans le lointain" (pp.448, 476), a reinforcement for the end of the finale to act 2, and part of the weird music heard when the oracle speaks (Exx.27, 224).

The initial desire to hear the instrument's tone unmodified meant that from Marche lugubre to Abel some composers wrote for the tam-tam preferably in alternation with ensemble music. Again following the example of Marche lugubre others combined the tam-tam with single instrumental chords. L'Hymne du Panthéon, Télémaque and Adam use this kind of sound; in Adam Le Sueur placed the tam-tam against the full orchestra. Sometimes chromatically moving harmony would be enhanced by the tam-tam. Ossian extended the scope of the orchestral context against which the tam-tam could be heard by placing it in a measured string tremolando, *f* or *fp*, alternating with the spread chords of six harps in unison.

All examples of tam-tam writing up to La Vestale occurred either in slow tempo or the unrhythmical tempo of recitative, reflecting a certain degree of isolation or solemnity of use. The act 2 finales of this opera and of Cortez, each with full orchestra and faster tempos, represent radical departures from this precedent, although still obviously regarding the instrument as to be reserved for climactic passages. In fact, both finales use the tam-tam to reinforce their considerable rhythmic drive, not to hinder it.

¹⁾ It cannot be established that the first performance incorporated the tam-tam. Although it is in the printed score (1807-9 according to Hopkinson/PUB) it does not appear in the autograph (B. de l'Op., A.412.a) and only exists in pencil in the copy score (idem. A.412.c). No information can be derived from the review in JOURNAL/D, 18 December 1807.

In Cortez, pp.522-3, occurs the first example of more rapidly repeated tam-tam strokes (Ex.27) used to achieve a sudden crescendo in association with carefully calculated figures for all instruments of the tutti. Its percussive use was here concentrated and a new style of orchestral writing invented specially to complement the tam-tam, whereas previously (except for Marche lugubre) the new instrument had always been combined with more conventional material.

There was no standard notation for the tam-tam at first. Different notes in both treble and bass clefs were selected. Uncertainty seems to have confined its notated rhythm to single crotchets or minims, even when the context would appear to demand a laissez vibrer effect, as in Méhul's Chant National. In Spontini's hands notation for the instrument became metrically more flexible and aurally more accurate: the semibreves in La Vestale represent an innovation on a notational level.

(e) Later confusions of terminology

As we have seen, there was relatively little confusion of terminology to 1810. The terms "cloche" and "tam-tam" seem only to have been confused in the 1793 copy score of Marche lugubre.¹⁾ The MS part of the same piece, however, denotes "tam-tam".²⁾ The tam-tam having established its own symbolic voice was never called upon to imitate a bell; bells were already on hand, more specifically associative and never widely used in orchestral music.

Save in the exception above, the bell and tam-tam were not linked terminologically until more than 25 years after Marche lugubre when most of the music of the early Revolution was forgotten and many of its composers dead. This took place in an entry in Castil-Blaze's dictionary:

1) The score having disappeared from the B.N., this information from Pierre/HYMNES could not be verified or added to.

2) B.N., H² 143

"Beffroi ou tantam ... c'est dans sa forme une espèce de tambour de basque, tout entier de métal composé, qui a une vibration extraordinaire quand on le frappe avec un marteau. Le Beffroi s'emploie avec succès dans les marches lugubres et funèbres ..." ¹⁾

This definition is largely an appropriation of that in Framéry's Encyclopédie Méthodique (see page 249 above), but introducing the term "beffroi".

Association of these different terms was taken over by Catrufo/INSTRUMENTS (1832), Jacquot/DICTIONNAIRE (1886) and some modern books. Kastner, however, in both the Cours and the Traité (1839 and 1836) retained "beffroi" solely as the word for a bell, albeit possibly a tuned one. ²⁾ There are therefore ample grounds for rejecting Castil-Blaze's association of terms.

(f) Steibelt's "Roméo et Juliette"

The first scene of act 3 of Steibelt's Roméo et Juliette (Théâtre Feydeau, 10 September 1793) is a set piece in the form of a mourning chorus in the vault of the Capulets. The introduction, 66 bars of "Adagio non troppo", suggests that the depiction of a procession or of a rite was intended. The music is in C minor and contains a part for "Beffroi" notated for each of its five strokes on bass clef C. Four of these occur against chords of C. The notion that "beffroi" in this case indicated a tam-tam may have originated with Castil-Blaze, who appears to have been the first to declare, in 1855,

"Steibelt l'avait employé [i.e. the tam-tam] dans Roméo et Juliette ... " ³⁾

In view of the discussion above we are obliged to reconsider this claim. The printed score of Roméo is the only general source. It dates from ca. 1794. Prolonged enquiries by the present writer have failed to locate any early manuscript, even in St. Petersburg (Saltykov-Schedrin State Library) where Steibelt has been stated to have worked on revisions of the opera. ⁴⁾

- 1) Castil-Blaze/DICTIONNAIRE, 1821 edition quoted in Wright/DICTIONNAIRE
- 2) Mozin's French-German dictionary of 1811-12 did not associate "beffroi" with the tam-tam.
- 3) Castil-Blaze/ACADEMIE, Vol.II p.349
- 4) GROVE/V, article "Steibelt"

Since the music for "beffroi" remains on c even though the timpani rolls against which it is heard are on c and once on G, we may, at first, be justified in assuming an untuned instrument of some sort. However, H. Becker¹⁾ has assumed that a bell was intended on the grounds of terminology notation and stage setting.²⁾ The second reason here cannot be regarded as convincing; all percussion was notated on a five-line stave in France at the time, and the tam-tam's notation was not standardised. The third reason is more acceptable not if considered in isolation (the stage action could hardly have been less exceptional) but in comparison with other operas. All the examples that I have cited in the preceding pages used bells, not the tam-tam, for stage processions and convent scenes.

The long review of Roméo in Journal des Spectacles³⁾ offers no clue to the answer. We note that the Feydeau had already provided a bell for Devienne's Les Visitandines in the preceding year.

The probable explanation lies in the fact that Steibelt's score was originally planned for the Académie. As noted in chapter 3,^{p.26} the full resources of brass instruments required in Roméo were beyond what the Feydeau possessed, and exceeded those that any other (French) composer specified at the time for this theatre. If these remained unchanged from the time of writing to the printed page, so could the instruction "beffroi". In February 1793 Candeille had used the Académie's large tuned bell in C in music for a funeral cortège in C minor. Having become aware of this, Steibelt probably borrowed the idea, intending to use the bell in G also. The effect of tuned bells in C or G as appropriate appears to the present writer a more convincing musical solution than either the tam-tam or an untuned bell. The fact that a c is once notated where the timpani implies

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- 1) Becker/INSTRUMENTATION p.25
 2) Letter to the present writer
 3) JOURNAL/S, 13 September 1793

a G seems an easily accounted for discrepancy since an editor or even the composer himself could have altered the note precisely because it was realised that the Académie bells were unique. In view of the conclusions drawn in chapter 1 concerning the use of printed scores for performances rather than as library editions, this gesture would have been wholly in keeping with the thinking of the time.

These considerations naturally do not exclude the possibility that a tam-tam was actually used at the Feydeau; but that Roméo et Juliette was the first opera to use a tam-tam cannot be accepted unequivocally.¹⁾ If the Feydeau did not actually borrow the Académie specimen, they probably made do with the untuned bell normally used for church or convent scenes.

(g) The Anvil

One of the smaller ways in which nineteenth-century instrumental practice was anticipated in the work of the French composers under the Empire is shown in Kreutzer's Abel (Académie, 23 March 1810). This work incorporates an anvil as an orchestral instrument. The fact has eluded orchestral historians perhaps because the opera was never published in score. Kreutzer's work is thus marked as the ancestor of a long line of more celebrated operas.

Kreutzer himself may have been anticipated by Lemoyne's Toute la Grâce (Académie, 5 January 1794).²⁾ In the chorus, "Préparons gaiment ces armes" (f.47) a stave is set apart for "Bruit des marteaux" (Ex.44) which continues throughout.

In Abel the anvil is heard twice: in act 2,³⁾ f.193 and act 3, f.113. Act 2 takes place in hell, and in the course of it the decision is made that Man is to be shown death. A pantomimic scene portrays the forging of the

1) For example as in Loewenberg/ANNALS

2) B. de l'Op., A.354.a

3) These act divisions refer to the 1810 production, not to the 1823 revival.

club of destruction by amassed demons; the climax of this scene and of the act is their chorus following. The single anvil stroke is heard at the opening of this chorus together with a full orchestral chord of the dominant minor ninth, unprepared, from which it may be assumed that the finished club was displayed. The notation of the anvil on c'' probably does not signify any attempt at tuning.

Allegro mod.^o ENCLUME

This extraordinary effect is repeated in act 3 as a theme-reminiscence (one of several in the work) at the moment when Cain touches the club and repeats the words of his devilish tempter Anamalec, "saisis ce fer".

The influence of Kreutzer's inspiration may have been exerted only after the revival of Abel in 1823; it remained in the repertory until 1826. At this time only the third act anvil chord would have been heard since the second act was suppressed. Auber proceeded to use an anvil in Le maçon (1825),¹⁾ Halévy in La Juive (1835) and Berlioz -- whose letter to Kreutzer apropos the revival of Abel dates from 1825 -- employed one in his own Benvenuto Cellini of 1838.

1) GROVE/V, article "Anvil"

(7) The HarpOrchestral position and range

The single-action harp was established in Paris two decades before the Revolution,¹⁾ a fact reflected in many instruction books published. Most music was for chamber performance. Few orchestral scores utilised the instrument, even in the form of harp concertos. Brook/SYMPHONIE notes two concertos by Ragué of 1785 and four sinfonia concertantes with harp by J.-B. Cardon files of 1786-7.²⁾ A single sinfonia concertante for horn and harp survives from the Directory, by Dalvimare and Duvernoy, and Boieldieu's undated concerto must also be assigned to this period.

Whereas we are probably justified in assuming that more concertos and even sinfonia concertantes for harp than these existed before the Revolution, there was no growth of interest in these forms under the Empire. Only one harp concerto was ever played at a Conservatoire concert to 1810,³⁾ and the Cléry season 1802-3 (in Appendix 5) reveals only a sinfonia concertante for horn and harp by Widerkehr.⁴⁾

On the other hand, it was at this same period that the harp increasingly found a place in operatic scores; perhaps changing taste and technical difficulties both influenced these tendencies.

It must first be noted that the initial appearance of the harp in French theatre music was not the 1774 performances of Gluck's Orphée.⁵⁾ It appears at least as early as Grétry's L'amitié à l'épreuve (1771). From this date to 1799 I have traced only eight operas that contain the harp,

1) Cucuel/ETUDES, GROVE/V etc.

2) Brook/SYMPHONIE, Vol.I p.373 and Vol.II pp.178-180

3) By Mlle. Lhoest on 11 March 1802: Pierre/CONSERVATOIRE p.478

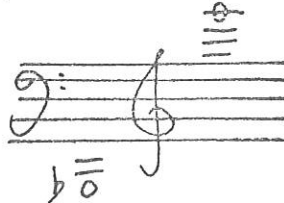
4) Played on 14 February 1803; this piece is not in Brook/SYMPHONIE. The "Fantaisie Concertante" by Dugazon played at the Apollon concert society on 11 June 1809 (see Appendix 5) seems not to have required an orchestra.

5) It was its first appearance at the Académie; Fleischman/NAPOLÉON p.271 and others assume a first appearance in any French opera.

six of which were written between 1789 and 1799. Between 1802 and 1808, however, there were 24 French operas and three ballets to include harp parts, followed by four more operas in 1809-10.

Range and capability

Laborde/ESSAI gave the following range for the harp, 34 strings in all: ¹⁾



Cousineau/HARPE indicated two more strings in the bass, AA flat and GG. The latest date for Cousineau's tutor was 1792, according to Hopkinson/PUB. ²⁾ Choron/TRAITÉ twenty years later (and Catrufo/INSTRUMENTS and Kastner/TRAITÉ after this) indicated a further extension by five strings:



As might be expected, the range of tessitura in orchestral scores increased steadily.

						1771 L'amitié à l'épreuve
						1774 Orphée
						1784 La caravane du Caire
						1799 Chapitre second (Solié)
Upper range						1802 Michel-Ange (Isouard; lower stave)
						1802 Le retour de Zéphire (upper stave)
Lower range						1803 Daphnis et Pandrose (Méhul)
						1804 Ossian (Le Sueur)

1) Laborde/ESSAI, Vol.I p.298

2) On the other hand, an evidently advanced Cousineau harp in the Milanese instrument collection of Castello Sforzesco has 8 pedals and 54 strings; it is dated 1778.



There is musical evidence that the absolute limit of the harp in 1784 was f''' since the extended dance for three harps in E flat in Grétry's La caravane never uses g''', which note would have greatly assisted the effect of the piece. Likewise, an evident reluctance to descend beyond BB flat before 1802 suggests that Laborde's rather than Cousineau's bass represented the average.

The harp generally employed at the period was the single-action type, tuned to E flat major, which permitted the independent sharpening of each set of the same named string by one semitone. The pedals were arranged with D, C and B flat operated by the left foot, and E flat, F, G and A flat by the right, according to Cousineau/HARPE.

Although the tonal capability of the single action harp was wide, certain keys were consistently popular when the harp was matched with an ensemble. An approximate comparison based on the operas and concertos of the period 1771-1810 shows that C major was used in 27% of examples, F major and B flat major both in 15% of examples, E flat major and G major both in 11%. D major was only slightly less common, but A minor, C minor, E major, G minor and A major were very rarely used keys. Popular keys (according to this account) were those that enabled modulation to both the flat and the sharp side of the tonic; but the low incidence of minor modality would appear to be more readily explicable in terms of aesthetics than of practicality.

Harmonics appear for the harp with orchestra only in the last movement of Boieldieu's concerto, where it is a soloist's effect. The relevant passage is shown in Ex.45, taken from the copy in the Brussels Conservatoire library. This edition, by A. Leduc at 78 Rue de la Loi, is dated by Hopkinson/PUB between June 1806 and June 1807. No contemporary copy has been found in London or Paris. Forsyth has noted that the same composer's

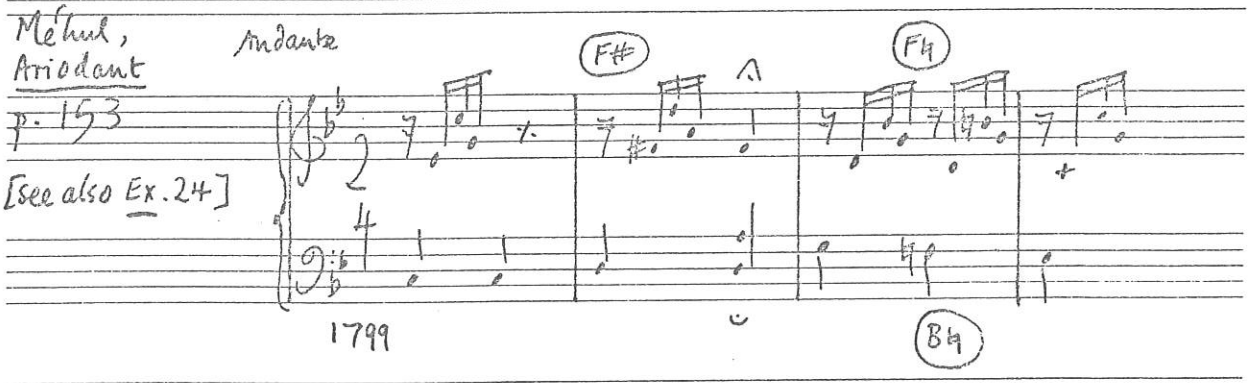
La dame blanche (1826) was the first piece to make "serious orchestral use" of harp harmonics.¹⁾

Pedal changes were used by composers with circumspection until the turn of the century. The majority of works utilised two or three accidentals to the tonic key at most. The two examples below show that even when pedal changes followed closely, difficulties of rhythm were avoided. In the case of Gluck no left-hand part was written at all, and in that of Méhul, the changes were easily effected by different feet.  indicates a pedal change, and stave position indicates which foot is used. 

Gluck, Orphée [B \flat already prepared] 1774
C.E. p.102



Méhul, Ariodant Andante
p. 153
[see also Ex. 24]



Mostly, however, pedal changes were made in isolation and offered no difficulties. After 1800 there were some examples of increased difficulties of pedalling, but at the same time a generally euphonious style of harp writing was adopted, so that these remained exceptional. Méhul, especially, demanded simultaneous pedal changes in Une Folie (1802), Uthal (1806) and

¹⁾ Forsyth/ORCH p.471, footnote

Joseph (1807); those in Uthal and Joseph are the most complicated of any opera of the period. Even here, though, the separate feet are employed to greater advantage. Le Sueur, in Ossian, is to be credited with composing a uniquely chromatic passage for harp, for which a special instruction was necessary.

UTHAL p. 72

OSSIAN p. 301

etc.

"ACCROCHÉS LES DEUX PÉDALES DU MÊME PIED"

Enharmonic means had to be employed on the single-action harp most frequently in order to provide D flat;¹⁾ this is seen as early as Orphée in a Neapolitan progression.

Orphée
C.E. p. 102


The difficulties arose in enharmony when chordal or arpeggiated writing occurred; diminished chords were nevertheless heard (using D flat) in Steibelt's Le retour de Zéphire and, again with D flat, in arpeggio figures in Berton's La romance two years later.

p. 151

1) "Some harp tutors of the period recommend a re-tuning of the D string to D flat, giving the additional keys of A flat and F minor ...": Griffiths/DUSSEK.

Much more common than enharmony was the use of the pedal in changing-note figures; the rapidity with which these were, on paper, occasionally required to be executed, suggests that the pedal action on the average harp was both light and capable of instant operation.

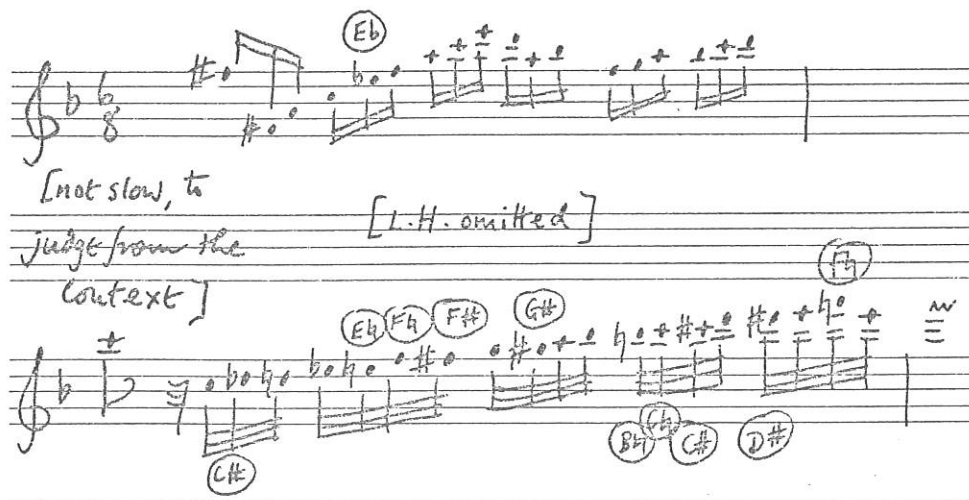
Andante



Alexandre chez
Apelles (Catal)
Act 1, f. 192

The opening of act 2 of Paer's Achille (Vienna 1801; Napoleon's private Parisian theatre 1808), however, offers a virtuosic passage for the harp in the ritornello to the duet "Per te, mio tesoro" which no French composer had anticipated, even in a concerto. In ways such as this Napoleonic taste was perhaps influential.

[not slow, judging from the context]



[not slow, to
judge from the
context]

[L.H. omitted]

Special instructions

Written instructions pertaining to harp technique comprised only four kinds: "sons étouffés" (1784), "Ossia" passages (1803), the Ossian example above, and "Près de la table" (1808). The "sons étouffés" in La caravane du Caire, p.91, coincide with an enharmonic D flat in a chord of E flat⁷ but this expressive effect was not imitated. Similarly, "Près de

la table" is specified only in the "Simphonie Concertante" in Catel's ballet Alexandre chez Apelles, where it is found in a passage for flute and harp alone. Cherubini's idea for alternative simpler passagework figures in Anacréon was not used elsewhere.

In one sense, this general reluctance to use the fuller resources of the harp was due to a fundamental uncertainty: the forte-piano was commonly met with and not only used but recommended as an alternative. This was usually the case when a romance was being accompanied, and a drawing room performance either portrayed or suggested.¹⁾ More abstract harp music was not provided with any written alternatives, but in at least two cases the technical difficulties of supposed harp parts are such as to suggest that a forte-piano was necessarily used. The first is Devienne's Les Visitandines (1792) p.64; here the number and rapidity of pedal changes and the impossibility of playing D flat simultaneously with C natural on a single action harp almost rule out performance on the prescribed instrument:

A similar anachronism is found in Isouard's Michel-Ange (1802) p.87, where the composer in fact prescribes "Forte-piano ou harpe". This passage, moreover, implies the keyboard through emphasis on dynamic contrasts and use of the little finger, which at that time as now was not used in harp playing.²⁾

¹⁾ i.e. in Les Prétendus (1789), Une folie and Michel-Ange (1802)

²⁾ Even tuning of the D string to D flat in Les Visitandines does not sufficiently alleviate the difficulty of excessively rapid changes.

Idiomatic writing

Increasing range, pedalling and enharmony were not the most important aspects of orchestral harp technique; the layout of figuration offers more convincing demonstrations of the harp's acceptance in the ensemble.

Figuration may be treated under two headings: the 'romance' style and its prelude, and the ensemble style.

The 'romance' style persisted from the very beginnings of orchestral harp writing to 1810, and repeated fixed traits even while undergoing a certain degree of sophistication. Grétry's L'amitié à l'épreuve itself shows several fundamental elements: right-hand chords or broken chords, an elementary left-hand part, clearly defined treble and bass areas, and little modulation.

L'AMITIÉ À L'ÉPREUVE

p. 41 p. 39

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the piece 'L'AMITIÉ À L'ÉPREUVE'. It consists of two staves, a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The music is in common time (C). The treble staff begins with a whole rest, followed by a series of chords and a melodic line. The bass staff features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and chords. There are two page numbers, 'p. 41' and 'p. 39', written above the staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f'.

Two additional fundamental figurations are revealed in La caravane du Caire, namely right-hand octaves and a broken-chord (Alberti) left hand; both features are most typically found in keyboard music. Transference of keyboard figuration continued to occur, even when a harp accompaniment was portrayed on the stage, as if out of respect for the advances being made in keyboard technique. Solié's Chapitre second (1799), for example, uses the broken octaves and rapid runs associated with Steibelt's keyboard style, but naturally without much chromatic inflection.

CHAPITRE
SECOND

p. 40

Grazioso

Méhul's harp part in Une Folie and Berton's 'Prélude' in La romance (Ex.32) possess a similar ambiguity.

Other devices beside pianistic figuration were employed to extend the instrumental scope of the romance. Weigl's L'amour romanesque supported harp arpeggios with different patterns played on a forte-piano or second harp (Ex.30). The result is suggestive rather than purely representational, rather in the manner of Berton's march with serpent in Montano et Stéphanie. In the fine romance that opens Catel's Les artistes par occasion (1807) a horn solo complements the voice (Ex.31); it shows this style of harp writing at its best, with limited use of chords of more than two parts and a classical economy and clarity. The genre is enriched by the discreet participation of the horn.

An important region of sophistication in the romance style was the development of the orchestral rôle. Example 23 shows Lemoyne's technique in Les Prétendus (1789), where the composer is reluctant to combine orchestra and harp or forte-piano at all. Les Visitandines, Gulnare, (Dalayrac, 1798) and Chapitre second use the harp alone, or simply provide orchestral alternative accompaniments. Méhul's bardic romance in Ariodant, ^(Ex. 24) "Femme sensible", is therefore not only an excellent example of the combination of harp and orchestra (and one which itself suggested lines of development to contemporaries), but an example with no precedent in France. The harp part remains the same in all three stanzas, but the orchestral contribution

is elaborated on each hearing: soft strings in the first stanza, woodwind and pizzicato strings in the second, and strings, woodwind and horns, with a new countermelodic figure, in the third. The procedure was imitated in Gaveaux's Avis aux femmes of 1804.

In La romance, also of 1804, Berton took the ideas further. Two men overhear a romance sung offstage to a solo harp accompaniment. The second verse is then heard in counterpoint with a vocal quartet and its own string accompaniment, sounding at twice the speed, an allegro $\frac{4}{4}$ against the romance's andante $\frac{2}{2}$ (Ex.33). The scoring is an elementary juxtaposition, and the contrast of figuration a dramatic device. The original harp accompaniment had to be modified, however, as comparison with Ex.32 shows.¹⁾

The development of preludial writing was sporadic: as late as 1808 Isouard's Cimarosa has "Prélude à volonté" (p.40),²⁾ while other and earlier works contain composed preludes. The relatively elaborate example in Berton's La romance (Ex.32), betraying as many differences from keyboard style as similarities to it, may serve as a model for examination. Spread chords, consecutive grouping of four-note figures, grace-notes, avoidance of the dull lower register; all these show close familiarity with the instrument.

We may now consider some aspects of the harp in the ensemble; additional consideration will take place at a later stage in the discussion of the orchestral tutti.

Whereas the essential instrumental point of any romance was the pre-eminence of harp timbre, other genres were developed which might effectively use the harp as a secondary orchestral timbre. This expansion began with Cherubini's Anacréon, 1797, and was largely associated with the more frequent inclusion of the instrument in Académie works after 1800. The

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- 1) Méhul was to elaborate Berton's idea, in less artificial style, in Uthal; the stage harp accompanying four bards is juxtaposed with Malvina's private exclamations, accompanied by agitated string figures (no.7).
- 2) c.f. "Emma prélude" (Milton p.156) and "Un prélude de harpe" (Ariodant p.156)

simplest notion of secondary timbre was that the harp should accompany an orchestral instrument. In this, the *sinfonia concertante* form provided an interesting link between chamber and concert room, because it entailed the combination of the harp as accompanist with the rest of the orchestra. Pre-Revolutionary examples of the genre by Cardon films are incomplete and place the solo harp beside solo violin and cello. A more pregnant example was that by Duvernoy and Dalvimare (performed at the Académie in 1798) for horn and harp, in C major.¹⁾ The harp part of this is lacking, but at least part of it is found in Méhul's ballet, Daphnis et Pandrose (Académie, 14 January 1803), act 1, f.178 (see opening, below). At this point the orchestra is silent and the harp provides a chordal and arpeggiated harmonic background in a style that was to remain typical of such pieces. The greater sonority required to fill the larger opera-house of the Académie rather than the Opéra-Comique is shown in both range and figuration. Further examples of this style of writing are shown in examples from 1803 (Anacréon) and 1808 (Alexandre chez Apelles) in Ex.42 and Ex.46.

Méhul's Daphnis et Pandrose : music for harp and horn by Duvernoy and Dalvimare

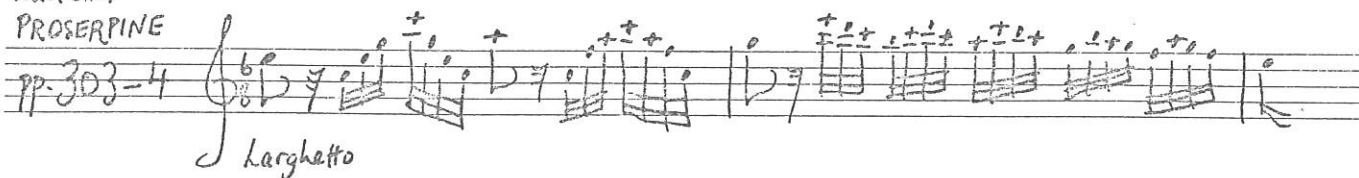
Alternatively the strings of the orchestra could unite with the harp in playing a similar rôle, by using pizzicato. This technique was useful

¹⁾ Brook/SYMPHONIE, Vol.I p.394. The development of the horn and harp syndrome is fully discussed in chapter 10.

in that it could function as the accompaniment to either a treble or a tenor melody line; moreover, combining strings and harp helped the imaginative composer to disassociate his music from the purely representational aspects of harps while not preventing him from developing complex representational textures where needed. Spontini's outstanding example of the latter in Milton (Ex. 34) shows the harp's left hand providing just the sweetening required.

Elsewhere in the orchestral ensemble the harp began to be considered as capable of adding a novel tone quality to the tutti. In such cases the harp could not carry important melodic weight, so its technique was submitted to considerable variation in both left and right hand. In the right hand, broken chords could become animated enough to compete with a tutti, as in Anacréon (Ex. 35). In this example the left hand bass support has been broadened into spread chords. The right hand was given most varied semiquaver writing in the works of two other Italians, Paisiello and Spontini.

Paisiello,
PROSERPINE



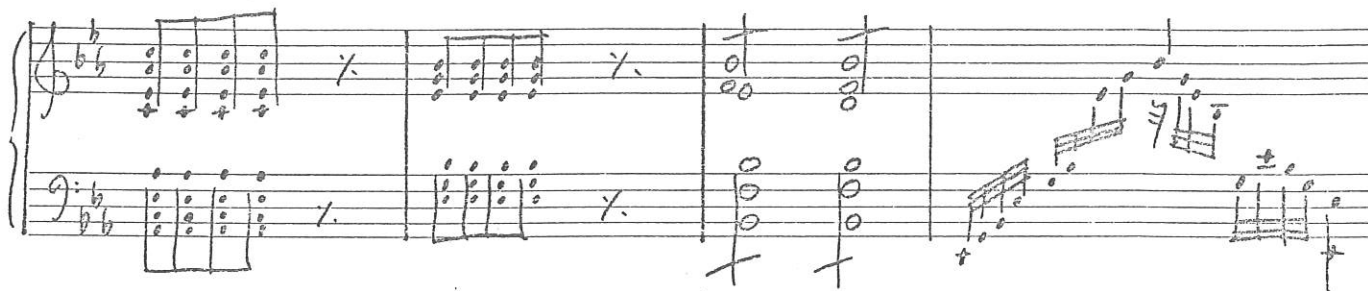
Spontini,
MILTON

Handwritten musical notation for Spontini's Milton, pp. 157-8. The notation is in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature. It features a series of broken chords and semiquaver patterns in the right hand, with a left hand providing bass support. The tempo marking is *Andante sostenuto*.

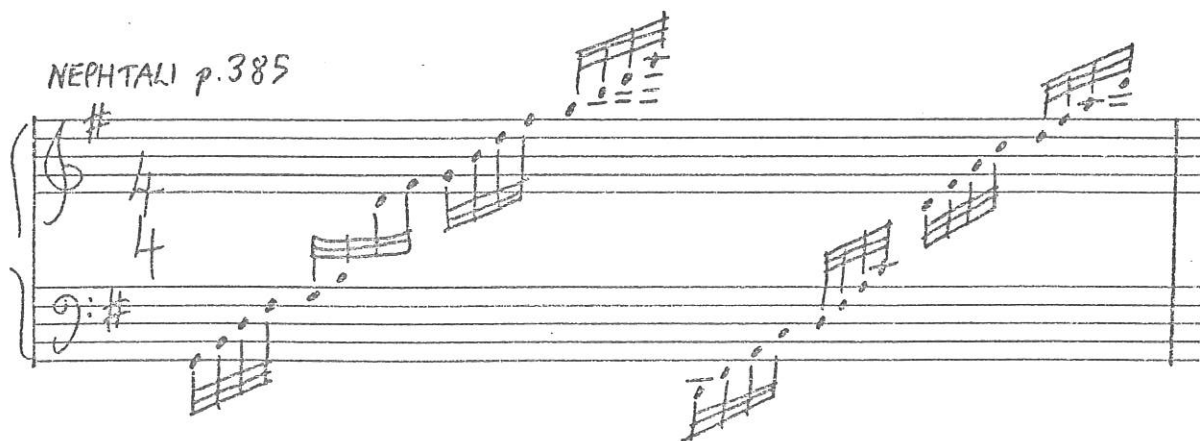
Cherubini went so far as to provide alternative right-hand figures in Anacréon (Ex. 36), and his technique of using scale passages to cut through an orchestral texture was repeated in Blangini's Nephtali (1806) and

Kreutzer's Aristippe (1808), where harp scales are punctuated by orchestral chords.

The left hand was not so advantageously treated in ensemble work. Broken-chord figures remained a staple part of the technique. Méhul employed full eight-part chords in the "Cantique" of Joseph, sounding through the orchestra (see Ex.47) and a limited number of two-hand arpeggios.



Blangini, however, provided the most radical employment of arpeggios found for a single harp at the period; they occur at the climax of a triumphant rescue scene for vocal trio and full orchestra.



Such examples, taken with that from Paer's Achille quoted above, suggest more advanced solo writing outside France. But a number of French composers were developing the idea of integration through the use of more than one harp at a time. For this a remarkable precedent had been set in Grétry's

La caravane du Caire, for included in the divertissement to act 1 scene III was a "Danse de Femmes" in E flat for three harps (without any accompaniment) lasting many pages. Since it was neither performed at the time nor published before its appearance in the C.E. (Vol.23 p.76) it may only have been known to members of Grétry's circle. At any rate, its feminine imagery was again to appear in the section for soprano voices, two harps and horn solo in Méhul's Chant National. Even the lack of further instruments likens this to Grétry's precedent. Example 37 shows how a fuller texture was attained with two instruments by laying out clear treble and bass areas and supplying a strong middle register through contributions from each player. Variety of figuration in treble, tenor and bass areas is also evident.

Spontini inherited this style of writing in La Vestale. Two harps are used in a "Choeur et danse générale" towards the end of the work, and most frequently combine in such a way as to create simultaneous figurations over an extended range of the instrument's compass. An extreme instance of this is shown in Ex.38, where the range is from F to f''', but principles identical to Méhul's are at work. Alternatively, in a less energetic context, the two harps were used to multiply one kind of middle-range figuration, leaving the orchestral bass to supply the lowest notes.

LA VESTALE p.441

SEE EX. 39 for orchestral context

Le Sueur's employment of twelve harps in Ossian has, with justification, become almost a symbol of pre-Romantic tone-painting and Imperial excess. Castil-Blaze even listed the players half a century later, which testifies to the appeal that such means held for the next generation.¹⁾ The ends to which they were put have still not been adequately examined.

Le Sueur most frequently imagined the harps not as bearers of melody or elaborators of accompaniment but as agents that would infuse the whole orchestral sound. He thus principally gave the harps material that doubled what other instruments played, which in itself was unusual. Although the harps appear all through the work, even in the hunting scene, it is in the sequence of Ossian's sleep and dream that they come into their own. Two examples at this stage from the "dream" will illustrate Le Sueur's principle. The first consists of soft unison strings playing over five octaves, to which six harps are added in the treble register;

6 HARPS *8va* ----->

*Allo.
ma
non
troppo*

STRINGS *8va* ----->

OSSIAN p. 367

+ *28va* ----->

the second shows the infusion of harp timbre into the tenor register exclusively, where the plucked indentations of the harp create a subtle throbbing. The importance of Le Sueur's many "piano" indications for this extract and the last is another sign of his vision of the harps very much as a modifying tonal force.

¹⁾ Castil-Blaze/ACADEMIE, Vol.II p.96-7

OSSIAN
P.
402

(See also Ex. 70)

In more extrovert contexts, Le Sueur occasionally treated two sets of harps as did Méhul and Spontini, but even here some degree of doubling was always present with the orchestra.

Two harps are required for the mens' chorus, f. 59, in L'inauguration du temple de la victoire by Le Sueur and Persuis (1807); the writing is directly comparable to the parallel doubling technique in Ossian.

It is to be regretted that no harp part-books have survived of Académie operas and ballets, so far as I have sought them, since these might well have furnished valuable details.