



**THE SOUND OF EMPIRE**  
**SOUNDSCAPES, AESTHETICS AND PERFORMANCE**  
**BETWEEN ANCIEN RÉGIME AND RESTORATION**

ORGANIZED BY  
Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca  
Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de musique romantique française, Venice

**12-14 November 2021**

CENTRO STUDI  
OPERA OMNIA  
*Luigi Boccherini*

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PALAZZETTO  
BRU ZANE  
CENTRE  
DE MUSIQUE  
ROMANTIQUE  
FRANÇAISE



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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*Virtual conference*

**12-14 November 2021**

**Programme Committee:**

- FEDERICO GON (Conservatorio di Brescia / Università di Udine e Padova)
  - ROBERTO ILLIANO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
- ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de musique romantique française)
  - FULVIA MORABITO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
  - MASSIMILIANO SALA (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)



**Keynote Speaker**

- EMMANUEL REIBEL (ENS Lyon / Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris)

**Invited Speaker**

- FEDERICO GON (Conservatorio di Brescia / Università di Udine e Padova)



## FRIDAY 12 NOVEMBER

### 10.45-11.00 **Opening**

- FULVIA MORABITO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
- ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de musique romantique française)

### 11.00-13.00 **Musical Publishing and Aesthetics**

(Chair: Étienne Jardin, Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de musique romantique française)

- ALBAN RAMAUT (Université Jean Monnet de Saint-Étienne), « *Il sera, peut-être un jour, le Napoléon de la Science musicale, par les pas de géants qu'il lui fera faire* » : *le Napoléon d'Hector Berlioz*
- HENRI VANHULST (Université libre de Bruxelles), *Trente années d'activité éditoriale de Jean-Jérôme Imbault d'après l'« état des planches » de 1812*
- DAVID ROWLAND (Open University, Milton Keynes), *Music Publishing and Markets c. 1750-1827*
- LUCA LÉVI SALA (Manhattan College, NY / New York University), *Evolving Piano Techniques and Publishing Market in Clementi's Output: The Case of Opp. 2 and 12*



### 15.00-16.00 **Keynote Speaker:**

- EMMANUEL REIBEL (ENS Lyon / Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris), *Musiques mécaniques : du « soundscape » aux jugements critiques*

### 16.30-18.00 **Music and Identity**

(Chair: Emmanuel Reibel, ENS Lyon / Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris)

- JUSTIN RATEL (Conservatoire National Supérieur de Paris), *Un musicien d'Ancien Régime sous l'Empire et la Restauration. Alexis de Garaudé: musicien artisan de la spécialisation de l'enseignement musical français entre 1806 et 1852*
- MAGDALENA OLIFERKO-STORCK (Bern/Warsaw), *Napoleon's Warsaw – Music in the Capital of Poland before Chopin*
- ERIC BOARO (University of Nottingham), « *Non essendovi più capelle in veruna chiesa...* ». *Finanziamento ed impiego musicale nella Modena giacobina (1796)*

## SATURDAY 13 NOVEMBER

### 10.00-11.00 Music Theatre

(Chair: Federico Gon, Conservatorio di Brescia / Università di Udine e Padova)

- MARTIN BARRÉ (Conservatoire National Supérieur de Paris), *In the Shadow of Paris: Circulation and Diffusion of Incidental Music under the Empire. The Example of the Theater of Versailles at the Beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*
- VANESSA SILLA SOLER (Universidad de Salamanca), *The Scenic Tonadilla («tonadilla escénica») and ‘the Foreigner’: Comedy as a Resource for the Treatment of the Defense of the ‘National Identity’*

### 11.30-12.30

- ROBERTO SCOCCIMARRO (Berlin), *Il mito sulla scena dell’Académie Impériale de Musique negli ultimi anni dell’Empire: «Médée et Jason» di de Milcent e Fontenelle (1813)*
- MARIA BIRBILI (Universität des Saarlandes), *The Sound of Empire: Aesthetics and Performance in French Opera from the French Revolution to Napoleon*



### 16.00-17.30 Gender Identity

(Chair: Roberto Illiano, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- ANNELIES ANDRIES (Utrecht University), *Beyond the Code Napoléon: Performing and Sounding Female Heroism c. 1800*
- CLAUDIA CHIBICI-REVNEANU (Escuela Nacional de Estudios Superiores / UNAM, León, Mexico) *Moving towards Exclusion: A Case Study of the ‘Female Viennese School’*
- EVANGELIA KOPSALIDOU (Democritus University of Thrace), *The Role of the Pardessus de Viole in Eighteenth-Century French Music*

## SUNDAY 14 NOVEMBER

### 10.30-12.00 Soundscapes

(Chair: Fulvia Morabito, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- EDWARD GILLIN (University of Leeds) – FANNY GRIBENSKI (Centre national de la recherche scientifique / IRCAM, Paris), *Revolutionary Reverberations and Sacred Sounds: Scientific Knowledge and the Church Soundscape, 1789-1830*
- INES THOMAS ALMEIDA (Universidade Nova de Lisboa / FCSH / INET-md), *Imaginary Soundscapes: The Sounds of Portuguese Music as Captured by German Travellers at the End of the «Ancien Régime»*
- MATTHIEU CAILLIEZ (Université Jean Monnet, Saint-Étienne), *Étude des transferts musicaux franco-allemands à l'époque napoléonienne à travers le prisme de l'«Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung»*



### 15.00-16.00 Invited Speaker:

- FEDERICO GON (Conservatorio di Brescia / Università di Udine e Padova), «*Feast, Flour, and Gallows*»: «*The Creation*» of Haydn in Naples 1821 and the Politics of Restoration

### 16.30-17.30 Political Identity and Nationalism

(Chair: Federico Gon, Conservatorio di Brescia / Università di Udine e Padova)

- GALLIANO CILIBERTI (Conservatorio 'Nino Rota' di Monopoli), *Napoleone I in Sassonia: Francesco Morlacchi e il mondo sonoro del Congresso di Dresda (maggio 1812)*
- MARIE SUMNER LOTT (Georgia State University, Georgia, GA), *The Presence of the Past, the Pastness of the Present: Nationalism and Medievalism in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Histories of Music*





## KEYNOTE SPEAKER

• EMMANUEL REIBEL (ENS Lyon / Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris), **Musiques mécaniques : du « soundscape » aux jugements critiques**

Les *sound studies* ont eu le mérite d'ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives à la musicologie en lui permettant de s'attacher à des objets qui avaient jusque-là semblé marginaux et qui n'avaient pas retenu l'attention de l'historiographie. Dans le cadre de cette communication, il s'agira de mettre au jour la place des instruments mécaniques dans le *soundscape* français du début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Grâce à son fort développement, tout au long du siècle précédent, la musique mécanique présente alors l'intérêt de traverser les frontières sociales, géographiques et institutionnelles : de Paris à la province, des pièces de collection conservées par de riches aristocrates jusqu'aux orgues à cylindres animant les rues et les campagnes, des églises et des foires populaires jusqu'aux concerts privés, la musique mécanique est alors omniprésente, tantôt simple élément du paysage sonore, tantôt objet de spectacle qui s'exhibe. On s'attachera plus particulièrement aux instruments que le Viennois Maelzel fait découvrir aux Parisiens sous l'Empire : le Panharmonicon, cet orchestre mécanique qui fait retentir quotidiennement, à partir de 1806, la musique de Haydn, Mozart ou Clementi à la faveur de séances très courues ; l'automate-trompette, qui divertit les auditoires aux sons de marches militaires ; et bien sûr le métronome, autre objet mécanique qui s'invite dans le paysage sonore de la vie musicale, à la fin de l'Empire, et qui va révolutionner bientôt les pratiques d'apprentissage, comme le rapport des musiciens à la temporalité. Or cette réalité sonore structure simultanément l'horizon de valeurs qui régit la musique savante. La musique mécanique est alors si banale qu'elle traverse les discours critiques du temps, dans lesquels elle sert de repoussoir pour définir ce que doit être par contraste une bonne interprétation. Au diable les serinettes et les machines chantantes ! On attend des chanteurs qu'ils donnent vie aux répertoires auxquels ils s'attachent. La « musique mécanique » devient parallèlement un stéréotype des discours critiques servant à discréditer, des Italiens aux Français, les œuvres du camp adverse. On mettra ainsi au jour le paradoxe de cette musique mécanique, tout à la fois objet de fascination et de répulsion.

## INVITED SPEAKER

FEDERICO GON (Conservatorio di Brescia / Università di Udine e Padova), **«Feast, Flour, and Gallows»: «The Creation» of Haydn in Naples 1821 and the Politics of Restoration**

During Lent of 1821 (specifically the evenings of 10 and 12 April) Joseph Haydn's *The Creation* was performed (in Italian) at the Teatro Nuovo in Naples under the direction of Gioachino Rossini, with a cast of absolute value: there were, among others, Andrea Nozzari, Giovanni Battista Rubini, Filippo Galli, Michele Benedetti, Adelaide Comelli.

Despite being a work whose Italian fortune dates back to the previous two decades (there are about ten performances between 1804 and 1820), this Neapolitan staging assumes a certain importance because it was part of a particular and very delicate political-social context: the year before (June-July 1820) Naples had been the scene of violent clashes and insurrections (led by Guglielmo Pepe) which culminated with the concession of the Constitution (7 July), a libertarian act frowned upon by the great European powers, Habsburg Empire foremost. After the Troppau Congress (27 October), Metternich summoned King Ferdinand I to Ljubljana to clarify his intentions: he decided on armed intervention, and the Austrian troops entered in Naples in March 1821 — effectively occupying it militarily — bringing back to the throne Ferdinand I, who suspended the Constitution and began a harsh repression of the insurgents and collaborators. Precisely in the days in which *The Creation* was performed, the Marquis of Circello, Prime Minister of the King, promulgated two edicts (9 and 12 April) through which punitive measures and capital punishments were arranged for those guilty of revolution, which led from there to 13 life sentences and 30 death sentences. Hence the precise symbolic choice of perform this oratory (through precise lexical and musical choices made by Rossini — expert connoisseur both of the Haydn repertoire and of Bourbon politics) can be read as a clear desire to musically underline the Restoration of the expressly desired *status quo* precisely wanted by the Habsburgs, through a work that could represent not only a peak of the Viennese musical school, but could establish a clear link (to the people and to the Neapolitan nobility and bourgeoisie) between the exercise of the creative power of Divine Majesty and the rediscovered political stability due to the power embodied by the temporal power of Ferdinand I.

## CONTRIBUTORS

### Musical Publishing and Aesthetics

• **ALBAN RAMAUT** (Université Jean Monnet de Saint-Étienne), « **Il sera, peut-être un jour, le Napoléon de la Science musicale, par les pas de géants qu’il lui fera faire** » : **le Napoléon d’Hector Berlioz**

Jean-François Le Sueur écrit au docteur Louis Berlioz le 25 Août 1830 au sujet de son fils Hector qui a été proclamé Premier Prix de Rome le 21 : « Il sera, peut-être un jour, le Napoléon de la Science musicale, par les pas de géants qu’il lui fera faire ». Quelle intuition autorise cet avis ? L’auteur des *Bardes* qui avait succédé à Paisiello à la Chapelle des Tuileries avait conscience que l’ascendant de l’Empereur devait inspirer les arts. Quelles images ardentes Berlioz lui-même retirait-il des bouleversements esthétiques qu’encourageaient les actes du grand homme dans la musique de son maître, mais aussi de Spontini puis de Beethoven ? Qu’est-ce que, par ailleurs, les récits de son oncle Félix Marmion, officier de cavalerie qui avait participé aux campagnes de la grande armée jusqu’au champ de bataille de Waterloo, lui suggéraient ? Pourquoi Napoléon que l’on

sent être chez Berlioz une admiration constante et une image permanente est-il néanmoins assez peu présent de façon directe, en dépit de la « vingtième soirée » des *Soirées de l'orchestre*, dans ses écrits publics ou privés ? Pourtant des projets musicaux spécifiquement napoléoniens envisagés, peu d'œuvres sont parvenues à maturité, sinon la cantate du *Cinq Mai* (qu'il nomme le 9 novembre 1840 *Napoléon*). De ces musiques envisagées, esquissées, des fragments ont cependant migré vers d'autres œuvres parmi les plus remarquables, la *Grande messe des morts*, la *Symphonie funèbre et triomphale*, et le *Te Deum* pour ce dernier ironiquement créé sous Napoléon III. Les traces de l'empreinte napoléonienne sont donc à rechercher dans un ailleurs réapproprié.

• **HENRI VANHULST (Université libre de Bruxelles), Trente années d'activité éditoriale de Jean-Jérôme Imbault d'après l' « état des planches » de 1812**

Jean-Jérôme Imbault (1753-1832) débute à Paris en tant qu'éditeur de musique en s'associant à Jean-Georges Sieber. Si leur collaboration est attestée de 1781 à 1785, Imbault commence à travailler seul dès 1783. En juillet 1812, il vend son affaire à Janet et Cotelle et l'acte notarié qui est rédigé à cette occasion comprend la liste des planches (25 pages). En croisant cet inventaire de la totalité de la production d'Imbault avec les catalogues insérés dans les éditions ou publiés séparément (1792 et 1801), il est possible de suivre le répertoire tant dans son évolution chronologique au cours de près de trois décennies que dans l'intérêt assez fluctuant accordé aux différents genres et effectifs. De même, les quelque 180 annonces que l'éditeur fait paraître dans la presse révèlent quelles musiques il cherche à faire connaître. Certains aspects de son répertoire vocal (les chants révolutionnaires et patriotiques d'Adrien, Cambini, Lélou, Piis et d'autres parfois anonymes) et instrumental (l'anonyme *Offrande à la liberté* « pour musique militaire ; Devienne, *La bataille de Gemmap*) situent la production d'Imbault dans le cadre politique de l'époque. Son engagement lui vaut le titre de « marchand de musique de leurs Majestés impériales et royales ».

• **DAVID ROWLAND (Open University, Milton Keynes), Music Publishing and Markets c. 1750-1827**

The period 1750-1827 saw the establishment of music industries across Europe and further afield, but the rate at which those industries developed varied widely. In Britain and France, for example, music publishing flourished by the mid-eighteenth century and continued to develop whereas in some countries such as Holland and Italy, where music publishing had a strong history, the industry had declined. Music publishing in the German states was to strengthen in the second half of the eighteenth century and from around 1780 it was to become well-established in Austria. But in Iberia and in countries to the east progress was slow and music publishing was not firmly established until well into the nineteenth century. Consequently, by around 1800 music publishing activity was focussed around the industries in England, France, Germany and Austria. Music publishers in these countries did not function in isolation from

each other but worked in cooperation in so far as they were able, given the inadequate copyright provision of the times. But the major upheavals that occurred with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars had a major impact on the ways in which these businesses were able to trade with each other culminating in the effects of Napoleon's Continental System, whose aim was isolate the British economy from continental Europe. However, in spite of prolonged attempts by the French to weaken British trade with Europe and the upheavals caused by war, the internationalisation of the music business continued even through uncertain times during which the free movement of goods and intellectual property were hampered. This paper will outline the ups and downs of the international music trade during this critical period, demonstrating how trading constraints affected the dissemination of music. It will show how some of the major figures of the period, including Haydn, Beethoven, Clementi and Pleyel fared as composers and as leaders of the music industry. Following Napoleon's defeat, music publishing gathered pace across a wider geographical area while those countries with strong political links to the east began to exploit emerging markets.

• **LUCA LÉVI SALA (Manhattan College, NY / New York University), *Evolving Piano Techniques and Publishing Market in Clementi's Output: The Case of Opp. 2 and 12***

A careful record of the manuscripts and editions relating to Clementi's output can contribute towards a better understanding of the manner in which the composer wished his own works to be performed. From 1798 Longman, Clementi & Co., and later Muzio Clementi & Co. released mainly revised editions with «corrections and additions by the Author», alongside brand-new editions of a significant component of the composer's works already published in England, including «considerable improvements». Thus, Clementi's updating of previously authorized editions, and his correction of corrupt copies largely circulating in continental Europe, can prove useful in gaining a more nuanced understanding of the composer's process of revision, as well as offering insight into his policies as a publisher and as a dealer of his own musical productions. A recently-located, miscellaneous collection of earlier English editions, dating from between 1784 and 1790, is preserved at the Gilmore Music Library at Yale University. Two of these editions, Opp. 2 and 12, are particularly important; they bear many annotations and amendments in the hand of Clementi and might therefore be instructive in clarifying Clementi's conception of, and approach to, his revisions. whilst shedding light on the genesis of brand-new reissues of Opp. 2 and 12. This in turn reveals new insights about Clementi's intentions concerning development of performance style, congruent as they were with his major didactic work, the *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte* (Op. 42, 1801). Investigating these matters provides the basis for a more complete understanding of Clementi's creative process and his role in the context of the early nineteenth-century changing performance practice.

## **Music and Identity**

### **• JUSTIN RATEL (Conservatoire National Supérieur de Paris), *Un musicien d'Ancien Régime sous l'Empire et la Restauration. Alexis de Garaudé: musicien artisan de la spécialisation de l'enseignement musical français entre 1806 et 1852***

Auteur d'un catalogue considérable dominé par la musique de chambre et par la voix avec en particulier deux cents romances, Alexis de Garaudé est une figure majeure du paysage musical français de la première partie du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle qui a été jusqu'à ce jour délaissé par les études musicologiques. La polyvalence de Garaudé le rattache aux musiciens d'Ancien Régime puisqu'il est à la fois compositeur, chanteur (à la chapelle impériale dès 1808), accompagnateur, pédagogue et éditeur de musique. Nous nous concentrerons ici sur les activités pédagogiques de Garaudé. Sa longévité (il naît en 1779 et meurt en 1852) et la grande quantité d'ouvrages didactiques qu'il publie tout au long de sa vie en font un témoin et acteur privilégié des évolutions de l'enseignement de la musique dans la première partie du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Garaudé n'aura de cesse dans sa littérature pédagogique de construire un système cohérent d'enseignement basé sur la spécialisation et la distinction des difficultés musicales propres au rationalisme pédagogique de son temps. Si cette spécialisation semble aller à l'encontre de la polyvalence de Garaudé, on observe au contraire que le musicien va la mettre à profit pour produire des ouvrages qui répondent aux goûts pédagogiques de son époque. Il s'agit donc de comprendre à travers le cas de Garaudé comment les musiciens formés dans la tradition française du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle transforment et réutilisent leurs connaissances musicales alors même que la Révolution française et la fondation du Conservatoire de Paris ont bouleversé, en France, la pédagogie musicale.

### **• MAGDALENA OLIFERKO-STORCK (Bern/Warsaw), *Napoleon's Warsaw – Music in the Capital of Poland before Chopin***

The common musical history of France and Poland deepened especially in the Napoleonic era, which was a period not only of military cooperation, but also in the cultural field, which prepared the foundations for the subsequent exit of the Polish Great Emigration to France after 1831. The capital of Poland, deprived of its identity, incorporated into Prussia after the last partition in 1795, was liberated for a short time in 1807 by Napoleon Bonaparte, who established the Duchy of Warsaw, a state with its own constitution, government and army, actually dependent on the French Empire and subordinated to the French Emperor. In 1812, during the attack on Russia, Napoleon was accompanied by over 100,000 Poles who naively believed that their country would be rebuilt after a possible triumphant victory. The defeat of Napoleon ended the reign of France in Warsaw, however, it significantly contributed to the cultural exchange between both nations, also in the field of music. In post-Napoleonic Warsaw, French language and culture were widespread, deepening the cosmopolitan aspirations of the Polish capital. After the fall of the November Uprising, France in a gesture of gratitude opened up to the Polish culture, giving shelter to its nearly 6,000 emigrants. They contributed

to the interpenetration of Polish-French themes, establishing a number of cultural and educational Polish institutions in France, doing art in private salons and publishing Polish national compositions. Chopin became the iconic symbol of the merger of Polish-French culture in the post-restoration era. In my paper I will take a closer look at the soundscape of Napoleon's Warsaw — Warsaw, which shaped the pre-Chopin era, and was the cradle of Polish musical culture. Warsaw, in which Chopin, as a young man, first came into contact with French culture, not only in his family home, but also on the musical stages of the capital of his homeland.

• **ERIC BOARO (University of Nottingham), «Non essendovi più capelle in veruna chiesa...». Finanziamento ed impiego musicale nella Modena giacobina (1796)**

Alla fine del Settecento, l'*Ancien Régime* viene gradualmente sradicato in Nord Italia da Napoleone e la sua Campagna d'Italia. Dopo svariati avvenimenti, invero, buona parte dei territori dell'Italia settentrionale si riuniscono sotto l'egida della Repubblica Cisalpina (1797-1802), uno stato fantoccio alle dipendenze della Repubblica Francese. In pochissimo tempo, territori che erano stati dominati per secoli da apparati statali di stampo aristocratico e oligarchico, si trovano catapultati in un universo completamente nuovo. Tra i molteplici cambiamenti che il rinnovato ordine sociale imponeva a dinamiche rodiate da secoli spiccano quelli relativi ai teatri e alla professione musicale. Durante l'*Ancien Régime*, la sopravvivenza e la sussistenza delle famiglie di musicisti era garantita da una rete d'impiego solida, costituita essenzialmente da due agenti: il teatro locale, finanziato o dalla nobiltà autoctona o dall'aristocrazia governante, e, soprattutto, le istituzioni religiose, grazie a cui strumentisti e cantori prestavano la loro opera durante le celebrazioni. Con l'avvento della Repubblica Cisalpina, sia la fiorente attività teatrale dei centri, anche minori, della Penisola che la grande munificenza delle istituzioni religiose, spesso osteggiate, soppresse e messe in difficoltà dal laicismo giacobino, subiscono un duro colpo. Colpo che, inevitabilmente, si fa sentire maggiormente nei centri provinciali e minori. Con un approccio di tipo microstorico, il presente contributo intende illustrare le peculiari vicende della città Modena all'altezza del 1796-1797, documentate da un'imponente mole di carte inedite conservate all'Archivio di Stato di Milano. In seguito alla delegittimazione dell'aristocrazia, e alla conseguente penuria di fondi, il teatro locale viene chiuso; a causa del nuovo laicismo giacobino, inoltre, le numerose chiese locali diminuiscono le loro attività e, cessando le loro attività musicali, sciogliono le loro cappelle musicali. Di conseguenza, le famiglie di musicisti della città, ridotte alla miseria, rivolgono al governo le loro suppliche affinché gli venga dato sollievo economico. Queste suppliche, parzialmente giunte a noi, testimoniano drammaticamente la ripercussione del mutato assetto sociale e politico sulla professione musicale durante la prima età Napoleonica in Italia, e costituiscono preziose testimonianze circa la vita quotidiana del musicista "di mestiere" a fine Settecento.

## Music Theatre

- **MARTIN BARRÉ (Conservatoire National Supérieur de Paris), In the Shadow of Paris: Circulation and Diffusion of Incidental Music under the Empire. The Example of the Theater of Versailles at the Beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

The municipal theater of Versailles, which was founded in 1777 by Marguerite Brunet, and which adopted the name 'la Montansier' in 1936 in homage to its founder, experienced difficulties throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in particular because of its proximity to Paris. Like most theaters of the time, the Versailles establishment had its own orchestra which, in 1813, was comprised of twelve musicians under the direction of Antoine-François Heudier. The repertoire mostly consisted of opéras comiques, ballets as well as popular drama, notably vaudevilles and melodramas. Even though French incidental music composed during and after the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has recently been the subject of several publications, earlier works in this genre are still not well known. Only one article by Nicole Wild and, especially, the work of Emilio Sala have offered a first approach to the music that accompanied the melodramas in the first half of the century, but vaudeville music from this period has not given rise to any systematic work so far. In the case of the Versailles theater, existing scholarly works give only an overview of the administrative and political history of the establishment. We will analyze here the dramatic repertoire and the musical practices of the hall from a rich collection of orchestral material (not yet inventoried) that was used in the city theater and kept in the municipal library of Versailles. This includes in particular the separate parts of the incidental music that accompanied the vaudevilles, melodramas and ballets. Through an examination of this unpublished collection of 589 manuscripts, our study therefore analyzes the musical practices of a provincial town too close to Paris to have developed an artistic identity of its own. The Versailles case will thus make it possible to examine the diffusion and circulation of incidental music between the capital and its suburbs, as well as their reception.

- **VANESSA SILLA SOLER (Universidad de Salamanca), The Scenic Tonadilla («tonadilla escénica») and 'the Foreigner': Comedy as a Resource for the Treatment of the Defense of the 'National Identity'**

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the scenic tonadilla (*Tonadilla escénica*), a dramatic-musical genre coined by José Subirà, takes over in Spain. This genre, which will be interspersed in the intermissions of comedies and whose main objective is comedy, will echo many of the issues of the present time, not only putting them on the table, but also ridiculing them, as well as undermining the protagonists of such social imbalances. That is why the topics of "the foreign problem" and the defense of "the national identity" will be presented as a recurring motif in these scenic songs. We will witness the use of comedy, by analysing two works by Blas de Laserna, one of the most prolific composers in this genre together with Pablo Esteve, as a resource to address such polarities in that Spanish context.

• **ROBERTO SCOCCIMARRO (Berlin), Il mito sulla scena dell'Académie Imperiale de Musique negli ultimi anni dell'Empire: «Médée et Jason» di de Milcent e Fontenelle (1813)**

Nel repertorio operistico proposto dall'Académie Imperiale durante il decennio 1804-1815 emerge la predilezione per alcuni ambiti tematici, quali la letteratura ossianica, l'orientalismo, la storia romana, gli argomenti biblici e la mitologia greca. L'ultima tendenza è rappresentata da quattro titoli, *Hippomène et Atalante*, *Les Amazones*, *Oenone, Médée et Jason*, accomunati, oltre che da soggetti tratti da narrazioni mitiche dell'antica Grecia, dallo sfortunato esito presso pubblico e critica (Chaillou 2004). Tale risposta negativa differenzia nettamente queste opere da quelle basate sulla storia romana, come la spontiniana *Vestale* e *Le triomphe de Trajan* di Lesueur. Questo studio ha per oggetto l'analisi della *tragédie-lyrique* in tre atti *Médée et Jason* (1813), su libretto di Jean-Baptist de Milcent e musica di George Granges de Fontenelle, l'ultimo dei titoli su tematica mitologica rappresentati all'Académie prima della caduta dell'Empire. Come si legge nell'ampia ed erudita introduzione del librettista contenuta nel testo a stampa, l'opera propone una rivisitazione del mito basata su una corposa "tradizione parallela" radicata negli scrittori greco-romani, ma da Euripide in poi caduta nell'oblio. Secondo tale tradizione, Medea è figura non crudele, bensì virtuosa e generosa, e anziché maga, è una sacerdotessa della dea Ecate dedita ad aiutare i malati. Sulla base di una cattiva interpretazione del verso oraziano «sit Medea ferox» (*Ars poetica*), tutta una serie di autori ha creduto di poter vedere in Medea l'autrice di crimini atroci, tra cui l'omicidio dei propri figli. In realtà, secondo de Milcent, il vocabolo *ferox* era inteso presso i classici nel senso di "fiero, superbo, generoso", e non connesso a ferocia e crudeltà. Non solo: il fratello di Medea, Absyrte, non sarebbe stato ucciso dalla presunta maga, bensì dagli Argonauti; e ad uccidere i di lei figli sarebbero stati gli abitanti di Corinto, durante la sua fuga dalla città. Nella sua revisione della materia, de Milcent procede così a demistificare la figura della protagonista, togliendole i consueti poteri magici, nonché a dare anche a Giasone tratti eroici positivi che giustifichino l'esplosione della passione amorosa di Medea nei suoi confronti. Con l'eccezione del *Journal de Paris*, che ritrattò un primo giudizio in forma conciliante, la stampa reagì negativamente a tale scelta del librettista, estranea all'immagine più diffusa della figura mitica. Nella musica di Fontenelle il riferimento stilistico a Gluck fu inoltre sentito come una troppo palese imitazione del modello, ai limiti del plagio. Alcune recensioni richiamarono alla memoria dei lettori l'opera cherubiniana, rilevando la difficoltà di riproporre un tale soggetto dopo un così illustre precedente. Questo contributo intende indagare la particolare prospettiva drammatica dell'opera, peraltro del tutto sconosciuta, e le ragioni della sua caduta, accostando all'analisi del libretto e della partitura la disamina delle recensioni della stampa. Il paragone con il precedente cherubiniano, suggerito dai recensori coevi, costituisce inoltre una seconda linea di ricerca.



• MARIA BIRBILI (Universität des Saarlandes), **The Sound of Empire: Aesthetics and Performance in French Opera from the French Revolution to Napoleon**

The late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century in France were a time of frequent upheavals, everchanging unstable regimes, and a series of events whose repercussions, in their great significance, formed world history until the present. Napoleon Bonaparte was a key figure in this era, not just due to his role in European (and American) politics from the last phase of the French Revolution and after the Restoration, until at least the 1870s in Europe, but he was also an innovator of the military and influenced the arts and culture in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. My paper will discuss the profound changes in the aesthetic, the historical politicized dramaturgy, and the music brought upon French opera during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Phenomena will be explored such as the diminishing of the protagonist vs. the chorus as a *dramatis persona*, the collective revolutionary oath-taking, and the realistically staged depiction of a siege and battle on stage, all introduced by the French Revolution but still dominant during the Napoleonic era. As discussed in my first book, the specific «siege-opera» and «expedition-opera» sub-genres not only reflect the organized propaganda of the Revolutionary regime and of Napoleon's regime (both as a consul and as an emperor), but constitute a direct acculturation process, with the representation of a number of contemporary historic events on the opera stage, often just months after their occurrence. With works such as *Péronne sauvée*, *La prise de la Bastille*, *Le siège de Toulon*, *Toulon soumis*, *Le siège de Lille*, *Le siège de Thionville*, *La prise du pont de Lodi*, the «siege-opera» genre depicts various authentic sieges, battles, and political events from the Revolutionary wars against the European coalition, often transposed into Greek or Roman antiquity, with works such as *Miltiade à Marathon*, *Léonidas ou Le siège des Thermopyles*, *Toute la Grèce, ou Ce que peut la liberté*, *Fabius*, and *Horatius Coclès*. In the course of depicting the political ideas of democracy in «siege-opera», specific new models in dramaturgy, staging, and music were created. These strong Revolutionary impressions lingered throughout the Napoleonic period, during which many of these «siege-operas» (such as Lemoine's *Miltiade à Marathon* and Méhul's *Horatius Coclès*) were performed. The continuation of the genre from the Revolution into the Napoleonic era can be identified in Méhul's *Le pont de Lodi* and *Adrien* and Spontini's/Jouy's *Fernand Cortès*. The latter two operas were ordered so as to celebrate Napoleon's glory just before the first Napoleonic expeditions in Egypt and in Spain, and they continuously depict an expedition on the opera stage. *Fernand Cortès*, which Napoleon hated (he left the premiere before the ending), is the most fascinating of these works, remaining politically ambiguous in its sophisticated dramaturgy and conflicted approach to colonialism, while, in its complexity, it paves the road to the later genre of *grand opéra*.

## Gender Identity

### • ANNELIES ANDRIES (Utrecht University), **Beyond the Code Napoléon: Performing and Sounding Female Heroism c. 1800**

After briefly enjoying greater liberty and opportunities for public visibility following the 1789 Revolution, the 1804 civil code (or Code Napoléon) curtailed women's roles to the domestic sphere. The code's real-life impact seems not to have registered immediately at the Opéra: several heroines performed public acts of heroism, and were even lauded for outshining their male counterparts. Yet, their heroic, usually self-sacrificing, acts maintained the code's patriarchal framework: these sacrifices ultimately aimed at safeguarding men's reputations. In this paper, I analyse how operatic heroines reflected this principal duality in imagining womanhood during the Napoleonic era, focusing on Spontini's *La Vestale* (1807) and Catel's *Les Bayadères* (1810). While these operas offered examples of active female participation in public life, these roles simultaneously portrayed them as 'other'. They are imagined as defenders of tradition (rather than champions of progress), as 'unknowable' for practicing sexual abstinence, and sometimes as exotic (*Les Bayadères* is set in Benares). This otherness justified the imposition of male control. Thus, these characters provided women with acceptable images of womanhood to be re-enacted in various forms: they sparked fashions *à la vestale* and *à la bayadère*, offered performative ideals to imitate, and supplied lenses for reading women's public actions (such as Joséphine de Beauharnais'). These operatic heroines, admired for their passion and seeming independence, showcase the intricate network of the Napoleonic patriarchal system, whether personified in the operatic hero (both works end with the women's marriage), codified in the law, or intellectualized in the development of scientific racism and sexism. By turning scientific, intellectual and legal ideologies of gender into affective, embodied performances, I ultimately contend that the Opéra and its repertoire were major agents in disseminating these gender ideologies beyond the confined, discursive circles of the intelligentsia to be enacted in French (and even European) society at large.

### • CLAUDIA CHIBICI-REVNEANU (Escuela Nacional de Estudios Superiores / UNAM, León, Mexico) **Moving towards Exclusion: A Case Study of the 'Female Viennese School'**

The latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century marked an important time in musical history, with Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, later known as the First Viennese school, acting as heroes of musical classicism. Little attention has been paid to the fact, however, that several female composers were successful in Vienna during that time. Their presence was so pronounced that scholars such as Kronos (2006) speak of equality for male and female composers. This presentation analyses the role of three women composers active during this period — Marianne Martinez, Maria Teresa von Paradis and Josepha Barbara Auernhammer — who will be provocatively

referred to as the “female Viennese school”. It will show that all three obtained recognition as composers during their lives, with Martinez like Mozart, for instance, receiving membership to the prestigious Accademia dei Filarmonici. Indeed, there was an interconnection between the “two” Viennese schools. Haydn was Martinez’ teacher; Auernhammer and Martinez often performed with Mozart and the latter incorporated some of Martinez’ compositions into his work (Godt, 2010). Yet whereas Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven were to be worshipped, Martinez, Auernhammer and Paradis were almost forgotten. This “disappearance act” was largely due to historical developments. A cultural divide took place which began to separate “popular” from “fine arts” and elevated creators of “fine arts” to semi-divine geniuses (Shiner, 2001). The latter is a gendered category which has helped to eliminate female composers from the musical cannon (Korsmeyer, 2000; Brand & Helmig 2001). While the gendered nature of genius and its impact of female creators has been researched, this paper highlights the less discussed notion of a historical “regression” for female composers. The question remains whether the genius myth arose in part as a socio-cultural mechanism to push women out.

• **EVANGELIA KOPSALIDOU (Democritus University of Thrace), *The Role of the Pardessus de Viole in Eighteenth-Century French Music***

During the first half decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century starts the decline of the viol in France and the preference for the violin and the cello, influenced by the Italian music. Even in the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the artists had started to transform the “dessus de viole” that was tuned in *d-g-c'-e'-a'-d'* in *g-c'-e'-a'-d''-g''*. As a natural development, a smaller and higher in pitch viol, named “pardessus de viole” replaced the “dessus de viole”. The “pardessus de viole” was mainly the instrument of the ladies connected very much to their charm and feminine. From 1720, the “pardessus de viole” with its five and six chords, had started to exclude the “dessus de viole”. The pieces of Louis Heudelinne, Thomas Mace, de Boismortier, de la Barrière and Charles Dollé were very much played by famous women players of the eighteenth century at private concerts like Mlle Levi and Mlle Lafond. Also two of the six daughters of Louis xv, Adelaide and Sophie, played the “pardessus de viole” as well as other women till the last decades of the eighteenth century. All the above, to be discovered on this oral presentation concerning the role of the “pardessus de viole” on 18<sup>th</sup>-century French music.

**Soundscapes**

• **EDWARD GILLIN (University of Leeds) – FANNY GRIBENSKI (Centre national de la recherche scientifique / IRCAM, Paris), *Revolutionary Reverberations and Sacred Sounds: Scientific Knowledge and the Church Soundscape, 1789-1830***

For both revolutionary and Napoleonic governments, science was celebrated as rationalizing knowledge on which society could be reorganized. In place of the religious superstition of the *Ancien Régime*, statesmen like Napoleon looked to promote

new philosophical understandings of nature. This included knowledge of sonorous phenomena, which became subject to experimental inquiry and demystifying physical explanation. Above all, it was Ernst Chladni's material demonstrations of sonorous vibrations that epitomized this objective reconception of sound. His investigations secured the patronage of Napoléon and fit within a broader culture of post-revolutionary secular science. And yet, much of Chladni's work remained deeply embedded within the physical setting of the church. For natural philosophers throughout France, Britain, and Germany, religious architecture offered unprecedented locations in which to examine how sound operated. No other structures boasted such extensive internal volumes of air, nor exhibited such a diverse range of acoustic properties. For all the religious disruption of socio-political revolution, churches and cathedrals remained crucial sites of sonorous experimentation throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Drawing on a wealth of philosophical texts and archival records, our paper explores how ecclesiastical buildings provided continuity between Ancien and revolutionary regimes as epistemological spaces within acoustic science. While new state authorities sought to remove the Church from society, it proved far more challenging to remove the church from scientific culture. Yet at the same time, the church soundscape would prove equally important amid post-1815 efforts to restore political stability. As we argue, within Britain and France, state-orchestrated church building and restoration programs were central to the restoration of public morality and faith. In this context, sonorous knowledge took on increasing significance: to avoid a repeat of the revolutionary turmoil of the 1790s, it mattered how and what was heard within these ecclesiastical buildings. In unraveling these continuities, our paper unpacks both the religious and political values that shaped modern acoustic science.

• **INES THOMAS ALMEIDA (Universidade Nova de Lisboa / FCSH / INET-md), *Imaginary Soundscapes: The Sounds of Portuguese Music as Captured by German Travellers at the End of the «Ancien Régime»***

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, travels to Portugal from central Europe increased significantly. It's tempting to recreate the soundscape of the Portuguese streets, mapping the sounds echoing in the public sphere, from merchants to royal festivities and sacred processions. Nevertheless, the way that soundscape is perceived varies according to the regional, cultural and socio-political background of the traveller, with a severe shift between pre- and post-Napoleonic era. Portuguese musical practice, embedded with Iberian, Italian and Counter-Reformist influences, was seen with perplexity, rejection and vivid critique by German travellers, who searched for the imagined elements of what they thought to be the true Portuguese nation. These would be found — so they believed — in the common people, expressing a primordial naturalness that had not yet been corrupted. Thus, they positively described traditional dances, streets filled with the strange polyphony of the church bells and cannon roars, the cries of water carriers and the sad songs of the blind, a soundscape focused on the traveller's expectations. In

1807, Napoleonic invasions led to the flight of the royal family to Brazil. In 1816, the crown paid several expeditions by European scientists and artists to the new capital, Rio de Janeiro, aiming to reinforcing Portugal's role in European politics, even if the court was temporarily overseas. This caused a proliferation of Portuguese-related publications, no longer the result of independent travel experiences but of a continued political effort. That year, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* published for the first time an extensive article on Portuguese music, systematizing its various aspects and shifting to a more cosmopolitan view of concert life, opera and church music. Based on German sources from 1762 to 1816, this communication focus on the perceived Portuguese soundscapes before and after Napoleon, pointing filters and stressing the delicate balance between observed and imagined.

• **MATTHIEU CAILLIEZ (Université Jean Monnet, Saint-Étienne), Étude des transferts musicaux franco-allemands à l'époque napoléonienne à travers le prisme de l'«Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung»**

Le 3 octobre 1798 commence à Leipzig la publication hebdomadaire de l'*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, le principal périodique musical allemand de la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Un an plus tard, le coup d'état du 9 novembre 1799 et l'instauration du Consulat marquent symboliquement la fin de la Révolution française, la prise de pouvoir de Napoléon Bonaparte et le début de l'ère napoléonienne en Europe. Un dépouillement de l'*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* entre 1798 et 1815, voire légèrement au-delà, permettra d'observer et d'analyser l'évolution des transferts musicaux franco-allemands sous le Consulat et l'Empire. Ce dépouillement sera enrichi par l'étude des écrits de compositeurs et de dramaturges allemands, tels que Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Louis Spohr, August von Kotzebue et Ignaz Franz Castelli, qui voyagent à travers toute l'Europe et séjournent longuement à Paris durant cette période. C'est donc le point de vue allemand qui sera privilégié dans cette communication. Tandis que les œuvres théâtrales et lyriques françaises connaissent une très large diffusion dans le monde germanique sous la forme de traductions et d'adaptations, le succès de la musique allemande en France se limite alors en grande partie à la musique instrumentale et aux compositions de Haydn et de Mozart. Le goût prononcé de Napoléon pour l'opéra italien est un frein très puissant à la diffusion en France de l'art lyrique allemand. Dans cette communication, le terme Allemagne sera employé dans le sens du monde germanique dans son ensemble, autrement dit des pays de langue allemande, Autriche incluse. L'étude des transferts musicaux franco-allemands sera en particulier étendue à plusieurs villes qui appartiennent aujourd'hui à la Pologne, à l'Ukraine, aux pays baltes ou à la Russie, mais qui étaient placées au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle sous le contrôle direct ou sous l'influence culturelle de la Prusse ou de l'Autriche : Breslau, Danzig, Königsberg, Lemberg, Riga, Stettin et Warschau (orthographe allemande).

## Political Identity and Nationalism

• **GALLIANO CILIBERTI** (Conservatorio ‘Nino Rota’ di Monopoli), **Napoleone I in Sassonia: Francesco Morlacchi e il mondo sonoro del Congresso di Dresda (maggio 1812)**

Quando il 5 luglio del 1810 il compositore Francesco Morlacchi arrivò a Dresda come direttore della cappella reale, regnava il re di Sassonia Federico Augusto I alleato della Francia e di Napoleone nello scacchiere politico europeo. E fu questa la ragione per cui Bonaparte convocò nel maggio del 1812 nella capitale sassone il “Congresso di Dresda” in cui l’Imperatore d’Austria, i sovrani di Prussia e di Sassonia gli prestarono giuramento prima della campagna di Russia. Morlacchi prese parte attiva all’avvenimento avendo provveduto con la cappella reale a curare tutta la parte musicale, tanto a corte quanto a teatro. Frutto più rilevante di questo avvenimento furono la composizione di due cantate ([1.4.1812] Cantata in lode di Napoleone *Quella che qui s’aggira*; [12.5.1812] Cantata alla presenza di Napoleone I e dei reali partecipanti al Congresso *No non menton gli Dei*) e dell’offertorio *Domine salvum fac imperatorem nostrum Napoleonem* [22.5.1812]. Il Congresso era stato “preparato” non solo politicamente ma anche dal punto di vista musicale fin dall’anno precedente. Morlacchi, infatti, aveva composto: la gigantesca opera filofrancese *Raoul di Crequy* [Teatro Reale, febbraio 1811] dove in un passo vengono impiegati tra gli strumenti i “martelli e picconi” [*sic*] e la Cantata per la nascita del Re di Roma *Anche si frettoloso* [18.4.1811]. Attraverso la lettura della musica, del cerimoniale liturgico, dei testi poetici delle cantate, dei documenti sarà ricostruito il mondo sonoro attorno al Congresso di Dresda e i suoi effetti nel processo compositivo di Morlacchi.

• **MARIE SUMNER LOTT** (Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA), **The Presence of the Past, the Pastness of the Present: Nationalism and Medievalism in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Histories of Music**

Modern scholars have long recognized the important role that historicism played in the artistic and literary aesthetic of the nineteenth century, but the dynamic back-and-forth that ensued between history writing and creative composition has received less attention. This paper examines 19<sup>th</sup>-century histories of music, focusing on the Middle Ages, to demonstrate how the presentation of Medieval musical cultures in scholarly volumes both informed and was informed by the creative Medievalist works presented on stages and in songbooks across Europe at the time. Like their counterparts writing nationalist operas, songs, and choruses, early music historians used stories and artifacts from the distant past to craft a new image that would bring together disparate groups and create a sense of shared identity among them. They imagined a history that offered common origins and ideals around which modern citizens could unite. From early works by Charles Burney and Johann N. Forkel through mid-century innovations by François-Joseph Fétis and Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, to the first modern musicological texts by August Wilhelm Ambros, nineteenth-century authors approached the Middle Ages as

a blank page on which they could inscribe their own views about the present state of music. Though they used the same primary sources and consulted the same authorities, they came to starkly different conclusions about what Medieval music sounded like, as a comparison of their transcriptions of Medieval song shows. They also crafted the narrative of history in response to their unique political circumstances, sometimes holding European polyphony up as a unique development in human history (Kiesewetter, 1834), and sometimes situating European works alongside similar examples from other cultures (Fétis, 1837). By offering a wealth of divergent views of the musical past, these authors opened new opportunities to the musicians of their day, who would use them to create the sound of Romanticism and of Empire.



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