Politics, the French Revolution, and Performance: Parisian Musicians as an Emergent Professional Class, 1749–1802

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Philip Rupprecht

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Music in the Graduate School of Duke University

2015
ABSTRACT

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I argue that musicians began to emerge as a professional class during the French Revolution (1789–1804) by mobilizing Enlightenment philosophies of music, pre-revolutionary social networks, and economic upheaval. I conceive of this phenomenon within a broad macro-historical context beginning in 1749 with Rousseau's first articulations of music and political culture, and ending with institutional changes at the Paris Conservatoire in 1802. My research applies an anthropological approach to the archives as set forth by scholars including William H. Sewell, Jr., Bernard S. Cohn, and Natalie Zemon Davis. Through archival discoveries from across Parisian archives, I elucidate how musicians capitalized upon revolutionary change to pursue personal and collective advancement as artists and professionals. This approach takes the concept of musicianship as a multivalent social category that traverses musical genres and institutions. This study contributes to the nascent movement to reincorporate economic life back into the historiography of the French Revolution and to a relational approach to the politics of expressivity and practice in musical production. The result of this study is a rethinking of previous historical accounts of revolutionary musicians as simply utilitarian.

In focusing on practicing musicians, their social networks, and their economy, I demonstrate the unique political circumstances of musical production and practice in late eighteenth-century Paris. I conclude that revolutionary politics among composers, performers, and pedagogues gave birth to a distinct form of French musical Romanticism rooted in the negotiation of rational approaches to music with the lived experiences of Revolution. This perspective locates one origin of musical Romanticism in Parisian musical
institutions during the second half of the eighteenth century. In Paris, musical genius came to be regarded as a collective attribute applicable to not only composers, but also to performers. This shift toward inclusive professional musicianship constituted an evolution of musical production and aesthetics, which held profound implications for cosmopolitan nineteenth-century European music culture.
Dedication

To my mother, Anne Dowd Geoffroy (1947–2013), whose love for teaching, storytelling, and the trivial inspires every part of my career.
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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for French archives follow those of RISM.

F-Pan, Archives Nationales
F-Pn, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Translations

Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.
Acknowledgements

Like the musicians whom I pursue in this project, my work has been collective to such an extent that it can only be understood within the context of the thinking and writing communities in which it evolved; and so I feel the need to articulate my gratitude at length. This statement alone belies the immense influence of Dr. Kristen Neuschel whose graduate seminar at Duke University in history and anthropology came at a critical juncture in my development as a scholar and encouraged me to write against my perfectionism, to share my work generously, to read widely without guilt, and to listen and speak continually to my sources. Her bravery (I cannot imagine a better word) as a writer and as a scholar has inspired and will continue to inspire my writing life.

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Introduction

Walking from the metro, I hear the familiar sounds of French rap. I'm automatically drawn in—whether or not I belong among the small tents set up in a square created by Soviet-looking buildings. Belleville, where I live, is a traditionally immigrant and working class neighborhood of Paris. Edith Piaf's legend was born here and still haunts its streets. Chinese and North African community members run the local stores. I revel in the comfort that I am not the only person with a thick accent. But make no mistake, very few of these people were born or raised outside of France.

A tall, thin, trendily dressed North African man raps with particular clarity: "un homme, un homme, comme un homme." Like a man.

Children run around, disregarding the music. One girl shakes her hips a little to the beat. The adults pay close attention, bobbing their heads, commenting briefly to their neighbors. It is the Fête des Voisins: the festival of neighbors throughout all of Paris tonight. It seems there is always a fête in Paris: always a reason to celebrate, to relax, to commune, or perhaps to distract. A politician from the Front de Gauche organized this particular celebration, taking an opportunity to recruit neighbors who have come out to mingle.

After the rapping and clapping subside, the candidate takes the stage and insists that this is not really a moment for speeches, but a speech ensues nonetheless. "We sing together," he begins, "Because we are always better together." He calls attention to the "togetherness" of the night. Of the voice that each voter has "together." That they vote not for the party, but for themselves...together. He emphasizes the singing, the communal performance, and the moment. His motives are not financial and he insists that he is not driven by money. His party's motto says it all: "l'humain d'abord." This focus on people, he says, is manifested through the evening's performances.

The speech ends, and the trendy rapper plugs in his MacBook. The familiar songs of American hip-hop permeate the square and I turn around, disinterested in the pervasion of Americana. I walk toward home the long way on Rue Sainte-Marthe. It's only 20h30, after all, and I'm pathetically uncommitted for one of the longest evenings of the year, the sun up for at least another hour and a half. I hear the sound of strings, and realize the café just in front of me is packed to the brim with bobos. 1

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1 The Left Front was formed in 2009 when a dissatisfied contingent from the Parti de Gauche (Left Party), itself a combination of Socialist and Unitarian Left party members, combined with the French Communist Party.

2 Bobo, standing for bourgeois-bohème, is a term that refers to the young urban-dwelling social class that has developed since the late 1990s consisting of ecologically conscious professionals who share left-wing values, but are sometimes criticized as pacifists, particularly because of their relatively high socio-economic status. David Brooks applied the term in Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000). Some consider the term pejorative, particularly because it has American origins and
hear the first strands of the performance, and immediately recognize the familiar phrases of Beethoven's very earliest string quartets—the first, in fact—composed sometime between 1798 and 1800. The captivated, hipster-clothed young audience claps between movements.

As Beethoven ends, I wander down the street, and the strains of sweet female vocals and saxophone draw me in. I spot a drummer sporting Elton John-like sunglasses. The rhythm guitarist doubles as clarinetist. The eclectic, klezmer sound comforted my confused ears...all together. We're better together. Wasn't that how the night began? The concert board in the bar reads "chanson française."

A brave Frenchman at the bar asks what I do all day, and I reply, "Archival research on music during the French Revolution." He asks, "You aren't sick of music then?" I hesitate, "The archives can be silent."

In Belleville, the festival of neighbors on June 1, 2012, was markedly musical. In it, I heard echoes of 1790s Paris. Parisians still enact community through musical performance at festivals, while specters of the *jeunesse dorée*, the gilded youth that first came into being during the Thermidorian Reaction of 1794–1795, silently listen to Beethoven alongside their twenty-first-century simulacrums. The chanson française continues to uphold French language and literature against external musical forces hidden in technologies like the rapper's Macbook. Was that Jean-Jacques Rousseau I heard emphasizing the common will of single voices paradoxically raised in togetherness? A historically and culturally specific political underneath lurks just below the surface of these performances. François Furet has demanded that the historian of the French Revolution (1789–1804), "Must show [her] colors," in part because "The Revolution does not simply 'explain' our contemporary history;

sociologists have not accepted it as an established social group. Nonetheless, colloquially speaking, the French themselves refer to *bobos* who have infiltrated the working class community of Belleville. The neighborhood is becoming gentrified and many of its inhabitants can longer afford to eat at cafés and restaurants in the neighborhood, some of which have been featured in *Bon Appétit* during the past three years.

3 This is an excerpt from a private blog post I wrote on June 1, 2012.

4 This period of the French Revolution represented a conservative backlash against the bloody policies of the Terror (1793–1794).

5 I use these dates to cover the entire revolutionary decade including the Directory (1795–1799) and Consulate (1799–1802) governments until the crowning of Napoleon as emperor.
it is our contemporary history." In Paris, 1789 is always also in the present, oftentimes appearing and disappearing in the sound of speeches and musical performances. In this dissertation, I follow these tunes and practices—festivals, Beethoven, popular song—back into the eighteenth century, but maintain the past in tension with the present. In concurrence with Furet, as a music historian of the French Revolution I embrace that the period should be approached with an understanding of the here and now of my own lived experience that I bring into the there and then of the archive.

The politics of revolutionary scholarship in France goes as far back as Alexis de Tocqueville's *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* (1856), which argued that the Revolution merely accomplished a centralization for which the Old Regime had aimed. His interpretation reflects the historical moment in which he wrote: the Second Empire (1848–1870) under Napoleon III and the seeming failure of the revolutionary republican agenda. When revolutionary scholarship was institutionalized at the Sorbonne, Alphonse Aulard, Chair of History of the French Revolution, interpreted the historical event as, in the words of Roger Chartier, a "marriage between republicanism and positivism that underlay the very creation of the Third Republic." Third Republic France (1870–1940), born out of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and the fall of Napoleon III, looked back to the First Republic (1792–

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1804) to cast aside the tyranny of monarchy finally. Aulard's student Albert Mathiez disagreed with his mentor and developed a "popular, socialist, and Leninist reading of the Revolution," in tune with the events that created the Soviet Union and seemed to complete the revolutionary task that the sans-culottes had begun over one hundred years earlier. Georges Lefebvre, contemporary of Mathiez, became Chair in the History of the French Revolution at the Sorbonne in 1937 and focused on sociology and social structure, developing a "Marxianized republican interpretation" of the Revolution. Albert Soboul, Lefebvre's student who ascended to his mentor's position in 1967, insisted upon a "Marxist account of the French Revolution as a bourgeois revolution inscribed in the necessary transition from feudalism to capitalism." This line of scholars circles back to François Furet, who read the Revolution not as an economic or social crisis, but as a political and cultural phenomenon resulting from a "constitutional crisis that paralyzed the Old Regime monarchy." The revisionist school of the French Revolution that evolved in Furet's intellectual wake turned away from the Marxist socio-economic model that colored historiography of the French Revolution until the mid-twentieth century.

Like the historiography of the French Revolution, scholarship on music during the French Revolution carries its own cultural and historical baggage. French musicologist Constant Pierre (1855–1918), whose work remains seminal to any study of music during the

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8 Aulard even wrote a manual to teach the French how to be French citizens: Éléments d'instruction civique; suivies des résumés et questionnaires (Paris: Edouard Cornely, 1902).


10 Chartier, xv. See Georges Lefebvre La grande peur de 1789 (Paris: Angré Bruillard, 1932) and La Révolution française (Paris: Presses universitaires de Francies, 1930).


Revolution, researched and wrote in Third Republic France. The utilitarian application of
music toward nationalism, so well elucidated in Jann Pasler's work on music in the Third
Republic,\(^{13}\) pervades Constant Pierre's scholarship.\(^{14}\) Performances of eighteenth-century
opera at the Paris Conservatoire in 1889 evince the persistent legacy of the First Republic on
Third Republic musical institutions. Thus, his Third Republic interpretation of revolutionary
musicians as staunch national servants has continued to pervade scholarship on music during
the French Revolution because his works are the earliest and some of the only sources that
carefully engage the archival remnants of First Republic musicians. Edited volumes that
proliferated undoubtedly as a result of the bi-centennial of the Revolution in 1989 reveal that
while music certainly contributed to the budding political culture of the Revolution, it
contributed less so to the repertoires that typically interest music historians.\(^{15}\)

Scholarship on music during the French Revolution has long debated whether a
musical revolution coincided with the political, social, and economic French Revolution.
Laura Mason's study of popular song during the Revolution concludes that that genre's
temporary uptake as a legitimate form of political activism receded into the social
underground as the Revolution waned.\(^{16}\) The most convincing argument for a musical
revolution rests in James H. Johnson's work on listeners, in which he asserts that theatre

\(^{13}\) Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of

*Bernard Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation* (Paris: Delalain frères, 1895),
*Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la Révolution française; œuvres de Gossec, Cherubini, Lesueur, Méhul, Catel, etc.* (Paris:
Imprimerie Nationale, 1899), *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: documents historiques et
avec notices historiques, analytiques et bibliographiques* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904), and *Le Magasin de musique à
l’usage des fêtes nationales et du Conservatoire* (Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1974).

\(^{15}\) Jean-Rémy Julien and Jean-Claude Klein, *Orphée phrygien: les musiques de la Révolution* (Paris: Éditions du May,
1989); Jean-Rémy Julien and Jean Mongredien, *Le Tambour et la harpe: œuvres, partiques et manifestations musicales

audiences quieted following the revolutionary decade. Jean Mongrédien offers a strong case for changes in musical institutions that persisted into the nineteenth century, particularly the Paris Conservatoire, however most institutional histories of music during the Revolution indicate a tangle of bureaucracy that impeded any tangible changes to musical style. Biographies of musicians working in this context reveal significant individual stylistic changes, particularly in the operas of Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842), but none belie a revolution in French musical aesthetics more broadly. Philosophically, France seemed to stagnate in balanced Classical aesthetics that communicated easily with the listener as the rest

17 James H. Johnson, Listening in Paris: A Cultural History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Other works on audiences include Mark Darlow, "The Role of the Listener in the Musical Aesthetics of the Revolution," Enlightenment and tradition—Women's Studies—Montesquieu, ed. Mark Darlow and Caroline Warman. SVEC/Studies on Voltaire in the Eighteenth Century 6 (2007): 143-157, and a problematic study, musicologically speaking, Emmet Kennedy, et al. Theatre, Opera, and Audiences in Revolution Paris: Analysis and Repertory (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996). Kennedy et al. do not carefully distinguish between theatre and opera, leaving ambiguous the important distinctions that existed between various forms of theatre that proliferated during the French Revolution, especially following the liberalization of theatres in 1791. The authors tally the different types of performance topics (e.g. love, patriotism, or comedy) and make sweeping conclusions about revolutionary theatre audiences without ever consulting the audience members’ points of view. This is not for want of such sources, as these are important considerations in Johnson’s study of revolutionary theatre audiences. With the liberalization of theatres in 1791 stage performances proliferated like no other time in French history. As a result, audiences and works were changing at a rapid pace. This all came to a grinding halt with the implementation of the Terror in 1793. By ending their investigation in 1793, the authors are easily able to prove their point. Had they ventured into 1793 through 1799, the remaining six years of the French Revolution, their argument would not stand. Theatre was undeniably susceptible to government and politics from 1793 through the Empire.


of Europe turned toward Romanticism. Mark Darlow's assessment of scholarship on revolutionary theatre equally applies to scholarship on revolutionary music:

To date, studies of Revolutionary theater have been primarily interested in the development of forms and genres and concerned above all with aesthetics and poetics. By these accounts, until recently, it did not fare well. Considered as mere propaganda for successive regimes of the period 1789–1794, the production of this period—we are told—had no serious impact upon the development of the arts, nor has much of it survived the test of time.

Despite the utilitarian portrayal of revolutionary musicians in works like Pierre's, evidence exists that musicians in Paris debated musical aesthetics seriously throughout the revolutionary decade and engaged with music that circulated in cosmopolitan Europe. From the 1780s onward, musicians in Paris respected and performed the works of Mozart and Haydn and continued to do so throughout the Revolution. Haydn's works appear in concert programs through the 1790s. French musicians frequently cited Mozart not only in pedagogical texts, but also in personal letters as a compositional model to emulate. Scholarship by Mark Evan Bonds and Nicholas Mathew has demonstrated this influence to

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23 Mark Evan Bonds notes performances of Haydn before the Revolution at: the Concert Spirituel and the Concert de la Société Olympique, the latter of which, under the leadership of the Comte d'Ogny, had commissioned the six 'Paris' symphonies of 1785–1786. Haydn had also authorized Tost to sell Symphonies 88 and 89 (1787) in Paris, and d'Ogny would later commission Symphonies 90–92 as well (1788–1789). Indeed, Haydn's popularity in France had never been greater than at the end of the 1780s: of the 110 symphonies performed by the Concert spirituel in the years 1788–1790, no fewer than ninety-four were by Haydn, with twenty performances during the month of March 1788 alone.

be mutual, if only conceptually rather than musically. Although circumstances of musical composition and production in 1790s France diverged radically from those of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, Parisian musicians were not removed from the European sphere of the First Viennese School.

The academic hesitation to acknowledge musical revolution in France during the French Revolution submits to Carl Dahlhaus' admonition: "to argue that the French Revolution marks a break in music history, appears to be a hardly justifiable construction, sacrificing empirical reality to methodological principal [through] equation between political and cultural history." Dahlhaus does not heed his own warning and proceeds to divide eighteenth-century music history by political events, merely replacing each event with its year: the accession of Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great (1740), the end of the Seven Years War (1763), and the onset of the French Revolution (1789). In his argument for what he calls "First Viennese Modernism," James Webster identifies seven different conceptions for the periodization of eighteenth-century music history, reproduced in Figure 1. Webster's own period proposal (Figure 1, d.) is "Viennese-oriented (modernism)." He emphasizes that this periodization would seriously consider the 1790s, which he describes as "notably marginalized in the dominant narratives in comparison with both the 1780s (Haydn's supposed mastery of "Classical style" with the String Quartets, op. 33) and the first decade of

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Figure 1: Periodizations of Eighteenth-Century Music from Webster

28 From Webster, "Between Enlightenment and Romanticism," 116.
the 1800s (the triumph of Beethoven's "heroic" style)." Webster argues that the "music-historical nineteenth century" could not commence until after the death of Haydn and Beethoven, and "the decline of social and economic practices and musical institutions that had sustained Viennese modernism until its European triumph." This conclusion renders curious the question mark he places between 1780 and 1815 in the European-oriented (institutional history) periodization (Figure 1, c.). The socio-economic collapse Webster refers to is clearly that of the patronage system. For musicians in France, this collapse occurred much earlier—most palpably in 1789 with the dismantling of Old Regime systems of privilege, but truly beginning, as this dissertation argues, even earlier during the mid-eighteenth century. The idiosyncratic circumstances of French musical production during the Revolution speak not only to Webster's glaring question mark in the European-oriented (institutional history) classical period (Figure 1, c.), but also the aesthetic transition from mimesis to expression indicated in his Viennese-European double perspective periodization (Figure 1, c.).

In this dissertation, I cut across common categories for musicological study like institutions, genres, and biographies to seek an understanding of music as a profession in Paris during the revolutionary decade. I argue that pre-revolutionary experiences provided musicians with valuable social ties and economic know-how that would become crucial to their professional survival during the revolutionary decade. The aim of this argument is not to claim that musicians had definitively achieved professionalization by the end of the

29 Ibid., 124.
30 Ibid., 126.
revolutionary decade, but rather that they had made a decided shift toward professionalization from 1749 to 1802. By approaching musicians as a social group rather than as individuals, this study offers a new perspective on French music during this critical music historical period. I chose to set aside theoretical issues of gender in my discussion of female musicians in this class of professionals for two reasons: first, to insist upon the significant way class, as opposed to other social factors, figured into the inclusion of musicians within this group; and second, to emphasize that women's inclusion was by no means a rupture from the social practices of Old Regime musicians. Although important questions about gender, music, and the French Revolution arise from this study, I do not set women apart in the form of my writing here because my research indicated that they were not anomalous actors within the spheres that I investigate.

Musicians performed, then as they do now, not only as artists, but also as cultural, social, economic, and political actors. Discreet focus upon a single realm obscures the complicated negotiation behind the production and performance of music during the revolutionary decade. Thus, "performance" and "politics" take on various forms throughout this dissertation depending upon the realm at hand. While performances in Chapters 1 and 5 represent a more traditional sense of the term, Chapters 2 through 4 look at musicians as social, economic, and political performers who simultaneously represented the artistic and

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32 Timothy Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789–1790)* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006). This approach is influenced by Timothy Tackett’s *Becoming a Revolutionary*, in which he argues that a group of French deputies sent to participate in the Estates General of June 1789 *became* revolutionary as a result of their pre-revolutionary experiences and the extreme circumstances into which they were thrust during the summer of 1789. In "Between Discourse and Experience: Agency and Ideas in the French Pre-Revolution," *History and Theory* 40 (December 2001): 116–142, historian Jay M. Smith has cautioned that this approach should be tempered with consideration for how individuals’ perspectives evolve over time. Though Smith is addressing intellectuals, I believe we can consider musicians as such with the increased contribution of their voices to public discourses on music from the 1760s onward, particularly through works like those of Michel-Paul Gui de Chabanon (1730–1792), discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.
social category "musician." Theories from performance studies offer a perspective that shows macro-historical continuity in popular musical performances, while also attending to the particular lived experiences of musicians during the French Revolution.\textsuperscript{33} It is no longer contentious for musicologists to argue for politics as a way into studying music, and historical musicologists and ethnomusicologists agree that music can serve as a powerful mode of identity formation and negotiation. I aim to push past this perspective of music and politics as resistance or identity formation to a more nuanced understanding of how various political struggles become articulated within the process of musical production, circulation, and criticism of a given time and place.\textsuperscript{34} In this dissertation, I elucidate the competing visions of musical production and practice that constituted musical experience and aesthetics from 1749 to 1802. These circumstances evolved into a French musical aesthetic that would affect not only how different French social groups listened in the nineteenth century, but also the politics of the Western musical canon established by musicologists in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. My dissertation addresses the first part of this series of phenomena, but holds implications for the musical repertoire of early nineteenth-century Paris and how we construct narratives of music history today. Like the French Revolution, in musicology, the politics of eighteenth-century music is always also in the present.

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\textsuperscript{34} Ethnomusicologist Harris M. Berger recently identified such an approach as ripe for study: The relationship between the expressive and instrumental dimensions of musical practice [...] the question of which forms of musical experience operate in which ways and of who gets to make those calls—indeed the question of the very meaning of aesthetics itself—are of fundamental importance. To explore this dialectic, we need analyses of the ways that these issues play out in the concrete practices and ideologies of particular social formations, as well as broader ethnomusicologically informed theoretical work on the significance of expressivity in a world necessarily fraught with power relations. Harris M. Berger, "New Directions for Ethnomusicological Research into the Politics of Music and Culture: Issues, Projects, and Programs," in "Call and Response: Music, Power, and Ethnomusicological Study of Politics and Culture," \textit{Ethnomusicology Review} 58, no.2 (Spring/Summer 2014): 317, emphasis original.
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A consideration of sound as politics, or that sound contains competing agendas, has anchored this project. While many portions of this work do not attend particularly to the analysis of sonic events, a concern for sound—in melodies, in instruments, in spaces, in festivals—continually surfaces from the people in this dissertation. Pre-recording technology sound studies present a challenging task to the historian. Outside of musical notation, one must look to texts, objects, and spaces, in order to hear a culture that can seem lost.\(^{35}\) Two theoretical concepts underpin my conception of sound as politics: acoustemologies and aurality. Steven Feld coined the concept of acoustemologies as ways of knowing through sound.\(^{36}\) Aurality considers not only histories of the social construction of listening and hearing, but also the physical processes of experiencing sound both consciously and subconsciously.\(^{37}\) I find that these two perspectives—acoustemologies and aurality—can demonstrate culturally specific social, economic, and political change over time, while granting agency to individual actors who both constitute and interpret their soundscape. Thus, sound allows me at once into both a general and specific perspective on musical production and practice in late eighteenth-century Paris. Eighteenth-century thinkers and


\(^{36}\) Steven Feld provides a succinct explanation of his concept of acoustemologies that has evolved during the past three decades in *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra: Five Musical Years in Ghana* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 49.

musicians understood music to be a type of sound and had strong opinions regarding how sound made *sense* as music. The details of their socio-economic struggles as professionals were concomitant to their aesthetic concerns for these acoustic details. This dissertation only begins to unpack such issues, particularly in Chapter 5. Behind the scenes of this project, I have grappled with how theories of acoustemologies and aurality might be mobilized toward an understanding of who held authority in the expressive and instrumental elements of musical production and practices of eighteenth-century Paris.

My investigation of musicians as a social group began with a fascination for how Enlightenment philosophies of music, particularly those of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, seemed to manifest within revolutionary political and popular culture. Between singing in the streets and Rousseau's imagined utopian musical community, I sensed that there had to be social actors who negotiated both the intellectual and popular spheres and facilitated such profound resonances between them. Musicians were my best guess as the site of exchange between intellectual and popular music cultures in eighteenth-century Paris. The work of William H. Sewell, Jr. inspired me as a model for the combination of intellectual and cultural histories and thus, I came to the combined methodologies of history and anthropology. In his 1962 essay "Anthropology and History," E. E. Evans-Pritchard presents the benefit of these combined perspectives stating: "The truth of the matter is this: both sociological historians and social anthropologists are fully aware that any event has the characters of uniqueness and of generality, and that in an interpretation of it both have to be given consideration."  

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particular place as well as large-scale changes in social categories over time. Geertzian thick
description,\textsuperscript{39} culture writ small, and the large-scale cultural patterns sought by Ruth
Benedict,\textsuperscript{40} culture writ large, came together to inform Sewell's seminal anthropological
history \textit{Work and Revolution in France}, which placed actor-oriented history within a broader
cultural context.\textsuperscript{41} Like Sewell's \textit{Work and Revolution}, this dissertation pursues the
"institutional arrangements […] work practices, methods of struggle, customs and actions"
that gave "comprehensible shape" to the world of musicians in Paris from the mid-
eighteenth to early nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{42} I consider musicianship as a social practice
constituted by diverse actors within the sphere of production. By traversing realms of
experience \textit{through} musicianship, I am able to let the anecdotal stand in for something
larger.\textsuperscript{43} More importantly, this perspective explicates the institutionalization of social and
cultural practices during the Revolution and how aesthetic and social categories change over
time.\textsuperscript{44}

This pursuit required diverse materials—from well-known Enlightenment texts to
arcane police reports—and rewarded an anthropological approach to the Paris archives. In
1980, Bernard S. Cohn, in his explanation of "Historyland" and "Anthropologyland,"
determined that "the historian needs the direct experience of another culture through

\textsuperscript{39} Clifford Geertz, \textit{The Interpretation of Cultures} (United States: Basic Books, 1973).
\textsuperscript{40} Ruth Benedict, \textit{Patterns of Culture} (New York: Mentor, 1934).
\textsuperscript{41} William H. Sewell, Jr. \textit{Work and Revolution in France: the Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848}
\textsuperscript{42} Sewell, 12.
\textsuperscript{43} In \textit{The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France} (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), Natalie Zemon
Davis uses the social category "gift" as a way into understanding broader cultural changes in attitudes toward
religion. This approach leads Davis to attend to detailed micro-histories of sixteenth-century France that,
through the concept "gift" provide macro-historical insight.
\textsuperscript{44} Two works that exemplify this approach to the institutionalization of social and cultural practices over time
are Jean Gelman Taylor, \textit{The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia} (Madison, WI:
systematic fieldwork." He explains:

Taking the anthropological experience into the archive or library enables the historian to better appreciate the significance of what would otherwise appear to be mere trivia, to understand how other cultures can be structured and constructed [...] Archives are cultural artifacts which encompass the past and the present. The historian learns that filing systems are codes, and a considerable amount of time has to be spent in learning how the particular documents being used were produced. Documents must be collated and statements of various kinds tested for reliability. The texts found by the historian have to be read not only for 'facts' or 'indications' but for the meanings intended. This can only be done through understanding the shadings of language and the structure of the text, and through the development of sensitivity to changes in form through time. The work of the historian proceeds outside the archive as well [...] The past exists not only in records of the past, but survives in buildings, objects and landscapes of the present day, the observation of which assist the historian in constructing the context. The anthropological historian therefore should have the working experience of both the field and the archive. There are no shortcuts. No quick packaging of the skills, methods, insights and findings in handbooks can substitute for the act of doing an anthropological history.

As a way to illustrate Cohn's assertion, I would argue that the past also survives in performances like the *Fête des Voisins* in Belleville. Though my anthropological experience was limited to the reading I had done in the field of ethnomusicology and in the combined methods of history and anthropology, my fieldwork was accomplished through everyday life in Paris and through my archival work. I entered the archives to collect evidence that might point past the utilitarian rhetoric that had been largely built upon nineteenth-century studies of revolutionary musicians, steeped in unique contexts of nationalism. I nonetheless prepared myself to encounter confirmation of what previous studies of music during the

46 Ibid., 221.
French Revolution had established: that musicians experienced censorship and general repression resulting in mediocre musical composition.

Yet my pursuit of revolutionary musicians yielded a much different result. I conducted an extensive amount of archival research to gather documents that attested to the diverse experiences of revolutionary musicians. I conducted research at the Archives nationales, the Richelieu-Louvois, François-Mitterrand, and Opéra branches of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris, and the Bibliothèque du Sénat. Some of my discoveries will be of particular interest to music historians: a previously unknown letter by composer André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813) to the famous philosopher-statesman the Abbé Sieyès, a police report elucidating previously unknown details about the life of composer Antoine Borghèse, and multiple government aid requests that clarify details of various late eighteenth-century musicians' careers. Of concern to broader audiences will be that my archival digging and reading between the lines reveal how diverse musicians, from marginal female pedagogues to mainstream male composers, capitalized upon the revolutionary moment to advance their careers and to help one another to do the same.

Indeed, a year living in Paris left me with the multiple applications of the injunction *profitez*, and I could not help but find this an apt description of how musicians navigated revolutionary upheaval. Perhaps the term "capitalized" seems too charged for revolutionary scholarship. Capitalism and class have long played a contentious role in French Revolution historiography, as explained above. My dissertation nonetheless resonates with Sewell's most recent argument regarding the emergence of capitalism and the French Revolution:

Eighteenth-century French commercial capitalist development fostered a vigorous growth of abstract forms of social relations and [...] the growing experience of such
abstraction in daily life helped make the notion of civic equality both conceivable and attractive by the 1780s. This argument postulates a very different kind of causation than the classical Marxist scenario of Lefebvre and Soboul. It sees capitalist development influencing the revolution not through a mechanism of class struggle but through a far more gradual and diffuse social and cultural process.\textsuperscript{48}

Sewell tempers his hypothesis as precisely that—a hypothesis to be tested across different realms of experience, his own focus upon garden promenades. Sewell calls for "a history of interstitial capitalist abstraction."\textsuperscript{49} This dissertation speaks directly to the development of a professional class—musicians—"in the interstices of the monarchical, aristocratic, and corporative society of the French old regime"\textsuperscript{50} and through the revolutionary decade. Even before the Revolution, musicians participated in economic relationships that crossed social boundaries, particularly through membership in Masonic lodges. Within lodges, musicians provided a service (their music) within a social environment that encouraged nobles to think of musicians as equal. Thus, my work contributes to a nascent movement to place "the rhythms and effects of economic life back into the study of history, including the history of the French Revolution."\textsuperscript{51} As this relates to musicians, Jacques Attali views the formation of the Paris Conservatoire during the Revolution as the opposite of capitalization. Instead, he reads this historical moment as an anomaly to the eighteenth-century drive toward capitalism, "possibly unique in history,"\textsuperscript{52} and as an attempt to rationally centralization musical production for the purpose of protecting music from the bourgeoisie and their


\textsuperscript{49}Ibid., 13.

\textsuperscript{50}Ibid., 14.

\textsuperscript{51}Ibid., 46.

\textsuperscript{52}Attali, 55.
An understanding of relationships among revolutionary musicians allows the historian to look *around* revolutionary rhetoric toward the goals that underlie it and to view the Conservatoire and other economic activities of musicians during the Revolution as equally self-interested and utilitarian.

Chapter 1 elucidates how intellectuals and the public mobilized music for political purposes, alienating practicing musicians from their practice. I also trace how Enlightenment philosophies of music reemerged in the musical practices of the French Revolution to highlight historical continuities in performance over the course of the eighteenth century. Chapter 2 proposes the writings of Michel-Paul-Gui de Chabanon (1729/30–1792) as a counter narrative to mainstream late eighteenth-century musical debates. Chabanon provides two unique perspectives to eighteenth-century French thought on music. First, he calls for French musicians to mobilize their informal social networks toward reclaiming their profession, and second, he champions instrumental music as aesthetically equal to vocal music. His ideas would manifest in the socio-economic and pedagogical activities of musicians during the French Revolution. Chapter 3 elucidates how diverse musicians capitalized upon informal, pre-revolutionary social networks to accomplish both personal and professional goals during the Revolution. In particular, the chapter outlines how wide and inclusive this social network became. Chapter 4 offers three examples of collective economic maneuvering by musicians during the French Revolution, even as other professionals lost rights to organize through the suppression of guilds and corporations in 1791. The chapter follows revolutionary musicians in the pursuit of intellectual property rights, rethinks the formation of the Paris Conservatory in terms of economic benefits to

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53 Ibid., 55–56.
musicians, and brings to light individual musicians’ struggle to obtain financial support from the revolutionary government. Finally, Chapter 5 seeks the sonic and musical manifestations of the socio-economic phenomena outlined in Chapters 2 through 4 in the changing role of musicians and sound in revolutionary festivals, through a composition that by traditional musicological perspectives would be considered revolutionary propaganda, and between two pedagogical texts composed at the end of the revolutionary decade.
PART I: Politics

The Regiment of Saint-Gervais had done its exercises, and, according to the custom, they had supped by companies; most of those who formed them gathered after Supper in the St. Gervais square and started dancing all together, officers and soldiers, around the fountain, to the basin of which the Drummers, the Fifers, and the torch bearers had mounted. A dance of men, cheered by a long meal, would seem to present nothing very interesting to see; however, the harmony of five or six men in uniform, holding one another by the hand and forming a long ribbon which wound around, serpent-like, in cadence and without confusion, with countless turns and returns, countless sorts of figured evolutions, the excellence of the tunes which animated them, the sound of the drums, the glare of the torches, a certain military pomp in the midst of pleasure, all this created a very lively sensation that could not be experienced coldly. It was late; the women were in bed; all of them got up. Soon the windows were full of Female Spectators who gave a new zeal to the actors; they could not long confine themselves to their windows and they came down; the wives came to their husbands, the servants brought wine; even the children, awakened by the noise, ran half-clothed amidst their Fathers and Mothers. The dance was suspended [...] There resulted from all this a general emotion that I could not describe, but which, in universal gaiety, is quite naturally felt in the midst of all that is dear to us.

—Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Lettre à d'Alembert 1

Chapter 1. Enlightenment through Experience2

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Lettre à d'Alembert (1758) provides a detailed account of a spontaneous festival fueled by wine and music that he supposedly witnessed as a child in

1 "Le régiment de Saint-Gervais avoit fait l'exercice, et, selon la coutume, on avoit soupe par compagnies; la pluspart de ceux qui les composoient se rassemblérent après le Soupé dans la place de St-Gervais, et se mirent à danser tous ensemble, officiers et soldats, autour de la fontaine, sur le bassin de laquelle étoient montés les Tambours, les Fifres, et ceux qui portoient les flambeaux. Une danse des gens égayés par un long repas sembroït n'offrir rien de fort intéressant à voir. Cependant, l'accord de cinq ou six cents hommes en uniforme, se tenant tous par la main, et formant une longue bande qui serpentoit en cadence et sans confusion avec mille tours et retours, mille espéces d'évolutions figurées, le choix des airs qui les animoient, le bruit des Tambours, l'éclat des flambeaux, un certain appareil militaire au sein du plaisir; tout cela formoit une sensation très vive, qu'on ne pouvoit supporter de sang-froid. Il étoit tard; les femmes étoient couchées, toutes se releverent; bientôt les fenêtres furent pleines de Spectatrices qui donnoient un nouveau zèle aux acteurs. Elles ne purent tenir longtems à leurs fenêtres; elles descendentrent; les maitresses venoient voir leurs maris, les servantes apportoient du vin; les enfans même eveillés par le bruit, accoururent demi-vétus entre les Pères et les Mères. La danse fut suspendue [...] Il résulta de tout cela un attendrissement général que je ne saurois peindre, mais que dans l'allegresse universelle, on éprouve assés naturellement au milieu de tout ce qui nous est cher.


2 A version of this chapter was published under the title "Rousseau and the Revolutionary Repertoire," Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture 43 (2014): 89–110.
Geneva in the 1720s. During the French Revolution, Rousseau's ideas about the role of music in a democratic community found expression in a variety of popular contexts—in public singing at festivals, in *chansonniers* that set new song lyrics to well-known melodies for the musically illiterate, and in the mobilization of music toward politically unifying goals. Many of these ideas are set forth in Rousseau’s *Essai sur l’origine des langues où il est parlé de la mélodie et de l’imitation musicale*, a work Rousseau grappled with and rewrote from the 1750s until 1761. Published posthumously in 1781, the work remained largely unexplored until the twentieth century. In the essay Rousseau posits a vision of cultural evolution in which music devolved from a tool integral to the creation of community at some unspecified moment in pre-history to a symptom of the moral decay of contemporary French society, a decay resulting from the combined degeneration of music and language caused by historical progress. Rousseau's prescriptions for the place of music in politics, as found in this essay as well as his *Lettre à d’Alembert*, became articulated in revolutionary society even though everyday citizens neither circulated nor discussed the texts. Developments in Parisian popular musical practices from 1749 to 1794 may be seen to shed new light on the living sources for Rousseau's writing about music.

It has long been acknowledged that Rousseau philosophized from a deeply subjective position, and so his life experiences provide an entryway into his works. Contextualizing Rousseau's philosophy within mid-eighteenth-century Parisian musical practice illuminates the relationship between musical performance during the Revolution and

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his political thought. Indeed, what I want to argue is that Rousseau's political writing actually grew from his lived experience of music as a writer in mid-eighteenth-century Paris rather than from a utopian community he imagined against the backdrop of an earlier philosophy of cultural acquisition. When we examine the role that political opinion plays in French popular song across the century, it becomes evident that Rousseau did not create an entirely new concept of musico-political performance later perpetuated during the French Revolution, but rather that he participated in an ongoing process of appropriation and expression that reached a pinnacle with the politics of music in revolutionary culture. Where it has been suggested that Rousseau's Lettre à d'Alembert is only tenuously connected to revolutionary festivals, I posit that the interaction between intellectual and popular musical cultures during the eighteenth century serves to explain certain trans-historical similarities between written artifacts and performance practices, and in fact that the Genevan festival described in the opening paragraph could easily be mistaken for the account of a fête

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4 Rousseau described himself as a writer during this period, and continued to avoid the title "philosopher" throughout his lifetime. He was also viewed that way by others. Denis Diderot writes in 1742 of their first introduction: "Au cours de février, l'un de ses compagnons de bohême, Daniel Roguin, ancien officier de l'armée hollandaise, mais vaudois d'origine, lui présente, au Café de la Régence, un jeune joueur d'échecs arrivé de Genève pour tenter sa fortune littéraire à Paris; il se nomme Rousseau." Denis Diderot, Correspondance (1713-1757), ed. Georges Roth (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1955) 1: 27, emphasis added.


6 Sonenscher writes, for example:

It is tempting to think that much of the content of the many public festivities put on, not only during the period of the French Revolution, but right up to the banqueting campaign that heralded the revolution of 1848, can be traced back to Rousseau's Letter to d'Alembert. In a weak sense, this must be true. But Rousseau's interest in the causal relationships linking political institutions like festivals or cercles, the content of public opinion, and the real power of legitimate government overlapped with a rather different and much older interest in the related subjects of singing, dancing, morality, and government" (164). However, later in the same chapter, Sonenscher claims that "it may be more historically accurate not only to position Rousseau's own historical conjectures against this older, and broader intellectual context, but also to describe Rousseau's conjectures as the intellectual stimulus that brought them back to life (170, emphasis added).
révolutionnaire held some thirty-six years after Rousseau composed the letter.

At the time Rousseau began distilling his perspectives on music, the Affair of the Fourteen became a much-discussed public matter. Robert Darnton has shown that throughout the spring and summer of 1749 French subjects across Paris were being arrested for the dissemination of spoken, written, or sung poetry that criticized the king and his mistress. During the first half of the eighteenth century, following Louis XIV’s death, the tone of musical performances in Paris began to reflect a series of ideological changes. These transformations occurred at first only in fair theatres and the nascent genre of opéra-comique, and gradually evolved from innocent divertissement to outlets for social and political dissent. Though official theatres still frowned upon such critiques, music in popular milieus became a forum for voicing dissent against the royal regime and noble privileges. Scholars have long debated whether it is anachronistic to speak of public opinion before the Revolution: Darnton himself insists that "in eighteenth-century Paris, a public peculiar to the Old Regime took form and began to impose its opinions on events." Arlette Farge avers that "while there was no public opinion, in the modern sense, in the eighteenth century, there were popular opinions, whose form, content, and function developed within a monarchic system whose attitude gave them life even as it rejected them." and Michael

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9 Darnton, 139.


It would be tempting to think that public opinion was born at just this time [1760s-1770s], as it laid claim not to its objects or its content, but to its own existence. It would be rash to do so, however. For a long time […] individuals had been reflecting on events, fabricating morsels of personal opinion on the basis of precise facts. Now they were considering the monarchic system, brushing aside a king
Sonenscher has pointed out that Rousseau seems to be the first writer of note to use the term "public opinion." Rousseau labeled the popular opinions that circulated throughout Paris as public—and so it seems appropriate to apply the term here.

This chapter begins with a reappraisal of Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues* through the lens of the Affair of the Fourteen. Next, two musical artifacts from the 1790s dedicated to Rousseau will be set in relation to the Affair of the Fourteen: a text from a revolutionary *chansonnier* and a performance described in a published account of a revolutionary festival. The similarities between the Affair of the Fourteen of 1749 and these revolutionary musical experiences of the 1790s will illustrate that Rousseau's prescriptions found in the *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, though never read by those who enacted them, reflect living Parisian musical practices. These artifacts illuminate the continuity between Rousseau's work and the enactment of these texts in revolutionary Paris, and disentangle the interwoven discourses about philosophies and performances of music from the French Enlightenment through the French Revolution. The exploration of Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues* within the context of popular Parisian musical practices of 1749 elucidates the process by which Enlightenment texts about music became enacted in the everyday political culture of the French Revolution despite general ignorance of these texts on the part of performers. At the nexus of Enlightenment thought and quotidian existence,

who they thought was absent from himself, and especially breaking the fetters into which the monarchy had compelled them, in the belief that not only were they equipped to speak out, but that they had a legitimate right to do so, and must exercise that right openly. Secrecy was out of fashion [...] This attitude undoubtedly represents a major shift away from the position of those—probably still numerous at that time—who boasted of having a secret which they would tell only to the king. But most of the people had moved on, to a place where they had access to other forms of identity; where new situations, each more novel than the last, could be created" (191).

11 Sonenscher, 161.
musicians during the Revolution would have to reconcile these competing, yet correlated perceptions of music to agree upon a music culture for the new French nation.

Performance studies provide a productive theoretical framework through which to examine this phenomenon. Diana Taylor defines the archive as cultural memory that exists as material documents and the repertoire as enacting "embodied memory."\textsuperscript{12} The repertoire includes musical performances in which as she says "people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by [...] being part of the transmission."\textsuperscript{13} If public performance generates, records, and transmits knowledge, as Taylor goes on to describe its functioning, then this 1749 singing affair and Rousseau's re-writing of it might provide a glimpse into the process by which Parisian song practices became transmitted, as well as transformed, trans-historically. A recent publication on current methodologies in performance and music studies pinpoints the benefits of such an approach: "In shifting the focus of musical analysis from composition and text to performance, [this] approach highlights the interactional, political, emotional, and emergent in music."\textsuperscript{14} While we can never experience the live quality of eighteenth-century Parisian musical performances, we can engage with textual artifacts that allow glimpses into popular performance practices. In this case, the musical enactment of beliefs and identity proves to be a repeating political and performative scenario that continues in Paris over the course of the eighteenth century, a scenario that in turn became legitimized by the social changes achieved through the French Revolution.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 20.
\textsuperscript{14} Stacy Holman Jones, "Singing it the Way She Hears It," \textit{Cultural Studies<=>Critical Methodologies} 10, no. 4 (2010): 268.
1.1 The Affair of the Fourteen and Rousseau's Essay

The Affair of the Fourteen consisted of the capture, interrogation, and in some cases, imprisonment of fourteen Parisian students, clergymen, clerks, and professors accused of composing or disseminating slanderous songs about the king’s mistress, Madame de Pompadour. Darnton asserts that “the links among the Fourteen formed only a small segment of [a] larger entity—a huge communication system that extended everywhere, from the palace of Versailles to the furnished rooms of the Parisian poor.” This network of communication crisscrossed social categories and their dwelling spaces, and the swift broadcasting of the songs throughout Paris proves that the influence of social networks on public opinions did not begin with twenty-first century media. Song and poetry acted as the primary medium for this social network. Darnton confirms that at least two of the songs passed among the Fourteen "could be heard everywhere in Paris at the time."

Rousseau necessarily thought, conversed, and wrote from within this musical and political Parisian web. Though little extant writings remain from this period of Rousseau’s life, writings from both Denis Diderot and Rousseau reveal that the two were quite close during 1749, when Diderot, Rousseau, and the abbe de Condillac would meet for weekly dinners at the Panier Fleuri in Paris. Both the relationship with Diderot and material traces of the social network of intellectuals in Paris during the late 1740s and early 1750s clearly link Rousseau to several gentlemen involved in the Affair of the Fourteen. Darnton recounts

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15 Darnton, 55.
16 Ibid., 174–75.
the following relationships in *Poetry and the Police*. In July 1749, Pierre Sigorgne, professor of philosophy and disseminator of the scandalous songs, awaited his fate in the Bastille, while Denis Diderot sat imprisoned in the Château de Vincennes because his recent writing, the *Lettre sur les aveugles à l'usage de ceux qui voient* (1749), offended both the government and the clergy. Sigorgne and Diderot had mutual intellectual apostles, André Morellet and Anne Robert Jacques Turgot. In fact, a written transcription of Sigorgne’s dictation of one of the Affair poems was transmitted among the accused within a copy of Diderot’s *Lettre sur les aveugles*. Sigorgne’s students, Morellet and Turgot, and Rousseau, all contributed to Diderot and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie*, the publication of which was delayed because the editor Diderot spent part of the summer in prison. Finally, Nicolas René Berryer, lieutenant-général of the police, and his secretary Duval both worked on the Diderot case and the Affair of the Fourteen case that summer. Rousseau’s *Encyclopédie* associates, at least through the eyes of the police, belonged to the same mischievous group of intellectuals involved in the Affair.

There can be no doubt that Rousseau at least knew of these songs and the Affair, and he likely had more intimate knowledge of the investigation through the circle of *encyclopédistes* with whom he was closely involved in 1749. Rousseau certainly would have been aware of the stir that poetry and music were creating: encouraging popular opinions in the streets of Paris and creating paranoia within the bureaucratic offices that cocooned the monarchy. Though the document has never been found, Rousseau claimed to have written a letter to Madame de Pompadour in the end of July or beginning of August 1749 supposedly

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18 Darnton, 25.
begging for Diderot's freedom from prison and insisting that if the request were not granted then he should like to be imprisoned with his friend. The fabled letter is noted in Rousseau's correspondence and R. A. Leigh states that it was a "lettre trop peu raisonable pour être efficace" (a letter with too little reason to be effective).\textsuperscript{19} Years later, in 1783, Thérèse Levasseur referenced this letter in a discussion with the abbé Gabriel Brizard.\textsuperscript{20} If the letter is yet to be substantiated, it is nonetheless important to note that Rousseau at least acted as if he had contacted Mme de Pompadour regarding Diderot. This fact in itself provides an important piece of historical evidence: Rousseau believed Mme de Pompadour was the power behind Diderot's arrest. According to Darnton, she was surely the power behind the arrests in the Affair of the Fourteen.

1749 also proved to be a turning point in Rousseau's philosophy. In his \textit{Confessions} and \textit{Lettre à M. Malesherbes}, Rousseau claims that during that summer, while walking to visit his friend Diderot in prison, he experienced what has been called the "illumination of Vincennes." Rousseau recalls reading an announcement by the Académie de Dijon published in the \textit{Mercure de France} offering a prize to the best essay regarding the topic, "Whether the restoration of the sciences and arts has contributed to purify morals." The subject triggered Rousseau's so-called illumination and he recounts a sweaty, hallucinatory experience of composing a hasty, negative response. He concluded that man, naturally good, had been tainted by the immorality of modern civilization, and more specifically by modern

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 120.
institutions. Though scholars now date the illumination to the autumn rather than the summer of 1749, Rousseau’s own connection of this revelation to the same summer as Diderot’s imprisonment and the Affair of the Fourteen remains crucial.

Rousseau’s conceptions of music and politics, as put forth in his *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, can be re-read when placed within the context of this social network of song on the one hand and a critical moment in his philosophy of the arts on the other. It is known that Rousseau wrote all his musical entries for Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* from 1749 until 1751. Furthermore, scholars have linked Rousseau’s response to the Academy of Dijon, better known as his *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750), to the *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, originally a fragment discarded from his *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* in 1754. Rousseau continued to work on the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* until 1761, however he established the foundation of his views on music, language, government, and historical progress, through these earlier writings, which supposedly commenced with the illumination of Vincennes. Robert Wokler has pointed out the significance of Rousseau’s *Premier Discours* that resulted from the illumination of Vincennes, specifically because it seems to have paved the writer’s way toward key themes found in both the *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* and the *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, in particular the equation between hyper-civilization and moral

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The essay's connection to the *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* is especially salient in regards to Rousseau's discussion of music, which Rousseau identifies as degenerate as a result of increasingly convoluted compositional and performance techniques, both the result of historical progress, or civilization.

The Affair of the Fourteen, in combination with the illumination of Vincennes, sheds critical light on the following three features Rousseau prescribes in his musico-political philosophy: a codependent relationship between music and speech; an uncomplicated melody and accompaniment; and a prominent role played by music within its native governmental system. In his *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, Rousseau describes a close connection between speech and music in the language of the first societies. He explains, "the melodious inflections of accents caused poetry and music to be born along with language; or rather, all this was nothing but language itself." These first societies began to articulate utterances that combined speech and song and, in Rousseau’s opinion, produced an effective speech that directly expressed and evoked emotions. Such speech would be conveyed in images, sentiments, and figures of speech, and it would be sung rather than spoken.

Rousseau describes a musical communication that would "persuade without convincing." This phrase, although one of Rousseau's enigmatic descriptions of his utopian musical culture, can be understood within the context of eighteenth-century Parisian singing.

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24 Ibid., 392.
26 "Elle persuaderoit sans convaincre." Ibid., 383. Scott, 296.
practices. Persuasion implies a direct moral response evoked from the listener as opposed to the logic required to convince. If eighteenth-century Parisians hoped to convince one another of political opinions, speeches and essays would have proved much more effective than songs and poems. Unfortunately, such public expressions would have quickly attracted government attention, yet clandestine songs and poems provided a more veiled critique. The singers along the 1749 communication network did not hope to overtly convince one another of new ideas; rather, they shared musical performances as a means of commentary that could sway beliefs. Ideas stem from the hyper-civilization of the mind that Rousseau condemns. Beliefs result from the natural emotions that humans, according to Rousseau, innately possess. The 1749 performances aimed to subtly persuade rather than forcefully convince, a true communication involving an open exchange of natural beliefs rather than the imposition of convoluted ideas. Though the concept of persuading without convincing may seem perplexing within the context of Rousseau's essay, it becomes clear within the context of his musical experiences in Paris.

In the Affair of the Fourteen, much in accordance with Rousseau's supposed prescriptions, a combination of poetry and music expressed emotions about social and governmental events and sought to evoke similar emotions from the listener. The songs that circulated in the Affair of the Fourteen were as much poetry as they were music; like "the first discourses," they were "the periodic and measured recurrences of rhythm [...] the melodious inflections of accents."²⁷ Poetry inherently requires "cadence to periods and

²⁷ "[...] retours périodiques et mesurés du rythme [...] les inflexions mélodieuses des accens [...]" Ibid., 410. Scott, 318.
roundness to phrases." The poetry used in the Affair songs varies in sophistication—from basic romance structure to sophisticated alexandrine verse. Nonetheless, in all cases, images, feelings, and figures of speech play a crucial role in the communicative effectiveness of the songs. Although overt criticisms and characterizations were not unheard of in these ditties, subtlety and turns of phrase are clearly preferable.

Take for example "the attack on Mme de Pompadour" sung to the exceedingly popular tune of "Quand le péril est agréable," originally from Jean-Baptiste Lully's (1632–1687) tragédie en musique Atys (1676), shown in Figure 2:

Par vos façons nobles et franches,
Iris, vous enchantez nos cœurs;
Sur nos pas vous semez des fleurs.
Mais ce sont des fleurs blanches.

Darnton concludes that the "white flowers" that Mme de Pompadour strews about in the last line of this stanza are actually a venereal skin infection resembling white blossoms. This text comments on current events eloquently, and whenever possible without succumbing to obvious slander. Artful play with language, combined with well-known music, creates an easily comprehensible and transmittable work, and though the goal of these songs tended toward social commentary, ultimately such songs work to persuade listeners along the communication network to agree with the criticism they present.

The musical features of this example also conform aesthetically to Rousseau's conception of ideal music, particularly through the predominance of the unison, the sparsely or un-accompanied vocals, and the clear underlying moral purpose. Figure 2 provides a

28 "[…] de la cadence aux périodes et de la rondeur aux phrases […]" Ibid., 383. Scott, 296.
29 Darnton, 176.
30 Ibid., 182.
transcription of the online recording that accompanies Darnton’s *Poetry and the Police*. It is appropriate to transcribe the work as a performance rather than from its original seventeenth-century notation because most Parisians would have only experienced the melody through oral transmission, never seeing it notated in a text. Performers would likely have improvised around the dotted rhythms and sixteenth notes in the transcription. The harmony one can extrapolate from this simple melody is quite basic: from the tonic, to the supertonic, to the dominant and back again. The interest of the music is not in technical musical features like harmonic motion, but in the seemingly folk-like and wholly memorable melody, a melody that complements rather than dominates the text. Rousseau advocated just such a natural music, in which speech and singing become indistinguishable and in which melody takes primacy over harmony.\(^3\) The Affair songs utilize basic musical techniques to evoke moral responses from listeners, with a goal of communication rather than artistic performance. Rousseau claims that music degenerates when the melody becomes

\[\text{\textit{Figure 2: "The attack on Madame de Pompadour," to the melody of "Quand le péril est agréable," from Jean-Baptiste Lully's \textit{Atys} (1676)\(^{31}\)}}\]


\(^{32}\) The most extensive exploration of the sources for Rousseau's concept of \textit{unité de mélodie} and primacy of melody can be found in Jacqueline Waeb, "Jean-Jacques Rousseau's \textquoteleft\textit{unité de mélodie}," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62, no. 1 (2009): 79–143.
disconnected from discourse and obtains a separate existence from words. In the case of the Affair of the Fourteen songs, melodies are both conceptually and aesthetically interwoven with discourse, precisely the aesthetic Rousseau promotes. In this practice, pre-existing melodies that all Parisians would have known were attached to new words. These recycled melodies existed for the purpose of accompanying the sort of poetry which itself could not be complete without musical vocal inflection.

It is worth noting the irony in the use of "Quand le péril est agréable" to accompany a song attacking Louis XV’s official mistress and as a melody conforming to Rousseau's musical prescriptions. *Atys* was known to be one of Louis XIV’s favorite *tragédie en musique*. The air belongs to a written musical tradition as a lyrical suite movement or instrumental form as part of stage entertainments, part of the intellectual genealogy of French music including Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764), Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck (1714–1787), and even Hector Berlioz (1803–1869). In eighteenth-century France, as the musical institutions under the king’s authority struggled to compete with the wildly popular boulevard theatres and the influence of Italian comic opera, the boundaries between notated and performed music remained in flux. The ownership over these practices remained contested. By the early 1750s Rousseau would decidedly rule in favor of musical simplicity over complexity. An example such as this demonstrates the ambiguous ethical and aesthetic judgments surrounding these melodies, often plucked from the common social archive of

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33 *Rousseau, Essai sur l’origine des langues*, 425.

34 Although poetry clearly existed without musical melodies throughout French history, from at least the sixteenth century onward, popular poetry was often set to music as a mnemonic device to facilitate easy transmission. In this context, the two required one another, as in Rousseau's musico-political philosophy.

memory without much regard for pre-existing connotations.

When the French Revolution appeared to offer a radically new venue in which to perform political beliefs, Parisians still turned to these centuries-old melodies to express themselves. Rousseau's own musical compositions also clearly drew upon the same tradition of popular song. Rousseau has come down to us in history as the composer who was instrumental in the acceptance and popularization of musical simplicity with his exceedingly popular one-act opera *Le Devin du Village* (1752). If we look at these traditions of music, poetry, and communication on a macro-historical scale, the link between Rousseau's writings on music and French revolutionary musical practices becomes comprehensible.

In Rousseau's ideal society, music and language are not only intimately associated, but they also work to unify humans into a community. According to Rousseau, music "brings man together with man to a greater degree and always gives us some idea of our fellows [...] as soon as vocal signs strike your ear, they proclaim a being similar to yourself; they are, so to speak, the organs of the soul, and if they depict solitude for you, they tell you that you are not alone there." 36 In Rousseau's *Essay*, successful music is fundamentally social, and the modifier is not to be confused with civilized. These first societies were unified in purpose and in voice, and their natural communication was musical, rather than artistic. Rousseau bemoans modern politics in which "the subjects have to be kept scattered." 37 Implicit in this critique is the belief that modern politics, that is, absolute monarchy, can only function if the subjects are prevented from unifying and thus remain voiceless (un-unified

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36 "[...] rapproche plus l'homme de l'homme et nous donne toujours quelque idée de nos semblables [...] sitôt que des signes vocaux frappent votre oreille, ils vous annoncent un être semblable à vous, ils sont, pour ainsi dire, les organes de l'ame, et s'ils vous peignent aussi la solitude ils vous disent que vous n'y êtes pas seul." Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, 421. Scott, 326.

37 "Il faut tenir les sujets épars." Ibid., 428. Scott, 332.
voices merely create noise according to Rousseau). Rousseau insists, it is not that the French do not listen to one another's voices and cries, but that their language is not disposed to being heard. He states simply: "There are languages favorable to liberty," and he does not consider French one of them. Here we find a quintessential Rousseauean paradox: the French language is not particularly well suited to liberty, but it seems Rousseau conceived of his philosophy of music and politics against the backdrop of this Parisian singing scandal. The songs from the Affair of the Fourteen were a perfect combination of music and poetry, a combination that united people in a common will in search of a mutual moral purpose. Rousseau creates such paradoxes within his writing in order to establish the binaries that are so integral to his way of thinking.

Rousseau thrived on binaries between thought and lived experience, yet these binaries exist as two sides of the same coin. In his discussion of Rousseau's writing, Louis-Sébastien Mercier points out the writer's tendency toward paradox: "Never has a writer demonstrated that we can touch at once two points so distant, so opposing as the eloquence of passionate love, and that of the obscurely and profoundly political." In Rousseau's utopian musical society, music and language come together as one in order to express the passions of the soul. Rousseau took his dystopian experience of music in mid-eighteenth-century Paris, where French citizens sang in discord to communicate their frustrations, and

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40 "Il y a des langues favorables à la liberté," Ibid., 428. Scott, 332.
transformed it into his idealistic view of music's political role in a utopian society, in which citizens would sing in moral harmony. In short, when read through the *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, the Affair of the Fourteen represents a performed, dystopian reality of Rousseau's written, utopian reflection. In his critique of French music, seemingly constructed upon the impossibility of ideal music, Rousseau finds fertile territory for the imagination of an ideal musico-political community. A single common thread binds Rousseau's real dystopian and virtual utopian music cultures: musicians and musical scores remain conspicuously absent.

If Rousseau’s philosophy of music in politics does, in fact, stem from this pre-existing music practice, then we should be more inclined to substantially connect his philosophy of music to music’s fundamental role in the political culture of the French Revolution. Clearly, the Affair of the Fourteen did not foretell revolution in any way; yet, it did belie a nascent musical culture of performing opinion, idealized and re-written by Rousseau. The Affair of the Fourteen confirms that the social networks and performance techniques were already accessible in the Parisian repertoire in 1749 and therefore could be reincarnated through cultural and musical memory forty years later, in 1789.

1.2 Text: Chansonnier de la République, pour l’an 3è (1794)

A long tradition of popular tunes that circulated through Parisian society via chansonniers (previously, *noëls*) was already in place by 1749. As shown through the Affair of the

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43 Noëls were printed songbooks that began to circulate in the sixteenth century containing popular hymns and canticles, particularly those sung by Christians at Christmastime.
Fourteen, these tunes could be reused and recycled to fit changing social and political situations. This tradition did not merely persist, but actually thrived during the French Revolution. The dedication page of the *Chansonnier de la République, pour l’an 3è* (1794) announces its homage to "friends of liberty" and to four historical figures, all of them ancestors of the French Revolution who served or shaped *la patrie* "in different times:" Junius Brutus, Mutius Scévola, Guillaume Tell, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The brief elegy to Rousseau found in the introduction of the chansonnier describes him as a genius persecuted for the truth he spoke, preacher of "natural law" and carrier of "the torch of reason."

Rousseau proves the only dedicatee worthy of a song in his honor. "Couplets à J.J. Rousseau" (Figure 3) is set to a romance melody from Rousseau's apocryphal, posthumously published collection of romances and airs, *Les consolations des misères de ma vie* (1781). Unlike the melodies within the *Chansonnier de la République* that had to be written down for citizens to learn, Rousseau's melody proved sufficiently popular that it did not need to be notated within the chansonnier. French citizens would have already been familiar with the tune or it likely would have been printed. This romance was clearly chosen for a variety of reasons: Rousseau composed the original work, the melody is traditional-sounding and uncomplicated, and a close relationship exists between the old and new lyrics.

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45 "la loi naturelle […] le flambeau de la raison," Ibid.
The dedication of a chansonnier to Rousseau seems appropriate when considering his belief that music should be at the core of a democratic community. The chansonnier contributed to the maintenance of a common, uncomplicated musical vocabulary for festivals and patriotic gatherings, and enhanced feelings of unity and equality among citizens. Yet such texts had a pre-history, even before Rousseau's prescriptions for an accessible and democratic popular music. Such chansonniers already existed during the sixteenth century, and it was precisely these older songbooks that provided some of the popular tunes used to accompany poetry during both the Affair of the Fourteen and the French Revolution. This particular text materializes the interaction among Rousseau's experience of music in mid-eighteenth-century Paris, the oral history of his role as a founding father of the Revolution, and the unification of these two cultural artifacts into a symbol of the so-called new revolutionary political culture. Rousseau himself experienced, as exemplified through the Affair of the Fourteen, the Parisian practice of singing as a means of sharing political beliefs. Rousseau then became idealized as father of the new republic that sprang forth through the French Revolution. Revolutionary chansonniers and the veneration of Rousseau were portrayed as unique features of this new government. Despite these efforts to create
something completely different, Parisians only had past texts and performances to draw upon for inspiration and they continued to express themselves through this trans-historical repertoire, in fact the very same repertoire that Rousseau experienced as he wrote his *Essai sur l'origine des langues* and the *Lettre à d'Alembert*.

Implicitly, this chansonnier attributes both the philosophical and musical birth of the French Revolution to Rousseau. Rousseau's legacy melded music and citizenship into a symbiotic whole, each requiring the other. Although citizens knew of Rousseau through revolutionary rhetoric that circulated throughout Paris during the early stages of the Revolution, it remains very unlikely that those who performed from this chansonnier were aware of Rousseau's nuanced prescriptions for the ideal role of music in political culture. The *Essai sur l'origine des langues* (1781) did not circulate widely in France after its publication, or anywhere else for that matter, until the twentieth century. Nonetheless, when viewed through Rousseau's lens this chansonnier provided an opportunity for those who were not musically literate to perform and participate at patriotic gatherings meant to strengthen sentiments of *patrie*. Through the example of the Affair of the Fourteen, we see that French citizens already practiced oral transmission of public opinions through song. Rousseau, who rewrote mid-century performances in a utopian nature, became reintegrated into these practices once his revolutionary legacy became solidified.

1.3 Performance: Une Fête Révolutionnaire en l'honneur de Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Texts and musical scores of revolutionary repertoire provide testimony to what a revolutionary musical performance could have communicated and transmitted among
spectators and participants. A text entitled *Fête champêtre célébrée à Montmorency en l'honneur de J.J. Rousseau* recounts a festival given in honor of Rousseau on the 25th of September, likely in 1791,\(^4\) when the village of Montmorency erected a monument in the writer's honor. The small village just outside of Paris prided itself as the location where Rousseau lived when he wrote numerous famous works, including *Du Contrat Social* (1762). Typical of other festivals during the French Revolution, the proceedings of this particular festival were documented in a pamphlet published for a variety of purposes: to make the new government aware of the town's revolutionary activities, to record specific details of the festival, contributing to the new history of the Republic, and to make festival customs available to other villages so that they might emulate Montmorency's exceptional citizenship. As was the custom during revolutionary festivals, town members, public officials, soldiers, and artists gathered to read speeches, perform music, and celebrate a republican icon, in this case, Rousseau.

Striking similarities surface between this revolutionary festival in honor of Rousseau and the citizen celebration of the regiment of Saint-Gervais, quoted in the chapter opening. Tracy B. Strong identifies five elements of the Saint-Gervais public demonstration of citizenship that, for Rousseau, made it an ideal performance modeling commonality: formless dance resulting from music, a celebration of citizenship, female participation, loss

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\(^4\) In the article version of this chapter published in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 43 (2014), the year 1794 is given for the festival at Montmorency. The festival pamphlet, which had been missing its title page, states that the festival took place on September 25 during the "third year of liberty," but seemed to correlate to 1794. Recent recovery of the title page indicates that the pamphlet was printed in 1791. This renders the "third year of liberty" a perplexing date, as this would place "liberation" before the summer of 1789. Nonetheless, the document's publication in 1791 dates the festival to either 1790 or 1791, since the festival was certainly held in September and publication of its events likely would not have occurred more than a year after it took place considering the fast past at which revolutionary political culture changed.
of self-consciousness in favor of public identity, and focus on the present moment. The revolutionary celebration following the Montmorency festival in Rousseau's honor resonates with Rousseau's own description of the impressionable "bacchanalia of the political" he witnessed as a child:

Ces couplets [du Devin du Village] finis, la musique prit un caractère plus général; les airs consacrés par le patriotisme, donnerent le signal de la joie & des danses. La nuit qui s'approchait n'apporta point d'obstacles à ce plaisir, qui semble l'âme & le caractère des fêtes champêtres; des lampions posés dans les arbres, prolongerent la fête qui dura jusqu'à minuit.

At this revolutionary festival, the music drives the citizens' desire to continue celebrating and performing their public identity, living in the present moment without concern for the nearing midnight hour. The music's patriotism sparks these feelings and moves the participants to dance. The reference to "fêtes champêtres" invokes naturalness like that of Rousseau's ideal political culture in which music and language work to perform commonality among citizens. The citizens' actions do not result from civilization, but from an inner, visceral connection with the community and the moment. All of these features mirror those found in Rousseau's description of the spontaneous Saint-Gervais festival.

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49 Ibid., 123.
50 Anonyme, Fête champêtre célébrée à Montmorency en l'honneur de J.J. Rousseau : avec les discours qui ont été prononcés le jour de cette fête (1791), 35–36.
Rousseau's own musical composition, an air from *Le Devin du Village*, layers upon this Rousseauean ideal of musical performance when the festival participants sing new lyrics to a song composed by Rousseau (Figure 4). The timbre used is "Ici de la simple nature," from the vaudeville of Rousseau's one-act opera. By this point in the Revolution, vaudevilles had a long history as musical works that could be reused in a variety of situations and that demanded audience participation.\(^5\) We must wonder, then, whether Rousseau's music was employed in these festivals for its aesthetic appeal or for its association with Rousseau himself. From revolutionary chansonniers and festivals, it seems French taste in music had indeed decided in favor of the musical style Rousseau promoted throughout his life and works: simple melodies set to sparse harmonization, accessible to musicians and non-musicians alike, evoking affect and participation rather than awe. An added benefit was that Rousseau himself had written this music. Despite these correlations with Rousseau's musical preferences and compositions, in popular milieus such melodies had persisted since the seventeenth century, and it is unlikely that Rousseau imagined this music in isolation. Simply by crossing the Pont Neuf at any point during his time in Paris, he would have heard such

\[5\] See Schneider, n.46.
tunes. Rousseau contributed to this musical repertoire with his *Le Devin du Village* and the apocryphal book of romances, which contributed to the simple popular genres and styles of the mainstream Parisian musical scene.

The changes in song culture that occurred from 1749 to 1794 can be understood through the Affair of the Fourteen, Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, and this festival at Montmorency. Unfortunately, little evidence remains regarding the actual musical performances that must have been part of the Affair of the Fourteen. We do know two key facts: that this music was performed and that there was a tradition of street singing in eighteenth-century Paris. Citizens performed the Affair of the Fourteen songs enough for us to know, even centuries later, that the songs were widespread throughout the city. As mentioned above, Rousseau complains that his contemporaries, that is, mid-century Parisian citizens, were "kept scattered"—mid-eighteenth-century performances of dissident songs were clandestine and conspicuously undocumented. With changes that occurred through the Revolution, at least for a moment, street singing became a legitimate form of political activism, rather than a form of dissent to be hidden. After the Terror, the danger of unrest caused by singing became evident, and as an end result, authorities demanded that songs be performed in a controlled environment such as sanctioned festivals. Consequently, sung performances by the 1790s looked eerily similar to the ideal set forth by Rousseau: French citizens unified to sing common beliefs in supposedly spontaneous, natural festival settings. Yet these performances conflicted with the spontaneity prescribed by Rousseau because

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52 Darnton, 174.
revolutionary festivals became increasingly scripted as fear of violent outbreaks increased. Ironically enough, performances during the 1749 Affair of the Fourteen proved more spontaneous, and more in line with Rousseau's prescriptions, than the carefully planned revolutionary festivals that followed the Terror.

These two examples of text and performance from the Revolution exhibit the interaction of mid-century Parisian musical practices, Rousseau's written philosophy of music in politics, and the legend of Rousseau that became incorporated into the new political culture during the French Revolution. The chansonnier from 1794 materializes Rousseau's demand for music as a tool for creating community among citizens. The songs within the chansonnier are transparent because they are set to music that many citizens already knew through prior collective experience. The Parisian tradition of singing subjects and Rousseau's promotion of music as politics interweaves. The festival in Rousseau's honor exemplifies the writer's belief that appropriately patriotic music could move citizens to perform community and public identity. As shown by Darnton, performances of opinion already circulated, in some form, during the Affair of the Fourteen. Most significantly, both examples use music composed by Rousseau. Both the chansonnier and the festival evince Rousseau's material influence on the music performed and circulated during the French Revolution and his conceptual influence on the imperative relationship between music and democracy. It is this second, theoretical influence that the Affair of the Fourteen elucidates. The possibility for this influence can only be explained through the interaction between popular and intellectual experiences and practices over the course of the eighteenth century.
1.4 Musical Memory

As a leading figure of the Enlightenment long since credited in Mercier's memorable phrase as one of the "first authors of the revolution,"\(^\text{55}\) Rousseau's fingerprints are found on almost every aspect of the revolutionary enterprise, from the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* to the first Festival of the Federation. Because he suggested that man could go back to a pre-civilized state where democracy and common will ruled, some considered the Revolution to be Rousseau's own brainchild. Yet the question persists as to how Rousseau's philosophy of music and politics become articulated in revolutionary society so perfectly when citizens neither circulated nor discussed his *Essai sur l'origine des langues*. Enlightenment theories of music consistently intertwine with the political culture of the French Revolution, but rarely do we find the material evidence of how these lofty ideas trickled down to what Lynn Hunt has called the "politicized everyday."\(^\text{56}\) The mid-century Affair of the Fourteen illuminates this phenomenon of exchange. If the Affair of the Fourteen colored Rousseau's philosophy of music, we find a writer who mirrored and manipulated his own conception of a music culture back into his historical and cultural surroundings. Rousseau's writings were in fact derived from a mid-eighteenth-century Parisian musical practice that had existed during the pre-revolutionary period and culminated in festival practices of the French Revolution.

In 1749, Parisians added new verses to simple, traditional melodies to persuade one another subtly about a variety of political agendas. The critique put forth by these

\(^{55}\) Mercier, 1.

performances jibe with Rousseau's own criticisms of French society: a hyper-civilized government in which citizens remained physically alienated and voiceless. Rousseau implicitly identifies the physical alienation of subjects from one another and from their monarch when he critiques how modern politics kept them "scattered" and thus inarticulate. By the 1790s, particularly following the Terror, French citizens temporarily returned to a Rousseauean, pre-civilized state in which citizens had an ostensibly unified voice with which to express their love for la patrie and their commonality as its children. Since the musical culture of political expression, described by Rousseau in utopian terms, was already in place since at least the mid-eighteenth-century, the French public proved amply prepared to pick up the musical ideals of Rousseau when the opportunity presented itself during the French Revolution. This is not to say that the French Revolution was in the making by the late 1740s. Rather, the range of musical and political possibilities extant in 1749 Paris, first, made possible Rousseau's imagination of a more utopian use of music, and second, laid the foundation for the politically focused musical culture that so quickly developed during the 1790s. By connecting Rousseau's lived experience of music in 1749 Paris with his utopian writings on music within a political community, we find a bridge that connects intellectual music history to cultural music history. This relationship bears witness to the simultaneous persistence and transience of the archive and the repertoire in action, and more importantly, in interaction; a tradition that saw public opinion as part of popular musical performance was already available to Parisians by mid-century. Eventually enriched by new political beliefs and identities, it could easily be recycled and reintegrated into

57 See n. 37.
revolutionary political culture.

Rousseau erases musicians from his utopian community that depends upon music. The Genevan soldiers and families he depicts perform their own simple music that enlivens the celebration. Rousseau's depiction reflects the social position of musicians in mid-eighteenth-century France when he wrote the *Lettre à d'Alembert*. Philosophers and the public had usurped music for political purposes, leaving musicians as outsiders from their own practice. However, changes in French perceptions of music and musicians in addition to the social networking of musicians in late eighteenth-century France would usher musicians into a prominent position when French citizens took up Rousseau's repertoire through revolutionary festivals.
Chapter 2. French Music(ians) as Art(ists) from 1749 to 1789

Under the Old Regime, performing musicians were regarded as mere musical instruments, to be dumped in the same case after they had played their sonata.
—André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, De la vérité

During 1749, while songs from the Affair of the Fourteen circulated throughout Paris, Diderot sat imprisoned in Vincennes for his most recent attempt at sensationist theory, and Rousseau penned his first condemnation of hyper-civilized music, Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) enjoyed for a brief time the fruit of a career dedicated to the theory, practice, and pedagogy of music. Rameau had earned the respect of scientists with his theory of music—*basse fondamentale*. Despite the many convoluted elements of Rameau's explanation of fundamental bass, Diderot likely invited the composer-philosopher to contribute musical entries to the *Encyclopédie*. Yet, as men of letters and the buzzing public sphere mobilized

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1 "Sous l'ancien régime, les musiciens exécutans n'étoient guère regardés que comme des instrumens de musique, bons à déposer dans le même étui après qu'ils avoient joué leur sonate." André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, *De la vérité: ce que nous fûmes, ce que nous sommes, ce que nous devrions être* (Paris: Chez Ch. Pougens, 1801), 2: 6–7.
2 This refers to Diderot's 1749 *Lettre sur les aveugles à l'usage de ceux qui voient*, which resulted in his imprisonment as explained in Chapter 1. The treatise was a foray into sensationist theory, that is to say, an exploration of how knowledge is dependent upon the senses in general, and in this work, sight in particular.
3 Thomas Christensen explains the theory in *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 5–6:
   Rameau argued that all music is foundational harmonic in structure. Every harmony (or chord) is generated from a single fundamental (or what we call today a chord "root") in some consistent way. In the *Traité de l'harmonie réduite à ses principes naturels* (Paris, 1722), this way was monochord (string) divisions, while in later writings it was the acoustical phenomenon of harmonic upper partials generated by many vibrating systems (the *corps sonore*). By manipulating the various ratios and proportions of his monochord divisions and *corps sonore*, Rameau was able with more or less success to account for all of the harmonies commonly employed in French Baroque practice. Moreover, by reducing most chord-root motion to a simple cadential paradigm of a dissonant seventh chord resolving to a consonant triad, he was able to show how the succession of chord fundamentals imitated these same ratios and proportions. From this mechanistic basis, all other musical parameters—melody, counterpoint, mode, and even rhythm—could be seen as derivative. Thus, both the vocabulary and grammar of tonal music appeared to stem from the same natural numerical acoustical source.
4 Christensen explains this likelihood thoroughly, 213, particularly n. 13.
music toward political ends through both texts and performances, Rameau seems to have declined this prestigious offer and, instead, began to withdraw into the shelter of his life's work from which he would ultimately alienate nearly all of his philosophe allies, particularly Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783). As Thomas Christensen explains, "Towards the end of his life, Rameau appeared to abandon whatever scientific pretenses he had made on behalf of his theory and retreated to a virtual hermeticist metaphysics—astonishing and angering his erstwhile supporters with quasi-Rosicrucian writings displaying the most conspicuous mystical and pantheistic sympathies."6

In 1764, thinker and musician Michel-Paul Gui de Chabanon (1730–1792) eulogized Rameau. Chabanon's sympathy for Rameau likely stemmed from personal motivation. As a thinker, writer, and practicing musician himself, Chabanon problematized the philosophes-dominated perspectives on music that would become widely accepted in France, particularly through publications such as the Encyclopédie and Rousseau's Dictionnaire de musique (1768). Referencing Aristotle, Chabanon insists, "There is not a single art that the letters can teach us; we cannot instruct ourselves in the arts but through practicing them."7 Chabanon's philosophy of music subordinated reason (rational Cartesianism) to instinct (sensationist Newtonianism), and as a result advocated for musicians to pursue self-direction and respect in their profession. Chabanon had good reason for this agenda. Contrary to Christensen's assessment, Rameau's late-life intellectual evolution astutely combined scientific inquiry with

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5 For a detailed explanation of the dissolution of this friendship, see Christensen's chapter "D'Alembert."
6 Christensen, 13.
7 "Il n'est pas un seul Art que les Lettres nous enseignent; on ne s'instruit dans les Arts qu'en les pratiquant." Aristotle, "Livre 8," Politiques, quoted in Michel-Paul Gui de Chabanon, Observations sur la musique, et principalement sur la métaphysique de l'art (Paris: Chez Pissot, Père & Fils, 1779), 5.
an ontological understanding of sound that stemmed from the sociality of Masonic lodges.\(^8\) Chabanon continued this synthesis of science and the social toward a Newtonian approach to music.

As demonstrated by Grétry's blunt assessment in the above epigraph, the role of musicians in eighteenth-century French society had been ambiguous at best and disesteemed at worst. The *Encyclopédie* materialized this ambiguity and the interstitial socio-economic position of music(ians) as art(ists) in mid-eighteenth-century France. The word formations music(ians) and art(ists) mobilized throughout this chapter intentionally textualize musicians' pre-revolutionary social position. Interchangeable with and thing-like as their product, practitioners of music and their product/service teetered precariously among art, craft, and science in French Enlightenment writings of the second half of the eighteenth century. I mobilize these terms when I want to refer to both musicians and music as social categories that were established and transformed over the course of the late eighteenth century. The implication of this interstitial knowledge categorization was an interstitial social position and thus economic worth.

This chapter begins with the implications for music(ians) and art(ists) born of the *Encyclopédie* "Discours préliminaire," which I then support with Grétry's assessment of the pre-revolutionary socio-economic status of musicians. Finally, the interstitial status of music(ians) is put into conversation with the writings of Chabanon to demonstrate musicians' social maneuvering during the two decades leading up to the Revolution. Because Chabanon makes musicianship an issue of social esteem, he provides keen insight into the

social categories, grounded in Old Regime social structure and Enlightenment classifications of knowledge, which would transform during the Revolution.

2.1 Music(ians) as Social Category: Artist, Artisan, or Scientist?

The categorization necessary to organize a massive work such as the *Encyclopédie* forced its editors to consider taxonomies of social categories carefully in an unprecedented way. The exercise revealed a social hierarchy that ranked both knowledge and people.\(^9\) Music posed a challenge to the system the philosophes had designed to achieve logical classification. The fine and mechanical arts had only recently been pried apart,\(^10\) and thinkers were still negotiating where the various arts fell on a spectrum of knowledge. D'Alembert wrote the "Discours préliminaire" of the *Encyclopédie* in which he establishes that humans know the world through minds housed within bodies. That is to say, first, humans know themselves, and then, they acquire knowledge that results from their interactions with objects and experiences exterior to the body.\(^11\) D'Alembert cites two types of knowledge humans develop through interaction with exterior stimulants: direct and reflective. Direct knowledge exists objectively in nature and thus includes the natural and social sciences. D'Alembert includes math, logic, rhetoric, history, and geography as examples of direct knowledge.

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\(^9\) In "The Semblance of Transparency: Expertise as a Social Good and an Ideology in Enlightened Societies," *Osiris* 27, no. 1 (2012): 188–208, Thomas Broman has elucidated how theoretical knowledge in the medieval and early modern periods began to exist more to enhance the social status of experts rather than to provide guides to the practice of their arts and sciences, which at the time were one in the same. Eric Schatzberg argues that this division persists into the eighteenth century and even the present in his article "From Art to Applied Science," *Isis* 103, no. 3 (September 2012): 533.


\(^11\) As Christensen has pointed out, this position demonstrates more of a middle ground between Cartesianism and Newtonianism than previously acknowledged. While the logic inherent to Cartesianism must come into play in the analysis of sensuous experiences, the philosophes indeed tended toward a Newtonian emphasis on experience of the world through the senses.
Reflective knowledge requires the application of the mind to nature—liberal arts. While direct knowledge comes from the interaction of nature and human bodies, reflective knowledge comes from the application of human minds to imitate nature to produce similar effects.

D’Alembert therefore prioritizes the arts by their ability to imitate, which he identifies as their primary purpose. He distinguishes the fine arts as a subcategory of liberal arts because they exist to provide pleasure. He ranks painting and sculpture including architecture first, poetry second, and music third "because the opportunities for imitation are apparently so limited." He states that this limitation does not stem from music inherently, but from "a lack of inventiveness and imagination on the part of music's practitioners." Though d’Alembert concedes the potential of an attentive musician to "paint anything," he concludes, "After having made an art of learning music, one should make [an art] of listening to it." Thus, in the categorization of all human knowledge, music(ians) garner(s) the least prestige among art(ists), and worse, d’Alembert blames musicians for their own inferior status.

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12 This conception clearly came from the recent influential work of Batteux. For a recent perspective of the conception of the fine arts, and particularly music as imitative, see Mark Evan Bonds, "Expression," *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), especially 69–78.
14 Ibid.
15 "Il est vrai qu'un Musicien attentif à tout peindre, nous présenteroit dans plusieurs circonstances des tableaux d'harmonie qui ne seroient point faits pour des sens vulgaires; mais tout ce qu'on en doit conclure, c'est qu'après avoir fait un art d'apprendre la Musique, on devroit bien en faire un de l'écouter," *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, xi, University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2013 Edition), ed. Robert Morrissey, http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/.
This portion of the *Encyclopédie* demonstrates the profoundly interstitial social space of music(ians) occupied in eighteenth-century French thought. With their art conceptualized as imitative, musicians were constrained by language and metaphor because the public expected to hear music that enhanced a dramatic scenario or articulated a sentiment.\(^{16}\) Music in eighteenth-century France remained the handmaiden to the other arts, which were much more tangibly imitative, particularly because of the predominance of opera as the favored genre.\(^{17}\) Consequently, instrumental music remained less popular and unintelligible in France because it was considered "an imitation of an imitation, or in other words, its expression of the passions […] twice removed from the original."\(^{18}\) Because meaning in music was believed to come from its ability to communicate, particularly through a dependence upon words, instrumental music could not naturally express emotions. "The more closely music resembles the accents of passionate speech, the more vividly it imitates the emotions; herein lies its expressive power and meaning. This is a marked characteristic of French musical thought."\(^{19}\)

The physical placement of this aesthetic ranking within the text of d’Alembert’s "Discours préliminaire" belies the low status music(ians) held in the knowledge and social hierarchy of eighteenth-century France. Immediately following his conclusion on music—"one should make [an art] of listening to it"—d’Alembert acknowledges the challenges inherent in distinguishing between sciences and arts, particularly when it comes to

\(^{16}\) For a recent literature review of the intimate connection between music and language in eighteenth-century listening, see Bonds, "Expression," *Absolute Music*, especially 48–69.


\(^{18}\) Maniates, 129.

knowledge areas such as rhetoric, which require a certain amount of artistic flare. The nature of classifying knowledge leads d'Alembert to contemplate the social inequality taxonomies breed. Eric Schatzberg has elaborated: "Diderot and d'Alembert argued explicitly against the low status of the mechanical arts. Both men stressed that knowledge of the arts was embodied in artisans. As Diderot confidently proclaimed, 'Let us finally restore to artists the justice that is their due.'" But contrary to Schatzberg's assessment, William H. Sewell, Jr. has argued, "For Diderot, the wisdom of a mechanical art was embodied in its rules, not in the persons of its practitioners."

The distinction between the liberal and mechanical arts is absolutely central to the status of music, a member of the then-recent subcategory beaux-arts. In the "Discours préliminaire," music barely achieved inclusion among nature's imitators, the fine arts. When systematically categorizing knowledge, the philosophes realized how slippery the explanation of music had become. Rameau certainly exacerbated the problem. His theory of fundamental bass described music as the structuring of sound, a natural phenomenon, by pre-existing rules of nature. If melody derived from harmony, and harmony derived from sound ratios pre-existing in nature (the corps sonore), little artistic work remained for musicians to accomplish. Perhaps it was in walking up to this scientific line that Rameau ultimately resorted to the spiritualism that Christensen claims characterized his final years. As music

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20 Eric Schatzberg, "From Art to Applied Science," *Isis* 103, no. 3 (September 2012): 555–563. Diderot and d'Alembert were not the first to display sympathy or respect toward mechanical artists. As Schatzberg reveals, the idea of a dignity in mechanical artisanship reaches back into the medieval era, "Scholars [of the medieval and early modern periods] often conferred moral value on the mechanical arts as part of a Christian search for human perfection," 556.


22 See Christensen.
flirted with categorization as a science, it ranked interstitially among the sciences, liberal, mechanical, and fine arts.

Though Sewell argues that Diderot's claims should not necessarily be interpreted as a call to overthrow the Old Regime social hierarchy, the discussion of mechanical arts in the *Encyclopédie* was, according to Sewell, "pregnant with radical implications not only for the mechanical arts but for the entire social order."\(^{23}\) Sewell makes the important case for how the *Encyclopédie* conceptualized the dignity of labor that did not yield material property. In eighteenth-century France, privilege was characterized by socio-economic benefits associated with titles—for example, rights to land use, tax exemption, and venal offices. Titles were also a form of property. For workers who achieved a high status in their corporations, their work might also include material property such as a business. Yet the majority of workers only earned privilege or property through collective rights gained through participation in organized labor such as corporations or guilds. Diderot's argument suggests the abolishment of a social order based *solely* on property or privilege, and instead upon the dignity of labor. Similar to mechanical artists, musicians maintained a precarious living that lacked not only titles and property, but also the corporate privilege enjoyed by craftsmen. If the *Encyclopédie* rendered music(ians) interstitial as art(ists), it also contained potential for their future classification as either dignified mechanical artisans or expert professionalized scientists.\(^{24}\)

\(^{23}\) Sewell, 70.

\(^{24}\) Schatzberg claims that the result of Diderot and d’Alembert’s classifications was that: the mechanical arts were shorn of their creativity, becoming mere craft, bound by rule. The terms 'artist' and 'artisan,' used interchangeably in English through most of the eighteenth century, gradually grew distinct. The artist could make claims to middle-class status, but not the artisan. The new divisions in effect gutted art as a concept for understanding industrial technology and its relationship to new forms of natural knowledge. (559) Here, Schatzberg cites Larry Shiner’s *The Invention of Art: A Cultural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). Indeed, Shiner develops a paradigm by which the separation of artist and artisan in the eighteenth
2.2 Grétry's Revolution in Music(ians)

The only institutionalized form of music education in France before the Revolution were *maîtrises*, choir schools affiliated with churches. Privileged families afforded their children access to private music tutors, though it would be considered unseemly for children of such pedigree to pursue music as a profession. The École Royale de Chant et de Déclamation, founded in 1784 by François-Joseph Gossec (1734–1829), trained little more than a dozen pupils at any given time, both male and female, for singing roles at the Opéra. Musicians in eighteenth-century France worked across only a few institutions. Organists, serpent players, and composers worked in churches, other instrumentalists earned their livings as private instructors or by playing in one of the few theatre orchestras sanctioned by the monarchy or at the royal court. Official musical positions existed almost exclusively within the institutions of the church or the royal court. The structure of music as a profession in the Old Regime typified a patronage system, except absolutist France presented a far more centralized market than its European counterparts.

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Shiner and Schatzberg's astute analyses do not carefully consider the particular position of musicians, especially in regards to Rameau's forays into science. Along these lines, it seems that because of Shiner's pan-European and general fine arts approach, he fails to fully digest the specific case of musicians in eighteenth-century France. Additionally, he does not carefully distinguish between composers and other types of musicians: performers, teachers, music editors, instrument builders, etc. He nonetheless provides a useful framework for developing an understanding of the emergence of the nineteenth-century conception of the artist in general.

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In *De la vérité* (1801), André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813), a Liégeois opera composer whose works flourished in France during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, weighs in on "Ce que nous fûmes, ce que nous sommes et ce que nous devrions être" (What we were, what we are and what we should be). In solidarity, it seems, he refers to musicians in France as "we" throughout the text. Trying his hand at Enlightenment philosophe-style rhetoric, Grétry focuses upon "truth" and excuses the interference of his "composerly" hand into the realm of literature. Although his three-volume tract ranges in topics from public instruction to death, religion, and time, he addresses music and musicians specifically in the second volume of *De la vérité*. In it, Grétry provides a succinct summary of the socio-economic plight of musicians in Old Regime France and the professional changes fomented by musicians just before the French Revolution.

Grétry explains that musicians were viewed as mere servants under the Old Regime. He identifies the root of this inferiority not in philosophical classifications of knowledge, but in musicians' economic practices. Unlike painters who sold a canvas or merchants who sold tangible goods, musicians provided a supposedly intangible good, frequently paid through social niceties rather than monetary currency. Nobles fancied themselves benevolent to offer musicians a seat at a dinner table or ride in a carriage. If musicians could live vicariously through their patrons, they had no real need for paper money. Consequently, musicians remained impoverished as a professional class, often receiving payment in the form of social rather than economic currency. Grétry also blames musicians' impoverishment on men of letters who, in order to avoid seeming desperate, would not sell their writings directly, but leave the task of earning money to publishers. Grétry conceptualizes authors as an artistic analog to composers. While men of letters did not want to debase themselves by stooping to
a merchant-class activity of exchanging their product (writing) for money, then musicians needed to rise from servant to merchant class economic exchanges to break their dependence upon noble patronage, which resulted in the accumulation of mere intangible social capital.26

Unlike most artists, craftsmen, and merchants, musicians in France were not officially organized. Masonic lodges proved to be the only real form of self-directed social organization enjoyed by all musicians in eighteenth-century France. From the Middle Ages until the seventeenth century, musicians in Paris were organized into a guild called the Confrérie de St-Julien-des-Ménétriers, which incorporated musicians who played at diverse social events ranging from weddings to street performances. The group wielded considerable power and in 1668 attempted to include composers and keyboardists into their jurisdiction. The king's organists, lead by François Couperin (1668–1773) and backed by the king's authority, trampled the group in 1707. Their actions paved the way for the Académie Royale de musique to dominate as the primary institutionalized music organization in eighteenth-century France.27 Though guilds did persist for small pockets of musicians such as those who performed at social functions, instrument builders, and music printers, there was no organization that incorporated performers and composers.28

In eighteenth-century France, artists, tradesmen, and workers, participated in two forms of organization, better described as controls over art or trade standards: academies

26 Grétry, 2: 1–6.
and guilds or corporations. Académies, as defined by the Encyclopédie, were societies of men of letters concerned with the cultivation and advancement of the arts and sciences. The best known of these institutions was the Académie Française, which to this day vigilantly polices French language and culture. The Académie Royale de musique (for all intents and purposes, an expression interchangeable with the one "Opéra") did not truly function as an academy broadly defined. It primarily policed competition and repertory of drama and music. The Académie protected the crown's interests, not those of musicians who, by definition, should have constituted the institution. In some measure, the Académie achieved a similar outcome as craft and commerce corporations that regulated the mechanical arts. In addition, the Opéra's governance was extremely unstable during the entire eighteenth century.29 Guilds or corporations held monopolies over standards, methods, and volume of production. Though significantly weakened after their temporary disbandment in 1776, guilds and corporations still served as the linchpin of commerce in the mercantile economic system of pre-revolutionary France.

Despite new performance opportunities that developed for musicians outside the church and monarchy throughout the eighteenth century, the Parisian social elite benefited most from the rich musical life the city had to offer.30 The Concert Spirituel opened in 1724 as a concert series that would perform instrumental music and works with Latin texts during

29 In Staging the French Revolution: Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra, 1789–1794 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), Mark Darlow explains: Between the granting of Letters patent in 1669 and the beginning of the Revolution the [Opéra] saw a series of no fewer than twenty-nine changes of governance. Many of these were short-lived and tended to fall into one of several categories: directorial privilège, such as that granted to Lully in 1672, whereby a private individual acquired the sole right to the production of dramas in French (or other languages, according to the Permission text), set to through-composed music; or direction by one or several named entrepreneurs on behalf of the city of Paris, where the crown asked the city to award the directorate to a person they chose. (37)

30 See n. 27.
compulsory closure of the Opéra throughout Lent. In addition, the Concert des Amateurs (1769–1781), subsequently the Concert de la Loge Olympique (1781–1789), offered varied musical performances perhaps most famous for its commission of Joseph Haydn's (1732–1809) "Paris" Symphonies (1785–1786, nos. 82–87). Many Masonic lodges maintained an orchestra. In eighteenth-century Paris, musicians found more venues than ever to demonstrate their talents, though these performances were rarely accessible to the general public.

Grétry asserts that just before the French Revolution, a revolution occurred among musicians lead by the pioneering Joseph Bologne de Saint-Georges, know as the Chevalier de Saint-Georges (1745–1799). Grétry describes these changes much like any other revolution: a dismantling of systems that underlay prior abuses. He connects Saint-Georges' physical prowess as a fencer and his noble status as a chevalier to his ability to raise the status of musicians. Because Saint-Georges was at once privileged and underprivileged—a physically dominant man, but black; born of a noble white father, but a slave mother; a favorite of Marie-Antoinette, but ineligible to marry a white women because of his race—Saint-Georges' interstitial social category mapped onto that of eighteenth-century French musicians. Saint-Georges spent his life performing with and conducting musicians. Grétry identifies this as the reason for the swordsman violinist's sympathies toward the plight of French musicians. Grétry claims that in exchange for their counsel in musical matters, Saint-Georges gave musicians "virile" courage and set the standard for conductors as defenders of

their orchestras. Supposedly, musicians began to stand up to the ridiculing parterre, and the parterre in turn respected their courage and reason. In his account, Grétry aligns musicians with the socially underprivileged, a black man and the parterre, to emphasize the social revolution in which musicians took part before the Revolution of 1789, a Revolution that he implies musicians may have inspired.

Grétry recounts an anecdote that explicitly conveys his belief in musicians' integral role in the social and economic changes of the French Revolution, and particularly the influence of the Chevalier. Grétry describes a musical performance, likely held at a Parisian Masonic lodge. A nobleman seated just behind the orchestra continually ridiculed the corpulent musician seated in front of him for blocking his view. The following morning, the musician presented himself on the noble's doorstep demanding an explanation for the unacceptable behavior exhibited the previous evening. The musician insisted that the noble would not be welcome back among the musician's confrères, his comrades, without rectifying these insults. The noble balked that a man of the musician's lower class would argue with someone so far above his social standing. The musician retorted, "it would be much more degrading to your nobility if you would allow me to give you a commoner's correction."32 The noble had to choose between a fistfight on his doorstep or an honorable, though socially lopsided dual. The noble must have accepted the challenge to a dual, because Grétry claims that upon piercing the noble's arm in the Bois de Boulogne, the musician said to his social superior, "I do not wish to kill you, but only to give you a little lesson in social

32 Grétry, 2: 8.
While this anecdote may or may not be veracious, the story allows Grétry to articulate the role that musicians played in the uprooting of unequal social and economic hierarchies in Old Regime France before the Revolution. Moreover, he alludes to the social changes their collective efforts would foment during the revolutionary decade.

The popular performances of political opinion by the Parisian public, the taxonomies of knowledge created by the philosophes, and the everyday plight of musicians met in the late eighteenth-century writings of Chabanon. His commitment to uniting theory with practice, intellectual with popular, through the agency of musicians as experts and professionals, demonstrates conceptual changes that would figure integrally into the socio-economic changes musicians pursued during the Revolution. Chabanon articulated clearly the aesthetic consequences of the exclusion of musicians from both philosophical debates and popular music in eighteenth-century France, their exclusion from scenes like those discussed in Chapter 1.

2.3 Chabanon as Anti-querelliste

Unlike the philosophes, whose experiences of music came from attendance at court operas and their own theoretical conceptions of composition, Chabanon circulated and practiced among musicians for thirty years. He was mentored by Rameau as a young man and

33 Ibid.
34 "Après une si longue épreuve de nos opinions, n'avons-nous pas le droit de demander au Lecteur qu'il ne condamne pas précipitamment, & du premier coup-d'œil, ce qui, au bout de trente ans d'étude & observation, nous a paru vrai?" Michel-Paul Gui de Chabanon, Observations, vi. Although Rousseau was certainly a practicing musician, as both a music copyist and composer, his musical output was completed intentionally apart from the
performed in the Concert des Amateurs conducted by Gossec. Chabanon could be called an anti-querelliste. Though he never claimed such a title, this shorthand signals the counter-narrative Chabanon's œuvre provides against the querelles that constitute the accepted historical narrative of eighteenth-century French music.\(^\text{35}\) Chabanon's works expose the way that the querelles in France, the Querelle des Bouffons from 1752–1754 and Querelle des Gluckistes et Piccinistes from 1774–1779, largely ignored a social group that should have been central to such debates: musicians. The Querelle des Bouffons—a phenomenon that by now seems to have been exhausted in musicological research—transpired between the Italian taste of philosophes and progressives who championed French opera "as emblematic of cultural tradition."\(^\text{36}\) Elisabeth Cook's analysis of the mid-century querelle illuminates how music and politics were inextricably bound up with one another in eighteenth-century France: music was politics.\(^\text{37}\) As such, ownership over discourses about music tended to fall on philosophes

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\[^{\text{35}}\] Guertin (see n. 34); Ora Frishberg Saloman, Listening Well: On Beethoven, Berlioz, and other Music Criticism in Paris, Boston, and New York 1764–1890 (New York: Peter Lang, 2009); and Catherine Dubbeau, *De la poétique à l’esthétique: Imitation, beaux-arts et nature du signe musical chez Jean-Baptiste Dubos (1670–1742) et Michel-Paul Guy de Chabanon (1730–1792)* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Université Laval, Canada, 2002), have all dealt with Chabanon's philosophy of music in great detail. Here I am less concerned with recounting Chabanon's philosophy of music than I am with connecting his philosophy with his experience as a practitioner of music and with what might be called the activist agenda of his works.


and the "Parisian polite opinion" rather than musicians. As the previous chapter demonstrated, musical discourses and practices interwove symbiotically among philosophes and the polite public in a feedback loop that often bypassed practicing musicians. While thinkers and listeners debated the nuances of French and Italian melodies as a metaphor for monarchical authority and the Bull Unigenitus, musicians stood between the two parties like a child watching adults bicker above his head. French musicians were neglected in the 1770s querelle, as well, when the Parisian public debated whether the German or Italian styles of Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck (1714–1787) and Niccolò Piccinni (1728–1800) would usher in the artwork of the future. French composers were considered a creative dead end.

Chabanon sensed the implications of the interstitial categorization of music(ians) and of the common assumptions underpinning both querelles, which perpetuated this categorization. The querelles were firmly rooted in a belief that national styles not only existed, but also were in tension and competition with one another. They grappled almost exclusively with opera, assuming the eighteenth-century French ideology of the primacy of vocal music. Exclusively instrumental music, therefore, figured little into the debates. Their disregard for instrumental music rested upon a larger underlying assumption articulated in the Encyclopédie: music was an imitative art appreciated primarily through the mind's (l'esprit) recognition of the natural phenomena it sought to imitate. Since imitative art had identifiable parameters within which to judge its value, music was treated more as an objective rather than subjective

38 Darlow, *Dissonance*, 1.
39 On the nuanced political positions behind supporters of French and Italian opera in the *Querelle des Bouffons*, see Cook (see n. 37).
experience. Chabanon countered these querelle assumptions by claiming that the European nations shared a common musical style to which each nation contributed, that music was not necessarily imitative and thus instrumental music had a singular value among the arts, and that evaluating music was as much a subjective bodily experience as an objective intellectual one. This argument takes musical judgment away from philosophes and invites practicing musicians and practiced (not just public) listeners to enter the conversation—two groups who had been largely excluded from discourses on music during the eighteenth century.

Chabanon's works on music spanned the 1760s through '90s and appeared in various forms, including published texts in diverse journals, treatises, and speeches. His first significant work on music, Éloge à M. Rameau (1764), extols the composer's outstanding contributions to music, but also belies Chabanon's nascent philosophies of the art. In the same year, he published Sur le sort de la poésie en ce siècle philosophe, a polemical poem criticizing the negative effects of philosophy on the arts. Observations sur la musique, et principalement sur la métaphysique de l'art (1779) presents the first half of Chabanon's arguments regarding music, culminating in his expanded 1785 work De la Musique considérée en elle-même et dans ses rapports avec la parole, les langues, la poésie et le théâtre. The entirety of Observations is contained within De la musique, though many ideas from the 1779 work are more carefully developed in the 1785 publication. Chabanon's publications in contemporary periodicals and speeches offer fragments of the arguments he grapples with extensively in these two larger works. Chabanon finished his career, excluding a posthumously published work, with a speech to the National Assembly during the Revolution in 1791.

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40 On Chabanon and imitation see Guertin (see n. 34).
Chabanon identified a flourishing European musical style, likely rooted in his own study as a violinist as well as the significant amount of time he spent with performers in Paris. In *De la Musique considérée en elle-même*, Chabanon discredits nationalist interpretations of musical genius and changes the conversation from nationalist competition to European cosmopolitanism:

> In the state of civilization, and mutual communication among all the people of Europe, there exists for us a commerce of fine arts, of taste, of spirit, and of enlightenment, that causes an ebbing and flowing from one end of this continent to the other, of the same discoveries, the same principles, the same methods. In this free circulation of the arts, they all lose something of their indigenous character; they alter it by melting it with other foreign characters: Europe in this regard can be considered as a mother country, of which all the arts are concitoyens; they all speak the same language, they obey the same customs. 

Although Chabanon admits some nationalist influences upon the arts, he claims music as an exception because it is not actually imitative, as the French had so long believed. Since music does not seek to imitate its surroundings, he claims that it cannot articulate national traits nor be conditioned by national politics. This statement profoundly contradicts the political nature of music in France demonstrated in Chapter 1 and in Cook’s analysis of the *Querelle des Bouffons*, which both dealt exclusively with vocal music.

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41 "Dans l’état de civilisation, & de communication mutuelle où sont entre-eux tous les Peuples de l’Europe, il existe pour eux un commerce de beaux Arts, de goût, d'esprit, & de lumières, qui fait fluer & refluer d’un bout de ce continent à l’autre, les mêmes découvertes, les mêmes principes, les mêmes méthodes. Dans cette libre circulation des Arts, ils perdent tous quelque chose de leur caractère indigène; ils l’altèrent en le fondant avec d’autres caractères étrangers: l’Europe à cet égard peut être considérée comme une mère-patrie, dont tous les Arts sont concitoyens; il parlent tous la même langue, ils obéissent aux mêmes coutumes." Michel-Paul Gui de Chabanon, *De la Musique considéré en elle-même et dans ses rapports avec la parole, les langues, la poésie et le théâtre* (Paris: Chez Pissot, 1785), 96–97.

42 "L’Éloquence, la Poésie, le Théâtre, ont un rapport immédiat & nécessaire avec les mœurs, le caractère, les usages, le régime politique de chaque Nation…mais la Musique, qui ne peint ni les hommes, ni les choses, ni les situations, n’a pas les mêmes dépendances." Chabanon, *De la Musique*, 98–99. Here Chabanon disagrees with Rousseau, and most other of his contemporaries, on the related birth of music and language. He argues that because music is meant to express pleasure, and not passions as Rousseau would have it, then music does not and is not meant to articulate the same thoughts as language. This distinction between music and language allows music to be universal, rather than national, because it does not have spoken language—distinct to particular nations—as a basis.
Chabanon suggests instrumental music above politics and language. His description of how composers of instrumental music communicate with listeners foretells a sophisticated Romantic model of both composition and listening, a model he insists Rameau pioneered:

None of these foreign resources [found in vocal music] exist for the symphonist musician. [In instrumental music] no subject inspires and brings forth [the composer's] ideas, we do not know where he takes them from; from nothing he makes something, it is a creation proper. The motive once found, the composer is subjected to the absolute necessity of continuing it, without alteration to its character or its movements. He enunciates a great thought, it is a covenant taken up by those who listen: this primary idea [idée première] must become the generator of many others that belong to it without resembling it and which embellish it without obliterating it.

In a word, when one listens to purely symphonic music, the mind is not predisposed to any idea, nor the heart of any sentiment; trouble must entirely originate from the strength of the tones; in vocal [music] it is born of a thousand causes, and the music often but prolongs or augments it. \(^{43}\)

Thus, not imitative, music proves singular among the arts because it acts on living bodies without necessarily connecting to the mind or emotions via language and metaphor. Imitation, Chabanon argues, is only recognizable by human beings, yet music evokes a response from other sentient beings like dogs, elephants, and birds. He attributes this singularity to music's essence as an experience of movement in time and space, relative only to what precedes and follows each beat. \(^{44}\) Relating this argument to the actual practice of music he explains: "Imitation does not moderate at all in the creation of a prelude [on the

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\(^{43\text{Michel-Paul Guy de Chabanon, } Éloge à M. Rameau (Paris: L'imprimerie de M. Lambert, 1764), 22, emphasis original.}}\)

\(^{44\text{Chabanon, Observations, 33.}}\)
Chabanon advocates not a sensationist approach to musical listening, but a strictly sound-based form of understanding. He determines that only feeble minds cannot understand instrumental music because it "leaves [them] in suspense and worrying about the signification of what they hear."  

Chabanon champions instrumental music, but considers the most beautiful and pleasing instrument to be the human voice. The problem for Chabanon is that people misplace favor on its words rather than its sounds, as a conveyor of meaning as opposed to a medium of beauty. Inverting previous theories of the simultaneous birth of music and language he asserts:

Instrumental music necessarily preceded vocal; because when the voice sings without words, it is nothing more than an instrument. All philosophers, to present, have

45 "Une main habile qui prélude sur la harpe ou sur le clavecin, attache les oreilles les plus savantes. Mais l'imitation ne présidé en rien à la formation d'un prélude qui ne fait que parcourir successivement divers accords." Ibid., 30.
46 "Chaque son qui parle dépend de celui qui l'a précédé; & selon le rapport des sons qui se succèdent, ils prennent un caractère de douceur ou d'âpreté, de langueur ou de vivacité. Apprenons donc à ne point juger nos diverses sensations l'une par l'autre; & n'appliquons pas indistinctement à la Musique tout ce qui seroit vrait des autres Arts." Ibid., 34.
47 "La Musique purement instrumentale laisse leur esprit en suspens & dans l'inquiétude sur la signification de ce qu'ils entendent." Ibid., 46.
considered the vocal as preceding instrumental, because they consider words as the mother of song; an idea that we believe to be absolutely false.49 Chabanon fundamentally disagrees with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's theory that music and language developed from primitive people, but proposes instead that the voice expresses non-semantic pleasing sounds like a musical instrument.50 Chabanon negotiates his own philosophy of music with that of his role model, Rameau. The voice, as part of the corps sonore, is member of a range of musical instruments available to composers. Yet Chabanon does not reduce the composer's manipulation of the corps sonore to a science. Consistent with his mentor Rameau, Chabanon conceives of the corps sonore as both a natural and ontological phenomenon that can be approached scientifically, but more importantly, artistically and spiritually.51

As an example of this relationship between instrumental music, the voice, and sound, Chabanon cites Rameau's exceptional achievements in compositions for the harpsichord. Indeed, Rameau's compositions likely catalyzed Chabanon's keen interest in instrumental music.52 Rameau's harpsichord works had "a two-fold merit of being melodic pieces and performance pieces, a merit which few compositions unite."53 In other words, Rameau could

49 "La Musique instrumentale a nécessairement devancé la vocale; car lorsque la voix chant sans paroles, elle n'est plus qu'un instrument. Tous les Philosophes, jusqu'à présent, ont regardé le vocal comme antérieur à l'instrumental, parce qu'ils ont regardé la parole comme la mère du chant; idée que nous croyons absolument fausse." Chabanon, Observations, 56–57.
50 Ibid., 106.
51 See Burgess on the evolution of Rameau's thought on the corps sonore from scientific to ontological.
52 Jacqueline Waebber explains, "Chabanon's interest in instrumental music must certainly have come from his attendance to Rameau's works," in "Déconstruire Rousseau: Chabanon annotateur du Dictionnaire de musique," Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Génève: Droz, 2010), 4: 263.
53 "Le double mérite d'être des morceaux de Chant, & des Pièces d'exécution; mérite que peu de compositions réunissent." Chabanon, Éloge, 42. He bemoans the "empire of fashion" favoring international tastes, which excludes Rameau's harpsichord works from Parisian concert stages. He notes in particular the melody of "La Livri," from the Pièces de clavecin en concert (1741), "should be eternally felt by the ears of musicians." Rameau wrote the Pièces de clavecin en concert to demonstrate how one would transform a chamber work into a solo
make the harpsichord sing, or embody within the harpsichord the instrumental quality of the
voice void of semantic meaning that Chabanon prized. Chabanon subsequently discusses
Rameau's theory of fundamental bass, describing the composer like a tinkering scientist who
discovered and explained facts of nature from his laboratory. In the harpsichord works,
Chabanon offers a tangible example of Rameau perfectly balancing Enlightenment reason
with artistic genius. Despite the science of harmony, melody remained within the realm of
the artist. Chabanon mobilizes this assertion to weigh in on whether composers' work was
that of the artist, artisan, or scientist.

Chabanon, in agreement with Rousseau, credits melody not to the science of
harmony, but to the art of genius. Moreover, for Chabanon melody constitutes
compositional as well as performative style.\textsuperscript{54} This deft inclusion of both composers and \textit{les
musiciens exécutans} (performers) grants genius to all musicians. Who would ask a painter,
Chabanon ponders, to render the harmony of a beautiful concerto using a brush. "Painting
in music," he says, "is singing, and without melody there is no music."\textsuperscript{55} Beautiful melody
requires a genius in both its composition and its execution. In this early work on Rameau,
Chabanon avoids alienating readers who cling to art as imitation by examining his argument
through the contemporary perspective that music is a way of painting in sound. He attempts
to demonstrate the absurdity of discussing music in terms of the other arts by applying such
metaphors to the other arts. If we must liken music to painting, then melody (for

\textsuperscript{54} Chabanon, \textit{Observations}, 147. Chabanon also attributes "style" not just to composers creating melodies, but
also to performers executing melodies: "Le Compositeur & l'exécutant réunissent pour un même effet toute la
magie de leur style. L'un comme Pigmalion, modèle la Statue; l'autre, comme l'Amour, la touche & la fait
parler" (151).

\textsuperscript{55} "Peindre en musique, c'est chanter, & sans mélodie point de musique." Chabanon, \textit{Éloge}, 27.
instrumental music, motive) is its most crucial element.\textsuperscript{56} Although melody "arranges the material that harmony provides it,"\textsuperscript{57} "harmony is tributary and subject of melody; it should never dare to avow to be the one who commands."\textsuperscript{58} He authoritatively concludes his first large scale work on music subjecting harmony to melody: "that this truth be the first and the last of all that we have established."\textsuperscript{59}

Though Chabanon's argument for the primacy of melody seems lifted from Rousseau's \textit{unité de mélodie}, and indeed this must have influenced Chabanon,\textsuperscript{60} he has his own ideological battle to wage through this concept. For Chabanon, the composer is not a scientist who plans a succession of sounds mathematically guaranteed to please the listener. Melody is the crucible of artistic genius where neither scientist nor philosopher could venture. The musician creates beauty from nothing. Sound, for Chabanon, is not merely a pre-existing natural material to be molded through rules, but a medium through which artistic genius is made manifest. Divorced from imitation and language, music stands apart from the direct and reflective knowledge of the \textit{Encyclopédie}. Unable to be confined within rigid, rational taxonomies of knowledge, music, according to Chabanon, is rendered utterly singular. d’Alembert serves as Chabanon’s straw man:

If [d’Alembert] had practiced this art [music], he would have likely introduced into harmony chords that are not admitted. I will ignore whether these are mathematical combinations that have caused the birth of such a conjecture in the mind of this Savant; but, had he composed in music, he would have believed the testimony of his

\textsuperscript{57} "C’est elle [la mélodie] qui arrange les matériaux que l'harmonie lui fournit." Chabanon, \textit{Observations}, 211.
\textsuperscript{58} "L’harmonie est tributaire & sujette de la mélodie; elle ne doit rien oser que de l’aveu de celle qui lui commande." Ibid., 215.
\textsuperscript{59} "Que cette vérité soit la première & la dernière de toutes celles que nous devons établir." Ibid.
\textsuperscript{60} See Waeb on Chabanon annotating Rousseau (see n. 50).
senses, more than that of his mind and his knowledge; he would have done what all European musicians do. Seduced by speculation, had he dared to cross the boundaries that usage had traced and that the sense of the ears has acknowledged, he would have heard the voice of nature that would have cried to him, *stop*; he would have taken a step back.\(^6^{1}\)

Here, Chabanon's hypothetical scenario of d'Alembert as composer calls to mind Rameau's own step from the science of music to music as a spiritual endeavor that ordered nature.

In a satirical poem on the "Condition of poetry in this philosophical century," Chabanon articulates his position regarding the battles waged among philosophes on the *beaux-arts*, in general, and music, in particular. He expresses the concern that reason and science have frozen the soul, exchanging method for instinct,\(^6^{2}\) rules and measurements for the heart.\(^6^{3}\) Nature, he insists, holds the key to the arts and genius, so taste, sentiment, and passion should guide assessments of the arts, not contemplation of the rules.\(^6^{4}\) Dichotomizing the mind (*l'esprit*) and soul (*l'âme*), he prescribes a sensuous use of artistic genius, while still maintaining respect for intellectual achievement. Chabanon concludes that reason can be nourished without harming sentiment, so "the century rich in philosophy would also become the century of arts and genius."\(^6^{5}\) He takes this proposal further in *Observations sur la musique, et principalement sur la métaphysique de l'art* (1779), noting the

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\(^{61}\) "S'il avoit pratiqué cet Art, il auroit vraisemblablement introduit dans l'harmonie des accords qui n'y sont pas reçus. J'ignore si ce sont des combinaisons mathématiques qui ont fait naître dans l'esprit de ce Savant une telle conjecture; mais, s'il eut composé en Musique, il auroit cru le témoignage de ses sens, plus que celui de son esprit & de son savoir; il auroit fait ce que font tous les Musiciens de l'Europe. Séduit par la spéculation, s'il a vosé franchir la limite que l'usage a tracée, & que le sentiment de l'oreille a fait reconnaître, il auroit entendu la voix de la nature qui lui eût crié, *arrête*; il eût fait un pas en arrière." Chabanon, *La musique considérée*, 351–352.


\(^{63}\) Ibid., 9.

\(^{64}\) Ibid., 11.

\(^{65}\) "Le Siècle fortuné de la Philosophie | Est le Siècle des Arts & celui du Génie." Ibid., 16.

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"servitude" to which music had been held for so long in France. He argues to return the arts to artistic instinct: "The philosophical mind, applied to the fine arts, could play but a secondary role: the primary role belongs to creative instinct." Chabanon notes Louis Bertrand Castel's ocular harpsichord, an attempt to create music for the eyes by corresponding the seven notes of the diatonic scale to the seven colors of the rainbow, as the incarnation of the absurdity born of subordinating music to science and to the other arts.

Uniting reason, science, and art into one musical genius, Rameau represents for Chabanon the solution to the interstitial Enlightenment existence of music(ians) because of the "two men manifested in him; one a prolific musician and man of genius, the other an artist-philosopher, and man of genius still." While Rameau and his theories challenged the philosophes' categorization of knowledge, he also provided Chabanon with an ideal type musician-philosophe. Moreover, Rameau's "theory is perfectly justified by practice." It was precisely an understanding of practice that the philosophes lacked in their assessments of music. Chabanon hoped to return the theories of music to their rightful owners, those who practiced it. Rameau's treatises radically improved the theoretical conceptions of harmony by aligning music theory with the bodily movements necessary in performing at the harpsichord. Rameau placed the theory and mind involved in expert listening and

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66 Chabanon, Observations, ix.
67 "L'esprit philosophique, appliqué aux beaux Arts, ne peut jouer qu'un rôle secondaire: le premier rôle appartient à cet instinct créateur." Chabanon, Observations, 3, and reappears in Musique considérée en elle-même, 347. He continues in De la Musique, "le premier rôle appartient à cet instinct créateur, dont l'esprit n'est qu'un foible disciple condamné à ne savoir que ce qu'il apprend de son maître." He includes this chapter regarding philosophy applied the fine arts completely in Musique considéré, but places it toward the end of the 1785 work as Chapter 7 of Part II.
68 "Deux Hommes se montrent en lui; l'un Musicien fécond & Homme de génie; l'autre Artiste Philosophe, & Homme de génie encore." Chabanon, Éloge, 43.
69 "Cette théorie est parfaitement justifiée par la pratique." Ibid., 48.
70 Christensen quotes Laurent Gervais, Méthode pour l'accompagnement du clavecin (Paris, 1733) on this issue.
performance back into the human body and soul, where Chabanon located the nexus of musical experience.

Chabanon's belief in the subjectivity of musical listening and performance runs throughout his works. He even uses the term "interprétation" when discussing instrumental music in the 1770s. Chabanon reasons that if man is born to experience sound as a pleasurable sensation—like good food to the mouth or flowers to the nose—then there should exist no need for philosophers to theorize something that exists in material reality, available to all sentient beings. There exists only a need for geniuses to create these pleasurable experiences and for people to appreciate them. Music, in his rendering, is the most approachable art because people can understand it without much training, though they might appreciate music for different reasons than a practiced listener. Some people "want nothing but to find in song a distraction sweet to their occupations."

Not only does Chabanon want to reunite the theory and practice of music in the body of the musician, but also he willingly grants the public a right to hold opinions on

It was not very long ago that a means was found to reduce accompaniment to certain principles. Those that were previously followed proved to be so confusing and often unreliable that one's attention was perpetually shackled. It was necessary to recall all the rules by which a bass could form different progressions. The student was always struggling, and only after a number of years of work could he attain a modicum of confidence, more from the habits of the ear than from well-established principles [...] It was left for someone to simplify practice by reducing the large number of chords to a few that are easy and familiar from the first lessons. This is was M. Rameau did in his learned Traité de l'harmonie with basse fondamentale. (6)

71 In particular, see Chabanon, Observations, 68–70. He argues further in the text: "Toutes les Nations n'ont pas la même idée de la beauté […] Certainement on ne sauroit rendre raison de ce qui constitue la beauté," 171–172.
72 In Chabanon's "Sur la musique, à l'occasion de Castor" published in the Mercure de France (avril 1772), 162, In "Chabanon annotateur de Dictionnaire de musique," Waeb er argues "the term 'interprétation' invites a more subjective (but also more debatable) reading of musical meaning," 265.
73 "[Il] ne veulent trouver dans le chant qu'une distraction douce à leur occupations," Chabanon, Observations, 194.
music. One of his chapters asks, "Do the arts gain or lose in being rendered popular?" Following his argument through to its logical end, he decides that what the masses understand most in music is an "agreeable melody," and thus music "has but to gain in being rendered popular." This is not to say that composers should write for the masses, but that "a work that pleases musicians, will sooner or later please the public." Who else, Chabanon asks, "outside of those who, all their life, have performed music" has a right to submit judgment on the art? Thus, Chabanon purports that musicians should follow their good, practiced instincts, which the public will sooner or later follow because musicians know their art best.

Already in 1764, Chabanon provides a small glimpse of the profound new ideas his work would suggest. In the Éloge de M. Rameau, Chabanon provides a single example that encapsulates all the interventions his work would make in French philosophies of music. He claims that Italians spontaneously dance in popular contexts to instrumental versions of operatic music composed by Rameau. This seeming absurdity transitions into a unique argument about instrumental music and imitation, integral to the assertion that national distinctions do not exist in music. Rameau's operatic compositions, rendered instrumental, appeal to foreign tastes out of its national context. If Rameau's operatic music, without the direction of words, moves Italians to dance, then it must have some intrinsic value distinct from enhancing a dramatic scenario and particular to imitative associations. This sensuous

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74 "Les Arts perdent-ils ou gagnent-ils à se rendre populaires?" Ibid., 195. This chapter is also included in De la Musique.
75 "L'ouvrage qui plaît aux Musiciens, plaira tôt ou tard au public." Ibid., 203, emphasis added.
76 "Hors ceux qui, toute leur vie, on exécuté de la Musique, il est peu d'hommes en état de subir l'épreuve que nous proposons." Ibid., 390.
77 "Est-il nécessaire de rappeller qu'en Italie on danse sur les airs de M. Rameau? Mais, nous dit-on, c'est qu'on dédaigne d'y en faire […]" Chabanon, Éloge, 20.
relationship between popular, foreign bodies, and French instrumental music summarizes Chabanon's philosophy. At the nexus of these philosophical arguments lies Chabanon's activist agenda: practicing musicians must be regarded as experts in their field that listeners will naturally follow. His example of Italians dancing to Rameau's opera proves the universality of his argument.

Although Chabanon gives musicians ownership over their product, he still does not find in them the philosophical spirit that Rameau embodied and that Chabanon admired. Chabanon aimed to take music out of the hands of the philosophes. Still, he desired a certain level of intellectual reflection on the part of professional musicians. The "Réflexions préliminaires" of his *De la musique* ends with tangible advice to musicians who hoped to enjoy social mobility. It is worth quoting at length to understand the specific attention Chabanon gives to the relationship between musicianship, social class, and philosophy:

> It is hoped that [musicians] add, to the practice of their art, other kinds of knowledge, and an observational mind that liberates them from the routine of prejudices. I know, and I will say during the course of this work, that any man born for a talent, has in him an inner awareness, that almost always surely guides him. But this instinct clarifies itself through reflection. Besides today all the arts fall under the jurisdiction of the tribunal of the mind. It has so to say appropriated this supremacy. The mind, unable to properly judge the process of each art in particular, is a competent judge of their mutual alliances. It becomes a means of expression and a negotiator between these powers.

Musicians, in taking care to acquire accessory knowledge, and even foreign to their principal talent, will attract to themselves and their profession a greater consideration and they will habitually reap its fruits in the society where their talents are desired. Painters in this regard seem to me to have a great advantage. We found often among them men instructed in history, theatre and poetry. Also, while the talent of the brush is solitary, a talent of the study room and the workshop, it is not rare that those who practice it with success are admitted and sought out in society. That musicians would seek this honor, make for their inspiration the decency of morals and the dignity of the soul, the only that should be sought. Perhaps this would bring about the accomplishment of the views that I propose, to add something more to the wise establishment that we have just created in favor of music. Why not erect it
completely as an Academy, assigning assembly days, when we would read memoirs, works relative to this art? Thanks to these sessions, musicians would naturally find themselves closer to Men of Letters, in whom they should seek enlightenment, that they would reverse in them, every time it will be about the mysteries proper to music. May this association could be implemented, and may it produce the happy effects that I imagine for it! May the work that I publish would be agreeable (I dare not say useful) to professional musicians, a class of men, toward which my taste took so early, and with whom my esteem and my affection has almost never found ungrateful; a rare homage no doubt, and that, because of its rarity, I feel authorized to render it public.  

If musicians would reflect on the nature, theory, and aesthetics of their art and share these reflections with other learned men, perhaps they would garner the respect earned by painters in French society.

By liberating music from language, imitation, and philosophy, Chabanon attempted to raise the social status of musicians by asserting their independence as artists. His work argues for democratized musical enjoyment with musical authority placed in the hands of professional musicians, a class of men, toward which my taste took so early, and with whom my esteem and my affection has almost never found ungrateful; a rare homage no doubt, and that, because of its rarity, I feel authorized to render it public.

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"Il est à souhaiter qu'ils ajoutent, à la pratique de leur Art, d'autres connoissances, & un esprit d'observation qui les affranchisse de la routine des préjugés. Je sais, & je le dirai dans le cours de cet Ouvrage, que tout homme né pour un talent, en a le sentiment intérieur, qui le guide presque toujours sûrement. Mais cet instinct s'éclaire par la réflexion. D'ailleurs aujourd'hui tous les Arts ressortissent au tribunal de l'esprit. Il s'en est comme arrogé la suprématie; & cet empire n'est point une usurpation. L'esprit, inhabile à juger sainement des procédés de chaque Art en particulier, est juge compétent de leurs alliances mutuelles. Il sert de truchement & de négociateur entre ces puissances.

Les Musiciens, en prenant soin d'acquérir des connoissances accessoires, & même étrangères à leur talent principal, attireront sur eux, sur leur profession, une considération plus grande, & ils en recueilleront habituellement les fruits, dans la société où leur talent les fait désirer habituellement. Les Peintres à cet égard me paraissent jouir d'un grand avantage. On trouve souvent parmi eux des hommes instruits de ce qui concerne l'Histoire, le Théâtre & la Poésie. Aussi, quoique le talent du pinceau soit un talent solitaire, un talent de cabinet & d'atelier, il n'est point rare que ceux qui l'exercent avec succès, soient admis & recherchés dans la société. Que les musiciens ambitionnent cet honneur, fait pour leur inspirer la décente des mœurs & la dignité de l'âme [âme], la seule qui soit à rechercher. Peut-être seroit-ce concourir à l'accomplissement des vœus que je propose, que d'ajouter quelque chose encore au sage établissement que l'on vient de faire en faveur de la Musique. Pourquoi ne pas l'ériger complètement en Académie, en lui assignant des jours d'assemblée, où on lirait des Mémoires, des Ouvrages relatifs à cet Art? Au moyen de ces séances, les Musiciens se trouveraient plus naturellement rapprochés des Gens de Lettres, en qui ils doivent chercher des lumières, qu'ils reverseront sur eux, toutes les fois qu'il s'agira des mystères propres de la Musique. Puisses cette association s'effectuer, & produire les heureux effets que j'en prévois! puisse l'Ouvrage que je publie être agréable (je n'ose dire utile) aux Musiciens de profession, classe d'hommes, vers qui mon goût m'a porté de si bonne heure, & chez laquelle mon estime & mon affection n'ont presque point trouvé d'ingrats; éloge rare sans doute, & que, par sa rareté même, je me crois autorisé à rendre public." Chabanon, *De la Musique*, 21–24.
practicing musicians, rather than philosophers. Both Chabanon and Grétry demonstrate that musicians were particularly social with one another, but Chabanon saw a need for musicians to reach out into other social networks—to *hommes des lettres* and other artists—in order to bolster the social advances they had already made in regaining ownership over their practice. Chabanon continues a tradition that began with Rameau's combination of Masonic philosophies and sociality with musical composition. In 1785, the best institutionalization Chabanon could imagine came in the form of an Academy like the other arts and letters. The horizon of possibility for musical institutions would change drastically four years later during the profound socio-economic upheaval caused by political revolution.

Chabanon gave his final public address in 1791 to the newly formed French National Assembly, two years into the Revolution. In the address, Chabanon carefully navigates new anti-corporate discourses and continues to support academies. He insists that academies, if voting were made more public and age limits were created for admittance, could not merely save, but regenerate the French language. Though the address only explicitly considers two literary academies—the Académie Française and the Académie des inscriptions—the speech echoes his 1785 argument for an academy of musicians. At the end of the 1780s, musicians were poised to recapture their profession from politics, until everything became political with the French Revolution in 1789. Fortunately, musicians had been practicing a kind of informal politics throughout the entire second half of the eighteenth century, which easily translated into the revolutionary decade. Musicians mobilized this pre-revolutionary

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79 See Burgess.  
80 Michel Paul Gui de Chabanon, *Adresse à l'Assemblée nationale au sujet des Académies* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1791). The only copy of this address is located at F-Pn.  
experience to their advantage. Thus, they were able to create the institutions called for but unimaginable to Chabanon in 1785.

In eighteenth-century France, both philosophers and the public had expropriated music for politics. Musicians who performed among intimate social groups in Masonic lodges and salons rarely forayed into the arenas that had colonized their art. Yet Grétry articulates a power and courage that developed through this clandestine comradery. Chabanon believed that for musicians to reclaim music, they would have to institutionalize this informal organization to compete with other *hommes des lettres* who maintained authority in the formal structure of academies. Organization as a corporation or guild would undermine their status as artists. A class of professional musicians began to emerge in the interstices of Old Regime social and intellectual hierarchies. When the Revolution began during June and July 1789, musicians occupied a social, economic, and intellectual position, cultivated during the second half of the eighteenth century, that allowed them to capitalize upon the political, but more importantly social and economic upheaval of Revolution, and profoundly change the course of musical production and practice in France.
PART II: The French Revolution

Let's not prejudge anything before knowing whether men of letters will abandon me to my only zeal, to the zeal of a musician who takes the cause of an art of which, ordinarily, we write little or nothing, of which consequently it is as easy as it is frequent to be attacked without finding defenders; if the writers abandon me to my efforts alone, then allow yourself to be flattered in advance with the hopes of triumph and I will contain myself to my DO, RE, MI, FA, SOL.

—Jean-François Lesueur, Lettre en réponse à Guillard

Chapter 3. A Topography of Social Networks in the Emergent Professional Class of Musicians

According to Michel-Paul Gui de Chabanon (1730–1792), a social element was at work among late eighteenth-century French musicians; an element that had its origins in the exclusive pre-revolutionary circles that he hoped musicians would open to other artists and thinkers. Private spaces such as Masonic lodges, subscription concerts, and salons granted social spaces for Parisian musicians to develop a collective professional identity. Despite revolutionary rhetoric of spontaneous organization and patriotic motivations behind the formation of the Paris Conservatoire in 1795, the relationships among musicians who succeeded professionally during the Revolution belied pre-revolutionary intimacy and intrigue. These relationships would become institutionalized during the Revolution, offering musicians the professional agency for which Chabanon had called in 1785. Individual musicians benefited unequally from these collective developments depending upon where

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1 "Ne préjugeons rien avant de savoir si les gens de lettres ne m'abandonneront point à mon seul zèle, au zèle d'un musicien qui prend la cause d'un art où, pour l'ordinaire, on écrit peu ou point, où conséquemment il est aussi facile que fréquent d'être attaqué sans trouver de défenseurs; si les écrivains m'abandonnent à mes seuls efforts, alors permis à vous de vous flatter d'avance de l'espoir du triomphe et je me renfermerai dans mon UT, RE, MI, FA, SOL." Jean-François Lesueur, Lettre en réponse à Guillard sur l'opéra de la Mort d'Adam, dont le tour de mise arrive pour la troisième fois au Théâtre des Arts; et sur plusieurs points d'utilité relatifs aux arts et aux lettres (Paris: Imprimerie de Baudoin, 1801), 24, emphasis original.
they fell in the social network of professional musicians. This chapter maps relationships among musicians from the 1780s to 1804\(^2\) to elucidate the social dynamics that constituted an emergent professional class of musicians during the revolutionary decade.

I begin at the epicenter of this social network, tracing relationships from Bernard Sarrette (1765–1858), the ironically—though not surprisingly—non-musical center of this emergent professional class of musicians. The next section of this chapter traverses this social space from epicenter to margins through the peculiar case of keyboardist, composer, and pedagogue Hélène de Montgeroult (1764–1836). I then remain with musicians on the margins of this network who were no less active in supporting one another's professional efforts. Finally, I explore aesthetic and social ruptures across this social space through the final musical battle of the Revolution between prominent Conservatoire faculty members Sarrette and composer Jean-François Lesueur (1760–1837). During the transition from Republic to Empire, Conservatoire colleagues divided into vehement ideological factions, resulting in setbacks to the advances the emergent professional class had made over the course of the Revolution.

3.1 The Epicenter: Bernard Sarrette and the Conservatoire

Details about the life of Bernard Sarrette, founder of the Paris Conservatoire, come exclusively through the careful archival work of Constant Pierre (1855–1918), a French musicologist whose works persist as the authoritative work on the institution during the

\(^2\) I use this date as it marks the crowning of Napoleon as emperor and also significant reorganization of musical institutions due to this political change.
French Revolution. Very little is known of Sarrette's early life. He boasted no musical training and likely served as an accountant for the Garde Nationale when the French Revolution began to take root in June 1789. His name appears on two documents from that period supporting both republican reform and the king. Sarrette, as the epicenter of revolutionary musicians, poses a critical problem in reconstructing the pre-revolutionary social networks of revolutionary musicians because no documentation substantiates his pre-revolutionary activities. According to official documents liquidating Sarrette's retirement, his involvement with musicians began when he formed a regiment of 150 soldiers, among whom many were musicians, on July 13, 1789 (the day before the storming of the Bastille) in the Paris district Filles-Saint-Thomas. The subsequent development of this core group of military musicians into the Institut national de musique and then the Paris Conservatoire, with Sarrette as its founder and director, will be further explored in Chapter 4. For now, it suffices to state that Sarrette made the remainder of his career after 1789 as a leader of musicians, advocating for musical institutions, weighing in on music curricula, and arguing for particular aesthetic visions both within the Conservatoire and throughout France.

Sarrette, as the non-musical center of an emergent professional class of musicians, maps onto the Rousseauean conception of simple, accessible music. As explained in Chapter 1, Rousseau's philosophy of music called for musical performance as integral to political life, a political life grounded in participation. This musico-political vision came to life through

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4 Constant Pierre, *Bernard Sarrette*, 13, n. 3.
festivals and songbooks during the Revolution. The Conservatoire became central to organizing music for these festivals and publishing didactic musical works. Sarrette, as the leader of this musical institution, represented the Rousseauan ideal of a musical tradition that did not require convoluted musical notation or technical skill, only an understanding of how music constitutes community.

Chabanon's 1780s critique of musicians' social insularity renders unexpected the immediate integration of Sarrette as a leader among musicians. But the relationship among musicianship, the military, masonry, and male friendship, in Enlightenment France contextualizes this scenario. Masonic lodges provided a private social space that musicians increasingly frequented in Paris during the second half of the eighteenth century. Most lodges maintained orchestras, and so musicians were welcomed as adopted members. A strong connection also existed between free masons and the French army, or nobles d'épée (nobles of the sword), under the reign of Louis XVI (1774–1792). Jean-Luc Quoy-Bodin has shown how the military became "ideal terrain" for masonry during the eighteenth century because the organization of the two institutions mapped onto one another seamlessly in bureaucracy, discipline, and hierarchy.

Music served as an integral organizing feature of the discipline and ritual of both Masonic lodges and military regiments. Masons and the military emphasized harmony as

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5 See Chapters 4 and 5.
8 On music and the military in early modern France see Kate van Orden, Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
both a conceptual and material form of organization, simultaneously hierarchical and
egalitarian. Quoy-Bodin questions the extent to which masonry promoted equality because
the internal social order of lodges was intimately bound to the nobility and the military, both
of which upheld the social status quo. He goes on to assert that relatively few militaires maçons
believed in overthrowing the Old Regime social hierarchy during the Revolution, and that
many of its members ultimately rallied around the new ruling elite of the Empire, specifically
Napoleon Bonaparte. This might explain the presence of Sarrette's signature on June 1789
documents that supported both the king and republicanism. The musicians who gathered
around Sarrette also served as members of the Garde Nationale and a preponderance of
these gentlemen maintained positions in the Conservatoire into the nineteenth century,
surviving drastic budget cuts in years VIII (1799–1800) and X (1801–1802). After years as
members of Masonic lodges, musicians would have easily transitioned into the disciplined
organization of the French military, in fact some musicians had been members of the
military even before the Revolution. The Conservatoire became similarly hierarchical.

Connections between musicians and free masonry during the eighteenth century
have long been studied, particularly in regards to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791).9
A subset of this scholarship theorizes the Masonic origins of both musical classicism in
France and the Paris Conservatoire.10 Pierre-François Pinaud has carefully compiled the

9 See Paul Nettl, Mozart and Masonry (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957); Roger Cotte, La musique
maçonnique et ses musiciens (Braine-le-Comte: Éditions du Baucens, 1975); Katharine Thomson, The Masonic thread
in Mozart (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1977); and H.C. Robbins Landon, Mozart and the Masons: New Light on
the Lodge Crowned Hope (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1982).
10 Gérard Gefen, "La franc-maçonnerie, vecteur du classicisme," in Journée d'étude Hyacinthe Jadin et le classicisme
européen, eds. Denis Le Touzé and Gérard Streletski (Lyon: Université Louis-Lumière Lyon 2, Département de
musique et de musicologie, 2001), 90–100; Florence Badol-Bertrand, "L'idéal maçonnique à l'origine de
l'Institut National de musique?" Le Conservatoire de Musique de Paris: Regards sur une institution et son histoire, ed.

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Masonic affiliations of 342 musicians in pre-revolutionary France. Hypotheses of the Paris Conservatoire’s Masonic origins conjure conspiratorial machinations: from the role of music in Masonic rituals to the hunt for hidden Masonic messages within eighteenth-century compositions. Yet practical reasons also exist for tracing this Masonic strand among eighteenth-century musicians in Enlightenment France. Geoffrey Burgess has recently demonstrated the intimate connection among Rameau’s mature writings on the *corps sonore*, his composition of *tragédie en musique*, and Masonic philosophies of science and the divine. In the generation following Rameau, Masonic lodges not only offered musicians a practical example of how sound philosophically organized social experience, but also a social space in which to develop professional connections they lacked without formal guilds or academies dedicated to their art.

Rather than searching for a Masonic conspiracy among Conservatoire founders, it is more productive to consider the lodges as pre-Conservatoire institutions in which musicians found an opportunity to develop a coherent professional identity. This perspective offers a more nuanced explanation of how musicians survived the Revolution professionally as well as how the emergent class of professional musicians structured itself during and after the Revolution. A careful examination of Appendix A, established from cross-references of Cotte, Pinaud, and Pierre, reveals that 99 of 115 faculty members appointed to the Conservatoire in 1795 definitively or very likely held pre-revolutionary Masonic affiliations. Moreover, at least 22 had been members of the Société Olympique in 1786 at the height of


its concert series. The lodge's concert series in fact evolved from the Concerts des Amateurs, founded by two nobles of the sword and conducted by François-Joseph Gossec (1734–1829), perhaps one of the most famous composers of the Revolution.

The relationship among masonry, the military, and musicianship, is underscored by the significant role free masonry played in forging social connections, particularly among men, in Enlightenment France. Kenneth Loiselle has shown how freemasonry cultivated both ritualized and unritualized friendships, simultaneously fostering "private venues of sociability in the French Enlightenment" while also providing what Loiselle terms "a powerful apprenticeship in classical republicanism." Loiselle argues that this " politicization of the private prefigured the revolutionary concern from 1789 onward to create a morally regenerated citizenry that would anchor the new nation and leave behind the decadence of the Old Regime." Privately, freemasons relied on one another as outlets for "dissatisfaction regarding their personal or professional circumstances." Loiselle emphasizes the blurring of social relationships across formal and informal spaces—from formal court affairs to intimate court gatherings to ritualized Masonic lodge ceremonies to café conversations. Musicians worked and socialized extensively across these lines because all of these venues demanded music as entertainment. Masonic lodges, in particular, offered musicians an opportunity to fraternize as professionals, away from their servant-like treatment at court, and to develop a self-directed hierarchy and discipline that they could conveniently mobilize when the

15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 248.
revolutionary upheaval dismantled the professional structures musicians had previously worked within, particularly at court and in the church.

Musicians acted collectively for their profession, in the Garde Nationale and otherwise, from the very beginning of the Revolution. Musicians who would become professors at the Conservatoire collectively signed a *Pétition Adressée à l'Assemblée Nationale par les Auteurs et Éditeurs de Musique* years before the Conservatoire's founding. The undated petition almost certainly comes from late 1791 or early 1792, as it addresses the "legislators," indicating that the National Assembly functioned as a legislative body at the time of the petition's signing. Nearly four years before the Conservatoire would open its doors, these musicians organized to write and sign documents that would legally protect their profession. Of the 60 signatories on the petition, at least 20 would become affiliated with the Conservatoire between 1793 and 1797, and many already held positions within the École royale de chant, the orchestra of the Opéra, the Théâtre Feydeau, and the Garde Nationale. The musicians’ ability to mobilize this early indicates connecting threads among them even before the Conservatoire institutionalized such professional relationships. Of the signatories, nearly all of the future professors held pre-revolutionary Masonic affiliations, particularly the Loge Olympique in the year 1786 and the lodge Le Patriotisme.

Relationships among violinist Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755–1824), composer Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842), Conservatoire director Sarrette, and composer and keyboardist Hélène de Montgeroult exemplify how a social epicenter that crossed musical institutions

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17 Future Conservatoire professors who signed the petition included Berton, Guénin, Vandenbroeck, Bonesi, L. Jadin, X. Lefèvre, LeSueur, Fuchs, Devienne, Blasius, Martini, Rigel, Gebauer, Mereaux, Mozin, Gossec, and Kreutzer. *Pétition adressée à l'Assemblée nationale par les auteurs et éditeurs de musique* (Paris: Laurens, aîné, s.d.).
18 The Legislative Assembly existed from October 1791 to September 1792.
19 On Cherubini’s compositions and biography during the revolutionary decade, see Michael Fend, *Cherubinis Pariser Opern* (1788–1803) (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2007).
evolved from various pre-revolutionary social affiliations, both public and private. Viotti had come to Paris in 1781 where he astounded the fickle Parisian public with his virtuosic abilities on the violin. He played at the Loge Olympique, where many future professors of the Conservatoire performed. He also took the stage at the Concert Spirituel, and later within Marie Antoinette's intimate circle at court. Despite this success, both public and private, he receded into private salons and teaching from 1783 onward.

Viotti did not remain out of the public eye, however, when he placed and lost a bid to run the Opéra as it experienced a series of institutional changes in the late 1780s. Despite his failure to obtain the Opéra bid, Viotti already directed its only competition, the Théâtre de Monsieur that he co-founded through the patronage of the Comte de Provence, the king's brother. The theatre was later renamed the Théâtre Feydeau when it relocated in 1791 and royal patronage began to fall out of fashion. Viotti fled to London one month before the French king and queen were imprisoned in August 1792, and he remained there until he was exiled to Germany upon suspicions of Jacobin sentiments by the British government. Viotti's most recent biography by Warwick Lister notes how the violinist's renunciation of public performance at the height of his Paris success has perplexed biographers and scholars. Lister suggests that Viotti's entrepreneurial savvy, his understanding of how fads could affect performers' careers, and his desire to enjoy music with close friends led him to pursue administration and reserve performance for intimate circles.

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Cherubini served as musical director of Viotti's Théâtre de Monsieur from its inception and had been a close friend of Viotti since 1786, when Cherubini moved to Paris where the two shared an apartment together. Cherubini participated in musical soirées at Viotti's apartment and also composed music for the Loge Olympique, immediately placing him at the center of Parisian musical life thanks to Viotti's connections. Cherubini became officially attached to the Théâtre de Monsieur as a pensioned composer. Financial difficulties put a halt to the theatre's success and Cherubini avoided the Terror by staying in Rouen from the end of 1792 to 1794. Upon his return to Paris, however, he was named as one of five inspectors of the Conservatoire and enjoyed a stable career through the institution.

The case of Viotti and Cherubini represents a microcosm of broader trends in professional musicianship at the dawn of Revolution. Friendship and lodge affiliation rather than mere patronage, began to open more doors to musicians: Lister asserts that none other than Chabanon likely introduced Viotti into the Masonic community. Viotti and Cherubini composed for the Loge Olympique where over 20 future Conservatoire professors performed in the orchestra during 1786, and so they forged professional connections that Cherubini would mobilize during the Revolution. The close friendship of Cherubini and Viotti and their diverse social connections allowed them to work together to maintain an incredibly successful theatre. It was their theatre, the Théâtre Feydeau, that composer André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813) would criticize for taking money from French composers in his letter to the Abbé Sieyès (see Chapter 4). Though neither Cherubini nor Viotti were French, Cherubini succeeded in joining the French circle of professional musicians. By the late 1790s, Cherubini even began to sign for his paycheck using a French
name "Charles," a French version of his middle name, Carlo, in the Conservatoire's account book.22

Discernable social circles began to develop within this emergent professional class of musicians, and both musical genres and institutional affiliations played a key role in groups' boundary formation. The Committee on Public Instruction received a proposal on January 24, 1792, from a certain M. Clareton for a school of music for individuals with no previous musical training.23 The school's address, 2 Rue Favart, indicates that it may have been intended to affiliate with the Opéra-Comique, and could have been an attempt to join forces with the Théâtre Feydeau to replace the newly defunct École Royale de chant et de déclamation.24 The proposal asserts: "The study of music is part of modern education, and could become a resource for citizens who would like to try their talents in our theatres and concerts. This bel art certainly benefits society."25 The school's future instructors are listed, and for those who were not already famous composers, such as Grétry and Gossec, the proposal also lists current institutional affiliations of projected professors: Jean-Baptiste Rey (1734–1810), director of the Opéra orchestra; Pierre Lahoussaye (1735–1818), former first violin of the Concert Spirituel and one of the two directors of the Théâtre de Monsieur; Frédéric Blasius (1758–1829), director of the Comédie-Italienne orchestra; and Giuseppe Puppo (1749–1827), first violin and director of the Théâtre de Monsieur orchestra. These

23 Lettre de M. Clareton au Comité d'instruction public (F-Pan, D XXXVIII IV 24).
24 Lister, 131, n. 12.
25 "L'étude de la musique est une partie de l'éducation moderne, et elle peut devenir une ressource pour les Citoyens qui voudront essayer leurs talents sur nos Théâtres ou dans nos Concerts. Ce bel art fait sur-tout l'agrément de la Société." (F-Pan, D XXXVIII IV 24).
musicians shared an interest in improving dramatic music education in France, but they crossed important boundaries, as well. Their proposal for a school of music defied tensions that supposedly existed among the Théâtre de Monsieur (Feydeau), the Opéra, and the Comédie-Italienne. Clearly they understood the benefit of working together rather than in competition to develop talented singers. All of these men would earn positions at the Conservatoire in 1795, except Puppo who would become violinist at the Opéra until 1799.

Institutions where musicians dwelled before the Revolution—the military, Masonic lodges, subscription concerts, and theatres—provided an opportunity to develop collective professional identities and networks apart from noble patrons. This pre-revolutionary substratum would become integral to the success of musicians during the Revolution. Some musicians found themselves in the right place at the right time. For example,François Devienne (1759–1803), who enjoyed affiliation with the Loge Olympique, Concert Spirituel, Théâtre Feydeau, Garde Nationale, and the Conservatoire, maintained an active and thriving profession throughout the Revolution including teaching, performance, and composition.26 Viotti had to leave Paris because his Théâtre faced financial ruin and he had severed ties with other institutions by narrowly focusing his career, only performing with a select group of intimate friends. The maintenance of a prominent place in the emergent professional class of musicians in revolutionary Paris required delicate social maneuvering. Such maneuvering can be exemplified in the career of pianist, pedagogue, and composer Hélène de Montgeroul.

26 According to André Tissier, Les spectacles à Paris pendant la Révolution: répertoire analytique, chronologique, et bibliographique (Genève: Droz, 1992–2002), Devienne’s Les Visitandines (1791/93) was one of the most performed works of the revolutionary decade. Devienne also authored the authoritative flute method for the Conservatoire, used in France through the end of the nineteenth century and even today.
3.2 Traversal: The Career of Hélène de Montgeroult

During the 1780s, Hélène-Antoinette-Marie de Nervo de Montgeroult, studied piano-forte in Paris with Alsatian Nicolas-Joseph Hüllmandel (1756–1823), Italian Muzio Clementi (1752–1832), and Bohemian Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812). This diverse instruction allowed her to develop an international, or at least cosmopolitan experience in keyboard repertoire and performance. She became known for her performances at the salons of both Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun27 and Sébastien Érard, renowned instrument maker who ushered the modern piano into the nineteenth century. In 1785, a certain Madmoiselle Davion introduced Madame Montgeroult to Viotti, perhaps the most significant connection of Montgeroult's musical career.

The first mention of Madame Montgeroult performing at the keyboard comes from a soirée held by Madame Vigée-Lebrun, who considered her own musical gatherings during the 1780s among the best music to be heard in Paris at the time. Thus, Madame Montgeroult began her performances in the private setting appropriate to her then-noble position.

Madame Vigée-Lebrun recounts this performance in her memoirs:

> Pour la musique instrumentale, j'avais comme violoniste Viotti, dont le jeu, plein de grâce, de force et d'expression, était si ravissant! Jarnovick, Maestrino, et Prince Henry of Prussia, un excellent amateur, qui de plus m'amena son premier violon. Salentin jouait du hautbois, Hüllmandel et Cramer du piano, madame de Montgeroult [sic] vint bientôt, tout à peine après son mariage. Bien qu'elle fût encore jeune, elle déconcerta mes amis, dont je n'étais pas peu fière, par son admirable exécution, et encore plus par son expression; elle révélait vraiment l'instrument. Madame Montgeroult [sic] a depuis bien acquis le rang de pianiste, et a distingue elle-même comme compositeur.28

27 Louise Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842) is best known as a prominent painter of the eighteenth century, patronized most famously by Marie Antoinette. She fled to Russia during the Revolution, but returned under the reign of Napoleon I, though never truly regaining her pre-revolutionary status.

28 *Pour la musique instrumentale,* j'avais comme violoniste Viotti, dont le jeu, plein de grâce, de force et d'expression, était si ravissant! Jarnovick, Maestrino, le prince Henri de Prusse, excellent amateur, qui de plus m'amenait son premier violon. Salentin jouait du hautbois, Hüllmandel et Cramer du piano, madame de
If we trust Madame Vigée-Lebrun's dating of the soirée to shortly after Madame Montgeroult's marriage, then the performance likely took place around 1784. Thus, it must have been during this period, and perhaps this very evening, that Montgeroult began a lifelong musical friendship with virtuoso violinist Viotti. Madame Montgeroult's friendship with Viotti, like Cherubini's, placed her at the center of musical society in pre-revolutionary Paris.

Montgeroult was technically nobility, but when class structures shifted as a result of the abolishment of privilege, she found opportunity in the very extinction of her former social class and seized upon her social connections among musicians to renegotiate her position in the new emergent professional class. Nonetheless, some saw her public performance as a type of prostitution, and the intimacy of her public performance with Viotti brought accusations of debauchery to both of them. Madame Montgeroult performed as an accompanist at the Théâtre Feydeau in November 1791 and became the target, along with Viotti, of virulent critique because of the public nature of her performance. The following letter to the editor of the *Journal de la cour et de la ville* exemplifies public reactions to her performance:

To the Editor. Sir, in the account that you gave of the performance of the *Deux Nicoémes* [sic], you omitted an absolutely essential circumstance. The public must know that a Jacobin violin, the mind of which is completely in his bow, who has no other title to conceit but his foolishness, of which the ungratefulness for the queen's


On the night of August 4, 1789, the deputies of the National Assembly abolished privilege: the crux of Old Regime socio-economic structure that granted rights to land and tithes according to titles.
graces, is only comparable to the servility of all his life; that sir Viott. finally, (he would have been named without me) is the apostle and the protector of all squalor vomited from this theatre; that the sir Léonard would like to purge from these fetid, flat, allusory burlesques, that in keeping away good company, makes it live.—the démancheur [superficial virtuoso] Viott. has for a Penelope one named Monjerou [sic]...debauched harpsichordist, that even demagoguery could not make uglier. She magically accompanies the fury of this reptile, who dwells on her bosom; she invites him to use his comic talent, to inundate the theatre of the rue Feydeau, with pièces de circonstances: she would eventually give herself to the public, if this were not already done.  

This disgust for the Madame Montgeroult's public performance is not an aberration. Julie Candeille (1767–1834), perhaps the most accomplished female composer and performer of late eighteenth-century France, received caustic criticism for her public career after a performance of her opera Catherine (1793). She responded in a public forum emphasizing the necessity of her work as a means of subsistence: "Submissiveness and necessity led me to the theatre; a propensity for such work and a love of it emboldened me to write. These two resources, united, are my sole means of survival. The need to support my family, other more onerous responsibilities, my present requirements, and especially the uncertainty of the future—these are my reasons for asserting them." Madame Montgeroult could not claim the same economic or social necessity to work as Julie Candeille, but the Revolution changed the challenge that noble titles had posed for Montgeroult's career.

30 "Au Rédacteur. Monsieur, dans le compte que vous avez rendu de la représentation des deux Nicoémes [sic], vous avez omis une circonstance tout-à-fait essentielle. Il faut que le public sache qu'un violon de Jacobin, dont tout l'esprit est dans son archet, qui n'a d'autre titre à la fatuité que sa bêtise, dont l'ingratitude pour les bontés de la reine, n'est comparable qu'à la bassesse de toute sa vie; que sieur Viott. enfin, (on l'eût nommé sans moi) est l'apôtre et le protecteur de toutes les saletés qui se vomissent sur ce théâtre; que le sieur Léonard voudroit purger de ces fétidités burlesques, plattes, allusories, qui en éloignent la bonne compagnie, qui le fait vivre. — Le démancheur Viott. a pour Penéloppe [sic] une nommée Monjerou [sic]... claveciniste devergondée, que la démagogie même ne peut plus enlaidir. Elle seconde merveilleusement les fureurs de ce reptile, qui pâture dans son sein; elle l'engage à user de son crédit comique, pour inonder le théâtre de la rue Feydeau, de pièces de circonstances: elle finiroit par s'y donner elle-même au public, si ce n'étoit pas déjà fait," Journal de la cour et de la ville 3, no. 26 (Samedi 26 novembre 1791): 205–206.

Despite this new social opportunity she had seized upon, Madame Montgeroult joined her husband, the Marquis de Montgeroult, on a 1793 delegation sent to plan a rescue mission that would smuggle the queen Marie Antoinette from France. The expedition was ambushed and her husband died, though it is unclear whether he died of natural causes in prison or perhaps committed suicide. At this point Madame Montgeroult's biography remains contested. Some scholars claim she spent the Revolution until the late 1790s in Berlin, while others insist she returned to Paris to forge her way as a musician. Evidence supports either claim. Her most recent, authoritative biography, by Jérôme Dorival, contends that she was set to be guillotined for collusion in her husband’s royalist plots to smuggle Marie Antoinette out of France. Dorival notes that on April 25, 1794, her name appears on the *liste des réquisitions*.

The account of Montgeroult's release from prison comes from an oral history, eventually written, that had been passed down among nineteenth-century French musicians. The romanticized account of how Montgeroult dodged the guillotine provides not only a thick description of the event (however embellished and historically situated it may be), but also provides an opportunity to consider musicians' legends of the Revolution:

> Mme de Montgeroult, the greatest pianist of the XVIIIth century, had been placed in the Conciergerie.\(^\text{32}\)

The members of the committee on Public Safety (those people certainly did not love music), imitating the death of Orpheus by the bacchantes, would have cut off the harmonious head of Mme de Montgeroult without scruples. Happily for the famous artist, her friend Sarette [sic], director of the Conservatory, then called the *Institut national de musique*, dared, like Orpheus, to penetrate Taenarus, where the terrible committee held its meetings, and came to reclaim Mme Montgeroult, saying that the

\[^{32}\text{This is the prison where the arrested awaited judgment before being sent to the guillotine. It still stands on Ile-de-la-Cité in Paris and maintains a modern, but engaging rendering of how prisoners may have experienced the prison during the Revolution.}\]
establishment that he would directed could not lose the greatest piano professor then existing in France.

The reason seemed puerile to the somber proconsuls; there was a moment of silence. Two or three members of the committee, crushed by fatigue, were sleeping; quills screeched on paper; one breathed in this cold room the faint odors of sawdust and melting wax that are like natural smells of offices. A large Boule [sic: André-Charles Boulle] clock, which on the fleur-de-lis face one could still read: Leroy clockmaker of the king, made a monotonous tick-tock, and the plaster bust of the Republic, placed above the head of the president, fixed its large, white, and pupil-less eyes on poor Sarette [sic]. There was, as we say in theatre, un froid.

Finally the president, leaving his reverie, rang a bell and a bailiff entered. […]

The president said aloud the order to bring Mme de Montgeroult to the bar and completed his order by a few words said in a lower voice. Sarette [sic] trembles; in waiting for the attention of the committee on Public Safety on his poor friend, maybe he had just sent her to death. After a short moment, a rather big commotion was made in the antechamber of the meeting room; chairs fell; animated voices were heard, both panels of the door were opened to two strikes, and one saw entering, brought by two patriots, a long case, that the troubled eyes of the friend of Mme de Montgeroult took first for a coffin; but the view of four fluted feet and two unhooked pedals desperately balancing under the belly of the case in question, made Sarette [sic] realize that the fake coffin was none other than a piano. Behind the instrument, between police officers, appeared Mme Montgeroult, paled by many days of captivity and anguish.

—Citizen, said the president, it is asserted that the Institut national de musique cannot loose you and your talent, which we would like to judge for ourselves. Sit there and play for us the Marseillaise!

It was not the moment to be asked twice. Dumbfounded and trembling, Mme de Montgeroult let herself fall onto a chair before the piano […] and she began this easy task[,] for her[,] to play Rouget de l’Isle’s hymn. […] After having played once the requested air, the artist repeated it introducing some timid variations meant to show off her incomparable execution; then, putting to use her great improvisatory talent, she walked the theme through various neighboring keys of that in which she began. Then throwing a hidden glance toward the terrible Areopagus, she saw that the president was smiling. The quills had ceased to scratch on paper; everyone was awakened; two members of the committee nodded their heads gently in their huge ties; a murmur that would become a humming was soaring over the tribunal. Mme Montgeroult redoubled her efforts. Returning to the original key by a formidable crescendo that almost shattered the bosom of the frail instrument, the sacred theme reappeared all of a sudden in the right hand, accompanied by large arpeggios.
The president could not hold back any longer, he stood up and, imitated by his colleagues, he attacked in a thundering voice the national anthem. To this unusual noise, the doors opened; the bailiffs, their smiles of subservience on their lips, joined their voices to those of the captains; later, the two soldiers who were watching the door of the stairs, dropping their rifles noisely on the stone slabs, began to intone their favorite song, with closed eyes [...] During this time, the bellicose melody, its sonorous notes permeating [the building] story by story, distant voices were heard as far as in the courtyard, repeating like an echo:

_Aux armes, citoyens!

When the general excitation subsided, the president spoke and pronounced this short allocution:

—Citizen, we see that you are a good patriot and we acquit you of the accusations raised against you. Come receive the fraternal accolade!

Mme de Montgeroult resigned, and, duly embraced, became a sacrosanct, as Dumouriez said, she followed Sarette [sic] and crossed to enter back into life, this door that so many others, alas! would not pass again except to enter into death!

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33 *Les membres du comité de salut public (ces gens assurément n'aimaient pas la musique), imitant le meurtre d'Orphée par les bacchantes, auraient fait tomber la tête harmonieuse de madame de Montgeroult sans scrupules. Heureusement pour la célèbre artiste, son ami Sarette [sic], directeur du Conservatoire, alors appelé Institut national de Musique, osa, comme Orphée, pénétrer dans le Ténare, où le terrible comité tenait ses séances, et vint réclamer madame de Montgeroult, disant que l'établissement qu'il dirigeait ne pouvait se passer du plus grand professeur de piano qui existât alors en France.

La raison paraissait puérile aux sombres proconsuls; il y eut un moment de silence. Deux ou trois membres du comité, écrasés de fatigue, dormaient; des plumes criaient sur le papier; on respirait, dans cette pièce froide, ces vagues odeurs de sciure de bois et de cire brûlée, qui sont comme les odeurs naturelles des bureaux.—Une grande horloge de Boule [sic], sur le cadran fleurdelisé de laquelle on lisait encore: Leroy, horloger du roy, faisait son tic-tac monotone, et le buste en plâtre de la République, placé au-dessus de la tête du président, fixait ses grands yeux blancs et sans prunelles sur le pauvre Sarette [sic]. Il y avait, comme on dit au théâtre, un froid.

Enfin le président, sortant de sa rêverie, agita une sonnette et un huissier entra. Il y a eu en France des moments néfastes où nous n'avions plus de chef, plus de ministres, plus d'autorités reconnues, à peines des lois!...mais il y a toujours eu des huissiers.

Le président donna tout haut l'ordre de faire amener à la barre madame de Montgeroult et compléta son ordre par quelques paroles dites à voix basse. Sarette [sic] tremble; en attirant l'attention du comité de salut public sur sa pauvre amie, peut-être venait-il de l'envoyer à la mort.

Au bout d'un instant, un assez grand remue-ménage se fit dans l'antichambre de la salle des séances; des chaises tombèrent; on entendit des voix animées, la porte s'ouvrit à deux battants, et l'on vit entrer, portée par deux patriotes, une caisse longue, que les yeux troublés de l'ami de madame de Montgeroult prirent d'abord pour un cercueil; mais la vue de quatre pieds cannelés et l'aspect de deux pédales désaccrochées se balançant éperdues sous le ventre de la caisse en question, firent comprendre au désolé Sarette [sic] que le prétendue cercueil n'était autre chose qu'un piano.

Derrière l'instrument, entre deux gendarmes, parut madame de Montgeroult, pâlie par plusieurs jours de captivité et d'angoisse.
This nineteenth-century re-telling of Montgeroult's narrow escape from the guillotine supposedly passed through Conservatoire musicians: the author of the work, violinist and composer Eugène Gautier (1822–1878), studied with François-Antoine Habeneck (1781–1849) who studied under Montgeroult's former Conservatoire colleagues including Pierre Baillot (1771–1842) and Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766–1831), and also Jacques Halévy (1799–1862) who had studied composition with Cherubini. Thus, through teacher-student genealogies, Gautier occupied few degrees of separation from an ear-witness account of Montgeroult's revolutionary escape.

Though a romantic telling, Gautier provides useful information about the status of Sarrette, Montgeroult, the Conservatoire, and music during the height of the Terror. Most

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—Citoyenne, dit le président, on nous assure que l’Institut national de musique ne peut se passer de toi et de ton talent, dont nous avons voulu juger par nous-mêmes. Assieds-toi là, et joue-nous la Marseillaise!

Ce n’était pas le moment de se faire prier. Interdite et tremblante, madame de Montgeroult se laissa tomber sur une chaise devant le piano, (peut-être, dit-elle plus tard, n’était-il pas parfaitement d’accord), et elle commença cette tâche facile pour elle de jouer l’hymne de Rouget de l’Isle…Après avoir joué une fois l’air demandé, l’artiste le reprit en y introduisant quelques timides variations destinées à faire briller son exécution incomparable; puis, mettant à profit son grand talent d’improvisatrice, elle promena le thème dans les divers tons voisins de celui où elle avait commencé. Jetant alors, à la détente, un regard sur le terrible aréopage, elle vit que le président souriait. Les plumes avaient cessé de grincer sur le papier; tout le monde était éveillé; deux membres du comité dodelinaient doucement la tête dans leurs immenses cravates un petit murmure, qui allait devenir un redondement, planant sur le tribunal. Madame de Montgeroult redoubla d’efforts. Ramené au ton principal par un formidable crescendo qui faillit faire éclater la poitrine du frêle instrument, le thème sacré reparut tout à coup à la main droite, accompagné de larges arpéges.

Le président n’y tint plus; il se leva, et, imité par ses collègues, il attaqua d’une voix tonnante le chant national. A ce bruit inaccoutumé, la porte s’entrouvrit les huissiers, le sourire de l’obséquiosité sur les lèvres; plus loin, les deux soldats qui gardaient la porte de l’escalier, laissant retomber bruyamment leurs fusils sur les dalles de pierre, se mirent à entonner leur chant favori, les yeux fermés et le coude appuyé sur le triangle de la baïonnette. Pendant ce temps, la mélodie guerrière égrenant ses notes sonores d’étage en étage, on entendit jusque dans la cour des voix lointaines répéter comme un écho: Aux armes, citoyens!

Lorsque le délires général fut un peu calmé, le président prit la parole et prononça cette courte allocution:

—Citoyenne, nous voyons que tu es une bonne patriote, et nous t’acquittons des accusations portées contre toi. Viens recevoir l’accolade fraternelle!

Madame de Montgeroult se résigna, et dûment embrassée, devenue sacro-sainte, comme disait Dumouriez, elle suivit Sarrette [sic] et franchit, pour rentrer dans la vie, cette porte que tant d’autres, hélas! n’avaient repassée que pour entrer dans la mort! Eugène Gautier, Un musicien en vacances: études et souvenirs (Paris: Chez Alphonse Léduc Éditeur, 1873), 50-53.
importantly, it connects Sarrette and Montgeroult socially as "friends," and Sarrette provides a reliable professional recommendation for her. They are both portrayed as facing danger for the sake of their art, their profession, and their institution. The clock by Boulle invokes the luxury of the Old Regime bearing down on Sarrette and Montgeroult. Montgeroult must perform on the technologically advanced piano rather than the aristocratic harpsichord, which she plays in the *Journal* review only two years before. Gautier gestures toward the tension between the values of Montgeroult and Sarrette compared to the Committee (then the executive government). While the Committee focuses upon the utility of Montgeroult's performance—her ability to perform a stirring version of the national anthem that brought them to stand and sing—Gautier notes her technique: improvising on the melody, modulating through key areas, and mobilizing the technological possibilities of the piano through a crescendo. The Committee concludes that releasing Montgeroult would save "a good patriot," while Sarrette's purpose was to procure a talented musician and professor.

The significance of this story does not rest so much in its veracity, as in how musicians interpreted their own position during the Terror. The story emphasizes the real capital of professional relationships in revolutionary political culture, the talent of professors who Sarrette recruited to teach at the Conservatoire, and the disconnect between what musicians believed they were doing and what the government thought musicians were doing. The emergent professional class of musicians protected one another, held social power, and developed laudable professional standards. Most importantly, the story casts Sarrette as the true hero who risked his non-musical neck to recruit into his nascent institution the best musicians in the country, who happened also to be his "friends."

Whether a result of her legendary performance or not, Madame Montgeroult indeed
became the only female professor of the first class at the Conservatoire when it finally opened in 1795. The year she began teaching at the Conservatoire, in 1795, coincided with the publication of her *Trois sonates*, op. 1. She appears on the account books from the opening of the institution until 1798, disproving biographies that assert her émigré status until 1798. Madame Montgeroult's name disappears from the account books in February 1798. Dorival expresses suspicion about the circumstances surrounding her departure from the Conservatoire. While her official resignation from January 19, 1798, indicates health problems as the reason for stepping down, Dorival suspects that intrigue surrounding her piano method and the Conservatoire's official method books could have been at the heart of her resignation. In the account books of the Conservatoire from March 1800, Louis Adam (1758–1848) literally fills the empty space that she left behind among professors of the first class. Adam's piano method book was published as the authoritative method of the Conservatoire in 1805.

Madame Montgeroult spent the remainder of her life writing and publishing compositions and pedagogical works, teaching private piano lessons, and hosting, perhaps performing, at intimate salons. Her *Cours complet pour l'enseignement du forte-piano* was completed between 1810 and 1812 and later published around 1820. The school of expressive piano performance that she pioneered was one origin of the French school of piano that continued through Chopin and beyond. She lived until 1836, almost forty years after her resignation for health reasons from the Conservatoire.

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34 Conservatoire accounting records of employee monthly pay from 1795 to 1798 (F-Pan, AJ*28–*29).
36 Conservatoire accounting records of employee monthly pay from 1795 to 1798 (F-Pan, AJ*28–*29).
37 Dorival gives this completion date for the *Cours complet*, though he acknowledges it has been a matter of debate among scholars.
The trajectory of Madame Montgeroult's career indicates not only the significance of social connections for professional musicians during the Revolution, but also the topography of this social network. Montgeroult began at the very heart of this network with Viotti as her sponsor in the realm of salon and theatre music. When Viotti fled because of the Revolution, Montgeroult, if we believe at least the premises of the legend Gautier tells of her release from prison, used her social connections to ingratiate herself with the successful man at the epicenter of the Conservatoire and the emergent professional class. Historical evidence simply does not reveal whether her drift from epicenter to margins of this class resulted from her gender in the new political climate of the Directory government or from aesthetic and professional disagreement with her colleagues. The cause likely resulted from a combination of the two. Still, her social traversal, from noble to *citoyenne*, from private performance to professional musician, from epicenter to margin, traces the variety of locations available to musicians in this emergent, evolving professional class.

3.3 Margins: The Case of Two *Musiciennes émigrées*

Even on the margins of this professional class musicians benefited from social connections. Delineating margins can be, of course, treacherous historical work. To label a musician as "marginal" might better reflect the here and now of music history than the there and then of musical life. Nonetheless, the concerted action of musicians at a distance from the epicenter during the Revolution demonstrates just how far the emergent professional class of musicians reached and how inclusive it had become.

On February 6, 1798 (18 pluviôse, an VI), Antoine Borghèse, an Italian composer
who flourished in France and England during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, wrote to the administration of the second arrondissement of Paris requesting that his wife of fourteen months, violinist, pianist, and composer Élisabeth Henriette L'Arrivée Borghèse (1764/5–1839), be granted a passport to reenter her native France.\textsuperscript{38} Borghèse explains that his wife was a well-known instrumental musician before leaving France in 1790 when she decided to travel to foreign countries where the study of music had been particularly recommended to her and where she could further perfect her art. He stresses that instrumental music was "always" her "exclusive profession." The following day, on February 7, the police commissioner of the second arrondissement's Butte des Moulins section, Jean François Commigner, received a letter signed by four men with two requests: a copy of the petition in support of Citoyenne Borghèse that they had provided previously and a notification as soon as the testimonies about the case had been heard. A list attached to this letter provides the names and addresses of nine of Élisabeth’s former neighbors from the section who would testify to her husband’s claims.\textsuperscript{39} Seven of these witnesses held positions as musicians at the Théâtre de la République et des Arts (formerly known as the Opéra).\textsuperscript{40} Commigner collected their oral testimonies six days later. The first testimony came from

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This letter clarifies two aspects of the Borghèse biographies. In the Grove article "Borghese, Antonio D.R." Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online (Oxford University Press), accessed December 4, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03586, Kenneth Langevin asserts that Antoine was likely born in Rome, however, this letter indicates from the composer’s own testimony, that he is a "native of Florence in Tuscany." In "Borghese," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Personenteil 3: 403, Jean Grihenski states that the time of the couple's marriage likely took place between 1785 and 1789, however this letter confirms that the couple married while living in London in December 1796.

\textsuperscript{39} "Au Citoyen Comminger Commissaire de Police de la Division de la Butte des Moulins," 7 February 1798 [19 pluviôse, an VI], Série AA, carton 188, Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris, Paris, France.

\textsuperscript{40} From 1797 to 1802 the Opéra went by the name Théâtre de la République et des Arts. These names will be used interchangeably for the remainder of this chapter depending upon sources and quotations.

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Simon La Suze, a fellow musician and Conservatoire professor, who said although he did not know the precise circumstances and time of her departure, he knew that Citoyenne Borghèse had not returned to France since she left and that she went to England "pour se perfectionner dans la musique" ("to perfect herself in music"). Humbert Joseph Perrignon, another musician native to Paris, corroborated La Suze’s testimony nearly verbatim, stating that he knew Citoyenne Borghèse well, that she left in 1790 to go to Lyon and then England "à l’effet de se perfectionner dans l’art de musique" ("for the purpose of perfecting herself in the art of music"). The commissioner questioned six other witnesses including five musicians from the Théâtre de la République et des Arts: Marie Alexandre Guénin (1744–1835), Joseph Alexandre Delancey, Charles Lochon (c. 1760–after 1817), Guillaume Ernest Assmann, and Jean Baptiste François Augustin Lefèbvre, who is also listed as the theatre’s music librarian. Guénin and Assman served as members of the Conservatoire faculty at this time, as well (see Appendix 1). Their testimonies perfectly corroborated the claims of Antoine Borghèse. Though the documents in the Archives de la préfecture de police de Paris do not indicate the ultimate resolution to the petitioning and testimonies, Elisabeth and Antoine performed in concerts together in Paris in 1799, and so they must have soon succeeded.

Madame Borghèse’s sister, Madame Delaval (1763–after 1804), also a musician and renowned for playing the harp, belonged to the royalist émigré community in London. The sisters likely left France together. London’s Morning Chronicle, Morning Herald, and Morning Post recount the sisters performing together in London during the early 1790s. Madame Delaval became popular for her composition "Les adieux de l’infortuné Louis XVI à son peuple" ("Farewell of the unfortunate Louis XVI to his people"), which she composed just
after the king’s execution in January 1793. These facts alone are sufficient evidence to question whether Élisabeth indeed traveled to England only to "perfect" her musical talents. Nonetheless, her musical allies in Paris corroborated her explanation for departing.

The month following Borghèse's petition, on March 2, 1798, Commigner received a similar request from the municipality of the tenth arrondissement. François Grandjean requested a certificate establishing that his wife, Marie Louise St. Paul Grandjean, had left Paris for London on March 9, 1792, to pursue her fortune as a musician. Grandjean had asserted to the authorities of the tenth arrondissement that Marie Louise stayed in London until the present time and would like to reenter France, but currently found herself held up in Calais. On March 9, 1798, precisely six years after Marie Louise’s original departure from Paris, the assistant police commissioner, Ravault, heard testimonies from witnesses who lived in the Butte des Moulins section. In this case, only one of the three witnesses worked as a musician, François Nicodami. The two non-musician witnesses asserted that they knew Madame Grandjean and that she indeed gave music lessons until her departure from Paris. Nicodami confirmed that he had been Marie Louise’s piano instructor until she left for London to pursue her profession.

These two vignettes demonstrate the conditional but tangible integration of women into this emergent professional class of musicians. Mesdames Borghèse and Grandjean claimed to have left France to pursue professional development and opportunities in London. They asserted that their departure had nothing to do with the Revolution. Both

41 "Au Commissaire de Police de la Division de la Butte des Moulins," 2 March 1798 [12 Ventôse an VI], Division de la Butte des Moulins, Série AA, carton 251, Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris, Paris, France.

42 "Information sur le départ pour Londres de la Citoyenne Grandjean," 9 March 1798 [19 Ventôse an VI], Division de la Butte des Moulins, Série AA, carton 251, Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris, Paris, France.
reports insist upon the instrumental, as opposed to vocal nature of the women’s musical talents. Both women were married and their husbands appealed to authorities on their behalf. Before the two women were allowed to reenter France, the police commissioner recorded and cross-referenced testimonies from male musicians to verify their claim to professional musicianship. To repatriate, Borghèse and Grandjean required verification from both their husbands and their male colleagues that they indeed worked professionally as musicians, not merely performing privately for the pleasure of themselves and others. In addition, the male witnesses had to confirm the seriousness of the women’s professional endeavors, thus the focus on instrumental rather than vocal music, which could be considered mere acting, or at the worst, as prostitution.

The treatment of Madame Montgeroult, as well as Mesdames Borghèse and Grandjean, as members of the emergent professional class further elucidates how the boundaries between private interest and public utility affected music and musicianship during the Revolution. Laura Mason notes that scholarly works have not explored the ambivalent stance taken toward women performing music during the Revolution. Shown in the two scenes of Madame Montgeroult’s performances at Feydeau and on trial, women performing music was sometimes perceived as virtuous and beneficial to the new republic, yet at other times interpreted as a threat to social stability. Women were permitted as faculty and students at the Conservatoire and could call upon their colleagues to support them professionally. Before the Revolution, Masonic lodges in Paris admitted women as adopted

sisters\textsuperscript{44} and women had facilitated musicians’ professional maneuvering in private salons. The temporary inclusion of women in the emergent professional class of musicians did not deviate significantly from their relationships with male musicians before the Revolution.

The private sphere persisted and became an immensely important aspect of French bourgeois culture at the turn of the nineteenth century, undoubtedly associated with the feminine, within the home where a woman would raise children, support her husband, and entertain family and friends. Jacqueline Letzter and Robert Adelson have argued that after the Revolution the nineteenth-century conception of musical genius precluded women from inclusion into the social category musician, "The new Romantic definitions of artistic genius focused on divinely inspired, lone creators who embodied the ideals of independence, energy, passion, and audacity. Women’s nature was deemed incompatible with this kind of genius, and women were relegated to writing works for the home.\textsuperscript{45} France, however, did not concede to the same visions of artistic genius as the rest of Romantic Europe (see Epilogue), and so women would continue to experience a precarious position as music professionals in Paris.\textsuperscript{46}

3.4 Ruptures: The Querelle of Sarrette and Lesueur

The previous sections illustrated the various forms of support that social ties within this emergent professional class offered musicians during the socioeconomic upheaval of the Revolution—from job opportunities to legal aid. As the Revolution calmed under the

\textsuperscript{44} See Loiselle, "Confronting the Specter of Sodomy."
Directory (1795–1799) and Consulate (1799–1804) governments, musicians confronted institutionalization of their professional class within the Conservatoire and competing aesthetic visions divided its faculty members. Social ruptures among musicians in the emergent professional class interrupted the gains musicians had made since 1789. Social conflict among musicians would have a more permanent effect on musical production during the late Revolution because it became institutionalized within the two largest and most powerful musical institutions of the Empire and Restoration: the Conservatoire and the Opéra. Moreover, they would lose much of their internal institutional autonomy under Napoleon's reign.

Chapter 2's discussion of the interstitial state of music as both an art and profession before the Revolution demonstrated that insecurities surrounding the establishment of a distinctively French école of music were certainly nothing new when the Conservatoire officially opened its doors in 1796. The 1750s Querelle des bouffons had wounded French musical pride, particularly Rousseau's assertion that the French, in fact, had no music at all. In addition to Italian opera, various international composers and styles graced Parisian stages throughout the eighteenth century. One must only look to the transformations of solo keyboard music in France from Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) to Joseph-Nicolas-Pancrace Royer (1705–1755) and Armand-Louis Couperin (1727–1789) to locate a decidedly international turn, to say nothing of opera and Concert Spirituel programs. These matters only intensified when the Viennese queen, Marie-Antoinette, supposedly brought her Austrian tastes to Paris. Some French citizens, particularly Jean-Baptiste LeClere, even

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argued that Christoph Willibald Gluck's (1714–1787) operas in 1770s Paris fomented the political Revolution in 1789.\textsuperscript{48} Recall Chabanon's 1785 dismissal of national interpretations of musical styles in favor of European cosmopolitanism, claiming that a single European style existed. Political events of the Revolution only served to compound the tensions around the cosmopolitan style that had shaped the performance and reception of music in France from the 1750s to 1780s. From 1792 onward France cultivated what could be called a nationalist\textsuperscript{49} musical aesthetic. Conservatoire faculty had internalized the long-running debate between the French and the foreign. Foreign composers had to assimilate into the professional class to succeed in Paris. As the next chapter demonstrates, the Conservatoire argued its \textit{raison d'être} as constitution of the French nation through music.

A letter dated January 22, 1800, from composer Jean-François Lesueur (1760–1837) to his colleague, the theorist and composer Honoré-François-Marie Langlé (1741–1807), demonstrates the pressure Conservatoire faculty members felt to establish a thoroughly French school of music.\textsuperscript{50} Furthermore, the urgency of Lesueur's plea to Langlé evinces how musical aesthetics, embroiled in social relationships, economic maneuvering, and political culture, had become indistinguishable from professional struggles within this emergent class of musicians. Aesthetic ideologies and social tensions among musicians mapped onto one


\textsuperscript{49} The term nationalism in musicology has been applied almost exclusively to the nineteenth century with little regard for the roots of this movement in eighteenth-century conceptions of musical aesthetics, particularly in France. These eighteenth-century conceptions of national style are distinct from the nationalistic conceptions that evolved in nineteenth-century Europe. I would argue, however, that the urgency for national style that increased in French musical aesthetics during the Revolution indeed represents one origin of nineteenth-century nationalism, specifically in its protectionist stance against from colonization by foreign musical styles. For a recent discussion of the term's use in musicology see Dana Gooley, "Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914," \textit{Journal of the American Musicological Society} 66, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 523–549.

\textsuperscript{50} Lettre de Jean-François Lesueur à Monsieur Langlé, 22 janvier 1800 [2 pluviose an VIII] (F-Pn, VM BOB 21337).
another and should be understood as concomitant during this final stage of the revolutionary era from the official opening of the Conservatoire in 1796 until its reorganization in 1802.

Lesueur made his debut on the Parisian musical scene through sacred music with the performance of his grands motets at the Concert Spirituel and as choirmaster of Notre Dame de Paris. Lesueur lost this position at Notre Dame in 1787 because he attempted to integrate dramatic musical techniques and instrumentation into sacred music.\(^{51}\) He resurfaced during the Revolution as a prominent composer in 1793 when the Théâtre Feydeau staged his opera *La Caverne* to great success. Lesueur subsequently became popular for his revolutionary hymns performed at festivals. He became affiliated with the Institut National de Musique (which became the Conservatoire in 1795), along with Étienne-Nicolas Méhul (1763–1817), at the end of November 1793.\(^{52}\) On August 7, 1795, he was named an inspector of the institution along with Grétry, Méhul, Cherubini, and Gossec. By 1795, Lesueur had definitively earned his place as a leading French composer.

To return to his letter, Langlé, the recipient, acquired music education in Naples and first worked in Genoa before becoming a composer and theorist in Paris when he premiered at the Concert Spirituel. He was affiliated with the École Royale de chant until its integration with the Conservatoire, served as a music editor for the Garde Nationale during the early Revolution, and became both an instructor and librarian for the Conservatoire from 1797

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\(^{52}\) Pierre dates their affiliation to November 23 in *B. Sarrette*, while Mongrédiëen dates the affiliation as November 21 in *LeSueur.*
until he retired in 1802.

In the January 22, 1800, letter, Lesueur insists to Langlé that though France possesses artistic "genius" just like anywhere else in Europe, it has not yet been truly "illuminated." Lesueur resolves that this much-needed illumination would come from a school "whose excellence could rival that of foreigners!" Though Lesueur claims to agree that the French should certainly take cues from foreign institutions, this should only be done for the betterment of the French school, which should not be built upon foreign practices and tastes. Lesueur asserts, "Foreign genius should not be found in [the French] Conservatoire but for surpassing." Like Jean-Jacques Rousseau before him, Lesueur presents an ambivalent argument that music should be at once a unifying universal art and a mark of national difference. He uses a metaphor: rather than adding a new column to the musical structure already built by foreign schools, an entirely new structure should be built in France, one as big or bigger than their neighbors'. He sees no reason that a country deemed for centuries by historians, both at home and abroad, as the best at all other arts and letters could not be the best at music. The reason for the current lag in French music, he concludes, stems from lack of a proper school. Lesueur blames the lack of a proper school on the "old government," unenlightened and unsupportive of music compared to foreign regimes. Under such poor patronage, Lesueur finds it hardly surprising that other nations had surpassed the French in music. He concludes: the French have the means to create exceptional music; they must only better cultivate those gifts. Lesueur feels certain this could be fulfilled through the Conservatoire, which as this point had been opened for five years.

53 See Jefferson, n. 45.
"Our Conservatoire is French. Have not for a goal but the perfection of the French school."

This is perhaps the one point on which the emergent professional class of musicians agreed: the Conservatoire should provide an institution of public education dedicated to the betterment of their profession as a whole: from composition, to performance, to instrument manufacturing. Despite agreement on the need for a cohesive musical institution, the curriculum and focus of this new French school divided faculty members. Sarrette hoped to continue pursuing instrumental music as the focus of the French school. Musicians who performed with Sarrette in the Garde Nationale during the early Revolution pioneered French instrumental music through the composition, performance, and manufacturing of wind instruments. Sarrette envisioned a special focus wind instruments as the unique contribution of France to European music culture. Lesueur, on the other hand, remained committed to dramatic music as the essence of the French school and lobbied to bring specialists in declamation, poetry, and history into the Conservatoire to work with composers, so that every aspect of dramatic production would be housed within the same institution. Sarrette was adamantly against combining the institutions of the Conservatoire and Opéra, and in fact rejected an invitation from the French Minister of the Interior to become administrator of both institutions in 1797. Sarrette responded, "I persist in believing that the Théâtre des Arts should be administered separately, and I believe to have given you verbally sufficient reasons to prove the incoherence of the reunion of this latter object [the Théâtre des Arts] with the two others [the national festivals and Conservatory]. I thought that the administrations of national festivals and the Conservatory alone could be

54 Lesueur à Langlé, emphasis original.
55 Pierre, B. Sarrette, 140–141.
run by the same man…”

The perspectives of Sarrette and Lesueur demonstrate a fundamental divide regarding the Conservatoire curriculum, a curriculum with high stakes: the redemption of French musical aesthetics from a century of tepid reception in cosmopolitan Europe. They also represent a disagreement within the emergent professional class of musicians: the relationship between the Conservatoire and the Opéra. Sarrette viewed these two institutions as aesthetically and ideologically distinct, one utilitarian and the other for pleasure. Uniting the two institutions would re-create the Old Regime Académie royale de musique. Moreover, Sarrette did not envision the future of French music as dramatic. Though Lesueur favored an orchestra that spoke and gestured as much as actors, Sarrette and Lesueur maintained strongly opposing views for the future of French musical aesthetics and for how these aesthetics would contribute to or compete in a cosmopolitan European music culture. A nasty series of pamphlets from 1801 to 1802 would exacerbate ruptures among Conservatoire faculty members surrounding Lesueur and Sarrette, resulting in Lesueur's resignation from the institution and permanent factionalism within the new professional class of musicians.

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56 "Je persiste à croire que le théâtre des Arts doit être administré séparément, et je crois vous avoir donné verbalement les raisons suffisantes pour vous prouver l'incohérence de la réunion de ce dernier objet aux deux autres. J'ai pensé que les administrations des fêtes nationales et du Conservatoire de musique seules pouvaient être gérées par le même homme […]" Ibid.

57 Mongrédiéen quotes a review of Lesueur's 1801 speech at the Conservatoire's memorial service for Piccinni. The Mercure notes that the speech was filled with excellent ideas about dramatic music, but too long and boring. The review notes however that Lesueur argues for singers to remain sensitive to gestures that should be "left for the orchestra to say," 460. On the evolution of Enlightenment conceptions of the orchestra speaking and gesturing, see David Charlton, "Envoicing the Orchestra: Enlightenment Metaphors in Theory and Practice," *French Opera 1780–1830: Meaning and Media* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

58 Mongrédiéen lists the most significant publications in this battle as the *Lettre à Paisiello par les amateurs de la musique dramatique* (Paris: 1802) that began the conflict, an anonymous Réponse to this letter attributed to Sarrette or Sarrette's allies, *Observations sur la diatribe appelée Réponse à la lettre écrite à M. Paisiello by M. Durieu*, *Observations sur l'état de la musique*, and finally Baillot's work on which Conservatoire faculty members collaborated *Recueil de
By 1800 when he wrote to Langlé, Lesueur's problems within the professional class of musicians had become routine. The pleading tone of the letter should be contextualized within Lesueur's other strained professional relationships. Lesueur penned a passionate letter to the administrators of the Théâtre de la République et des Arts (the new name for the Opéra from 1797 until 1802) on March 7, 1799, regarding his opera, on a libretto by Nicolas François Guillard (1752–1814), titled *La mort d'Adam.* Lesueur claims that the libretto had been read and unanimously accepted, even praised by the Opéra administration over two years before, and that Lesueur had been pressured by the same committee to prepare the music by the winter of 1798. Lesueur insists that although the change in administration from the Opéra to the Théâtre de la République et des Arts resulted in little to no attention to new works, *La mort d'Adam* had nonetheless been set to begin rehearsals in the winter of 1799, and so he had finished the music for the production by that deadline. He complains that Méhul's *Adrien,* which the Paris Commune had banned from performance in 1792, circulated in the Théâtre Feydeau during 1798, and was then handed over to the Théâtre de la République et des Arts, making 8 or 9 "rounds" (meaning, it had passed hands through different levels of administration and revisions) while *Adam* waited in silence.

Lesueur's letter to the Théâtre de la République et des Arts reveals how social intrigue, musical aesthetics, and political culture entwined, sometimes indistinguishably, throughout the Revolution. Indeed, Méhul's *Adrien* had been censured in 1792, and the

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*Lettre de Jean-François Lesueur aux administrateurs du Théâtre de la République et des Arts, 7 March 1799 [17 ventôse an VII] (F-Pn, VM BOB 21337).*
Minister of the Police, Jean-Pierre Duval, oversaw its rehearsals during 1798. The production was cancelled altogether after only a few performances in 1799. Lesueur's complaints were less likely to do with political censorship and much more to do with perceived unfairness of his fellow Conservatoire inspecteur's preferential treatment. Lesueur certainly felt this slight had as much to do with personal, professional vendettas within the Théâtre administration as political censorship. Still, Lesueur carefully weaves issues of aesthetics, politics, and social relationships throughout the letter promoting *La Mort d'Adam* and never dwells upon a single one of these factors for too long.

In his March letter to the Théâtre de la République et des Arts, Lesueur begins by complaining that the administration has asked to hear excerpts of the work on a harpsichord, "An instrument that has but the effects of drums and dry and choppy pulsations." Lesueur insists that the subject matter of the work, not of a particular religion but of a universal "natural religion," could only come forth through the sounds of the great tastes of antiquity, which he has so carefully composed to illuminate the universal themes of love in Guillard's poetry. Lesueur argues first, that Guillard's libretto, clearly based on a biblical story, does not conjure explicitly religious themes, but universal, moral themes that would edify any audience. Thus, he attempts to maneuver around potential censorship issues that could arise.

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61 The second version of Méhul's *Adrien* had been announced by the Théâtre Feydeau in early 1797, which Lesueur invoked a right of precedence and claimed that Feydeau's director, Sageret, had promised to stage his *Ossian, ou les bardes* first. Lesueur's meddling worked, it delayed *Adrien*'s rehearsals and finally Méhul revoked the work from Feydeau and submitted it to the Opéra, which was enthusiastic to receive the work. The work was finally premiered on June 4, 1799, but banned after its fourth performance. It was revived once again on February 4, 1800, and performed nineteenth times in total. The problems with *Adrien* in 1799–1800 all stemmed from political negotiations with the executive government. See M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, *Étienne-Nicolas Méhul and Opera: Source and Archival Studies of Lyric Theatre during the French Revolution, Consulate, and Empire* (Heilbronn, Germany: Edition Lucie Galland, 1999) 1: 360–410.

62 "Cet instrument qui n'a que des effets de batteries et des pulsations seches et coupées [...]" Lesueur aux administrateurs du Théâtre.
from placing a religious work on stage. Second, he insists that listeners could only recognize these universal themes of "love, natural religion, and death," through the idiosyncratic sound that he had composed for the libretto. Lesueur couches his ideological arguments about the themes of the libretto within his genuine aesthetic vision of a drama that unites "lyric poetry, music, and all the fine arts." For Lesueur, the acoustic conditions of the performance were concomitant to the generic interpretation of the composition as a "devotional tragedy." Lesueur uses a visual metaphor to emphasize his point: listening to his composition in such conditions would be "like [judging] an equestrian statue destined for a public plaza in a boudoir." Lesueur maintains an ideological and aesthetic stance throughout nearly the entire letter, but in the penultimate paragraph his explicit reference to Méhul's Adrien evinces that the cabals and intrigues of professional musicianship had not died with the revolutionary birth of a more organized professional class of musicians. Lesueur's tone belies bitterness that some musicians received preferential treatment during the theatre's vetting process. Lesueur's conspiracy theory likely rotated around Charles-Simon Catel (1773–1830). Catel, a former composition student of Conservatoire inspecteur Gossec, had performed with Sarrette's army band from the outbreak of Revolution, taught solfege and harmony to its

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64 "Son succès plein dans la chambre me donneroit autant de doute pour son succès au théâtre, que celui d'une statue equestre dans un boudoir et qui seroit destinée à une place publique." Lesueur aux administrateurs du Théâtre.
members, and composed music for the corps’ performances. He became a professor of harmony and counterpoint at the Conservatoire in 1795 and also a rehearsal director at the Théâtre de la République et des Arts from 1797 to 1803. Thus, Catel held privileged positions in both the Conservatoire and Opéra administration, and also maintained strong social ties to the clique of musicians in the Garde Nationale during the early Revolution. In an 1802 pamphlet in defense of Lesueur, Charles-Pierre Ducanel (1766–1835) openly accuses Catel of collusion with Sarrette against Lesueur.65

Lesueur continued to defend Adam, his belief in a unified French music institution, and his distaste for social intrigues that underpinned the musical profession two years later in his published Lettre en réponse à Guillard sur l’opéra de la Mort d’Adam, dont le tour de mise arrive pour la troisième fois au Théâtre des Arts; et sur plusieurs points d’utilité relatifs aux arts et aux lettres (1801). Presented as a personal letter that responded to concerns librettist Guillard had supposedly expressed to Lesueur privately about the reception of his libretto by the committee of the Théâtre de le République et des Arts, Lesueur's publication lays bare his position on aesthetics and professional factions at the end of the Revolution. Lesueur's arguments and rhetoric prove that although the Revolution had opened doors to a more competitive market for composition, factions and favoritism followed close behind. Lesueur seems to long for reestablishment of Old Regime musical hierarchy based on seniority and church training, a "hierarchy that produces emulation."66

Though much of the 111-page pamphlet expands and rehashes issues specific to La Mort d'Adam that he had raised previously in his 1799 letter to the Théâtre administrators,  

65 See Mongrédien, 469.
Lesueur also writes more generally about his vision for music education and institutions in France. He outlines four major desires: that dramatic music see stability in France, that dramatic productions be encouraged, that the best (i.e. most mature) composers of opera be given priority in the repertory, and that the Conservatoire train singer-actors to support these goals. In the pamphlet, Lesueur expresses frustration with "enemies" who claim that France no longer produces talented dramatic composers. He argues that France has and always had excellent composers, citing Old Regime masters such as Sacchini, Grétry, Piccinni, and Gluck, but also contemporaries Cherubini, Méhul, Martini, and Langlé. Though Lesueur does not name dramatic music's "enemies," the bulk of his argument leaves little ambiguity: his anger is directed toward the administration of the Théâtre de la République et des Arts and to certain, unnamed individuals within the Conservatoire.

Lesueur's entire piece argues, from various angles, that social intrigue anchored in the protection of separate écoles has damaged French dramatic music. He never explicitly articulates the members or beliefs of these two schools. Lesueur claims the Opéra administration continually passed up outstanding, mature composers (like Grétry, Cherubini, Méhul, Martini, and Langlé) for either dated works or for smug young composers supported by one of these école, schools that he asserts "should not even exist." (Though he claims composers themselves never mix themselves in such rivalries anyway.) He repeats the vision for a French school that he expressed in his letter to Langlé in 1800, but this time with more sensitivity toward the benefits of the study of foreign styles. He excuses his praise

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67 Lesueur insists that composers should have more initiation time before their works appear on major stages (48–49) and that such a "natural" hierarchy of composers would "benefit national pride" (49).
69 Ibid., 1.
of primarily foreign composers (Grétry, Gluck, Sacchini, Piccini, Cherubini, and Martini) by arguing that they all composed in France and "according to the dramatic taste and the manner of feeling of the French [...]" Composers who properly assimilated into French aesthetics and social relations had no problem succeeding within this budding nationalist style that held such vehement rivalries against the Germans and Italians. Lesueur claims these accomplished composers, all Conservatoire professors, have been underused and overlooked by the Opéra administration. Lesueur vacillates between discussing this rivalry among schools and the institutions at the heart of this factionalism: the Conservatoire and the Opéra.

Lesueur firmly believes not only in the value of a relationship between the Conservatoire and Opéra, but also in the incorporation of other arts and letters into the Conservatoire to improve the composition of dramatic music. Lesueur envisioned a holistic curriculum that would consider history, poetry, gesture, and music as co-constitutive elements of dramatic composition. He sees no way forward in the improvement of French dramatic composition without the incorporation of these sister arts into the Conservatoire's curriculum: "I know well that one day we will have the invaluable advantage of holding learned seminars at the Conservatoire, where we will hear from the likes of Lacépède, Prony,

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71 Lesueur, Lettre à Guillard, 44–59.
72 "Il faut qu'à l'étude de la composition vocale ils joignent celle de l'histoire, de la mythologie, de la poésie, de l'éloquence, de la philosophie, et qu'ils se familiarisent de bonne heure avec beaucoup d'autres connaissances qui servent à perfectionner l'homme de lettres, le peintre et le musicien" (61). "Encore, faut-il supposer que ces maîtres seront musiciens, ou du moins auront un sentiment délicat de la musique, pour savoir parfaitement enseigner quels sont les rapports certains et les analogies véritables qui existent entre l'art musical et les arts adjacents qu'ils enseigneroient, et montrer nettement à l'élève quels sont tous les points par lesquels ces différents arts se touchent." Ibid., 63.
73 Ibid., 60.
Charles, and other famous members of the Institute illuminating demonstrations on the general relationships that exist among music, mathematics, physics, acoustics, and general analogies that relate the high sciences to the art that we teach at the Conservatoire. Lesueur agrees that these "universal" connections of "the high sciences with the fine arts, the fine arts with letters, the letters with music," are outstanding opportunities for students, however he remains steadfast in his belief that literature should be taught, not just lectured about, at the Conservatoire.

To Lesueur, this goal of holistic dramatic composition and performance also demanded the cultivation of both performers and composers as "geniuses," a belief Chabanon had raised in his 1785 publication. Specifically, Lesueur hoped to bring grammar, literature, and declamation into the Conservatoire, and he combats Sarrette's antipathy toward this proposal directly in a footnote:

One would say in vain that these two types of instruction (literary and musical) are too incoherent to be given at the same time in the same building. These assertions, so devoid of sense, would not deserve response for enlightened people, if they were not susceptible to making proselytes among certain people who, in truth, pretend to be very influential near offices and authorities but these offices, these authorities, cannot, like them, reflect lightly on the important utility of these objects.

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74 "Je sais bien que nous avons un jour l'avantage inappréciable de former des séances savantes au Conservatoire, où les Lacépède, les Prony, les Charles, et autres membres célèbres, de l'Institut, nous feront entendre de lumineuses démonstrations sur les rapports généraux qui existent entre la musique, les mathématiques, la physique, l'acoustique, et généralement sur les grandes analogies qui attachent aux hautes sciences l'art intéressant qu'on professe au Conservatoire." Ibid., 76–77, n.1.

75 "Ce génie de l'exécution demande dans les exécutans non seulement l'habilité avec laquelle on exécute sa partie, mais encore la prompte et chaude intelligence avec laquelle le symphoniste habile sent vivement et avec la rapidité d'un coup d'œil le caractère particulier de chaque chose, et sa liaison avec le tout." Ibid., 64.

76 "On dirait vainement que ces deux sortes d'instruction (la littéraire et la musicale) sont trop incohérentes pour être données en même temps et dans le même édifice. Ces assertions, si dénuées de sens, ne mériteroient pas qu'on y repondit vis-à-vis de gens éclairés, si elles n'étoient pas susceptibles de se faire des prosélytes chez certaines personnes qui, à la vérité, se prétendent très-influences près des bureaux et des autorités: mais ces bureaux, mais ces autorités, ne peuvent, comme eux, reflécher légèrement sur l'importante utilité de ces objets." Ibid., 68, n. 1, emphasis original.
The insensible, influential people to whom Lesueur alludes could be none other than those who converted, both socially and aesthetically, to support Sarrette within the offices and authorities of both the Conservatoire and Opéra.

Lesueur discredits the assertions that government intervention or censorship was to blame for repertory decisions. Instead, he claims that the Opéra administration fed false information to the Minister of the Interior, Lucien Bonaparte, in order to maneuver their personal agendas in both repertory and production. Mark Darlow, in his recent work on the Opéra from 1789 to 1794, explains how past scholarly works on theatre and opera during the Revolution assume a heavy handed top-down censorship on the part of the government, when in reality much more nuanced negotiations dictated institutional decisions. Bolstering Darlow's assertion that the national and municipal governments held competing aesthetic agendas, Lesueur's claim indicates that musicians also competed in these aesthetic and ideological struggles well into the Directory and Consulate governments.

In the Lettre en réponse à Guillard, Lesueur, as he does in his 1799 letter to the Opéra, preoccupies himself with considerations of space and acoustics throughout the politically charged pamphlet. He maintains that acoustics play an integral role in his vision for holistic dramatic works and their performance: "Singers must be trained at once as lyric actors, who have studied, not in the acoustics of a boudoir, but also a temple to properly hear the results of the soft or strong expression of tragédie lyrique." Lesueur in fact repeats, nearly verbatim, his visual metaphor of the equestrian statue and its proper setting invoked in his earlier, private

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78 "Il faut former des chanteurs à la fois acteurs-lyriques, qui aient étudié, non l'acoustique d'un boudoir, mais bien celui du temple propre à y faire entendre les résultats de l'expression douce ou forte de la tragédie lyrique […]" Lesueur, "Introduction," Lettre à Guillard, 12. Here Lesueur uses the politically correct terminology for a church, which was now known as a temple. For example, Notre Dame de Paris had been renamed the Temple of Reason in 1793.
Lesueur insisted his compositions could not be performed nor appreciated outside their proper space. Like a painting, a sculpture, or a drawing, music had to be experienced in spaces appropriate to its goals. Again, repeating nearly verbatim his 1799 letter, he criticizes the dry and choppy sound of the harpsichord, unsuited to dramatic music. Though Lesueur acknowledges and even insists upon costuming, poetry, and scenery to complete dramatic productions, he prioritizes sound as the source of caractère and couleur locale. The sound, whether vocal or instrumental, must always focus on melody supported by a larger soundscape that emphasizes the unique dramatic context: "the essence of this art should be attached to the melody, then the melody, and always the expressive and dramatic melody." Declamation, which does have an instrumental equivalent for Lesueur, threatened the melody because it could destroy the sense or logic of the overall sound, the union among music, text, and drama. Thus, Lesueur's aesthetic vision depended completely upon his success in training performers and composers sensitive to these issues and then assuring that these well-educated musicians and his compositions earned roles on the nation's first stage, the Opéra.

If these had been Lesueur's only two missions, perhaps his cause would have had hope. However, his insistence upon spaces of performance also provoked contested political and social issues. In 1787, Lesueur had lost his position as choirmaster at Notre Dame de

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79 Ibid., 16.
80 Ibid., 33.
81 Ibid., 35.
82 "Attachons-nous donc à ce qui fait l'essence de cet art, à la mélodie, puis à la mélodie, et toujours à la mélodie expressive et dramatique." Ibid., 87, emphasis original.
Paris for bringing dramatic musical techniques into sacred compositions performed within the church. Lesueur claims that the same people who currently, in 1801, accuse him of bringing church music into the theatre with his new composition *La Mort d’Adam*, were the critics 15 years ago who had ridiculed him for bringing theatre music into the church.

The boundaries of these performance spaces—churches and theatres—indeed had changed and blurred over the course of the revolutionary decade. With the abolition of the clergy and the secularization of religious icons, spaces, and rituals, churches had become venues for national festivals, such as the Festival of Reason held at the Temple of Reason (Notre Dame de Paris) in November 1793. Theatres produced re-enactments of these festivals; in fact, Grétry's *La Rosière Républicaine* was the first instrumental work to call for a church organ within a theatre because it re-enacted the Festival of Reason first held at Notre Dame. Organist Nicolas Séjan (1745–1819), in his requests to the government that will be discussed in Chapter 4, describes his zealous quest to locate organs to be installed in the Opéra. Music from both churches and theatres then escaped from these spaces through word of mouth, by songbooks that circulated throughout France, and during outdoor festivals across the nation. The revolutionary goal to reconstitute space in accordance with new revolutionary ideology ultimately just confounded the meaning of these spaces and the music performed in them. Thus, when Lesueur, in 1801, remains firm in his pre-revolutionary conviction that training within church acoustics would yield the most sensitive singer-actors for the theatre, he simultaneously invokes political, social, and aesthetic issues that remained in flux and continued to provoke intense reactions from musicians who had

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worked in these spaces during the precipitous ideological changes of the revolutionary decade.

Lesueur disregards the negative effects his letter may have on his relationships with other musicians and with the government for the sake of revealing "hidden intrigues," intrigues simmering within the Opéra, the Conservatoire, and as a result, the government. Still, he treads carefully on social ground, often praising his colleagues: "Teaching [at the Conservatoire] is the best, the administration very active […] the best music and declamation instructors demonstrate the greatest zeal each day." Those responsible for the intrigues remain anonymous though he openly cites their prey. Lesueur names one particular composer, Pierre Desvignes (1764–1827), who Lesueur knew from the Dijon choir school, as "the victim of the influential babble from certain people without experience." Desvignes briefly held a position at the Conservatoire, which he lost during budget cuts (see Appendix A).

3.5 A New Social Topography

Government budget cuts resulted in layoffs at the Conservatoire in years VIII (September 1799–September 1800) and X (September 1801–September 1802). The series of pamphlets relating to Lesueur, which began in 1801 and ran until 1802, coincided with the year X budget decisions. Some cuts, like Lesueur's claim regarding Desvignes, were not merely the

87 Ibid., 57.
88 "la victime du babill_influent de certaines personnes sans expérience," Ibid.
result of decreased resources and demand. Jean-Baptiste-Amié Janson l’aîné (1742–1803) had
written multiple pamphlets in favor of Lesueur including the _Lettre à M. Paësiello_, which
began this last eighteenth-century _querelle_ between the Lesueuristes and the Sarrettistes.
Musician Durieu, of whom we know very little, not even his first name, wrote the _Observations sur la diatribe appelée réponse_ in favor of Lesueur, picking apart the arguments of the _Réponse_ which scholar Jean Mongrédien suspects to have been written by Sarrette or Sarrette's allies. Indeed, almost every faculty member who expressed support of Lesueur in
this _querelle_ was edged out during the budget cuts, including Janson, Durieu, Louis-Luc Loiseau de Persuis (1769–1819), and Jean-Baptiste Rey. Excepting Gossec, all the
Conservatoire faculty members discussed in section 4.1 who had been involved in the
attempts to develop a singing school in 1792: Rey, Pierre Lahoussaye, and Frédéric Blasius,
also lost their positions in this round of cuts. Additional casualties of the budget cuts were
two musicians who had come to the aid of Madame Borghèse and who worked for both the
Conservatoire and Opéra: Guénin and Assmann. At least 30% of the faculty cuts in year X
can be traced to the network surrounding Lesueur or to those who propagated or
participated in a union between the Conservatoire and Opéra. Lesueur maintained that many
faculty cuts had been the result of cabals and intrigues. Of the 59 faculty members remaining
after the cuts, 39 definitively held Masonic affiliations before the Revolution, eight likely held
such affiliations, and one became a Mason in 1804 (Louis Adam, see Chapter 5): 48 of 59
faculty members.

Musicians relocated their private Masonic friendships and practices into the Garde
Nationale and then Conservatoire, as is evinced by the astounding consistency of
membership across these institutions from the 1780s to 1804. Masonry lost favor over the
course of the Revolution because private exclusivity and secrecy seemed to threaten a universal public good. By 1794, such private associations were considered threats to the public good because they fostered favoritism. Similarly, the Conservatoire also fought accusations of faculty hires through cronyism rather than merit after 1795 (See Chapter 4). Loiselle explains how the private relationships developed through Masonic lodges could become destructive when "the deep, unritualized ties that some men forged through more exclusive acts of sociability—such as private dinners or parties that did not include all lodge members—could create friendship cliques and subsequently erode the collective, ritualized friendship of the group." A similar case seems to have been at work among the emergent professional class of musicians that institutionalized within the Conservatoire. The cliques that surrounded Lesueur and Sarrette provide a stark example.

The revolutionary ambivalence regarding the private interest and public utility rests at the heart of the emergent professional class of musicians during the revolutionary decade. The public sphere that developed over the course of the eighteenth century constituted a bourgeois public that existed outside the intimacy of European courts and family homes. During the Revolution, Republican ideology had to be genuinely felt in the privacy of one's being, but expressed publicly in order to constitute a new political culture and prove the veracity of one's dedication to the new order. This tension surrounded musical practices and institutions, as well. The women included in the new professional class endured scrutiny and criticism for their negotiation of this ambiguous social terrain. Questions still lurk

89 See Loiselle, "Friendship Under Fire: Freemasonry in the French Revolution."
90 Loiselle, 251.
regarding Viotti’s decision to perform only privately among friends, while publicly pursuing theatre management. Mark Darlow has shown that debates about whether the Opéra should be given up to private enterprise or remain a ward of the state were tied intimately to tensions between the public and private spheres. The public good provided by the Opéra, instructing good citizens and monumentalizing the French nation, came into jeopardy if private citizens purchased tickets to attend opera performances and the institution ran only for profit.⁹³ All of these tensions between public and private map onto Loiselle’s assertion that Masonic lodges, where I argue musicians gained an opportunity to cultivate their professional network, at once allowed men to develop personal friendships, a private phenomenon, while also practicing classical republicanism, inherently public. Thus, the tensions between public and private that permeated the revolutionary experiences of members of the emergent professional class of musicians indicate that they were not exclusively utilitarian public servants, but professionals negotiating new contexts of practice and production.

Chapter 4. From an Economy of Patron to *Patrie*

This chapter presents three examples of how musicians collectively capitalized upon economic changes during the Revolution through the fight by composers for intellectual property rights, the more general effort by musicians to gain legal ownership over their labor and services, particularly through the formation of the Paris Conservatoire, and requests by musicians for government aid. These examples demonstrate the transition from patronized to public service that musicians experienced during the Revolution and their conscious navigation of economic changes. The final section of this chapter explores a microcosm of these economic changes in connection with the social changes discussed in the previous chapter through musicians' involvement with Madame Campan's school for girls.

4.1 Taking Ownership: Intellectual Property Rights of Musicians

The struggle for intellectual property rights from 1789 to 1793, typically discussed in terms of authors' rights, required a concerted effort in collective action by musicians. An undated petition among the private papers of the former clergyman and lifelong political thinker the Abbé Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès (1748–1836) reveals a unique perspective on broader struggles for intellectual property among writers and artists. In the document, the petitioners request that the committee on liberty of the press, of which Sieyès was a member, present a law to the National Assembly that would protect the intellectual property rights of writers.

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1 Sieyès remains infamous for his seminal revolutionary text "What is the third estate?" (1789), a pamphlet published just before the outbreak of Revolution that asserted the third estate—non-nobility and non-clergy members—in fact constituted France.
and artists. Such rights were abolished, along with the abolition of all types of privilege, on the night of August 4, 1789.

The petition likely dates to the fall of 1789 or the spring of 1790. In January 1790, Sieyès brought a report on issues of liberty of the press and copyright to the constitutional committee. The petitioners either contacted Sieyès upon hearing of his initiative in January 1790, with a goal of encouraging the legislation to pass, or they contacted him as he compiled the report in the fall of 1789—certainly possible, as their suggestions manifest quite clearly in the January 1790 report. The petitioners specifically demand that no copies of their works be printed or sold without explicit written permission from the author, and that upon the author’s death, his or her heirs would inherit rights to the work.

The inclusion of librettists and musicians in this petition should be understood in the context of an ongoing struggle between Parisian and provincial theatres, as well as a struggle between the Opéra and Comédie-Française versus the Comédie-Italienne and Théâtre Feydeau. Pierre de Beaumarchais (1732–1799) spearheaded these efforts among librettists through the Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques, which he founded in 1777. Particularly for comédiens, provincial theatres had a long tradition of restaging works that first appeared in Paris without permission from the authors. Additionally, tensions surrounding Italian translations of French works also lurked beneath these struggles because writers and

2 "Honorables membres formant Le Comité pour la liberté de la presse," undated (F-Pan, AP 284 8 1).
4 See Brown and Karro, n.3.
composers of new French works for the stage believed that translations from Italian works drew revenue away from their original works staged at the Opéra and Comédie-Française. The increasing role of music in comic productions coupled with the increasing popularity of comic works lead to the inclusion of composers into librettists' struggle for intellectual property, and as a result their acceptance as equals among other artists. The petition explicitly states in the final paragraph: "Musicians, as talented associates with men of letters in the composition of works destined for the lyric theatre and in the community of work, interests, and rights with them, solicit from the national assembly the same protections for their property and the same portion of profits from their operas in the provincial theatres." In addition to librettists associated with the Théâtre-Italien, composers André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813) and Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac (1753–1809) signed the petition.

Though the legislation never passed in the form in which Sieyès presented it, the proposal he submitted on January 20, 1790, represents a milestone in French legal history on intellectual property rights and copyright. Before the Revolution, the right to publish was a royal privilege granted by the monarchy. In his report, Sieyès instead assures intellectual property rights to individual creators of published works. In article XIV, Sieyès insists, "the property of a work should be assured to its author by the law." He proceeds to outline details of this legal protection from counterfeit publications and performances in four

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5 "Musiciens, comme associés de talens avec les Gens de lettres dans la composition des ouvrages destinés aux Théâtres lyriques, et en communauté de travaux, d'intérêts, et de droits avec eux, sollicitent auprès de l'assemblée nationale la même protection pour leur propriété et la même part aux bénéfices de leurs opéras sur les Théâtres de Province." "Honorables membres formant Le Comité pour la liberté de la presse," undated (F-Pan, AP 284 81).
6 During the revolutionary period the Comédie-Italienne and Opéra-Comique were the same venue and the names could be used interchangeably. I use the titles interchangeably based on how sources refer to the institution.
8 Ibid., 283.
subsequent articles, and in article XIX, he explicitly states that the preceding articles apply equally to printed music and theatre scores.

On October 16, 1790, Grétry wrote a personal letter to Sieyès praising his work on liberty of the press as it relates to dramatic authors and composers, particularly in contrast to the arguments of the playwright Jean-François de La Harpe (1739–1803), who held views similar to Beaumarchais. Grétry expresses appreciation to Sieyès for taking care to consider more than only the men of letters in his assessment and his disagreement with legal views that equate authors of the Comédie-Italienne with those of the Comédie-Française. He notes "Figaro" (1786) in particular, claiming such works often generate more revenue in a few performances than his own Richard, Cœur de Lion (1776) ever did. Thus, Grétry believes translations of French works into Italian draw revenue away from French artists, so that even composers with three or four well-received works cannot afford "to place bread on their table," while other authors and composers gained fortunes from just a couple well-received performances. Grétry encourages Sieyès to continue to consider the "big picture": a macro view of theatrical productions that legally equates composers and librettists and favors original French works.

Musicians had been keen to incorporate themselves into issues of copyright since the beginning of the Revolution. The Pétition adressée à l'Assemblée nationale par les auteurs et éditeurs de musique, mentioned in the previous chapter as a demonstration of social cohesion among

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9 Lettre de Grétry à Sieyès, 16 Octobre 1790 (F-Pan, AP 284 8 4). In speeches during 1790, La Harpe accused the entrepreneurs and actors, or sociétaires, of the Comédie-Française, of feeding off of a system of theatrical privilege that deprived authors of their property. He also laid out many of the ideas that would subsequently become law in 1791. In the speeches, La Harpe does not, however, address the intellectual property of composers. See Jean-François de La Harpe, Adresse des auteurs dramatiques à l'Assemblée nationale, prononcée par M. de la Harpe, dans la séance du mardi soir 24 août [1790] (n.p., n.d.) and Discours sur la liberté du théâtre prononcé par M. de la Harpe le 17 décembre 1790 à la Société des amis de la Constitution (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1790).

10 Pétition adressée à l'Assemblée nationale par les auteurs et éditeurs de musique (Paris: Laurens ainé, s.d.).
musicians, proposes a detailed legal process by which music should be printed. It demands that "authors of music" register works with the municipality and obtain a visa before selling or ceding the manuscript. The editor would then also register the work with the municipality to avoid duplicate printings. Engravers would subsequently have to request proper paperwork from editors, proving that the author granted rights for the publication. Next, compilers would have to obtain notarized permission if they wished to change any notes or instrument parts in a score. The legislation would forbid printers from moving forward with printing without a signed copy from the editor verifying that these processes had been properly followed. The petitioners also hoped to ban imported counterfeit works and to strictly regulate exportation. More than sixty musicians signed the petition, from professors at the École royale de chant et de déclamation to instrumental performers from the Théâtre Feydeau. Almost all of the signees would become professors at the Paris Conservatoire when it formed five years later. Composers argued that, like authors, their works were born of genius and thus should earn compensation when reproduced, whether textually or performatively. Despite these arguments from Sieyès and encouragement from musicians, the legislation that eventually passed on January 1791 only protected the rights of authors and performances of their librettos, and not explicitly the intellectual property of all artists.\footnote{Michel Thiollière explains: \textit{The law of 13–19 January 1791 marks the outcome of a struggle lead by Beaumarchais and consacrates the right of performance of dramatic authors. It offers the first rendition of authors rights with both a moral and patrimonial dimension. This dedication is nonetheless indirect. The law of 1791 is first a text on "spectacles" that begins by stating, in article 2, that 'works of authors dead for five years or more are public property' before recognizing the right of authors and their heirs hold an exclusive right to performance of their works limited in time. (La loi des 13-19 janvier 1791 marque l’aboutissement du combat mené par Beaumarchais et consacre le droit de représentation des auteurs dramatiques. Elle apporte la première traduction d’un droit d’auteur comportant à la fois une dimension morale et une dimension patrimoniale. Cette consécration n’est cependant qu’indirecte. La loi de 1791 est d’abord un texte sur « les spectacles » qui commence par poser, à l’article 2, que « les ouvrages des auteurs morts depuis cinq ans et plus}}
In addition to the unsanctioned provincial productions of Parisian stage works and the translation of French works into Italian, the battle for musicians' intellectual property rights should be situated within two additional debates: management of the Opéra and censorship. Mark Darlow has demonstrated that arguments for the private interests of individual performers and composers counterbalanced perceptions of music as a public utility until 1794.\footnote{Mark Darlow, Staging the French Revolution: Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra, 1789–1794 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).} Property rights are a private interest. As Grétry and Dalayrac argued for intellectual ownership over their stage compositions, performers from the Opéra argued for their share of the theater's profits since productions were the fruit of artists' combined individual industry.\footnote{Ibid., 78–79.} Musical performers followed cues from actors who also fought for a stake in theatrical productions and to elevate their low social standing. Meanwhile, arguments in favor of the liberty of the press, completely enmeshed in discussion of author's rights and copyright, paved the way down a slippery slope toward the abolishment of theatre censorship—the crux of tension between public good and private privilege.

The Le Chapelier Law, passed on June 14, 1791, champions private, individual interests. It is worth reproducing the text of the law in its entirety, which is remarkably short for the immense impact it would have on French society by abolishing craft guilds and trade unions. This law would not be reversed until the mid-nineteenth century:

\begin{quote}
Article 1. In that the abolition of any kind of citizen's guild in the same trade or of the same profession is one of the fundamental bases of the French Constitution, it is forbidden to reestablish them under any pretext or in any form whatsoever.
\end{quote}

Article 2. Citizens of the same trade or profession, entrepreneurs, those who have set up shop, workers and journeymen of any skill may not, when assembled, appoint themselves as president, secretaries, or trustees, keep accounts, pass decrees or resolutions, or draft regulations concerning their alleged common interests.

Article 3. All administrative or municipal bodies are forbidden to receive any address or petition in the name of an occupation or profession, or to make any response thereto. Additionally, they are enjoined to declare null and void whatever resolutions have been made in such a manner, and to make certain that no effect or execution be given thereto.

Article 4. If, against the principles of liberty and the Constitution, citizens related to the same professions, arts, or trades, were to deliberate or to make agreements among themselves designed to set to only one designated price the product of their industry or their labor, these deliberations and conventions, whether accompanied by oath or not, will be declared unconstitutional, prejudicial to liberty and the Declaration of Rights of Man, and will be null and void. Administrative and municipal bodies shall be required to declare them as such. The authors, leaders, and instigators who provoked, drafted, or presided over these agreements shall be charged by the police at the request of the communal attorney will be fined 500 livres, suspended for a year from the enjoyment of all rights of active citizenship, and barred from admittance to the primary assemblies.

Article 5. All administrative and municipal bodies are forbidden, even if the members are using their own names, to employ, admit, or allow to be admitted to their professions in any public works, those entrepreneurs, workers, or journeymen who have provoked or signed the said deliberations or conventions, unless of their own accord, they have presented themselves to the registrar of the police court to retract or disavow them.

Article 6. If the said deliberations or convocations, posted placards, or circular letters contain any threats against entrepreneurs, artisans, workers, or foreign day-laborers working there, or against those accepting lower wages, all authors, instigators, and signatories of such acts or writings shall be punished with a fine of 1,000 livres each and imprisoned for three months.

Article 7. Those who use threats or violence against workers who are taking advantage of the freedoms granted to labor and industry by constitutional law shall be subject to criminal prosecution and shall be punished to the fullest extent of the law, as disturbers of the public peace.

Article 8. All assemblies composed of artisans, workers, journeymen, day-laborers, or those incited by them against the free exercise of industry and labor, belonging to any kind of person and under all circumstances mutually agreed to, or against the action of police at the execution of judgments rendered in such connection, as well
as against public auctions and adjudications of various enterprises, shall be considered seditious assemblies, and as such shall be dispersed by the guardians of the law, upon legal warrants made thereupon, and shall be punished to the fullest extent of the laws concerning authors, instigators, and leaders of the said assemblies, and all those who have committed assaults and acts of violence.\(^\text{14}\)

"The freedoms granted to labor and industry by constitutional law" through Le Chapelier ostensibly legalized the Physiocratic, that is, free market economic philosophy that


"Art. 1. L’anéantissement de toutes espèces de corporations des citoyens du même état ou profession étant une des bases fondamentales de la constitution française, il est défendu de les rétablir de fait, sous quelque prétexte et quelque forme que ce soit.

Art. 2. Les citoyens d’un même état ou profession, les entrepreneurs, ceux qui ont boutique ouverte, les ouvriers et compagnons d’un art quelconque ne pourront, lorsqu’ils se trouveront ensemble, se nommer ni président, ni secrétaires, ni syndics, tenir des registres, prendre des arrêtés ou délibérations, former des règlements sur leurs prétendus intérêts communs.

Art. 3. Il est interdit à tous les corps administratifs ou municipaux de recevoir aucune adresse ou pétition pour la dénomination d’un état ou profession, d’y faire aucune réponse ; et il leur est enjoint de déclarer nulles les délibérations qui pourraient être prises de cette manière, et de veiller soigneusement à ce qu’il ne leur soit donné aucune suite ni exécution

Art. 4. Si, contre les principes de la liberté et de la constitution, des citoyens attachés aux mêmes professions, arts et métiers, prenaient des délibérations, ou faisaient entre eux des conventions tendant à n’accorder qu’à un prix déterminé le secours de leur industrie ou de leurs travaux, lesdites délibérations et conventions, accompagnées ou non du serment, sont déclarées inconstitutionnelles, attentatoires à la liberté et à la déclaration des droits de l’homme, et de nul effet ; les corps administratifs et municipaux seront tenus de les déclarer telles. Les auteurs, chefs et instigateurs, qui les auront provoquées, rédigées ou présidées, seront cités devant le tribunal de police, à la requête du procureur de la commune, condamnés chacun en cinq cent livres d’amende, et suspendus pendant un an de l’exercice de tous droits de citoyen actif, et de l’entrée dans toutes les assemblées primaires.

Art. 5. Il est défendu à tous corps administratifs et municipaux, à peine par leurs membres d’en répondre en leur propre nom, d’employer, admettre ou souffrir qu’on admette aux ouvrages de leurs professions dans aucun travaux publics, ceux des entrepreneurs, ouvriers et compagnons qui provoqueraient ou signereraient lesdites délibérations ou conventions, si ce n’est dans les le cas où, de leur propre mouvement, ils se seraient présentés au greffe du tribunal de police pour se rétracter ou désavouer.

Art. 6. Si lesdites délibérations ou convocations, affiches apposées, lettres circulaires, contenaient quelques menaces contre les entrepreneurs, artisans, ouvriers ou journalistes étrangers qui viendraient travailler dans le lieu, ou contre ceux qui se contenteraient d’un salaire inférieur, tous auteurs, instigateurs et signataires des actes ou écrits, seront punis d’une amende de mille livres chacun et de trois mois de prison.

Art. 7. Ceux qui useraient de menaces ou de violences contre les ouvriers usant de la liberté accordée par les lois constitutionnelles au travail et à l’industrie, seront poursuivis par la voie criminelle et punis suivant la rigueur des lois, comme perturbateurs du repos public.

Art. 8. Tous attroupements composés d’artisans, ouvriers, compagnons, journalistes, ou excités par eux contre le libre exercice de l’industrie et du travail appartenant à toutes sortes de personnes, et sous toute espèce de conditions convenues de gré à gré, ou contre l’action de la police et l’exécution des jugements rendus en cette matière, ainsi que contre les enchères et adjudications publiques de diverses entreprises, seront tenus pour attroupements séditieux, et, comme tels, ils seront dissipés par les dépositaires de la force publique, sur les réquisitions légales qui leur en seront faites, et punis selon tout la rigueur des lois sur les auteurs, instigateurs et chefs desdits attroupement, et sur tous ceux qui auront commis des voies de fait et des actes de violence."
had gained traction in France since the 1770s.\textsuperscript{15} Chapter 2 demonstrated the ambiguity of musicians' professional identity (artist, craftsman, or scientist) and the private form of organization they practiced, particularly in Masonic lodges, leading up to the Revolution. Le Chapelier should be situated within this realm of lived experience. Article 1 bans guilds and hierarchical structure within a trade or profession. Musicians had never organized completely to include performers, composers, instrument manufacturers, and printers as a single professional group, and even small groups of musicians that had organized did not do so hierarchically toward common professional interests. Musicians until the Revolution organized in pockets, for example, composers who belonged to Beaumarchais' \textit{Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques}. Article 3 bans the right to petition. Musicians had begun to petition collectively, and since they were initially affiliated with the municipal government through the Garde Nationale, they made appeals on this jurisdictional level. Article 4 forbids price fixing. The price for musicians' labor had always been a matter of negotiation among patrons and musicians rather than an industry standard set among those who provided musical services. Thus, Le Chapelier, when considered through the lens of musicians' pre-revolutionary practices, should have had little affect on working musicians. They were not legally organized.

Yet the ramifications of the law echoed profoundly for musicians because of changes that had already begun to take root during the first two years of Revolution. The law abolished the monarchy's monopoly over theatres, thus the right to open a theatre in Paris

became available to anyone who had the means. Theatres multiplied from three official sanctioned theatres in 1789 to 35 in 1792.16 This proliferation of performance venues caused a relaxation in censorship since it was no longer the centralized authority representing the crown that would determine repertoire choices. Theatres would instead negotiate repertoire decisions within individual institutions and among various municipal bodies. Thus, more parties and bureaucratic levels participated in the negotiation of repertoire decisions.17

The idea at the heart of Le Chapelier—the abolishment of collective privilege for the sake of individual opportunity and enterprise—seemed to offer a profound opportunity for musicians. As venues multiplied, new theatres and revolutionary festivals would require more music. On the other hand, musicians had just recently begun to cooperate as other authors and artists, so the ban on collective action came at an unfortunate moment because musicians had already begun to re-conceptualize their collective identity as professionals. Still, musicians had already practiced informal collective action in lodges and salons of the Old Regime, so when the government forbade such organization, musicians already had an informal structure that remained undetectable by laws such as Le Chapelier.

The Décret relatif aux droits de propriété des auteurs d'écrits en tous genres, des compositeurs de musique, des peintres et des dessinateurs, des 19–24 juillet 1793, presented by Joseph Lakanal to the legislative assembly, brought debates on authors' rights to a close.18 The law granted authors, composers, painters, and draftsmen, the right to the printing and distribution of their work, and rights transferred to their heirs up to ten years after the authors' death. Strict regulations demanded that two copies of any printed work should remain in the Bibliothèque nationale

16 McClellan, 68–78.
17 See Darlow, 63–182, on bureaucratic negotiations involved in Opéra repertory decisions from 1789 to 1794. 
or Cabinet des Estampes to establish an authoritative collection of legally printed works in France.\textsuperscript{19} While this law definitively granted copyrights to all \textit{auteurs}, it failed to tackle the issue of counterfeit performances, such as those bemoaned by Grétry in his letter to Sieyès. Though composers earned protection through the new law for their printed works, the law failed to protect against unsanctioned performances. Composers had largely, as Grétry feared in his letter to Sieyès, fallen between the cracks in the vigorous arguments between librettists, theatre entrepreneurs, and actors.

Michel Thiollière identifies the law of January 1791 as the first \textit{droit d'auteur} "with both a moral and patrimonial dimension."\textsuperscript{20} Through it, works became public property five years after the author's death, until which time authors and their heirs held exclusive rights. Thus, the law both acknowledged author's work as personal property, and also that their works constituted a public good that should be publicly accessible in perpetuity. The Law of 19–24 July, 1793, on the other hand, protects the right to reproduction. Thiollière identifies a significant distinction in the ideologies behind each law:

Le Chapelier saw the work, the fruit of a writer's thoughts as 'the most sacred, the most legitimate, the most unassailable, and [...] the most personal of properties.' [Le Chapelier] adds, 'Although, as it is extremely just that men who cultivate the domain of thoughts reap the fruits of their labor, during their life and for some years after their death, no one must be able, without their consent, to possess the product of their genius. But also, after an established period of time, public property begins,

\textsuperscript{19} Michel Thiollière explains:

\textit{The law of 19–24 Jul 1793} has to the contrary a more general scope. It establishes, in article 1, the principle that "authors of all written genres, composers of music, painters and designers that carve pictures or designs, will enjoy for their entire life exclusive rights to sell, to distribute their works in the territory of the Republic and to relinquish the property in full or in part." It establishes thus \textit{a right to reproduction} to authors for the duration of their life, then to their heirs for five years.

\textit{(La loi des 19-24 juillet 1793 a en revanche une portée générale. Elle pose, dès son article 1\textsuperscript{er}, le principe que "les auteurs d'écrits en tout genre, les compositeurs de musique, les peintres et les dessinateurs qui feront graver des tableaux ou dessins, jouiront durant leur vie entière du droit exclusif de vendre, faire vendre, distribuer leurs ouvrages dans le territoire de la République et d'en céder la propriété en tout ou en partie." Elle consacre donc un droit de reproduction aux auteurs pour la durée de leur vie, puis à leurs héritiers pendant cinq ans.) Emphasis original.}

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
and everyone should be able to print, publish the works that have contributed to the enlightenment of the human mind.' This desire to reconcile authors' rights to their works with the existence of a public domain then leads to a limit in time, thus a separation from property rights, which are, by nature, perpetual.\textsuperscript{21}

And so from the law regarding performance to the law regarding reproduction, the author becomes distanced from his work as an owner, and became instead a medium for cultural heritage that cannot possess his creation in perpetuity.\textsuperscript{22} Rather, artists contributed to a collective national heritage of genius.

These laws passed with little debate, and re-founded, in light of changing revolutionary ideology, authors' and printers' rights, which had been abolished as a type of royal privilege on the night of August 4, 1789. Just before the Terror began, legislatures achieved a balance between individual interests and public good in terms of the intellectual property and copyrights of authors. Unlike dramatic authors, the right to performance of musical works still remained ambiguous for musicians. From 1789 until 1793, musicians worked collaboratively toward professional rights they did not enjoy before the Revolution; rights that attempted to place them in equal esteem to other artists before the law. Yet the Le Chapelier Law and the abolition of academies in 1793 seemed to threaten any further collective professional action among musicians.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., emphasis original.
\textsuperscript{22} Peter Szendy interprets the laws of 1791 and 1793 as the first steps toward a paradigm, codified later in the nineteenth century that gave authors rights over the interpretation of their works. Szendy misreads these two laws. They only attempted to give authors financial compensation for the performance of their works (barely, according to Thiollière, see n. 11) and not necessarily artistic rights over how the productions would be staged. See Peter Szendy, \textit{Listen: A History of our Ears}, trans. Charlotte Mandell (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 18–24.
\textsuperscript{23} The National Convention suppressed all official societies and academies through decrees passed on August 8 and 12, 1793.
In her work on publishing and politics during the Revolution, Carla Hesse has correctly asserted that the goal of legislative actions in 1793 was to create an open commerce of ideas to balance public and private interest within a free market system. Hesse explains:

The law of [July] 1793 accomplished this task of synthesis through political negotiation rather than philosophical reasoning—that is, by refashioning the political identity of the author in the first few years of the Revolution from a privileged creature of the absolutist police state into a servant of public enlightenment. With this "declaration of the rights of genius," the power to determine the meaning and fate of ideas devolved from the state, the family, and the corporate publishers to individual authors and to the public at large. The ideal of an enlightened republic was embodied in more than just the "rights of genius;" it lay also in the notion of democratic access to a common cultural inheritance, preserved in the public domain.

Similar to authors, the identities of composers and performers transitioned from servants of monarchical patrons to servants of the patrie, and whatever agency they could guard as a professional group had to be carefully negotiated in a context of abolished collective privilege. Musicians had witnessed the backlash against the Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques as a type of privileged corporation, which Beaumarchais had to defend, arguing the very nature of theatrical production as collaborative. Musicians achieved this through the establishment of the Conservatoire, a centralized institution predicated upon musicians as public servants who worked cooperatively due to the very nature of their art. The insularity of the institution would nonetheless provide a venue for musicians to cultivate private interests as artists insulated from the public by bureaucracy.

25 Hesse, 121.
26 Ibid., 124.
27 See n. 3 and 9 on Beaumarchais and La Harpe’s campaign.
4.2 Monopolizing the Market: The Conservatoire

As musicians sought the legal protection of intellectual property, they also began to re-imagine venues for their labor and products after the disappearance of two primary Old Regime markets: the court and the church. A core group of 45 musicians served under Bernard Sarrette (1765–1858) from the onset of the Revolution and they remained under his leadership until becoming officially attached to the Garde Nationale on May 4, 1790. During 1791, Mayor Pétion of Paris attempted to obtain funding to create a school for this group of musicians, but the municipal government of Paris said this was an issue for the national assembly's budget that supported general education. In the meantime, Sarrette's musicians were housed at the convent of Filles-Saint-Thomas, the district where the group formed, and in May 1790 Sarrette received funding from the Garde Nationale to provide its musicians with pay for their service, clothing, and instruments. Before this, their pay came from a patchwork of sources including Sarrette's personal accounts, individual districts, as well as per diem work that consisted of planning and executing revolutionary festivals. This 1790 funding approval meant, for the moment, the musical arm of the Garde Nationale officially rested in the hands of the municipality, the city of Paris.

After indefatigable support of revolutionary festivals and manifestations from 1789 through 1792, even when the national government was not necessarily complicit, the


29 Most notably the musicians of the Garde Nationale provided music for a festival in honor of the Châteauvieux Swiss mercenaries who participated in an anti-royalist internal rebellion in northeastern France on August 31, 1790. Though officers of the Châteauvieux regiment were able to temporarily gain control of the rebellion, when more French troops arrived hundreds of deaths occurred primarily due to violence caused by confusion. The National Assembly severely punished Swiss soldiers who participated in the rebellion, but French rebels received little or no punishment. This action garnered sympathy among staunch revolutionaries. As the Revolution radicalized, the uprising was re-cast as revolutionary activism. The national government did not support the festival to honor these Swiss soldiers, and thus the participation of the Garde Nationale
musicians finally earned approval for a free music school supported by the municipality on June 9, 1792.\textsuperscript{30} The school planned to accept 120 sons of national guardsmen as students. Students without prior musical training would begin between the ages of 10 and 16, and those with musical experience between 18 and 20. Prospective students would first pass an exam, and if successful the municipality would supply them with an instrument, staff paper, and a uniform. The curriculum would include two lessons in solfège and three on an instrument each week. The mission of the school was to train men in both music and military services, to participate in public festivals, and to take part in annual public exercises for municipal leadership. The militaristic goals of the school resulted in its concentration in wind instruments, both easily portable and more audible in outdoor performance settings.

Beginning in 1792, the music school simultaneously served both the nation and municipality. According to Pierre, the August 10, 1793, festival commemorating the first anniversary of the fall of the French monarchy marked the first time the musical corps of the Garde Nationale officially provided direct public service to national, rather than municipal, powers.\textsuperscript{31} In October 1793, the Committee on Public Safety, at this point the \textit{de facto} executive government of France, requested 21 musicians to support the nation’s western army. On November 8, 1793, a representation of the municipal government along with musicians from the Garde Nationale presented a plan for an Institut national de musique to the National Convention, the legislative branch of the national government. Sarrette gave a speech on behalf of the Parisian musicians of the Garde Nationale to the Convention, and musicians was read as a radical position in line with that of the municipal government. Soon, however, their participation in such patriotic manifestations would support their argument that the government should provide the musicians with financial support. Pierre, \textit{Sarrette}, 27.


\textsuperscript{31} Pierre, \textit{Sarrette}, 33.
Marie-Joseph Chénier, himself a poet and also a member of the municipal and national governments, spoke on behalf of the musicians. To validate national government support for the Institut, the musicians had to argue that music was a matter of public interest. If music were a matter of private interest then their request would be viewed as an attempt to garner privilege, which had been squelched on August 4th, and reinforced through Le Chapelier. Without providing public, national service, the musicians held no legal right to organize. The nature of their art, however, necessitated organization: musical performance required musicians to perform together even while other professionals and workers were strictly prevented from colluding.

Pierre dates the document "Les artistes musiciens de la Garde Nationale parisienne à la Convention nationale"32 to the November 8, 1793, visit to the National Assembly33 and identifies it as a transcript of the speech Sarrette gave on behalf of his musicians. Sarrette's speech begins, "Public interest, intimately tied to that of the arts, requires national protection."34 Throughout the speech, Sarrette indulges the French desire to spread liberty throughout Europe, which began with the war on Austria in April 1792. He maps musical democratization onto the military democratization for which France strove, just as a free commerce of ideas had mapped onto the attempt at a free economic market. Sarrette predicts that freed from "despotism against liberty […] Europe is assured a Renaissance in the beaux-arts" with France at its center. Sarrette assures the Convention, just as music supported combat, it would now contribute to the celebration of peace. He plays on the competitive French spirit claiming that the institutionalization of music in France would free

32 "Les artistes musiciens de la Garde Nationale parisienne à la Convention nationale," [November 8, 1793 according to Pierre] (F-Pan, DXXXVIII IV 24).
33 Pierre, Sarrette, 41, f.n.1.
34 Ibid., 40.
the French from slavery to foreign styles and Germany would only be worthy of celebrating like the French when they have also freed themselves from the aesthetic bondage of Italianate musical styles. Sarrette combats potential arguments against musical performance and listening as exclusive, private Old Regime practices by explaining how musical performance had in fact evolved socially since 1789: "returned to its original grandeur, [music] shall no longer be weakened by its effeminate days in the salons or in the temples." Sarrette argues that the strength of music comes from its release, facilitated by his own group of musicians, from these Old Regime private confines into public spaces: "Vast arenas, public plazas should henceforth be the concert halls of the free people." Sarrette maps the rhetoric of liberty and nationalism onto music in order to further his cause for national government funding.

He emphasizes that liberty, equality, and civic duty—not private interests—motivated the musicians to organize when the Revolution began. Thus, he insists that the Institut "cannot be considered as an academic assembly, stagnant in its ignorance and presumption, these are active artists, working without jalousie and directed only by a desire to take the knowledge of their art to the nth degree." These words cannot be overlooked as

35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 "Elle [la Garde nationale] ne peut être considérée comme un rassemblement académique, stagnant dans l'ignorance et la présomption; ce sont des artistes actifs, travaillant sans jalousie et dirigés par le seul désir de porter au dernier degré les connaissances de leur art." Pierre, Sarrette, 41. I have kept the term jalousie in the original French because Sarrette is directly speaking to its productive opposite embodied by his Garde nationale musicians: emulation. Darlow explains:

Emulation was defined by Jaucourt in the Encyclopédie as 'a noble, generous passion which, whilst admiring the merit, possessions and actions of others, attempts to imitate or even surpass them, through courageous effort and honorable virtuous principles.' It was diametrically opposed to jealousy and envy as 'competitive striving between individuals to determine some rank order or hierarchy based on merit.' It was a cornerstone of Revolutionary thinking, especially that of the libertarians, and was a conceptualization of progress as provoked by generous emotions such as admiration and imitation; this idea was later to become central to the Terror's use of great men as moral exempla (103–104).
verbose revolutionary rhetoric, for Sarrette had a very specific socio-economic motivation for his presentation to the Convention (he gave this speech at the beginning of the Terror in November 1793). Government resources were scarce, particularly since the declaration of war on Austria in April 1792. He knew the large demands he was placing at the feet of the national government for an art that previously represented a pleasurable pastime of the social elite. The above quote did much work for Sarrette. First, it affirms that this institutionalization would in no way resemble the guilds and academies banned as privilege. Academies, he insists, protected pre-existing standards. Instead, he characterizes musical composition and performance through the Institut as an active form of citizenship and a public good available to every French citizen. Second, not only were his musicians capable of this utilitarian activity, they were willing to bring patriotic edification to the doorsteps of citizens across France. Sarrette explains precisely how the school could be useful throughout France, establishing why the responsibility for the Institut should not be passed to the municipal government of Paris (where it might return to an elite pastime). Sarrette proposes that musicians from the Institut would travel throughout the Republic to teach their art and that this would contribute to the "regeneration" of France.\(^{38}\) Regeneration was intimately tied to the goal of centralization—a codification of language and culture that would re-unify France as a nation. Sarrette highlights that the Institut will not only serve to create professional musicians, but that musicians will leave the Institut and Paris to serve "the precious portion of society, who after having engaged in the difficult work of agriculture, [through music] will relax and celebrate the virtues and benefits of the Revolution under the

\(^{38}\) Sarrette uses the term régenération explicitly. Ibid.
tree of liberty." Thus, the pleasure music afforded to the first and second estates under the Old Regime would be transferred to the third estate, those who deserved and required the benefits of music. Sarrette claims that this Revolution in music, this transference from indoor, private spaces to outdoor, public celebrations, would also indirectly improve theatre music and concerts, as well. France, he concludes, would imitate the Greeks as "it is in a Republic founded on virtue that liberty reigns, and the reign of liberty is the reign of the beaux-arts." Sarrette equates music with classical republicanism, a governmental form musicians had already experienced in Masonic lodges since the 1770s.

The Convention approved the formation of the Institut in Paris and asked that the Comité d'Instruction publique, part of the national government, prepare a plan for its establishment. The same day, the musicians attended a meeting of the Council of the city of Paris and requested a bonnet rouge from each of the council members. The bonnet rouge, the emblematic hat of republicanism adopted from the liberated slaves of Greece and Rome, symbolized freedom from tyranny. Though the hats physically marked the patriotism of the musicians, they also served as an olive branch to the city of Paris as the musicians transitioned from municipal to national servants. The transition and traversal between municipal and national powers would remain a primary source of financial instability for the musicians throughout 1794. This interstitial institutional position, between municipality and nation, would become increasingly dangerous for musicians during the Terror as aesthetic

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39 "Le dernier et le plus intéressant motif d'utilité se trouvera même des l'emploi de ceux qui, sortant de l'Institut, seront doués d'un talent moins transcendant; au milieu de cette précieuse portion de la société, qui après s'être livrée aux pénibles travaux de l'agriculture, en se délassant célèbrera les vertus et les bienfaits de la Révolution sous l'arbre sacré de la liberté." Ibid.

40 "C'est dans une République fondée sur les vertus que la liberté règne, et le règne de la liberté est celui des beaux-arts." Ibid.
visions between the two levels of government diverged.41

Sarrette capitalized upon the opportunity to reiterate to members of the municipal and national governments the agenda he had set forth in his November 8th speech during a concert later that month. Though the original formation of the musical arm of the Garde Nationale in June 1792 required an annual public concert, a concert held at the Théâtre Feydeau on November 20, 1793, for delegates from both the municipal and national governments, must have had more calculated motivations than mere protocol. In the invitation sent to the Comité d'Instruction Publique, the musicians declare that the concert would demonstrate the outstanding talents that the new national Institut would develop, thus they requested the support and presence of the Convention members who had recently agreed to fund the institution.42 The concert received favorable reviews from the Journal de Paris, particularly the novel emphasis on wind instruments, which the press had emphasized throughout the Revolution as the Garde Nationale's musical specialty never before seen in Europe. Indeed, repertoire developed for winds through revolutionary festivals entered indoor performance spaces and expanded listeners' program expectations. During the concert intermission, after the delegates had sampled the exceptional compositional and performance techniques of the Institut's members, Sarrette addressed the delegates. The only record of this speech comes from the Journal de Paris and the Journal des Spectacles in the days following the concert.43 Sarrette reemphasized the utility of the Institut: national festivals, military music, and education. The journal states, "No Republic without national

41 Darlow explains how during the Terror from September 1793 to July 1794 the National Convention, politically Jacobin, still aimed for an "aesthetically challenging form of art" (178), while the government of the city of Paris, Hébertist radical atheists, promoted simple didactic works that would edify the audience.
42 Reprinted in Pierre, Sarrette, 47.
43 Journal de Paris, 2 frimaire an II (22 November 1793), 1311, and Journal des Spectacles 3, no. 3 frimaire an II (23 November 1793), 1140.
festivals, no national festivals without music,“*44 in short, no Republic without music. Sarrette went on to address the inutility of string instruments in outdoor spaces—"the people could never be confined in a circumscribed and covered space“*45—and insists that the Institut will focus on wind instruments, the volume of which is "eight times stronger" than that of strings. Here Sarrette proves the musicians' utility by exemplifying their willingness to adapt to the new political, and thus physical context of music, even by rejecting instruments that until 1789 represented the height of musical achievement. Sarrette highlighted the careful acoustic research composers executed to determine the ideal instruments for outdoor performance that would achieve both the desirable timbre and volume; thus, the revolutionary triumph of the clarinet. So the "musical artists," as Sarrette refers to the Institut members, are characterized simultaneously as artists, craftsmen, and scientists—testing methods and designing instruments ideal to revolutionary musical aesthetics. Again, he focuses upon an activist craftsmen rather than stagnant artist persona. The *Journal des Spectacles* indicates that Sarrette not only mentioned advances in instrument construction, but that he also demonstrated some of these instruments for the audience. Most importantly, Sarrette insisted upon the goal of the Institut as the "purification of morals and propagation of good taste."*46

The journal invokes the authority of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to bolster support for the Institut's formation, referring to the entry "Fanfare" from the *Dictionnaire de musique*. The journal claims that Rousseau's entry calls for the Institut, implying that Sarrette has fulfilled the need that Rousseau articulated. In the entry, Rousseau describes a fanfare as a military air

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*44* *Journal de Paris*, Ibid.  
*45* Ibid.  
*46* Ibid.
with trumpets and drums that could also be performed on other instruments, and he credits Germans as having the best military music in Europe, "It is something to note that in the whole kingdom of France there is not one single trumpet playing in tune, and the most bellicose nation of Europe has the most discordant military instruments."\(^{47}\) Rousseau continues that during the last two wars the peasants of Bohemia, Austria, and Bavaria, "all born musicians,"\(^{48}\) were shocked that organized Troops such as the French could have such "spurious and detestable" instruments. Thus, when the peasants heard these out-of-tune (\textit{tons faux}) calls, they assumed the sounds came from their own troops and inadvertently fell into French hands. Rousseau claims many peasants lost their lives to "false sounds." The \textit{Journal de Paris} characterizes the careful work on acoustics and instrument building as ameliorating a detrimental lack in the French military (though according to Rousseau it was in fact an asset).

December 17, 1793, Sarrette petitioned the Comité d'Instruction Publique to obtain instruments and scores confiscated from noble \textit{émigrés} and religious institutions as national goods,\(^{49}\) and on January 10, 1794, he proposed state-subsidized music publications.\(^{50}\) The Comité de Salut Public, which served as the executive branch of the French government throughout the Terror (September 1793–July 1794), granted this request on April 26, 1794.\(^{51}\) Despite this small victory, 1794 continued to be a financially troubled year for the musicians, particularly with the temporary arrest of their leader, Sarrette, and their division between municipal and executive powers. Their precarious affiliation nonetheless had benefits: the

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\(^{48}\) Ibid., 218.  
\(^{50}\) Ibid., 56.  
\(^{51}\) Ibid., 56–57.
executive demand for musicians in the northern France armies helped to expedite Sarrette's release from prison. At least, in the musicians' favor, was the increasingly prominent role music played in festivals of this year. In addition, the musicians worked closely with the Comité de Salut Public to plan the program for a July 14th concert.

France experienced a conservative political backlash to the Terror (1793–1794) during the Thermidorian Reaction (1794–1795). With this reaction came a reconsideration of policies enacted during the Terror, and debates began to proliferate regarding the necessity of nationally supported music education. Close on the heels of these debates were accusation of cronyism among the Institut's faculty. Sarrette drew up a provisional organization for the Institut during this transitional period and 80 students received instruction throughout 1794. On August 29, 1794, the faculty agreed upon a course of action for developing method books. But by November 18, 1794, exactly one year after the Convention's commitment to fund the Institut, Comité d'Instruction Publique requested an explanation of the musicians' current organization in order to draw up a report for the allocation of funding already approved by the Comité de Salut Public. The Commission formed to create this report grappled with various questions that arose regarding the institution, including its process for admitting students and whether similar institutions would be created throughout France. Chénier, once again in support of his artist comrades, finally had the opportunity to present the report on behalf of the Comité d'Instruction Publique and Finance Committee on July 28, 1795. On August 3, 1795, the plan was approved with some modifications, most notably the term *Conservatoire*, "borrowed from the Italian schools, despite the difference in

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curriculum between the two institutions,“53 would be employed rather than *Institut central* as suggested in the report.

The Conservatoire would add new professors to its faculty through a jury process, and the institution's oversight was assigned to the Comité d'Instruction Publique until further executive organizations were established. Thirty new professors were added to the faculty ranks in November 1795. The law concerning the formation of the Conservatoire grandfathered in musicians who performed with the Garde Nationale, as well as those who taught at the pre-revolutionary École Royale. Méhul, Grétry, Gossec, Lesueur, and Cherubini were named Inspectors of the Conservatoire who would oversee both teaching and public performances. Ironically, after heading up efforts to create this formal institution for years, Sarrette was at first granted no official role at the Conservatoire. However, his composer colleagues soon rallied for Sarrette to oversee administration since such duties distracted professors from their composition, teaching, and performance.

The proposal for the Conservatoire emphasizes the service of all faculty members in national festivals through either composition or performance. To avoid a semblance of exclusivity, the proposal adds that the Conservatoire welcomed any composers "of the Republic" to submit works for performance at national festivals. A jury of nine professionals, five Conservatoire professors and four chosen by the auditioning composer, would judge submitted scores. Any non-Conservatoire composers would receive encouragements if their works were selected because the music would become national property, deposited in the Conservatoire music library to be printed and sent throughout France for moral and educational purposes. The public library would house "principal"

53 "empruntée aux écoles d'Italie, malgré la différence de régime entre ces deux établissements," Ibid., 126,
works on the theory of music as well as an instrument cabinet exhibiting French, foreign, and ancient instruments. The end of the proposal states that studios for instrument making and printing housed within the Conservatoire would allow music students of both sexes to further assure their subsistence.54

The plan for the Conservatoire solved the conundrum set forth by the Encyclopédie decades earlier. Musicians now represented a social and artistic unity for which French Enlightenment thinkers such as Diderot had striven. Florence Gétreau has asserted that the inclusion of an instrument workshop in the Conservatoire represented equality and negotiation between the arts d’agrément and arts mécaniques.55 Musicians balanced science, art, and craft, harmonizing the triumph of positivistic inquiry, the utility of beauty, and the virtue of industry. As such, they could be held up as models of the revolutionary ideal. And while this rhetorical achievement served musicians well as they argued for government support, behind these arguments lay a very practical goal: to re-build a professional foundation from the rubble of Old Regime markets for musical products and services. So as musicians served revolutionary ideology, revolutionary socio-economic upheaval in turn served musicians. It grants revolutionary musicians little agency to casually link the Conservatoire to revolutionary ideology when professional activities by musicians during the Revolution were much more astute and entrepreneurial—they were capitalizing on socio-economic changes to codify and protect their profession. Thus, when music born of this moment receives a label of propaganda, it misses the professional savvy and aesthetic concerns that anchored professional activity of revolutionary musicians. While this music was certainly a product of

54 “Institut national,” (F-Pan, D XXXVIII IV 24).
its moment, it was also the product of a profound rethinking in musical production and practice.

It was not until August 1796 that the Conservatoire began to fully function according to plans made by Sarrette, which had been approved by the Minister of Interior, and its doors opened on October 22, 1796. In his speech at the opening of the Conservatoire, Sarrette focused almost exclusively on the challenges music, as an art, had experienced in France until the Revolution and how the Conservatoire would remedy these public problems. Sarrette connects the inadequacies of French performance, instruments, and musical works to Old Regime institutional structures rooted in the lack of centralized music education. First, he asserts that singing had always been poorly taught in the maîtrises, church music schools. Since singers were trained only for church repertoire, they exhibited no expression, thus when they filtered into theatres, the results were disastrous. Sarrette claims that Italians came to Paris and sang with expression and focused on melody, so the French started to imitate the Italians, but the imitation seemed ridiculous translated into the French language. Sarrette then refers to wind instruments as second-class citizen that has been liberated from accessory status to take center stage in the new Republic. Sarrette's characterization of winds serves as a metaphor for the musicians themselves who have gone from servants to significant public actors deserving support and cultivation, heartier than their predecessors. Sarrette next addresses the shortcomings of compositional study under the Old Regime:

If we examine the medium of study available to these young artists who engaged themselves in the study of composition, we see that after elementary harmony, these artists had no kind of facility to train their talent other than comparing models

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56 Reproduced in Pierre, Sarrette, Appendix, 182.
57 Pierre, Sarrette, 184–185.
created by the genius of men who founded or prolonged the science of music. Fine works, if we except those of contemporaries that the public taste determined in theatres or concerts, were almost entirely unknown to them.\textsuperscript{58}

Sarrette faults the former government, the monarchy, for the impediments to the progress and glory of music before the Revolution. Most specifically he notes that there were no elementary works to provide the basic principles of good teaching and methods in performance or composition, no support for those who would have investigated further the general theory of music or its relationship to the sciences, and finally no sanctioned reunion of "fathers" of music like in poetry, painting, and architecture. The Old Regime, unlike in the other arts, did not foster an authority to codify, prescriptively, the creation and performance of music. Sarrette demands that the curriculum must address both the theory and practice of music—how to teach these theories and put them into use. Sarrette brings contemplative and instrumental knowledge back together in art.\textsuperscript{59} As such, works by "the masters," both French and foreign, should be preserved in the Conservatoire library for study.\textsuperscript{60}

Sarrette's 1796 speech demonstrates that the Conservatoire indeed stepped in to fill an apparent void that musicians had experienced since the late seventeenth century. The Conservatoire would train composers, performers, and instrument manufacturers; it would publish its methods, as well as student and faculty compositions; it would house not only musical scores, but also instruments for study and contemplation. The Conservatoire, in

\textsuperscript{58} "Si on examine quels étaient les moyens d'études à la disposition des jeunes artistes qui se livraient à la composition, on voit qu'après avoir reçu les premiers éléments de l'harmonie, ces artistes n'avaient aucune espèce de facilité pour former leur talent d'après la comparaison des modèles créés par le génie des hommes qui ont ouvert ou prolongé la carrière de la science musicale. Les belles productions, si on en excepte celles des contemporains que le goût du public fixait alors au théâtre ou dans les concerts, leur étaient presque entièrement inconnues." Ibid, 185.

\textsuperscript{59} In “The Semblance of Transparency: Expertise as a Social Good and an Ideology in Enlightened Societies,” \textit{Osiris} 27, no.1 (2012): 188–208, Thomas Broman describes the increasing division from the medieval through early modern periods of contemplative and instrumental knowledge.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 187.
sum, would centralize the study, practice, and production of music in France, both ideologically and materially. It would simultaneously provide musicians with both job security and a demand for their product and services: the institution would always need more instructors, more compositions to perform, more performers to execute compositions, and more instruments on which to play the compositions. If performance opportunities waned, students could pursue careers in instrument building and printing. Most importantly, like an academy, the Conservatoire could control the quality of French musical output, a concern that had plagued the French for a century.

Sarrette's dream, however, would be short lived. Budget cuts in 1796 and 1797 would put the Conservatoire in financial jeopardy. At its height of the end of the revolutionary decade, the Conservatoire employed some 136 musicians. Thirty-six professors were relieved of their duties in March 1800, primarily those who had performed for the Garde Nationale, since fewer public performances resulted in a decreased need for these particular musicians. By 1802, festivals were completely disbanded, and the Conservatoire was forced to cut its faculty down to 32 professors, three inspectors, a director, a librarian, and a secretary. The Conservatoire soon became the Académie Imperiale de musique under Napoléon, and those who had struggled to compete with Sarrette's vision found work in a court-like patronage and the reestablished church, much resembling the Old Regime system.

4.3 Recuperating Losses: Reparation and Aid Requests by Musicians

On September 12, 1791, the Loi relative aux gratifications et secours à accorder aux artistes deemed that 300,000 livres of a two-million livres budget set aside on August 3, 1790, would be

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61 Ibid., 146.
dispersed to artists in the form of "donations, bonuses, and incentives" for their discoveries, work, and research in the *arts utiles* (the useful arts). Artists would obtain the rewards or aid through the director of their department in cooperation with confirmation from their district and municipality and a certificate from the administrative body of these jurisdictions. The law established two levels of awards: the first level consisted of those works that required sacrifice, and the second, those that did not. Three classes of compensation existed within each of these two broad levels: minimum, medium, and maximum. The compensation class would be determined by an office of consultation for the arts, which would set an artist's level and class based on the merit of "objects," that is, works of art submitted for review or described in applications. The first class rewarded 4,000 livres for the minimum, 5,000 medium, and 6,000 maximum. The second class, a 2,000 minimum, 2,500 medium, and 3,000 maximum. Artists over the age of 60 would automatically receive the minimum in their respective level.

In addition to these awards, bonuses were available to indigent artists whose talents had already been recognized by *corps savans* (learned bodies such as academies) and whose "honorable hardship [had been] certified by the administrative body." The Minister of the Interior could authorize proposals to the assembly to supplement gratifications granted for major discoveries or for projects that required arduous work or "long and perilous" voyages. "Part of the same funds could also be employed, per instructions of the administrative body, for the publication of works deemed useful to the progress of the arts, whether on

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63 Ibid., 14.
experience, treatises, or models, or even machines, which the advantage and possibility would be verified by the consultation office." Every year the list of nominations for aid would be published. A separate fund for liquidations would arrange for the compensation of artists who had already ceded rights to their work under the Old Regime. Artists who had machines or new constructions destroyed in popular uprising during the Revolution would receive compensation for their losses, as well. To prevent rising stars from taking advantage too quickly, the law forbade artists from earning a maximum classification in the first level in only one year, though they could request an increase the second year. A decree later in September 1791 determined that for the first year a commission of judges from the Academy of Sciences would judge artists' applications. After the ban on academies and beginning of the Terror at the end of 1793, this task fell to the Comité d'Instruction Publique.

Requests submitted to the committee by seven musicians demonstrate the various approaches mobilized to obtain this aid: from asserting their talents, to belittling the monarchy's former patronage, to extreme modesty, blunt honesty, and even appeals to more famous colleagues. Explicit appeals to various aspects of the laws that established this aid also surface throughout the requests, particularly explicit references to sacrifice, poverty, innovation, acclaim, and loss. Organist Nicolas Séjan (1745–1819) penned a long, frank,

64 Ibid., 14–15.
65 M. Camus, 234–235.
66 A note among these letters in Série D XXXVIII indicates a jury des arts existed in an 3, though it is not entirely clear how this process was facilitated.
67 "Aux Représentants du Peuple Composant le Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale," Letter from Nicolas Séjan to Comité d'Instruction Publique, undated (F-Pan, D XXXVIII VII 59).
Séjan was an exceedingly successful organist in late eighteenth-century Paris. He worked across churches in Paris including Notre Dame and the royal chapel. He was known for his improvisatory abilities and was one of the first composers to write specifically for the piano. Under the restoration, he was reinstated as organist of the royal chapel by Louis XVIII and received the Légion d'honneur. See Eileen Morris Guenther and
and desperate letter to the committee. Although it lacks an original date, a note on the letter indicates that it was re-sent on 20 nivôse an III (January 9, 1795). With a wife and four children to support, Séjan's income as organist at churches and as professor at the École royale de chant had disappeared. In the letter, Séjan describes his École class as "currently destroyed." Séjan represented the unfortunate collateral damage that resulted from the abolishment of the first estate and the Catholic Church. Séjan explains in his letter that although the Opéra had tried to incorporate his services and that he succeeded in obtaining an organ for the theater, he had not yet been compensated for these efforts. Séjan recounts how he had to sell 6,000 livres worth of possessions to survive, among which was his beloved pianoforte. He also resorted to borrowing 4,000 livres from three good friends. Séjan mentions explicitly the 300,000 livres the government had set aside to help artists and that he believes not all of those funds had been dispersed. Noting his long career, his large family, and all that he lost "aux événements," Séjan asks that the committee come to the aid of a "citizen artist."

On 4 pluviôse an III (January 23, 1795), a citizen J. Berlioz wrote to the committee in favor of Jean-Paul-Gilles Martini (1741–1816). Berlioz cites Martini's major works as an auteur de musique: L'amoureux de 15 ans (1771), Droit du seigneur (1783), and Sapho (1794), but explains that Martini's works currently did not earn enough revenue to sustain the


68 Indeed, the premiere of Grétry's La rivièrè républicaine at the Opéra on September 2, 1794, corroborates this claim, as the work was the first to call for an organ in a secular theatre production.
69 Though it is difficult to trace the identity of J. Berlioz, he may have been a municipal or departmental administrator writing on behalf of Martini per the procedures outlined in the law passed for social security. Alternatively, he could be a now-forgotten musician writing in Martini's favor, though this is unlikely, as musicians seem to typically mobilize better-known colleagues when requesting government aid.
70 Letter from J. Berlioz to the Comité d'Instruction Publique, 4 pluviôse an III [January 23, 1795] (F-Pan, D XXXVIII VII 59).
composer's livelihood. The pension promised to Martini by the *liste civile* had failed to be paid. The committees dealing with liquidations should have facilitated Martini's Old Regime pension, in accordance with the laws established for the distribution of national funds. Since the liquidations failed to deliver, appealing to the aid for artists was likely Martini's next best option. Berlioz cites the misfortune of Martini having been employed by the late king who neglected Martini's talent and did not put him to use since the Revolution. In 1788, Louis XVI had named Martini superintendent for music of the king *en survivance*, meaning Martini would assume duties as superintendent upon the retirement or death of the current holder of that position, at the time, François Giroust. Berlioz assures the committee that Martini is "nonetheless" (that is to say, despite his exclusive service to nobility before the Revolution) a good citizen who remained in "tranquility" throughout the Revolution and even the Terror. In reality, Martini had fled to Lyon and maintained a low profile until the end of the Terror.

Claiming to know Martini for 18 months, likely since his return from Lyon, Berlioz confirms Martini's honor and expresses his willingness to provide testimonies from other musicians who would support this claim. Martini's misfortune and his talent deserved, according to Berlioz, "encouragement" from the government.

On 28 pluviôse an III (February 16, 1795), the committee received a similar request from François Giroust the last superintendent of music for Louis XVI whom Martini had

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72 Ibid.

73 "Encouragement" here should be read in a strictly revolutionary conception of the term to mean financial subsidy, see Darlow 124, and "The Opéra during the Terror."
been slated to replace upon retirement or death. Giroust begins his letter by expressing gratitude to the government for his current position as concierge at the National Palace of Versailles. Giroust continues that despite this outstanding position, from the beginning of July 1792 to the end of 1793 he did not have work and had to subsist on meager savings to support a wife and eight children. He proceeds carefully and with good reason—Giroust had served the king and his musical fame came almost exclusively from religious music, music removed from the revolutionary repertoire along with the Catholic Church. Because he had struggled to pay for his home until taking up this new post, Giroust asks only that the secours des artistes be converted into housing and that he be allowed to keep the roof over his family's head. Giroust insists on the "joy" his new job provides, though the pay cannot cover his family's abode. Giroust, in his modesty, completely avoids discussing his musical achievements.

The General Council of the Commune of Versailles also wrote to the Committee in favor of Giroust, to confirm both his "merit," that is to say, his talent, and his "morality," or his faithfulness to the patrie. The Commune discusses Giroust's musical achievements at length: oratorios of unrivaled genius and a hymn that emulates Rouget de l'Isle's "La Marseillaise." The Commune provides a list of all Giroust's revolutionary works, 32 in total. They close their letter refashioning Giroust from a religious royalist into "the father of a large family, the citizen thrown into misfortune, the distinguished artist, the republican" who made pecuniary sacrifices in his personal revenue for the sake of the nation. Giroust's

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74 "Aux Représentants du Peuple Composant le Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale," from François Giroust to Comité d'Instruction Publique, 28 pluviôse an III [February 16, 1795] (F-Pan, D XXXVIII VII 59).
75 "Aux Citoyens Representants du Peuple composant la Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale," Letter from the General Council of the Versailles commune to the Comité d'Instruction Publique, 1 pluviôse an III [January 20, 1795] (F-Pan, D XXXVIII VII 59).
"sacrifices" likely aimed to achieve first class aid as laid out in the law establishing the funds.

In floréal an III (late April/early May 1795), the Comité d'Instruction Publique received a complaint from Jean Joseph Rodolphe (1730–1812) that three times he had been placed on the list of artists eligible for aid and three times had been removed from it. Rodolphe outlines his credentials as the performer who perfected the horn in France and the first composer to write a treaty on harmony that unites the theory and practice of music. He notes that the work was written for the Institut de musique of the Rue Bergère, of which he became director as a result. Rodolphe strategically avoids calling the institution by its better-known nomenclature, the École royale de chant and de déclamation. Rodolphe then outlines his needs: at 66 years of age, ill and without money, his only son died of an injury sustained in the Vendée wars. Rodolphe's age and family situation gesture toward additional needs.

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76 Jean Joseph Rodolphe, though he began his training as a violinist, was most famous as an accomplished horn player who spent time at the Stuttgart court from the late 1750s to late 1760s where he studied with Niccolò Jommelli (1714–1744). As he claims in this letter, Rodolphe was famous for his achievements in performance on the horn, and became known in Paris after performing a horn concerto at the Concert Spirituel in 1764. He performed on both horn and violin in the Prince of Conti's orchestra, at the Opéra, and for the royal chapel upon moving to Paris by 1767. Rodolphe also composed numerous works for the stage, despite his renown as a horn performer, the career in which "he independently developed a technique for hand-stopping, and was probably the first to introduce this innovation to Parisian audiences. By demonstrating the horn’s virtuoso and expressive resources, including a tone so sweet it was said to resemble that of a flute, he persuaded Jommelli and other composers to treat it as a solo instrument," Friderica Derra De Moroda (with Elisabeth Cook), "Rodolphe, Jean Joseph," Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online (Oxford University Press), accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23646. This Grove entry indicates that Rodolphe was likely the father of violinist Anton Rudolph (b. 1770), "who published two sets of variations for solo violin with orchestral accompaniment in 1802." In light of this newly discovered letter, indicating the death of his "only son" in the Vendée, which would have occurred in 1794, this assumption is disproven.

77 "Aux Citoyens Répresentans du peuple Composant le Comité d'instruction publique," Jean Joseph Rodolphe to Comité d'Instruction Publique, floréal an III [late April/early May 1795] (F-Pan, D XXXVIII VII 59).

78 Here, Rodolphe is likely referring to his Théorie de l'accompagnement et composition (Paris: Naderman, 1785), though he also authored Solfège, ou nouvelle méthode de musique (Paris: Dufont et Dupris, 1784/1790).

79 Rodolphe is referring to the use of the above-referenced texts at the École Royale de chant, but avoiding the Old Regime name of the institution and relying upon the École Royale's recent affiliation with the new Institut de musique.
aids to which he technically held a right: a law passed in February 1794 granted aid to families of military personnel wounded or killed in service.\textsuperscript{80}

A short, undated note in favor of Felice Bambini, the son of infamous \textit{Querelle des Bouffons} instigator Eustache Bambini,\textsuperscript{81} signed by Pierre-Louis Ginguené, who became director of public instruction in November 1795, provides little evidence of Bambini's need or qualifications: "Citizen Bambini skillful composer and instructor of music, excellent citizen, from an interesting family, is reduced by multiple losses to the most urgent position. He seems to have the most legitimate rights to the encouragements that are going to be granted."\textsuperscript{82} The brevity of the letter and the lack of corroborating evidence to support its claims suggest this document was an approval of a request from Ginguené rather than a request proper.

French cellist and composer Jean-Baptiste-Aimé Janson l'aîné (1742–1803)\textsuperscript{83} also wrote a letter, supposedly due to the encouragement (perhaps just courage) of his colleagues,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{80} J. Desenene, \textit{Codes Général Français, Contenant les lois et actes du gouvernement publiés depuis l'ouverture des États Généraux au 5 mai 1789, jusqu'un 8 juillet 1815, classés par ordre de matières, et annotés des arrêts et décisions de la Cour de Cassation} (Paris: Ménard et Desenne, fils, 1821), 17: 534.
\textsuperscript{81} Felice remained in Paris after the departure of the Italian troupe in 1754 and earned his living as a harpsichordist and composer, though his compositions received few accolades. In the 1780s he held a position at the Théâtre des Beaujolais, that is of M. le comte de Beaujolais. A theatre that existed from 1784 until 1790, Beaujolais began with marionettes as actors, eventually replaced by miming children in 1785, for whom adults would speak and sing offstage. See César, "Théâtre de Beaujolais," http://cesar.org.uk/cesar2/places/places.php?fct=edit&location_UOID=101596, accessed 10 December 2014.
\textsuperscript{82} "Le Citoyen Bambini habille compositeur et professeur de musique, excellent citoyen, de famille intéressant, est réduit par des pertes multipliées à la position la plus urgente. Il parait avoir les droits les plus légitimes aux encouragements qui vont être accordés." Letter from Ginguené, undated (F-Pan, D XXXVIII VII 59).
\textsuperscript{83} "Aux représentants du peuple, membre du comité d'instruction publique," Letter from Janson l'aîné to Committe on Public Instruction, undated (F-Pan, D XXXVIII VII 59).

Janson was a cellist and composer famous for his innovative symphonies in the 1780s. He served as superintendent of music to the king's brother, future Louis XVIII, in 1788. See "Jean-Baptiste-Aimé Joseph
who co-signed the letter in his favor, expressing surprise that he had not yet been granted a national recompense. Janson notes his participation in *représentations du peuple*, and insists that he has sacrificed his talents and his blood for the country, though he does not go into detail. Below Janson's note, his colleagues express their confidence in his exceptional talents and works, celebrated throughout Europe. They refer to Janson as a composer of works "of a free people." As if integral to his credentials, they refer to Janson as "an old friend of Gluck and Sacchini." They insist that Janson had sacrificed his fortune for the country. Gossec, Lalande, Langlé, Séjan, and Lacepède signed the letter, among others. Thus, Janson boasted supporters including a Conservatoire inspector, Conservatoire member, former members of the École royale de chant et de déclamation, and an amateur musician and influential politician.

The first in a series of letters to the Comité d'Instruction Publique from Citoyen Durieu asks, somewhat abstractly, for justice. Durieu claims that he sent his "work" (later...

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84 Durieu's first name remains uncertain. The 1785 edition of *Tablettes de renommée des musiciens, auteurs, compositeurs, virtuoses... avec une notice des ouvrages ou autres motifs qui les ont rendus recommandables. Pour servir à l'Almanach-Dauphin* (Paris: Cailleau, 1785), includes Durieu without his first name and states that he is a violin teacher, formerly affiliated with the Concert Spirituel and Concert des Amateurs, a music merchant, and editor of a book of Italian ariettes. Fétis does not provide Durieu's first name. I question the first name Philippe Lescat assigns Durieu (Louis-Antoine) in his *Méthodes et Traités Musicaux en France 1660–1800* (Paris: Institut de pédagogie musicale et chorégraphique, 1991), 207, because this is the name of a contemporaneous Lyonnaise lawyer who surfaces in revolutionary archives and Durieu does not provide a first name in his publications or letters. Three publications can definitively be attributed to Durieu: *Nouvelle méthode de musique vocale* (1793/1794), *Méthode de violon* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1799), and *Observations sur la diatribe appelée Réponse à la lettre écrite à M. Paesiello* (ca. 1802). Durieu takes the title "author, professor, and editor" of music in his letters to the Comité d'Instruction Publique, and indeed is listed in a 1785 publication as a violinist who performed at the Concert Spirituel and Concert des Amateurs, as well as a seller of music. Durieu indeed likely published his own works. While most bibliographies list year III [1794–1795] for the publication of *Observations*, the work does not have a publication date printed on it and year III is likely given only as a result of Durieu's reference to that year within the pamphlet. Nonetheless, the pamphlet clearly responds to the *Lettre à Paisiello par les amateurs de la musique dramatique* (1802), thus it is impossible to have been written anytime before that date. See Jean Mongrédienn, *Jean-François Le Sueur: Contribution à l'étude d'un demi-siècle de musique française (1780–1830)* vol. 1 (Berne: Peter Lang, 1980). Mongrédienn indicates the pamphlet as lost, however one copy currently appears in the catalog of the New York Public Library. The publication dates of the *Nouvelle méthode* and *Méthode de violon*
letters identify the work as his *Nouvelle méthode de musique vocale* to the National Convention, which forwarded the publication to a commission within the Comité d’Instruction Publique. Pierre-Louis Ginguéné had apparently assured Durieu that he would "obtain justice." Durieu claims the work had been sent to the Comité des livres élémentaires, which replied to Durieu that music did not fall under its jurisdiction. "What should I do?" Durieu demands in his first letter. He mentions the "famous" composer Agus with whom he composed the work. Durieu had composed the first section of the method book, which serves as a general introduction to the methods of music, and Agus had composed the second section that consisted of solfege and harmony lessons. In a follow-up letter dated 22 prairial an III [June 10, 1795], Durieu states that he needs a response regarding his *Méthode Élémentaire de Musique* because he currently teaches at three schools for free and requires some kind of recognition, that is to say financial reward for his sacrifices.86 Durieu hoped to receive recognition in the form of government aid to artists.

Durieu was tenacious in his quest for aid. Though it is not clear whether Durieu compiled it himself, a collection of testimonies regarding his method is signed at the end in his own hand on 16 messidor an III [July 4, 1795].87 The report contains the testimonies of many soon-to-be Conservatoire faculty members including Langlé, Guénin, Nochez, Rigel, Méon, as well as those who had been officially named by the Commission of the Comité

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are also ambiguous. Lescat dates the *Nouvelle méthode* to 1790, Mongrédien dates it to 1794. Lescat dates the *Méthode de violon* to 1794, Mongrédien dates it to 1799. It is likely the Durieu re-printed his works, resulting in multiple editions and publication dates. The *Nouvelle méthode de musique vocale* title extends in later publications to have been "adopted by the National Institute of music, singing, and declamation." This will be discussed further in the text.

85 Lettre de Durieu, n.d. (F-Pan, DXXXVIII VII 59). A subsequent letter in Durieu’s file dates this first letter to 18 prairial an III [June 6, 1795].
86 Lettre de Durieu, 22 prairial an III [June 10, 1795] (F-Pan, DXXXVIII VII 59).
87 "Copie des attestations relatives à la Méthode du Citoyen Durieu, auteur, professor, et éditeur de musique," 16 messidor an III [July 4, 1795] (F-Pan DXXXVIII VII 59).
d'Instruction Publique to review Durieu's method book: Cherubini, Gossec, Méhul, and Lesueur. All testimonies praise Agus' section of the method book as perfect, and Durieu's, while quite clear and good, as requiring a bit more development. Nonetheless, Ginguéné suggests that the Committee should give the work its approbation. In a letter from the 26 messidor an III [July 14, 1795], Durieu asks the president of the Comité d'Instruction Publique that he be allowed to come present analyses of his work—presumably the compiled testimonies by well-known musicians—to the Committee.88 The last letter from Durieu to the Comité d'Instruction Publique, dated 3 Thermidor an III [July 21, 1795], says rather informally that while he appreciates the Committee's latest letter he is "waiting for something other than compliments." What he really would like are "government awards and bonuses."89 The result of Durieu's extensive application for government aid is unclear. Though verbal proceedings of the Committee mention Durieu's request, they do not reveal the ultimate decision on his case.

The title of Durieu's vocal method published in 1794 states "adopted by the Institut national de musique, chant, et déclamation." This version was certainly published by November 1794 when it was advertised by this precise title in L'Esprit des journaux, français et étrangers.90 Philippe Lescat notes the rarity of this type of dedication during the eighteenth century:

Approbations were rarely placed on title pages; they were, from the seventeenth century and during the first half of the eighteenth century, very general: 'approved by many maîtres' sufficed [...] From 1770, the approbations appear on the cover. They are a bit more precise, and could be replaced by an indication that the method is used in an institution: Méthode de musique vocale [...] adoptée par l'Institut national de

88 Lettre de Durieu aux Citoyens Membres du Comité d'Instruction publique, 26 messidor an III [July 14, 1795] (F-Pan DXXXVIII VII 59).
89 Lettre de Durieu, 3 thermidor an III [July 21, 1795] (F-Pan DXXXVIII VII 59).
No other proof than Durieu's title can support that the Institut national de musique, until becoming the Conservatoire and publishing its own method books, used Durieu's work to teach vocal pedagogy. The method's publication does coincide with the time during which 80 students began instruction at the Conservatoire and the faculty had agreed upon an action to develop method books. Perhaps they used Durieu's method during the interim period. Durieu never earned a faculty position at the Conservatoire and did not participate in composing the Conservatoire's official methods published in the first decade of the nineteenth century. According to Mongrédién, Durieu was a personal enemy of Sarrette and Gossec and vehemently attacked the Conservatoire's teaching methods. It is perhaps this rivalry that motivated Durieu to re-print his method using the same title in 1804, ten years after its first advertisement in L'esprit des journaux. Perhaps Durieu's maintenance of the title—adopted by the Institut national—served as a reminder of the cabals and intrigues that had transpired over a decade among the musicians of the Conservatoire and those who hoped to be included in its protection.

Though these seven men represent only a miniscule portion of the musicians working in revolutionary Paris, their requests evince a larger force at work among their professional class. These aid requests reveal that musicianship during the Revolution cannot only be reduced to capitalization upon a new market, because profoundly social elements concomitantly constituted professional negotiations. At least until 1795, these gentlemen had

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91 Lescat, 56.
92 Mongrédién, 470.
not been explicitly included in the inner circle of musicians that constituted the Institut National. Durieu's letters hint at the desperation some musicians felt for acceptance among them, and his subsequent actions only serve to support such an interpretation. Four of these men were soon added to the faculty of the Conservatoire: Séjan and Janson in November 1795, and Rodolphe and Martini in 1798. All four succumbed to budget cuts and reorganization of the institution in 1802. In 1793, the *Journal des Spectacles* had applauded Sarrette's ostensible commitment to choose faculty members on talents alone and not based upon recommendations, requests, or any other indications of social status. The journal hails the Institut as a meritocracy, "modest merit and timid virtue has finally overtaken restless cabal and torturous intrigue." Yet the "cabal and torturous intrigue" that had supposedly plagued musicians of the Old Regime had certainly resurfaced by the end of the revolutionary decade. Giroust, Martini, and Janson all had strong previous affiliations with the royal court until the Revolution, and Giroust's connections with Versailles, rather than Paris, likely only served to exacerbate this association. The religious connotations of both the compositions and instrumental specialty of Séjan and Giroust did not bode well in a newly secularized state, neither ideologically nor practically. Who musicians affiliated with before the Revolution and who they aligned themselves with following the Terror seems to have impacted how individual musicians would fare in the evolving structures of their profession. The social aspects of renegotiated economic positions must be considered as an

93 *Journal des Spectacles*, Vol. 3, 3 frimaire an II (23 November 1793), 1140.
94 Ibid.
95 I would like to thank Dr. Jack Eby for sharing his knowledge and opinions on François Giroust. Eby's research on Giroust will be published in a forthcoming book, rooted in archival research on Giroust's revolutionary career.
inextricable factor to the constitution of an emergent professional class of musicians during the Revolution.

4.4 A Microcosm of the Emergent Professional Class

Jeanne-Louise-Henriette Genet-Campan (1752–1822) served Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI until their deaths during the French Revolution, educated women who became the wives of nineteenth-century European leaders, and earned the trust of Napoléon Bonaparte. Once Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette had been guillotined in 1793 and her beloved sister had committed suicide due to the stresses of the French Revolution, Madame Campan found herself with no assets or income, numerous enemies because of her faithful service to the royal family, three orphaned nieces, a young son, and a dying ex-husband. Under these circumstances, Madame Campan took the only capital she possessed—her education—and opened a small school for girls in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, a village about fourteen miles outside of Paris. The first students were only her nieces, but she would later recount her own stroke of luck that brought the daughters of newly powerful families to the school's doorstep, including U.S. President James Monroe and soon-to-be Emperor Napoléon Bonaparte. The location of her school close to Paris and her knowledge of proper, aristocratic education appealed to the new military elite that began to surround Napoléon in the 1790s.

Madame Campan's school for girls offers a microcosm of the constitutive elements of the emergent professional class of musicians in action. Building upon a basic, current sociological definition of class as "the relative economic position of large social groups,
defined in relation to occupation, ownership of property and wealth[,] or lifestyle choices,"\textsuperscript{96} this section approaches Madame Campan's school for girls as a microcosm of how musicians emerged as a professional class over the course of the Revolution. "Ownership of property and wealth or lifestyle choices" complicates this definition when applied to the French Revolution, as property ownership and wealth formed the troubled core of revolutionary debates about the new social order—public utility versus private interest. During the Revolution, property was confiscated from the abolished nobility as national goods. Focus upon ownership gestures toward a Marxist vision of an industrialized economy that little resembles the real, everyday situation of Paris in the late 1790s, which was a not yet industrial, primarily mercantile economic system, attempting, at times, to become a free market or what would come to be known as capitalist.\textsuperscript{97} A more productive definition of class, tailored to the reality of revolutionary Paris might be the relative economic position of social groups defined in relation to occupation, social status, and power. For the purposes of this study, power will simply mean an ability, as a group, to achieve professional objectives. Based on this definition, I approach Madame Campan's school with a focus upon three factors: first, economic position—how musicians fared in terms of wage earning and job security; second, social status or prestige—how others regarded musicians; and third, power—whether musicians had the ability to achieve professional objectives in relation to outside sources.

\textsuperscript{97} See my discussion of Sewell's conception of "interstitial capitalist abstraction" in the Introduction of this dissertation.
4.4.1 Economic Position: Wage Earning and Job Security

The Parisian musicians discussed so far had already benefited from revolutionary changes to their profession at the time Madame Campan's school flourished in the late 1790s. They had secured national funding for the new music Conservatoire, which officially opened its doors in October 1796. The legislation creating the Conservatoire grandfathered in faculty members from the former École royale de chant and Garde Nationale. Even those who applied for government aid—Rodolphe, Martini, Séjan, and Janson—briefly found employment at the Conservatoire. The new Conservatoire had convinced the government to subsidize publication of their method books and festival compositions written by its professors. The Conservatoire also planned instrument-making studios. In addition to this new institution, musicians also found many more opportunities to perform in Parisian theatre orchestras when the Le Chapelier Law of 1791 made it legal for anyone to open a theatre. Despite this new institutional organization and centralization, musicians continued to maintain opportunities that had existed since the Old Regime including private concerts that began to re-emerge under the Directory government (1795–1799)98 and private teaching.

Madame Campan's school for girls was situated between these Old Regimes practices of female music education and new institutions of musical education and performance at the twilight of Revolution. A new military elite surrounding Napoléon Bonaparte began to emerge, and the musicians of the Conservatoire had to reevaluate their position in relation to a new nobility after the reconfiguration their profession experienced during the first seven years of Revolution.

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98 The Directory government consisted of a bicameral legislature that rotated five executives from 1795 to 1799.
Madame Campan's curriculum placed a particular emphasis on musical training. Hortense Beauharnais, stepdaughter and sister-in-law of Napoléon, later Queen of Holland and mother of Napoléon III, attended Madame Campan's school and there honed a particular talent for musical composition. Her report card from 1797 exemplifies the musical curriculum a typical Saint-Germain-en-Laye student might follow: solfège, piano-forte, harp, and singing. In addition, students participated in choral performances and musical theatre productions throughout the year with one major performance during the public examinations held at the end of each school year. In letters exchanged with this favorite student beginning in 1797, Madame Campan insists that Hortense focus on piano-forte lessons with Benoît Mozin, lest she have "nothing under [her] fingers" when Hortense's mother, future empress Josephine Beauharnais, came to visit.99 In 1800, Madame Campan, concerned about the significant time Hortense spent away from school because of her stepfather's fame, suggests a study schedule for Hortense to maintain her already promising musical education.100 Weeks were still divided into ten days in accordance with the revolutionary calendar, and Madame Campan recommends music lessons eight days per week: four days of piano-forte with Hyacinthe Jadin, three days of voice training with Benoit Bonesi, and one day of accompaniment with Jean-Jacques Grasset. Since Hortense was living in Paris, she could continue to study with these three Conservatoire professors who also taught at Madame Campan's school.

When Madame Campan gathered a faculty for her new school for girls, she called upon this group of professional musicians. The music instructors at Saint-Germain-en-Laye

100 "29 mars 1800," Ibid., 248.
read as a who's who of French music of the 1790s: Charles-Henri Plantade (1764–1839) teaching composition and chorus; Honoré-François-Marie Langlé (1741–1807), singing and harpsichord; Benoît Mozin (1769–1857), piano-forte; Hyacinthe Jadin (1769–1802), piano-forte, sonatas and concerti; Jean-Jacques Grasset (1769–1839), violin and accompaniment; and Benoît (Barnabas) Bonesi (1745/6–1824), Italian singing. Not only were five of these six instructors at Madame Campan's school also professors at the Conservatoire, almost all of them also performed regularly at the Opéra, Opéra-Comique, Comédie-Italienne, or Théâtre Feydeau, among other Parisian theatres.

Madame Campan's music faculty exemplifies how Parisian musicians solidified a monopoly around their practice: performing, teaching, and publishing, through new institutions like the Conservatoire and Old Regime networks including private tutoring. Institutionalization resulting from the Revolution and surviving Old Regime practices combined to secure musicians' economic position in the new French social order. When the Conservatoire experienced government budget cuts resulting in broad layoffs, musicians had already cultivated a safety net into which they could fall. Mozin, for example, lost his position in the year X budget cuts, but could still depend upon his employment with Campan's school.

4.4.2 Social Status: Regard by Others

The role of musicians in the evaluation of Madame Campan's students evinces a new regard for their professional opinions among elite society. Madame Campan culminated each school

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101 Bonesi was an Italian composer and teacher in Paris who had works successfully performed at the Théâtre des Beaujolais and Concert Spirituel.

102 Conservatoire accounting records of employee monthly pay from 1795 to 1798 (F-Pan, AJ 37 *28-*29).
year with a comprehensive, public examination of her students. The girls performed the examinations in front of an audience made up of the students’ families, friends from Madame Campan’s extensive social network, and experts, both male and female, from the fields to be tested. The exams represented a significant social performance, not only for the students, but also for the audience. The yearly event had become as important as attending a *spectacle* in Paris because of the prestigious position the students’ fathers held in the new military aristocracy surrounding Napoléon Bonaparte. Madame Campan chose the expert judges herself, though some spectators suspected that she invited guests as much for her own social climbing as for her students’. The judges awarded prizes in various areas of study including instrumental performance and singing. Music provided the most authoritative test during these exams since even the slightest lack of confidence could be easily detected through the sound of the performance. If successful, the girls earned approbation from the new social elite of Paris. Failure, on the other hand, could mean social, and therefore economic ruin. No self-respecting family would want their son to marry a woman who could not carry herself perfectly in stressful, public situations. Madame Campan held public examinations including music as early as 1798, because she describes the exam in a letter to Hortense, who earned first prize in drawing that year, but could not attend the event to accept the prize in person. At this particular examination, a student named Adèle was struck with stage fright while performing a piano sonata and the girl's piano instructor, Madame Gueffre, apparently gave the child angry stares that only aggravated the girl's

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103 June K. Burton discusses Fanny Burney's diary entry about Madame Campan's end of year exam in 1803 where she describes, “Madame Campan in action, social climbing, engaged in self-promotion and lobbying—skills that would carry her to an unusual position of influence” (42). *Napoleon and the Woman Question: Discourses of the Other Sex in French Education, Medicine, and Medical Law, 1799–1815* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2007).
humiliation. Madame Campan recounts how another student, on the other hand, played the harp and piano "like an angel."\textsuperscript{104}

Madame Campan's public examinations demonstrate first, that musicians had come to be considered experts in their field. Recall Grétry's claim that pre-revolutionary musicians were considered like the instruments on which they played, "to be dumped back into the same case after playing their sonata."\textsuperscript{105} Enlightenment writers and men of letters, not musicians themselves, had been considered musical experts before the Revolution. As a result of the revolutionary collective action of musicians to garner agency in their profession, they earned respect as authorities in their own field. The government's bureaucratic management of the Conservatoire actually granted agency to musicians who served as inspectors, instructors, and authorities that merely reported back to government committees on the institution's functioning through liaisons who often had musical interests, for example, Chénier and Ginguené. Although musicians depended upon the government as a new type of patron as shown in the previous sections, the government treated musicians as authorities in their profession and often yielded to their professional opinion regarding the quality and pedagogy of their art, just as men of letters were appealed to as authorities. Not only did the Conservatoire professors judge their own students in prize competitions, but also they judged performances outside their new professional institution. In the particular case of Madame Campan's public exams, such authority held social capital because the performance result had socio-economic ramifications. Formerly perceived as mere servants, now, ostensibly patron free, musicians had come to be regarded as authoritative,

\textsuperscript{104} "24 juillet 1798," \textit{Correspondance inédite}, 8.
\textsuperscript{105} André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, \textit{De la vérité: ce que nous fûmes, ce que nous sommes, ce que nous devrions être} (Paris: Chez Ch. Pougens, 1801), 2:7.
independent professionals. Before the Revolution musicians served nobility as private tutors, now their tutelage came with public social implications.

4.4.3 Power: Achieving Professional Objectives

In addition to securing their economic position through new and old employment opportunities and achieving higher social regard as experts in their field, a third consideration of whether working musicians constituted an emergent professional class is whether they were able to achieve professional objectives. Chapters 3 and 4 have shown this ability through various means including institutional affiliation, bureaucratic negotiation, and legal battles. Indeed, even for seemingly marginal members of this emergent professional class, such as Mesdames Borghèse and Grandjean in Chapter 3, musicians obtained substantial professional support from the government. Within the changing revolutionary discourses of women and work, Madame Campan also found an opportunity to capitalize on musicians' recently earned professional recognition.

On June 26, 1796, the Minister of the Interior sent a report pleading Madame Campan's case from the office of museums, libraries, and conservatories to the Executive Director, one of the heads of national government. The minister explains that Madame Campan lost everything to the Revolution and thus obliged to work opened a school on the

106 From 1789 until 1793, the revolutionary government attempted to transition the Old Regime system of charity into a centralized welfare state. Before the Terror, the new government's commitment to a right to work extended to women as well as men. In particular, the government became concerned with reemploying workers who lost their livelihoods as a result of the collapse of luxury trades, a consequence of economic, fiscal, and social turmoil. The government went as far as setting up spinning workshops to employ indigent women. With the Thermidorian Reaction, the conservative backlash following the violent Reign of Terror, came a retraction of these policies and a movement to return women to their proper place in society within the home. While women were expected to produce similar products, they were required to do so from their homes and not within workspaces outside the home such as ateliers (studios or workshops). For a detailed discussion see Lisa Dicaprio, The Origins of the Welfare State: Women, Work, and the French Revolution (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007).
"principles of a pure morale and love for the country." He recommends "after the real losses of Citoyenne Campan and the public work she does with her talents" that the government furnish the supply requests she has submitted for her school.\textsuperscript{107} The supply requests of Madame Campan set forth a lengthy list of musical necessities for her school: three piano-fortes with pedals if possible, two harps by Naderman or Holtsman, and string instruments by Amanti or Stradivari. One copy of her request specifically requests an English rather than French piano-forte. She also requests partitions of musical works, separated into instrument parts, by Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck (1714–1787), Niccolò Piccinni (1728–1800), Antonio Sacchini (1730–1786), and André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813).\textsuperscript{108} In a personal letter to a behind-the-scenes government connection, Madame Campan emphasizes that her requests for piano-fortes, harps, strings, and books are absolutely essential to the establishment and perfection of her educational institution.

On September 29, 1796, the Secretary General of the executive branch of government wrote to C. De Vinck, a member of the legislative branch, responding to C. De Vinck's inquiry regarding the status of Madame Campan's supply requests. The secretary claims to have researched her request and found that it had not yet been presented to the Director. The secretary suggests the Minister of the Interior re-p resent the report to the Director.\textsuperscript{109} Clearly Madame Campan maintained connections in the Directory government because only a week later, on October 8, 1796, she writes a pointed letter to the Minister including a letter she received from a friend, Citizen Gardel, alerting her to the fact that her

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{107} "Rapport présenté au Directoire Exécutif par le Ministre de l'Intérieur," 27 messidor an IV [June 26, 1796] (F-Pan, F\textsuperscript{17} 1344).
\item \textsuperscript{108} "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur, Objets nécessaires à la maison d'Education de la Citoyenne Campan," an IV [1795–1796] (F-Pan, F\textsuperscript{17} 1344).
\item \textsuperscript{109} "Le Secrétaire-Général du Directoire Exécutif au Citoyen Deviack membre du Conseil des cinq cens," 7 vendémiaire an V [September 29, 1796] (F-Pan, F\textsuperscript{17} 1344).
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request had not yet been presented to the Director. She demands a prompt resubmission of
the request. Indeed, a note scribbled in a different hand on the letter indicates that the
requested was re-sent on October 28, 1796.\footnote{Letter from Madame Campan, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 16 vendémiaire an V [October 28, 1796] (F-Pan, F\textsuperscript{17} 1344).} Scraps of paper among her official requests
reveal at least one behind-the-scenes ally that pushed her inquiries along. Most notably, an
informal note scribbled on a small piece of paper reminds someone to inform Madame
Campan that her report had, in fact, been presented to the Director and that she would be
kept abreast of any decisions. An undated order from the office of the Executive Director
written on stationary pre-dated year IV, but certainly written during year V (still likely 1796),
approves her request stating that: "the public work citizen Genet-Campan does with her
talents in raising young people through the love of virtue, law, and the country merits that
the government come to her aid after the real loses she endured."\footnote{Decree from the office of the Minister of the Interior, an IV [1795–1796] (F-Pan, F\textsuperscript{17} 1344).} The decree authorizes
that Minister of the Interior to furnish her supply requests using government resources and
funds.

According to the definition set forth at the beginning of section 4.4: the relative
economic position of social groups defined in relation to occupation, social status, and
power, Madame Campan's school represents but one example of how musicians as an
emergent professional class achieved a more secure economic position through new
institutions (both public and private), surviving Old Regime practices, increased prestige as
authorities in their art, and the obtainment of support necessary to their livelihood. The
particular perspective of Madame Campan's school demonstrates the inclusion of women
and marginal professionals into this emerging class. Despite a serious fiscal crisis in France,
members of the emergent professional class of musicians garnered government support; and not only famous musicians who had facilitated revolutionary festivals and education initiatives. Even seemingly marginal members of this emergent professional class like Madame Campan succeeded in pushing professional agendas. Social connections nonetheless persist as an ever-present factor in the success of musicians.

4.5 An Emergent Professional Class of Musicians

The economic advances of revolutionary musicians on both an institutional and individual level including intellectual property rights, the monopolization and centralization of musical education and production, and the obtainment of financial support from the government, required a profound conceptual change regarding the professional nature of musicianship. Superficially, these economic changes in the musical market could be viewed as a mere transfer of patronage from the monarchy to the nation: intellectual property transferred from a royal to a public good, musical production institutionalized within the Conservatoire rather than the Académie royale de musique, and financial aid came from the Republican government instead of the royal household. Conversely, such a characterization of economic changes as a mere transference of patronage would ignore the profound conceptual changes that had to take place in order for these transfers to occur and the social currents that ran beneath the transition. The conception of musical compositions and even performance as personal property, of musicians as self-directed authorities of musical institutions, and of individual musicians as significant contributors to a national good, all required a professional
re-fashioning by musicians. Re-fashioning by musicians. Musicians capitalized upon their interstitial positions of the Old Regime—between craftsman and artist, between artist and scientist, between servant and professional—to develop a revolutionary rhetoric, exemplified in Sarrette’s speeches that cast musicians as classical republicans. Though scholars have focused upon the popular and utilitarian features of musicianship during the French Revolution, particularly based on the writings of Constant Pierre, these accounts fail to acknowledge the entrepreneurial acumen of musicians who worked the new government system through discourses of *le peuple* and *utilité* in order to achieve tangible professional goals. Musicians seemed to experience a return on the investment of their time socializing in Masonic lodges. While lodges offered an opportunity to practice classical republicanism that became absolutely essential to the Conservatoire’s rhetoric during the Revolution, they also provided a venue to cultivate particular friendships and to network professionally. Yet not all musicians profited equally from this socio-economic progress and social factors seemed to consistently figure into which musicians would succeed in their emergent professional class.

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112 One of Darlow’s conclusions in *Staging the French Revolution* is that repertory often intended to refashion individual creators rather than to propagate particular ideological agendas.
Part III: Performance

_Vive le son,
Vive le son._
[Long live the sound,
Long live the sound]
—"La Carmagnole," 1792

Chapter 5: Listening for an Emergent Professional Class

This chapter turns an ear toward the emergent professional class of musicians discussed in Chapters 2 through 4. The sound that remains in revolutionary artifacts, from festival prescriptions and descriptions to pedagogical texts, offers a productive point of audition into their world. The sound of their experience invites a simultaneously specific and general perspective: specific because individual agents constitute and interpret their soundscape idiosyncratically, general because the soundscape implicates the individuals, groups, spaces, and objects it circumscribes. Revolutionary agendas lurk within the sound of festivals, theatre compositions, and pedagogical works. These agendas cannot be categorized discretely as political, social, economic, or aesthetic, because such concerns existed concomitantly within the realm of musical production and performance during the French Revolution. As a result, twenty-first-century ears must be tuned to hear the agendas embedded within these sonic artifacts. During the revolutionary decade, the sound created and performed by musicians reconstituted temporospatial experience, culturally negotiated the Old Regime and new Republic, and reinforced the drive to codify the French language. Each of these contributions provides a portrait of music(ians) as arbiters of the ever-shifting French nation during the French Revolution and gestures toward the changes in musical production and practice that revolutionary musicians fomented.
5.1 Reorganizing Time and Space From Margins to Center: Sound and Silence in Festivals of the French Revolution

The institutionalization of music as a profession through the Conservatoire brought musicians into the center of revolutionary political culture. In Chapter 4, I postulated that Bernard Sarrette's (1767–1858) position as the non-musical center of an emergent professional class of musicians embodied a Rousseauean conception of accessible, transparent music central to political culture. Responsible for the organization of festival music and the dissemination of resultant publications, professional musicians transitioned from marginal servants of the Old Regime to essential arbiters of culture in the New Republic. Practicing artists replaced the Old Regime *arbiter elegantiae*: men of letters. As Joseph Roach has theorized, communities often culturally mobilize "marginal identities to imagine a new kind of community."¹ He continues, "Clubs, with their continuously renegotiated boundaries of exclusion, exemplify the smaller atoms of affiliation through which larger societies may be constructed."² The pre-revolutionary networks of musicians discussed in Chapter 3 represented an atom of the larger social sphere that would be re-imagined during the Revolution. As previously marginal figures with established, self-contained standards of exclusion, musicians of the emergent professional class performed a symbolic role in the reorganization of the new revolutionary political culture when they organized, composed for, and performed in revolutionary festivals.

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² Ibid., 18.
People experience sound and its organization of both time and space in historically and culturally specific ways. Indeed, the Revolution caused profound changes in conceptions of space—royal and religious spaces were repurposed according to revolutionary ideologies, and one of the most tangible legacies of the French Revolution is the metric system of measurement. In Chapter 3, I explained the politicized nature of composer Jean-François Lesueur’s (1760–1837) emphasis on space in his aesthetic vision. The measurement of time also became contested during the Revolution, resulting in the adoption of the revolutionary calendar. The inextricable link between the nobility and church and the measurement of time and space required drastic measures: the Gregorian calendar revolved around church feasts and the king's foot formed the basis of Old Regime distance measurement. The revolutionary calendar began from year 1 as if it might eradicate the memory of a monarchical history in France, but implementing new systems of measurement can be difficult, particularly within a diffuse population with varying degrees of literacy. Although music, and sound more generally, could not teach new measurements, they served as media that could offer a common physical experience of temporospatial reconfiguration.


The contrasting experience of revolutionary festivals from 1790, when hopes were still high for a peaceful resolution to Revolution, and from 1794, after thousands of French citizens had been guillotined for anti-revolutionary sentiments during the Reign of Terror from September 1793 to July 1794, offer a fertile case study for this hypothesis of how sound reconfigured the experience of time and space during the Revolution. Sound and silence in festivals of the French Revolution demonstrate changes not only in how sound shaped experience of the Revolution, but also how the emergent professional class of musicians figured integrally into this phenomenon. Previous scholarship has established a sonic trajectory of the revolutionary decade from 1789 to 1799. Laura Mason, in Singing the French Revolution, explains how popular song became a legitimate form of political activism from 1789 until its homogenization in 1793, and eventual silence following the Reign of Terror in 1794. James H. Johnson has argued that, as a result of the Revolution, French theatre audiences became silent and attentive by the early nineteenth century. This sonic trajectory characterizes the Revolution as a transition from polyphony or even cacophony to unison and ultimately to silence. It equates polyphony and cacophony with the articulation of diverse perspectives and silence with passive, homogenous compliance. This one-dimensional approach to sound during the Revolution negates the competing, contingent politics embedded within revolutionary soundscapes transformed from moment to moment and from one person to the next.

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A description of the circumstances and details of the First Festival of the Federation, published later in 1790, provides a sound bite of the festival's sonic elements.\textsuperscript{7} Such publications aimed to provide French citizens outside of Paris with an account that made the reader feel included, like a member of the evolving governmental system. Parisian citizens prepared the festival grounds for an event that intended to mark the anniversary of the Revolution and the unification of the country around the king, the new constitution, and Paris. Eager spectators sang together to ease the discomfort of windy, wet conditions as they awaited a parade that would arrive in the communally constructed amphitheatre on the Champ de Mars (the open space where the Eiffel Tower stands today). The extensive procession of military representatives including grenadiers, civic representatives from Paris and the provinces, veterans, and national guardsmen, took two hours to file into the amphitheatre and take their places.\textsuperscript{8} Eight trumpets, six in the front and two in the back, a drum corps, and the military's music corps participated in the parade (see Figure 5). Dark red sections in Figure 5 indicate an exclusively musical or sonic section of the two-hour parade, light red sections indicate the inclusion of some sonic elements, for example, the six trumpets that accompanied the cavalry, and tan sections contain no musical or sonic elements. Only two sections of this two-hour process were exclusively sonic. The procession advanced, "to the sound of military instruments, and to the noise of the most harmonious concerts formed by [cries of]: \textit{vive la nation! vive le roi!}" Members of the procession supposedly

\textsuperscript{7} Confédération nationale, ou Récit exact & circonstancié de tout ce qui s'est passé à Paris, le 14 juillet 1790, a la fédération , avec le recueil de toutes les pièces officielles & authentiques relatives des principales pièces littéraires auxquelles elle a donné lieu, & le détail de toutes les circonstances qui ont précédé, accompagné & suivi cette auguste cérémonie. Avec cinq gravures (Paris: Garnéry, 1790/91).

\textsuperscript{8} Ozouf, 49.
replied "vive la nation! vive la loi! vivent nos frères!" Figure 6 depicts the military parade entering the amphitheatre erected upon the Champ de Mars where the festivities took place.

When the cortège finally situated itself in the amphitheatre, a mass was celebrated, during which "the most imposing music commanded souls to lift their thoughts to the eternal." When the mass finished a "religious silence" prevailed. After recounting the sermon of General LaFayette, the festival description demands of its readers: "Listen to this sermon, all you who still oppose our constitution; listen and tremble." It continues, "During the entire ceremony, artillery made an imposing noise, and more than three hundred drums were struck at once. At the sound of artillery, people who remained in Paris...lifted their hands with

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9 Confédération nationale, 135.
This description portrays festival sound as a controlling presence that commanded silence, reverence, and compliance, of those in the festival grounds, within hearing distance of the amphitheatre, and even those who felt its resonance through textual accounts.

Figure 6: Vue et Perspective du Champ de Mars dit de la Fédération le 14 juillet 1790 [estampe], 1790

Descriptions of the 1790 festival focus heavily upon words and images inscribed within the festival space to communicate the end of the Old Regime and the beginning of a new Republic visually. Though music accompanied the celebration, in reports and descriptions it takes a secondary role to the visual spectacle of texts and authoritative figures that dominated the space. Silence commanded both during the ceremony and in its textual echoes implies unification and compliance around the new social order constituted by militaristic control, religious symbolism, and monarchical authority. Even spontaneous cries

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10 Ibid., 137, emphasis added.
11 F-Pn, LI-72 (2) FOL.
from the parade are characterized as "in concert," thus, orderly. Accounts of preparations for this particular festival (and there are many) highlight the spontaneity of its organization and the high spirits of its participants, yet the hush of the ceremony challenges such an interpretation. An eyewitness, the Comte d'Escherny, remarked of the celebration, "We were too small for the spectacle or the spectacle was too great for us. The due proportion between spectacle and spectators was broken." D'Escherny's characterization of "spectacle" and "spectators" emphasizes the ocularcentrism of the 1790 festival experience—visual elements that held participants at a distance from the event. D'Escherny bemoans the distance between spectacle and spectator in the 1790 festival, which would be bridged through sound in a later 1794 festival.

A prescription for the "Particulars of the ceremonial march, and the order to be observed during the Festival of the Supreme Being" that would take place in Paris four years later, on June 8, 1794, is now found in the personal library of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century French librettist and dramatist René Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt (1773–1844), located in the Senate Library of France. The Supreme Being was a new secular deity intended to offer a moral compass grounded by belief in a higher power, while casting off the tyrannous patriarchy and hierarchy of the Catholic Church. This festival prescription, printed upon order of the national government, outlines plans for every detail

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12 Quoted in Ozouf, 49.
13 Détail de la Véritable Marche des Cérémonies, et de l'ordre à observer dans la fête de l'Être Suprême, Qui doit être célébrée le 20 Prairial [8 juin 1794], d'après le décret de la Convention nationale du 18 floréal, l'an deuxième de la République une et indivisible; Imprimé par ordre de la Convention Nationale (Paris: De l'imprimerie de G.-F. Gallet, imprimeur, aux Jacobins Saint-Honoré), Bibliothèque du Sénat, Collection Pixérécourt, Paris, France. Pixérécourt obsessively collected theatre and festival materials during the revolutionary decade, and his collection provides a trove of information on revolutionary theatre and if carefully analyzed might reveal the extent to which revolutionary theatre influenced early nineteenth-century French stage works.
of the festival. Sound triumphs as the invisible organizing force coordinating both time and space and inviting participation in order to prevent dangerous chaos.

Though the prescription states that "an artillery fire [at 8 in the morning would] announce the moment when all sections of Paris should proceed to the national garden," an account published after the festival in the *Décade philosophique, littéraire, et politique* states that drums signaled each of the 24 sections of Paris to proceed to the national garden in their prescribed rows: women and children under 8 on the left, men on the right, and adolescents in the middle. The sound of trumpets alerted the thousands who gathered in the national garden (today the Tuileries Gardens outside the Louvre) that the president of the National Convention, Maximilien Robespierre, had entered a balcony overlooking the amphitheatre. Like the 1790 festival, the spectacle was "too great" in size for all spectators to see Robespierre enter the festival space, but the sound of trumpets included those gathered at a distance into significant moments of the ceremony.

The prescription continues, when the National Convention enters the balcony overlooking the amphitheatre (see right of Figure 7), a large music corps will occupy the two staircases on either side of the balcony. Though Figure 7 that depicts this moment of the ceremony does not show musicians on the two staircases, the account of the festival in the *Décade philosophique* confirms that musicians were indeed positioned there. Both the festival prescription and description detail the performance of François-Joseph Gossec's (1734–1829) "Hymne à l'Être Suprême" (Hymn to the Supreme Being), with lyrics written by Théodore Désorgue (1764–1808), following Robespierre's brief speech. Gossec served as a leader of the Institut National de musique, and would be named an *inspecteur* when the

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14 "Fête a l'Être Suprême [sic]," *Décade philosophique, littéraire, et politique, par une société de républicains* (July 1794), 337–347.
institution became the Conservatoire the following year. After Gossec's hymn, Robespierre descended into the amphitheatre with a torch and set the statue of atheism aflame to leave only Wisdom behind. The center left of Figure 7 depicts this moment. Following announcements by Robespierre, the prescription predicts people "will respond to him by songs and cries of allegiance."

Drum rolls prompted participants to fall into their procession positions as the ceremony moved from the national garden to the Champ de Mars. The procession order carefully divided participants by sonic markers (see Figure 8), beginning with trumpets followed by firefighters, then canons, drums, and music students from the Institut National

Figure 7: Vue du jardin national et des décorations, le jour de la fête célébrée en l'honneur de l'Étre Suprême le Décadi 20 Prairial l'an 2e de la République Française [estampe], 1794

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de musique. Next marched representatives from the 24 sections of Paris, women on the left, men on the right, and adolescents in the middle where they could be circumscribed and easily monitored. A military band from the northern French army divided the Paris sections down the middle. Behind the 24 sections come the weak, including the elderly, mothers, and children. A wind band playing patriotic airs separated the weak from members of the National Convention who walked with a float containing symbols of various arts and crafts and produce from France, followed by 100 drums. Behind these drums came another group of representatives from the 24 sections of Paris in the same formation, then a group of blind children singing hymns, identified by a sign reading "The French Republic honors the unfortunate." Cavalry took up the rear. As in Figure 1, in Figure 8, dark red sections indicate exclusively musical or sonic elements of the parade, which occupied half of the entire procession.

No sources indicate the tunes sung by the blind children or the patriotic airs performed by the wind band, though we can safely assume that their repertoire consisted of
compositions by the Institut National de musique faculty members and popular tunes that were politically correct for this particular moment of the Revolution. The incorporation of blind children into the parade merits a study unto itself, but a few points about their participation will suffice here. First, the primary purpose of their participation was, as the sign indicated, to demonstrate that the French nation accepted and helped the unfortunate. Yet blindness as the disability of choice for this particular spectacle supports a larger claim about the changing nature of sensual experience and festivals of the Revolution. The French nation included blind children despite their disability, and the children could still participate and appreciate the festival because it was primarily a sonic event. The sonically ordered parade would allowed the children to follow the series of events, interact with the crowd, and perform with little difficulty resulting from their inability to see. Diderot's 1749 Lettre sur les aveugles (Letter on the blind), his first foray into sensationist philosophy, outlined what seeing people might learn from those without sight. In 1794, the blind held a privileged position in a festival celebrating the nation because, indeed, it was primarily sound that united French bodies. No one could exemplify this collective sensual experience better than blind children: virtuous and enthusiastic participants despite their inability to see.

The parade's sonic structure promised order, marking space between and among social groups, while maintaining an illusion of voluntary and almost coincidental discipline. Musicians took on the primary role in organizing the timing and spacing of the process. The students of the Institut National de musique, and nearly all musicians in the parade, were also current or former members of the French National Guard. They represented military authority asserted not through imposing visuals as in the 1790 parade, but through an aural presence, physically mingled among citizens and dignitaries. Music at once asserted "we are
one of you" and "we are organized enough to exert force over you." Musicians gained authority in these ceremonies that marked a reconstitution of revolutionary political culture. The mobilization of sonic rather than visual cues to order the 1794 events created a perception of mutual orderliness, making authority seem unnecessary. However this festival took place at the very end of the Reign of Terror, which saw thousands of French citizens guillotined for suspicions even of anti-revolutionary sentiments. This festival represented the final ceremony of the bloody Terror and unlike the silence in 1790, the profoundly sonic nature of this festival marks a compulsory compliance.

The order of the procession facilitated a fluid construction of the 360-degree soundscape the convention members hoped to achieve upon arrival in the Champ de Mars (see Figure 9). Trumpeters, leading the cortège, mounted a column erected on a central mountain, which was built as a focal point for the ceremony. Figure 9 depicts the two trumpeters pointing out in each direction from the column. From these towers, the trumpets, just as in the national gardens, signaled crowd participation for those who could not see or hear the details of the ceremony from afar. The first group of drums, who entered behind the canons in the cortège, headed to the far side of the mountain, while the Institute of Music students, northern army music corps, and wind instruments joined the convention members atop the mountain. The section members encircled the mountain—women on the left, men on the right and adolescents forming an inner circle at its base—while the weak and infirm flanked the mountain's two sides. The last set of drums remained at the front of the mountain base. Sound circumscribed and anchored the Champ de Mars festival space. The ceremony was a sensuous, participatory experience. After the performance of a "Hymn to the Divinity" by Gossec and a grand symphony, the entire audience participated in an
antiphonal singing of the "Marseillaise." Institut de musique musicians supposedly went out into the Paris sections before this festival to practice verses and melodies with Parisians who would participate in the festival. The elderly and adolescents on the mountain sang the first strophe, repeated "by heart" by the men on the mountain, then mothers and young girls on the mountain sang the second strophe, followed by all women repeating the strophe. Everyone on the mountain then sang the third strophe in unison, and finally the entire audience repeated the refrain. As the entire audience repeated the refrain the prescription directs:

Figure 9: Montagne élevée au Champ pour la Fête de l'Être Suprême [estampe], 1794

16 Johnson, 126–127.
17 F-Pn, FOL-QB-201 (135).
The mothers will take the youngest of their children in their arms and present them in homage to the author of nature. During this time, the young girls will throw their flowers toward the sky and simultaneously the adolescents will take their sabers and swear by all to make their arms victorious. The delighted elderly will hold their hands to the (adolescents) heads, and give them a paternal benediction. The entire people will repeat the last refrain [of the "Marseillaise"] by heart.¹⁸

Music composed for the festival such as Gossec's "Hymn to the Supreme Being," which was performed in the national garden, was published and circulated in various iterations.¹⁹ The versions heard during the festival, such as the performance just described, were more formal compositions that included instrumental parts consisting of homophonic textures and slow harmonic rhythms. The instruments primarily held one-measure chords while the choruses sang the melody. Popular versions of the festival songs, however, circulated throughout France both by word of mouth and print so that French citizens in the provinces could connect to the same sound and music experienced in the large Parisian festivals. The popular version of Gossec's hymn melody is rhythmically faster and contains more dotted rhythms. Recorded versions of such revolutionary hymns typically combine elements of these two types of compositional sources to create more musical interest.²⁰ Such intricate melodies as the popular version, however, could not have been executed in such a large sonic space by untrained singers.

Sound, just as it ordered the parade from the national garden to the Champ de Mars, also ordered participation in the ceremony. Drums regulated movement. The trumpets perched atop columns signaled participation to the Parisians who had practiced with Institut

¹⁸ Détail de la véritable marche. This seems to be a re-enactment of the 1792 performance of Gossec's L'Offrande à la liberté, described by M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet in "Gossec, L'Offrande à la liberté et l'histoire de la Marseillaise," in Le Tambour et La Harpe: Œuvres, pratiques et manifestations musicales sous la Révolution 1788–1800, ed. Jean-Rémy Julien et Jean Mongrédien, 123–146.


²⁰ Listen, for example, to Gossec's "Hymne à l'Être Suprême," on Jean-Claude Chambard, Musique et Révolution, Radio France-Erato Disques, 245 00-2, 1988, compact disc.

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members before the festival. Onlookers would then take their cues from the primed performers. Musicians conducted the singers and canons indicated the grand finale and called for cries of "vive la république!" The music corps led the National Convention members out of the festival grounds, as well. The distance between spectacle and spectator noted by the Comte d'Escherney in 1790 collapsed in the 1794 festival through the use of sound and music to incorporate participants into every aspect of the event. Musicians from the emergent professional class directed all of these activities.

The Festival of the Federation in 1790 and Festival of the Supreme Being in 1794 demonstrate a repurposing of sound and music(ians) in festivals of the French Revolution, and challenge the neat sonic trajectory of the Revolution that previous scholarship has established. While previous interpretations of the 1790 Festival of the Federation read the experience as cacophonous, diverse, and spontaneous, an analysis of the sonic descriptions of this festival indicates otherwise a distanced spatizliation. Sound transitioned from this royalist purpose during the early Revolution to the primary, totalitarian medium of festival spatilization during the Terror. Musicians elevated from marginal participants to authoritative organizers. The silent listening of the 1790 festival became active, even compulsory by 1794. At the end of the Terror, only weeks before the fall of Robespierre, silence during the festival could no longer be equated with consent. To the contrary, citizens had to actively voice and perform their enthusiasm to avoid accusations of anti-revolutionary sentiment.

The sound of the 1794 festival reconstituted time and space in particular ways. The visuals of the 1790 festival—military authorities, words inscribed on structures and banners—represented permanence, an attempt to support the final remnants of monarchical
control that had dissolved since the death of Louis XV. The 1790 festival space had to not only keep spectators distant rather than participatory, but also reinforce a sense of history and endurance. The music and sound of the 1794 festival facilitated a participatory space, a sense of inclusion, and an emphasis on the present moment. Musical performance, particularly of a participatory nature, demands attention from moment to moment, an understanding of each sonic marker in relation only to the previous and subsequent ones. Contrary to the historicity and permanence implied by the visual symbols and reverent silence of the 1790 festival, the citizens' audible participation in the 1794 festival emphasized the present and enveloped spectators in a way that even the blind could appreciate. Musicians, from their preparations, to compositions, to rehearsals, to performances for the 1794 festival constructed this crucial experience.

5.2 Negotiating Old and New Regimes: Grétry's *La rosière républicaine* (1794)

For spectators who could not participate in revolutionary festivals or who wanted to re-live the festival experience, Parisian theatres began to stage re-enactments of these events. *La rosière républicaine* (1794) by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813), libretto by Sylvain Maréchal, re-enacts the November 1793 Festival of Reason and envoices the competing aesthetic, political, and social agendas of Paris during the Terror (September 1793–July 1794). These agendas lurk among Grétry's musical choices, his personal politics, his relationship with the emergent professional class of musicians, and the competing aesthetic agendas of both the Parisian and national governments. In the ballet suite from *La rosière républicaine*, Grétry masterfully negotiates not only old and new political, but also musical regimes through instrumental music. The suite testifies to his ability as both an artist and a
citizen to successfully navigate upheaval while maintaining a personal philosophy of music and politics. The 1780s sound of La rosière républicaine hides a series of competing aesthetic claims embedded within sociopolitical concerns that surrounded the composition and production of the work.

A favorite of Marie-Antoinette whose operas enjoyed exceptional pre-revolutionary success, Grétry claimed to detest musical developments of the Revolution, which he described in a 1796 letter as noise, specifically a "dog racket." In his Mémoires (1797), Grétry recasts himself as a staunch republican, but in reality held a moderate political view during the Revolution that respected a balance among monarchy, republicanism, and meritocracy. Grétry claims in his Mémoires to have retired from composition during the Revolution because of his disgust for noisy new musical aesthetics, but M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet has shown that Grétry in fact actively composed during this period and likely claimed to have retired only to excuse his lack of success during the revolutionary decade. Grétry found himself in financial need during the Revolution as his operas saw fewer performances. This is likely the reason he briefly accepted a position as inspecteur at the Conservatoire; a position he never truly filled.

The French Revolution seemed doubly difficult for Grétry in both a personal and public sense. His two daughters, Lucile and Antoinette, died in 1790; a personal loss from which, some say, the composer never recovered. Following the premiere of Guillaume Tell in 1791, Grétry experienced significantly less success than before the Revolution. The changing

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23 Bartlet.
political tides affected the work he was permitted to produce. Politically speaking, Grétry found himself in an unfortunate position as some of his works became associated with royalism. The air "O Richard, ô mon roi" from Richard, Coeur-de-lion (1784) became an anthem for French royalists after it was sung at a Versailles banquet by loyal body guards in October 1789.24 Pierre, le grand (1790) clearly demonstrated support for Louis XVI.25 In February 1792, a performance of Grétry's Les événemens imprévus (1779) resulted in a small riot when an actress turned toward Marie Antoinette's loge, with hand across her heart, and sang "comme j'aime la reine, comme j'aime ma maîtresse" (Oh, how I love the queen, how I love my mistress).26

The Festival of Reason, a civic celebration of the new secular deity, Reason, took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame on November 27, 1793. Sylvain Maréchal wrote the script for the performance. Though Grétry's association with the festival has been assumed because he composed the later opera version of the festival, Xavier Lefèvre (1763–1829), a clarinetist from the Opéra, may have actually composed the music for the Notre Dame event. Following the festival performance, Pierre Gaspard Chaumette, the president of the Commune (the radical government of the city of Paris), wrote a letter to the Opéra praising the Festival of Reason, as it fit well with his ardent, Hébertist de-christianization campaign.27 Yet in a post-scriptum to the letter, Chaumette criticizes Lefèvre's music as too intellectual.

24 Mason.
26 This paragraph was previously published as part of Rebecca Geoffroy-Swinden, Preface to André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, La rosière républicaine (Ballettmusik) (Munich: Musikproduktion Jürgen Höflich, 2014).
27 Darlow explains how during the Terror from September 1793 to July 1794 the National Convention, politically Jacobin, still aimed for an "aesthetically challenging form of art" (178), while the government of the city of Paris, Hébertist radical atheists, promoted simple didactic works that would explicitly edify the audience, Staging the French Revolution: Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra, 1789–1794 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
for the goals of the performance. Bartlet claims this post-scriptum does not refer specifically to the Festival of Reason and that Grétry actually composed the festival music.  

Even if this is the case, Chaumette placed Grétry and Lefèvre's music aesthetically and politically at odds in his letter. Ironically, after years of public rejection, the simplicity of Grétry's compositional style became once again fashionable during the Terror. Chaumette, and the Commune government believed in a simple approachable musical aesthetic similar to Grétry's style, which emphasized melody and avoided noisy revolutionary techniques that mobilized polychoral and polyorchestral instrumentation. If Lefèvre indeed composed the festival music, then this is likely when Grétry stepped in to rework the music before its projected premiere at the Opéra. Even if Lefèvre did not write the festival music, clearly the sound of Grétry's compositions better resonated with the political agenda of the radical Commune.

The Moniteur universel advertised the upcoming Opéra premiere from December 17 to 31, 1793, and the libretto was printed ahead of the performance—this was unusual—and projected the premiere date as December 26, 1793. Announcements for the opera's premiere disappear from Parisian journals during the first week of January 1794 when the Committee on Public Safety (the national government) canceled the production. Though the municipal government, led by Chaumette, had wholly backed the opera, the executive government believed both the opera and the November festival on which it was based infringed upon freedom of worship and might incite dangerous anti-clericalism. Even Robespierre felt that the vacuum left by religion might lead to chaotic social upheaval. The municipal government's aesthetic agenda conflicted with the social agenda of the executive government.

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28 Bartlet, n. 79.
29 It was common during the Revolution to stage re-enactments of festivals.
branch. At first Grétry's opera was only postponed to December 31, 1793, but it was ultimately cancelled, according to the Journal des spectacles, in an attempt to avoid a public disturbance. Grétry nonetheless re-worked the opera and it premiered under the title La rosière républicaine at the Opéra on September 2, 1794. Despite positive reviews from the Journal de Paris, it boasted only six more performances. Grétry's simple approach had already become once again unfashionable during the Thermidorian Reaction, a conservative backlash to the reign of Terror.

Bartlet has explained that Grétry's La rosière républicaine and his revolutionary partnership with Sylvain Maréchal embarrass scholars who study the composer:

The composer himself later condemned atheism and, although his religious beliefs reflect déiste principles, after 1800 he spoke out against the excesses of the Revolution in this regard while remaining supportive of his collaborator. His ambivalent subsequent attitude led him to claim that he was "ordered" by (now-discredited) authorities to write this opéra. Contemporary documents disprove this.31 This embarrassment likely comes not from the composition itself, but from the possibility that Grétry composed this work without coercion, that he attempted like other composers to recast himself aesthetically during the Revolution,32 and that previous scholarship that conveniently sets Grétry apart from his revolutionary contemporaries (those in the emergent professional class) seem largely incorrect. It may embarrass Grétry scholars that the composer desired a role in changing revolutionary musical aesthetics. He did, after all, participate in and reap the benefits of the economic and legal battles discussed in Chapter 4.

Yet Grétry was clearly not willing to sacrifice his personal compositional approach, and he merely capitalized when the aesthetics again turned in his favor. Grétry always cared

31 Bartlet, 64.
32 Darlow concludes that even during the height of the Terror, opera compositions were more an effort at self-fashioning by composers rather than an attempt to sway beliefs.
deeply for the primacy of melody—his compositional gifts were always melodic rather than harmonic. The graceful "Danse légère" that begins Grétry's ballet music for La rosière républicaine boasts an archetypal classical melody that could, with tasteful ornamentation and a quick tempo, be mistaken for Mozart or Gluck (see Figure 10). Indeed, Mozart admired Grétry's compositions, some of which could be found in his personal library, and in 1781 Mozart composed a keyboard variation on Grétry's chorus "Dieu d'amour" from Les mariages samnites (1776). The entire harmonic content of the "Danse légère" consists of a tonic (mm. 1–14), to dominant (mm. 15–16), to tonic (mm. 17–24) motion. Despite the embellishing plagal motions that precede weak-beat dominant harmonies in measures 4 and 20, it might be argued that the movement's harmony never truly leaves the tonic. The most harmonic interest of the entire movement comes in the form of a 7-8 suspension within the final cadence. The "Danse légère" seems exaggeratedly simple, even for Grétry—perhaps a public nod to the Hébertist aesthetics that, suspicious of instrumental music, required a clear message for listeners, or perhaps a personal opportunity to combat the "dog racket" of new revolutionary musical aesthetics. For a brief time, Grétry's compositional style and revolutionary aesthetics became indistinguishable.

Grétry's personal commitment to couleur locale also figures integrally into the ballet suite. The opera depicts a revolutionary festival, thus the locality is France. But the form of

33 The figures are taken from André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, La rosière républicaine (Ballettmusik) (Munich: Musikproduktion Jürgen Höflich, 2014).
35 An extremely slow rendition of this movement renders this point painfully clear on the recording Selmar Meyrowitz, La Rosière Républicaine, Columbia, CPT 1706-1709, 78-rpm. For a more enjoyable version, listen to Roger Désormière, La rosière républicaine, Ultraphon-Supraphon, H 24026/8, 78-rpm.
36 James H. Johnson explains in Listening in Paris: A Cultural History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996): "strong emotional responses might indeed come from rich instrumental writing…but such music risked provoking a hundred different responses in a hundred different listeners. Its alternative was no less troubling: simplifying music for the sake of unanimous, fraternal experience would weaken its emotional force," 135.
the ballet throws into question whether Grétry depicts an Old or New France. The tradition of ballet suites is rooted in the decidedly French genres of the ballet de cour, opéra-ballet, and acte de ballet: all cultural productions of the court of Louis XIV.\textsuperscript{37} Even the movements of \textit{La rosière républicaine} that may at first sound as if they exude a revolutionary air in fact represent only the most recent branch of a genealogy of folk-like instrumental music found not only in French opera, but also in the keyboard works of François Couperin (1668–1733) and Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764). For example, the folk-like tune, homophonic texture, and strong down beats in 2/4 of the "Contredanse" third movement recall Rameau's "Tambourin." (see Figure 11) As mentioned above, melodies throughout the suite reflect a deep-seated French desire for melodic supremacy that Gluck had deftly satisfied in his Paris operas.\textsuperscript{38} The suite also includes as its fourth movement a Romance, which from mid-century had become a standard form in opéra-comique repertoire, though more typically as a vocal rather than instrumental genre.\textsuperscript{39} Through these forms Grétry looks not just to Gluckian but to distinctively French pre-revolutionary musical models.

Despite these Old Regime musical roots, \textit{La rosière républicaine} simultaneously exhibits features of a new musical and political regime, particularly in its final movement, an allegretto based on the revolutionary political anthem, the "Carmagnole" (see Figure 12). Originally an eighteenth-century popular dance, this round dance became typical of revolutionary festivities and the eponymous song became a revolutionary anthem in 1792.

The song was "closely associated with the most radical events of the French Revolution and the sans-culottes who sang it," and it remained associated with popular insurrection long after it was supposedly sung during the August 10, 1792, storming of the Tuileries Palace, which cemented the fall of the royal family in France. In one version, the anonymous lyrics poked fun at Marie Antoinette's unfortunate circumstances: "Antoinette had decided to drop us on our asses | but the plan was foiled and she fell on her face." "La Carmagnole" remained "the sole property of the working classes" well into the nineteenth century.

In one sense, setting a popular tune was consistent with Grétry's commitment to couleur locale: he famously set the "Ranz des vaches" in his 1791 Guillaume Tell. However, the revolutionary anthem worked for Grétry in two ways. In the diegesis of the ballet, when "La Carmagnole" begins, the dancers command the clergy members attending the festival to "Dance the Carmagnole!" Forcing someone to "dance the carmagnole" had already developed into a metaphor for uprising. Discussing the use of this song during the Third Republic, Alexander McKinley explains, "'To dance the Carmagnole' became a term of revolutionary threat. To dance the Carmagnole, like 'faire '93,' became a means to communicate to all, allies and enemies alike, the threat of social revolution." The melody also served a personal political purpose for Grétry—to assert his commitment to the republican cause, a commitment that may have been questioned due to not only the extra-musical associations garnered by his past works, but also the well-known love he had for the now-deceased queen, godmother of one of his deceased children who bore the monarch's

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42 Ibid.
43 McKinley, 143.
Figure 10: "Danse Légère" from Grétry's *La rosière républicaine* (1794) (continued on the following page)
III (Contredanse)

Figure 11: "Contredanse" from *La rosière républicaine*
Figure 12: "Allegretto (Carmagnole)" from Grétry's *La Rosière républicaine*
Grétry incorporated "La carmagnole" into a ballet suite to achieve a musico-political balance at once personal and public, maintaining his Old Regime musical aesthetics while recasting himself as a republican.

The municipality of Paris promoted approachable music, that is to say, explicit compositions that left little in the way of interpretation by listeners. Grétry's reputation as a composer for the stage and his simple aesthetics likely promised a safer choice since he dependably composed simple works that subordinated music to drama. In addition, Grétry dealt little with the Conservatoire despite his technical affiliation with the institution. At the time of the transition of La rosière républicaine from festival to stage, Lefèvre's Conservatoire connections likely disgruntled the municipal government, which the Conservatoire had answered to until recently becoming an entity of the national government. The music to Lefèvre's version of the Festival of Reason remains an enigma; indeed, sources such as Bartlet would assert that he never composed for the festival at all. Chaumette's accusation of "intellectual" music nonetheless invites speculation. Lefèvre, an outstanding clarinetist, had performed with the Garde Nationale since the early 1780s, with the Opéra orchestra, and in the Concert Spirituel. He had been named professor at the Conservatoire along with other professors who had been grandfathered in from the Garde Nationale, and also continued to maintain affiliation with the Opéra. The few instrumental pieces outside the clarinet repertoire still extant from Lefèvre's revolutionary output include a "Pas de manœuvre," "Marche militaire," and "Hymne d'Agriculture." When placed side-by-side with the "Pas de

44 A version of this paragraph was previously published, see n. 26.
45 Johnson discusses this issue in his chapters "Musical Experience of the Terror" and "Musical Expression and Jacobin Ideology," and Darlow gives a more nuanced explanation of these issues in his chapter "The Opéra during the Terror."
46 Constant Pierre, Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la révolution française; oeuvres de Gosse, Cherubini, Lesueur, Méhul, Catel, etc (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899).
trois" from Grétry's ballet, no features of Lefèvre's "Pas de manœuvre" stand out as distinctly intellectual compared to that of Grétry's. Both works in a 6/8 time signature boast homophonic textures and simple melodies. Lefèvre's reputation, however, was as a distinctly instrumental composer with Conservatoire affiliations. It is possible that the men's personal affiliations and reputations figured integrally into the municipality's preference for their music, and not only the musical material produced by the two composers.

The account of Grétry's La rosière républicaine provides a sound bite of the articulate sociopolitical negotiation that took place within musical materials, embedded in its melodies, orchestration, and generic features that hide behind tropes of the Classical Style. Competing aesthetic visions in revolutionary France involved much more than a belief in the primacy of melody or a commitment to couleur locale. Grétry's La rosière républicaine, and the composer himself, cannot be extracted from the revolutionary decade, but must be understood within it. To label this music as an outlier of Grétry's compositional output, as revolutionary political propaganda, or as aesthetically subpar, discredits both the real sociopolitical work achieved by cultural arbiters within the sphere of musical production of the Revolution and the diverse aesthetic visions they tested in contemporaneous compositions.

5.3 The Repercussions of Codifying Language: Montgeroult, Adam, and the Conservatoire Piano Method

French solo keyboard performance during the late seventeenth century constituted a largely improvised practice. Decisions regarding ornamentation, articulation, and rhythmic alternation were left to the taste of the performer, who had presumably studied with a

Pierre, Musique fêtes, 556.
knowledgeable teacher. David Chung has argued that as printed scores increasingly replaced handwritten musical manuscripts over the course of the eighteenth century, solo keyboard performance practice became less improvisatory as composers specified performance decisions in print. During the Revolution, the newly founded Conservatoire aimed to codify a written method of pianoforte performance, as it did for other instruments.

The drive to textually codify musical practices was concomitant to the codification of the French language and a general desire to bring theory and practice closer to one another. Language, like many other areas of knowledge, became codified over the course of the Enlightenment, and this drive reached its pinnacle during the Revolution as France attempted to unify around cultural commonalities other than a monarch. Newly centralized

48 The compositions of Jean-Baptiste-Henry d'Anglebert (1662–1735) represent a codification of both written and improvisational ornamentation that had existed since the mid-seventeenth century. Beginning with d'Anglebert, it becomes difficult to surmise how far apart ornamentation theory and practice had wandered. If d'Anglebert dedicated painstaking efforts to provide such precise ornamentation signs, it is difficult to know whether additional improvised ornamentation would be deemed in good taste. To support the argument that d'Anglebert's efforts were "painstaking," one must look no further than the ornaments he chose to write out in notation rather than using a sign to ensure that, for example, a port de voix would not be performed on the beat. See Harr, "Performing d'Anglebert's Works for Keyboard," for a discussion of scholarly debates surrounding this issue.


50 Arlette Farge, in Essai pour une histoire des voix aux dix-huitième siècle (Montrouge: Bayard, 2009), explains that during the second half of the eighteenth century, urgency developed among educated classes to homogenize and centralize the French language. By the time of the revolution in 1789, there were at least thirty different dialects found throughout France and her provinces, and of a population of 26 million, only 6 million spoke the French found in grammar books or in the streets of Paris. These dialects varied to such an extent that some were incomprehensible to those who spoke Parisian French. Farge elucidates the sound of these incomprehensible speakers through treatises on grammar and language, personal correspondences, and police records. One example is the Dictionnaire grammatical de la langue française (Grammatical dictionary of the French language), which was published without an author in 1768. The book gives examples of proper pronunciation of words that were most frequently mispronounced at the time. These phonetic spellings help to elucidate two important aspects of voice: first, which words were typically disfigured by dialects, and second, the proper pronunciation of the words can help to deduce what incorrect pronunciations may have sounded like. Speaking schools were quite active throughout France to teach peasants proper pronunciation. Texts pertaining to these schools give insight into common linguistic mistakes made in the provinces. The schools taught that, "it is necessary that we listen to what we read, understand the alphabet, read the letters, the vowels, the consonants and the diphthongs."


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France needed educated citizens who could communicate with one another in a common dialect. Until the Revolution, with few exceptions such as the work of Chabanon, music, too, was primarily expected to communicate clearly with listeners.\(^{52}\)

Despite the pre-revolutionary desire to bring the theory and practice of music closer, eighteenth-century keyboard treatises continue to attribute ideal performance to *bon goût* (good taste). The term *bon goût*, which appears incessantly in French writings about music from the seventeenth century onward, evolved over the course of the eighteenth century to mean two competing aesthetics: one, a learned individual's personal feelings or perspective on fashion,\(^{53}\) the other, "correct judgment according to absolute standards dictated by reason."\(^{54}\) By the late eighteenth century, though some scholars argue that *bon goût* received a more systematic application through Enlightenment philosophy,\(^{55}\) aesthetic battles such as the *Querelle des Gluckistes et Piccinistes* indicated that the definition of *bon goût*, like the theory and practice of keyboard performance, was yet to be codified. One task for the newly formed Conservatoire was to end these century-old aesthetic debates once and for all through an institutionalization of music education.\(^{56}\)

Hélène Montgeroult and Louis Adam wrote their piano method books in this historical and cultural context. Chapter 3 explained the curious circumstances of


\(^{55}\) See Fader.

Montgeroult's departure from the Conservatoire: she left on January 19, 1798, claiming health issues, and her place as piano professor of the first class remained vacant until Louis Adam filled her void in Conservatoire account books in 1800 while she continued her career as a pedagogue and composer. Scholar and pianist Maria Rose suggests that Montgeroult may have begun compiling her *Cours complet pour l'enseignement du forte-piano*, published around 1820, as early as 1805 following the publication of Adam's *Méthode* that same year. Indeed, Rose claims that Montgeroult's *Cours complet* responded both to Adam's *Méthode de piano du Conservatoire* specifically, and more generally to the prevalent practice of excessively mechanical piano performance in Paris. Montgeroult's most recent authoritative biography by Jérôme Dorival takes this assertion one step further:

I think there exists a more fundamental reason for her resignation from the Conservatoire: the institution chose Jean-Louis Adam to write its official piano method and discarded [the method] of Madame Montgeroult, though already much more advanced and much more probative musically. We must not see bitterness in this decision, but the expression of a profound aesthetic disagreement. Hélène wanted to transmit a particular conception of the piano by which, as with Chopin later, the art of the piano is thought of as a goal in itself, yet Adam only envisioned [it] as an indispensable adjuvant for the composer.

If we accept Dorival's proposition, then yet another aesthetic disagreement within the walls of the Conservatoire bullied competing aesthetic visions from the curriculum and pedagogy of the institution. Despite Rose and Dorival's assertion that Montgeroult's method

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57 Conservatoire accounting records of employee monthly pay (F-Pan, AJ 37 *28 *)
60 "Je pense qu'il existe une raison plus fondamentale à sa démission du Conservatoire: cette institution a choisi Jean-Louis Adam pour rédiger la méthode de piano officielle et écarté celle de madame de Montgeroult, pourtant déjà très avancée et beaucoup plus probante musicalement. Il ne faut pas voir de rancoeur dans cette décision, mais l'expression d'un désaccord esthétique profond. Hélène voulait transmettre une certaine conception du piano par laquelle, comme chez Chopin plus tard, l'art du piano est pensé comme un but en soi, alors qu'Adam l'envisage seulement comme un adjuvant indispensable au compositeur," Dorival, 144.
continued to be exceedingly influential in the nineteenth century (and this is certainly
evined through historical accounts, repertoires, and performance practices), Adam's method
still persisted both in the Conservatoire and throughout early nineteenth-century France as
the authoritative French piano method. Even Madame Campan states in her 1824
publication *De l'éducation* that Adam's work continued to be the authoritative piano method
for French piano students.\(^{61}\)

The idea that Adam won out in a piano method struggle within the Conservatoire
speaks to a broader issue of what the two methods represented at the end of the Revolution
both philosophically and practically. The striking difference between the two methods, noted
by both Rose and Dorival, is that Adam conceives of the piano as a tool that facilitates the
instruction of music theory and composition. He portrays the piano as a means to
conceptualize and compose music, a technology. Montgeroult, on the other hand, imagines
piano performance as an artistic end in itself. While Montgeroult combines her knowledge of
international and historical musical genres and styles to instruct the individual performer's
expression, physical technique, and *bon goût*, Adam focuses upon the piano as a technology
that when mastered provides a utilitarian replica of the entire orchestra. For Adam, proper
sound from the piano still lies in the physics of harmony and the instrument proper rather
than resulting from the performer's touch. Although Adam acknowledges expression and
taste, his focus upon technique opposes Montgeroult's insistence upon illusion.

The images found at the beginning of Montgeroult and Adam's respective methods
articulate even more about the aesthetic vision behind each work than the methods' texts.
The first image in Montgeroult's *Cours complet* presents female hands gently placed in proper

\(^{61}\) Madame Campan, *De l'éducation* (Paris: Baudoin Frères, 1824), 1: 188.
form on the piano (see Figure 13). The perspective of the image is not from that of the performer, but of an onlooker—a close onlooker, perhaps a student sharing a bench or sitting on a chair pulled up close next to the instrument. Only the performer's hands are artistically rendered at the keyboard, the borders of the image blurred as if the onlooker is focusing intensely. The image highlights the physicality of performing on the instrument. The instrument here represents a medium through which the performer, more specifically the performer's hands form expression. The image communicates non-semantically. Despite this romantic depiction, the drawing proves nonetheless quite practical: it demonstrates for the student how to properly place her hands on the keyboard to achieve an ideal sound.

Figure 13: Image of hands from Montgeroult's Cours complet

The first image in Adam's method provides a systematic rendering of the piano from the perspective of the performer sitting at the keyboard (see Figure 14). It conceptually places the piano registers in relation to voice, string, and wind parts. It also identifies enharmonic notes on the staff and keyboard. The instrument, here, serves as the material

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62 Montgeroult, vi.
from which to form music, from which to work. The piano offers but one option among
many timbres. Much more theoretical than practical, the image gives no intuitive inclination
as to how one would go about extracting the proper sound from the instrument. Instead, it
provides a comparative, scientific conception of how the piano relates sonically to other
musical instruments: Montgeroult's image values individual aesthetic expression, while
Adam's values theoretical rigor. Though the image in Montgeroult's text dates over a decade
after that of Adam's, the aesthetic visions behind the two images have roots in the
composers' pre-revolutionary and revolutionary aesthetics.

Montgeroult boasted an international, historically informed aesthetic even before
the Revolution, and in her method book she suggests old masters and forms as models for
performance: Haydn and Mozart for their variety of effects, Handel to perfect and form the
ear in combination with the science of music, Clementi, Cramer and Dussek as excellent
models of taste. Her exercises combine excerpts from these composers including fugues,
theme and variations, and fantasies, mingled with her own more contemporary etudes.
Montgeroult's method indeed looks simultaneously backward and forward, emphasizing
articulation and ornamentation like d'Anglebert, Chambonnières, and the Couperins, while
promoting decidedly Romantic expression. Bon goût put toward the creation of musical
illusion persists as the driving force behind her pianforte performance method.

An essential component of developing musical bon goût since its inception in the
seventeenth century was a teacher who led by example. D'Anglebert, Chambonnières, and
Louis Couperin all mention the significance of mentorship in the formation of a young
performer. Through her method book, Montgeroult aims to offer—via text—the human
interaction crucial to tasteful performance, particularly geared toward outstanding pupils
who did not benefit from such mentorship. "Our goal in publishing this work," she explains, "is to procure for some young artists who do not have the means to obtain good lessons, an honorable existence, by helping them to exit the easy and defective route that we call today talent of performance." This easy, defective performance method—which Montgeroult calls "la route ordinaire"—refers to the mechanical, virtuosic performance practice prevalent in Paris at the time. This practice derived from extracting expression through mechanical physicality rather than physical manifestations of the soul: "I should mention here the characteristic that has become all too common by which expression is manifested by affected balancing and ridiculous movements. Careful observation has proven to us that when sentiment is concentrated in the soul that feels it, expression become much more profound and pathetic so we forbid all exterior manifestations outside those of good playing." Montgeroult offered not only the guidance necessary for bon goût, but also an alternative to the flawed mentorship available at the Conservatoire.

63 "Notre but en publiant cet ouvrage, est de procurer à quelques jeunes artistes qui n’ont pas les moyens d’obtenir de bonnes lecons, une existence honorable, en les aidant à sortir de la route si facile et si defectueuse de ce qu’on nomme aujourd’hui talent d’exécution." Montgeroult, Cours complets, iii.
64 "C’est ici le cas de signaler cette caricature devenue trop commune qui fait manifester l’expression par des balancemens affectés et des mouvemens ridicules. Une observation attentive nous a prouvé que lorsque le sentiment est concentré dans l’ame qui l’éprouve, l’expression en devient d’autant plus profonde et pathétique qu’on lui interdit toute manifestation extérieure autre que celle du bien jouer." Ibid., vi.
Montgeroult embeds expression within physicality in metaphors of the voice: "[the] goal of [piano performance], like that of singing properly, is to express diverse emotions of the soul." Though the student begins to pursue bon goût through mechanical physical exercises, the exercises eventually become "moral" rather than mechanical in nature: "These instructions at first purely mechanical, enter into the moral aspect of the art." Montgeroult explicitly explains the distinction between an instrument within an ensemble and a singer, the difference between performance on a piano versus other instruments: "Breathing takes

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65 "[Le] but [du piano], comme celui du chant proprement dit, est d'exprimer les diverses émotions de l'âme." Ibid., iii.
66 "Ces instructions d'abord purement mécaniques, entrent dans la partie morale de l'art." Ibid., v.
more or less time in each measure, while the orchestra marches itself rigorously following the beat; but the singer liberally develops the path of the phrase, and it is not until the end, that he would find himself in time with the orchestra.\textsuperscript{67} She likens the right hand to a singer and the left to the orchestra, and demands an imitation of singing that incorporates "the resulting imperfection of intervals of lost time in each measure where the singer is obliged to breath."\textsuperscript{68} The resulting rubato performance that she suggests harkens back to an old French tradition that located the character or essence of a piece in its movement. The key to making "musical sense" and maintain \textit{bon goût} is not to confuse expressions, genres, and styles.\textsuperscript{69} She extensively classifies movements and translates Italian dynamic indications into French, explaining each term. Montgeroult suggests using "the ingenious invention Maëlzel's metronome" to understand the composer's desired tempo. For Montgeroult, expression comes from both an interior sense and an exterior rigor.

The expressivity Montgeroult demands is born of physical illusion: "Here illusion should come to the aid of reality."\textsuperscript{70} She insists that appoggiaturas (her term for all ornamentation) provide the illusion of prolonged sound, her artistic remedy for the trailing technology of the pianoforte—its inability to sustain sound. She notes that an added benefit of a pianistic style that imitates singing is the increased volume and better overall sound quality such practice generates. She asks rhetorically, perhaps of the Conservatoire, "Why in the beautiful art of music renounce illusions which genius knows augments the other arts? Why merely say poorly at the piano the little that its mechanism seems to permit to be said,

\textsuperscript{67} "La respiration prend un tems plus ou moins long dans chaque mesure, cependant l'orchestre exact dans sa marche suit rigoureusement la mesure; mais le chanteur développe librement le cours de la phrase, et ce n'est qu'à la fin, qu'il doit se retrouver en mesure avec l'orchestre." Ibid., i.

\textsuperscript{68} "L'imperfection résultant des intervalles de tems perdu dans chaque mesure où le chanteur est obligé de respirer." Ibid., i–ii.

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid., ii.

\textsuperscript{70} "Ici l'illusion doit venir au secours de la réalité." Montgeroult, \textit{Cours complet}, i.
without seeking to initiate the secrets of the art by the illusions that could belong to it, and to extend for it the domain of expression and dramatic effects?"\textsuperscript{71} She credits the Italians with having perfected this technique of breathing and ornamentation in singing, a technique that she brings to the articulation and ornamentation of her ostensibly French piano method. Technique and expression combine to form the pleasant illusion of piano performance: "In order to have unity in the playing, the same principles that drive this illusion in expressive pieces must also brilliantly direct the performance of the music."\textsuperscript{72} This deep aesthetic vision, considering techniques of the \textit{beaux-arts} holistically toward the development of musical methods, resonates with the arguments of Lesueur discussed in Chapter 3. For Montgeroult, singing through the piano—bringing out a vocal, verbal quality from the instrument—pushes the art from mechanical to moral specifically through illusion.

Although Adam, like Montgeroult, also uses metaphors of the voice to explain the expression with which students should play to avoid the mere "speed and complicated performance" that clouds expression, style, and grace, he then explicates this metaphor as attention to the amount of time each note vibrates to avoid "confusing" sounds. He never suggests that the student mobilize techniques of illusion. Though he also provides the explanation of Italian \textit{mouvements}, his two pages pale in comparison to the seven pages Montgeroult dedicates to the issue. He only offers three types of articulation, nearly all representing a detached style.\textsuperscript{73} Adam asserts in his introduction that the pianoforte had been

\begin{quote}
\textit{Pourquoi dans le bel art de la musique renoncer aux illusions dont le génie a su agrandir les autres arts? Pourquoi se borner à faire dire pauvrement au Piano le peu que son mécanisme semble lui permettre de dire, sans chercher à l’initier dans les secrets de l’art par des illusions qui lui soient propres, et à étendre pour lui le domaine de l’expression et des effets dramatiques?}\textsuperscript{Ibid., iii.}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Il faut pour qu’il y ait unité dans le jeu, que les mêmes principes qui conduisent à porter cette illusion dans les morceaux d’expression, dirigent aussi l’exécution de la musique brillante.}\textsuperscript{Ibid., ii.}
\end{quote}

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Engramelle explains in his \textit{Tonotechnie} that a detached style on keyboard had come into vogue during the second half of the eighteenth century. This was a progressive style in contrast to the legato fingerings of
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\textsuperscript{72} "Il faut pour qu’il y ait unité dans le jeu, que les mêmes principes qui conduisent à porter cette illusion dans les morceaux d’expression, dirigent aussi l’exécution de la musique brillante." Ibid., ii.

\textsuperscript{73} Engramelle explains in his \textit{Tonotechnie} that a detached style on keyboard had come into vogue during the second half of the eighteenth century. This was a progressive style in contrast to the legato fingerings of
chosen over the harpsichord because "it could imitate all the nuances played by other instruments." Adam conceives of the piano as an imitation of, a substitute for other instruments. As a result, he instructs that performers should use ornamentation to "support the vibration of sounds on the piano as long as on wind and bowed instruments." He also insists that students know the principles of music (note values, measures, clefs, etc.) before learning to play the pianoforte to avoid theoretical frustrations while learning to play.

On a superficial level, the Conservatoire could have rejected Montgeroult's method because it was firmly rooted in an international, historically minded tradition that valued one-on-one teaching, solo performance, and expressivity over exacting mechanical execution. Such performance, deemed feminine in nature, belonged to the realm of the salon. Sarrette, in his speech at the Conservatoire's opening in 1796, said music under the Old Regime was effeminate and contained in small, elite spaces. In his decree to the general assembly of

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
  \bibitem{} Rameau and François Couperin. Adam was continuing a progressive tradition rather than reverting to the legato of early eighteenth-century masters and Montgeroult.
  \bibitem{} "Il peut imiter toutes les nuances pratiquées par les autres instrumens, ce que l'on chercheroit envain sur celui qu'il a remplacé." Adam, 1.
  \bibitem{} "Un des plus grands avantages qu'on tire du Piano-forte, est de pouvoir exécuter la musique de tous les autres instrumens, et de se rendre compte de toutes les parties qui entrent dans l'harmonie. Il faut pour cela des connaissances plus étendues que celles nécessaires pour exécuter avec netteté et précision une pièce de Piano. C'est une grande jouissance de pouvoir remplacer, par un seul instru ment, un orchestre tout entier; mais elle n'est réservée qu'à ceux qui connaissent parfaitement les règles de l'harmonie et l'effet de tous les instrumens en général; qui étant familiarisés avec toutes les clefs si utiles à la transposition, sont excellens lecteurs et assez de connoissance en composition pour pouvoire substituer à des accompagnemens souvent impracticables sur cet instru ment d'autres accompagnemens qui ne sortent pas du caractère du morceau qu'on exécute," Ibid., 227.
  \bibitem{} "peut soutenir la vibration des sons sur le Piano aussi long-tems que sur les instrumens à vent et à archet," ibid., 157.
  \bibitem{} Ibid., 2.
  \bibitem{} Though focused geographically on Germany, Matthew Head gives an excellent account of this issue over the course of the eighteenth century in "If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch": Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," \textit{Journal of the American Musicological Society} 52, no. 2 (Summer, 1999): 203–54; and \textit{Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany} (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013).
\end{thebibliography}
Conservatoire faculty members regarding Adam's method, printed as front matter to the publication, Sarrette explains that the piano method attests to Adam's esteem as both a professor and a virtuoso. The intimacy of Montgeroult's method resonated too strongly with the old tradition. The Conservatoire valued masculine virtuosity as described in Sarrette's introduction of Adam's method and the piano remained just another tool in these gentlemen's laboratory of methodical composition bemoaned by Lesueur. Within the same address, Sarrette describes the professoriate as "a moral paternity that is invested in acknowledgment and brotherly devotedness." His language left little room for a seemingly feminine method at the Conservatoire.

With the benefit of hindsight, Romantic piano literature proves Montgeroult's method to be incredibly progressive and distinctively French. Montgeroult negotiates expressions of the soul with physical execution through metaphors of the voice. Although metaphors of the voice had been used since the seventeenth century to explain harpsichord performance, these metaphors were challenged by orchestral metaphors over the course of the eighteenth century. Montgeroult conceives of the body holistically, rather than dichotomizing between the mind and body. Her conception of music as both an interior and exterior experience is grounded in the French, post-Terror concern for physical presence as opposed to mental transcendence. After centuries of physical alienation from the monarchy and the culmination of Revolution as heads dismembered from bodies at the guillotine, the

79 "Les préceptes, les exemples, les réflexions et les conseils renfermés dans cet ouvrage sont tels qu'on devoir les attendre d'un artiste doublement estimé comme professeur et comme virtuose." Sarrette to Conservatoire 21 Germinal, an XII [April 10, 1803], Adam, i.

80 She was not the only one to have work thrown out by the Conservatoire. The institution rejected Rameau's fundamental bass in favor of Catel's method of harmony. In "The Institutionalization of Music Theory in France: 1764–1802," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1989), Cynthia Gessele explains the various re-interpretations of Rameau's theory of basse fondamentale and its ultimate rejection by the Conservatoire faculty in favor of a more simple, straightforward method.

81 "Le professorat est une paternité morale qui est investie de reconnaissance et de piété filiale."
French could not so easily succumb to the budding Romantic dissociation of the mind from the body in musical performance and listening. In general, Romanticism came to value musical performance as a sublime, mental, and decidedly masculine experience, rather than the female, physical experience that the eighteenth century came to be depicted as. Montgeroult resolves this dichotomy through her music philosophy and pedagogy. These musical issues also remained central to the "woman question" that surfaced during the Revolution and became increasingly urgent under Napoleon, particularly in regards to what Rebecca Rogers has described as the "relations between the physical and the moral in feminine bodies and minds." In France, the female mind and body had to be symbiotic if they were to succeed in raising future soldiers and mothers.

Yet, the gentlemen who approved Adam's method—Gossec, Méhul, Chérubini, Catel, Gobert, Jadin, and Eler—likely cared little for the changing role of women in the public and private spheres or the relationship between the mind and body in musical performance as they chose a piano method. It is difficult to conceive how such extra-musical ideological concerns could enter a professional conversation regarding curriculum choices at the Conservatoire. These gentlemen did, however, have an institution to preserve in a quickly deteriorating financial situation and instructing music students to perform illusions could pose a serious threat to the foundation they had so carefully constructed over the course of the Revolution.

84 June K. Burton, Napoleon and the Woman Question: Discourses of the Other Sex in French Education, Medicine, and Medical Law, 1799–1815 (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2007), 200.
Marian Hobson has extensively and masterfully explained the changing conception of "illusion" in eighteenth-century France. She carefully points out Rousseau's assertion, much in line with my own argument regarding musicians in Chapter 1, that music's purpose was to "make itself forgotten." Diderot, on the other hand, imagined the listener as looking on, not implicated within the sound he or she heard. For Diderot, musical listening was always an act of translation and interpretation. Indeed, for most Enlightenment thinkers music was an imitation of either sound, emotion, or language. For Rousseau, though, in the process of making itself forgotten, music actually incorporated the sound-maker (performer) and sound-hearer (listener) into a perfect illusion of communication. Even Diderot changed his conception of art's purpose over the course of his lifetime from a focus upon the vocational skills of art's practitioners to an illusion that draws attention away from the artist's techniques and materials. Hobson argues that by the end of the eighteenth century, for illusion to occur the "distance between the artwork and the consumer must be annulled." Thus, illusion came to represent "an individual, and hence justifiable, subjectivity." She goes on to assert that the root of Romanticism and Realism lies in this eighteenth-century "refusal of an intersubjective area between the art object and art consumer": the interstitial area where professional musicians found their livelihood through teaching, performing, instrument-building, and composing. The goal of art as illusion in the late eighteenth century threatened to erase the musical practitioners from the experience of music and to undo a

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86 Here, Hobson quotes (271) from Rousseau's entry "Duo" in the *Dictionnaire de musique*, "le chef d'œuvre de la musique est de se faire oublier elle-même."
88 Hobson, 299.
89 Ibid., 302.
90 Ibid., 303.
quarter century-long struggle that musicians seemed to have finally won through the establishment of the Conservatoire.

The Conservatoire's choice of Adam's method represents a culmination of French Enlightenment philosophies of music, politics within the emergent professional class of musicians, and aesthetics influenced by revolutionary cultural initiatives. Music, like the French language, required rules: not rules contained within the body of the practitioner as in Montgeroult's method, but rules governed by the material itself as in Adam's. More importantly, performance methods had to draw attention to the techniques of the art in order to highlight those of the artist. If Montgeroult's illusory method were adopted by the Conservatoire, she threatened to eradicate the new central place of musicians by drawing attention away from their useful skills. Musical language in the Conservatoire, like the French language in general, could not be individual, gendered, or subjective. It had to be collective, universal, and objective or it might render the existence of a professional class of musicians unnecessary.

The refrain of the revolutionary anthem "La Carmagnole" exclaims: "Long live the sound, long live the sound." As arbiters in a shifting sphere of French culture, the motivation of musicians of the emergent professional fluctuated from the personal to the professional to the philosophical. These motivations had sonic ramifications: in the soundscape of revolutionary festivals, in the melodies of ballet suites, in performance practices circulated within method books. Indeed, the sound of the Revolution resonated, echoed, reverberated in early nineteenth-century France, peculiar in cosmopolitan Europe because of its roots in the context of musical production and practice in revolutionary Paris. Adam's widely circulated piano method provides but one example.
Epilogue

Fueled by the social, economic, and political upheaval of the French Revolution, a revolution also occurred in music as a profession from the mid-eighteenth century until the turn of the nineteenth century in Paris. Chapter 1 demonstrated that from at least 1749, music served as a political metaphor for intellectuals and a political medium for the public. While musicians were downplayed in these musical performances, music still figured integrally into the political life of mid-eighteenth-century Paris. Chapter 2 revealed how, under the Old Regime, French musicians dwelled within interstitial social and economic categories. They were artists, but music was considered the least prestigious of the fine arts. In the words of André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813), under the Old Regime musicians were servants seen as nothing more than their instruments. They were professionals, but all musicians were not organized formally through an academy, guild, or corporation. Musicians, from composers to performers, did not imagine themselves as allied within a single profession.

Music in pre-revolutionary Paris—battleground of the Enlightenment thinkers, delight of the Parisian elite, and weapon of the Parisian crowds—also occupied an interstitial space between theory and practice: among intellectual, scientific pursuit, cultural, expressive art, and social practice.

1 Jacques Attali also identifies 1749 as a turning point in the political economy of music, though I disagree that this immediately resulted in a change of consciousness for musicians or consumers:
[On March 21,] 1749 […] Louis XV refused to issue the Ballard press a general privilege for music engraving. This constituted a mutation in the balance of power: the musician earned a new share in the ownership of the work. The work as commodity became separated from its material support. Control over its sale and unauthorized use was explicitly granted to the musicians themselves. At least, this was the case for what the law chose to designate as a "work" of music, which at the time meant a score of sufficient stature to be performed before a solvent audience, not songs or works destined for a popular audience, in other words, an audience not confined in a concert hall.

Yet the location of musicians within the interstices of Enlightenment thought and experience allowed them to create an emerging professional network apart from patrons and across both public and private institutions. Masonic lodges provided a social space for musicians to collaboratively develop a professional identity, which they had an opportunity to exercise as a result of the Revolution. Additionally, nobility who were also members of Masonic lodges related to musicians within these spaces as equals, a phenomenon that seems to support William H. Sewell, Jr.’s hypothesis of the pre-revolutionary development of interstitial capitalist abstraction. Sewell argues that economic interactions among nobles and merchants inspired an abstract understanding of equality among social classes. In this case, musicians provided music as a service in Masonic lodges, but contrary to their previous performances at court or in concert series, musicians were simultaneously treated as social equals within the hierarchy of the organization. Chabanon continued the Masonic pursuit of science, sociality, and music, which Rameau had cultivated in his own writings and music of the early eighteenth century. These pre-revolutionary socio-economic developments among musicians, deeply connected with composition and performance, provided a conceptual basis on which musicians could build when the Revolution offered new opportunities for musical production.

The collective social status of musicians continued to elevate over the course of the Revolution as performers and composers became more integral to political culture. The social relationships that formed the emergent professional class of musicians were institutionalized during the French Revolution and subsequently aestheticized within the

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Conservatoire—in its faculty, curriculum, publications, and institutional vision. Far from just a utilitarian political tool subservient to revolutionary ideologies of education and the arts, the Conservatoire provided a professional organization for musicians that would persist until the present day.\(^4\) This shift toward music as a profession represented not just a mechanical art of artisans, but a science agreed upon by an acknowledged group of professionals. Nothing evinces this characterization of musicianship more than Sarrette's explanation of the acoustic research musicians conducted in the newly formed Conservatoire.

The Conservatoire published its foundational method book, *Principes élémentaires de musique*, in the summer of 1800.\(^5\) Contributors to the method book included the two prominent opera composers, Cherubini and Méhul; former members of the École Royale de chant, Henry-Joseph Rigel (1741–1799) and Honoré Langlé (1741–1807); an original member of Sarrette's national guard musicians who also served on the Opéra administration, Charles-Simon Catel (1773–1830); the prolific composer François-Joseph Gossec (1734–1829); Lesueur, Bernard Sarrette's professional enemy; and Joseph Agus (1749–1798), a solfège professor who would die before publication of the method book. Jean Mongrédienn claims that Lesueur contributed conspicuously little to this foundational pedagogical work because he was already in disagreement with Sarrette at the time of its compilation.\(^6\) This method book represents the culmination and embodiment of rational, scientific, French

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\(^4\) In "The Institutionalization of Music Theory in France: 1764-1802" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1989) and “The Conservatoire de Musique and national music education in France, 1795-1801,” *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcom Boyd (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992, Cynthia Gessele argues that the Conservatoire’s choice of Catel’s theory of harmony over Rameau’s *basse fondamentale* was a result of the broader revolutionary political and educational agenda that encouraged simple curricula.


Enlightenment thought on music, a standardization and codification of the informal, contingent musical training based on *bon goût* typical of Old Regime France. The carefully crafted articles that describe the nature of music build upon one another like a meticulously laid foundation. The schematic categorization of eighteenth-century *encyclopédies* haunts this method book. Concise, symmetrical explanations purposefully dispel any opportunity for artistic interpretation. Music, here, is a science that can be mastered. The first article defines music as a type of sound produced by the movement of air when two bodies impact one another and the resulting airwaves meet the ears. Two sensations can result from this phenomenon: noise or sound. Sound is described as "precise, rational [...] appreciable."\(^7\)

Thus, aesthetics of illusion like those proposed by Lesueur in Chapter 3 and Montgeroult in Chapter 5, which according to Marian Hobson required a collapse in the intersubjective space between music and listener,\(^8\) threatened to detract attention from musicians and to undermine the progress they had made toward forming a skilled professional class. If listeners do not notice the technique behind music, then surely they do not consider its source—musicians. Instead, the Conservatoire opted for an approach to music that is best described as sentimental empiricism,\(^9\) which combined a systematic Enlightenment approach to knowledge tempered by social and aesthetic considerations that musicians cultivated cooperatively during the Revolution—the sentimentalism that had

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\(^7\) Agus, et al., *Principes élémentaires*, 1.


\(^9\) Jessica Riskin in *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), has explained:

Enlightenment science included rationalist system-building and instrumental empiricism. But these very tendencies took shape by their dialectical engagement with another element, also acting within the sciences, sentimentalism...Sentimental empiricism was powerful in 1789 [providing] the medium for an ongoing interaction between natural and moral science, and between scientific ideas and social concerns (287).
facilitated their intimate connections in pre-revolutionary social spaces and continued to fuel their factions within the Conservatoire. Musicians excluded from this intimate circle such as Lesueur and Montgeroult criticized the Conservatoire's curriculum as overly mechanical and scientific. In the introduction to his *Lettre en réponse à Guillard*, Lesueur complains of the Conservatoire students and their curriculum, "It must be said, however, that these young students who are still (as we would say) in the material calculation of the harmonic scales, eventually take the habit to renounce the vain pretention of believing that these cold calculations bring with them the inspiration of genius."\(^{10}\) He adds later, "We would say in vain that usage and reason replace what lacks elsewhere."\(^{11}\) Lesueur insists that separated from the study of other arts, particularly language, the students' music will remain "but cold mechanics": with an understanding of language the student will not see "tones in his art; he will see the signs representative of a language of which he had not even suspected the resulting charm, energy, [and] power."\(^{12}\) When music of the "protected students"\(^{13}\) earns a place on Paris' first stage, the Opéra, Lesueur finds it an embarrassment if foreigners hear "these musical attempts that would still be harmonic scales, material calculations of the mechanics of the art."\(^{14}\)

10 "Il faut pourtant que ces jeunes étudiants qui en sont encore (comme nous le dirons) au calcul matériel des échelles harmoniques, s'accoutument enfin à renoncer à la vaine prétention de croire que ces froids calculs apportent avec eux les inspirations du génie." Introduction, 10, emphasis original, from Jean-François Lesueur, *Lettre en réponse à Guillard sur l'opéra de la Mort d'Adam, dont le tour de mise arrive pour la troisième fois au Théâtre des Arts; et sur plusieurs points d'utilité relatifs aux arts et aux lettres* (Paris: Imprimerie de Baudoin, 1801).

11 "On dira en vain que l'usage et la raison suppléent à ce qui peut lui manquer d'ailleurs." Ibid., 63.

12 "Son art, sous sa plume, ne sera plus un mécanisme froid [...] Il ne verra plus des notes dans son art; il y verra des signes représentatifs d'une langue dont il n'avait pas même soupçonné le charme entrainant, l'énergie, la puissance." Ibid., 71, n.1, emphasis original.

13 Ibid., 93. Lesueur also discusses these protected students in the footnote on pages 71–72.

14 "Que seroit-ce enfin si, en intervertissant cette hiérarchie productrice de l'émulation, qui elle-même [sic] est productrice de tout ce qu'il y a de grand dans les lettres et les arts; que seroit-ce, disons-nous, si on parvenoit jamais à remplir nos théâtres de ces essais musicaux qui en seraient encore à la gamme harmonique, au calcul matériel du mécanisme de l'art." (What would it be, eventually, if, switching the hierarchy productive of emulation, which is itself productive of everything that is great in the letters and arts; what would it be, we say, if we could ever fill our theaters with these musical attempts that would still be at the level of the harmonic scale, of the
It comes as no surprise that the culmination of French Enlightenment thought on music occurred through the institutionalization of music as a profession during the Revolution; similarly, the political Revolution resulted in a bureaucratic centralization of which Louis XIV had always dreamed. The intrigue lies in musicians' ability to re-organize and institutionalize their profession as other laborers and professionals lost such privileges due to the abolition of corporations and guilds—a loss that would echo through the nineteenth century and ultimately lead to the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. More importantly, French musical Romanticism was born out of revolutionary tensions rooted within an emergent professional class of musicians: between public utility and private interest, and between art and science. These tensions, rather than resolving at the end of the Revolution, instead became institutionalized. At the turn of the nineteenth century, French musicians found themselves in a precarious socioeconomic and aesthetic position as the rest of Europe turned toward a conception of music as either a textual, sublime product of individual, innate genius or a performed social collaboration among composers, actors, librettists, performers, and producers, both patronized by a growing bourgeois class of listeners. The Conservatoire attempted to codify both of these paths by collaboratively composing a text-based science of music. The Conservatoire's "counterpoint crunchers" who Hector Berlioz (1803–1869) would ridicule in the early nineteenth century were products of this institutionalization of a social network that would ultimately impede

material calculation of the mechanism of the art.) Ibid., 92, emphasis original. Here Lesueur refers particularly to Catel's ostensibly "protected students" discussed in Chapter 3.  

individual musical vision like Lesueur and Montgeroult's for the sake of standardized quality control.

The Conservatoire persisted under the Empire and Restoration, and institutional memory of this triumphant revolutionary moment for musicians would figure integrally into the culture of this emergent professional class as it persisted into the nineteenth century. French musical Romanticism developed in tension with its European neighbors' modes of musical production—as the fruit of collective rather than individual genius, as a scientifically tempered art, in prescriptive rather than descriptive approaches to composition, and in the pursuit of utilitarian as well as transcendent purposes. It is notable that in her German-focused argument regarding performance as an intellectual pursuit in early Romanticism, musicologist Mary Hunter largely depends upon French performance methods—in particular, the violin methods of Pierre Baillot and revolutionary faculty members—to elucidate German philosophy including Schelling and Hegel. More specifically, she points to the genius of performance as an ability to collapse the distinction between composer and performer, a concept that belies a French perspective of musical genius as collective.

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16 Ann Jefferson argues that a more general turn in the conception of genius occurred in France from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, transitioning from a personal trait resting within the practitioner in the works of Diderot to a collective, national genius to which individual French citizens contributed. See Chapters 2 and 4 of Genius in France: An Idea and its Uses (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015). This perception is also evinced in the patrimonial dimensions of the laws of 1791 and 1793 discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

With this, I return to James Webster’s question mark that I highlighted in the Introduction to this dissertation (Fig. 1, c. and c.).\textsuperscript{18} Webster warns that his argument is geographically restricted to Vienna and its sphere,\textsuperscript{19} however his compilation of eighteenth-century music periodizations replicated in Figure 1 includes a European perspective and invites contemplation of eighteenth century periodization within a wider geography. I would argue that the transition of Parisian musicians from a patronage to a more capitalist\textsuperscript{20} model was inflamed by the upheaval of the French Revolution beginning in 1789, and thus represents significant changes in the conditions of musical production, which would slowly spread throughout the rest of the Europe by 1815.\textsuperscript{21} The work of Nicholas Mathew and Mark Evan Bonds supported by primary evidence within France during the 1780s supports an argument for mutual conceptual influence within the realm of musical production in late eighteenth-century cosmopolitan Europe.\textsuperscript{22} I would replace the question mark in Figure 1, c. with "professionalization in France."

Scholars have characterized the transition from a patronage to free market system as a liberation of artists from patron to audience.\textsuperscript{23} Historian Larry Shiner argues that the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 118.
\textsuperscript{21} Webster identifies the "decline of the social and economic practices and musical institutions that had sustained Viennese modernism until its European triumph," 126.
\textsuperscript{23} On the historiography of this argument see Larry Shiner, \textit{The Invention of Art: A Cultural History} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
\end{flushright}
"French Revolution's failed attempt to reintegrate the fine arts with social and political life spurred on the idea of 'art for itself'" that had already taken root in the separation of the fine arts from the liberal arts since the 1750s.\textsuperscript{24} His reading injudiciously groups musicians in Paris with artists in Europe. Musicians in Paris had an idiosyncratic mode of musical production that cultivated collective genius and tangible skills. This speaks explicitly to the success of opera in nineteenth-century Paris, which required divided labor and focus upon performance. Conflating a more general European, instrumental "art for itself" with the economic results of the French Revolution ignores the unique context of Parisian musicians' musical production and practice. Nonetheless, I would agree that the French Revolution resulted in one origin of Romantic genius torn between supposed aesthetic autonomy and material economic dependence—in no way a form of liberation. While music as an art indeed may have become liberated from the moral and aesthetic restraints of eighteenth-century sentimentalism and mimesis, musicians remained beholden to financial concerns and public taste. As Mark Evans Bond has pointed out, the French Revolution played a significant role in the turn away from art as a means of social manipulation and toward an end in itself.\textsuperscript{25} I agree with Jacques Attali's emphasis on the capitalistic drive of the arts at the turn of the nineteenth century, however I disagree with his view of the French Revolution as a sort of reprieve from this phenomenon. To the contrary, my research indicates that musicians in fact supported the economic stability that the Conservatoire seemed to promise: job security, dependable wages, and demand for their products and services. Musicians did not seem to view the institution as a utopian haven in which to compose free of financial considerations, but as a secure position in the evolving French economic system.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 187.
\textsuperscript{25} Bond, \textit{Absolute Music}, 109.
This returns me to my concern for a more nuanced approach to music and politics that considers who holds authority within the relationship between the expressive and the instrumental in musical production and practice.\textsuperscript{26} The French Revolution seems to be one origin of the system of skills, performance, expressivity, and consumption, which evolved to constitute the capitalist system of musical production, practices, and listening that persists even in the twenty-first century.

The description of Rousseau’s Genevan festival and the 1794 \textit{Fête de l’Être Suprême} framed my discussion of the emergence of Parisian musicians as a professional class from 1749 to 1802. This frame serves to emphasize how the politics of musical production, itself a result of social and economic relationships, constituted the way music participated in the experience of politics proper in eighteenth-century Paris. The musical materials from the Affair of the Fourteen and the music of the Revolution discussed in Chapters 1 and 5 represent a complicated entanglement of personal, collective, professional, and ideological politics. My aim is to bring the politics of production and expression to how we listen to music from this period, or better put, to understand the acoustemologies through which eighteenth-century Parisians would have experienced this music. Michael Fend has already noted the rise of political and Romantic thought in Parisian librettos of the 1770s and 1780s,\textsuperscript{27} however I argue that scholars must pay closer attention to how the details of chaotic politics on various levels of social exchange also play out in contemporaneous musical scores and performances.


\textsuperscript{27} Most recently, see Michael Fend, "Romantic Empowerment at the Paris Opera in the 1770s and 1780s," \textit{Music and Letters} 94, no. 2 (May 2013): 263–294.
So I return to Rameau's *corps sonore* and my personal listening in 2012 Paris that began this dissertation. The story of revolutionary musicians represents a "resonating body" in history. My own listening to the Belleville festival in 2012 and in the archives sensed only the upper partials of that history, which continually point back to their fundamental bass: musical production and practice of eighteenth-century Paris. They also gesture toward the politics embedded in sonic artifacts: the politics between intellectual and cultural history, among music colleagues, between competing bureaucratic offices, among musical styles, and more. The study of music in history has taken a variety of guises across disciplines including the recovery of soundscapes that seems to remain subsumed in history, however I have been more concerned in this dissertation with sound, which includes not only music, but also speeches, spontaneous cries, and the experience of these sonic events, as a concept that simultaneously attends to macro-historical trends and individual lived experience. It allows me to consider the aesthetic agenda of the radical Paris municipal government during the Terror with the personal, but still political struggles of composer Grétry. From the perspective of sound as a collective experience interpreted individually, I simultaneously consider the popular musical practices that resonate in French Enlightenment texts and the social factions among colleagues in the Conservatoire. Sound allows me to consider my own hearing of the 2012 Belleville *Fête des Voisins* alongside the 1794 *Fête de l'Être Suprême*. My own experiences of twenty-first-century Paris animate my reading of archival documents that attest to revolutionary performances. A more nuanced approach to music and politics must attend to sound as an organizing concept throughout the research and writing process. This focus can yield significant insight into the messy politics of musical production and practice.

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28 See Chapter 5, n. 3.
Appendix A: Pre-revolutionary Lodge Affiliations of Professors Named to Conservatoire Faculty in 1795\(^1\) with Years VIII (September 1799–1800) and X (September 1801–1802) Cuts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Recruitment(^2)</th>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th>VIII Cuts</th>
<th>X Cuts</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Administration</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarrette</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.(^3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinit</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherubini</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Saint-Jean de Palestine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gossec</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>La Réunion des Arts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grétry</td>
<td>Named by Convention</td>
<td>P. (?)(^4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesueur</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P. (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méhul</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>L'Olympique (86)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Composition**\(^5\) |               |                                        |           |        |
| Lefroid de Mereaux | Organist King's Chapel | Saint-Charles des Amis Réunis, L'Olympique (86) |           |        |

| **Harmony and Accompaniment** |               |                                        |           |        |
| Berton               | Juries         | Le Patriotisme                          |           |        |
| Rigel, père          | École Royale de chant | Saint-Lazare, L'Olympique (86)          |           |        |

\(^1\) Based on Roger Cotte, *La Musique maçonnique et ses musiciens* (Braine le Comte: Éditions du Baucen, 1975), 133–146, updated according to Pierre-François Pinaud, *Les musiciens francs-maçons, au temps de Louis XVI à Versailles: histoire et dictionnaire biographique* (Paris: Éditions Véga, 2009), and additional faculty added based on Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900) and Bernard Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation (Paris: Delalain frères, 1895). Cotte's original table included members who later became masons. Here, only faculty members who had masonic affiliations before their time of appointment at the Conservatoire in 1795 are included. A "s" in the columns "VIII Cuts" or "X cuts" indicates that the faculty member was relieved of his post during that particular round of Conservatoire downsizing per Pierre, B. Sarrette.

\(^2\) Recruitment methods are based on Cotte, however, since many of these musicians held positions in addition to the Garde Nationale, if Pinaud indicates a more accurate affiliation for a particular faculty member at the time of the Conservatoire formation, Pinaud's affiliation is provided instead or supplementary. Faculty members not recruited from the École Royale de chant or Garde Nationale were recruited through a jury process.

\(^3\) Cotte uses the term "profane" (abbreviated "P.") for members who could certainly have been masons, but for whom no evidence remains of their membership due to the extensive loss of archives for the Grand Loge (134).

\(^4\) Cotte's inclusion of Grétry and Lesueur as "profane" with a question mark highlights that the likelihood of these two composers belonging to a pre-revolutionary lodge is much lower than others in this table listed as "profane."

\(^5\) Per Pierre, many faculty members listed in other specialty areas also taught composition, particularly *inspecteurs*, though Cotte does not list this as their primary affiliation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rigel, fils</td>
<td>École Royale de chant</td>
<td>L'Accord Parfait sous Diane</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Solfege</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adrien</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Brother (Martin Joseph) in L'Olympique (86)</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assmann</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agus</td>
<td>École Royale de chant</td>
<td>P.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blasius (Ignace)</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Parents in many lodges</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Braun</td>
<td>École Royale de chant</td>
<td>L'Olympique (86)</td>
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<td>Catel</td>
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<td>Chelard</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Saint-Charles du Triomphe de la Parfaite Harmonie, Sainte-Cécile, Saint-Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social, Les Amis Réunis, L'Olympique (86)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desvignes</td>
<td>Jury</td>
<td>P.</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>Duret</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Le Patriotisme</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fasquel</td>
<td>Jury</td>
<td>Les Neufs Sœurs</td>
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<td>Fournier</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
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<td>Fuchs</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallet</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>La Candeur, Le Patriotisme</td>
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<td>Gebauer</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Le Patriotisme</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gouthmanne</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Saint-Charles du Triomphe de la Parfaite Harmonie, Saint Alexandre d'Écosse</td>
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<td>Hardouin</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Saint-Jean de Palestine</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>Horace</td>
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<td>Saint-Jean de Palestine</td>
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<td>Legendre</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Leroux</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Saint-Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marcillac</td>
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<td>P.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mathieu</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Le Patriotisme</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>Méon</td>
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### Piano

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th>Lodge Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gobert</td>
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<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granier</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozin (Benoit)</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozin (A)</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jadin</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Séjan</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Clarinet

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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Duvernoy</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layer</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solere</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Sainte-Cécile, L'Olymique (86), Saint-Jean de Palestine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lefèvre Xavier</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Saint-Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social, Sainte-Cécile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blasius Frédéric</td>
<td>Garde Nationale(93)</td>
<td>Les Amis Réunis, L'Olymique (86), Saint-Jean de Palestine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Horn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Lodge Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buch</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domnich</td>
<td>Garde Nationale(93)</td>
<td>Saint-Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

6 Cotte states, "We have not found any trace of Masonic affiliation for any of these six piano professors [Gobert, Granier, Mozin (Benoit), Mozin (A), Jadin, and Séjan], a majority of whom were recruited from the École Royale de chant or as a result of juries," 139. Pinaud's list of musician masons corroborates this claim.

7 In comparing Cotte and Pinaud, it seems that Cotte confused Xavier with another Lefèvre he calls "Louis," however Pinaud confirms that indeed Xavier is the Lefèvre who belonged to these three lodges. Pinaud names two other Lefèvre musicians named Abraham Pierre and Isaac François who were not clarinetists.

8 Cotte mistakenly lists Frédéric as a violin instructor with his brother, Pierre, but Frédéric was a wind instructor at the Conservatoire.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bassoon</th>
<th>Flute and Oboe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gebauer</td>
<td>Devienne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garde Nationale (93)</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint-Jean de Palestine</td>
<td>La Réunion des arts, Les Amis Réunis, Société Olympique (86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ozi</td>
<td>Duverger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Juries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Saint-Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulou</td>
<td>Garnier (Joseph François)9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint-Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social, Sainte-Cécile</td>
<td>Le Amis Réunis, Saint-Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugot</td>
<td>Sallantin (père)10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>Garde Nationale (93), Théâtre Feydeau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Les Neuf Sœurs, L'Olympique (86)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

9 Cotte lists Garnier’s instrument as uncertain, but Pinaud confirms his specialty in oboe and flute and so it is unlikely he served as a faculty member in any other area.

10 Cotte only indicates one Sallantin as a professor of flute and oboe, but Pinaud's biography of the two musicians demonstrates that Cotte likely conflated the father and son into a single professor in his table, see Cotte, 41, and Pinaud, 285–286.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Performance</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sallantin (fils)</td>
<td>Opéra</td>
<td>Les Neuf Sœurs, Saint-Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social, La Concorde</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schneitzhoeffer</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>La Candeur</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wunderlich</td>
<td>Opéra</td>
<td>Sainte-Cécile</td>
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</table>

**Singing–Declamation–Vocalization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Performance</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adrien (Martin Joseph)</td>
<td>Juries</td>
<td>Les Frères Initiés, L'Olympique (86)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guichard</td>
<td>École Royale de chant</td>
<td>Les Amis Réunis, L'Olympique (86)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lais</td>
<td>Opéra</td>
<td>Saint-Lazare, Saint-Jean d'Écosse du Contrat Social, Les Neuf Sœurs</td>
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<td>Lasuze</td>
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<td>Juries</td>
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**Violin**

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Guénin</td>
<td>École royale</td>
<td>Les Frères Initiés, L'Olympique de</td>
<td>√</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Faculty Member</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
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<td>Cello</td>
<td>Aubert</td>
<td>Comédie-Italienne</td>
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<td>Baudiot</td>
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<td>P.</td>
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<td>Janson</td>
<td>Opéra</td>
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<td>Opéra, Garde Nationale (93)</td>
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<td>P.</td>
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<td>Cornu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hardy</td>
<td>Garde Nationale</td>
<td>P.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

11 This lodge became the Société Olympique (also called L'Olymique) in 1786, thus "Olymique" in this table represents the same institution, which merely differed in title from year to year during the 1780s; see Jean-Luc Quoy-Bodin, *L'armée et la franc-maçonnerie au déclin de la monarchie sous la révolution à l'Empire* (Paris: EDIC-Economica, 1987), 91.

12 As Cotte cannot determine the appointment of these faculty members and all were laid off in year VIII, they were likely profession performers whose services were no longer required for festivals, which had been completely disbanded by 1796.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>City</th>
<th>Role</th>
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<td>Kersten</td>
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<td>Laloire</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voisin (Charles)</td>
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</tr>
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</table>
Works Cited

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Series D XXXVIII IV
Series AP 284
Series F

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Series AA

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Collection Pixérécourt

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Journal de Paris
Journal des Spectacles
L’esprit des journaux, français et étrangers

Online Databases

César (Calendrier électronique des spectacles sous l’ancien régime et sous la révolution).
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Tablettes de renommée des musiciens, auteurs, compositeurs, virtuoses... avec une notice des ouvrages ou autres motifs qui les ont rendus recommandables. Pour servir à l'Almanach-Dauphin. Paris: Cailleau, 1785.


Music Scores and Recordings


Biography

Rebecca Dowd Geoffroy-Schwinden was born in the Bronx, New York, and raised in Jermyn, Pennsylvania. She graduated from Lakeland Junior-Senior High School and went on to earn B.A.s with distinction and honors in history, \textit{phi beta kappa}, from Penn State University's Schreyer Honors College, where she also completed minors in music and French. In 2011, she earned an A.M. in musicology from Duke University. She conducted archival research for her dissertation in Paris, France, from 2012 to 2013. While at Duke, Rebecca's research was supported by the James B. Duke Fellowship, a Dissertation and Pre-dissertation Travel Grant, multiple Summer Research Fellowships, an International Research Travel Fellowship, and the Ottis Green Fellowship.