

CHAPTER 10

IMAGE AND GESTURE

Introduction

The last two chapters, seeking to impose a measure of order upon several different kinds of composition, must now be complemented by an examination of certain types of layout with a fixed expressive purpose. In this way we may compare examples of consciously practised orchestration, and relate these to what has been said earlier in chapter 1 about the transmission of practical and theoretical notions.

There is of course no doubt that the rôle of orchestration for composers of the later eighteenth century, as now, differed according to circumstance. Broadly speaking, it was regarded as either principally the background to a melody (i.e. "accompagnement", a sonata exposition etc.) or principally rendering a self-sufficient image (i.e. "effet", a sonata development and so on). The first of these was susceptible to much sophistication, as for example in a tenor melody or in subdividing a section of the orchestra. The better the composer, the more "imitation" or suggestion could be worked into an accompaniment. Yet there is a case for saying that such techniques in opera of the ancien régime remained more privately symbolic than they were to become afterwards, for reasons to be proposed below. The "language" of music's outer colouring was gradually transformed into ever more internationally recognisable images. Thus Momigny acknowledges after his laudatory analysis of the poetic meaning of the accompaniment to Alceste's "Non, ce n'est pas un sacrifice" in Gluck's opera:

"Peut-être Gluck n'a-t-il songé qu'à donner du mouvement à son orchestre en cet endroit; mais j'aime mieux croire qu'il a senti lui-même toute la justesse et la beauté de cette expression." 1)

1) METH, article "Opéra" p.223 column 2

Orchestration imagery, on the other hand, was not evidently imagined by Rousseau to provoke such bones of contention. For him, "scoring" Le devin du village simply meant "filling".

"... en six jours mon drame fut écrit, à quelques vers près, et toute ma musique esquissée, tellement que je n'eus plus à faire à Paris qu'un peu de récitatif et tout le remplissage ..." 2)

Those like Grétry (see Appendix 1) who followed Rousseau in his belief³⁾ in the value of untutored spontaneity in the composition of music cannot have progressed much further towards an imagistic lingua franca than writing straightforward pictorial allusions into orchestral music. In Grétry's case we have his own evidence of how a simple illustration of "la fin des offices par le son des cloches" misfired in Le comte d'Albert. In part this was because the imitation was too privately conceived: all it amounted to was conjunct motion in the bass line of an air, c-d-c-d-e-f-e-d etc. with two-part suspensions above.⁴⁾

This example, however, can be seen as an attempted combination of "accompagnement" and "effet"; this was the direction in which operatic music was to proceed.

"Effet", so far from being purely characteristic of Revolutionary works (as the misleading tag "musique d'effet" implies), was a traditional property of the French stage. As early as 1762 (Monsigny, Le roi et le fermier) and 1767 (Gossec, Toinon et Toinette) opéra-comique had contained entire entr'actes consisting of storm-music. As we have seen, the more the orchestra took over the "effet" the less was a vocal style of melody likely to be present. The axiomatic force of this has been shown in places where the orchestra has taken a principal rôle in the music of Berton and Porta (Exx. 109, 14), and I have labelled the outstanding examples of this, "gesture".

2) Les Confessions, book 8 (Edition Garnier Frères, Paris 1964, p.444)

3) Ibid, p.342 etc.

4) Grétry/MEMOIRES, Vol.I p.403. Grétry misquotes himself slightly.

This phenomenon marks one of the beginnings in the process in which orchestral colour entered more or less directly into the act of composing.

The form of the Prix de Rome composition exercises from their introduction in 1803 shows that a knowledge of orchestral devices proper to the depiction of certain basic dramatic effects was expected. (Passages from some exercises are discussed below.) For example, the following sequence formed part of Alcyone, the competition poem in both 1803 and 1804. Orchestra depiction was invited of a dream, which,

"envoyé par Junon, avertit Alcyone du naufrage de Céix. Eperdue, elle se réveille et court au rivage; le jour n'est pas encore levé".

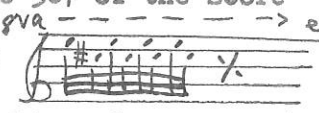
Hence the study of operatic full scores (considered in chapter 1, section 3) must have been invaluable to composition students; these were their models, especially since the decline in the composition of cantatas from the cessation of the Concert Spirituel onwards.

The transmission of some typically orchestral images has already been demonstrated in earlier chapters: the use of muted strings especially with a prominent cello part in the amorous air, romance or love duet; the religious imagery of subdivided lower strings; the minatory muted timpani roll. As such images accumulated in the collective consciousness an unprecedented series of choices presented themselves. Faced with the necessity of describing one of these emotional or physical situations, was the composer to use an established orchestral image? If he did, should he elaborate it? If so, should he take into account the capabilities of a particular set of musicians? If he chose not to use an established image, how capable was he of inventing a suitably powerful orchestral gesture in lieu? These questions demanded early thought as regards orchestration.

(1) Light

a) Gods, angels. The examples discussed here are linked musically with

those below (Daylight and Fire) in basic pattern, and differ from other celestial imagery quoted later in their avoidance of the harp.

Elaborate music for a deus ex machina may have become fashionable when the impact of traditional machinery began to fail.¹⁾ Certainly there was often little or no special music at the appropriate place in the French works of Gluck and his contemporaries. The "Symphonie céleste" for the descent of l'Amour in Grétry's Céphale et Procris (1775) is simply five sustained chords for strings and flutes. When Apollo appears in Gluck's Alceste, however, the flutes are doubled by oboes, quaver movement enters the strings, and the paragraph is harmonically 'elevated' by the dominant pedal (Ex.266).²⁾ The idea of string movement was pursued in the "Hymne à la Déesse de la Liberté" by Candeille (La patrie reconnaissante, 1793, f.336), where the first violins have arpeggio quavers and the inner parts syncopated quavers. Le Sueur's Télémaque was also conceived for the Académie, and "La Gloire" (Ex.267) retained in the full score. From this we may judge some sophistication in the use of held wind notes and an attempt to extend the scope of the image both by harmony and dynamics. An equally positive step forward was made in the music for Venus's appearance in Cherubini's Anacréon (1803; Ex.268), because the string basses are omitted, the wind chord is made more effective by dovetailing and the new string figuration is intensified in expression and more purely idiomatic. Page 367 of the score shows that the shorthand notation on page 368 is executed . The top and bottom notes of the layout are sustained and shimmering movement designed to fill out the chord, which is itself as high as possible in tessitura.

- 1) Criticism of the machinery in Paris is cited from 1764 in F. Lesure, L'opéra classique français, Geneva 1972, p.7
- 2) This supra-structural device is typical of the 19th century: c.f. "Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemond" from Wagner's Die Walküre, act 1.

Identity of key and technique perhaps indicate Daussoigne's knowledge of Cherubini's handling. At the end of the former's 1809 Prix de Rome cantata, Agar au désert¹⁾ there is a trio between Agar, Ismail and an angel at the culmination of which the angel "prend son vol" (Ex.269). A solo violin is separated from the ensemble, ascending in broken chords to a''' natural, while a general decrescendo is made on a held chord of A major. In the first two bars of the passage quoted the shimmering effect is, as in Cherubini, achieved through closely-worked repeated movement in the strings.

At the end of Kreutzer's Abel there is an extended recitative for an angel after Cain's fratricide; this explains that Abel will go to heaven and Cain be exiled. The apotheosis is then seen, with a choir of angels singing; Abel holds out his hands towards his family, and Cain and his family disappear into the mountains. This scenario (by Hoffmann) was very much in contemporary taste, and Kreutzer's music was equally responsive.²⁾ That for the choir of angels is examined below; for the angel's recitative he composed high sustained string chords, omitting double-basses. The music also consolidated the tendency towards sharp keys and a slow rate of harmonic change.

The violins, however, ascended only to g'' sharp (f.283). The printed piano score of the 1823 version³⁾ appears to confirm the MS full score in the impression that for this revival the general layout was retained but the tessitura made higher, more "heavenly" and technically difficult.

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- 1) B.N., MS 7785
 2) B. de l'Op. A.422.a(3)
 3) B. de l'Op. A.422.b

VNS,
VLE

ANGEL

Oui je viens
ram-ner le calme dans
vos cœurs

Votre Abel va
qui-her sa dé-
pouille mor-
telle

V/c
only

b) Daylight This category of examples betrays technical development also but more variation of the fundamental image. This image shares with that of the gods the movement of strings, slow harmonic change, sharp keys and held wind chords. The variations were due to the adoption of the given layout by opéra-comique: all the preceding examples were conceived for the Académie. Edelmann provides an early and comprehensive passage of sunrise music in Ariane dans l'isle de Naxos (1782; Ex.270). Page 37 reveals a modest degree of dovetailing between flutes and oboes and a forthright attempt at idiomatic string writing. Developments of this layout for the same orchestra in Exx. 271 and 272 are by Salieri (Tarare) and Miller (Psyché). These show how closely the essential pattern of orchestration could be reproduced by different hands, and subjected to different harmonic treatment. The careful building up of woodwind tone in Psyché and use of high A horns shows the layout already in a state of some maturity.

Steibelt showed how the pattern could be reproduced to depict the dawn of consciousness in an individual (Ex.310), in this case at the moment when Juliet wakes, surrounded by anxious onlookers who briefly join in the orchestral crescendo but certainly do not overpower the orchestral image. Further opéra-comique examples deviate in technique even more; Boieldieu's heroine Zélaé in La famille suisse describes the colours of nature lit by the morning sun (Ex.260, p.54) and the strings alone are sufficient to give the orchestral meaning. Berton's Murville (Ex.201, p.47), seeking an

incorporeal wife, wanders dazedly to an orchestral transformation of the same essential combination: sustained chords supporting string movement. This is a good example of the agility of the smaller orchestra gaining advances by building on what must in November 1799 have seemed an almost doomed tradition at the Académie: only 6 new productions had been given there since 1794, and one of these was Méhul's older opera Adrien.

Dawn portrayals were demanded in the Prix de Rome setting, Alcyone, 1803 and 1804.

Alcyone: "C'est le flot qui gémit, c'est le vent qui frémit
C'est l'oiseau matinal qui m'annonce l'aurore.

[instrumental interlude]

Astre propice, astre du jour
Hâte-toi d'éclairer le monde ... "

The whole of Androt's 1803 prizewinning interlude¹⁾ is given in Ex.273.

Established imagery is followed, including the sharp tonality, and is enhanced by the addition of suggestions of the "oiseau matinal". Considerable detail is evident in all parts of the orchestra, most impressively in the contrapuntal movement of the inner parts, which, intentionally or otherwise, follows the lead of Le délire in transferring what movement Edelmann and Miller had confined to the violins throughout the ensemble. The entries of first two and then four horns are carefully distinguished. In imaginative detail this rendering is superior to those by Dourlen and Gasse of 1804.²⁾ Their settings were judged worthy only of 2^o Grand Prix level, and no first prize was awarded in that year. Both the latter, however, sought to improve the traditional pattern by imposing more movement upon the woodwind parts. Gasse added to the sonority of his sustained chords by writing for divided cellos and divided violas.

1) B.N., MS 2764

2) B.N., MSS 7771, 7777

Compared with these settings of the early 1800's, Le Sueur's portrayal of the sky clearing in Adam p.449 is close to Alceste's descent of Apollo, even though the situation is far grander. (Devils are repulsed by the seven thunders of the Apocalypse.) Only the key and the higher range of upper strings is up to date (Ex.274).

Once again the last word may be left with Kreutzer's Abel, whose overture is in free form and contains within itself a musical description of the passage from night to day. Night (see below) is given flat minor keys, day G and D major. On f.39 Kreutzer begins several long paragraphs over pedal D, later G, and makes an imaginative contribution to "day" imagery by introducing his violin line not in crotchets (the music is in common time) but in sextuplets (see Ex.275). Like Androt, Kreutzer suggests the dawn chorus. The rich horn, bassoon and string chords do not seem to threaten the audibility of the traditionally single first violin line until the tutti, when the cellos double it. Since this is so, and since most of the examples of this particular layout have relied on the successful emergence of the first violins, we must assume that a like orchestral balance could be achieved in this case in different types of orchestra both before and after the Revolution

c) Fire, stars. Again there is both identity and variation in this category, with opéra-comique occasionally taking the imaginative lead. Fire and flame were depicted from 1789 and before by tight oscillation of the violins, often with like figuration in the violas. Held wind chords assisted the production of any crescendo. An example in the accepted manner from Salieri's Tarare (Ex.276: recitative of the genius of fire) contains independent movement in the cellos as well as in the upper strings. Lemoyne's illustration in Nephté (1789) of "Divin flambeau des Cieux, ô Dieu puissant" is thinly spread with activity by comparison (p.226); the violas double the

simple quavers of the bass. Yet it shows how this image could be slipped in merely to illustrate a passing reference to the concept in question. Cherubini did this on at least three occasions: Elisa p.116 ("au doux aspect des graces d'un modèle le génie étincelle"); Médée p.57 ("Viens pénétrer ses sens de ta divine flamme"); and Anacréon p.219 ("de nos âmes de feux"). In the first two passages only the first and second violins oscillate in close harmony, and in the third (an ensemble, not a solo) the violas join in, in similar motion. In all three the bass continues the forward motion in quavers, playing no part in the pictorialism; the latter is completed in a few bars.

The beacon lit at night by Mélidore to guide Phrosine becomes a Wagnerian "astre d'amour". In Ex.277 Méhul's extraordinarily vivid and advanced patterning illustrates this image. All is pianissimo, so wind instruments are at a minimum; a solo cello, symbolising love, describes simultaneous divisions round the vocal line. Violins and violas throw out sparks, rather than shine steadily. The "air des feux folets" in Gaveaux's Le diable couleur de rose (1804) is another example from opéra-comique to graft new ideas to an old formula (Ex.74): the Weberian delicacy and use of low flutes were indicated in chapter 7 but the layout itself is essentially part of the collective imagery of light. A third variation precedes Ossian's sleep and dream in Le Sueur's opera. As he muses on the "plaines de l'air, brillants palais d'azur" of a Nordic Valhalla, the harp translates the vision into bardic terms through its own version of typical oscillating figures, while the strings sustain (Ex.278).

In the same composer's Adam less original writing portrays the "ange de lumière" p.284 and "le voisinage du ciel" p.392, but broader orchestral thinking emerges to accompany "le tourbillon qui va emporter la flamme vers

les cieux" (Ex.279). Even here *Le Sueur* is incapable of pushing his players very far technically, but relies on synchronous management of visual illusion to guarantee the full effect, as the instructions on the page explain. A similar conjunction of events is required in act 1 of Kreutzer's Abel (scene 6) where a heavenly flame descends in judgement on Abel's altar. The traditional violin oscillations are transformed into arpeggios whose shape and technical difficulty visibly anticipate future Wagnerian inventions.

Handwritten musical score for Violins 1 and 2 (VNS 1,2) and Violin (Vle). The score is marked "Andante" and is in G major (one sharp). The VNS part features complex arpeggiated figures with many beamed notes and slurs. The Vle part consists of a few chords and a single note. There are some handwritten annotations like "+" and "0" above notes.

Thus in Abel, Adam, Gaveaux's Diable and Méridore more advanced technicality was felt to be needed for the accompaniment of visual display, and in other cases metaphorical or imagined references subsisted on more conventional orchestral sound. Another link may be postulated between these groups: the visual examples tended towards sharp keys, the metaphorical towards flat ones. (Thus Méridore's technicality and tonality simultaneously express the inward and outward nature of the situation.) Médée is the one exception that proceeds to a sharper key; an opposite one is the A flat sequence in Catel's Les Bayadères p.352, describing a miraculous summoning of flame by the Brama; this, however, is in the course of a recitative.

d) Daybreak I think that a distinct and possibly younger sound-image denoting daybreak existed in the horn-call. The examples already quoted by Edelmann and Androt (Exx.270, 273) both contain conspicuous horn-calls. More straightforward examples are to be seen in Dalayrac's Azémia (1786; Ex.280), where the calls occur precisely at the instruction "il faut tout à fait jour", and Beck's melodrama Pandore (1789) where at the end of a prayer, no. 14, "le ciel a repris son azure". Here the horns are unaccompanied (Ex.284).¹⁾

(2) The harp

a) The antique. Since composers, except in concert works, never called in the harp while expecting to convey a purely abstract musical impression, different employment of this instrument furnished a number of associated examples. A notable group, evoking the antique, went with the stage portrayal of the lyre or the ancient harp. All may be regarded as the progeny of Gluck in his Orphée, act 1. This established the pattern of harp broken chords filling out a rhythmical orchestral context, and although both the harp and the orchestral techniques were extended in succeeding operas as described in chapter 5, the basic shape did not alter. The Anacréon chez Polycrate of Grétry and Anacréon of Cherubini both incorporated the harp for preludes and solos sung and played by the poet. Grétry (C.E.p.288) keeps the Gluckian accompaniment modestly to strings, pizzicato and arco. There is much more imagination in Cherubini's work, and more ~~variety~~ variety of harp solo and accompaniment than in any other stage work of the period I have seen. Examples 35, 36 and 42 show three quite contrasted combinations, taken from the second and third of the three solos for Anacréon that contain the harp.

¹⁾ Such humble examples are surely the ancestors of the opening of Das Rhinogold.

Méhul's settings with harp and orchestra in this style are found in Ariodant (a bardic romance, Ex.24); Uthal, and Joseph ("Cantique" opening act 3 sung by female chorus accompanying themselves on harps). Despite the musical variety of these pieces and the five movements with harp from Uthal, Méhul showed little inclination to develop a chosen pattern once it had been begun in a particular piece. Ariodant's romance is of almost Gluckian simplicity. Here as in the "Hymne au sommeil" from Uthal and the above "Cantique" the harp part is the same for each stanza, while the surrounding orchestra parts are gently elaborated on each repetition. A representative illustration of his rather spare approach is in Ex.47.

Where Cherubini's more complex lead was followed was in the concerted numbers from Uthal and Le Sueur's Ossian. With the resources of the Opéra-Comique minus violin tone, those in the former work were less congested than the Académie examples; the approaching clan of Fingal is more ingeniously portrayed in Uthal, p.31, by its offstage accompaniment of clarinets, bassoons horns and harp while Malvina and Larmor, seen on the stage, have the simultaneous support of flutes, oboes, strings and timpani in the pit. Le Sueur's grandiose development of a parallel dramatic situation is shown in Ex.281, from the second act of Ossian; it is Spontinian before the event.

b) Horn solo and harp syndrome. A completely separate tradition with its own clearly defined characteristics grew up in Paris from 1800. The phenomenon is interesting for more than one reason, so all thirteen examples are outlined below. Only instruments additional to the horn solo and harp are listed.

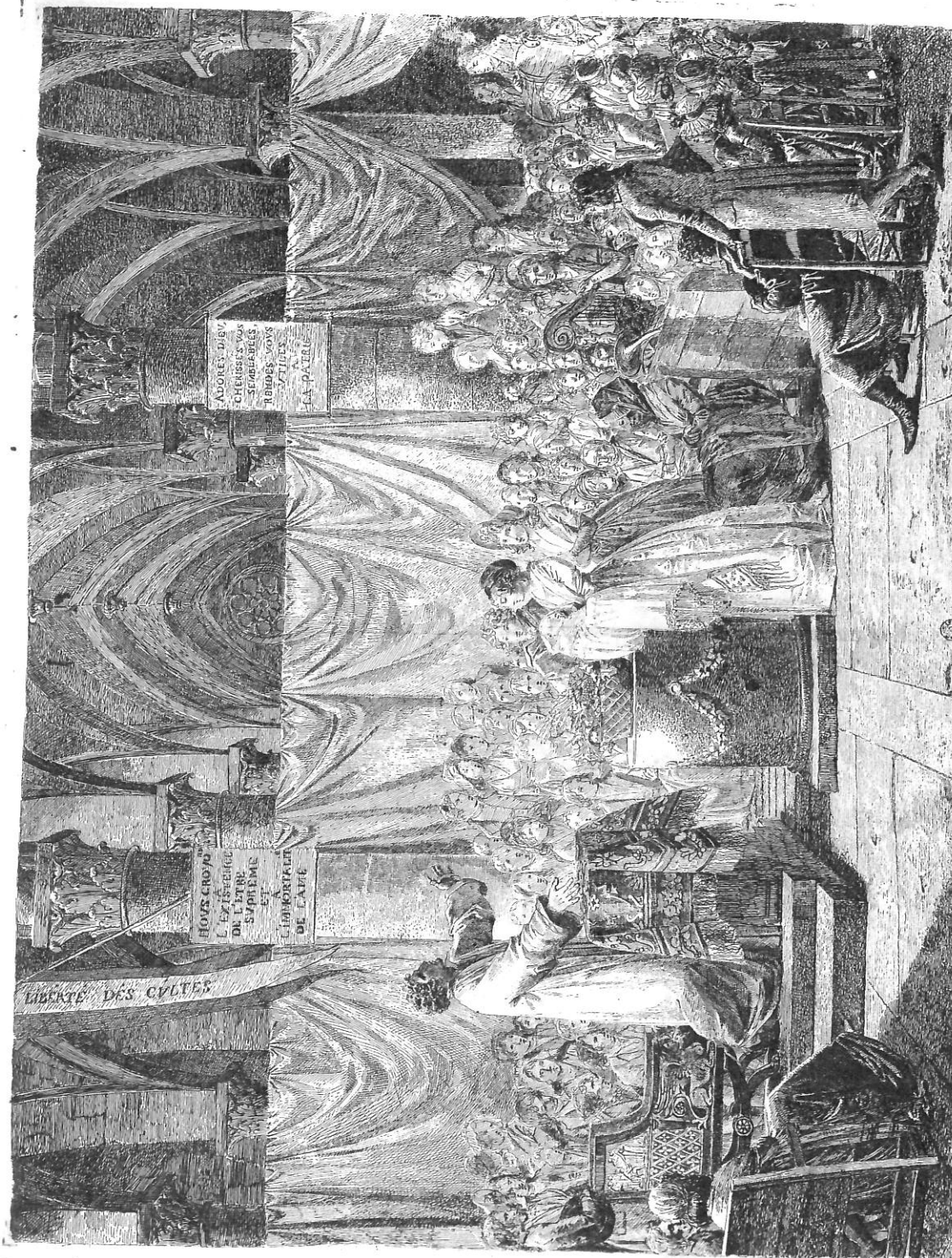
(i) 14 July 1800 Méhul, Chant National: C major. Uses 2 harps. Female voices, unaccompanied. "Les fils sont plus grands que les pères" p.82.

(ii) 3 March 1802 Steibelt, Le retour de Zéphire: E flat major. Muted strings, obbligato clarinet. Pas des fleurs f.219.

- (iii) 4 May 1802 Catel, Sémiramis: C major. Female voices with strings, woodwind. "Hymne à l'Hymen" p.196
- (iv) 14 Jan 1803 Méhul, Daphnis et Pandrose: C major. Unaccompanied dance act 1 f.178
- (v) 29 March 1803 Paisiello, Proserpine: C major. Female voices, muted strings. "Les champs élysées. Proserpine et les ombres heureuses" p.303
- (vi) 4 Oct 1803 Cherubini, Anacréon: C major. With strings, woodwind, horns. Nymphs dance p.200
- (vii) 2 Dec 1804 Paisiello, Mass for Napoleon's coronation: C major. Soprano solo, "Et incarnatus est"; 2 sopranos, "Et resurrexit".¹⁾
- (viii) 18 Dec 1804 Cherubini, Achille à Scyros: C major. With strings. Perhaps by Cousineau.²⁾
- (ix) Jan 1807 Catel, Les artistes par occasion: B flat major. Unaccompanied romance p.14.
- (x) Dec 1807 Spontini, La Vestale: C major. With strings, woodwind horns. Ballet p.480
- (xi) Dec 1808 Catel, Alexandre chez Apelles: (a) C major. Unaccompanied, act 1 f.192
(b) F major. Sinfonia concertante, 56 ff.long, for 2 harps, fg, fl, cor with orchestra, act 2 f.21.
- (xii) Aug 1810 Catel, Les Bayadères: C major. With strings, woodwind horns. Changes to F major. Ballet p.415

¹⁾ Details from Mongrédién/SACRE p.159. The music could not be examined owing to cataloguing.

²⁾ Whose name is pencilled in the B. de l'Op. copy score, act 2 f.219; the ballet has always been taken for a miscellany.



LE CULTE NATUREL

LE CULTE NATUREL

maillat, rue Basse-Paris, 62

"Le culte naturel"

(xiii) Oct 1810 Isouard, Cendrillon: C major. Sinfonia concertante (i.e. the overture) for horn, harp with orchestra.

To this list should be added Widerkehr's sinfonia concertante for horn and harp (Cléry concert, ca. 14 February 1803), at present lost.¹⁾

The Chant National of Méhul (see Ex.37) is the first large-scale and orchestral work I have discovered to use the horn and harp combination, but these instruments must have been coupled previously in chamber music. The fortepiano accompanying the solo horn would have rendered the same sort of sound. The question whether the combination possessed any genuine extra-musical association before the Chant National remains to be investigated, but the engraving opposite²⁾ shows in the meantime a quite specific association. In a church converted for the practice of natural religion, adorned with the simplest neo-classical furnishings, a ceremony or meeting has the assistance of musicians. The ecclesiastical serpent is absent, and all that are visible are (from right to left) a drum, a double-bass, a bassoon, a harp and a horn. (The people are being led in song, but of the instrumentalists only the bassoonist appears to be playing.)

Robespierre's introduction of a civic religion in May 1794 had proclaimed the existence of a deity and the immortality of the soul in repudiation of Hébert's atheistic anti-clericalism of late 1793.³⁾ (Thus the banner, "Liberté des cultes"). Perhaps therefore we may be justified in associating the horn and harp in some degree with religious and antique imagery from this time, perhaps also with the concept of the "natural", evinced in the engraving by the bowl of agricultural produce. October 1793 had seen the establishment of a central Food Commission and adoption of the Republican calendar; a primary object of the latter was to stimulate interest in agriculture by

1) Or at least not in Brook/SYMPHONIE. I have not looked for the work, which is listed in Appendix 5 below.

2) B.N. (Estampes), Collection de Vinck, Tome 46, no.6351. Dated Jan-July by the catalogue, but probably May-July 1794.

3) A. Goodwin, The French Revolution (London 1953, revised edition 1968) p.149 et seq.

renaming months after seasons and substituting the names of plants, fruits and flowers for those of saints.¹⁾ In any case, the horn's personal imagery was pastoral.

As much is speculative; the earlier uses of horn solo and harp listed above do however conform to some extent with these associations. The music is often ceremonial, yet at the same time unadorned in character and therefore "natural". Steibelt's "Pas des fleurs" and Cherubini's nymphs are suitably rustic. Newer overtones of "purity" were decisively established through Méhul's use of female voices to convey the image of innocents. The Chant National, published in full score, provided a substantial and musically attractive section designed round a moralising stanza on France's rebirth after the sacrifices of all her past history.

"Les fils sont plus grands que les pères
Et vos coeurs n'en son point jaloux
La France, après tant de misères
Renaît plus digne encor de vous."

The female voices, a secular renewal (performed as a church ceremony), an other-worldly set of timbres (enhanced by the spatial separation of the forces, maybe in the upper reaches of the Invalides), all seem to have been noted by this work's contemporaries. The musical evidence which most convincingly unites many of the examples is their setting in C major instead of a flatter key, for the single-action harp's natural tonality was E flat and E flat horn solos were the commonest of all in opera. Méhul chose C major and the horn in C. His followers using C major all used the horn in F, for reasons set out in instruction books of the time and quoted in chapter 4. The justice of Méhul's choice is quickly seen in the light of comparison with later music, whose use of the F horn compels an altogether higher tessitura within C major. Méhul's solo sounds most frequently between g natural and e' natural and has

¹⁾ Ibid, pp.149-150

a top note only of g' natural.

The examples already quoted from Zéphire (Ex.77), Proserpine (Ex.65), Les artistes (Ex.31) and Alexandre chez Apelles (Ex.46) all show the typical relationship between the two instruments and the light, sometimes muted accompaniment given to strings where these are present. The spirit of the 1800 piece was most closely reproduced in Proserpine¹⁾ and in Sémiramis. The latter has the same measured tempo as the Méhul; as noted previously in the case of subdivided lower strings, Catel builds here too on his model, but points the way more directly towards the nineteenth-century stage wedding in excursions to the flat 6th and in the use of dominant 7ths (Ex.282), whereas Méhul's C major is almost unadulterated.

Lack of time unfortunately prevented my investigating in Paris the ballet scenarios of the relevant movements in Zéphire, Daphnis, Achille and Alexandre; a study of these would presumably throw light on successive additions to the imagery. In operatic works the religious imagery was obscure in later pieces, unless the original choreography of the penultimate dances in La Vestale and Les Bayadères could also be shown to be part of the current taste for romantic religiosity. This is entirely possible.

Spontini's admirable use of low strings and woodwind chords to accompany the principal instruments (Ex.217) is indicative of the sensitivity which later composers frequently showed in such circumstances. Catel's sinfonia concertante in Alexandre is an unambiguous search for musical beauty. The corresponding piece in Cendrillon brought out the best of Isouard's gifts; by now, though, the element of virtuoso display had much replaced the musical chastity conveyed by earlier pieces.

c) Heaven, paradise, etc. Directly heavenly associations, usually in

¹⁾ Probably also in Paisiello's Mass

musical conjunction with the female voice, clearly inform several of the examples using horn solo and harp. Of these, the "Et incarnatus" and "Et resurrexit" from Paisiello's Mass show how close the secular and the devotional might become in musical terms.¹⁾ Other pieces using the harp without horn solo were similarly suggestive. The outstanding example in opéra-comique is Ex.66 from Spontini's Milton. A family tableau is prepared.

"Emma se place avec sa harpe vers le milieu de la scène ... "

Milton:

"Oui, je peindrai cette situation sublime, ce premier aveu de l'amour dans les jardins d'Eden ...

Pénètre-toi des sentimens et des images que je veux exprimer, tout doit respirer ici la pureté, l'innocence et l'amour".

Thus the domestic and the idealistic associations were at once exploited, the harp on the stage as symbolically placed as it was in the engraving described earlier. In Milton the musical rôle was an infusing one rather than a solo part, and this compares exactly with its treatment in Ossian (the warriors' rest, Ex.278) and Uthal (the "Hymne au sommeil" which paints the same picture.)

The score of Kreutzer's Abel ends with its chorus of angels, female voices and tenors only, accompanied by woodwinds, horns and harp.²⁾ The key, E major, responds to the established sky-imagery, whereas the unchanging, tableauesque layout (Ex.283) recalls the music just mentioned. Moreover, it has the breadth of comparable later finales in the "Dante" symphony of Liszt and Berlioz's Damnation de Faust, not to mention Das Rheingold. From this example it may be seen that the style of the drama, not the size of the particular orchestra, governed the choice of layout; that is, Ex.283 is lightly scored for the Académie. Kreutzer, evoking the Chant National,

1) 14 years before it was church music that fed new secular traditions.

2) The rather muddled MS suggests that the same music, with strings but minus voices, acted as a coda to the spectacle.

reverted to a certain style at a time when much more involved writing was potentially available.¹⁾ Humans could now expect to enter the operatic kingdom of heaven: their seraphic accompaniment had already been prepared and consolidated.

(3) Prayer and religious allusions

It might be thought that harmonic devices alone - particularly the use of suspensions and root position chords - were sufficient musical identification of the genre of the "religieux". In fact, key and timbre often played a definite part. Momigny, writing of the opening of the same air of Gluck's Alceste as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, shows that one tradition of instrumental colour was persistent.

"Les instrumens à vent et les basses, dans leurs rondes soutenues, ont quelque chose de religieux ... " 2)

Gluck's held semibreves on oboes, bassoons and horns would almost certainly not strike us today either strongly or in the same manner. The passage in the same work which more clearly shows the crucial elements of wind timbre and the crescendo introduces the words of the High Priest in act 1 scene III, "Dieu puissant".

Gluck

Fgs [$\overset{f}{\text{C}} \text{ } \overset{f}{\text{C}} \text{ } \overset{f}{\text{C}} \text{ } \overset{f}{\text{C}}$]

Cors [$\overset{f}{\text{C}} \text{ } \overset{f}{\text{C}} \text{ } \overset{f}{\text{C}} \text{ } \overset{f}{\text{C}}$]

Tbi [$\overset{f}{\text{C}} \text{ } \overset{f}{\text{C}} \text{ } \overset{f}{\text{C}} \text{ } \overset{f}{\text{C}}$]

< >

These elements may be shown to have been used consistently as associates of the invocation. Beck's Pandore (1789), in the miming music for Pandora's prayer which "amène le calme dans le coeur de Prométhée", shows the religious image in all the simplicity and directness of melodrama (Ex.284).

3) Upper strings are entirely rejected, and the flutes substituted. (This instrument, from Gluck's time if not before, had won a special place in the

- 1) But his concern for tonal purity prompted the specification of the A clarinet, just as the B flat was asked for in Ex.275.
- 2) METH, article "Opéra" p.223 column 1
- 3) cf. 'O Isis und Osiris'

orchestration of religious processions) In the same year Lemoyne's Nephté was given at the Académie. Example 115, with stage instructions on p.77, perfectly reflects current orchestral thought on the subject of the religious assembly and prayer. As soon as the desolate march is over the tonality moves up by a semitone to E flat major, the horns enter, and there is a general crescendo leading shortly into the vocal entries. The harmonic jolt might seem inept, but the composer's justification would be that he was using keys for their affective symbolism, not large-scale tonal design. D minor (also the key of Gossec's monumental Marche lugubre (P.2270), which indeed may be indebted to Lemoyne's march) "meant" coldness and open strings; E flat "meant" warmth and fervour, and the majority of invocations were in this key, or sometimes the remoter E. There is a directly parallel passage in Lemoyne's Louis IX of 1790, Ex.146.

Gossec's symphonic Invocation (P.9) for choir, soloists, horn solo and orchestra is dated by C. Pierre as possibly from 1791; a performance can be verified from 1798. The key of the piece and the horn solo is E flat. The latter instrument guaranteed the importance of wind timbre and although the style of the music recalls that of Haydn, the opulence of the wind writing in general is more like later Mozart. Example 176 shows the opening of the coda, preceded by a woodwind-dominated pedal point. Méreaux, in Jocaste (1791), portrayed the queen alone in prayer at the beginning of act 3; the piece is in E flat and employs a horn solo. In his Fabius (1793; act 2 f.53) a chorus of priests inside a temple is accompanied by "tous les instrumens à vent sur le théâtre et cachés".

Later examples from the same decade in Opéra-comique demonstrate the continuing use of winds. The "Prière des enfants", no.5 from Berton's Agricol Viala (1794) uses two solo horns and, like Pandore, eschews upper strings in the introduction (Ex.285). Even in a sentimental drama like

Persuis's Fanny Morna (1799) a solemn tempo and primary use of wind instruments is found at the appropriate place (the clarinet, however, is entrusted with the chief solo). In Ex.286 the actress is asked to mime the writing of a letter and the orchestral imagery therefore conveys to the audience her written sentiments before she herself reveals them.

The wedding march in Berton's Montano of the same year (Ex.29) has been discussed in chapter 5 for its experimental use of the serpent. Another example of opéra-comique developing tradition in terms of the smaller orchestra is the "Marche religieuse" p.94 of Isouard's Le médecin turc (1803). Violins are suppressed and flutes take over; but now divided cellos and violas richly fill out the alto and tenor as the music moves towards E flat (Ex.287).

I have already mentioned Ex.151 from Cherubini's Médée in discussing the orchestral crescendo; the passage is Créon's invocation for his daughter's marriage. This music betrays its Académie origins in the piled-up wind writing. The originality of the string writing carries behind it the traditional image, from which may be judged the composer's logic and the communicable clarity born of his Brahms-like understanding of the music of the past.

Spontini kept to tradition in Milton's invocation (1804), "O toi dont l'univers", p.87, which is in E flat, begins with a horn solo, and is in the same triplet-divided 3/4 tempo as Nephté's hymn. The "Hymne du matin" in La Vestale (Ex.230) shares this tonality and time-signature, and brings all the woodwind into play. The low string introduction¹⁾ seems to allude to the harmonic suspensions of church counterpoint but the subsequent wind writing is far more harmonically static and relies on wind timbre to carry through the imagery. The closest follower of Spontini in this hymn seems to

¹⁾ Rather like that of the third movement of Beethoven's last symphony, which also possesses a hymn-like melodic statement on wind instruments.

have been Catel in his prayer to Dourga in Les Bayadères (Ex.67). The effect of the wind instruments here was characterised in chapter 7 as "rapt", and this quality rather than the notion of the crescendo was obviously the more appealing and varied to a generation of composers working among Conservatoire personnel and in the wake of German precept. Typically, Le Sueur, in Adam, fastened on the more Gluckian formula (Ex.12): low wind instruments and a general dynamic rise and fall.

It remains to mention Jacob's "Dieu d'Abraham" from Méhul's Joseph. The use of multiple wind instruments, as in Médée, was not adopted; as in Le médecin turc there is a reversion to the older reference to flutes alone, marked up to piano beside the strings' pianissimo (Ex.288). But this was an introductory orchestral label only, giving way to an air fully up to date in emotional expression. Even so, the key E flat was retained, and one might even see in the repeated chord motif in bars 2 and 4 a subtle transformation of the traditional crescendo.

Woodwind instruments were sometimes given prominence when a mere allusion was made to religious subject-matter, as a kind of offshoot of the "religieux". Two oddly similar passages, both in F major and both using running conjunct quavers in common time, occur in Cherubini's Démophon p.324 and Steibelt's Roméo p.117. The first is sung by priestesses ("Victime pure") and the second by Capulet: "au nom du saint noeud qui nous lie".

Republican hymns with wind accompaniment also exist as an offshoot of the same style.¹⁾ Cherubini may have had this in mind when scoring the phrase, "Vrais amis de l'humanité" for winds alone in Elisa, p.211. Religious mystery was evidently intended to be imparted to the passage in Rochefort's Toulon soumis (also given in 1794) in which the Representative

¹⁾ As do Mozart's Masonic compositions.

of the People reads aloud a letter addressed to the Convention.

Rochefort,
Toulon soumis,
 f.252

Handwritten musical score for three voices: FLS (First Lady Soprano), VNS (Vocalist), and VLE (Vocalist). The score is in C major, 4/4 time, and includes dynamic markings like 'p' and 'pp'. The lyrics "Du peuple souverain" are written under the VNS part. The tempo is marked "Lento non troppo" and there is a "Rép." (Repeat) sign.

(4) Night

a) Scenic description. As may be readily imagined, the image of night prompted numerous and sometimes memorable musical responses in opera; a systematic study of this element of early Romanticism in music would occupy much space. As Winton Dean has mentioned,¹⁾ the action of much of Méridore, Ariodant and Uthal takes place at night, and indeed this particular tendency was widespread at the time, and not only in opéra-comique. It is impossible to catalogue more than a selection of musical traits.

A great number of act openings were revealed in darkness. Some of these, such as that to act 2 of Grétry's Richard (Ex.61) have been discussed in connection with the use of muted strings. Mutes appear to have been used on the whole for more intimate situations in which the attention falls on one

¹⁾ Dean/REVOLUTION p.88

particular character, and where melodic variety was needed. An important later example with muted strings not previously mentioned is the opening of act 2 of La Vestale, the "Hymne du soir". This is performed by the Vestaltes as they leave their temple to Julia's care.

This piece is in C major, and it seems true that C (major and minor) was used as much as E flat for nocturnal set-pieces. Lemoyne's Electre (1782; Ex.130), Salieri's Tarare (1787; Ex.142) and Langlé's Corisandre (1791; Ex.289) may be regarded as conventional early examples. All are in C and make much play with unison writing and held notes in the bass and the horns. Not surprisingly in view of the experiments made in the early 1790's with the soft timpani roll this technique was soon used in the former, sustaining, function in a night-piece.

Jadin,
Le siège de Thionville (1793)
Prelude to act 2 "La Nuit"

Kreutzer went back to the affective symbolism of C minor for the nocturnal part of the overture to Abel and, doubtless profiting from the many examples which since Corisandre had given the string basses a voice of their own, reduced his pedal point to these instruments only (Ex.290). The bassoons and violas were thus released to make their own lugubrious contribution higher up. Exactly the same type of harmonic and colouristic separation is made between the treble and bass instruments at the opening of Le Sueur's Adam (see same example), this time with the old device of the unison. Where Langlé and Lemoyne had been wary of letting one section of strings play alone, least of all to carry the bass, Tarare's separation of the violins pointed a way forward. We see this freedom in the first entr'acte of Méhul's Joseph

(Ex.291), another C minor piece. This is the background for a mimed scene portraying Joseph's encounters at night with Utobal and Simeon. The string basses are again separated from the upper strings and play in unison with timpani, whose music seems to demand the tone of a covered stick. (As simple and inevitable as this combination of basses and timpani seems to be, I have not noticed it elsewhere.)

b) Dramatic allusion; death. Whether or not on account simply of such descriptions as the above, passing allusions to night not infrequently alluded to the note C. The locus classicus, and the passage which suggests that the lowest register of the cello was in part responsible, is the death of Aimar in Méhul's Méridore. The "black" tone of the open C string is sustained for 16 bars, the *first* few of which appear in Ex.262, p.117. Double-basses are scored with dry pizzicato thuds on the C above. An exactly comparable use of the same cello note was reserved for the silent first entry of Ariodant in the later opera, the music reflecting the hatred of his antagonist Othon.¹⁾ Berton's dramatic scoring at the word "nuit" in Agricol Viala, arriving on C major heard as a flat 6th chord, has been quoted in Ex.261.

The menacing power of the rising and falling bass motif typical of the earlier motivic continuum and influenced by Euphrosine was allied in some contexts with night imagery. Its potential was fully realised in Méridore et Phrosine p.87, "O nuit viens couvrir", at the point where Aimar steals in and overhears the lovers. A close derivative, "Affreuse nuit", may be illustrated from Gresnick's Le baiser donné et rendu (1796) in order to show how the image was transferred (Ex.292).

Agathe's "Leise, leise" in Der Freischütz was anticipated by 30 years in Berton's Les deux sentinelles, f.120. The context is not deducible from

¹⁾ Dean/REVOLUTION p.92

the MS, but the words and the sensitive scoring (2 bassoons, 2 horns and bass) reveal a close kinship in a strikingly early example of operatic nocturnal apostrophe.

"O nuit dans ta course paisible
Sur les mortels tu répands les plaisirs ... "

Example 293, bars 7 to 17 of the whole 37, shows the only pedal point, which is on C. The piece is as worthy an orchestration "gesture" as any in a Cherubini opera.

(5) Peace, happiness, victory

The following passages all come from group expressions of these emotions and betray very close transference of layout. The major mode apart, the essential features were: a pedal point, often an upper pedal on the flute; an inner system of broken chords, allied to the expressive medium pattern (see below); pizzicato chords, typically on the off-beats in common time; and, in the same metre, a certain rhythmic identity in the principal melody. The latter feature bears chiefly on the initial notes of the first phrase:

g. p  .

The archetype in Gluck is the chorus, "Enfants de la victoire", from La Cythère assiégée p.112 (Ex.294). Grétry followed, but without pizzicato, in the C major ensemble, "Rien n'égale mon bonheur" from La caravane du Caire, p.352. Example 178, from Méhul's Henri-Quatre, reproduces in opéra-comique both Gluck's pattern and his key. By the time of the chorus, "Allons voir au port" in Plantade's opéra-comique Palma (1797) the flutes and oboes were given trills (Ex.295) an octave apart. If this emphasis of the bright upper tones above mens' voices looks modern-sounding to the reader, so also does the appearance of this category of melody and orchestration when placed in the final chorus of an opera. This happens in Berton's Les rigeurs^u du cloître_k (1790) and Steibelt's Roméo (1793). Boieldieu used the same image in the

orchestra for his exiles' chorus in Beniowsky, p.73.¹⁾ Here the off-beat viola pizzicato chords are in four parts, divisi double-stopping.

The orchestration of Méhul's and Plantade's examples thickened the alto and tenor areas in comparison with Gluck. Méhul has string double-stopping where Gluck had none; octave doubling of the melody on violas and horns where Gluck used oboes in unison with the voices. Plantade's is a male chorus but besides the strong treble writing the vocal area is reinforced by independent horn and bassoon lines and by string semiquavers.

In Spontini's equivalent passage from La Vestale (Ex.296) we find that double-stopping, octave doubling of the melody - without unison doubling! - a flute trill and divided violas are used even when the music is marked pianissimo. Pizzicato cellos shadow the traditional broken chord outline. Despite these technicalities the pattern is extremely close to La Cythère assiégée.

(6) Duty-love syndrome

This set of orchestration images is connected with the preceding in its employment of the expressive medium. In chapter 8 this was isolated for its oscillating middle voices, frequent use of pedals (in conjunction with simple tonic-dominant harmony) and consciously "expressive" melody. Something of the emotional connotations of this musical phenomenon will be conveyed by the following examples, which form the "love" part of the syndrome.

As was said previously, the expressive medium ^{came} to musical maturity in France around 1800 rather than around 1790. The present context is the air which contains within itself strongly contrasting music equivalent to the first and second subjects of the high classical sonata movement or the first and second sections of a tripartite air. The verbal change of gear making

¹⁾ I.e. of the copy in Cambridge, King's College; 1800 version.

such a contrast possible lay in the different emotions engendered by the old dramatic antithesis, love and war. The outstanding early nineteenth-century example of the new type is Huon's autobiographical air, "From boyhood", in act 1 of Weber's Oberon.¹⁾

In Méhul's Euphrosine the ariette, "Quand le guerrier" p.168 is sung by a secondary character, Léonore. The piece contains the basic antithesis, together with the feeling of beginning a new musical subject; but the orchestral colour of the "love" theme is as yet (1790) not governed by the expressive medium, but simply by string tone (Ex.297). In Boieldieu's Beniowsky the hero's act 1 air is similarly divided, this time by an even greater extreme of musical mood.²⁾

F minor, agitated: "Pardonne au destin qui m'accable
Pour l'éviter je fais de vains efforts ...

D flat, suppressed: Lorsque sa main toucha la mienne ... "

The link and new theme, now with constant movement in the strings, is shown in Ex.298.

The complete, Weberian duality together with the true expressive medium is first found in Parisian opera with Winter's Tamerlan, given at the Académie in September 1802 (Ex.299). The link between sections has now attained significant proportions as if to prepare the hearer for a particular effect. This effect then comes over as a unified image of words, melodic type and orchestral expressive medium.

How far French music may be seen to have moved towards this particular European ideal under the Empire is seen in the first act air of the king, "Brave et galant", from Berton's Françoise de Foix (Opéra-Comique, 1809). The vocal line in Ex.300 almost attains the heroic style of the Germans on

1) The "love" melody also forming the second subject of that work's overture.

2) No.4 of the B.N. copy, D.1309; 1800 version

p.52, and Italian bel canto on p.53. The characteristic link is present, followed by the new subject, which is orchestrated as an expressive medium, enhanced by low clarinet tone and filigree violin work. There is relatively complete integration of means, not only between an opéra-comique and an Académie work, but between the Frenchman and the German. Thus Berton, the intense individualist of former days, demonstrates the force of transferred contemporary imagery.

(7) Expressive medium

It is perhaps appropriate that this chapter should conclude with a review of an orchestral layout that symbolises at once the expressive 'vocal' power of instruments, the influence of sustaining keyboard technique, and the internationalism of nineteenth-century musical art. Just as the "age of revolutions" is seen today as the birth of the modern political world, so the widespread interaction of aural ideals (for such is the meaning of these three factors) spelled the beginning of the modern search for individuality of expression in the art of music.

The expressive medium represents a pattern in which sustained tone in itself became a factor to be exploited for its beauty. It was clearly not the only layout in which this factor was important; the examples from Méhul's Bion and Daphnis (215, 216) have already in chapter 9 been related to Mozart and Schubert. Expressive medium is, rather, an identifiable pattern in which the quality of 'warmth' is manifest: in the cut of the melody supported; in the sort of dramatic associations defined in the two sections above; and in the stability and expressiveness of the harmonies involved. As a pattern it is found in opera, in the concerto and in chamber and keyboard music at the very end of the eighteenth century. Its special significance lies therefore as much in its interchangeability of context as in its emotional

singularity. In short, it was a 'public' not a 'private' image, symbolising a growing confraternity of instrumental expression. The later implications of this process are great, and fall beyond the scope of the present study; but I hope that the following examples will convincingly demonstrate the unity behind this one image.

When the detailed history of musical colour comes to be written, a central problem of the late eighteenth century will be recognised as the mutual influence of the fortepiano's sustaining power and that of the orchestra. The priority of the expressive medium in either genre will possibly assist in providing an answer. The bass and harmonic change being minimal or slow, the crucial area of accompaniment resided in the alto and tenor registers. An example in keyboard terms is shown in Ex.301 from the second of Steibelt's "Trois caprices ou préludes" Op.24, published in Paris in about 1799.¹⁾ After a strenuous development section the music melts into conciliatory tones, together with the appearance of the instructions "plus lent" and "legato". In Mozart an equivalent passage, similarly relying on flat keys and sustained keyboard tone, follows bar 18 of the central movement of the piano and wind quintet, K.452. When Beethoven turned to development through cantabile melody in the keyboard sonata Op.14 no.1 (1798-9), first movement, the essentials of the technique appeared (Ex.302). Two years later the "Moonlight" sonata took the expressive medium type as its starting-point.

As I have suggested, operatic music witnessed the introduction of expressive medium proper before the symphony.²⁾ The examples adduced in section 6 above share a sense of emotional contentment, and in numerous cases besides those in section 7 the expression of love is present. In Grétry's Silvain (Ex.303) and Andromaque p.68 the tone is evidently one of

1) By Imbault, Rue Honoré 200; page 12

2) Possible origins are traced in chapter 8, p.364.

"tendresse". In 1790 Lemoine invented a more advanced design (which looks forward to Françoise de Foix) for "Un charme irrésistible" (Ex. 304). The forthright expression of the melody is notable, as is the elaborated and sustained accompaniment.

One of the interesting features of Cherubini's ouverture to Lodoiska (1791) is its suggestive placing of the music for the happy reunion of lovers at an appropriate point preceding the coda. Orchestrally this interest is accentuated through the composer's adoption of the expressive medium, used here to accommodate short, ecstatic answering phrases. Example 305 shows both versions of the music, whose implied message in the overture would not have been lost on an attentive audience. Not surprisingly Boieldieu showed himself sensible of the value of the style, and two passages have already been described that show his use of it; Ex. 62, of which a keyboard reduction may readily be imagined, and Ex. 260, a ritornello entrusting all the character-exposition to a straightforward expressive medium complete with solo horn playing the part of the human voice. The same pattern accompanies "Un regard tendre" in Ma tante Aurore, act 2 no. 7.

It may well be that the concerto in France exploited soloists in the same way as Boieldieu did the solo horn in Ex. 260. The passage in his harp concerto using harmonics¹⁾ is climactic, lets the solo 'speak' by omitting the orchestra, and exposes the new colour against a Steibelt-like accompaniment, actually sounding below the left-hand stave.

A direct transference of the expressive medium occurs in Reicha's "Scène pour le cor anglais", Paris 1811,²⁾ with orchestral accompaniment. The piece is in the favourite early nineteenth-century form of a stylised recitative and air; the 'vocalising' of an instrument is as significant as

1) Ex. 45. Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Bruxelles, V. 1906.

2) B.N., MS 2515.

the adoption of the expressive medium pattern at the point where the soloist shows off his mellowest and most typical register. Form, nature of melody and style of accompaniment act in combination to produce a defined image. One may imagine this music sung or played on the piano with parallel effect. The composer is using a veritable lingua franca.

COR ANGLAIS (F)

pp

STRINGS

pp

Reicha, "Scène" f. 7

(8) Local conclusions

The most important single feature of all the imagery described above is that each group tended towards a conflation of "accompagnement" and "effet". The stock images taken over from earlier operas were applied to new situation and subjected to development. This tendency applied to music for orchestras of different constitutions, but, especially in the Empire period, we notice that technical difficulties were applied where appropriate to music designed either for the Académie or the smaller theatres. Opéra-comique composers of the 1790's (Kreutzer, Catel and others), writing afterwards for the larger orchestra, brought their experience to bear. By the time that this happened the Académie orchestra had been brought back to strength, former doubling

practice had almost ceased and the internal proportions (except for the greater number of strings) were comparable with those at the Feydeau. As the elaboration of the accompaniment increased relative to that of the verbal melody line the situation I postulated earlier - that music under the ancien régime could not properly speaking be "orchestrated" because answerable to the sung word - was naturally eroded.

Opéra-comique under the Revolution was often responsible for creating pregnant variations of orchestral gesture traditionally found at the Académie, but where it imitated these gestures in its own orchestral terms, it used less woodwind and horn tone to protect the strings, and occasionally subdivided the inner string parts to attain fullness. Its absorption with technique sometimes led to debased pictorialism rather than poetic imagery, again under the Empire.¹⁾

The trumpet and trombone have not featured importantly in the present chapter, which has presented an admittedly modest cross-section of music. But I think that the evidence presented earlier on the rise of the F trumpet in the 1790's, the seeming reaction against wind music in the Directory, the early criticism of the opéra-comique trombone and the decline of the brass to 1810 as shown in graph no.2, all points towards the use of these instruments as generally associated with exaggerated forms of older imagery and with loud music. There seem to have been no significant gestures invented primarily using the brass; and chapter 9 has noted the general refusal even to make use of the chromatic resources of the French horn.

The images I have discussed above have been most interesting in their stretching of resources of the strings and woodwind. Moreover, all these images have been characterised by an interdependence of tone-colour between

¹⁾ Such as the snores in Isouard's Cimarosa (1808). Castil-Blaze's remarks at the end of chapter 1 are relevant in these cases.

these groups and by the search for effective combinations of both. Choron's remarks on the use of the winds "pour l'effet" (see page 54) did have some meaning in reality. It seems from the music that instead of conceiving orchestration in terms of strings or woodwind, musicians grew to seek low, central or high timbres as required. High timbres are the most amenable in subtlety of mixing to the ear, and the woodwind as a group mix best in higher pitches; thus perhaps their rôle in the "effet".

In chapter 1 section 3 it was suggested that Vandembroeck's Traité (ca. 1795) implied a realisation that "orchestration" meant that the effectiveness of a composition should conform to conditions and standards applicable in more than one place, and possibly also the future. The cross-references of imagery between music for the Académie, for the other theatres and even the concerto shows that in practical terms Parisian music was moving away from a situation of stratification. By virtue of the Revolution itself the cultural exclusiveness of the Académie was finally destroyed. We have seen in chapter 8 how Méhul's Euphrosine duo, originating on the opéra-comique stage, spread in its entirety in both directions: to the Académie in Miller's Psyché and to the melodrama in Le génie Asouf. This is not to say that the duo sounded identical in these three situations; chapter 3 has asserted the different constitutions of the corresponding orchestras in the early 1790's; but rather that a certain set of images was literally transferred more or less exactly according to the composer's original set of expressive intentions. From the examples quoted in the present chapter I do not think that orchestral balance varied so decisively between orchestras that the duo would have been essentially transformed in one or the other physical context. In the same earlier chapter, moreover, it was noted that Parisian orchestras, by about 1800, had moved towards comparabl

ratios of string, woodwind and brass players and that it was a peculiarityⁱ of the French capital that string sections in most ensembles had always shared common proportions between treble, tenor and bass. As so much of the point and attraction of Méhul's duo lay in its novel and indeed historically significant use of the bass of the orchestra, this piece may serve as the crucial example of the fusion of "accompagnement" and "effet" and of the "interaction of aural ideals".

If orchestration had been socially divided before - certain images retained in certain kinds of theatre - it could now be less so. Indeed, the fact that a newly-created image (the horn solo and harp) was widely adopted in differing orchestral contexts suggests that purely colouristic images were a concern of some importance to many, the original extra-musical associations notwithstanding.

(9) General conclusions

a) Instruments and voices. In chapter 1 it was shown that criticism was moving towards the notion of music as a language, even a "langage du coeur"; the general importance of orchestration in opera for its symbolic and internal associative value has been stressed in chapter 8 and above. That opera furnished the principal area of orchestral development bears much on the language of nineteenth-century music generally. If music was regarded as an "actuality of emotion" and the images and gestures of stage music formed part of a general musical consciousness, purely instrumental music necessarily had to partake of a dramatic symbolic life. The association of the romantic symphony with particular intellectual contexts, for example, is the clearest outward manifestation of this.

During the period under consideration some examples have been noted where

instruments were instructed to imitate the voice.¹⁾ This is a parallel earlier manifestation. The use of instruments and certain orchestration patterns in overtures and entr'actes to articulate the formal structure is another; these gave the instrument itself a particular internal and independent status. Some overtures were overtly dramatic; so much so that, to Berton's Le nouveau d'Assas (1790) may be compared to Weber's Konzerstück for piano and orchestra in that it used free form and orchestral imagery to convey what seems to be an imagined scenario from storm to victory: and the vindication of the hearer's impression exists in the re-emergence of the victorious music later in the opera.²⁾ Such pieces from the opera-house, imbued with dramatic imagery, were the cradle of the symphonic poem. The more the orchestra partook of operatic drama the more the language of drama entered the orchestral repertoire.

Reicha's "Scène" for cor anglais is an example of the degree to which a solo instrument, in 1811, was entrusted with suggestive meaning through the overt adoption of a vocal form. In this the composer was preceded in 1805 by Berton in Le Vaisseau Amiral, who anticipated many famous later passages by writing an actual recitative for orchestral instruments in the overture (Ex.306). This, unlike the introduction to Boieldieu's overture Ma tante Aurore (Ex.255), is largely unaccompanied, is marked "Récitativo" and imitates the inflections of an imaginary vocal part with utmost fidelity. Such is the remarkable extent to which "music as a language" found early practical, even literal, realisation in Paris.³⁾

b) The wider view. I think that the efforts of French composers and their librettists may be seen reflected in contemporary literature on account

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- 1) In 1799 "imitez la voix" (Fanny Morna p.67) and "à l'imitation de la voix" (Ariodant p.9) and in 1805 "imitant toujours le chant" (La ruse inutile p.14)
- 2) See Warrack/WEBER p.237 for Weber's "programme"
- 3) Contemporary belief in the generic uniqueness of the horn has been examined in chapter 4.

of music's assumption of a coherent and self-sufficient aesthetic outlook. Many aspects of the findings in the first chapters of this study may be summed up in the concept of control, the idea that "the composer himself, not the commentator, was the custodian of orchestral expression" (p. 33). There was now control over the accuracy and meaning of printed full scores; over the study of these; of the conductor or director over his orchestra; of the orchestra's command of the notes; of the composer's control over the conductor by means of the printed score and the evolution of fixed tempo specification leading to the popular acceptance of the metronome in about 1816. I have conjectured the verbal control over the use of covered or muted timpani and mentioned the participation of musicians in the design of new instruments; and traced the way in which definite inroads were made by composers in exerting control over the practice of orchestral clarinet players in the interests of the composer's conception of musical quality.

In this manner, therefore, the orchestral art became removed in its practice from the understanding of the ordinary individual, yet strove for vividness and dramatic expression. The composer, in fact, might have imagined himself as manipulating an exclusive sound-language in order to reach the hearer directly. Once such artistic self-determination became recognised and once instruments were heard in France to have a far less limited expressive identity than before, music as well as the sounds of nature in literature seems to become a symbol of intimate personal consciousness, to respond as an ideal and as a language to the loneliness of the alienated soul. In situations in which the grandeur of the spectacle of timeless natural or artificial beauty is evoked music takes its place as a link between the mortal and the unfathomable.

"C'est dans les sons que la nature a placé la plus forte expression du caractère romantique: et c'est surtout au sens de l'ouïe que l'on peut rendre sensible, en peu de traits et d'une manière énergique, les lieux et les choses extraordinaires." 1)

1) Oberman by E. P. de Senancour [1804]; ed. A. Monglond (Paris, 1947) Vol. II p. 164

"Le prêtre ouvre un lieu secret où était renfermée une urne d'or, couverte d'un voile de soie; il se prosterne et adore profondément. La grotte parut soudain illuminée; on entendit dans les airs les paroles des anges et les frémissements des harpes célestes ... " 1)

"Le nom de Dieu et du tombeau sortait de tous les échos, de tous les torrents, de toutes les forêts. Les roucoulements de la colombe de Virginie, la chute d'un torrent dans la montagne, les tintements de la cloche qui appelait les voyageurs, se mêlaient à ces chants funèbres, et l'on croyait entendre dans les Bocages de la mort le choeur lointain des décédés, qui répondait à la voix du solitaire." 2)

"Avec quelle sainte et poétique horreur j'errais dans ces vastes édifices [i.e. of Italy] consacrés par les arts à la religion! Quel labyrinthe de colonnes! Quelle succession d'arches et de voûtes! Qu'ils sont beaux ces bruits qu'on entend autour des dômes, semblables aux rumeurs des flots dans l'Océan, aux murmures des vents dans les forêts, ou à la voix de Dieu dans son temple!" 3)

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- 1) Atala by F.-R. de Chateaubriand [1801]; Edition Garnier Frères (Paris 1962) p.139
 - 2) Ibid., p.145
 - 3) René by Chateaubriand [1802]; Edition Garnier Frères (Paris, 1962) p.98