SECM · Society for Eighteenth-Century Music

NEWSLETTER

ISSUE NO. 45 SPRING 2025

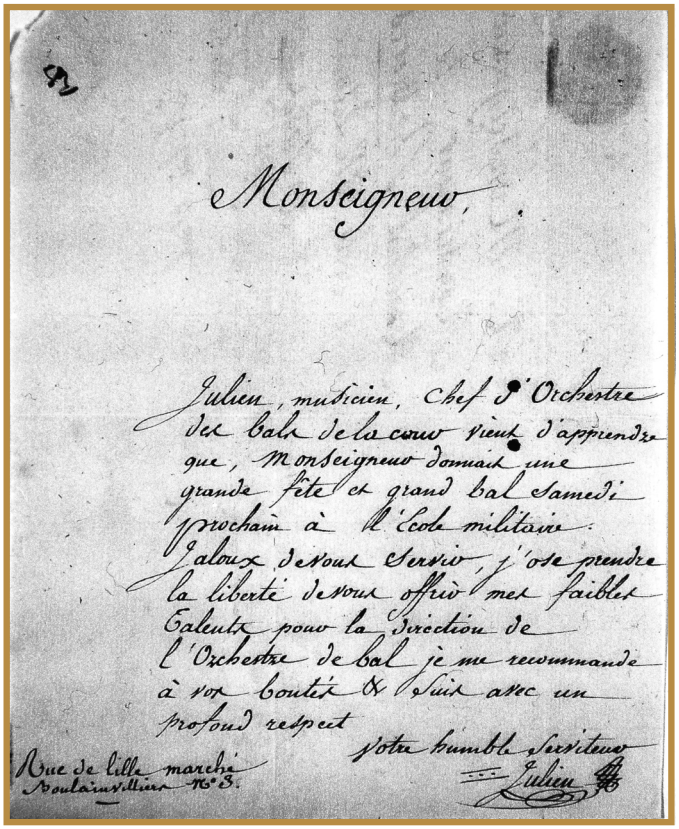
Louis Julien Clarchies (c. 1767–1815) and the Imperial Politics of Contredanse

Julia Doe

In the summer of 2023, sifting through documents in the French national archives, I came across a letter that stopped me in my tracks (Figure 1). The tone and content of the note might appear prosaic. A court musician, Louis Julien Clarchies, wrote to a military official, Jean-Baptiste Bessières, volunteering his services for an upcoming event:

> Julien, musician, orchestral director of court balls, has just been apprised that his excellency is throwing a grand celebration next Saturday at the École militaire. Eager to serve you, I dare take the liberty of offering my humble talents to lead your dance orchestra.

This seemingly unassuming document is remarkable in several respects. On the one hand, the celebration in question was no ordinary *fête*. Bessières was organizing a birthday party for the most powerful man in Europe, the French Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte. On the other hand, the orchestral director in question was no ordinary musician. While largely unknown today, Clarchies was a major celebrity at the imperial court: a violinist, conductor, and prolific composer of dance music. His path to this seat of global power had been nothing short of astounding. Clarchies was born into slavery in Dutch colonial Curaçao; as a teenager, he became a concert virtuoso on the stages of Saint-Domingue (present-day Haiti); he claimed his freedom in revolutionary Paris, and soon thereafter achieved widespread fame.[1]


Monseigneur,

Julien, musicien, Chef d'Orchestre des bals de la cour vient d'apprendre que, Monseigneur donnait une grande fête et grand bal samedi prochain à l'École militaire. Jaloux de vous servir, j'ose prendre la liberté de vous offrir mes faibles talents pour la direction de l'Orchestre de bal je me recommande à vos bontés & suis avec un profond respect

Votre humble Serviteur

Julien

Rue de Lille marché Boulainvilliers N° 3.

Figure 1. Louis Julien Clarchies to Jean-Baptiste Bessières, December 1807. Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine [AN], Fonds Maréchal Bessières, 32AP/10, 283 Mi 3, 59

The biographical sketch of Clarchies presented below is organized around a central question: How did an enslaved violinist from the Caribbean become a leading artistic figure at the Napoleonic court? Certainly, Clarchies's rise to prominence can be attributed to his exceptional talent. He published hundreds of pieces and was a technical marvel at his instrument. Clarchies's experiences, though, also have something to tell us about the influence of colonial networks and the racialized expectations of cultural production in revolutionary and Napoleonic France. The violinist's earliest supporters in Paris were wealthy, Caribbean-born women, members of a fashionable class known as the *merveilleuses*. (Most important here was Napoleon's Empress, Joséphine de Beauharnais, who hailed from Les Trois-Îlets, Martinique.) The reception of Clarchies's music, in turn, was shaped by associations of performance and servitude that these patrons had transported across the Atlantic. Put differently, it is significant that Clarchies's metropolitan platform was predicated upon his ability to play and write dances. Clarchies was perceived as a *ménétrier* (a minstrel or fiddler), rather than a composer and virtuoso; this was a racialized stereotype from the colonies that became embedded in the French cultural imagination.

* * *

Across the early modern Caribbean, many enslaved violinists provided music for dancing.[2] This was true in Clarchies's native Curaçao, as well as in Saint-Domingue, where he was trafficked before his tenth birthday.[3] In this context, though, Clarchies's trajectory was unusual. By his early teenage years, he was known as a performer of European concert repertoire; he played in the opera orchestra and appeared as a violin and viola soloist at the theaters of Cap

1. Archival details pertaining to the violinist's early life are introduced in Pierre Bardin et al., "Julien Clarchies, griffe de Curaçao, affranchi, violoniste et chef d'orchestre des bals de la cour impériale," *Généalogie et histoire de la Caraïbe*, 2018, art. 4.

2. Maria T. N. Ryan, "Hearing Power, Sounding Freedom: Black Practices of Listening, Ear-Training, and Music-Making in the British Colonial Caribbean" (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2021), 25–93.

3. Clarchies related his place of birth when registering his identity with the French revolutionary government in 1793. AN, F^{7} 4794, "Police générale, Comité de sûreté Générale, Cartes de sûreté délivrées par les comités révolutionnaires des sections du Finistère et de la Fontaine de Grenelle, 1792/an III," June 6, 1793; Bardin et al., "Julien Clarchies," 12.

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From the Editor

Michael Vincent

The SECM Newsletter is published twice yearly, in Fall and Spring. Submissions in the following categories are encouraged:

- Original research articles;
- News of recent accomplishments from members of the society (publications, presentations, awards, performances, promotions, etc.);
- Reviews of performances of 18th-century music;
- Reviews of books, editions, or recordings of 18th-century music;
- Conference reports;
- Dissertations in progress on 18th-century music;
- Upcoming conferences and meetings;
- Calls for papers and manuscripts;
- Research reports and research resources;
- Grant opportunities.

Contributions should be submitted as an attachment to an e-mail message (preferably in Microsoft Word format) to the SECM Newsletter editor (michael.vincent@unf.edu). Submissions must be received by September 1 for the Fall issue and by March 1 for the Spring issue. The digital edition of this Newsletter contains active hyperlinks, which can be identified by text in this color.

New Members

Dorian Bandy, Yongsik Kang, Jared Lamenzo,
Lauren Park, Ana P. Sánchez-Rojo

President's Message

Drew Edward Davies

Since October 2002, the SECM Newsletter has informed members about recent research into eighteenth-century music and its performance, news about upcoming events, and other content related to the functioning of the Society. I am proud of the content and appearance of our Newsletter, and now with electronic distribution, it serves not only as an internal bulletin, but as a reflection of the Society to the general public, including future members.

Electronic distribution of the Newsletter brings some advantages that range from instant and postage-free access for our global members to the ability to embed live hyperlinks into the text, thereby harnessing the online environment for readers. See, for example, the first footnote in Julia Doe's feature article about Louis Julien Clarchies and dance repertories of the French Caribbean, which links to supplementary material of interest on the topic.

As the Newsletter transitioned from print to electronic distribution, new issues were made available first to members, and then posted online when the subsequent issue appeared. Beginning with this issue, there will be no delay in the online, open-access publication of the Newsletter. Authors will be able submit their work, see it published, and then share it with others within a remarkably brief time frame, thereby facilitating the timely impact of quality work. I would like to express my appreciation to Michael Vincent, Newsletter Editor, and Mark W. Knoll, Webmaster, for their continued dedication to this endeavor of the Society.

If you are enjoying the research presented in this issue of the Newsletter, and are not yet a member of the Society, please consider joining! Members continue to build active intellectual networks, and while our Newsletter may reside in the digital realm, our community exists very much in the real world. Along these lines, I fondly remember our reception at AMS in November 2024, shared with the Mozart Society of America, Haydn Society of North America, and the American Handel Society, at which a string quartet delighted attendees with late eighteenth-century repertoire, including some editions made by society members.

Our upcoming conference in Lisbon, Portugal, in Spring 2026, will be an unforgettable opportunity to interchange thought about eighteenth-century music cultures in a striking location, and I hope many readers will plan to attend that event.

Spring 2025 Member News

Bertil van Boer has recently published *Historical Dictionary of Music of the Classical Period* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2025).

The Packard Humanities Institute is pleased to announce publication of the first three operas by Johann Christian Bach: *Lucio Silla* and *Zanaida*, edited by **Paul Corneilson**, and *Carattaco*, edited by **Jason B. Grant**. More information on the edition is available at jcbach.org. Performing material is also available to download without charge.

Don Fader (University of Alabama) celebrated the end of his "Montéclair period" with the publication of his edition of Michel Pignolet de Montéclair's *Trios for Two Treble Instruments and Continuo: 1er Recueil contenant XXIV des plus beaux duo de l'Abé Stefani,*

de Bononcini et d'autres bons auteurs, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 239 (A-R Editions, 2024), which includes a newly discovered trio sonata by the composer. Don's revision of the *Grove* article on Montéclair (James R. Anthony, original author) also appeared. His work on the newly discovered *cantates françaises* of Philippe d'Orléans began with the publication of the first in a series of articles, "The Manuscript Source of Philippe II d'Orléans's Cantates françaises: A New Light on Early Eighteenth-Century Transnational Networks of Connoisseurship and Collecting," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 21/2 (Fall 2024): 129–156. In the works are an edition of the *cantates* and a book chapter, "Les cantates françaises de Philippe II d'Orléans et la place du topos pastoral de «l'amant tourmenté» dans l'histoire du genre," with the Centre de musique baroque de Versailles.

Paul Gustav Feller-Simmons's article, "Sounding the Nação: Eighteenth-Century Italianate Music, Aural Conversion, and Acoustic Community Formation at the Amsterdam Sephardic Synagogue," has been published in *Min-Ad* 22. The article is available for free access here.

Anders Muskens announces the release of a new album titled *Georg Vogler: Travel Souvenirs for Keyboard*. The album, available for pre-order and to be released on April 18, 2025, is a premiere recording of keyboard works published by Vogler, an important late 18th-century musical figure who held positions in Mannheim, Munich, Stockholm, and Darmstadt. These keyboard works, originally published during his employment in Sweden during 1788–99, are inspired by musical "travel souvenirs" which Vogler "collected" from his extensive travels spanning the Arctic Circle, Europe, and North Africa. Inspired by the Enlightenment, Vogler sought out folk idioms to incorporate into his *Pièces de clavecin* (Stockholm, 1798, which accompanied his Swedish-language keyboard treatise) and *Variations sur l'Air de Marlborough* (Speyer, 1791). This album features these works performed on two original English instruments—chosen due to the prevalence of English-type fortepiani in Sweden at the time—a Longman & Broderip square piano built by John Geib in 1788, and a John Broadwood & Sons grand piano built in 1806, both restored by Paul Kobald in Amsterdam.

Anna Parkitna has published *Opera in Warsaw: A City of the European Enlightenment* in the Cambridge Elements series "Music and the City" (Cambridge University Press, 2024). The book is available on Cambridge Core as well as in print format.

Ana P. Sánchez-Rojo has recently published *Music and Modernity in Enlightenment Spain* (Boydell & Brewer, 2024)

Alison de Simone and **Paula Maust** released a SalonEra episode, Enterprising Women, which is streaming now as a video (trailer here) and podcast episode.

A large collection of printed doctoral dissertations assembled by the late Robert Samson Bloch, professor of music at the University of California, Davis from 1974 to 2000, is now available for rehoming. The collection centers on the 17th and 18th centuries and minor masters who composed for violin, guitar, and other bowed and plucked strings. The bibliographies are (as one would expect from dissertations emanating from respected universities) extremely thorough, and may uncover items that never made it into JSTOR and RILM. To obtain the list of titles and authors (which includes at least one current SECM member) and make arrangements to receive one or more volumes, email **Beverly Wilcox** at wilcox@csus.edu.

Call for Papers

International Conference
Music and celebrations in the Jubilee years between the 17th and 19th centuries
13th–15th November 2025

The International Conference *Music and Celebrations in the Jubilee years between the 17th and 19th centuries* wishes to promote research topics about sacred and secular music in Rome and other cities during the Holy Years of those centuries in relation to historical, political, social and economic changes. Several features of sacred music will be considered, as well as those related to alternative musical productions to Opera, which was forbidden during the Holy Years.

The topics of the conference will be investigated from an interdisciplinary perspective, and they aim at exploring the existence of specificities and peculiar connotations of music in the Jubilee period in relationship to various events such as:

- the spread and circulation of musical repertoires, composers and musicians from Rome to the rest of Europe;
- connections with economic aspects and patronage;
- changes in musical styles;
- relationships between music and other arts;
- the effects of politics and diplomacy;
- history of the Church;
- repercussions on instrumental and non-liturgical music: music theatre, cantatas, serenades, oratorios;
- open-air music and celebrations;
- secular celebrations and bans;
- musical repertoires of pilgrimages.

The proposals should be submitted as Word or PDF files, to
a.caroccia@conservatoriosantacecilia.it or
t.chirico@conservatoriosantacecilia.it,
including

- author or authors' full name;
- institutional affiliation;
- e-mail address;
- paper title and abstract of no more than 1800 characters (spaces included);
- a biography (maximum length 500 characters, spaces included);
- a list of technical equipment required for presentation.

The deadline for submitting proposals is 10 September 2025. Accepted proposals will be notified by 30 September 2025.

Papers are limited to 20 minutes in length (maximum 12,000 characters, spaces included) allowing time (about 10 minutes) for questions and discussion.

Scientific Committee
Isabella Aurora (Vatican Apostolic Library)
Paola Besutti (Università degli Studi of Teramo)
José Jaime Brosel Gavilá (Spain National Church)
Antonio Caroccia (Conservatorio di Musica "Santa Cecilia" of Rome)
Teresa Chirico (Conservatorio di Musica "Santa Cecilia"of Rome)
Christine Jeanneret (Københavns Universitet)
Giancarlo Rostirolla (IBIMUS - Institute for Music Bibliography)

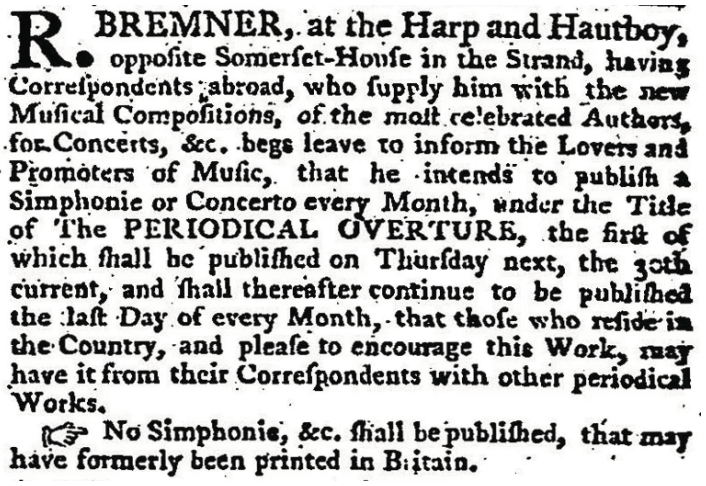
The Periodical Overtures in 8 Parts Published by Robert Bremner Edited by Barnaby Priest & Alyson McLamore

Alyson McLamore

In 1763, ensemble players in London must have been excited to read about a newly launched music series, the *Periodical Overtures in 8 Parts*. For the first time in Britain, orchestral music would be issued in a "symphony-of-the-month" format by Robert Bremner (c.1713–1789), who had adopted a publishing model that had been introduced in France only a few years earlier. The new series was an immediate success, and surviving copies of Bremner's prints can be found all over Europe and in the United States as well. A few items from the series have appeared in modern editions, but until recently, it has not been feasible for interested musicians to access the entire set of Bremner's sixty (or sixty-one) publications. Since March 2024, however, my colleague Barnaby Priest and I have been re-issuing this unusual series in performable editions, including full scores, and they are being published on a monthly basis by Musikproduktion Hoeflich.

Bremner's endeavor got underway at the end of June in 1763, when various London newspapers carried his announcement that—starting on the 30th of the month—he would be issuing a new "Simphonie or Concerto every Month" under the collective title "the Periodical Overtures." Bremner added his assurance that none of these works, by "the most celebrated Authors for Concerts," would have been "formerly printed in Britain." In most regards, Bremner delivered on his promises: the symphonic works that he issued were unfamiliar to British listeners; the twenty-eight composers represented in the series were generally well-regarded; and while the "monthly" pace began to lag after the initial twelve issues, Bremner sustained the enterprise on a less regular basis for twenty years.[1] In fact, by the end of 1783, he had issued sixty works—and, after Bremner's death in 1789, John Preston bought Bremner's plates, reissued the entire series (with a new title plate), and published a sixty-first overture. Eighteenth-century England had never witnessed a printed music series with such staying power.

The French model for Bremner's "periodical" format seems to have originated in 1760, starting with the Parisian publisher Louis Balthazard de La Chevardière (1730–1812). His *Recueil périodique en Simphonies* would eventually reach sixty-eight items by 1772.[2] When Charles Burney visited France in 1770, he noted in his journal that La Chevardière was "in correspondence with Bremner," but we do not know how long the two music sellers had been communicating, nor do we know the specific nature of their interactions.[3] La Chevardière's earliest competitors included Antoine Huberty (c.1722–1791), who advertised nine *Simphonies Periodiques* in 1762, and Jean Baptiste Venier (fl. 1755–1784), who



R. BREMNER, at the Harp and Hautboy, oppoſite Somerſet-Houſe in the Strand, having Correſpondents abroad, who ſupply him with the new Muſical Compoſitions, of the moſt celebrated Authors, for Concerts, &c. begs leave to inform the Lovers and Promoters of Muſic, that he intends to publiſh a Simphonie or Concerto every Month, under the Title of The PERIODICAL OVERTURE, the firſt of which ſhall be publiſhed on Thurſday next, the 30th current, and ſhall thereafter continue to be publiſhed the laſt Day of every Month, that thoſe who reſide in the Country, and pleaſe to encourage this Work, may have it from their Correſpondents with other periodical Works.

☞ No Simphonie, &c. ſhall be publiſhed, that may have formerly been printed in Britain.

Series announcement: The St. James's Chronicle; or, The British Evening-Post, Saturday, 25 June, to Tuesday, 28 June 1763, p. 2 (courtesy of the British Library Archives)

launched a *Sinfonies périodiques* series in 1763.[4] Another French publisher, Jean-Georges Sieber (1738–1822), entered the fray in 1772 with a *Sinfonie Periodique* series, and he would eventually issue eighty-eight works in all. His son Georges-Julien Sieber (1775–1847) was still advertising their firm's periodical symphonies at the start of the nineteenth century.[5] Another successful French series was launched by Jean-Jérôme Imbault (1753–1832) in the 1780s (when Bremner's efforts were winding down); Imbault went on to publish almost seventy *Sinfonie Periodique—Divers Instrumens*.[6]

In contrast to the myriad publications in Paris, Bremner's series was virtually unrivalled in Britain for over a decade, and none of the subsequent competitors' series seem to have achieved any longevity. John Johnston (fl. 1767–1778) issued a single *Periodical Overture in Eight Parts* around 1775, while John Bland (c.1750–c.1840) used the identical title for two symphonies *circa* 1780.[7] Approximately five years later, John Kerpen (fl. c.1782–1785) published a likely spurious "Haydn" symphony, with yet again the same *The Periodical Overture in Eight Parts* title.[8]

Although Bremner took the notion for his series from France, he made various modifications to the French formats, evidently with an eye to British taste. For example, he used the term "overture," widely employed in England as a synonym for "symphony"; the British convention persisted up to the nineteenth century. It is

1. David Wyn Jones, "Robert Bremner and *The Periodical Overture*," *Soundings* 7 (1978): 65–67.

2. Cari Johansson, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: Facsimiles* (AB Malmö Ljustrycksanstalt, 1955), Facsimiles 45, 50, and 56.

3. Charles Burney, *Music, Men and Manners in France and Italy 1770: Being the Journal Written by Charles Burney, Mus.D., during a Tour Through Those Countries Undertaken to Collect Material For a General History of Music*, ed. H. Edmund Poole (Eulenburg Books, 1974), 2–22.

4. Johansson, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues*, Facsimiles 25, 31, and 119.

5. Johansson, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues*, Facsimiles 103 and 117.

6. Johansson, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues*, Facsimile 39; Rita Benton, "Imbault, Jean-Jérôme," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 12: 87.

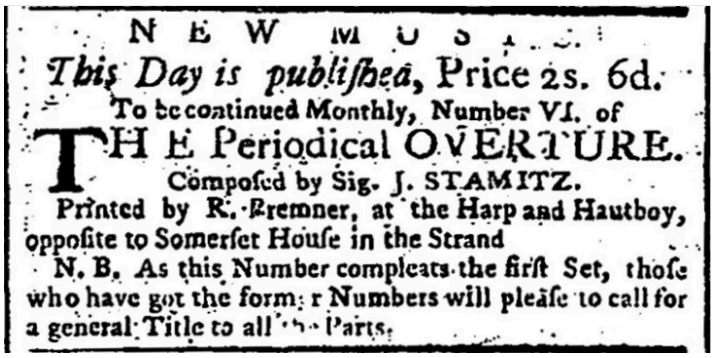
7. Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning Until the Middle of the 19th Century*, 2nd ed. (Barnes and Noble, 1970), 195; Frank Kidson, William C. Smith, and Peter Ward Jones, "Bland, John," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 3: 684.

8. Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 200.

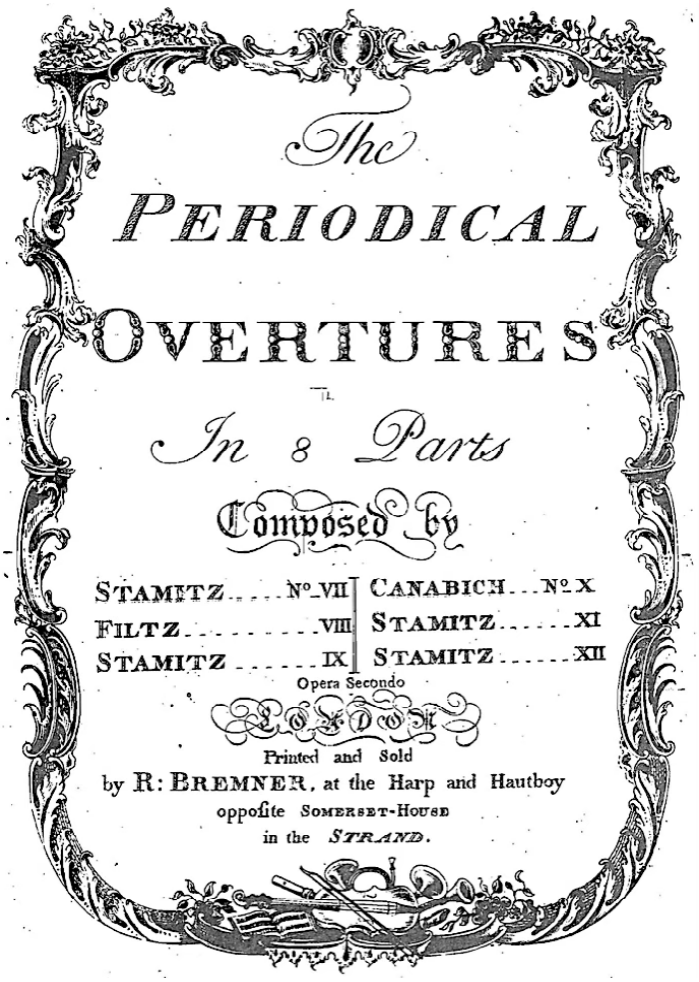
true that at least eleven of Bremner's *Periodical Overtures in 8 Parts* were actually taken from operas, but only some of the issues indicated their theatrical origins. The eight parts normally consisted of two oboes, two French horns, two violins, viola, and "basso," but many of the sets that survive in archives contain two copies of the basso part, since it was used by both violoncellos and double basses. Some of those basso parts contain cues for the cellos and even for bassoons. Moreover, *basso continuo* practice was consistently supported by Bremner's publication; he routinely added figured bass to compositions that lacked that notation. As the series continued, various overtures contained movements in which flutes or clarinets were substituted (or added), and parts for additional instruments appeared with greater frequency (although the "8 Parts" designation on the title page never wavered). Moreover, Bremner often omitted minuet-and-trio movements that had been included in contemporary European editions; this alteration may also have been calculated to please British customers.

Bremner was likely inspired by the Parisian Vernier for another publication practice. Vernier had issued a different (non-"periodical") line of orchestral music in groups of six, assigning each group an opus number.[9] When Bremner reached the sixth of his *Periodical Overtures* in December 1763, he added a note to its publication announcement: "N.B. As this Number compleats the first set, those who have got the former Numbers will please to call for a general title to all the Parts."[10] Although no copy of that general title page for "Opera 1" is known to survive, several collective titles do exist for later sets, such as the title sheet for "Opera Secondo." As David Wyn Jones notes, this packaging probably appealed to customers who were "conscientious collector[s]."[11] Bremner continued the practice with each subsequent group of six overtures, leading to ten volumes in all.

Twenty-eight composers are represented in Bremner's enterprise, which was a much more diverse array than those found in the various French series. Preston's subsequent sixty-first overture did not change the total, since it was a second symphony by Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, the composer of *Periodical Overture No. 38* as well. Nine of the composers—almost fifteen percent of the total—had been living in London when their issues in the series appeared, so it is probable that there was direct contact between the creators and Bremner in those cases.[12] The other eighty-five percent of the compositions had been imported, although it is not clear how Bremner came by the music. In addition to the correspondence with La Chevardière that Burney had noted, Bremner is known to have traveled to France and Holland at least once prior to 15 February 1773, returning with a "collection of Overtures."[13] Although piracy was rampant in Europe, there is evidence to suggest that Bremner was ethical in his dealings: in 1783, Carl Friedrich


NEW MUSIC.
This Day is publiſhed, Price 2s. 6d.
To be continued Monthly, Number VI. of
THE Periodical OVERTURE.
Compoſed by Sig. J. STAMITZ.
Printed by R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy, oppoſite to Somerſet Houſe in the Strand
N. B. As this Number compleats the firſt Set, thoſe who have got the former Numbers will pleaſe to call for a general Title to all the Parts.

Publication announcement: The Public Advertiser, 1 December 1763, p. 3 (courtesy of the British Library Archives)



"Opera Secondo" title page: British Library, R.M.16.f.16 (22/6.) (courtesy of the British Library Archives)

Cramer noted in the *Magazin der Musik* that Bremner was one of the London publishers who "paid well for the privilege" of engraving [Johann Christian] Bach's music.[14]

Over its twenty-year span, Bremner's series kept abreast of changing musical fashions. In the first half of the Periodical Overtures, music by Mannheim or Mannheim-influenced composers

9. Johansson, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues*, Facsimiles 118 and 119.

10. *The Public Advertiser*, 1 December 1763, 2.

11. Jones, "Robert Bremner and *The Periodical Overture*," 65.

12. The nine were Abel, Arne, Bach, the Earl of Kelly, Guglielmi, Herschel, Pugnani, Ricci, and Sacchini; see Jones, "Robert Bremner and *The Periodical Overture*," 66.

13. Jenny Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?: Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730–1799*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities, ed. by John Caldwell (Garland Publishing, 1996), 73.

14. Charles Sanford Terry, *John Christian Bach*, 2nd ed., ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (Oxford University Press, 1967), 79.

predominated, but gradually more works from Austria and from France began to appear.[15] This stylistic shift often required a greater number of instruments as well as the inclusion of a fourth movement; it certainly reflected the increasing ambition of orchestral ensembles. This influx of music from the continent had its detractors; Charles Avison, for instance, lamented the "innumerable Foreign overtures" that kept "pouring in."[16] Still, Bremner would not have sustained the publication for twenty years if it had not met with many eager purchasers. It definitely remained in their memories, well into the nineteenth century. A correspondent using the *nom de plume* "Senex" told *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* in 1826 that the overtures in Bremner's series had ushered in increased attention to wind instruments, which he believed had been "but little understood" by the preceding generation of symphonists. "Senex" also applauded the innovative *crescendo* and *diminuendo* passages that could be found in Stamitz's *Periodical Overture No. 11* as contributors to "the early progress … of the modern symphony."[17]

One result of Bremner's near-monopoly in Britain is that any reference to a "Periodical" overture in eighteenth-century concert programs almost certainly points to an item from his series. Bremner's *Periodical Overtures* are found in the records of the Edinburgh Musical Society in Scotland, which apparently owned the entire set.[18] In 1785, when the Moravians established a community in Fairfield, near Manchester, England, their library held copies of sixteen symphonies from Bremner's series.[19] Across the Atlantic, the *Periodical Overtures* were featured on various occasions, among them concerts in New York in 1770 and in Boston in 1771 and 1772.[20] In subsequent years, several issues were arranged for keyboard, reflecting the *Periodical Overtures*' persistent popularity as well as the increasing number of keyboard instruments in private homes.

Our objective in our *Periodical Overtures* for Musikproduktion Hoeflich's "Repertoire Explorer" series is to make all the issues of Bremner's unusual series easily accessible and affordable. We have created scores to facilitate rehearsal and performance, yet to preserve the authenticity of Bremner's original prints, our editing of the scores and parts has been with a light touch. Copyist errors have been corrected and notation has been standardized to meet modern conventions. We have added bar numbers, rehearsal letters, and instrumental cues, and we have provided horn parts in F as well as in the original key. Each score includes a short background and analytical essay along with a summary of the editorial approaches and changes. By making the *Periodical Overtures* more readily accessible, we hope to enrich the repertoire available to chamber orchestras, giving them and their audiences ready access to a delightful but little-known music series.

Link To Recordings
Link To Website

15. Jones, "Robert Bremner and *The Periodical Overture*," 66-67.

16. Charles Avison, "Advertisement," *Six Sonatas for Harpsichord. With Accompanyments For two Violins and a Violoncello* (R. Johnson, 1761), 1.

17. Senex, "To the Editor," *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 8, no. 31 (July 1826): 304–305.

18. Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?*, 72.

19. Karl Kroeger, "An Unknown Collection of Eighteenth-Century Instrumental Music," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 35, no. 4 (October–December 1988): 276, 280.

20. O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731–1800)* (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 170, 273; Harold Gleason and Warren Becker, *Early American Music: Music in America from 1620 to 1920*, 2nd ed. (Frangipani Press, 1981), 25; Charles Hamm, *Music in the New World* (W. W. Norton, 1983), 84–85.

Producing Haydn's *Orfeo*: The Story Behind the North American Stage Premiere

Caryl Clark

Had I not met Dorian Bandy, it's quite likely that my dream of staging Haydn's *Orfeo* might never have come true. In summer of 2019 I reached out to Dorian, newly hired at The Schulich School of Music, McGill University, to welcome him to Canada. We met in person at the AMS meeting in Boston that fall and talked about our many shared experiences at Cornell and our mutual love of eighteenth-century opera. When I mentioned my interest in staging *Orfeo*, Dorian's eyes lit up as he informed me that he is never happier than when conducting period performances from the keyboard. Smiling mischievously, he told me that together we could, and would, undertake this project together. Surprised by his frankness, I felt compelled to believe him. The pandemic derailed our plans, but when I informed Dorian in spring 2022 that I was planning to retire the following June, we decided to act. We selected late May 2023 as our target date since classes would be over and we would have access to performing spaces and personnel. Together we would collaborate to stage *Orfeo* at the University of Toronto with Dorian serving as music director and me as producer—a role I knew little about but would soon figure out.

My musicological training had prepared me for researching and writing academic articles, publishing books, giving presentations at conferences, and organizing symposia and colloquia. But how to bring an opera to life on stage—that would require lots of advice and guidance from many different professionals. At the outset, we needed to find a creative and imaginative director, a risk-taker who could work with minimal funds yet offer advice on staffing and budget prep. My 'swansong' was going to require more help, ingenuity, and good luck than anything I had ever tackled before. Little could I have imagined the overwhelming support, goodwill, and generosity that would come our way.

My first step was to reach out to Ethan Heard at *Heartbeat Opera* in New York City. During the pandemic, I had watched online several of the innovative, scaled-down productions he had directed, and felt that the many reworkings of classical opera this company had realized for modern audiences matched my aims for Haydn's late opera. By coincidence, I learned that a family friend knew Ethan from graduate school at Yale and he instantly put me in touch with him. Ethan's help and advice proved invaluable. He graciously recommended a few *Heartbeat Opera* apprentices, any of whom would welcome the opportunity to direct their first opera. In addition to a director, he advised me to include equal funding for the theatrical dimensions of the production as to the musical ones, i.e., hiring a stage manager and assistant, set and costume designers, and technical assistants for lighting, carpentry and wardrobe. I recall feeling slightly overwhelmed at the thought of raising sufficient resources to pull this off. I knew we needed to hire

a professional tenor to sing the challenging role of Orfeo, in addition to three advanced student singers for the roles of Euridice, Creonte, Genio, and SATB chorus members. But all these additional professionals and crew members—how much money were we talking about?

On Ethan's recommendation, I reached out to Nico Krell, a Uruguayan American and recent graduate of Princeton University who was teaching theatre studies there part-time while working in NYC. I still recall the amicable conversation we had during our initial Zoom meeting in September 2022. Flattered that Ethan had recommended him, Nico readily accepted the challenge; he was super keen to make his operatic directorial debut with an Orpheus opera that would be a North American stage premiere, and (for him) an international one at that! Not once did he raise the issue of compensation, only requesting that we cover his travel and accommodation costs. I promised him the guest room at my home but ultimately was able to arrange a room for him at Massey College, UofT's graduate college. What a lucky find this 27-year-old director turned out to be! He was a whiz when it came to calculating budgets on a sliding scale from basic to aspirational, and his advance preparations—both logistical and creative—were meticulous. From his initial site visit to Toronto in January 2023 to check out the stage equipment and technical staff at MacMillan Theatre, interview designers, and meet with the soloists to explain his concept and vision for the production, I knew we had a winner.

Already in January 2023, Dorian, Nico, and I had determined what text to trim from Badini's prolix libretto to bring the opera in under 2-hours, with one intermission between Acts 2 and 3. Nico then collated three versions of the libretto—one in Italian and two English translations (the printed libretto published by the Vienna-based Haydn Society in 1951, and the liner notes of the Pinchgut Opera 2012 recording)—indicating the poetic lines and passages we would be cutting.

Also in January, upon the recommendation of an assistant at the *Canadian Opera Company*, I contacted Astrid Jansen, an internationally renowned stage designer living in Toronto, to ask if she would be willing to get involved in this project. Finding herself at loose ends after contracts in Russia collapsed following the invasion of Ukraine, she proposed mentoring Abby Esteireiro, a recent graduate from UofT's theatre program, in designing sets and costumes for our production. We agreed to pay Abby double the honorarium Astrid would receive, a fee dependent upon the success of our fundraising endeavours. Within minutes of their first meeting with Nico, their ideas for an apocalyptic 'end of the world' production began to mesh. Since the budget for sets and costumes was limited to $2000, Abby and Astrid adopted an 'indie-style' philosophy: they purchased, cleaned, and altered clothing from Goodwill and Value Village; and constructed the set from whatever materials they could find behind stage. To realize Nico's vision of a dark, foreboding forest, they strung multiple strands of industrial lighting cable from the rafters of the stage to create a large tree trunk that dominated one side of the stage, and a stationary storage rack as the backdrop for Euridice's gravestone. Imagine how flummoxed the technical director of the theatre was when he observed the creative team utilizing long lighting cables in such an unorthodox fashion. "And they don't even want the lights to be plugged in," he exclaimed! Emphasizing the 'extinguishing of the Enlightenment,' their set resonated profoundly with Haydn's and Badini's tragic retelling of the Orpheus myth, in which the hero fails in his mission to rescue his beloved and all are ultimately washed away in a cataclysmic storm.

Procuring scores and parts for the singers, instrumentalists, conductor, director, and stage manager proved to be an easy task. Since Bärenreiter wanted to charge a hefty fee for renting performing materials, we searched further, and for half the cost, *HH Editions* in Oxford sold us a complete orchestral score (contents of this 2018 edition replicate the *JHW*) and a permit to print or download unlimited vocal and instrumental parts. When it came to selecting voice types for the lead roles, I consulted Russell Braun, a well-known Canadian bass-baritone who serves as special advisor and occasional conductor to the UofT opera program. I contacted three UofT soloists in December 2022: two DMA candidates in historical voice performance, Lindsay McIntyre and Maeve Palmer, sang the roles of Euridice and Genio respectively; and recent Opera Diploma graduate Parker Clements sang the role of Creonte. Asitha Tennekoon, a professional tenor of Sri-Lankan descent, agreed to sing the demanding role of Orfeo; his presence ably elevated the tone of the rehearsals, as did his experience as an equity seeking artist working with *Amplified Opera*. Since he is a member of Actor's Equity Union, I negotiated his fee with his agent and procured the necessary Dance/Opera/Theatre contract to permit his performance on stage in Toronto. These negotiations and legalities were new to me, and while time-consuming, they were essential to creating a 'safe space' for our rehearsal process run according to union regulations.

Prior to full-company rehearsals, my colleague, Ivars Taurins, director of the *Tafelmusik Chamber Choir*, volunteered to prepare the chorus. He selected each of the thirteen chorus members (5 S, 1 A and 2 CT, 3 T, and 3 B), ranging from undergraduate to doctoral students, rehearsing for twelve hours to ensure everyone would have their various choruses across the 5-act opera memorized by the time staging rehearsals commenced. Christopher Bagan, who teaches in our historical performance program and performs with *Opera Atelier*, accompanied these rehearsals. Electing to preserve the Faculty of Music fortepiano (a five-octave Walter copy c.1790) for the dress rehearsal and two performances, we employed digital keyboards tuned to A430 in the main rehearsal space and a classroom for individual and small ensemble performances, thereby replicating the orchestral tuning to help singers adjust their vocalizing.

Once the intensive two-week rehearsal process got underway (15–25 May 2023), Nico endeared himself to every cast and crew member with his amicable yet efficient demeanor, organizational prowess, abundant creativity, and wide-ranging theatrical and musical skills. He was especially gifted at working one-on-one with the lead singers to help them understand and shape their performances and characters, and similarly adept at enlisting chorus members in taking on roles as extras. Little did they know when they signed up to memorize approximately 25-minutes of choral music that they could also volunteer for other onstage roles, including depicting wild beasts in the forest or tentacles emanating from the Underworld guide's magical body. For more on this, see "Reassessing Haydn's *Orfeo* in the Theatre," *HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America*, 15 (2025): 1-22. (See full program in the appendix)

Full company rehearsals were held in the Gieger-Torel opera rehearsal room in the Music building accompanied by Dorian and Chris Bagan as rehearsal pianists. Nico worked closely with our

student stage manager from the professional training program at Toronto Metropolitan University, and her assistant, a former SM in Lagos Nigeria, worked alongside her to learn about norms and union rules in the Canadian context. The cast rehearsed one act per day for the first week and stumbled through the entire opera on the weekend (with Victoria Day on May 22 being our day off). During our intensive rehearsals, Dorian and I frequently paused to notice passages in Haydn's score that were reminiscent of Mozart. We were also frequently amazed at Nico's ability to tease out dramatic moments through a character's action or movement. The simple act of Euridice pulling a piece of silk through her toes represented the snake's venom traversing through her body. Indeed, the rehearsal process revealed many hidden gems in Haydn's dramatic writing!

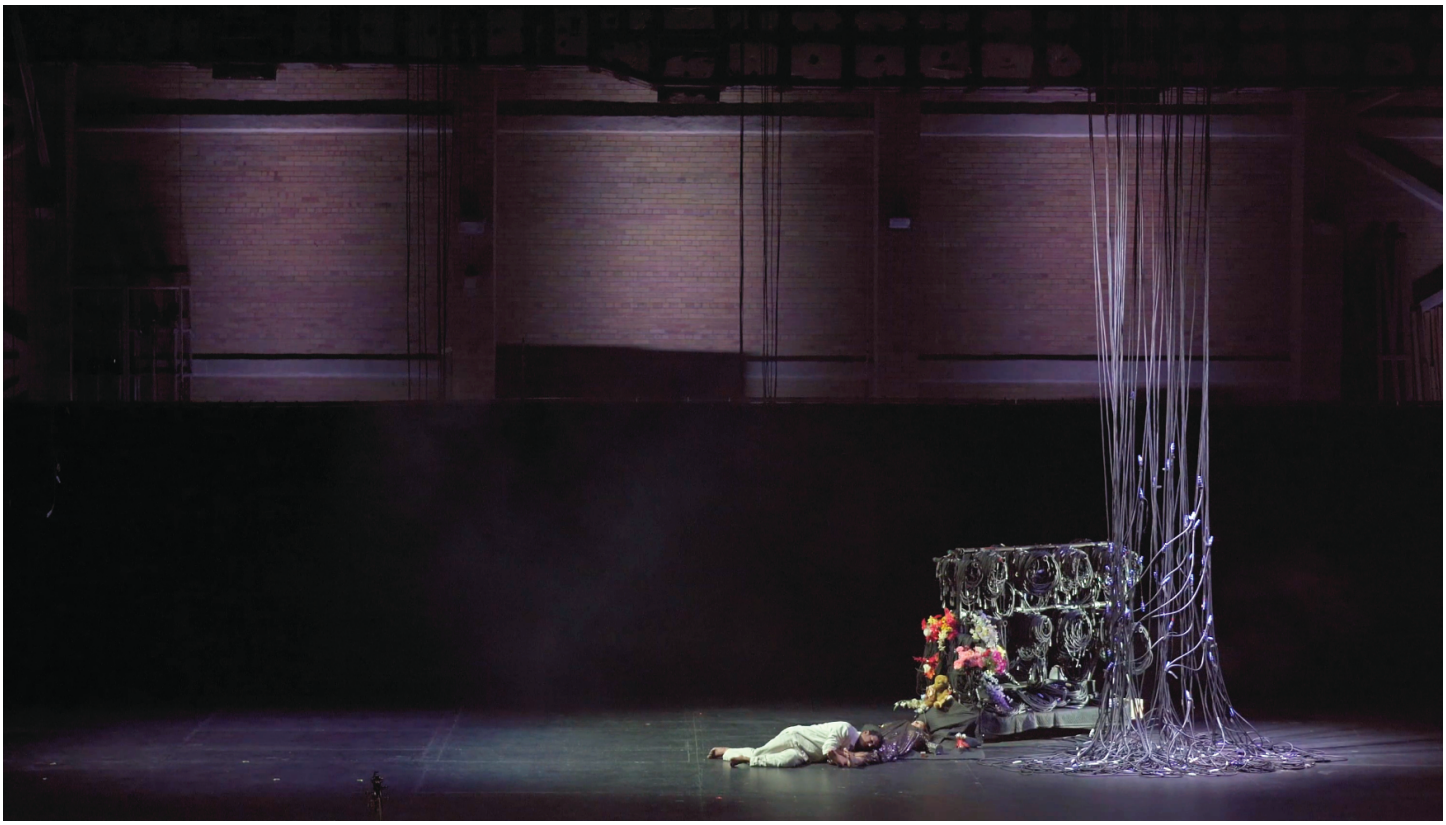
Fifteen members of the McGill Baroque Orchestra travelled by train to Toronto on May 23, their transportation and per diem funded by McGill. All were housed for five nights in residence rooms at nearby Trinity College. Three professionals filled out the ranks of the orchestra: the concert master from Montreal; and a trumpeter and a timpanist from Toronto. In several instances, Dorian transcribed passages written for instruments not in the orchestra to be played by other instrumentalists. For instance, he played the harp part on the fortepiano and rewrote the 'cor anglais' parts in Euridice's death scene for two violins. Lacking trombones, those parts were covered by a serpent, which added a menacing sound to the closing storm scene. We also added TB voices to the final SA chorus to enrich the sound. The dress rehearsal on the afternoon of Thursday May 25 was especially memorable for me since my fourth grandchild and namesake, Clark Francis, was born at the precise moment we were 'birthing' the opera on the main stage. The celebratory weekend continued with two 'free' performances with capacity audiences (550 each night) on Friday and Saturday May 26 & 27 (Memorial Day weekend).

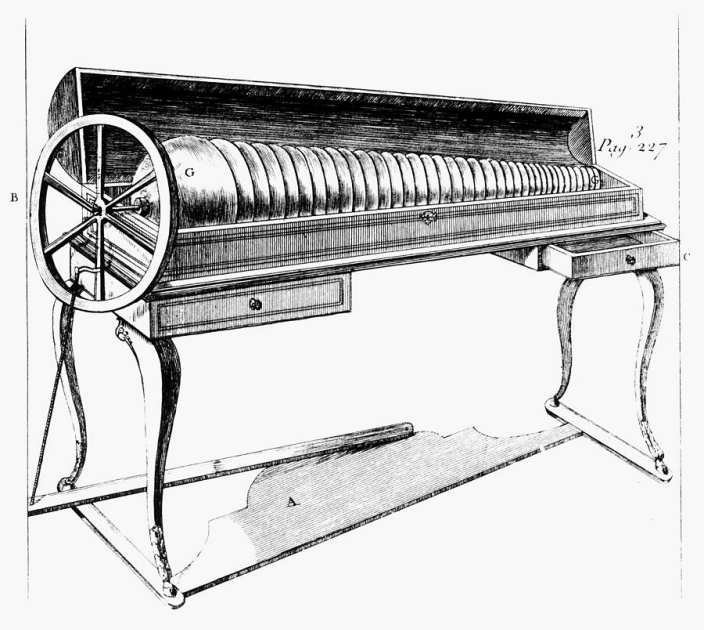
Initially I raised $32K from various sources within the university (including competitive grants from the Jackman Humanities Institute, Office of the Vice President International, the Humanities Initiative at the Munk School for International Affairs, and the Institute for Music in Canada) towards funding the production and symposium. Working with the Music Development Office, we received funds from many donors, ultimately exceeding our target of another $40K. I invited Emily Dolan (Brown University) and Deirdre Loughridge (Northeastern University) to give presentations contextualizing Haydn's *Orfeo* for audience members, followed by a roundtable with members of the cast and creative team. You can read about this symposium, "Labours of Love: Resurrecting Haydn's Orfeo," in a report prepared by three doctoral students who participated in the production, and view selections from the roundtable discussion here:

'Labours of Love,' Eighteenth-Century Music 21/1 (2024): 103-105.

Haydn Orfeo Creative Panel (selections from symposium, May 27, 2023)

I cannot imagine a more thrilling and humbling experience for me personally. The supportive, collaborative community of artists we assembled for this timely production of Haydn's *Orfeo* provided many mentoring opportunities and truly made this a memorable experience for everyone. Now to continue unpacking the opera.





Musicians of the Old Post Road

Two-time winner of the Noah Greenberg Award, Musicians of the Old Post Road is having an exciting and successful 36th season! Entitled *Flights of Fancy*, the season celebrates creativity from a broad array of musical minds in four programs that blend musical "rediscoveries" with beloved 18th-century works. From its exploration of incredible innovations of early and late Baroque German composers in *Risky Business*, to an 18th-century yuletide musical journey across the world in *Christmas Far and Wide*, to an immersive storytelling experience through narrative Baroque chamber works in *Tall Tales*, the ensemble has continued to honor its legacy of innovative programming.

On May 3 at 4pm (Museum of Worcester, MA) and May 4 at 4pm (Old South Church, Boston MA, and online), the season concludes with *Through the Listening Glass*, a program featuring chamber music for flute, strings, and the glass armonica. Invented by Benjamin Franklin in 1761, the instrument quickly gained popularity across Europe and America. Franklin was inspired by the "singing glasses" performances he witnessed during his own time in Europe, and created this unique instrument by arranging a series of glass bowls or discs on a rotating spindle. Each bowl was tuned to a specific pitch by varying the size and thickness of the glass and by applying pressure to the rims of the glasses with wet fingers, players create ethereal, haunting tones.

Many composers, including Mozart, Beethoven, and Richard Strauss, wrote pieces for the glass armonica. Mozart's *Adagio and Rondo for Glass Armonica* is perhaps one of the most famous works and will be featured in Musicians of the Old Post Road's *Through the Listening Glass* program.

After enjoying some popularity in the 18th and early 19th centuries, the glass armonica's use eventually declined. However, the instrument has recently experienced a resurgence in interest, with musicians and enthusiasts rediscovering the instrument and exploring its unique sound once more. Dennis James, who will be joining the Musicians of the Old Post Road for this program, is one such artist. His deep passion for rare historical instruments has revitalized interest in the glass armonica. Through his performances and recordings, he has introduced audiences to its fascinating story and its place in music history. As part of his specialization in performing on under-utilized historical instruments, he also performs on the theremin and the cristal.

In addition to Mozart's *Adagio and Rondo*, the ensemble will also be performing a sonata for glass armonica and cello by CPE Bach, exotic gems for glass armonica, flute, and strings by Reichardt and Naumann, and works by early American composers John Antes and Oliver Shaw. Please visit www.oldpostroad.org for more information.

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Français and Port-au-Prince.[4] (While the mechanisms of Clarchies's training are not entirely clear, the man who held him in bondage, a planter and Crown bureaucrat named Paul Jean-François Le Mercier de la Rivière, had familial ties to the musical infrastructure at Versailles.)[5] Performance listings and reviews from Saint-Domingue indicate that Clarchies was immensely gifted. In 1783, for example, he covered the concertino viola part in Jean-Baptiste Davaux's C-major *symphonie concertante* (from the opus 7), appearing alongside two white virtuosos from the metropole.[6] The passagework here is so difficult that the composer added a cautionary note in the score. Davaux writes that the work "was not fashioned for a typical violist," but should only be executed by a player adept at rapid, violin-style figuration.[7]

Clarchies's early musical career reflected the breadth of artistic transfer between France and the colonial Caribbean in the eighteenth century. In Saint-Domingue, the virtuoso was acknowledged as a representative of metropolitan concert culture by virtue of his French-influenced training and musical output. Yet more directly, Clarchies's experiences underscored the (voluntary and involuntary) mobility of French colonial subjects in the dawning revolutionary age. As he achieved renown as a concert soloist, Clarchies continued to serve La Rivière as a domestic valet; in this capacity, he accompanied his enslaver on several journeys across the Atlantic in the 1770s and 1780s.[8] In 1790, this move became

4. Julia Prest, *Public Theatre and the Enslaved People of Saint-Domingue* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 158–61.

5. *État nominative des pensions sur le Trésor Royal* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie Nationale, 1790), 2: 308.

6. Supplement to the *Affiches américaines*, July 12, 1783, 396.

7. "Cette partie n'est pas faite pour un Alto ordinaire; elle ne pourra être bien exécutée que par quelqu'un qui aura une grande habitude du Violon." Jean-Baptiste Davaux, *Deux symphonies concertantes, la première pour deux violons principaux et un alto viola- récitans … la seconde pour deux violons principaux*, oeuvre VII, (Paris: Bailleux, 1773).

8. On transatlantic travel in the 1780s, see Bardin et al., "Julien Clarchies," 3. With a previous enslaver, the ship captain Louis Frédéric Pichon de Premeslé, sieur de Trémondrie, Clarchies had traveled to Bordeaux between 1776 and 1778 (Archives Départementales de la Gironde, Bordeaux, 6 B 56, folio 88, May 30, 1778). The latter register is catalogued in Érick Noël, ed., *Dictionnaire des gens de couleur dans la France moderne*, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2017), 3: 608.

permanent.[9] In brief: amidst growing anti-slavery sentiment in the metropole, La Rivière traveled to Paris to lobby for the interests of the Saint-Domingue plantocracy.[10] Less than a year into this trip, La Rivière died—leaving Clarchies to definitively claim his liberty and rebuild his life in the French capital.[11] He became a citizen when the revolutionary government granted such rights to "every man, regardless of color" in the autumn of 1791.[12]

To establish himself within metropolitan France, Clarchies exploited the transatlantic networks of his former enslavers. The violinist seems to have gained a foothold in high society through his association with Beauharnais, who hired him to perform dance music at her personal salon sometime in the late 1790s. (Beauharnais's first husband, the politician Alexandre de Beauharnais, was connected to the La Rivière family through the colonial administration in Martinique.)[13] Clarchies likely left Saint-Domingue with fluency in accompanying social dances, for balls had been a major attraction at the theaters where he had once worked. But it is noteworthy that the genre became his exclusive focus only after he arrived in Paris. Here, I would suggest, Clarchies's new artistic vocation remained dependent upon Caribbean pre-conceptions of musical labor. In other words, Beauharnais employed Clarchies because he conformed (or so she believed) to a creolized stereotype of "African" musicianship.[14]

As French elites clamored to copy Beauharnais's example, this colonial prejudice was transplanted into the metropolitan musical psyche. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Clarchies had become a bona fide Parisian celebrity, making appearances at esteemed venues throughout the capital. A survey of Clarchies's documented appearances from a single social season—likely just a fraction of his total engagements—gives a sense of the breadth of his appeal. In February of 1802, Clarchies played for members of the reconsolidating, *ancien-régime* aristocracy at the "magnificent" salon of Adélaïde de La Briche.[15] That April, he entertained diplomats and their spouses at the home of the Russian statesman Nikolai Demidoff,[16] and groups of military officers at several *soirées* thrown by the French general Louis-Alexandre Berthier.[17] In June he traveled to Neuilly, the country château of Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand (Napoleon's foreign minister), to supply music for an assembly of European royals and governmental notables.[18] And after a brief summer hiatus, he could be found at the *fêtes* of the socialite Juliette Récamier, amidst a host of *nouveaux riches* that had built their fortunes in the Revolution's wake.[19]

Around this same time, the violinist reached broader, more socially mixed audiences by organizing public dances at the many Parisian pleasure gardens that had opened in the aftermath of the Terror. In short succession he appeared at the Elysée-Bourbon (the grounds of the future Elysée palace); the Hôtel Mercy and the Cercle des Victoires, adjacent to the Palais-Royal; the Hôtel de Longueville, near the Louvre; the Vauxhall d'Été, on the boulevard Saint-Martin; the Petit Hôtel Montmorency and Théâtre Molière, in the Marais; and the Tivoli gardens, in the Chaussée d'Antin, among other sites.[20] While there were numerous artists fulfilling the appetite for French social dancing under the Directory and Consulate, it is clear that Clarchies reigned supreme within this crowded field. In his dispatches from Paris, the Austrian diplomat Charles de Clary-et-Aldringen described the situation matter-of-factly: "in order for a ball to be truly fashionable, it must showcase Julien."[21]

As Clarchies's musical engagements proliferated, he remained loyal to his most famous supporter; the violinist followed Beauharnais to the imperial court upon her husband's accession as Emperor in 1804. In the early years of the Napoleonic Empire, Clarchies programmed small-scale dances for his patron, a continuation of his role at her private salon.[22] As in his freelance career, however, the virtuoso's duties were rapidly expanded, a reflection of both his well-earned reputation and Beauharnais's considerable in-

9. Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, COL F5/B/17, 198 ("Liste des passagers & autres qui ont été débarqués en ce Port [Bordeaux], venant des Colonies, pendant le mois de Novembre [1790] sur les Navires ci-après désignés"). The logistics of this journey are also described in Bardin et al., "Julien Clarchies," 5.

10. La Rivière's correspondence is transcribed in Philippe Haudrère, "Les tribulations de Paul Jean-François Le Mercier de la Rivière, ancien ordonnateur de la Marine, devenu habitant de Saint-Domingue, 1787–1791," in *L'esclave et les plantations de l'établissement de la servitude à son abolition*, ed. Philippe Hrodëj (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009), 187–208.

11. "Sépulture de Mr. Paul Jean François le Mercier de la Rivière," July 9, 1791. Archives départementales des Hauts-de-Seine, Registres paroissiaux (Boulogne [paroisse Notre Dame], E_NUM_BOU_BMS_35 - 1790–1792); Bardin et al., "Julien Clarchies," 5. A more complete account of the circumstances of Clarchies's manumission is included in my in-progress monograph on transatlantic musical networks (forthcoming from the University of Chicago Press).

12. Pierre H. Boulle and Sue Peabody, eds., *Le droit des noirs en France au temps de l'esclavage: Textes choisis et commentés* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014), 138–155.

13. On the relationship between the Beauharnais and La Rivière families, see Pernille *Røge, Economistes and the Reinvention of Empire: France in the Americas and Africa, c. 1750–1802* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 105–152.

14. Julie Duprat, "D'esclaves à danseurs sous l'Ancien Régime," *Noire metropole*.

15. Maurice Dupin de Francueil to Marie-Aurore du Saxe, letter of 24 pluviôse an X, in George Sand, *Histoire de ma vie* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1856), 3: 99.

16. Mary Berry, *Extracts from the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the Year 1783 to 1852*, ed. Lady Theresa Lewis, 2nd edition (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1866), 2: 174.

17. Paul Thiébault, *Mémoires du Général Bon. Thiébault* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1894), 3: 271.

18. J. de Norvins, *Souvenirs d'un historien de Napoléon* (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1896), 2: 288.

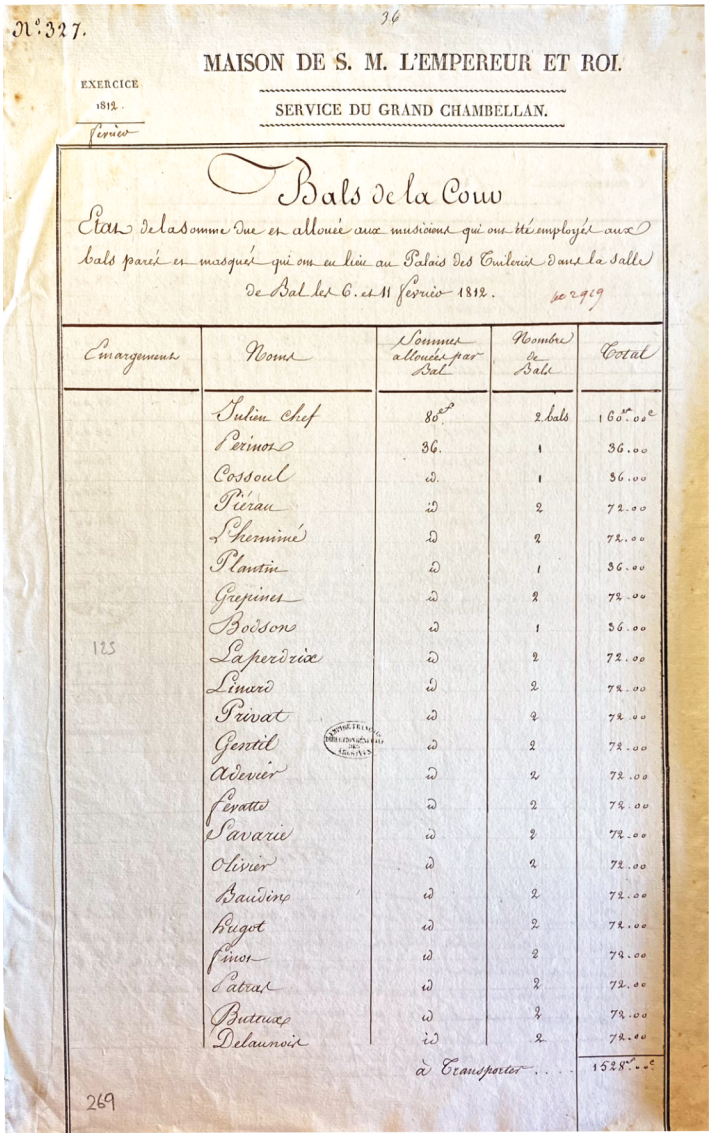
19. A. Laquiante, *Un hiver à Paris sous le Consulat, 1802–1803, d'après les lettres de J.-F. Reichardt* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1896), 100–101.

20. Berry, *Extracts from the Journals and Correspondence*, 2: 178; *Journal de Paris*, 24 nîvose an IX, 694; *Journal de Paris*, 7 ventôse an 9, 950; *Journal de Paris*, 23 frimaire an IX, 506; *Journal des débats*, 14 brumaire an X, 2; *Journal des débats*, 17 frimaire an XII, 2; *Journal de Paris*, 24 pluviôse an IX, 872.

21. "Pour qu'un bal soit fashionable, il faut y avoir Julien." Charles de Clary-et-Aldringen, *Souvenirs du Prince Charles de Clary-et-Aldringen: Trois mois à Paris lors du marriage de l'empereur Napoléon I et l'archiduchesse Marie-Louise* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1914), 233.

22. Frédéric Masson, *Joséphine: Empress and Queen*, trans. Cashel Hoey (New York: Goupil & Co., 1899), 187.

fluence. By 1806 Clarchies was granted the title of *chef d'orchestre des bals de la cour*. From this point onward, he would become an increasingly important figure within an intensifying program of ceremonial spectacles, commanding an ensemble of up to three dozen players (Figure 2).[23]



N°. 327. 36

MAISON DE S. M. L'EMPEREUR ET ROI.

EXERCICE 1812.

SERVICE DU GRAND CHAMBELLAN.

Février

Bals de la Cour

Etat de la somme due en allouée aux musiciens qui ont été employés aux bals paré et masqué qui ont eu lieu au Palais des Tuileries dans la salle de Bal les 6. et 11 Février 1812.

Emargemens	Noms	Sommes allouées par Bal	Nombre de Bals	Total
	Julien chef	80f	2 bals	160f.00c
	Périnet	36.	1	36.00
	Cossoul	id.	1	36.00
	Piéran	id	2	72.00
	Scheminé	id	2	72.00
	Plantin	id	1	36.00
	Grepinet	id	2	72.00
	Boisson	id	1	36.00
125	Laperdrix	id	2	72.00
	Linard	id	2	72.00
	Privat	id	2	72.00
	Gentil	id	2	72.00
	Adevier	id	2	72.00
	Feratte	id	2	72.00
	Savarie	id	2	72.00
	Olivier	id	2	72.00
	Baudin	id	2	72.00
	Bugot	id	2	72.00
	Finot	id	2	72.00
	Catral	id	2	72.00
	Buteux	id	2	72.00
	Delaunoir	id	2	72.00
		à Transporter		1528f.00c

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Figure 2. Payment record for Clarchies's orchestra, assembled for balls at the Tuileries palace in celebration of Mardi gras (February, 1812). AN, O/2/39, no. 327

Far from simple diversions, the balls hosted by the imperial family formed a critical component of the regime's ideological self-fashioning. This strategy was apparent from the first of the state dances in which Clarchies was featured: the *fêtes* celebrating the marriage of Napoleon's adopted daughter, Stéphanie de Beauharnais, to Charles-Louis-Frédéric, Crown prince of Baden, in the spring of 1806. These entertainments opened with a concert in the gardens of the Tuileries palace, featuring both topical instrumental works (i.e., a pictorial symphony on the victory at Austerlitz) and operatic choruses reworked to reference the heroic deeds of the Emperor.[24] While this program was amply elaborate, it served as a mere prelude to the evening's main attraction: the balls organized by Clarchies. More than two thousand specially selected guests were allowed to enter the palace from the gardens; here, they bore witness to a pair of *quadrilles d'honneur*—formal dances for the women of the court—before being invited to join in wider revelry.[25] As Cornelis Vanistendael has argued, the politics of Napoleon's court dances were overt enough to qualify these festivities as "propaganda quadrilles," activities whose choreographed discipline mirrored the "well-ordered society [the Emperor] had shaped."[26]

The registers of the *Maison de l'Empereur* confirm Clarchies's direction of more than a dozen balls of this magnitude between 1806 and 1813—making him one of the most prominent musical artists in Napoleon's employ. Indeed, one could argue that the violinist's contributions were more influential than those of his better known contemporaries (including Rodolphe Kreutzer, the leader of the imperial chapel-orchestra, or Pierre Gardel and Jean-Étienne Despréaux, famed court choreographers), for the manner they resonated beyond "official" sites of government power. Clarchies published extensively after his court appointment, marketing his collections through their link to state-sanctioned sociability.[27] These dances made copious allusions to the people, places, and events of the imperial reign: "La Caroline" and "La Paulina" (for the Emperor's sisters); "La Westphaline" (for the state ruled by his brother, Jérôme); "La Tilsit" (after the treaty ceding territory from Russia and Prussia), and so on. In essence, to purchase and perform Clarchies's music was to import Napoleonic court fashion into the domestic sphere. As one statesman noted, with only modest hyperbole, the violinist composed "the *quadrilles* that made all of France dance."[28]

* * *

The circumstances in which Clarchies found himself at the end of his life—at the heart of the glittering Napoleonic court, near the

23. Documentation of Clarchies's court appearances can be found in the sous-séries O/2 of the French national archives ("Intendance générale de la Maison de l'Empereur"), and especially the accounts and correspondence of the Grand Chambellan (AN, O/2/25–O/2/65[b]). Manuscript scores corresponding to these events are held in a partially uncatalogued collection in the music department of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (F-Pn, "Divertissements de l'Empereur," D-18086–D-18211). I am grateful to Annelies Andries for her expertise in the navigation of these collections.

24. AN, O/2/203, "Programme du concert pour la Fête du 20 Avril (Conservatoire impériale de musique, 1806)." This program is also briefly discussed in Gabriel Vauthier, "Un concert aux Tuileries le 20 Avril 1806," *Revue historique de la Révolution française* 12, no. 32 (1917): 325–327.

25. *Journal de l'Empire*, April 20, 1806; www.napoleon.org.

26. Cornelis Vanistendael, "La ville et la Cour se Mélèrent—Napoleon's Propaganda Quadrilles (1793–1813)," *Dance Research* 40.2 (2022): 189–190.

27. See, for example, Louis Julien Clarchies, *20e Recueil des contre-dances et walzes* (Paris: Frère, s.d.).

28. "Julien, surtout, qui dirigeait les bals de madame Bonaparte, composait alors les quadrilles qui faisaient danser toute la France." Henri Marie Ghislain de Mérode, *Souvenirs du comte de Mérode-Westerloo* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1864), 1: 134.

height of its global influence—are so divergent from those that marked its beginnings as to strain narrative credibility. In many respects, this career trajectory represented a success of the revolutionary decade and the social changes it had wrought. The violinist worked tirelessly to improve his position, displaying a well-founded artistic talent and a wide-ranging entrepreneurial ambition as he gained esteem in venues across the capital. The title pages of his publications asserted this authority with justified conviction—proclaiming his identity as an "American," professor of music, and member of the imperial retinue (Figure 3). These collections would also ensure their author's canonic status for subsequent generations of French dance composers: Clarchies's pieces were rearranged and re-printed into the 1880s, some sixty years after his death.[29]

Even amidst this remarkable record of achievements, however, the Parisian reception of Clarchies's performances should not be interpreted as an uncomplicated triumph. The musician's experiences, on the whole, reflected the liminal status of African-descended people in revolutionary and Napoleonic France, and the tangible ways that colonial biases remained entrenched in the metropolitan imagination. Virtually no reports of the violinist's dance accompaniments, even those filled with lavish praises, leave Clarchies's race unmentioned, eliding a musical "service" role with an inherent condition of servitude. One noblewoman—recounting how Clarchies pretended to fall asleep at his instrument to mark the close of a ball—concluded that he was a "burlesque figure," less a "real" violinist than a diverting fiddler.[30] This *salonnière* was willing to grant Clarchies a degree of cultural capital, but only so long as he adhered to her limited (and inaccurate) assumptions about the nature of his capabilities. Nor was Clarchies granted the same institutional prestige as the other stars of the Napoleonic musical establishment. The virtuoso's court salary placed him in the pay bracket of a section instrumentalist in the imperial-chapel orchestra, far below the remuneration given to other ensemble leaders and soloists of similar renown.[31]

Rebecca Geoffroy-Schwinden has argued that the professionalization of musicianship in revolutionary France granted creative agency to many artists while simultaneously consolidating structures of exclusion. As performance and composition became more rigidly institutionalized, they were also increasingly "gendered

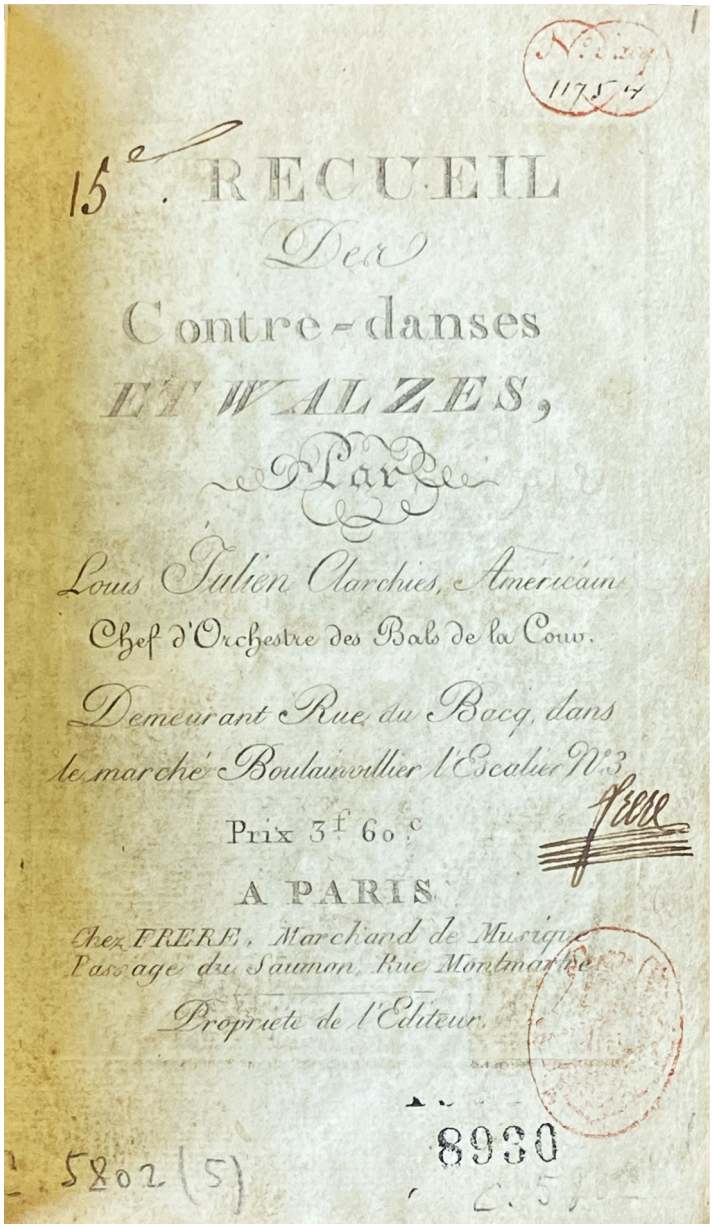

Figure 3. Louis Julien Clarchies, 15e Recueil des contre-danses et walzes (Paris: Frère, after 1806). Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, Paris, C-5802 (5)

(male) and raced (white)."[32] Clarchies may never have aspired to appear on a Parisian concert stage. His virtuoso showcases in Saint-Domingue were undertaken only under coercion, and his turn to dance was an astute and lucrative response to evolving market trends. Yet the abrupt and definitive nature of his career shift seems significant. It might equally hold truth, in other words, that the violinist was left behind in the sweeping transition "from servant to savant"—a cautionary counter-example to narratives of artistic freedom in the emerging Romantic age.

29. Henri Bohlman, "La Gaîté, *quadrille dansant sur des motifs de Julien Clarchies*, arrangé pour piano avec acct. ad. lib. de violon, flute, flageolet ou cornet à pistons" (Paris: Auguste Sauzeau, 1841), F-Pn, Vm[12]e-602; Jules Jacob, *Collier de perles: Collection de 200 motifs choisis d'une exécution facile et brillante … sur des mélodies et airs variés célèbres, valses, polkas, mazurkas, marches, airs d'opéras, quadrilles etc.* (Paris: L. Évreillard, 1883), F-Pn, Vm[29]-553.

30. Laure Junot, duchesse d'Abrantès, *Mémoires de Madame la duchesse d'Abrantès, ou Souvenirs historiques sur Napoléon, la Révolution, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire, et la Restauration* (Paris: Chez Mame-Delaunay, 1833), 11: 221–22.

31. Receipts in AN, O/2/33, for example, show a payment of 165 *francs* to Clarchies for "playing a ball at Malmaison on the day of the fête for her majesty the Empress." The same registers record payments of 1200 *francs* to the violinist Pierre Rode for a concert; and 2000 *francs* to the singer Augustine-Albert Himm for an operatic performance and related rehearsals.

32. Rebecca Dowd Geoffroy-Schwinden, *From Servant to Savant: Musical Privilege, Property, and the French Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 7.