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THE MOTETS OF LUIGI CHERUBINI.

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THE MOTETS OF LUIGI CHERUBINI

by
Maurice Lynn White

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Robert A. Warner, Chairman
Professor Millard H. Cates
Professor Edward Chudacoff
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A B S T R A C T

THE MOTETS OF LUIGI CHERUBINI

by

Maurice Lynn White

Chairman: Robert A. Warner

Political struggles, rising secular idealism, and technical advancements contributed to a decline in the influence of Catholic church music in early nineteenth-century Europe. In France, however, the restoration of monarchy revived the institution of the Chapelle royale, which traditionally included the body of musicians attached to the court for religious and ceremonial observances. Here were spent the later years of the highly respected musician Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842). The Florentine-born composer had contributed to the musical life of Italy, England, France, and Austria, prior to his appointment to the Bourbon kings.

Although the operas of Cherubini are widely known and his Masses are occasionally cited for their contrapuntal style, his Latin motets have been less noted, although they occupied a significant position in the music of the Chapelle royale. In the present study, the motets of Cherubini are defined as settings of texts employed in the Roman Church, independently presented from the liturgy although often drawn from it. These works, examined in historical context, contain many limitations from the standpoint of both artistry and liturgical appropriateness. Specific restraint was observed by the

composer against the employment of textual paraphrase, dramatic characterization, or programmatic devices. Through a wide application of formal skills, Cherubini achieved in his later motets a share of the stylistic propriety of larger forms of music.

The bio-bibliographical information contained in the first two chapters of the present study stresses Cherubini's background in sacred music and collates diverse literary sources. The analyses are focused upon the structural style of the motets according to performing media. A brief essay contains an examination of some of the relationships between the motets and dominant tendencies in French church music. A thematic index is presented for its value in future Cherubini research, collated according to the limitations of the term motet as defined in the preceding chapters. A second appendix contains musical examples which illustrate the general style and artistic merit of the motets.

Among the various musical structures in Cherubini's motets, the cyclic arrangement stands as the most striking characteristic. This is linked to the contemporaneous performance practices, since the duration of the music could not exceed that of the spoken liturgy and was consequently limited to less than thirty minutes. Successive items from Propers of the Mass were employed in Cherubini's larger motets, although there exists no complete cycle for a single feast.

The twenty-two extant motets are about equally divided between solos, choruses, and arrangements which include both media. All are provided with accompaniment, ranging from organ to full orchestra. The duration of the works varies from two to eighteen minutes. Florid melodies are typical in the solo motets, although they are employed to ornament the vocal line rather than to produce dramatic effects.

Choral writing in the later settings is animated by motivic and contrapuntal techniques. The harmonizations of Cherubini's themes and motives are essentially centered around major and minor key structures, colored by secondary dominants and other altered chords or occasionally by distant modulations. Cherubini's skill in expressive treatment of the text is revealed in his range of dynamic treatment, from hushed unisons to bright, jubilant choruses.

Cherubini's motets were well adapted to the aristocratic Chapelle. Although they probably influenced the music of Berlioz, Gounod, and Liszt through Cherubini's colleagues and pupils, the works were not imitated, but remained for future generations as expressions of a brilliant and volatile era. The abrupt conclusion of their production due to the July revolution occurred at a time when the composer had begun to attain a symphonic unity and stylistic order in his motets.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer holds deep appreciation for the suggestions of his advisory committee, especially for the assistance of the chairman, Professor Robert A. Warner. Each member has offered his generous co-operation in examining the study material and text, Professor Glen E. Watkins in musicology, Professor Edward Chudacoff in music theory, Professor Robert M. Warner in history, and Professor Millard H. Cates in matters concerning vocal music. A former chairman of the Theory Department of the University of Michigan School of Music, Professor John A. Lowell, lent his valuable consultation in forming the method of music analysis employed in Chapter Four.

A significant wellspring of sources was available for the study in the Music Library of the University of Michigan School of Music. Mr. Wallace S. Bjorke, Head Music Librarian, made accessible special reference materials and, along with Miss Mary Rollman, Reference Librarian at the University of Michigan Library, assisted in securing permission for the writer to obtain microfilm of limited editions and manuscripts. The staff of the Reference Department also helped resolve bibliographical ambiguities which had been quoted for nearly a century in Cherubini listings.

Resources of other libraries were indispensible in collating information for the present essay. Courteous services were performed by Mr. Rodney Mill and other staff members of the Library of Congress; by Mr. Donald W. Krummel, Associate Librarian of the Newberry Library,

and by the photoduplication staff of the same library; by the staff of the Boston Public Library and of its Allen A. Brown Music Collection, which holds many Cherubini editions; by the staff of the University of Detroit Library, who made available church documents in French political and cultural history; and by the Executive Committee of the Detroit Public Library, which granted the writer working facilities for background research.

Heads of music departments in European libraries generously provided catalogue and finding services as well as co-operation in photoduplication of their holdings. Particular acknowledgment is due the staff of the Oeffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Berlin (DDR), the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. The officials of France's Bibliothèque Nationale and Bibliothèque de l'Opéra lent their permission for use of collections housed in their archives. The writer is also indebted to the following institutions: The British Museum, the Biblioteca del Conservatorio "Luigi Cherubini" in Florence, the Biblioteca del Conservatorio of Milan, and the Biblioteca nazionale Marciana of Venice. Up-to-date location of manuscripts was made possible through the careful help of Toso Mirco, Reference Librarian at the Venetian library.

A generous provision of funds by the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies made possible the necessary travel to reference libraries.

Encouragement to pursue the present study has been warmly extended by two scholars in the music of the epoch, Associate Professor Martin M. Herman of Monteith College, Wayne State University, and Professor Margery S. Selden of North Central University.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the distinguished contributions of the late Professor Hans T. David, a former teacher who inspired the writer in his earliest interest in Cherubini's sacred music.

Finally, these chapters are dedicated to the unflagging personal support and perseverance of my wife and children.

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INTRODUCTION

A basic enigma arose in the development of Catholic church music after the Enlightenment. A number of respected composers had adapted their Masses and motets to the formal principles of opera, oratorio, and symphony, thus extending to these works a share of the architectural perfection and propriety of their secular music. The same musicians, however, had contributed to a movement away from the liturgic aspects of the settings, a factor which continued to irritate the church throughout the nineteenth century. In the epoch, one composer whose activities spanned more than half a century in the musical revolution was Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842), a veritable chef d'école in the transformation. His efforts altered the course of both opera and sacred music in France, the country in which he lived most of his life as a naturalized citizen. Not only were his compositions performed throughout the long span of his career, but he extended many significant musical ideas through his travels as a conductor, through his teaching, and through his influence upon his colleagues.

Among Cherubini's sacred works, only certain of his Masses and his two Requiems have been widely performed in centers of musical culture. These compositions have been properly associated with the post-classical Catholic music of Beethoven and Schubert. In the tradition of the French Chapelle royale, however, where Cherubini produced many of his most distinguished sacred works, the motet occupied a place of

importance nearly equal to that of the Mass. After its emergence as an independent form of composition from the early clausulae, the classification had become identified with various national styles of vocal music, with an equally varied history of accompaniment or a cappella performance. By Cherubini's time, however, even its later characteristics had become indistinct, as expressed in the Dictionnaire of J. J. Rousseau:[1]

> Aujourd'hui motet s'entend de toute pièce de musique faite sur des paroles latine à l'usage de l'église, comme psaumes, hymnes, antiennes, répons, etc.; et tout cela s'appelle en générale musique latine.
>
> Nowadays, the term motet designates any musical setting of Latin words employed by the church, such as Psalms, hymns, antiphons, responses, etc., and all that is generally called Latin music.

In his study of the motet, Hugo Leichentritt classified Cherubini and the Belgian Gossec as "exceptions" among those composers of the early nineteenth century to whom the genre bore little significance.[2] In Cherubini's youth, the motets performed in the churches of his native Florence had contained Neopolitan operatic styles, stile antico, and at the same time powerful symphonic counterpoint. All of these elements were reflected later in Cherubini's sacred works for the French Chapelle royale. Generally, the motets of that institution could be defined as vocal settings of texts employed in the Roman Church, works independent

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[1] See the entry on the motet in Jean Jacques Rousseau, Dictionnaire de musique par J. J. Rousseau (Paris: Chez la veuve Duchesne, 1768), p.302.

[2] Hugo Leichentritt's Geschichte der Motette (1908), excerpts in John Eugene Seaich, "Leichentritt's 'History of the Motet:' A Study and Translation (Chapters 7-15)" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1958), p.297.

from but often in agreement with the liturgy and musically identified with a serious concert atmosphere. Additional restrictions which Cherubini observed revealed his study of Renaissance and baroque composers. Extremes of styles such as dramatic characterizations, paraphrase, and straightforward hymn-settings were not included in his motets.

Existing sources of information on the Bourbon Chapelle royale have left several lacunae to be filled, including a detailed account of the styles employed by Cherubini in his motets. As subjects of study, these works are more varied in treatment than his Masses, which have long been renowned for their skillful counterpoint and orchestral setting. The present dissertation is an outline of the motets, discussed in historical context, and classified according to their vocal media and stylistic characteristics. Sources on the composer and his influence are documented, as revealed in the Table of Contents, ranging from contemporaneous criticism to the most recent studies. The term eclectic is employed in the biography to indicate the intentional unbalance which stresses episodes in Cherubini's life relevant to the present topic. The chapter on analysis is organized by media rather than chronology, and finally, the motets are discussed in relation to Catholic church music in general and in terms of their intrinsic value as a sizeable body of largely unstudied sacred works.

The collation of musical sources presented in Appendix A should be of value to Cherubini scholars. Although not all editions are listed, available relevant sources are presented, including early printings and locations of autograph manuscripts.

Appendix B includes representative movements selected from the motets according to historical interest, style, and general musical distinction. No judgments of these works as music for present-day audiences enter the discussion, since no concert hall or church adequately duplicates the unique atmosphere of the French chapel as it stood at the end of its tradition. The music was expressly created for the fading glories of the Bourbon monarchy, which looked to the splendor of the past, to the vanishing aristocratic social order, and to the intellectual thought of the Enlightenment. What is available to present scholarship is a corpus of works which was created for its peculiar milieu, music principally composed for and heard by those who were present at the ceremonies of the royal court, and at the same time a group of compositions which suffered from succeeding developments in church and concert traditions.

CHAPTER I

A CRITIQUE OF CHERUBINI STUDIES

Early Notices (1782-1824)

Opera Reviews

Sources of information about the enigmatic life and development of Luigi Cherubini have emerged from all centers of musical culture, particularly from Italy, where he began his composition of music, and from the other European cities which knew his music after he achieved prominence in the musical arts of France. Cherubini's first opera, Il Quinto Fabio, performed at Alessandria (Piedmont) in 1780, drew brief notices in Italian journals. Critical articles did not appear until after his Messenzio (1782) and Adriano in Siria (1783).[1] Prior to the notices, Cherubini was mentioned briefly in publications as the favorite pupil of Giuseppi Sarti, the composer whose influence led to Cherubini's introduction into Italian and foreign operatic circles.

A brief account of Cherubini's first appearances at the Haymarket Theatre of London is contained in Burney's General History of Music, after the eminent writer observed the young Florentine

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[1]See the Italian criticisms listed in the symposium of studies, Accademia nazionale "Luigi Cherubini" di musica, lettere e arti figurative, Luigi Cherubini nel II centenario della nascita (Florence: L. A. Olschki, 1962).

musician.[1] After two seasons during which Cherubini's name appears only in the records of the English Philharmonic Society (as a conductor and occasional composer of intermezzi), he received little or no mention until after his establishment in French opera in 1788.[2] Accounts written in Paris were of greater interest to the editors of the Leipzig journal, Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung. Notices on Cherubini frequently filled the pages of "Nachrichten" from Paris, which were published by Johann F. Rochlitz and anonymous contributors, including E. T. A. Hoffman, J. F. Reichardt, and Ignaz Ferdinand Arnold.[3]

Cherubini Sources from the French Revolution and Empire

Cherubini's position as a composer of hymns and anthems for republican ceremonies caused his name to be inscribed among the documents of the epoch. His role in the struggle is clarified in the collations of Revolutionary sources on music by Constant Pierre, published more than a century later (see p.17). Cherubini's biography was also entered into musical dictionaries published at the turn of the century. A standard sketch in the era was included by Ernst Ludwig Gerber in his historic first Lexikon der Tonkünstler (1790-92). Gerber referred to an earlier source of Cherubini's music, a list of operas

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[1] Charles Burney, A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (London: Printed for the Author, 1776-89), IV, 1789, 527.

[2] Accademia "Luigi Cherubini," op. cit., p.196. [The earliest available reviews of Cherubini's French operas are listed.]

[3] Rochlitz, Johann Friedrich (ed.) and anon. writers, "Nachrichten," Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung: III (1800), 733; VII (1804), 245; IX (1806), 250-51; XV (1813), 437-39.

advertised in Carl F. Cramer's Magazin der Musik.[1] In his Neues-Lexikon, Gerber cited a biography of Cherubini by Ignaz F. Arnold, part of a series published in 1809.[2] Arnold's work was written before the composer had completed most of his sacred music and contained much misinformation on Cherubini's early years--the year of the composer's birth was erroneously listed as 1764. A more accurate account was written in the first decade by Alexandre Choron, issued with F. J. Fayolle in 1810.[3]

Later Contemporaneous Sources (1825-1866)

The Articles of Edme Miel

Less picturesque but more detailed acclaim was given by writers on Cherubini during the Restoration era. The singular prolific author of sketches on the composer in the period was Edme F. A. Miel (d.1842), an essayist in musical criticism for Le Moniteur universel. Miel contributed the entry on Cherubini in Fétis' monumental Biographie universelle des musiciens.[4] Rare accounts of the composer's later

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[1]Ernst Ludwig Gerber, Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler (Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, 1790-92), I, 276.

[2]Gerber, Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler (Leipzig: A. Kühnel, 1812), I, 694-98. See also Ignaz Ferdinand Arnold, Luigi Cherubini seine kurze Biographie und ästhetische Darstellung seiner Werke (Erfurt: Müller, 1810).

[3]Alexandre Choron and François Joseph Fayolle, Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, artistes et amateurs, ... Précédé d'un Sommaire de l'histoire de la musique (Paris: Valade et Lénormant, 1810-11), I, xlvii, 135-36.

[4]Edme François Antoine Miel, "Cherubini," Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique, 2nd éd. par F. J. Fétis (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877-78), I, 262-73.

years are contained in Miel's articles for the Moniteur universel. There existed a close association between the critic and Cherubini through their membership in the Société des gens de lettres et de savants.[1]

Notices Written by Cherubini's Associates

Jacques Fromental Halévy, Cherubini's outstanding pupil and colleague at the Conservatoire de musique, published two series of articles on his teacher, the first for the Gazette musicale de Paris in 1835 and the second for the Moniteur des Arts in 1845. Bearing similar titles, the series entitled "Etudes sur Cherubini"[2] contains more musical and literary information than the "Etudes sur la vie et les travaux de Cherubini," which was intended primarily as a tribute to the deceased composer.[3]

Based upon information from the sketch of Cherubini by Miel and from his own research, François-Joseph Fétis published a brief study on the composer in his Curiosités historiques de la musique, a book issued during the year of the July Revolution of 1830.[4]

A critical review of the composer's life appeared in the

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[1]See E. F. A. Miel, "Cherubini," Biographie des hommes vivants; De la Société des gens de lettres et de savants (Paris: Michaud, 1816), II, 161-62. [Extracted from various notices published by the same author in Le Moniteur universel.]

[2]Jacques Fromental Elie Halévy, "Etudes sur Cherubini," Gazette musicale de Paris, Année II (March 9 and May 7, 1835).

[3]J. F. E. Halévy, "Etudes sur la vie et les travaux de Cherubini," Moniteur des Arts (March 23 and 30; May 18, 1845).

[4]F. J. Fétis, Curiosités historiques de la musique (Brussels: Janet et Cotelle, 1830), pp.123-26.

Revue de Paris of 1833, a study which originated in an address on Cherubini delivered by François Henri (Castil-)Blaze to the members of the French Académie earlier the same year.[1] Blaze enlightened previously dim areas in Cherubini's biographies, particularly those concerning the circumstances which led the composer to leave England for Paris in the midst of impending revolt in France, the precise nature of Cherubini's relations with Napoleon in artistic and personal matters, and many other biographical details. A foundation for studies in Cherubini's chapel works was laid by Blaze in his study on the French institution for sacred music at court.[2]

Cherubini's list of his own works, which he compiled late in his life, included valuable autobiographical annotations, information which was later employed to corroborate biographical sources. The entries of works are incomplete, however, probably due to a loss of memory of the composer by the time he recorded the titles and dates. Upon Cherubini's death, the list was taken by his widow and son to Bottée de Toulmon, a librarian of the Conservatoire de musique. Toulmon edited the catalog, added a supplement of works not entered by Cherubini, and published the lists with an advertissement under the title Notice des manuscrits autographes de ... Cherubini.[3] Toulmon's

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[1]François Henri Joseph (Castil-)Blaze, "Cherubini," Revue de Paris (première series), LII (July, 1833), 86-108.

[2]F. H. J. (Castil-)Blaze, Chapelle-musique des rois de France, par Castil-Blaze (Paris: Paulin, 1832), pp.221-243. See also the same author's Théâtres lyriques de Paris (Paris: Chez Castil-Blaze, 1855), I, 140-49.

[3]Jean-August Bottée de Toulmon, Notice des manuscrits autographes de la musique composée par feu M. L. C. Z. S. Cherubini, ex-surintendant de la musique du roi, commandeur de l'Ordre Royal de la Legion-d'Honneur,

Notice was a primary source of information employed by Fétis in his article, "Des manuscrits autographes de Luigi Cherubini."[1] Fétis attempted to persuade the French government to preserve the manuscript collection described in the catalogue, much of which was held in possession of the composer's family at the time.

An important special tribute to Cherubini was read after his death by Désiré Raoul-Rochette, the secretary of the Institut de France.[2] At a "séance publique" of October 7, 1843, Raoul-Rochette's scholarly review of the composer was followed by Jacques Fromental Halévy's oration that was first read for his master's funeral the year before, after which portions of Cherubini's second Requiem Mass were sung.[3] In the year before, a curious variety of verses, anonymous tributes, and even a phrenological analysis were dedicated to the deceased composer.[4] Many of the writers idealized Cherubini for his longevity and for his endurance of musical transitions from the life-

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membre de l'Institut de France, etc., etc., etc. (Paris: E. Duverger, 1843).

[1]F. J. Fétis, "Des manuscrits autographes de Luigi Cherubini, Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, Année X, Nos. 22, 28, 37, 40, and 41 (May-October, 1843), pp.183ff.

[2]The secretary acknowledged the assistance of members of the French Academy in the preparation of the study. See Désiré Raoul-Rochette, Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Cherubini (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1843).

[3]The oration is contained in J. F. E. Halévy, Derniers souveniers et portraits par F. Halévy (Précédés d'une notice par P. A. Fiorentino) (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1863), pp. viii, ix.

[4]Cf. Jean Nicolas Bouilly, Emile Deschamps, et auteur anonyme, Hommage à Cherubini (Paris: Chez l'éditeurs, 1842); and Charles Place, Essai sur la composition musicale. Biographie et analyse phrénologique de Cherubini avec notes et plan cranioscopique (Paris: Chez les principaux libraries, 1842).

times of Mozart to Mendelssohn. One effect of these studies, however, was to engrain the subject more deeply into past epochs, a viewpoint which may have contributed to the burial of some of his works as well, by relating them to the imperial decades.

German Writers in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

As the eulogies of French musicians gradually diminished after Cherubini's death, German interest in the musician increased, as reflected in the publication of music and articles. German writers in Paris had aroused interest in the composer,[1] but it was Cherubini's successful production of operas in Vienna and his meetings there with Haydn and Beethoven that established his musical position in German-speaking countries. The acclaim of his dramatic and sacred music attained such a high point that the Zürich biographer of Spohr, Leonhard Stierlin, issued a sketch which began "Bach und Händel, Haydn und Mozart, Beethoven und--Cherubini."[2] The last comparison was explained as a likening of Beethoven's mastery of symphonic form to Cherubini's synthesis of opéra comique and spoken tragedy.

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[1]The impressions of German musicians who visited Cherubini and the Chapelle royale where he worked are illustrated in Louis Spohr's Autobiography, Trans. by the publisher (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), pp.123-26, and in E. T. A. Hoffman, Die Schriften über Musik ("E. T. A. Hoffman's Werke," Band XII, Weimar: E. Lichtenstein, 1924), pp.48-51.

[2]Leonhard Stierlin, "Biographie von Cherubini," Neun und dreissigstes Neujahrstück der allgemeinen Musik-Gesellschaft in Zürich (Orell, Füssli, und Comp., 1851), pp.2-10.

Studies within the Last Hundred Years (ca.1867-1967)

Later German Sources

German music critics of the late nineteenth century issued a profusion of articles in journals and included several references to the composer in major studies in music history. A comparison was frequently made by these writers of the two leading Italian musicians in the era of the Revolution, Cherubini and Spontini.[1] Several factors led to a new impetus in the German writings, particularly the purchase of Cherubini's manuscripts by the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, the revival of the composer's music (introduced by Mendelssohn at Dusseldorf and Cologne as early as 1835), and the rise of musicological studies in the era. Ida Marie Lipsius compiled the most authentic sketch in the period, one written for her Musikalische Studienköpfe.[2]

Cherubini's music continued to interest pupils of Mendelssohn, such as Emil Naumann,[3] and was discussed by editors of the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, particularly by Karl F. Brendel,[4] who introduced Cherubini's overtures in his critical studies for the Schumann-Wagner-

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[1]See, for example, Wilhelm Heinrich von Riehl, Musikalische Cherakterköpfe (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1861), I, 197-202.

[2]Ida Marie Lipsius (pseud. La Mara), "Cherubini," Musikalische Studienköpfe (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d.), II, 1871, 1-77.

[3]Naumann's most complete study on Cherubini is in his Italienische Tondichter von Palestrina bis auf die Gegenwart (Berlin: Oppenheim, 1883), pp.458-483.

[4]Karl Franz Brendel, Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich, von den ersten christlichen Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart (Leipzig: A. Schumann, 1904), pp.717-19.

Liszt circle. The German musical theorist Hermann Kretzschmar, who edited part of the Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, made intensive analyses of Cherubini's overtures, the first series of which were issued in his own book, Führer durch den Conzertsaal.[1] In the Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters of 1906, Kretzschmar continued his investigation, in which he employed numerous quotes and illustrations in an attempt to relate style in the overtures to German musical tradition before and after Cherubini.[2]

In contrast to Kretzschmar's theories of continuing musical style, Richard Hohenemser, the author of a comprehensive monograph published by Breitkopf and Härtel in 1913, employed a more objective approach. His Luigi Cherubini is illustrated with some of the most exemplary vocal and instrumental counterpoint of the composer, discussed in cursory analyses of the music.[3] High on scholarly reference lists today, the volume contains a unique chapter on "Cherubini auf der Höhe seines Schaffens für die Kirche" and several musical facsimiles. Although primarily devoted to Cherubini's Masses, the chapter on sacred music includes a discussion of selected motets, along with musical examples.

Ludwig Schemann's biographical study, Cherubini of 1925,

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[1]August Ferdinand Hermann Kretzschmar, Führer durch den Conzertsaal (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1887-1890), II, 1898, 185-220.

[2]A. F. H. Kretzschmar, "Ueber die Bedeutung von Cherubini's Ouvertüren und Hauptopern für die Gegenwart," Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters, XIII (1906), 77-91.

[3]Richard Hohenemser, Luigi Cherubini, sein Leben und seine Werke, mit einem Titlebild, Musikbeilagen und zwei Faksimiles (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1913).

remains one of the most definitive German sources on the subject.[1] While the monograph was based on many of the same sources employed by Hohenemser, Schemann's investigation of both life and works incorporated theological and dramatic interpretations of the music. In spite of the philosophical nature of many portions of the book, it remains an accurate source of information regarding objective matters, such as factual data on the first performances and editions of works.

Recently, the collection of Cherubini autographs in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek was re-examined and outlined in a new catalog published in the Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft of Berlin (DDR).[2] The author retraced the history of the manuscript acquisition in an introductory article. The list of works, essentially identical to the one issued in Toulmon's Notice, includes annotations regarding manuscripts destroyed during the Second World War.

Sources in English

English writers on Cherubini have generally adapted information from sources on the continent, although the composer was associated with the Haymarket Theatre and later with the Royal Philharmonic Society. An exception is the devoted study of Edward Bellasis, London musical amateur and barrister-at-law, who obtained possession of many of the most significant private documents, letters, and notes of

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[1] Ludwig Schemann, Cherubini (Stuttgart, Berlin, and Leipzig: Deutches Verlags-Anstalt, 1925).

[2] Cornelia Schröder, "Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Werke Luigi Cherubinis unter Kennzeichnung der in der Musikabteilung der Berliner Staatsbibliothek erhalten Handschriften," Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft (1961), pp.24-60.

Cherubini from the composer's family.[1] Bellasis employed profuse quotations from Spohr and Fétis, along with many colorful but reputable anecdotes from French biographers.

The standard Cherubini work in English libraries at the turn of the century was Joseph Bennett's handbook on the composer, published in Novello's series, "Primers of Musical Biography."[2] The concise form, popular in British biographical writings, recently reappeared in a scholarly vignette on Cherubini by Basil Deane of Oxford University which contains well-chosen musical illustrations.[3] The author proposed a new full-length study on the composer, a suggestion made after considerable consultation with European musicologists, according to his remarks in the handbook.

Cherubini notices were imported to America with the composer's music during the last decades of the nineteenth century. A sketch by Philipp Spitta was published in 1891 in John Knowles Paine's historic Famous Composers and Their Works.[4] Spitta's authoritative survey of the subject was collected from the best available European sources during the time when he and Joseph Joachim, the famous violinist, represented the German court in the purchase of Cherubini's extant

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[1]Edward Bellasis, Cherubini, Memorials Illustrative of His Life (London: Burns and Oates, 1874). [Catalog of works, pp.379-412.]

[2]Joseph Bennett, Luigi Cherubini ("Novello's Primers of Musical Biography," London: Novello, n.d. [Preface, 1883]).

[3]Basil Deane, Cherubini (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).

[4]Philipp Spitta, "Luigi Cherubini," Famous Composers and Their Works, ed. John K. Paine, Karl Klauser, and Theodore Thomas (Boston: J. B. Millet and Co., 1891-), I, 93-107.

manuscripts. A number of Cherubini's compositions and literary sources that were available in New England were later acquired by the Public Library of Boston, chiefly in the Allen A. Brown collection.[1] (Brown was a Harvard-educated devotee of music and drama who donated thousands of works to the Boston Library, including early editions of Cherubini's sacred vocal compositions.) American interest in Cherubini during recent years has led to little publication except for the research of Margery Stomne Selden, whose various articles on the musician have defined his role in the Revolutionary epoch and whose dissertation remains the principal study of his French operas.[2] A scholarly paper, written by Eilene Risegari, on Cherubini's Masses has been recently published in abstract by the American Musicological Society.[3]

Later French Sources

A virtual hiatus in French publications on Cherubini was reached in the decades after the death of the composer. Critical biographies reappeared near the beginning of the twentieth century, among which stands a full-length monograph by Arthur Pougin (editor of

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[1] See the Catalog of the Allen A. Brown Collection of Music in the Public Library of the City of Boston (Boston: Published by the Trustees, 1908-16), I, 231-33.

[2] Cf., M. S. Selden, "Cherubini and the French Revolution," Universitas, I (Winter, 1963), 50-56, and the same author's "Napoleon and Cherubini," Journal of the American Musicological Society, VIII (Summer, 1955), 110-15. See also Selden's study, "The French Operas of Luigi Cherubini" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Music History, Yale University, 1951).

[3] Eilene Risegari, "The Masses of Luigi Cherubini," Journal of the American Musicological Society, VI (Summer, 1953), 188-89.

the posthumous Supplément to Fétis Biographie universelle). Pougin issued his work in a series of articles for Le Ménestrel from 1881-82.[1] The study was never published in a single volume, however. While lacking musical illustrations, its text is somewhat parallel in style and approach to that of Bellasis' earlier monograph. Monuments of twentieth-century French studies in Cherubini's era were published by Constant Pierre (d.1918), who collated musical documents of the period for the Government of France. Pierre worked in the Conservatoire de musique, where his title of "Chief clerk to the Office of the Secretary" ("Commis principal au Secretariat") belied his important and meticulous investigations. In his histories of the Conservatory, Pierre compiled hundreds of statistical references abstracted either from the archives of the French Academy, from the records of the Conservatoire de musique itself, or from unedited documents obtained by the Bibliothèque Nationale.[2] (The musicological task of documenting the early history of the Conservatory was actually conceived by Cherubini when the composer wrote in 1822 to a Monsieur Vinit, a former secretary of the school, asking for sketches on earlier personnel. This fact was acknowledged by Pierre in the introduction to his first study. Cherubini, who held an insufficient command of the French language to edit works for publication, submitted the sketches and other materials

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[1]Pougin's articles appeared in fifty-five numbers in Le Ménestrel, XLVII-XLIX (September, 1881-December, 1882), 241ff.

[2]Constant Victor-Désiré Pierre, B[ernard] Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation (Paris: Delalain frères, 1895). Pierre's study was continued in his Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs, recueillies ou réconstitués par C. Pierre (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900).

to Antoine Elwart (d.1877), a pupil of F. J. Fétis. Elwart, however, failed to expedite the study, leaving the implementation of the task to a later scholar.) In his Notes inédites sur la musique de la Chapelle royale (1532-1790), Pierre identified and discussed the personnel of the French chapel prior to the suppression of the royal tradition during the Revolution.[1] Pierre's task was completed by Georges Servières, who surveyed the history of the French chapel after it was re-established in Paris by Napoleon until the time of its dissolution under the July monarchy of 1830.[2] Both works on the chapel were supported by official documents of the Archives nationales de France as well as by Articles du Règlements de la Chapelle royale, regulations which were often kept by the king's ministers only until they were no longer considered useful.

In recent years, Cherubini has received new attention from French musicologists, notable among them Félix Raugel and Norbert Dufourcq, who have included discussion of the composer in their articles on sacred music.[3] François Lesure has assisted the Cherubini Academy of Florence in bibliographical research (see below). The efforts of these renowned scholars outweighs certain careless remarks on Cherubini which are issued in many general music studies published in France.

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[1]Constant Pierre, Notes inédites sur la musique de la Chapelle royale (1532-1790) (Paris: Bureau d'édition de la Schola cantorum, 1899).

[2]Georges Servières, Episodes d'histoire musicale (Paris: Librarie Fischbacher, 1914), pp.103-146.

[3]See Félix Raugel, "La musique religieuse française de l'epoque révolutionnaire à la mort de César Franck," La Revue musicale, No. 222 (numéro spécial, 1953-54), pp.111-20.

Italian Studies on Cherubini

After Cherubini's death, Florentine writers on music began to assist other European scholars in the task of documenting the composer's early years. Two members of the Florentine musical academy (Real Istituto musicale) collected most of the statistical information in this area, Luigi Picchianti (d.1864) and his pupil Baldassare Gamucci (d.1892).[1] Their influence, among that of others, led the directors of the school to rename the institution in honor of Cherubini and G.-B. Lulli, the two Tuscan musicians who made their most significant contributions to the arts of France. Following a re-dedication of the Istituto in 1902, the director of the academy issued a brief sketch on each composer.[2] From about this time, writings on Cherubini appeared sporadically in Italian journals, until a major two-volume biography was published in Milan by Giulio Confalonieri, a leading pianist and critic.[3] Confalonieri's extensive essay, first printed under hazardous post-war conditions, was poorly circulated outside Italy.

The most erudite of contemporary Italian sketches on Cherubini were published by Claudio Sartori, of the Milan Conservatorio.[4]

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[1] Cf., Luigi Picchianti, Notizie sulla vita e sulle opere di Luigi Cherubini (Milan: Ricordi, 1843), and Baldassare Gamucci, Intorno alla vita e alle opere di Luigi Cherubini fiorentino ed al monumento ad esso innalzato in Santa Croce (Florence: Barbèra, 1869).

[2] Riccardo Gandolfi (ed.), Accademia dedicata a Giovanni-Battista Lulli e Luigi Cherubini marzo 1902 (Florence: Tip. Galletti e Cocci, 1902).

[3] Giulio Confalonieri, Prigionia di un artista: Il romanzo di Luigi Cherubini (Milan: Genio, 1948).

[4] See the informative entries on Cherubini written by Sartori for the Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo, III (1956), 603-610, and for the Dizionario Ricordi della musica e dei musicisti (1959), pp.288-90.

Sartori, in collaboration with François Lesure and others, also directed a comprehensive symposium of studies for the Accademia nazionale "Luigi Cherubini" of Florence, which were held on the bicentennial anniversary of the composer's birth. A volume of papers from the symposium was published, including a new catalog of Cherubini's works compiled by Sartori and Lesure.[1] Several discoveries of research were revealed in the catalog, which exceeds the original Cherubini list (published in Toulmon's Notice of 1843) in the number of entries of dates, places, and early editions of works.[2]

The effects of Cherubini's activities and the impact of his music has provoked lively printed reviews and essays, not only in the countries where he lived or worked, but in many others. In the period comprising several decades after his death, however, criticism of his works suffered from the influence of contemporaneous national trends, especially in Germany, where musical historians identified his music with transitions in their own arts. In France, Cherubini's principal center of production, writers have primarily documented the composer's influence upon their native opera, conservatory, and chapel, while only recently have they begun to re-examine the significance of his music. Newer methods of scholarship in the subject have been mostly applied by Italian and English musicologists, who have created a number of valuable tools of research for Cherubini scholars.

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[1] Accademia nazionale "Luigi Cherubini" di musica, lettere e arti figurative, Luigi Cherubini nel II centenario della nascita ("Historiae Musicae Cultores," Vol. XIX, Florence: L. A. Olschki, 1962).

[2] See above, pp.135-187.

In the future, it is hoped that the present availability of materials will stimulate at least the following monuments: a thematic index of Cherubini's works, a collected edition, and a continuation of the study of his musical style.

CHAPTER II

AN ECLECTIC BIOGRAPHY OF LUIGI CHERUBINI

Cherubini in Italy: Heritage and First Efforts (1760-1784)

The Age in General Perspective

The long life and musical development of Luigi Cherubini paralleled a series of historical events of epochal proportions. The era was most distinguished by major political transitions: the convening of the States General; the storming of the Bastille; the formation of a constitution; the suppression of clergy and church; the downfall of French monarchy; and the arrests, terrors, and executions which followed. Afterwards began the wars of Bonaparte against European nations; the first collapse of Napoleon; the Hundred Days; the Bourbon Restoration and decline--all formed a part in the life of an adopted French composer who emigrated from a peaceful duchy in central Italy.

It was not exceptional that Cherubini found his way into the musical life of France, where Italian composers formed part of a welcomed institution, the competition between native and foreign arts. During his stay, however, he entered into the musical customs, institutions, operatic rivalries, and even the national traditions of French arts. In the latter quarter of his life, he became a leading

representative of French musical activity and was thus known to such men as Goethe and Beethoven.

An eclectic approach has been adopted in the present chapter toward the literary sources of Cherubini's life and works, since certain episodes directly affected his composition of sacred works, and also because his biography is permeated with anecdotes and idealized accounts. Specific references are given precedence only if they are substantiated by remarks annotated by the composer in his catalog of works[1] or documented in records of the era.

The First Years in Tuscany

Alfred Einstein wrote that the Italian birth of Luigi Cherubini may have been a "joke upon the history of music."[2] The Florentine-born composer was naturalized as a Frenchman immediately prior to the Revolution and returned only once to Italy for a commissioned operatic production. Cherubini nevertheless was indoctrinated with his first musical training and early development as a composer before leaving Tuscany, and eventually arrived in Paris only through unforeseen circumstances.

Luigi Carlo Zanobi Salvadore Maria Cherubini was born in a modest dwelling on the via Fiesolone of Florence, a house now marked with an engraved epitaph above the number twenty-two. The inscription

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[1]Jean-August Bottée de Toulmon, Notice des manuscrits autographes de la musique composée par feu M. L. C. Z. S. Cherubini (Paris: E. Duverger, 1843). [Contains Cherubini's autobiographical notes and list of works.]

[2]See Alfred Einstein, Mozart; His Character, His Work, trans. by Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), p.79.

was dictated by Luigi Venturi, a scholar of Tuscan history:

> Qui nacque il XIV settembre MDCCLX LUIGI CHERUBINI, che sommo nel magistero dell'armonia, creatore di sublimi melodie religiose, restaurò ogni maniera di musico stile e nelle ragioni dell'arte, serbò peregrino fra gli stranieri la gloria del primato italiano.[1]
>
> Here was born LUIGI CHERUBINI on September 14, 1760, a composer supreme in the mastery of harmony and a creator of sublime religious melodies, who restored every manner of musical style, and although in a foreign climate, remained true to the glories of Italian primacy in his art.

Choron and other writers have recorded Cherubini's birthdate as September 8, 1760,[2] in contrast to the composer's own words that he inscribed at the head of his list of works.[3] A biographer who documented the early statistics, Baldassare Gamucci, obtained an official letter in 1869 that certified to a legal recording of the birth "one minute after midnight on September 14, 1760."[4]

Luigi was the tenth of twelve children in the family of Bartolomeo and Verdiana (Bosi) Cherubini, both Florentines. The father was a keyboard conductor (maestro al cembalo) at the Pergola theatre, and was also a "professor of music," according to the outline of early study in the composer's notes:

> J'ai commencé à apprendre la musique à six ans, et la composition à neuf ans; la première m'a été apprise par Barthelémi Cherubini, mon père, professeur de musique; mes

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[1] Reprinted in Baldassare Gamucci, Intorno alla vita e alle opere di Luigi Cherubini (Florence: Barbera, 1869), p.10.

[2] Alexandre Choron and François Fayolle, Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, artistes, et amateurs (Paris: Valade et Lénormant, 1810-11), I, 135.

[3] Cherubini's own remarks, in unnumbered pages, head Toulmon's Notice of 1843.

[4] Gamucci, loc. cit., pp.11-12.

> deux prèmiers maîtres de la seconde furent Barthelémi Felici et Alexandre Felici, son fils. Après leur mort, j'eus pour maîtres Pierre Bizzarri et Joseph Castrucci.[1]
>
> I began to study music at the age of six and composition at nine. In music, I was taught by my father, Bartolomeo Cherubini, a music professor. My first two masters in composition were Bartolomeo Felici and his son, Alessandro. After their deaths, my masters were Pietro Bizzarri and Giuseppe Castrucci.

Bartolomeo Cherubini instructed his son in the elements of music, including solfeggio, keyboard accompaniment, and the realization of figured bass.[2] At the age of nine, the boy was not only tutored in music by the Felici family, but in all of the arte liberali, which consisted of basic grammar, mathematics, and laws of fine arts. The elder Felici, according to Philipp Spitta, was "the best teacher of counterpoint in all Tuscany at that time."[3] Cherubini soon lost both tutors to illness: they died before the close of the year 1770. Bizzarri and Castrucci, with whom Cherubini studied between 1770 and 1773, were church composers who introduced Luigi to advanced theory and scoring for instrumental ensembles.

At the conclusion of three years of preparation in church music, the thirteen-year-old Cherubini was introduced to the public as a composer. From 1773 to 1775, he composed three Masses, a Magnificat, and two psalm-settings for Florentine churches.[4] These sacred works were scored for four-voiced choir and organ accompaniment, to which was

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[1]Toulmon, op. cit. [2]Gamucci, loc. cit., p.12.

[3]Johann August Philipp Spitta, "Luigi Cherubini," Famous Composers and Their Works, ed. John Knowles Paine, Karl Klauser, and Theodore Thomas (Boston: J. B. Millet, 1891), I, 93.

[4]Toulmon, Notice, p.3.

added in performance a string ensemble ad libitum. In the same years, Luigi composed two intermezzi for theatrical societies in his native city. All the manuscripts of these works were noted by the composer as "lost or included in a sale by my father of all the music that he owned" ("perdus ou compris par mon père dans une vente qu'il fit de toute la musique qu'il possédait.").[1]

Years of Study with Giuseppe Sarti

A significant performance in 1777 of a cantata which Cherubini had composed three years earlier made it possible for the young musician to receive advanced study. The work was presented in the Duomo of Florence before Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany and later Emperor of Austria, a prince who was considered enlightened and a patron of the arts. At a feast in the side chapel, the Grand Duke's attention was drawn to Cherubini's La pubblica Felicità and to the composer. Leopold subsequently arranged a stipend for Cherubini enabling the youthful musician to study with Giuseppi Sarti of Bologna from 1778 to 1782.[2]

Sarti, who was chosen by Cherubini himself, was a prestigious composer for theatre and church, who wrote for many royal courts in Italy, Austria, Denmark, and later Russia. His reputation caused such extensive demands, according to contemporaneous reports, that he could not meet even the subscription of the Italian theatres.[3] Sarti's

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[1] Ibid., p.3 fn.

[2] Spitta, loc. cit., p.93.

[3] See Edme François Antoine Miel, Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Cherubini (Paris: Imprimerie de Panckoucke, n.d.), p.2.

commissions made it a practical necessity for Cherubini to accompany his master to each new center of opera production. In September of 1779, both Sarti and his pupil left Bologna for Milan, where the elder composer won (over Paisiello) the position of maestro di cappella of the famous cathedral, succeeding Giovanni Fioroni (d.1778).[1] For the next three years, the two composers brought their dramatic and sacred music to various Italian cities, passing through Florence in 1780 and on to Venice in 1781.

Sarti allowed Cherubini to compose arias for certain secondary roles in his operas, according to a practice customary in Neopolitan drama whereby the music of a youthful student was brought before an audience in order to provide an incentive. Fétis summarized the erratic nature of Cherubini's musical education and found it practical but lacking in analytical approach:

> La méthode d'analyse a été de tout temps inconnue dans les écoles de musique en Italie. Sarti ne l'employait pas plus que les autres maîtres dans son enseignment. Admirables dans la pratique par leur sentiment exquis de la tonalité et du rhythme, ces maîtres ne fournissaient à leurs élèves que des modeles parfaits, mais la plupart étaient incapables d'expliquer l'origine ou les motifs des régles qu'ils prescrivaient. Aux questions de leurs élèves, à leurs objections, ils ne connaissaient qu'une réponse: l'autorité de l'école.
>
> ... Instruit par une méthode semblable, Cherubini n'a pu acquerir que par une longue pratique sa merveilleuse intelligence de tous les faits relatifs aux formes du style, à la tonalité, au rhythme, à la modulation.[2]

> The method of analysis has always been unknown in Italian music instruction. Sarti did not employ it in his

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[1]Giulio Confalonieri, "Centenario di un compositore; Luigi Cherubini," La Vie d'Italia, LXVI (November, 1960), 1483.

[2]François Joseph Fétis, "Des manuscrits autographes de Luigi Cherubini," Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, Année X, No. 22 (May 28, 1843), p.184.

> teaching any more than did other masters. These teachers were to be respected in practical matters for their keen sense of tonality and rhythm and they provided their pupils with only perfect models; but for the most part they were incapable of explaining the origins or the bases of the rules which they prescribed. To the questions or objections of their pupils, they knew only one answer: the authority of the school.
>
> . . . Cherubini, taught by such a method, was able to obtain his remarkable knowledge in all matters relating to forms of the day, in tonality, rhythm, and modulation, only by long experience.

Sarti required his pupil to supplement his early experiences in opera, however, with study of the style of Palestrina. Copying works of the sixteenth-century contrapuntal master under the eye of Sarti, who was himself trained by a great polyphonic savant, G. B. Martini, led Luigi Cherubini to hold a lifetime regard for Palestrina's music. Moreover, between 1778 and 1780, the young apprentice began to compose his own settings of plainchant antiphons, which he described in his catalog as "à la Palestrina, à l'école de Sarti."[1] Cherubini also began a Credo for eight voices in the same era, a masterful example of academic counterpoint which was not completed until 1806.

Sarti's own music was not totally exemplary of the stylistic features that he wished his pupil to assimilate. His operas included programmatic musico-dramatic devices and florid bravura passages, as well as counterpoint worthy of his master, Martini. He employed spectacular effects, particularly after 1784, when he was appointed court composer and conductor to Catherine II of Russia. His Te Deum for the Orthodox Church, written after the victory at Otchakov, included scores of Russian hunting-horns played in canonic obbligato.

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[1]Toulmon, Notice, p.4 [See Année 1778].

Castil-Blaze, in writing of the same performance, noted that "cannons of different caliber were placed in the yard of the castle and were fired to accent certain tones played by the basses."[1] Thus Cherubini's teacher unhesitatingly intermingled programmatic devices in his sacred composition.

Cherubini had already developed a certain independence from Sarti after the expiration of his stipend in 1782. The following year he briefly encountered his master in Parma, where the elder produced his Alessandro e Timoteo.[2] But by this time, Cherubini had copied hundreds of pages of music by his favorite composers, among them Pergolesi, Vinci, Jomelli, and Handel.[3] He had also begun work on his own operas after 1780, had completed a motet for double chorus with two organs (Nemo gaudeat, 1781), and had written a madrigal (Ninfa crudel). The last two works were scored with figured-bass accompaniment.

Four Seasons in Italian Opera Composition

Cherubini's first opera, Quinto Fabio, performed at Alessandria (in Piedmont) during an autumnal fair of 1780, contained several arias written a year earlier for secondary roles in Sarti's Achille in Sciro, Siroe, and Giulio Sabino.[4] The following year, Cherubini took a new

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[1] François Henri Joseph (Castil-)Blaze, "Cherubini," Revue de Paris (première series), LII (July, 1833), ol. [Trans. by the writer.]

[2] Ibid., p.90. [3] Gamucci, loc. cit., p.14.

[4] Juste Adrien Lafage, "Cherubini," Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne, Rev. ed. (Paris: Desplaces, 1844), VIII, 96. [Lafage discovered that a number of arias under Sarti's name were actually composed by Cherubini ("Les partitions composées par Sarti, de 1778 à 1782, contiennent un assez grand nombre d'airs appartnant en realite à Cherubini ... ").]

score, Armida abbandonata, to Venice, where only a single aria was performed. The Armida was performed at the carnival of Florence in 1782. In the next few years, Cherubini was successful in the production of operas for Livorno, Florence, Rome, Venice, and Mantua. Readily available sources (such as Grove's Dictionary) list the works,[1] but often omit a second Quinto Fabio produced at Rome in 1783, an opera correctly described as a new work composed in that city.[2]

The consensus of Cherubini's more comprehensive biographers (Fétis, Crowest, Spitta, and Schemann) was that the operas which the young composer wrote and produced in Italy brought little money and only modest reputation.[3] One of the early works, Cherubini's Lo sposo di tre femine, was totally unsuccessful at the Venetian Teatro San Samuel, but was revised and re-opened as Lo sposo di tre, Marito di Nessuna. While in Livorno (Leghorn) in 1782, Cherubini met two famous singers who sang in his Adriano in Siria. Girolamo Crescentini, a well-known artificial soprano, and Matteo Babini, a virtuoso tenor, performed special arias composed for them by Cherubini. In the same year, Cherubini made the acquaintance of George Clavering, an English Count (of Cowper) and a prominent figure in the founding of the Royal Philharmonic Society of London. Cherubini composed two "Duos avec accompagnements de deux cors d'amour"[4] for the Count, who arranged for

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[1]Alfred Löwenberg and Alexandre Maczewsky, "Cherubini," Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., edited by Eric Blom (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1955), I, 201.

[2]Toulmon, Notice, p.7fn.

[3]Cf., Spitta, loc. cit., p.93, and Fétis, loc. cit., p.185.

[4]Toulmon, p.7.

the composer to visit England and later introduced the Florentine musician to the Philharmonic Society.

Cherubini in England and France: Operatic Travels (1784-1804)

First Concerts in England

Cherubini left for London with Babini in the Autumn of 1784, leaving behind an unfulfilled commission for an opera. The royal theatre of Turin contacted Cherubini as the composer left Florence, too late for a reversal of plans. Arriving in the middle of the English Fall theatre season, Cherubini was well received, as might have been expected. Italian opera composers had been favored in London since Antonio Bononcini (d.1726) and his brother Giovanni (d.1747) produced their works there in the first years of the eighteenth century. The age of Handel followed, but a new revival of Italian opera was created by importation of later Neopolitan composers, such as Antonio Sacchini (d.1786), Pasquale Anfossi (d.1791), and Giovanni Paisiello (d.1816).

London theatres in the last quarter of the eighteenth century imported entire troupes of Italian performers. Cherubini's first English assignment was to compose new arias to insert in works by his compatriots. Several of these solos were performed at the Haymarket theatre in Paisiello's Il Marchese di Tulipano and in the same composer's Proserpina.[1] Cherubini often co-operated with other

[1]See the writing on Cherubini by Johann F. Reichardt reprinted in Hans Joachim Moser, Dokumente der Musikgeschichte; ein Quellen-Lesbuch (Vienna: P. Kaltschmid, 1954), pp.159-160.

composers in the writing of intermezzi, a tradition practiced by Gluck, Salieri, and Mozart. Occasionally an entire pasticcio was conducted at the Haymarket by Cherubini or another of the musicians who contributed to the evening's performance. The most famous of the pasticcii which Cherubini conducted was Il Demetrio, presented in January of 1785, an opera in which four of his own arias were sung by Babini and Crescentini. La finta Principessa, written the following April, was wholly Cherubini's own opera buffa. In two acts, its successful performances earned the Florentine musician an honorary award of "Director of the Philharmonic Society."[1]

At the end of the opera season in July of 1785, Cherubini visited Paris and his compatriot G. B. Viotti, who had risen from virtuoso soloist to the head of an Italian opera troupe. At that time, Viotti invited Cherubini to the Concerts d'amateurs at the Olympic Loge. The effect of Cherubini's hearing the symphonies of Haydn performed at the concerts has been related as a famous anecdote of the era. Certain writers, however, attempted to relate the incident as a "Germanic influence" upon Cherubini's later music.[2]

In 1786 Burney witnessed the failure of Giulio Sabino, Cherubini's second opera for the Haymarket. The work achieved nothing more than a complete fiasco ("vollständig Fiasko") according to

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[1]Myles Birket Foster, History of the London Philharmonic Society, 1813-1912 (London: John Lane, 1912), p.44 fn.

[2]The position of German music writers is exemplified in Ignaz Theodor Ferdinand Arnold, Luigi Cherubini seine kurze Biographie und ästhetische Darstellung seiner Werke (Erfurt: Müller, 1810), pp.9-10, and in William Neumann, "Cherubini," Die Componisten der neueren Zeit (Cassel: Ernst Balde, 1854-57), I [No. 6], 9-10.

Naumann.[1] At the end of the season, the composer left for Paris again and took residence. Although drawn by Viotti's influence to the French capitol, Cherubini's stay in London had been partially successful. His arias continued to be sung and the composer himself had been drawn into an elegant circle which centered around the Duke of Queensbury, an outstanding musical amateur among English nobility. The Prince of Wales (George IV) was also a special patron of the Italian composer. Cherubini assisted in the Handel Centenary Festival held at Westminster Abbey in July of 1785.[2]

Reception in France

At the annual close of the English opera in 1786, the twenty-six-year-old composer took residence in Viotti's house on the rue Royale of Paris. He was introduced to aristocratic society, notable among whom was Viotti's patron, Queen Marie Antoinette. The first composition written by Cherubini for performance in France was a masonic cantata, Amphion, which was rejected for the Queen's concerts at the Tuileries. The next year was spent largely in the publication of gold-and-leather-bound romances, on Florian's Estelle, two volumes which probably added to Cherubini's resources, since he submitted a collection of nocturnes for engraving later the same year.

Cherubini's first significant commission to compose for the French theatre came from Marmontel, the librettist, who gave Cherubini

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[1]Emil Naumann, Allgemeine Musikgeschichte, 2nd rev. ed. (Berlin: Eigenbrödler Verlag, 1927), p.692.

[2]See Edward Bellasis, Cherubini, Memorials Illustrative of His Life (London: Burns and Oates, 1874), p.25.

the book to Démaphon, an intricate tale adapted from Metastasio. While working on Démaphon in 1788, the composer belatedly honored his commission in Turin, which resulted in Ifigenia in Aulide (February, 1788). In the following carnival season, Luigi Marchesi sang the lead role in the opera at Milan's La Scala, a highly successful performance that was repeated in theatres throughout Europe. (At the very outbreak of the Restoration, the work was performed against "the background noise of cannons" as the Russian and Prussian armies moved into Paris.[1])

The production of Démaphon could scarcely have been less auspicious for the composer, due to another setting of the same book by Johann Christoph Vogel, a favorite member of l'Opéra. Vogel, who announced his forthcoming opera to be "in the style of Gluck," suddenly died at thirty-two years of age, after completing only two works. The patrons of the German-immigrant composer immediately became detractors at Cherubini's Démaphon, produced in December.[2] Vogel's setting was heard the following February, but Cherubini wrote few works for the grand opera of the Academy after his initial experience.

The ideals of French opera were recognized by Cherubini in Démaphon, the first work in which the composer made full use of recitatives, scènes de ballets, and scenic tableaux. A stylistic influence on French opera was claimed for the work after Cherubini's death,[3] but it was merely one of several attempts to revive the grandeur of Gluck's

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[1]François H. J. (Castil-)Blaze, Théâtres lyriques de Paris (Paris: Chez Castil-Blaze, 1855), I, 140.

[2]Fétis, loc. cit., no. 28 (July 9, 1843), p.239.

[3]Désiré Raoul-Rochette, Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Cherubini (Paris: Didot, 1843), p.10.

era. The decade before the death of Gluck in 1787 had seen few successful imitators, with audiences favoring Grétry's opéra comique, Sacchini's Oedipe à Colonne (written for Marie-Antoinette), or Salieri's Les Danaïdes (first produced with Gluck's name in 1784).

Cherubini's early French operas also became associated, because of their grandiose style, with works of Etienne Méhul and especially with those of Gasparo Spontini. The three composers hardly comprised a "school," since many writers and opera critics have found Cherubini's expression devoid of pompous and military mannerisms that characterized scenes of Spontini's works.[1] Méhul, moreover, was more successful than Cherubini or Spontini in adapting the style of Grétry's opéra comique.

In 1788, Cherubini began to conduct and assist in Viotti's new Théâtre de Monsieur, an Italian company founded by Léonard Autier, coiffeur to the Queen. The theatre adopted its name from "Monsieur le Dauphin, Comte de Provence," who became Louis XVIII in the French Restoration. The Bourbon prince was Cherubini's royal patron in the troupe, which opened in a hall of the Tuileries in January of 1789.[2] When political pressures forced the Comte de Provence to leave Paris, the royal privileges at the Tuileries were revoked. The company continued in the "Salle Nicolet," a small theatre near the fairground of Saint-Germain--meanwhile a new hall was being constructed for Viotti.

Cherubini's activity in opera continued during the months

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[1]Ange Henri Blaze de Bury, Musiciens contemporains (Paris: Lévy frères, 1856), p.186.

[2]Jacques Fromental Elie Halévy, "Etudes sur la vie et les travaux de Cherubini," Moniteur des Arts (March 23, 1845), p.1.

before the attack on the Bastille. He composed nine arias for Paisillo's La Molinarella and two arias and a quartet for Anfossi's I Viaggiatori felici. Another quartet, Non ti fidar, o misera, was written to be inserted into a Don Giovanni, not the opera by Mozart as Fétis believed,[1] but for a Don Giovanni Tenorio by Giuseppe Gazzaniga (d.1818) that anticipated Mozart's famous work by seven months. Cherubini also succeeded in obtaining a performance of his Amphion at the Olympic Loge, as well as a new cantata, Circé. A second opera, Marguerite d'Anjou, was left unfinished after the completion of eight pieces of the first act,[2] due to the rising disfavor of Louis XVI, for whom the work was promised.

Composer of the Revolution

Not long after the uprisings of July fourteenth 1789, Cherubini left Paris for Normandy, where he retired to a castle in Breuilpont in order to recuperate from a nervous illness. During the visit he composed only sacred contrapuntal settings of hymns and texts of plain-chant for male voices. Each was less than a dozen pages and was scored with optional organ accompaniment. The settings were the composer's last employment of Latin texts before 1806, miniature three-voiced motets which bore stylistic influences of his early works under Giuseppe Sarti. They were probably written for the small chapel of the Breuilpont castle.

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[1] See Fétis, loc. cit., No. 28 (July 9, 1843), p.240.

[2] Bellasis, Cherubini, Memorials, p.42. [The author states that the unfinished work was intended for Louis XVI.]

His retreat was cut short by a notice that he was conscripted into the Garde Nationale of Paris, followed by an order to return and bear the uniform of "composer of the revolution." He was allowed to continue in Viotti's company, both in the Théâtre de la Foire-Saint-Germain and in the new theatre on the rue Feydeau, to which the company moved in 1791. In July of that year, Cherubini produced Lodoïska for the Théâtre Feydeau, a two-act opera in which effects in the orchestra were emphasized apart from the roles on the stage. The result was a distracting hybrid of stage and concert presentation, criticized as musique d'effet and summarized as both "sévère et sombre" ("harsh and melancholy").[1] The work typified other characteristics of Cherubini's opera composition, notable among which was an excellent interpretation of the dramatic mood but a lack of instinct for the action which unfolds on the stage:

> Dans la Lodoïska, se manifestèrent les qualités et les défauts qui composent le caractère de la musique de théâtre de Cherubini. Ceux qui lui ont dénié le génie dramatique étaient certainement dans l'erreur, car dans cent endroits de ses ouvrages cette qualité se montre au plus haut degré. Mais ce qui lui manquait absolument, c'était l'instinct de l'effet de la scène. Il ne faut pas confondre ces deux choses qu'on pourrait croire identiques au premier aspect. Le sentiment dramatique réside dans la faculté d'exprimer des sentiments et des passions par des accents vrais, et de donner aux diverses situations d'un opéra le coloris qui leur convient. L'instinct de la scène consiste en une sorte d'esprit de détails, en un pressentiment de l'effet, ainsi qu'en une connaissance à priori des proportions des morceaux et du développement convenable des idées. De grands compositeurs ont été privés de cet instinct; chez d'autres il est très vif. En France, Grétry, Dalayrac, Boïeldieu, M. Auber, lui ont été redevables de leurs plus beaux succès. Chez Cherubini cette faculté n'existait pas.

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[1] Félix Clément, "Cherubini," Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle (Paris: Administration du Grand dictionnaire universel, 1864-76), IV, 30.

> In Lodoïska are manifested the qualities and the faults which comprise the operatic style of Cherubini. Those who denied his genius in drama certainly were mistaken, for in a hundred places in his works this quality is shown at its highest level. But what the composer completely lacked was an instinct for the scenic action. He did not wish to confuse two aspects that one might on first thought believe to be identical. Dramatic sense rests in the facility of expressing feelings and passions by correct emphasis and in giving to diverse situations in the opera the most suitable complexion. The instinct for scenic action [however] consists of a kind of mind for details, in a foreknowledge of their effects, just as ideas are properly developed when the proportions of works are known a priori. Some of the great composers lacked this instinct; among others it was quite strong. In France, Grétry, Dalayrac, Boïeldieu, and Auber were indebted to it for their greatest successes. To Cherubini, the faculty was non-existent.[1]

Later in the same article, Fétis applied similar comments to Elisa (in two acts, performed at the Théâtre Feydeau in 1794), to Médée (in three acts, produced in 1797), to Anacréon (played at the Opéra in 1803), to Les Abencérages (a grand opera of 1813), and finally to Ali Baba, a creation of Cherubini's later years.

The events of the revolution grew more terrible in late 1791. In defiance of the actions of the republicans, who had decreed against the clergy in December of 1791, the king ineffectively tried to support the church. After August 10, 1792, when the Tuileries were seized, France's opera not only lost royal patronage but also its Italian singers. They left after the massacres of that September, while Viotti fled to England.[2] Cherubini composed only a few operatic arias and ensembles in 1792, pieces written for the troupe of buffons before their flight. The composer again returned to Normandy after the incident,

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[1] Fétis, loc. cit., No. 28 (July 9, 1843), p.241.

[2] Most of Viotti's troupe of actors and musicians had withdrawn across the Alps by 1793. See Emil Naumann, Italienische Tondichter von Palestrina bis auf die Gegenwart (Berlin: Oppenheim, 1883), p.465.

where he visited the residence of Victor Nicholas Louis, a prosperous architect. Louis had obtained the proprietorship of an ancient Carthusian monastery, "La Chartreuse," in Gaillon. Cherubini spent most of a year at the abbey, writing duets and arias for Louis and his wife. He also began Koukourgi, an opera which was never performed, but which later served as a basis for Ali Baba.

During Cherubini's stay in Normandy, the republic turned against the church. In the "first year of liberty," which according to the republican calendar began in September of 1792, the church was blasphemed in feasts for the Goddess of Reason in Notre Dame. Dancers from the opera assisted in the celebration of the cult. Twelve days later, the churches of Paris were closed by decrees. A significant effect on musical history and on the career of Cherubini was created by the closing of cathedral schools, institutions which had sheltered the maîtrises. To replace the musical training provided by the maîtrises was a concern in the formation of an Institut national de musique.[1] Cherubini was named a candidate to the school's faculty while he was still at Gaillon and on 10 thermidor, an II, the composer was actively commissioned a republican composer and professor by the Comité du salut public.

Cherubini's compositions for the republic were airs, hymns, odes, and cantatas for feasts which marked political events or honored

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[1]The hundreds of maîtrises before the Revolution provided much of the training in sacred music and were the chief schools for young musicians in France. See Norbert Dufourcq, "La musique religieuse française de 1660 à 1789," La Revue musicale, 222 (numéro spécial, 1953-54), 109-110.

military heroes.[1] However, he wrote no chants for the Supreme Being, the deity of the cult led by Robespierre,[2] a fact which may have proven fortunate to Cherubini, since Robespierre and his associates were executed the following year. The most glittering feast of the revolution was held preceding the execution, a ceremony for which Gossec and the painter Jacques-Louis David contributed their skills.

In April of 1793, Cherubini exchanged marriage vows with Cecile Tourette, daughter of Jean Tourette, a former chamber musician in the chapel of Louis XVI.[3] In the middle of the year, the name of Luigi Cherubini appeared under the title of "triangle player" in the military music school headed by Bernard Sarrette, "L'Ecole gratuite de musique de la Garde nationale." The title was customarily awarded at the school to composers, who were placed in the percussion section of performances.[4] Cherubini later assisted the conductors of the band at Sunday chapel services for the national guard.

Cherubini resumed his private composition in 1794, after completing a Hymne du Panthéon for four-voiced chorus and orchestra. Semi-retired from military service, he presented his two-act romantic

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[1] Cherubini remained true to his friends in the royal nobility, but was forced to publicly denounce them: anecdotes place him in the mob, which sang from the Magnificat, "He has put down the mighty from their seats and exalted the humble." See H. G. Sear, "Background for Cherubini," Music and Letters, XXIV (January 1943), 15.

[2] Margery Stomne Selden, "Cherubini and the French Revolution," Universitas, I (Winter, 1963), 56.

[3] Cherubini's marriage, April 1, 1794, produced three children, two daughters and a son (Salvadore), who was later named to the French Academy.

[4] The explanation of the title appears in Théodore Lassabathie, Histoire du Conservatoire impériale de musique et de déclamation (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1860), p.428.

opera Elisa at the Feydeau. Cherubini designed the leading role for a celebrated soprano, Madame Scio. Elisa, stark in realistic effects, was staged in successive tableaux and bleak processions. The panoramic scenery of Elisa was not matched as much by the libretto, an undistinguished "escape" melodrama, as by the colorful orchestration of the work. In the instrumentation Cherubini employed four horns (the same number as used by Méhul in the score of Horatius Coclès), not yet equipped with valves,[1] but scored with a number of stopped tones which required a certain virtuosity. Bells and percussion instruments provided the composer with a filigreed texture over a basic body of strings. The original score of Elisa extended for more than five hundred pages.

Installation and Duties at the Conservatory

In his catalog for the year 1795, Cherubini listed most of his hymn-like republican compositions and more than two-hundred and fifty pages of solfeggio in all clefs and combinations of voices. The solfeggio exercises were composed for the most significant appointment of Cherubini's middle years, to the new "Conservatoire de musique et de déclamation." The institution which later became renowned throughout the entire musical world was officially created by a commission of the National Convention of August 3, 1795 (16 thermidor, an III of the republican calendar). In order to create a new national Conservatoire, two existing schools were suppressed and their facilities merged--

[1]All of Cherubini's horns are in the key of the work, in spite of the experiments in cross-tuning which existed at the time in Parisian operas.

Sarrette's "Ecole gratuite de musique" and "L'Ecole de déclamation et de chant." Sarrette was then elevated to head the new Conservatoire under the title of "Commissaire chargé de l'organisation."[1]

Cherubini was named one of five "inspecteurs des enseignments" at the new school, together with Gossec, Méhul, Grétry and LeSueur (in that order).[2] Grétry complained in his Mémoires that such composers as Cherubini were being withdrawn from a more significant activity, the creation of a new French opera in order to fulfill positions of mere heads-of-study.[3] For Cherubini, however, the new conservatory position resulted in his only reliable means of supporting his family during the next twenty years. Altogether, he held duties at various levels in the school for more than forty-six years after its founding in October, 1795.

Activities during the Rise of Napoleon

Much of Cherubini's attention during the first year of the Conservatory was occupied with his opera Médée, a gigantic work (similar to Elisa in proportions) which was performed at the Feydeau theatre on March 13, 1797. Repeated for many weeks, the work was scheduled throughout Europe. Cherubini's overture to the Heldenoper, as it was described in German publications, returned to classical thematic practice, written in unity and economy of motives worthy of

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[1] Lassabathie, loc. cit., p.21.

[2] Recorded in the documentary masterpiece of Constant Pierre, B. Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation (Paris: Delalain frères, 1895), p.128.

[3] A. E. M. Grétry, Mémoires, ou Essais sur la musique (Paris: Imprimerie de la République, 1797), p.372.

Viennese masters. Curt Sachs noted an anticipation in the heraldic nature of the overture toward Beethoven's Coriolan:

> "It should not be forgotten that his [Cherubini's] overture preceding Médée set the pattern of the noble, heroic style that Beethoven ten years later gave to his Coriolan."[1]

The libretto for the opera was taken from Hoffman's book, influenced strongly by Friedrich Klopstock (d.1803), a philosophical lyric poet and enemy of Napoleon. The libretto was attacked by Napoleon, who claimed that "Klopstock was misunderstood."[2] The opera suffered from such attacks, but was revived throughout the nineteenth century. Johannes Brahms' remarks on Médée were printed in the Neue freie Presse of May 10, 1908:

> Diese Medea, das ist was wir Musiker unter uns als das Höchste in dramatischer Musik anerkennen.[3]
>
> This Medea is a work which we musicians regard among ourselves as the summit of dramatic music.

It was after the success of Médée that Cherubini came into contact with Napoleon I, who was then creating an empire through impressive military campaigns. The meeting resulted from an event of the republic: General Hoche, pacificator of insurrections in the Vendée département during 1793-1795, was buried with a heroic tribute on October 1, 1797, at the Champ de Mars--Cherubini and others from the

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[1]Curt Sachs, Our Musical Heritage (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1955), p.255. Sach's general assertion is supported in his study, The Commonwealth of Art (New York: W. W. Norton, 1946), p.179.

[2]Blaze de Bury, loc. cit., p.185.

[3]Richard Hohenemser, Luigi Cherubini, sein Leben und seine Werke (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1913), p.207. [A brief, penetrating analysis of the opera Médée is printed in Basil Deane, Cherubini (London and New York: Oxford University Press), pp.8-12.]

Conservatory provided music for the event.[1] But Napoleon, who was returning from Italy, wished to add a tribute of his own (probably in order to detract from the acclaim of Hoche). The first commander offered an award for a new composition to be presented in December after each entry was auditioned. Cherubini presented essentially the same cantata which he wrote for the funeral, La Mort du général Hoche, but Bonaparte favored a funeral march by Paisiello. Sarrette programmed both compositions for Napoleon on December 27, at the Conservatory.[2] After the performance, Cherubini was encountered by The First Consul, who stated his preference for the music of Paisiello and placed the works of Nicolo Zingarelli (d.1837) above those of Cherubini. In various anecdotes on the occasion, Cherubini is said to have replied that "the music of Paisiello, but not of Zingarelli, would pass."[3] The confrontation was but one of a series of exchanges that were reported to have taken place between Cherubini and the future Emperor on later occasions. The composer was never awarded a significant musical position by Napoleon, who frequently issued unfavorable comments regarding the nature of Cherubini's music. Cherubini wrote little between 1798 and 1799 aside from three one-act operas, including L'Hôtellerie Portugaise and La Punition, which were both rebuffed by the audiences of the Feydeau theatre.[4] While at the Montansier theatre to assist Boïeldieu in performances of Lodoïska, Cherubini collaborated

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[1]Selden, "Cherubini and the French Revolution," p.53.

[2]Fétis, loc. cit., No. 37 (Sept. 10, 1843), p.311.

[3]Lafage, "Cherubini," Biographie universelle, p.97.

[4]See Lafage, loc cit., p.97.

with the younger composer in another one-act comedy, La Prisonnière, which was presented in September of 1799 at the Montansier. Boïeldieu's colleague in the Académie, Etienne Méhul composed a three-act Epicure, "en société" with Cherubini, an opera organized on leitmotif principles, in which recurrent events or entries of singers were represented by short themes in the orchestra.[1] The work was derided by the patrons of the Favart theatre, where it was first presented in March of 1800. As a result, the two composers were set at loggerheads and were reconciled later only through the efforts of Charles-Henri Plantade (d.1839), their colleague at the Conservatory.[2] In general, Cherubini's shorter operas met with disaster, although he co-operated in several successful pasticcii in the comic genre. Dramatic rescues, inspired by heroism in the Revolution, continued to attract Cherubini and his colleagues, who shared in attempts to make the form successful.

Completed at the turn of the new century, Cherubini's Les deux journées became his most renowned opera. The text was adapted from a seventeenth-century rescue plot by Jean-Nicholas Bouilly. German theatres played the work after 1801 as Der Wasserträger, a title which was then adopted for the English translation, "The Watercarrier." The work was one of few which held interest in the libretto as well as in

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[1]"The inscrutable Florentine-Parisian, acquainted with all the secrets of Italian, French, and German music, fusing them into a sovereign classicism, recognized the advantages of the leitmotif technique and used it--but with circumspection, for he never allows the lyric drama to be threatened by the eloquence of the orchestra." Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W. W. Norton, 1941), p.792.

[2]The episode is described in (Castil-)Blaze, "Cherubini," Revue de Paris, p.94.

Cherubini's music. Goethe was reputably cited as having acclaimed the work a masterpiece.[1] The opera was performed first at the Feydeau theatre in January of 1800, and later was selected as the opening work of the merged Feydeau and Favart theatres. The inscription "du citoyen Bouilly, musique de citoyen Cherubini, dédié au citoyen Gossec" was printed at the head of the title in France. Submitted for decennial awards in composition at the Académie, the work received honorable mention, behind Méhul's Joseph. In Germany, highest honors were awarded to the drama, where it became recognized as a Volksoper.[2] At a performance in Munich (in 1811), the president of the Bavarian parliament, a Count Armand, took a leading role, after which there were numerous presentations of the work in German cities under the title Graf Armand.[3] Der Wasserträger was also performed in Vienna at the Theatre an der Wien during the era of Beethoven's Fidelio.

Cherubini entered into a period of ventures of lighter nature while still enjoying successes of his Les deux journées. In 1800, he received a commission from a police prefect in the cathedral city of Chartres for the composition of several marches for wind instruments. In the next months, Cherubini issued new editions of romances and nocturnes. In the same era, Cherubini collaborated in several ventures

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[1]Deane, loc. cit., pp.13-14.

[2]Spitta noted that Les Deux Journées "was able to attain a lasting popularity" in Germany, op. cit., p.102.

[3]Jules Lénon Jean Combarieu, Histoire de la musique des origines au début de vingtième siècle (Paris: Colin, 1913-19), II, 451. [The author states that von Weber attended the performance and described the work as a "masterpiece."]

for profit headed by his colleagues at the Conservatory. Along with clarinetist Jean Xavier Lefevre (d.1829) and singer Pierre Garat (d.1823), he formed a society of subscription performances, the "Concerts du théâtre des troubadours." After only two concerts, the society failed.[1] Cherubini meanwhile began to publish light songs in the itinerant Journal d'Apollon, in which were also issued collections of music by Nicolo Isouard (d.1818), Henri Berton (d.1844), and other musicians from the Conservatoire. Cherubini also assisted in a new publishing enterprise in 1801, aided by such musicians as Méhul, Isouard, Boïeldieu, Rodolphe Kreutzer (d.1831) and Jacques-Pierre Rôde (d.1830).[2]

Napoleon further humiliated Cherubini through the rejection of the composer for his reconstructed chapel. Paisiello, who headed the music at the new site (the location of the old Salle de Convention), was ridiculed by French composers and resigned after two years.[3] Méhul recommended Cherubini to Napoleon and was ignored. Zingarelli, a favorite of the Emperor, meanwhile resisted service at the chapel and narrowly escaped reprisal.[4] The duties were accepted in 1804 by Cherubini's colleague at the Conservatoire, Jean-François LeSueur. LeSueur had collaborated with Méhul, Gossec and Cherubini in the

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[1]Hohenemser, loc. cit., pp.259-60.

[2]See Cecil Hopkinson, A Dictionary of Parisian Music Publishers, 1700-1950 (London: Printed for the Author, 1954), p.84.

[3]Spitta, loc. cit., p.96.

[4]A complete analysis of Zingarelli's resistance to Napoleon that led to the composer's arrest and release is presented in Félix Clément, Histoire de la musique depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours (Paris: Hachette, 1885), p.689.

drafting of a conservatory text, Principes élémentaires de musique (Paris, 1802).

After his two years of diversified activity marked by a complete hiatus in opera composition, Cherubini produced a melodramatic Anacréon (L'amour fugitif). A long two-act opera, it was hissed in its first performance at the Academy (in October, 1803) and described by critics as "musique allemande." The reference to German opera was made because Cherubini did not allow the audience sufficient time to catch its breath between successive arias, considered a Germanic trait by Parisian reviewers.[1] A storm also brewed in connection with the performance of Anacréon over the official release from the Conservatoire of LeSueur, Cherubini's closest associate of the era. According to the composer, defeat was suffered at the hands of "une clique infernale acharnée contre tous ceux qui font partie du conservatoire" ("a diabolical collaboration that was directed against those who associated with the Conservatory").[2] In December of 1804, however, Anacréon proved successful in a revival of the work.

In the year preceding the establishment of the Empire, Napoleon attained control of the recommendations to the Academy. Cherubini was rejected for membership even though he had been nominated by his colleagues. The First Consul approved Gossec, Grétry, and Méhul in music and drama, along with two comédiens, Jacques-Marie Monvel (d.1812)

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[1] Combarieu, p.451.

[2] From a letter of Cherubini in Ida Marie Lipsius (La Mara), "Cherubini," Musikalische Studienköpfe (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d.), II [1871], 31.

and Jean-Baptiste Grandménil (d.1816).[1]

Travels and Conflicts during the French Empire (1804-1815)

Visits to Vienna

Napoleon virtually assumed the throne of the Empire in May of 1804, aided by a subserviant senate and tribunate, although he was not confirmed by the Pope of the Church until December. The ceremony was marked by an elaborate processional cantata composed by LeSueur. Cherubini had meanwhile accepted an invitation to visit Austria.[2] Baron Braun, director of Vienna's royal company, met the composer in Paris in 1802 and urged him to write and conduct a new opera for his Austrian theatre,[3] known in France as the Théâtre impériale d'Autriche or Porte-de-Carinthie (the Viennese Hofbühne or Kärthnerthor).

Before departing for Vienna on June 26, 1805, Cherubini completed part of Les Arrêts, "treated in two different manners," an opera which remained unfinished, and scored three-quarters of a pantomimed ballet, Achille et Scyros, for the choreographer Gardel.[4] For the Conservatoire, Cherubini composed two Sonates, or Etudes pour le cor, and prepared the first performance of Mozart's Requiem in Paris, which he conducted in the Salle de la Conservatoire on New Year's Day of

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[1] Combarieu, p.422.

[2] The invitation was probably accepted at this time in order to avoid the embarrassment of conflicts with the Emperor. See Margery Stomne Selden, "Napoleon and Cherubini," Journal of the American Musicological Society, VIII (Summer, 1955), 110-115.

[3] Braun's meeting with Cherubini in 1802 is detailed in Confalonieri, loc. cit., p.1488.

[4] Toulmon, p.15.

1805.[1] Later in that year, Paris newspapers erroneously reported the death of Josef Haydn, who had been in failing health since composing his Seasons of 1801. According to Lipsius, Cherubini's performance of Mozart's Requiem was repeated "for the rest of Haydn's soul."[2]

The popular account that Cherubini's own sacred cantata for Haydn was performed in Paris at this time (e.g., in Grove's Dictionary) was probably an inadvertent mistake. Cherubini's elaborate three-voiced funeral cantata Chant sur la mort d'Haydn, an orchestral tombeau based upon an anonymous epitaph on immortality,[3] was put aside after it was learned that Haydn was not deceased and was first conducted by Habaneck at exercises of the Conservatory in the winter of 1810.[4]

Cherubini recorded his trip to Vienna on plain sheets of paper in a daybook.[5] Passing through Mannheim, Frankfurt, Berlin, Dresden, and Prague, he was received with great esteem at several prominent theatres. Three days after arriving in the Austrian capital with his wife and daughter, he conducted his Wasserträger (July 27, 1805). After a performance at which he assisted in his Lodoïska for the Theatre an der Wien, he was introduced to Joseph von Sonnleithner, translator of Fidelio, who on a later occasion introduced Cherubini to

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[1] An anonymous writer of a "Nachricht" described the great effort and zeal of Cherubini's direction of the Requiem of Mozart, in the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, VIII (January 16, 1805), pp.245-252.

[2] Lipsius, Musikalische Studienköpfe, p.32.

[3] For an analysis of the cantata, see Hohenemser, p.291.

[4] Toulmon, p.15.

[5] Confalonieri, loc. cit., p.1488.

Beethoven. The meeting took place at the first of three initial performances of Fidelio at the Theatre an der Wien (November 20, 1805). Cherubini presented the Bonn master with a copy of a study in vocal style, La Méthode du chant, a text compiled by Cherubini and his colleagues at the French Conservatory. Beethoven held the volume among his personal possessions until his death.[1]

Assertions of Schindler and other biographers of Beethoven created the impression that Beethoven was abrupt or off-handed toward Cherubini. Cherubini's daughter, Zenobia, found that the two composers "held each other in the highest respect."[2] Certain letters of Beethoven affirm that he held Cherubini in the same high esteem with which he spoke of Haydn or Mozart.[3]

Cherubini's opera Faniska, given at the Hofbühne before Kaiser Franz II (February 25, 1806), was extremely successful. The rehearsals of the heroic melodrama, adapted by Sonnleithner from Les mines de Pologne by Guilbert de Pixérécourt were conducted without the knowledge of Napoleon, who was at nearby Schoenbrunn. Upon learning that Cherubini was in Vienna, the Emperor summoned the Italian musician and ordered him to conduct a dozen soirées musicales, divided between

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[1]"Upon hearing Fidelio, Cherubini concluded that Beethoven was insufficiently schooled in the art of vocal writing. To this end he ordered a copy of a Paris Conservatory textbook sent to the Vienna composer, which remained in Beethoven's possession until his death." Donald W. MacArdle (ed.), Beethoven as I Knew Him: a Biography by Anton Felix Schindler (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p.133 fn.

[2]Lipsius, p.32.

[3]See Emmerich Kastner, Beethovens sämmtliche Briefe (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911, "Letter of March 15, 1823."

Schoenbrunn and Vienna. The concerts were distinguished by the singing of Girolamo Crescentini, for whom Cherubini had composed special pieces in the same year.

Before Cherubini left Vienna in March of 1806, Haydn sent the composer of Faniska an autographed score of one of the London Symphonies. In return, Cherubini went to see the Austrian master, and presented Haydn with a certificate of honorary membership in the French Conservatoire.[1] Haydn embraced Cherubini as his "lieben Sohn," an expression repeated in later correspondence from the elder master.[2]

In mid-April, Cherubini arrived in Paris, where a jubilant celebration was held in his honor at the Conservatory.[3] He set to work, finishing the Credo for eight voices which he had begun in Bologna in 1778-79. He soon was rebuffed again in efforts to create a major work for the Empire. He was promised the libretto of Vestalin, according to Naumann, but the heroic book was somehow obtained by Spontini, who employed the text in his La Vestale.[4] Spontini became the official composer to Empress Josephine in 1807 and was awarded a luxurious salary with special privileges and summer leaves. Cherubini soon ceased to compose in this period, due to a return of his nervous ailment, which he attempted to relieve by preoccupying himself. In his office at the Conservatory, he created scenic collages composed of

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[1] Robert Stockhammer, "Luigi Cherubini zur 200. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages," Musica [Kassel], XIV (September, 1960), p.551.

[2] See the letter of Cherubini to Haydn, dated April 26, 1808 [3 pp. in-8°], U. S. Library of Congress.

[3] Lipsius, p.34.

[4] Naumann discusses the episode in his Italienische Tondichter, pp.473-74.

playing cards--Fétis alleged that seven or eight hours a day were spent at the hobby. Spitta described the activity as it was related to him by Ferdinand Hiller:

> [They were] fantastic groups of scenes--dancers with red jerkins, wrestlers in scarlet caps, buildings, and miniature landscapes with all sorts of wonderful foliage. The cards were laid lengthwise or sidewise, used separately or united, and larger or smaller portions of the spots were erased, the whole being a remarkable mixture of invention and calculation.[1]

Trip to Chimay and the Resumption of Sacred Composition

Cherubini's recurrence of his illness (in September of 1807) was described by his daughter as "a pain of spirit and mind."[2] To distract from his agitation, he accompanied a well-known botanist R. Louiche Desfontaines (d.1830) on rural excursions, where they gathered rare plant species. Along with Auber, Rôde, and other musicians at the Conservatory, Cherubini was a frequent guest at the town house of Prince Joseph de Caraman. In the summer of 1808 the nobleman invited the Florentine composer to his château at Chimay on the Franco-Belgian border.[3] For his host and for the village bands, Cherubini wrote several menuets, danses, and contredanses. In his retreat, he composed no music at first, but pursued his principal distraction, the gathering and classifying of plants for his herbarium.

Cherubini's return to sacred composition of his youth began with the celebration of St. Cecelia's day in Chimay, November 22, 1808. The local music society brought an appeal to the composer for a new Mass to

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[1]Spitta, "Cherubini," loc. cit., p.97. [2]Lipsius, p.34.

[3]See Fétis, Revue et gazette, No. 37 (Sept. 10, 1843), pp.312-313.

perform for the feast. Cherubini, who declined the request at first, later explained to Raoul-Rochette, secretary of the Académie, that he was inspired after hearing a Mass by Michael Haydn performed in Chimay.[1] As a result, he relented, and presented the music society two movements of a Mass in F, a three-voiced work completed in Paris in 1809, and performed at Prince Caraman's hôtel as part of a concert du salon.[2] The composer thus broke his long-standing fast in setting movements of the Ordinary, a decision that anticipated a major era of sacred compositions by Cherubini. French composers had favored the motet form since the heyday of the grande motets of the baroque. In the Empire, however, churches in France began to employ large settings of French and German Masses with orchestral accompaniment, such as works by LeSueur and Gossec (including the latter's elaborate Messe des morts). Cherubini wrote for no churches in Paris, however, and entered a new period of secular composition.

Activities during the Later Empire

In 1809, Cherubini submitted his one-act Italian opera, Pimmalione, to the director of Napoleon's private theatre. No name was inscribed on the score and the work remained anonymous until after its performance on November 30, held before the Emperor, Josephine, and royal guests.[3] The Emperor later recognized the work by awarding Cherubini a commission for his forthcoming celebration of a new

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[1] Rochette, Notice historique, p.26.

[2] Fétis, Revue et gazette, No. 37, p.313.

[3] Lafage, "Cherubini," pp.97-98.

marriage to the Archduchess of Austria Marie Louise. At the ceremony in Napoleon's town house in May of the following year, Cherubini's Ode pour l'Empereur was sung.[1] From the time of that occasion, the composer's relations with Napoleon improved slightly, although he usually kept his distance from the Emperor.

The last French comic opera completely written by Cherubini, Le Crescendo, was produced at the Opéra-comique theatre (the former Feydeau) in September of 1810. Due to noisy effects in the plot, which Cherubini interpreted with heavy figures for brass and percussion, the performance "fell on its face" ("tomba à plat"), according to Fétis. Cherubini returned to Chimay to compose for the Autumnal festival. Within a year he completed a Fantasie for keyboard and two Litanies for Prince Esterhazy of Galanta. The Litanies were set in four voices with an accompaniment by small orchestra. Cherubini was sent a ring valued at more than 16,000 Marks as his commission, according to Wittman.[2]

Cherubini dissolved his association with the Magasin de musique in January of 1811. He left for the countryside near Lille, where he composed a Mass in D for four-voiced chorus and orchestra and began a new madrigal. In the months which followed, he appeared in Paris only at the Conservatoire, except at the performance of a cantata to open a new salle du concerts.[3] In 1813, he was finally sent a libretto by the author of Vestalin, a book which he employed in Les Abencérages,

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[1]Fétis, loc. cit., No. 37, p.313.

[2]See Maximillian Emil Wittman, Biographie Cherubinis (Leipzig: P. Reclam's universal Bibliothek, 1895), p.42.

[3]Toulmon, Notice, p.18.

presented before Napoleon at the Académie on April 13,[1] the first of twenty performances. In the following winter, Napoleon sent Cherubini and his colleagues Boïeldieu, Catel, and Isouard a demand (through the police) for a new heroic opera to be presented at a patriotic feast. The resulting work was Bayard à Mezières, a heroic drama intended to aid the rapidly failing morale of the Imperial forces.[2]

After allied liberation forces siezed Paris on March 14, 1814, Cherubini's musical production suddenly increased, with the composition of his first string quartet (in E-flat), eight wind-instrument pieces (for the Prussian regiment), and two cantatas, the first for the Gardes-du-corps of the new monarch, Louis XVIII. The second cantata was presented at a great feast described by Cherubini in the colophon of the manuscript:

> "Cantate à plusiers voix / melée de choeurs et à grande orchestre / composée pour le banquet donné par le Garde royale / à la Garde nationale et aux Gardes-du-corps / dans la Gallerie du Museum, / le 5 février."[3]

Cherubini added to the head-sheet of the manuscript now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek: "Cette cantate à été éxecutée en presences du roi et de la famille royale. Je l'ai commencée le 29 et terminée le 30 janvièr" ("This cantata was performed in the presence of the king and of the royal family. I began work on the composition on January 29, and completed it on January 30").

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[1] Combarieu, Histoire de la musique, p.451fn.

[2] The libretto was adapted from a tale of Chateaubriand.

[3] Toulmon, Notice, p.19.

Head of Chapel and Conservatory: Later Years (1815-1842)

Advent of the Bourbon Restoration

The collapse of Napoleon's Empire in 1814 led the allied forces to form a new government, a task which the enemies of Bonaparte found perplexing. The leadership was to be under the Duc d'Orléans, or perhaps Bernadotte, or even a republican system:

> At once everyone was wondering what the new King would do. Who were these almost forgotten Bourbons of whom the press of the Empire had been forbidden to say a word? Already the King's brother, the Comte d'Artois, and a large group of returning emigrés were bringing pressure on the new monarch to start a counter-revolution at once . . .[1]

Most historians agree that the government of Louis XVIII was made unpopular by the activities of the Comte d'Artois and his friends among the royalists and clergy. They were a group who wished to use the Restoration to take back clerical and noble lands that had been confiscated and sold during the Revolution. The army was also threatened, including many distinguished military leaders. The Université de France, one of Napoleon's outstanding institutions, was in danger of abolishment. Politically, foreign agents of England, Russia, and other nations were involved in intrigues, making genuine alliances difficult for the new king. Frederick Artz, who summarized the disorganization that greeted Louis upon his arrival from England, concluded:

> Little wonder, then, that when Napoleon came back from Elba in May of 1815, he was enthusiastically received, at least by the army. In twenty days he carried the tricolor from the

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[1]Frederick Binkerd Artz, France under the Bourbon Restoration, 1814-1830 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), pp.11-12.

Riviera to Paris. Louis XVIII fled to Ghent, and Napoleon hurriedly set about reorganizing his government.[1]

Napoleon was constantly interrupted in his attempts to reconstruct his Empire by the necessity of waging war. Between March and June of 1815, he held a trembling reign, finally torn from his grasp by the British, who took him captive on a man-of-war and exiled him to tiny St. Helena. Louis XVIII returned to Paris determined to resist the demands of the extreme royalists, a task which he pursued coldly, until his last years. After his death in 1824 he was succeeded by his brother Charles X, the Comte d'Artois.

Visit to England during the Hundred Days

The events of Napoleon's Hundred Days (March 20-June 28, 1815) would have proven inauspicious for Cherubini, had he remained in France, but three days before Bonaparte's arrival at Cannes (March 1), the composer had already left for London. The February journey was in response to a commission by the English Philharmonic Society issued in December of 1814. His first work for the assignment was an Overture in G, performed in the English concerts in March and repeated several times in the season. For the orchestra of the Society he also composed his Symphony in D, his only work in the form, a composition noted for its contrapuntal minuetto. He was paid two hundred pounds for the overture, symphony, and a four-voiced Inno alla Primavera ("Hymn to Spring") that was not performed until the following May.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p.15.

[2] The London performances are discussed in Ludwig Schemann, Cherubini (Stuttgart, Berlin und Leipzig: Deutsches Verlags-Anstalt, 1925), pp.89-90.

The English visit reestablished Cherubini among various circles of aristocracy. On March 22, 1815, he wrote his wife that he had attended a three-and-a-half-hour dinner, at which he sat next to the Duke of Sussex, a learned musical amateur and son of the mentally-ill king. In August, the adopted French composer returned to Paris, where he set groups of verses in honor of the return of Louis XVIII.[1]

Appointment to the Bourbon Chapel

Cherubini's friendship with the new king dated from the founding of Viotti's theatre in 1788, but there soon arose conflicts between them, due to the closing of the Conservatoire by the Secretary of Internal Affairs to the monarch.[2] A product of the Revolution, the school had also been supported during the Empire, but the closing was decreed for political purposes. Most of the artists and musicians were re-employed and the Conservatory reopened:

> Les Bourbons, indifférents à son adhésion enthousiaste à la Révolution soutinrent cordialement Cherubini, comme victime de la malveillance de Napoléon.[3]
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> The Bourbons, unconcerned about Cherubini's association with the Revolution, heartily supported him as a victim of spiteful treatment at the hands of Napoleon.

Even before the Revolution, the future Louis XVIII, Comte de

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[1]Cherubini probably returned to France after receiving the news that Napoleon had made the composer a knight in the Foreign Legion near the end of the Hundred Days. The decoration was described as having been worded in humiliating terms, however, since it was not awarded to Cherubini as a composer, but as "Chaplain to the Guard." See Maximillian Wittman, Biographie Cherubinis, p.45.

[2]Constant Pierre, B. Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire, p.158.

[3]Robert Bernard, Histoire de la musique (Paris: F. Nathan, 1961-63), II, 623.

Provence and his brother, the Comte d'Artois had planned to move the royal chapel to a new larger site in Paris, a task accomplished by Napoleon. They had also promised the direction of the services to Jean-Paul Egide Martini (d.1740). Martini finally was employed in May of 1814, when he was asked to share the direction with Jean-François LeSueur, who was retained in order to make the necessary transition from imperial to royal services.[1] Both surintendants and a number of chapel musicians survived the Hundred Days and were independently recognized for their abilities by their new employers, the Dukes of Aumont and Duras, "First gentlemen of the king's chamber."[2]

In December, 1815, the firmly established king named Cherubini to succeed the ailing Martini, bestowing on the composer the title, "surintendant de la musique du roi, en survivance de Martini," which was to revert de facto.[3] Upon Martini's death in early February, Cherubini's high position was announced in the Moniteur universelle and he began to share trimesters (of three months) of the church year with LeSueur, the first of which began in July.[4]

The flexibility of the Bourbon chapel service in the Restoration was well described in the account by E. F. A. Miel, printed in Fétis'

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[1]Georges Servières, Episodes d'histoire musicale (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1914), 111.

[2]There was under Louis XVIII "little inclination to alter or modify the organization and operation of the official Chapelle." See Martin Herman's "The Sacred Music of Jean-François LeSueur: A Biographical Source Study" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Musicology, University of Michigan, 1964), p.210.

[3]Miel, loc. cit., p.2.

[4]See Bellasis, P.242.

Biographie universelle:

> Le service ordinaire de la chapelle des rois Louis XVIII et Charles X consistait en une messe basse, pendant laquelle les musiciens chantaient différents morceaux dont la durée ne devait pas être plus longue que la messe dite par le prêtre. Cette obligation était nouvelle pour Cherubini, dont la génie était enclin aux longs développements. Ce ne fut pas sans effort qu'il parvint a comprimer ses idées dans des limites si étroits; mais sa prodigieuse habileté parvint a surmonter les obstacles, et chacun des morceaux qui sortirent de sa plume pour le service de la chapelle, pendant les quatorze années suivantes, firent naître l'admiration des artistes. Les conditions dont je viens de parler expliquent l'exiguïté des messes nº 174, 196, 202, 211, du catalogue de ses oeuvres, et 8 du supplément, dans la comparaison qu'on en peut faire avec les messes solennelles en fa et en ré mineur. Rarement on exécutait une messe entière à la chapelle du roi: souvent toute la durée de l'office était rempli par un Kyrie suivi d'un motet. Cette circonstance explique le nombre considérable de morceaux détachés qu'indique le catalogue des ouvrages de Cherubini.[1]

> The service in the chapel of Louis XVIII and Charles X usually consisted of a low Mass, during which the musicians sang several pieces of a duration which was not to exceed the length of the office said by the priest. This was a new requirement for Cherubini, who was accustomed to long developments. It was not without difficulty that he learned to compress his ideas into such narrow limits, but his prodigious skill rose to the occasion and each of the compositions which he designed for the chapel service during the fourteen years that followed aroused admiration from his contemporaries. The conditions of which I have just spoken explain the brevity of the five Masses in the catalog of his works, numbers 174, 196, 202, 211, and number 8 of the supplemental list. They are indeed diminutive works, if they are compared to the Masses in F or D-minor. Rarely was a complete Mass sung in the king's chapel: often the duration of the entire office would be filled by a Kyrie, followed by a motet. This situation explains the numerous detached portions of the Mass indicated in Cherubini's catalog of his works.

LeSueur held the duties of the chapel for the second and fourth trimesters of the church year, and assisted Cherubini throughout the

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[1] Edme F. A. Miel, "Cherubini," Biographie universelle des musiciens ... 2nd éd. par F. J. Fétis (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877-78), I, 270.

year at royal weddings, confirmations, and funerals. Cherubini's Masses, motets, and hymn-settings were rarely performed in the liturgical order in which they were written--the motets were based largely on texts of the Benediction service, Mass Propers, or chants traditionally associated with movable feasts. The office of the Mass also brought together an elite society, centered around the king. The chapel musicians were invited (or required) to attend gatherings heralded by a fanfare of drums and fifes immediately after the spoken "Ite, missa est!" The practice was termed "worthy of the barbarianism of the middle ages" by Berlioz.[1] In the heat of summer, the musical service followed the court to Saint Cloud and for special ceremonies the chapel convened in Notre Dame.[2]

The low Mass of the chapel was restricted in duration to about a half-hour, during which the surintendants Cherubini and LeSueur appeared in court uniforms but seldom conducted the music. The orchestra and chorus were generally left to Plantade, the "chef d'orchestra" after July of 1815 (Plantade had been chapel director for the royal court of Holland). In Plantade's absence and in rehearsals the orchestra was directed by either of the first two violinists, Kreutzer or Baillot. According to Ludwig Spohr, the assignments were met smoothly "under the confident leadership of Plantade and the two

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[1] Georges Servières, Episodes, pp.127-28. [Berlioz was invited in the customary manner by a card of authorization which LeSueur obtained from the first minister of the king's chamber. LeSueur carefully discussed the work to be performed, since "rarely was the text taken from that of the Mass."]

[2] Ibid, pp.128-29.

violinists."[1] The two directors drew a salary of 3,000 francs each, compared to 10,000 once paid by Napoleon, but the composers were also allotted titular pensions, Cherubini receiving 2,800 francs from various awards. Cherubini and LeSueur also were paid as professors in composition at the Conservatory and indemnified for expenses as members of the Institut.

Both directors found the singers of the chapel inadequate after the Hundred Days and executed reforms, beginning with the employment of virtuosi from operatic theatres. Plantade was asked to recruit supplemental instrumentalists from the staff of the Conservatory. Count de Rohan, an aide to the king, received the requests, and by 1817 had arranged for employment of the additional musicians as honoraires. Annual reports listed only thirty-six singers in 1815, but fifty-two by 1829. The orchestra grew smaller (from 49 to 44) but attained a splendid virtuosity by 1825.[2] Three keyboard performers were added, two of whom played instruments (organ and piano) constructed by Sébastian Erard.[3]

First Years at the Chapel

Music historians agree that 1816 was Cherubini's busiest year. In January he composed a polyphonic cantata for the reunion of the

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[1] Spohr's description, quoted by several biographers, originated in one of his letters of 1821, after he visited Paris and the chapel in 1820. See Bellasis, Cherubini, p.241.

[2] Servières, Episodes, cf., p.116, p.143.

[3] Ibid., p.142 [At the end of the era there were two "accompagnateurs ... A. Piccinni and Pradher," and two "organistes, Séjan et Benoist."]

national, city, and royal guards, performed in a hall of the Louvre before the royal family.[1] In the weeks following he prepared his first Mass (in C), written for four-voiced chorus with soloists and orchestra. All of his chapel works from that date were inscribed "pour la service de la chapelle du roi." In the first year alone they included: five short settings of the Kyrie, a recitative on Psalm 116 (Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes), a short Sanctus, a detached Gloria and Credo, settings of the Corpus Christi hymn O salutaris, and five motets. Near the end of the year he wrote an elaborate cantata in connection with the marriage of the Duke of Berry. Given at a royal feast in the Tuileries (June 17, 1816), the festive work was performed by the chapel choir and orchestra with a soprano soloist. In the latter weeks of the year Cherubini composed his well-known Requiem in C to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. Performed at the old funeral church of Saint-Denis in January, 1817, the Requiem aroused protests by the Archbishop of Paris, who attempted to have the Mass officially banned because of the women's voices employed.[2] The incident had no bearing on later works which Cherubini wrote for the king's services, which were outside the normal concern of the church hierarchy due to the privileges granted the chapel. Cherubini's second Requiem (1836), however, was restricted to male voices.

The Conservatory reopened in April, 1816, with François Perne (d.1832) as its administrator. The official title was changed to

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[1] Toulmon, Notice, p.20.

[2] Cherubini's first Requiem was presented at various times for the obsequies of Méhul, Boïeldieu, and other musicians. See Combarieu, Histoire, II, 452.

Ecole royale de musique et de déclamation. Cherubini was one of six professors in the school named to the reformed Académie royale des beaux arts of the Institut de France.[1] Selected for the inner council of the Opera ("Conseil littéraire et musical"), he was charged with assisting in the selections of works for the Academy. These and other honors were cherished by Cherubini, who displayed his titles at the Convervatory. He especially valued his membership in the Enfants d'Apollon, the society which presented him to Viotti in 1786. Cherubini was indirectly associated with members such as Beethoven and Haydn through this affiliation.[2]

From 1817 to 1824 Cherubini composed three Masses, more than a dozen motets, and an opera (Blanche de Provence). The opera was commissioned by the king for the infant Duke of Bordeaux,[3] whose father (the Duke of Berry) was brutally assassinated in 1820. Cherubini wrote one-third of the music, the remaining portions shared by his colleagues Berton, Boïeldieu, Kreutzer, and Paër. Blanche de Provence was performed in a hall of Notre Dame on May 1, 1820, and repeated at the Academy (L'Opéra) two days later. The relatives of the infant Duke also commissioned Cherubini to write a cantata for the baptism of the prince, after which his absolution motet In paradisum (completed in 1820) was sung "for the soul of the Duke of Berry."

Of the Masses of this era (1818, 1819, and 1821), the most

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[1] By a decree signed at the Tuileries, March 21, 1816. Combarieu, II, p.422.

[2] Haydn's membership in the Parisian society was granted in 1807, two years after Cherubini had recommended Beethoven to the elite group for his Fidelio.

[3] See the annotation by the composer in Toulmon, Notice, p.23.

celebrated was the second, a messe du sacre for the belated confirmation of Louis XVIII. The four-voiced work (with full orchestra) earned the composer knighthood in the Order of Saint Michael.

There are few records of Cherubini's extra-musical activities in the era between his appointment to the chapel and the year of the coronation of Charles X (1825). The constant production of chapel works, each with orchestration, added to his duties at the Conservatory, led to a recurrence of his nervous illness in 1823, reflected in the shaky manuscript of his autographs after that year.

Appointment to Direct the Conservatory

Cherubini held a close relationship with the Belgian musician and historian François Joseph Fétis after 1821, when a minister of the king (Marquis Lauriston) appointed Fétis to the Conservatory. Fétis later supported Cherubini's appointment to head the school, through the same minister. A misprint in the Biographie universelle which placed the date of Cherubini's nomination as 1821[1] was corrected later by Fétis:

> M. de Lauriston me dit au commencement de 1822 qu'il était décidé à réorganiser le Conservatoire, et voulut bien me consulter sur ce qu'il y avait à faire à ce sujet. "Donnez-lui, répondis-je, pour directeur un homme de grand nom dans l'art, afin qu'il inspire confiance et soit comme le drapeau de l'école. Rendez-le indépendant de l'administration des Menus-Plaisirs; car les bureaux ne savent ce que c'est que le sentiment des arts, et se persuadent qu'on les administre avec des paperasses. Or, je crois que l'homme dont le nom est assez célèbre pour faire cette révolution (car c'est une révolution que me paraît nécessaire), c'est Cherubini!" ... Cherubini eut

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[1]The error is printed in Miel's article in Fétis, Biographie universelle, p.272.

la direction du Conservatoire un mois après.[1]

> M(onsieur) de Lauriston told me early in 1822 that he had decided to reorganize the Conservatory and that he wished my opinion on how he should approach the issue. "You should have for the director," I answered, "a man with a great name in the art, in order that he may inspire confidence and stand like the banner of his school. Release him from the administration of the Menus-Plaisirs, because that office knows nothing of the meaning of the arts and is convinced that it must administer them with red tape. Now, I believe the man whose name is well enough known to bring about that revolution (because it seems to me that a revolution is necessary) is Cherubini!" . . . Cherubini was named director of the school a month later.

The Conservatory's disarray was laid to the lack of leadership by its director Perne, who was brilliant in his day as a scholar of early music, from the Greeks to Josquin des Prez, but apparently a poor administrator. He had centered his attention on the library of the Conservatory since 1816, publishing numerous studies but failing to gain support of the regime. There were many fewer pupils than were represented in the total capacity of the institution, a lack of instruments, and inadequate fuel to heat the school in winter. Perne could no longer bear the situation himself by the time he delivered his request for dismissal in 1822.

After his appointment on April 11, Cherubini spent an average time of six to eight hours a day at the Conservatoire, according to Lafage.[2] He was known as a severe champion of punctuality and even rebuked the king's minister, Lauriston, for having arrived late at an awards ceremony.[3] A continuous array of solfeggio studies was

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[1]Fétis, Revue et gazette musicale, No. 40 (October 1, 1843), p.336.

[2]Lafage, loc. cit., p.98.

[3]Naumann, Italienische Tondichter, p.45.

composed by the director for his students. In the preparation of French texts which accompanied his examples, he was aided by his pupil Halévy, among others, who prepared the edition of his Cours de contrepoint et de fugue, published in France and Germany (Schott, 1835).[1]

Cherubini's pupils at the Conservatory during his nearly forty-seven years as a professor or director included Halévy, Zimmerman, Simon Leborne (d.1866), Auber, Michel Carafa ("de Colobrano," d.1872), Boïeldieu, Fétis, and Kuhn. Additional colleagues who were known to have employed his methods include LeSueur, Berton, Reicha, Adam, Kreutzer, and Baillot.[2]

The Chapel under Charles X

Louis XVIII had been successful in holding the republicans at bay while sacrificing the ambitions of nobility and clergy, who wished to regain their ancient position of supremacy. Charles X began his succession by attempting to restore the aristocracy, even proclaiming the old-fashioned concept of divine right of kings. Decrees which he issued in 1830 led to his downfall in "three glorious days" of July, after which he abdicated and fled to England.

Charles' search for grandeur added difficulties to Cherubini's duties at the chapel and Conservatory. In 1824, the composer resigned from the Juri of the Opera for the purpose of concentrating on his Confirmation Mass for Charles, completed in April of 1825, and sung in the ceremony at Rheims on May 29 of the same year. The colophon of an

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[1] Naumann, op. cit., p.48.

[2] Ibid., p.44.

early edition of the Mass (published by Combarieu) listed Cherubini's title under the new king, essentially unchanged, but resplendent in pomp:

> Troisième messe solenelle à trois parties / en choeur avec accompagnements à grand orchestre, / éxecutée au sacre de S. M. le Roi Charles X, / composées par Luigi Cherubini, ... surintendant titulaire de la musique de S. M. le Roi de France et / Directeur de l'Ecole a Paris, / chez l'auteur, rue de faubourg Poissonière, No. 19 [n.d.].[1]

Written for a chorus of ninety-six singers, the Mass and an accompanying motet for the offertory (Confirma hoc Deus) were sung by sopranos, tenors, and basses. The orchestra for the performance at Rheims included more than a hundred instruments.[2] The contrapuntal Mass was later presented in a concert hall of the Menus-Plaisirs, at the conclusion of which Johann Nepomuk Hummel, then Kapellmeister of Weimar, leaped to his feet and shouted, "Through your Mass, you have given us pure gold!" ("Dass ist Gold, was Sie uns in Ihrer Messe geben!")[3] As a result of the effect which the Mass created upon Charles X, the new monarch awarded Cherubini an increase in budget allowance for the Conservatory. The orchestra of the school rose to a new level under the conductor Habaneck, who approached Cherubini in 1828 with the idea of public concerts at the Conservatory. The suggestion was relayed to Charles X, who named Cherubini the presiding official and Habaneck the new conductor. The first concert opened March 9, 1828 with a performance of Beethoven's Eroica Symphony. On Sundays at two o'clock in the afternoon, Habaneck conducted sacred concerts, during which

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[1] Combarieu, Histoire, p.452.

[2] Wittman, Biographie Cherubinis, p.52.

[3] Lipsius, loc. cit., p.43.

Cherubini's Masses and motets had their first performances outside the chapel.[1]

The catalog of Cherubini's works between late 1825 and mid-1826 includes many brief exercises in solfeggio (with changeable clefs) for the Conservatory examinations, several O salutaris compositions, and a new Adagio for a second string quartet (a work principally adapted from his London symphony). In the months before the dissolution of the chapel by the July Revolution of 1830, his attention turned again to the larger motets for mixed media. Sciant gentes and Esto mihi, settings of the Introit, Gradual, and Tract for Sexagesimal and Quinquagesimal Sundays, were his last works for the chapel, which reached its final brilliance just prior to the downfall of the restored monarchy. The choir sang its last Mass for the Bourbon court on July 25 (Cherubini's Mass in E-flat).

The Final Years

After the abdication of Charles X, Louis-Philippe was crowned king, not of France, but "of the French citizens, by the grace of God and by the will of the people."[2] Cherubini greeted the July government with a simple Collect pour les blessés de la révolution de juillet, a meager offering in contrast to the festive cantatas and sacred works which he created for the return of the Bourbons.[3] Although in his

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[1] Wittman, Biographie, p.55

[2] Artz, France under the Restoration, p.37.

[3] The work is not listed in the composer's list of works but is mentioned in his personal notes, published in Ernest Louis V. J. L'Epine (pseud. Maurice Quatrelles), Cherubini (1760-1842); Notes et documents

personal notes he named September his last month as chapel intendant, he was actually allowed a few weeks to remove many of his scores and possessions from the chapel quarters. He may also at this time have helped organize the skeletal ensemble of musicians which was retained.[1]

In December of 1830 the Conservatory staff was also reduced by royal decree. The institution survived through a mutual effort of the musical heads, who collaborated in opera production. In one such alliance, Cherubini joined with eight of his contemporaries (including Paër, Berton, Herold, and Auber, among others) in the setting of a brilliant comédie, La Marquise de Brinvillières. The significance of the collaboration was that Cherubini, who actually composed only the introduction, was respected for his dramatic music after a pause in operatic composition of ten years (1821-1831). Two years later, in July of 1833, Cherubini's last work for the theatre was performed at l'Opéra, his Ali Baba, an enormous opera of four acts and a prologue. The duration of the performance, in spite of numerous deletions, was nearly four hours, the original score comprising one thousand pages.[2] Many of Cherubini's friends assisted in scoring and directing the production of the work, which was intended as a type of final tribute to the composer drawn from his earlier music, especially his Koukourgi of 1793.[3]

Among the activities of the composer in his later years, the

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inédits (extrait, Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du théâtre), Paris: Fischbacher, 1913, p.117.

[1] Ibid., pp.117-118. [2] Toulmon, Notice, p.29.

[3] Lipsius, loc. cit., p.51.

direction of the Conservatory stands out, with Cherubini personally composing the solfeggio examinations until he was released in 1841. In spite of his duties, he completed the last four of his six string quartets and a string quintet. The quintet was played at a ceremony in Cherubini's honor at the Conservatory before an enthusiastic audience. Asked to resign in 1841, he refused to give up the direction of the school to Auber, but was forcibly superannuated ("mis à la rétraite") by Louis-Philippe.[1] After his death in the following year, Cherubini was heralded in official tributes of the Institut de France, particularly for his operas, his reforms of the Chapelle royale, and his expansion of the functions of the Conservatoire.

Cherubini's son attempted to collect his father's works for publication, aided by a Monsieur Vaucourbeil.[2] The venture was only partly successful, since dozens of autographed manuscripts were never found. Among the composer's own music, however, were discovered hundreds of carefully copied and identified works by Handel, Palestrina, Lotti, Marcello, Clari, and Jomelli, along with studies extracted from these works for the students of the Conservatory. (The most significant of these copies in regard to the present study is the four-hundred-page collection of "Morceaux latins de différents auteurs," to which Cherubini added a "table explicative," showing the various sources of music included.) The extant manuscripts were sold to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, with certain rights of publication

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[1]The order resulted from a new regulation of tenure for the school: See Lafage, loc. cit., p.99.

[2]Fétis, Revue et gazette musicale, No. 41 (Oct. 8, 1843), p.345.

released to private firms in Paris and Vienna. In spite of Fétis' plea for the French government to preserve Cherubini's autographs and editions published during the life of the composer, there was no attempt to make the works a national treasure during the reign of Louis-Phillipe.[1]

The diversity of Cherubini's career created many of his problems. His composition of opera was marked by major transitions developed from basic Italian and French styles. His sacred works emerged later, through his continuing interest in assimilation of polyphonic styles and supported by his pedagogical activity. Although not an articulate historian and writer on music, he encouraged scholarly pursuits, both in his private endeavor to restore early works and in his insistence that the library of the Conservatoire be expanded to include multiple numbers of copies of all published books and music. His instrumental music remained largely undeveloped within independent genres but was revealed in all of his two dozen operas and in his later sacred works. Although Cherubini's biographers have profusely assessed the significance of his life and works, they could have no more than slightly indicated his influence on the tone of studies pursued by succeeding generations of musicians, both at the Conservatoire and in all major musical centers.

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[1]Félix Clément, Les Musiciens célèbres depuis la seizième siècle jusqu'à nos jours (Paris: Hachette, 1868), p.255.

CHAPTER III

A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE MOTETS

Cherubini's Motet Production

Two Eras of Sacred Composition

Luigi Cherubini had composed sacred Latin music for the Duomo of his native Florence decades before the production of his famous Parisian operas. The earliest of his sacri affetti were motets, psalm-settings, and antiphons written for local churches, a practice which he was forced to abandon in his early journey to London and Paris, where he was engaged solely for the creation of Italian opera. Cherubini began to resume his sacred composition in the midst of the outbreak of the French Revolution. During a brief rest at a castle in Normandy, he composed a small group of motets, hymns, and antiphons, pieces which were awarded to the private chapel of his host (see p.36). The efforts of his retreat, however, constituted merely a reflection of Cherubini's youthful interest in sacred music. A continuation in sacred Latin composition was impossible in Paris, where upon his return he was swept into the republican movement. For the ceremonial feasts of the Revolution, he composed hymns and cultist anthems, principally between 1791 and 1798.

Cherubini made a second effort to resume composition in the

sacred genre during a visit to Chimay in 1808. He wrote two movements of a Mass for a church there and completed the work for a performance in Paris the following year. For the remainder of the Napoleonic era, Cherubini's activity in sacred music was restricted to private salon concerts of his earlier works at the town houses of nobility. The only Latin composition outside of the Ordinary of the Mass which Cherubini wrote in this era was a four-voiced Litany commissioned by Prince Esterhazy (Nicholas II).[1]

Cherubini's second and largest group of motets were composed during his later era of sacred production between 1816 and 1830, a period in which he served as composer to the Bourbon monarchs. All of his Latin compositions during the epoch were inscribed for the chapel of the king.[2] Among his motets, Masses, hymns, and single Mass movements for the chapel were works for practically all combinations of vocal media, most of which were provided with orchestral accompaniment. The selection of works for Masses and ceremonies at the chapel was the principal task of the director, who frequently employed his own works. In his catalog he described his numerous settings of single portions of the Mass as new insertions for his own cycles of the Ordinary.[3] Cherubini was seventy years of age when the chapel tradition was terminated during the July Revolution of 1830. Although active, he

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[1] J.-A. Bottée de Toulmon, Notice des manuscrits autographes de la musique composée par Cherubini (Paris, 1843), p.17.

[2] Each manuscript for the chapel is headed, "Service de la Chapelle du roi."

[3] "Tous ces morceaux sont nouveaux et intercalés dans des fragments de mes anciennes messes." See Toulmon, Notice, p.20n.

ceased to compose sacred works and generally restricted himself to pedagogical and chamber music, interrupted twice briefly, first for his lengthy operatic reconstruction, Ali Baba (1835), and later for his second Requiem (1836).

The sources of Cherubini's motets and lesser sacred compositions are widely scattered (see Appendix A). Only copies now remain of his earlier compositions but many of the later motets, housed in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (DDR), are preserved in original autographed scores. A loss of some of Cherubini's early sacred music was noted by the composer as having resulted partly from a sale by his father of "all the music which he owned" ("toute la musique qu'il possédait").[1] The missing works included two four-voiced settings of Psalm 109 composed in 1774 and 1775, and two unnamed "Motetti" written between 1777 and 1781. All were for ensembles of solo voices except the Motetto of 1781, composed for Luigi Marchesi, the sopranist of Milan.[2]

The extant early motets include two trios for male voices of 1790, copies of which are held in the Biblioteca nazionale Marciana of Venice. An unautographed score in Cherubini's hand of his Nemo gaudeat of 1781 is preserved in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire of the French Bibliothèque Nationale.[3]

Factors Common to the Earlier and Later Motets

Cherubini's application of the term motet identifies his sacred Latin vocal compositions other than his settings of the Ordinary of the Mass, straightforward texts of hymns and antiphons, or litanies. His

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[1]Toulmon, p.3n. [2]Ibid., p.5. [3]Appendix A, No. 16.

texts all include repetition or omission of words, lines, or verses, but none of the paraphrase technique which characterizes many sacred cantatas. An instrumental accompaniment is employed throughout the compositions, although the trio motets of 1790 may have been performed a cappella, since the organ parts appear to have been added only for support. The motets for the French chapel are scored for orchestral accompaniment, varying from a string ensemble to grande orchestre with woodwinds, brass, or timpani.

Classification of Motets in the Analysis

A similar proportion of the twenty-two extant motets by Cherubini are scored for solo voices alone or in ensembles (seven), choruses (seven), and mixed vocal media (eight). There are similarities in treatment of text, themes, and harmony in each group, although the height of structural and tonal complexity is reached in the motets for mixed solo voices and chorus, especially in the settings of items from the Proper of the Mass which comprise much of the last classification.

In the present analysis, an outline of style illustrated by examples from the three major groupings of vocal media, certain motets are selected for more detailed examination while only specific features of other works are isolated for discussion. The eminent musicologist Sir Donald Tovey observed, "there is no such thing as a simultaneous musical coup d'oeil; not even though Mozart is believed to have said that he imagined his music in that way."[1] In this respect, the present

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[1](Sir) Donald Francis Tovey, A Companion to Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas (London: Royal Schools of Music, 1931), p.1.

examination is intended as a search for elements of organic unity and variety as practiced by the composer in his motets. There are no available literary sources which reveal the composer's initial concepts regarding the priority of texts or musical themes which he may have desired to employ. Therefore, it is assumed that each setting is for a specific text which may have been chosen, in turn, for appropriate occasions.

Motets for Solo Voices

Settings of Texts from the Benedictional Blessing

All but one of Cherubini's motets for solo voices are based on texts of plainchant associated with the communion sacraments. Four are set to blessings of the Eucharistic symbols at the Benediction service[1] and two to the Lauda Sion sequence associated with Corpus Christi. Only the composer's Ave Maria belongs outside the specific celebrations of the Host, but has long been one of the prayers said before and after each office, including the Mass.

During Cherubini's visit to Normandy in 1790, he composed several small motets for male voices and organ, among which is extant an O Jesu dulcis, a trio for two tenors and a bass. Its textual organization typifies Cherubini's manner of adaptation, although the motet is among the least complex of the solo group. The source of the

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[1]The Benediction service is not a liturgical ceremony, but traditionally follows the office of Vespers at sunset. Those assembled are blessed with the Host while special antiphons or motets are sung. The service occasionally preceded evening gatherings at the Bourbon court.

text is the last strophe of the well-known antiphon Ave verum corpus:

> O Jesu dulcis, o Jesu pie, o Jesu Fili Mariae,
> Tu nobis miserere, Tu nobis miserere.

In Cherubini's O Jesu dulcis, an Adagio of thirty-two measures, the two-line text is expanded by inner phrase repetitions and the entire supplication of the second line is repeated:

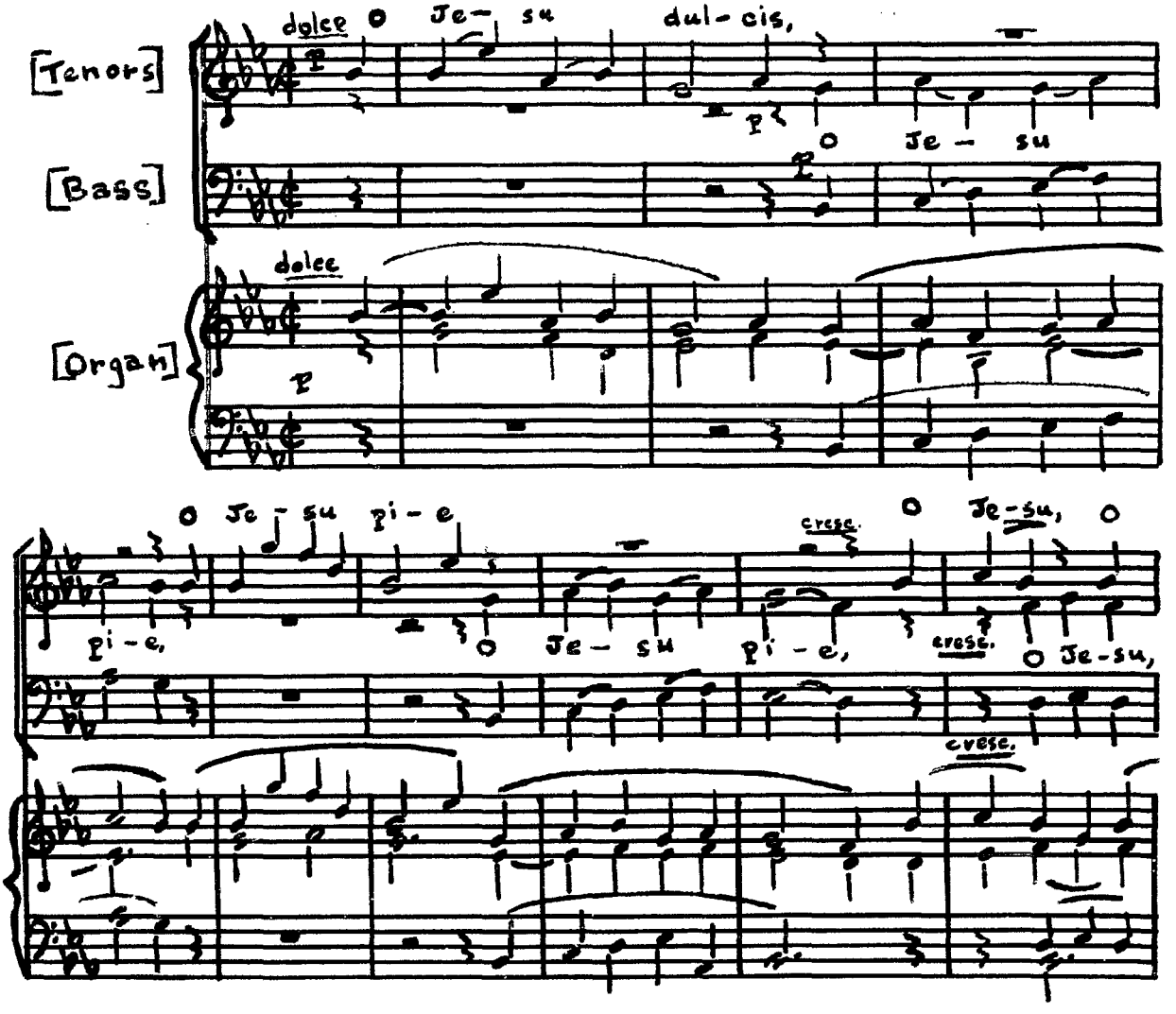
> O Jesu dulcis, o Jesu dulcis, o Jesu pie, o Jesu pie,
> O Jesu, o Jesu, o Jesu Fili Mariae (mm.1-12)
>
> Tu nobis miserere, Tu nobis miserere,
> Miserere, miserere, miserere (mm.13-24)
>
> Tu nobis miserere, miserere,
> Tu nobis miserere. (mm.25-32)

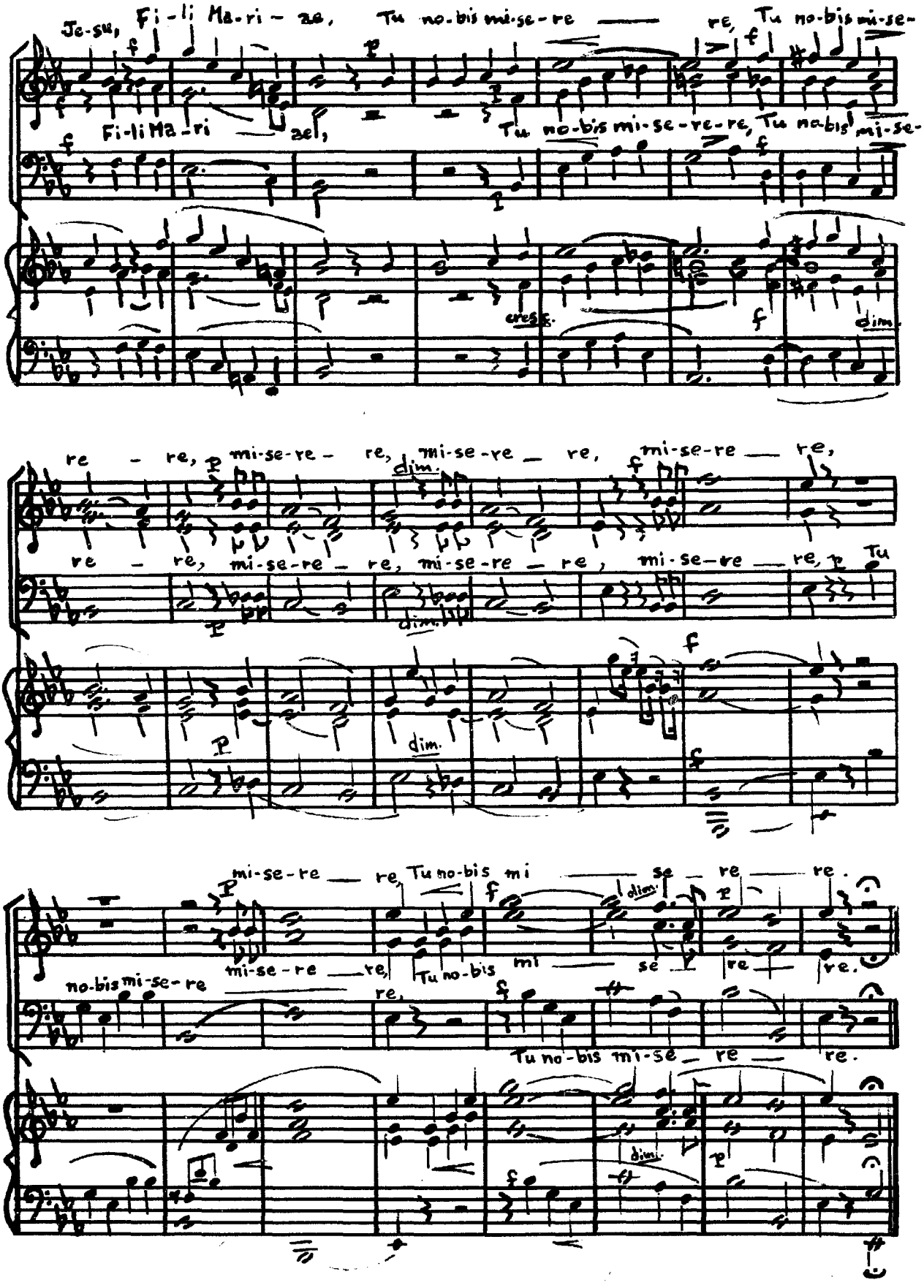
The musical setting consists primarily of antiphonal counterpoint between one voice and the remaining pair, in short motivic phrases. In each section all voices are combined in ensemble after the opening dialogue, all with organ accompaniment supporting the vocal trio and providing an additional part (see Ex. 2, below). Each of the three sections of O Jesu dulcis are melodically different but with similarities between parts. In the first phrase, a rising diatonic line sung by the bass (mm.3-4) closely resembles the entry of the tenor voice in the second section at "Tu nobis" (mm.13-15). The rhythmic-motivic "miserere" which is repeated in the second section (mm.19-20ff., in brackets) is reiterated in the final measures (mm.27-28).

The tonal organization of O Jesu is conservatively centered around the tonic key, in which each section begins. The divisions of the text are clearly marked by authentic cadences at the close of each, the first in the dominant, and the remaining two in the tonic level. A brief indication of subdominant tonality is suggested by the lowered-

seventh degree which occurs in the second section. Like many of the alterations employed by the composer in the early motets, it is used to form a secondary-dominant chord within the key (Ex. 1, m.14). The resolution of the chord (V^7/IV--IV) is suspended by a double lower appoggiatura (m.15), echoed a measure later on the tonic chord. The final section is essentially a dramatic presentation of the supplication, in which the summit of intensity is achieved at the last "miserere" through a peak of vocal pitch and a simultaneous increase of texture in the organ accompaniment (Ex. 1, mm.29-30):

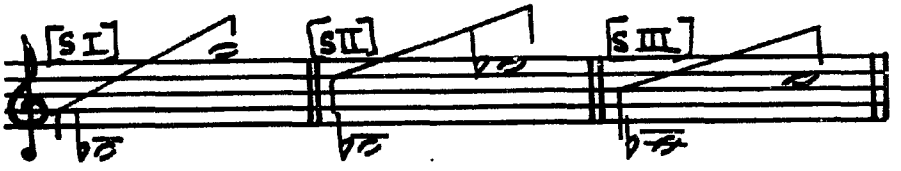
Ex. 1. O Jesu dulcis, 1791 (Adagio).




Je-su, Fi-li Ma-ri-ae, Tu no-bis mi-se-re re, Tu no-bis mi-se-
Fi-li Ma-ri ae, Tu no-bis mi-se-re-re, Tu no-bis mi-se-
cresc.
dim.
re re, mi-se-re re, mi-se-re re, mi-se-re re,
re re, mi-se-re re, mi-se-re re, mi-se-re re, Tu
dim.
mi-se-re re Tu no-bis mi se re re.
no-bis mi-se-re mi-se-re re, Tu no-bis mi se re re.
Tu no-bis mi-se re re.
dim.

Cherubini later incorporated his trio O Jesu dulcis into his larger motet, Ave verum corpus, a setting of the full benedictional chant written for the king's chapel in 1816 and one of the first works which the composer created for the virtuoso musicians of the establishment. The Ave verum is scored throughout for three sopranos and an orchestra of strings, two clarinets, and obbligato horn. The actual tessitura of the voices ("première, deuxième, et troisième dessus") corresponds to that of present-day soprano, mezzo-soprano, and contralto parts, the ranges of which are shown below (Ex. 2):

Ex. 2. Ave verum corpus, Range of Voices.

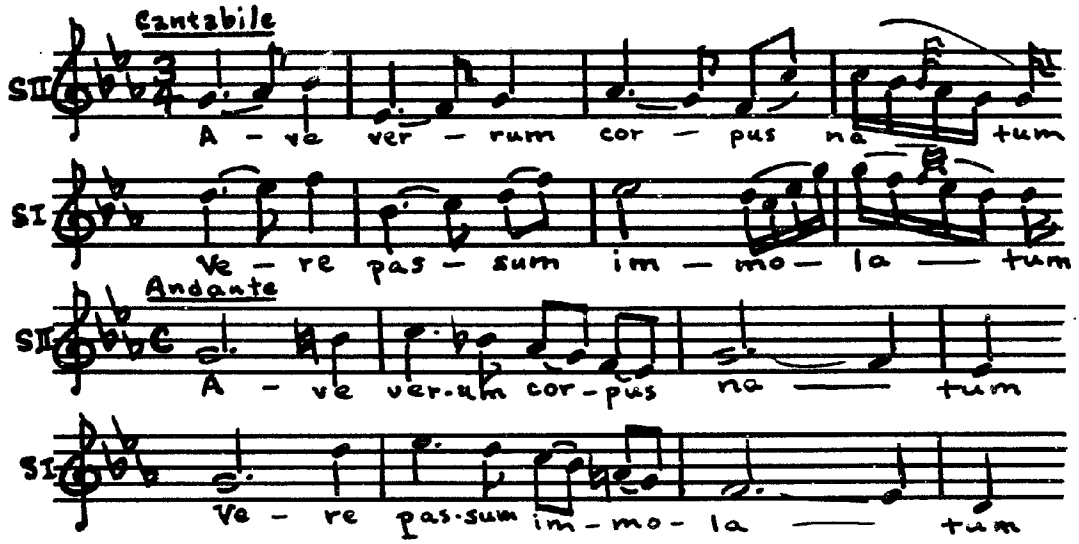


The Cantabile and Andante con moto of the Ave verum together form a continuous double setting of a five-line text, the last line of which begins and ends the second movement:

Text Line	Incipit	Vocal Medium
	I. Cantabile	
(1)	"Ave verum"	Soprano II
(2)	"Vere passum"	Soprano I
(3)	"Cujus latus"	Soprano III
(4)	"Esto nobis"	Ensemble (trio)
	II. Andante con moto	
(5)	"O Jesu dulcis"	Ensemble
(1)	"Ave verum"	Soprano II
(2)	"Vere passum"	Soprano I
(3)	"Cujus latus"	Soprano III
(4)	"Esto nobis"	Ensemble
(5)	"O Jesu dulcis"	Ensemble

The varied binary structure of the motet is partly unified through the similar deployment of solos and ensembles in each movement. Solos in the Cantabile and Andante enter in identical order although they are entirely different, thematically. In both movements, the second voice answers the first imitatively at the text "Vere passum" (cf., Ex. 3). The tonal relationship between the entries in the opening is tonic (E-flat) to dominant; in the Andante, however, the solo sections modulate after an opening in relative minor, returning to the dominant key in the freely imitative answer:

Ex. 3. Ave verum corpus, First Pair of Solo Entries and Answers.

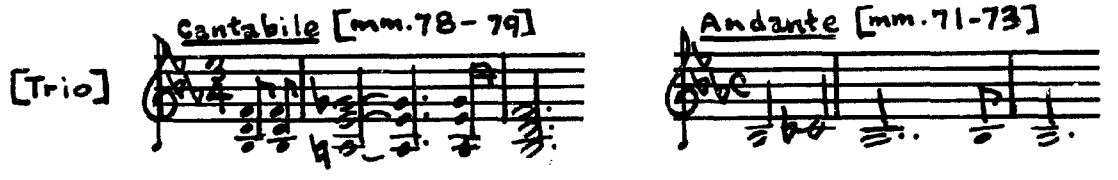


Tonal cohesion of the two movements is secured through tonic harmony of the "O Jesu dulcis," which is first sung as the second main theme following the Cantabile movement (segue). The "O Jesu" setting returns as the final reprise of the motet. The third solo of each movement, "Cujus latus," modulates to various related minor keys and leads into an ensemble ("Esto nobis"), which returns to the dominant, in preparation for the "O Jesu dulcis" which follows:

Text	Key Levels--Cantabile	Key Levels--Andante
"O Jesu dulcis"	———	E-flat
"Ave verum"	E-flat	C minor ~ E-flat[1]
"Vere Passum"	B-flat	C minor ~ G minor
"Cujus latus"	F minor ~ C minor	G minor ~ E-flat(V^7)
"Esto nobis"	C minor ~ E-flat minor(V)	E-flat minor(V^7)
"O Jesu dulcis"	———	E-flat

A subtle reinforcement of tonality is applied at the conclusions of "Esto nobis." In both movements, the section ends in the dominant key, but penultimate to the parallel minor rather than the major mode, due to the usage of the lowered third and sixth degrees of the scale (Ex. 4):

Ex. 4. Ave verum corpus, "In examine."



The opening of the O Jesu dulcis not only reaffirms the major key, but in the reprise the section is treated as a theme for development. The first entrance of the soprano voice bears only a slight alteration from the opening of the original motet for male voices of 1790 (Ex. 5):

Ex. 5. Incipits, O Jesu dulcis, 1790; Ave verum corpus (Adagio), 1816.



The development of "O Jesu dulcis" begins with an added brief free fantasia, a discursive treatment of the opening phrase (Ex. 6):

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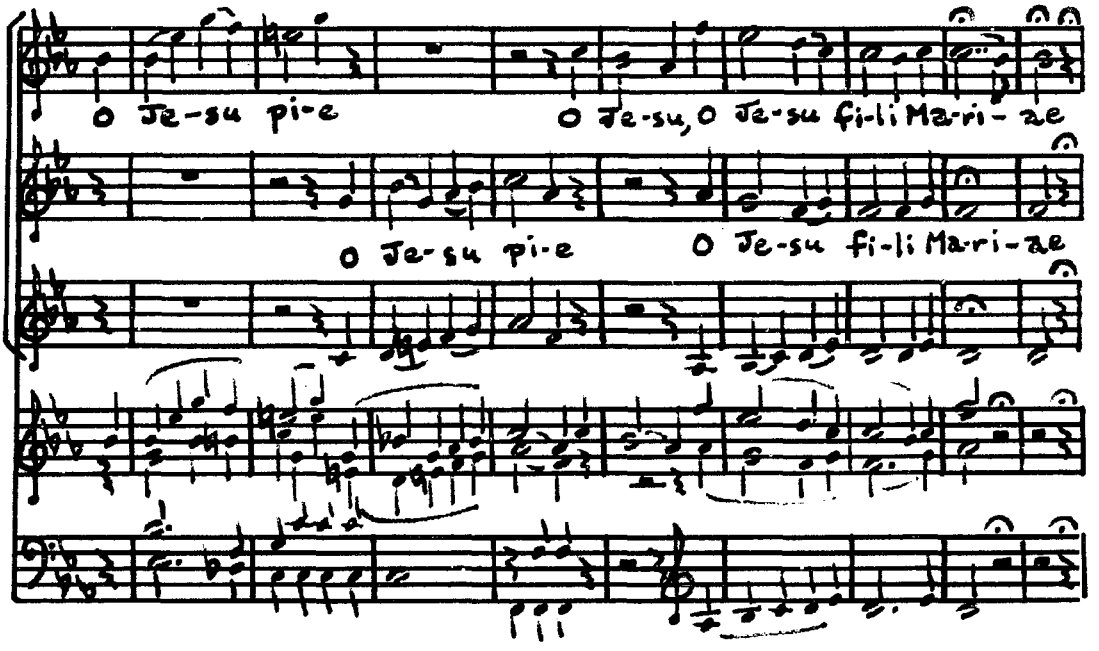
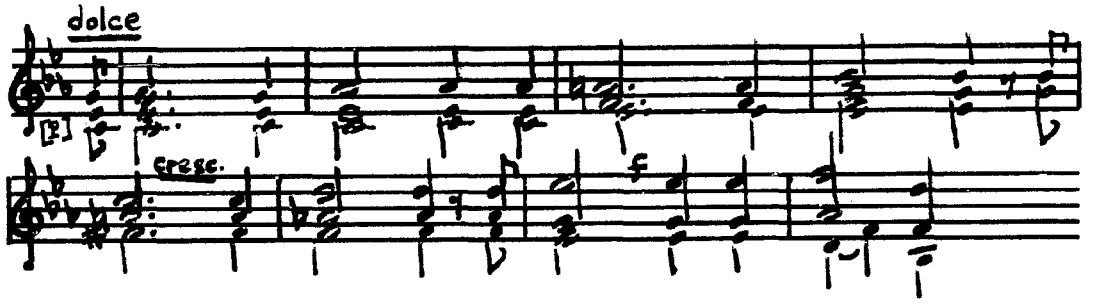
[1]The broken line (~) which appears in examples is employed in sections which modulate, either with or without additional intervening changes of key.

Ex. 6. Ave verum corpus, mm.79-87.



A return of virtually all of the O Jesu dulcis of 1790 follows in the voices, interrupted at a deceptive cadence for the insertion of another free development, here a rising, dramatic chordal trio (Ex. 7):

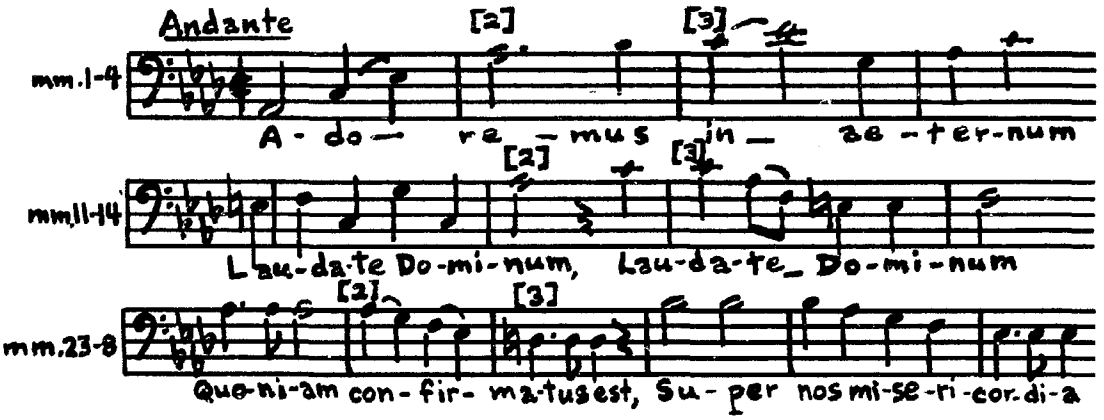
Ex. 7. Ave verum corpus, mm.106-113.



The conclusion of the motet is nearly identical to that employed by Cherubini in his original setting of O Jesu dulcis, except for the support of the orchestra at the final climax instead of organ.

From the same era as Cherubini's O Jesu dulcis (1790) is preserved his Adoremus in aeternum, a setting of a verse employed after the blessing in the Benediction service. Written for three basses and an optional organ accompaniment (which largely doubles the vocal parts), the short motet consists of a canon at the unison, at the distance of a measure between entries. The presentation of the canon is in three consecutive segments to which is added a simple chordal codetta. The melodic style of the entries is marked by unequal length of phrases, varying from two or three to four measures (cf., Ex. 8. The distance of the entries is indicated by the numbers in brackets):

Ex. 8. Adoremus in aeternum, Main Entries.

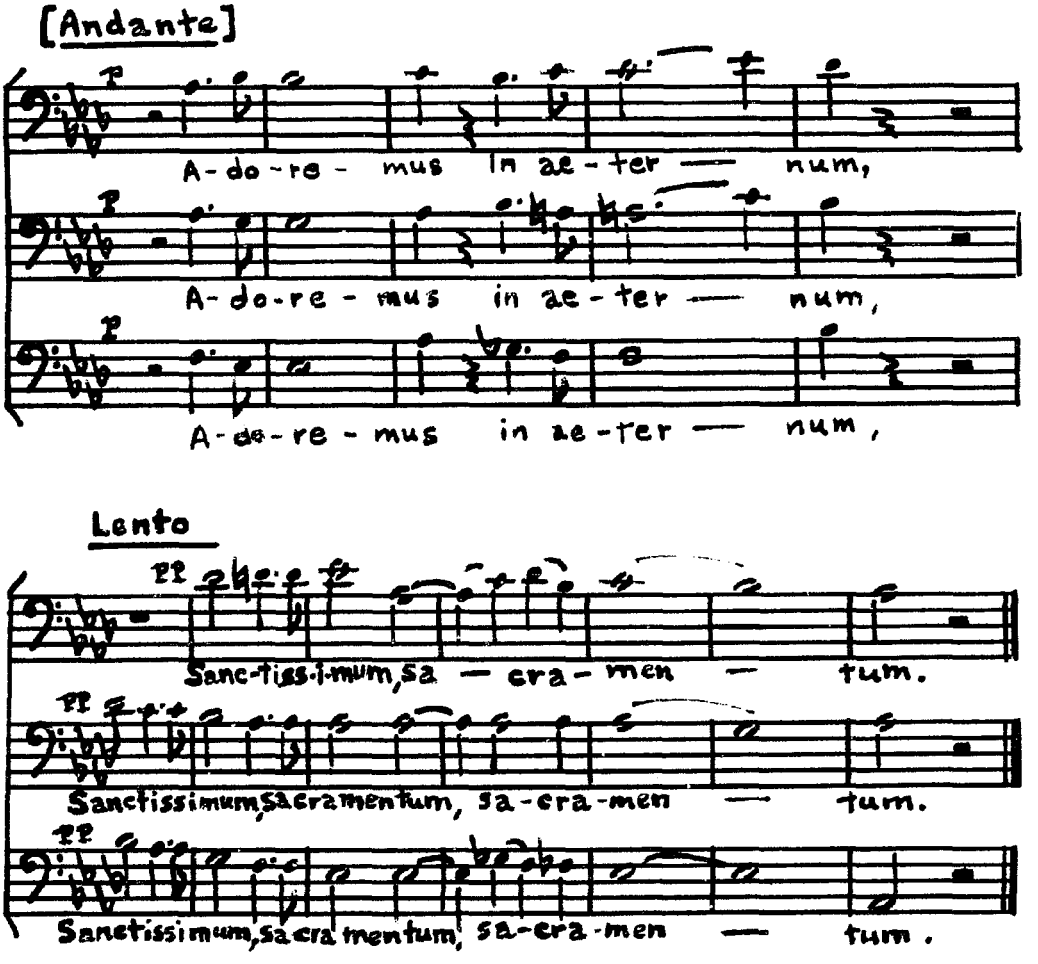


All three canonic segments are repeated with new texts. Following the plainchant verse is presented the reiterated "Adoremus" and an added doxology, both of which are sung to the benediction antiphon:

Text	Music	Key
Adoremus	Canon, part 1	A-flat
Laudate (Ps.116:1)	Canon, part 2	F minor ~ A-flat
Quoniam (Ps.116:2)	Canon, part 3	E-flat ~ A-flat
Adoremus	Canon, part 1	A-flat
Gloria Patri	Canon, part 2	F minor ~ A-flat
Sicut erat	Canon, part 3	E-flat ~ A-flat
Adoremus	New Ensemble	A-flat

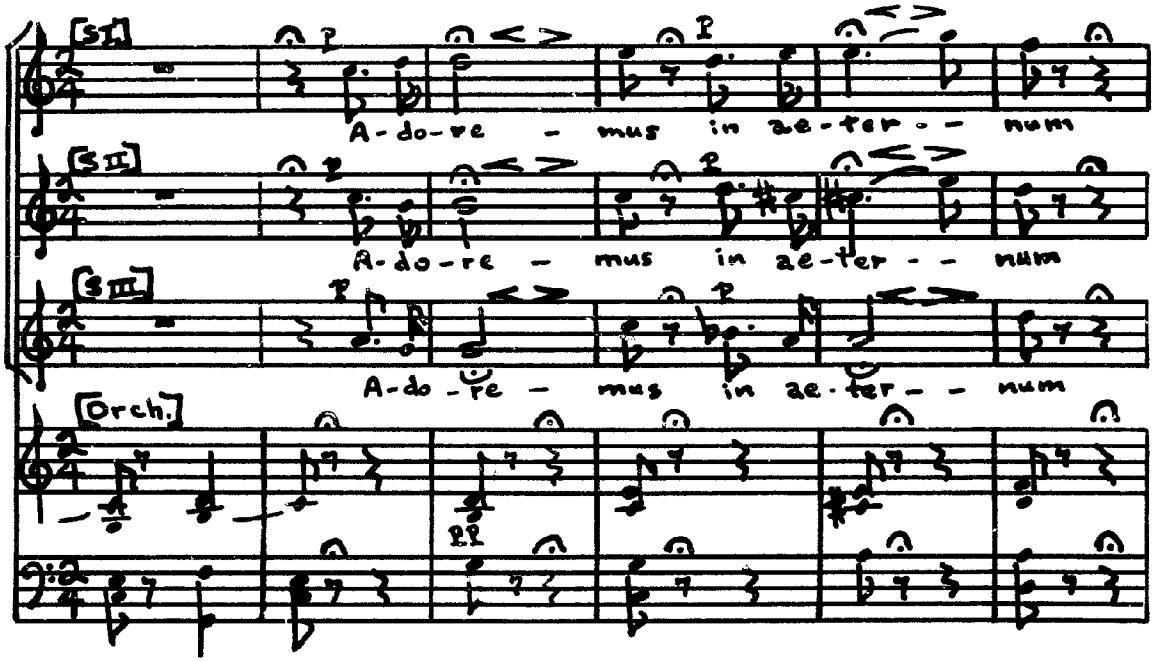
As in Cherubini's O Jesu dulcis of the same era, the Adoremus in aeternum concludes in a final section of essentially dramatic function, one of repose, however, in the canonic motet. After the constant contrapuntal activity which precedes the codetta, pauses are introduced; the motion is retarded both in tempo and by the employment of larger note-values; and the dynamic level is reduced (Ex. 9). The mood of the close is thus made to correspond with the peaceful nature of the text, the benedictional blessing:

Ex. 9. Adoremus in aeternum, mm.79-89.



Cherubini revised his Adoremus in aeternum for the Chapelle royale in 1824 (listed by Toulmon in his Supplément under that date and held in autographed manuscript by the Berlin Staatsbibliothek). The motet is transposed to C major in the later version, scored for three sopranos or tenors with an orchestral accompaniment of strings and woodwinds. Ornamental figures are added in the instruments, primarily in eighth- and sixteenth-note patterns (in $\frac{2}{4}$ meter). The primary revision, however, is in the expression of the later piece, enhanced by more precise dynamics and dramatic pauses. The techniques revealed in the final ensemble (Ex. 10) reflect Cherubini's development as an opera composer during his middle years:

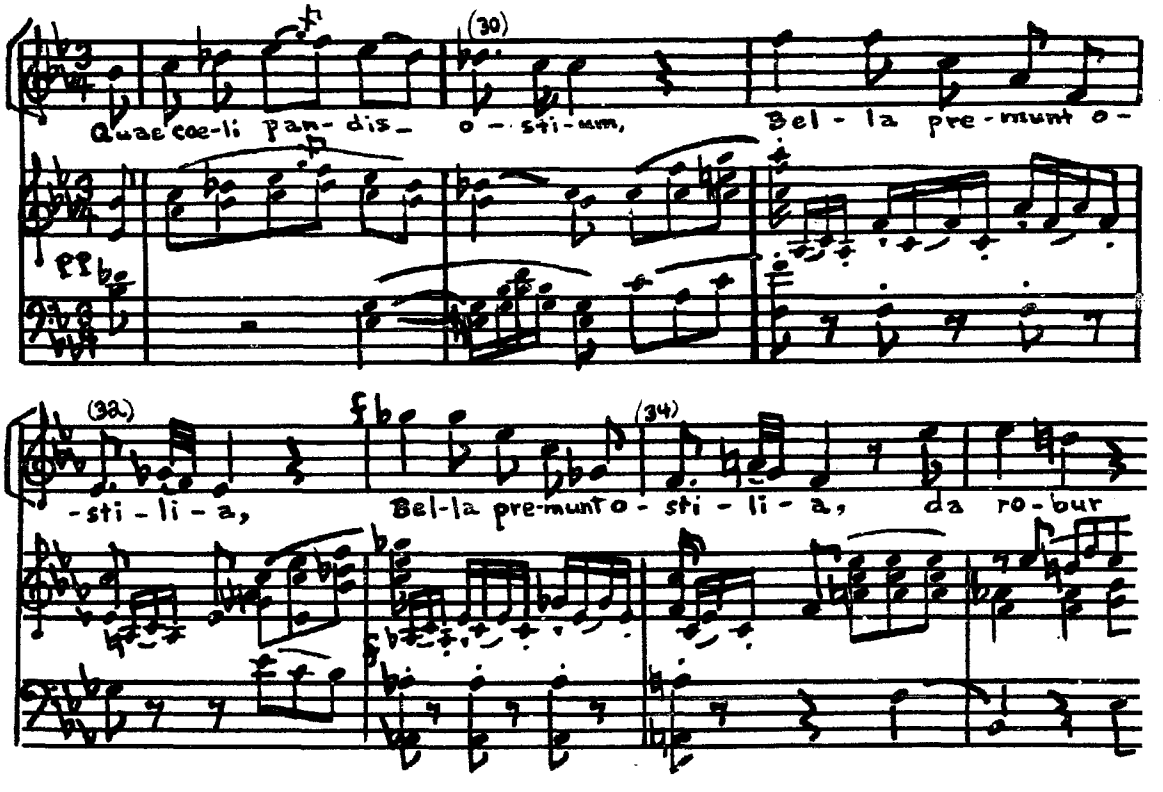
Ex. 10. Adoremus in aeternum (Rev. 1824), mm.88-92.



The motets for solo voices which Cherubini composed while director of the king's chapel contain not only refinements in expression but also a greater harmonic complexity than his earlier settings. In

the composer's Sanctus--O salutaris of 1817, a bravura solo motet for tenor or soprano voice, the text is partially from the Sanctus of the Mass and the remainder from the Corpus Christi hymn, Verbum supernum. The "Sanctus" is set in short declamatory recitative (Allegro maestoso--Grave), harmonized primarily with a dominant pedal. A triple setting of "O salutaris" follows segue, a Cantabile solo. At the second "Bella premunt hostilia" of the solo, a remarkable example of Cherubini's free sequence is heard. The harmony of the passage progresses essentially from subdominant to dominant levels in the key of E-flat major (Ex. 11, mm.29-35), but the intervening chords imply B-flat minor (m.32), the parallel mode of the dominant key. A rising chromatic bass line in the orchestra moves through successive natural- to raised-seventh degrees. The effect is that of chromatic resolution of a seventh-chord after a strong vocal climax marked by an expressive forte (m.33):

Ex. 11. Sanctus--O salutaris, mm.29-35.



The Sanctus--O salutaris is written in a wide tessitura throughout, the entire range encompassing two octaves (small B-flat to two-line B-flat).

Verses of the Sequence Lauda Sion

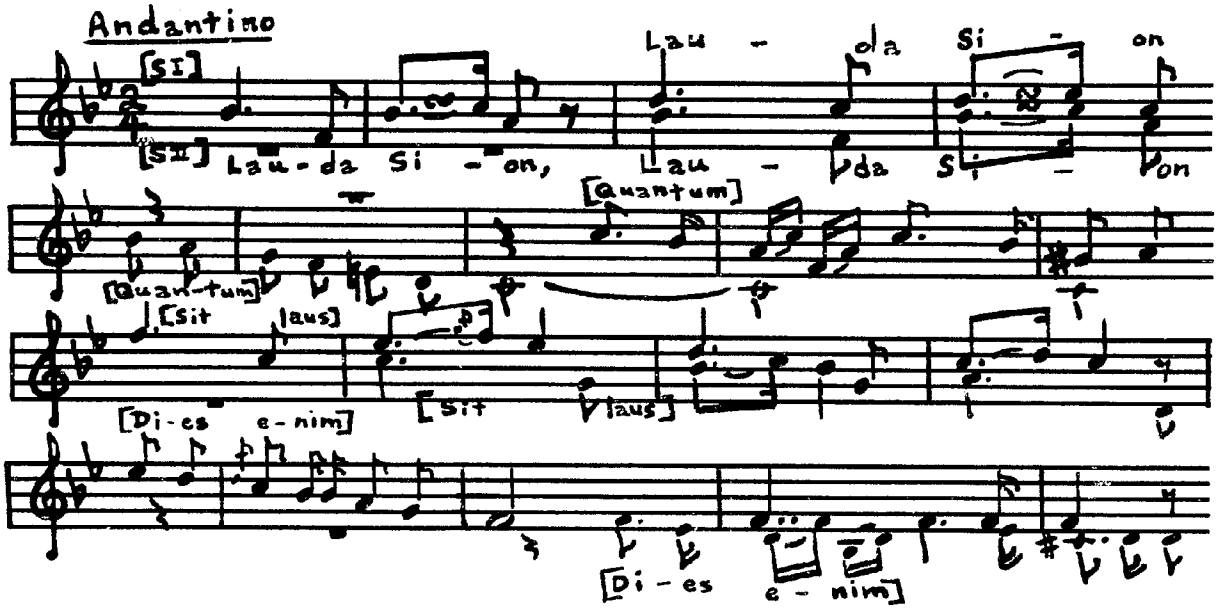
Two of the solo motets for the chapel, both composed in 1816, are based on verses selected from the sequence Lauda Sion, the literary masterpiece attributed to Thomas Aquinas. In Cherubini's duet, Lauda Sion, are set verses one, two, five, and six of the sequence--in the composer's solo, Ecce panis, are employed the texts of verses twenty-one, twenty-two, and twenty-four of the same medieval chant.

The Lauda Sion, for two sopranos and orchestra, is constructed on a type of classical alternation scheme in which two motivic themes are presented in a variety of contrapuntal entries. The principal subjects ("Lauda Sion" and "Sit laus plena," cf. below) are imitated, but the secondary subjects ("Quantam" and "Dies enim") are answered with a new motive:

Main Entries	First Key	Key of Imitation	Key of Answer
(A)"Lauda Sion"	B-flat	B-flat	———
(B)"Quantam"	F (V^7)	———	F
(A)"Sit laus plena"	F	G minor	———
(B)"Dies enim"	B-flat (V^7)	———	B-flat

In the musical presentation of the contrapuntal duet, the distance is varied between the voices at the return of the first theme ("Sit laus;" see Ex. 12):

Ex. 12. Lauda Sion, Main Entries.



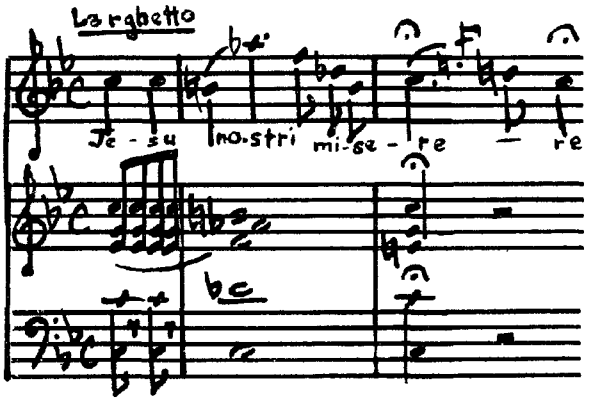
The Lauda Sion also contains a final dramatic section, consisting of bravura passages for the soloists and a double cadenza for the paired voices. Most of the ornaments employed by Cherubini in his motets are contained in the work, including a wide variety of appoggiaturas, trills, and turns.

Ecce panis unfolds in the manner of a skillful aria da capo, in which the orchestra is allotted a motive of the principal section (the head-motive of "A," below). The same motive is employed in the introduction, in transition, and in the coda:

Text Incipit	Key	Thematic Section	Length in Measures
(orch.)	B-flat	Head-motive of A	5
Ecce panis	B-flat	A	12
(orch.)	B-flat	Head-motive of A	2
Bone pastor	F (V^7)	A, Abbreviated	5
Tu nos pasce	F	B	13
Tu qui cuncta	B-flat	A	12
Fac sanctorum	B-flat	Coda, Motive of A	9

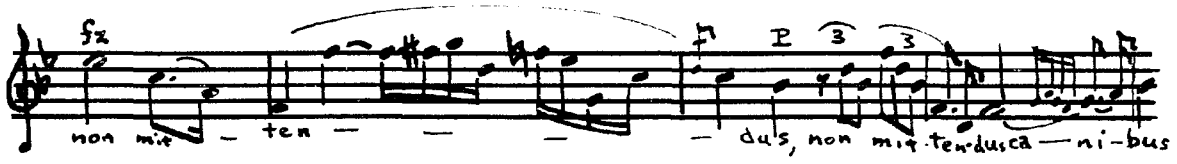
In the transition to the second section, Cherubini employs a singularly dramatic augmented-sixth chord over a dominant pedal (Ex. 13). A wide vocal leap in such places is typical of Cherubini's expressive usage of wide intervals at key points of intensity:

Ex. 13. Ecce panis, mm.22-23.



Melismatic flourishes are also employed in the melody, such as in the setting of "non mittendus canibus" ("[the bread of Christ is] not meant to be unworthy"). The word "non" is emphasized by a forzando (Ex. 14):

Ex. 14. Ecce panis, mm.13-17.



Although both Lauda Sion and Ecce panis are associated by text with Corpus Christi, Cherubini's settings were more likely to have been sung at the Offertory of the Mass, since the composer's responsibility at the chapel was primarily for the first and third trimesters of the church year, neither of which includes the main feast of the Eucharist.

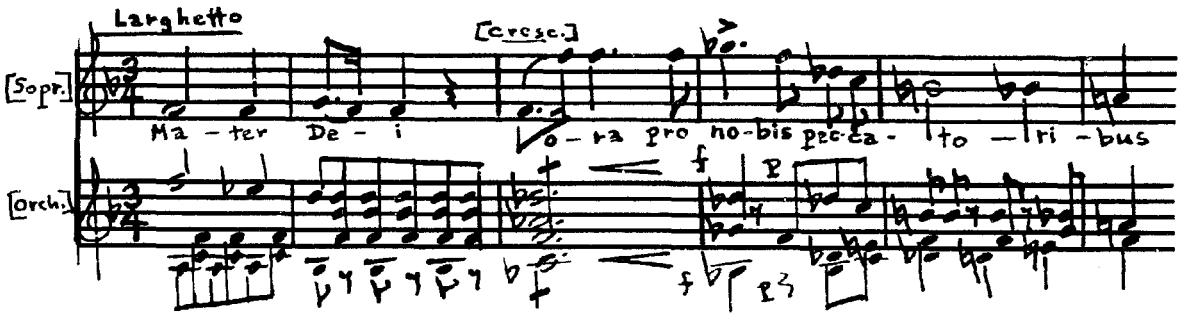
The Solo Ave Maria

The most well-known motet of Cherubini is likely his florid Ave Maria of 1816, for soprano solo and orchestra with obbligato for cor anglais or clarinet. The text is set to four thematic sections, divided at the words "Ave Maria," "Benedicta tu," and "Sancta Maria," the last of which is sung twice, followed by a three-fold Amen (codetta). There is virtually no melodic or harmonic sequence in the setting, a smooth aria di portamento which gradually changes into the style of a virtuosic aria di bravura. As in Ecce panis, the orchestra plays motives of the first melody in episodic transitions:

Thematic Section	Duration in Measures	Key
(Introduction)	12	F
(A) "Ave Maria"	12	F
Episode	2	F
(B) "Benedicta tu"	13	a ~ C
Episode	2	C ~ a
(C) "Sancta Maria"	14	a ~ C (V/F)
(A') "Sancta Maria"(varied)	14	F-G♭-F
(Codetta) "Amen"	10	F

In the last section of Cherubini's Ave Maria, a brief modulation to G-flat is introduced at "ora pro nobis," through an employment of the key-note as the leading tone of the new key. The same altered chord (Ex. 15, m.57) which forms the dominant in G-flat returns enharmonically in the chromatic counterpoint through which F major is reestablished:

Ex. 15. Ave Maria, mm.55-60.



Choral Motets

Choruses for the Chapel Service

The choral motets of Cherubini are largely settings of psalms and texts of liturgical plainchants written for presentation at the Chapelle royale. Five of the settings are based on texts from the liturgy of the church year; the remaining two include a motet on the long strophic Psalm 118 and a Tantum ergo, the text of which was originally a part of the Corpus Christi hymn Pange lingua but which acquired a separate status as part of the Benediction.[1]

The typical chorus at the chapel of the French Restoration consisted of four parts, including seven first sopranos, six second sopranos, twelve tenors, and ten basses. In four-voiced compositions, the second sopranos sang parts designated for contraltos.[2] Along with

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[1]Missing from available extant sources is another Tantum ergo of 1817, a work for tenor solo and orchestra with brief choral sections added for the chapel service. The manuscript was destroyed during World War II. See Cornelia Schröder, "Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Werke Luigi Cherubinis," Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft (Berlin, 1961), p.47.

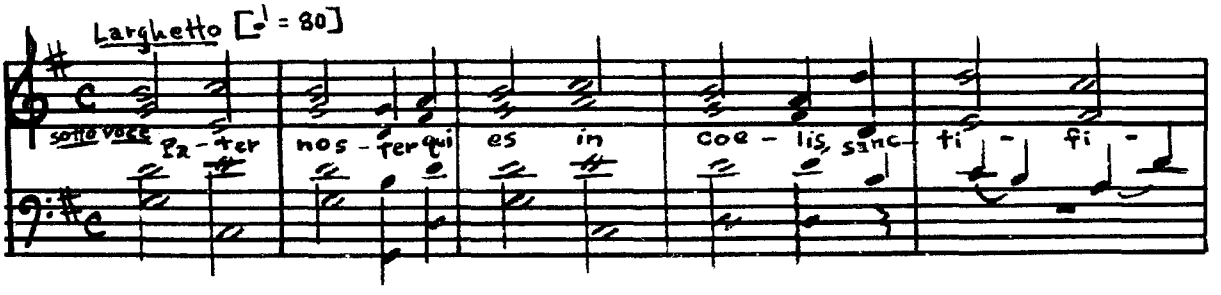
[2]Richard Hohenemser, Luigi Cherubini, sein Leben und seine Werke (Leipzig, 1913), p.408. For a more complete description of the chapel service, see F. H. J. (Castil-)Blaze, Chapelle-musique des rois de France (Paris, 1832), pp.221-43.

the orchestral accompaniment of thirty-six or more players, the ensemble performed the services in "figural music," a term employed in opposition to plainchant or unaccompanied singing.[1]

Two contrasting styles of expression dominate Cherubini's choral motets, the first a restrained and dignified setting in chordal or contrapuntal texture, as opposed to a more dramatic, heraldic, and jubilant manner of composition in which a variety of textures are freely employed. A mood of elation is created in the second type of chorus through the employment of fanfares and various rhythmic devices, all characterized by the term motto jubilate.[2]

Cherubini's Pater noster of 1816, for four-voiced chorus and orchestra, contains two movements which are illustrative of his contrasting styles, a calm Larghetto, written in the manner of a chorale harmonization, and a dramatic Allegro. In the quiet opening phrases (Ex. 16), the upper voice carries the main theme. After two measures of the second phrase, parts are interchanged in the voices:

Ex. 16. Pater noster, mm.5-16.



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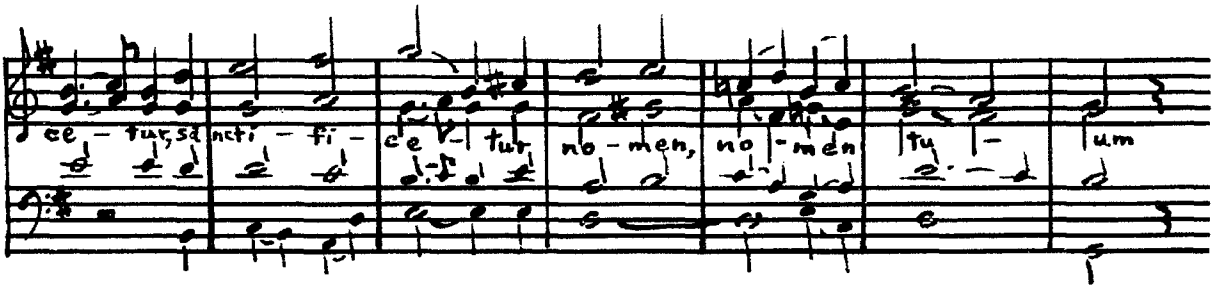
[1] Ibid., p.443.

[2] Ludwig Schemann, Cherubini (Berlin and Leipzig, 1925), p.587.

Ex. 16--Continued

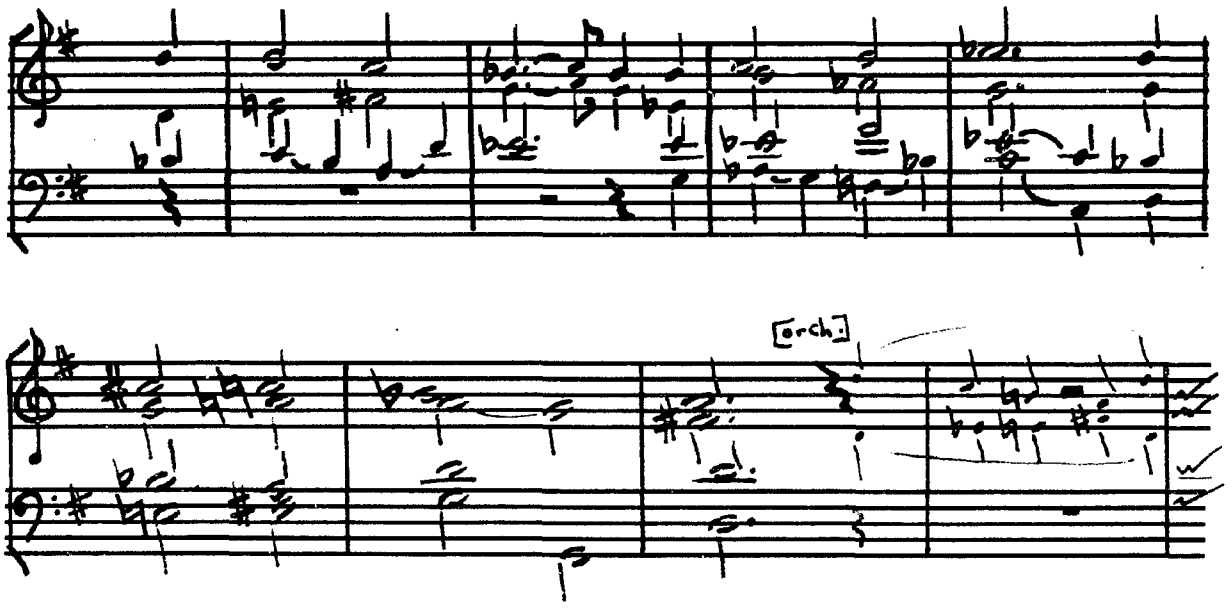


The two phrases constitute the main themes of a double binary structure in the first movement (see below). The second half of the form contains essentially the same musical material except for a single four-measure phrase. The treatment is quite different, however, due to the development of both themes and particularly to the changes in the key scheme. In the first binary unit, parallel minor mode is employed in the contrasting sections, while in the second the minor keys are relative to the dominant and subdominant triads of the key. The result is a conservative tonal relationship, although the modulations are well-balanced between the two binary units of near equal length:

Thematic Identity		Key	Length (Mm.)
(Orchestral Introduction)		G	4
1st Binary Unit	a1	G	4
	a2	G	8
	b	G	4
	b	g	4
	a2 (varied)	g (V)	7
Orch. Transition		g ~ G (V)	1
2nd Binary Unit	a1 (extended)	G ~ D	7
	b (extended)	D ~ b	5
	b (varied)	b ~ a	4
	c (new phrase)	a ~ G (V)	4
	a2	G (vii^{o7})	9
Transition to Allegro		G (V^7)	4

At the conclusion of the first binary unit, the second phrase returns, again varied through the exchange of parts in the voices, in freely transposed rather than strict imitations (Ex. 17):

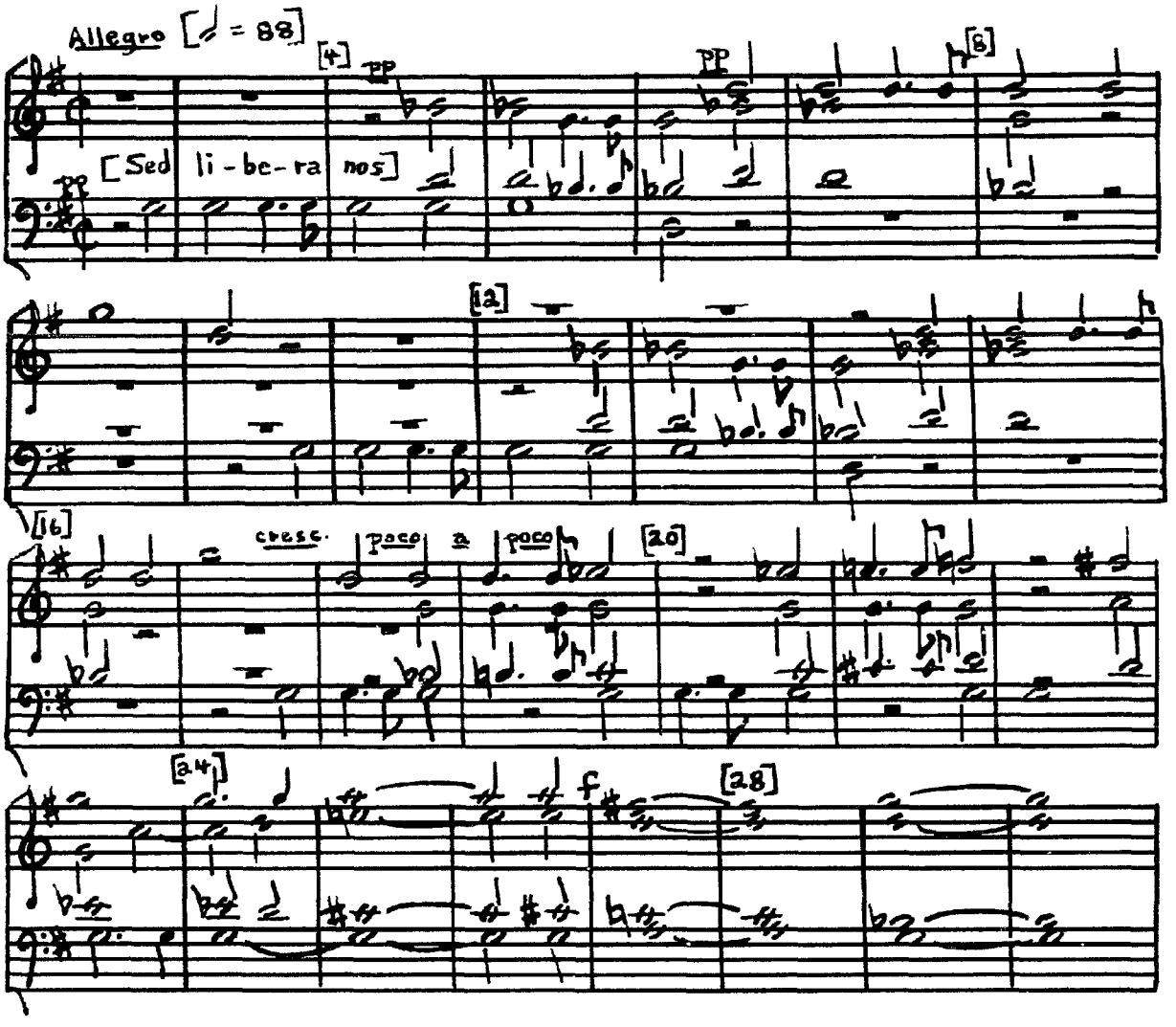
Ex. 17. Pater noster, mm.25-31.



The first movement of Pater noster is connected directly into the second, a setting of the supplication "Sed libera nos amalo" ("But deliver us from evil") in a march-like and dramatic chorus (Allegro). A rhythmic motive is introduced in the basses (Ex. 18, mm.3-4) which is imitated in the rising pyramid of voices toward a two-line A, all in the parallel mode (G minor). The martial tone of the "Sed libera nos" continues as practically the entire setting is repeated in G major (cf., Beethoven's Missa solemnis, the "Dona nobis"). At the end of each of the contrasting modal sections is attached an "Amen," the last of which is a thirty-two measure coda. Even at the end, hints of parallel minor are reiterated in the alternation of major and minor

subdominant chords:

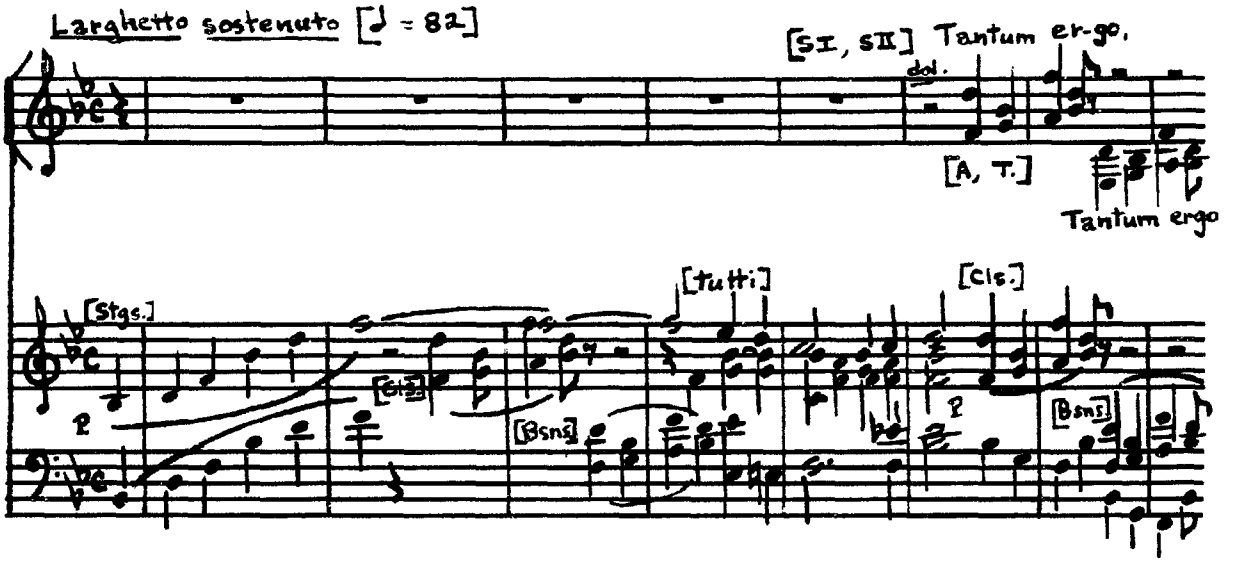
Ex. 18. Pater noster (Allegro), mm.2-29.



Cherubini's five-voiced Tantum ergo of 1817 is comparable in contrapuntal and motivic structure to the first movement of his Pater noster. Written for two sopranos, contraltos, tenor, and bass, the single Larghetto sostenuto is accompanied by essentially the same orchestration as the Pater noster: pairs of woodwinds--flutes, oboes, clarinets, and bassoons--supplemented occasionally by natural horns, and strings. The woodwinds in the opening anticipate the antiphonal

entries of paired voices:

Ex. 19. Tantum ergo, mm.1-8.

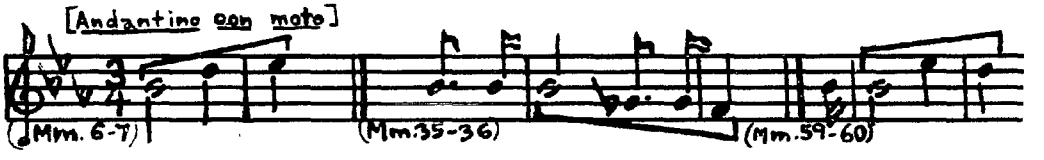


After the five voices are drawn together at cadences, antiphony is employed again, now between the upper voice and a lower pair, as in O Jesu dulcis. The section continues through related minor keys to another cadence in the tonic key (B-flat major). The formal structure of the second half of the Tantum ergo is comprised simply of a literal repetition of the two preceding thematic choruses, one verse of text set in each. The repeat is written with figural accompaniment in the orchestra, chiefly a florid embroidery of the vocal counterpoint.

Cherubini's four-voiced Adjutor et susceptor meus of 1824 was not listed in his catalog, but the motet was described by Toulmon in the appendix as an autographed work sent to Prince Albert of England in appreciation for the earlier hospitality of the king (see Hohenemser, Cherubini, Memorials, p.448). The text consists of portions from the epic Psalm 118: verses 114-115 are sung first (VIII: 2-3 in modern

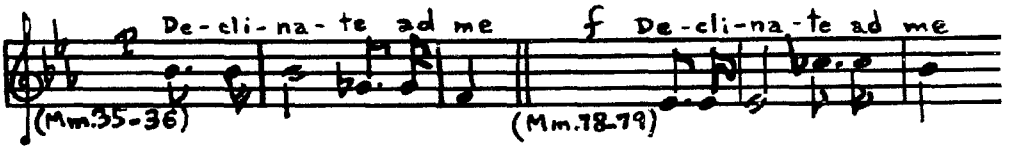
editions), followed by the opening verse of the entire Psalm, after which Cherubini sets a reprise of verse 115, an arrangement which probably has no liturgical basis. The musical setting of the verses is closely knit from similar motives (cf., Ex. 20), the second a free inversion of the first, and the third a re-ordered construction of the first three notes of the beginning, all of which are perhaps only related by chance:

Ex. 20. Adjutor et susceptor meus.



The likelihood that an intentional suggestion of motivic variation is constructed in the work is supported by the composer's treatment of the text "Declinate ad me" ("Turn ye aside"). The melodic direction is inverted in the reprise of the phrase, which is also shifted tonally from the dominant to the tonic key-level (cf., Ex. 21):

Ex. 21. Adjutor et susceptor meus.

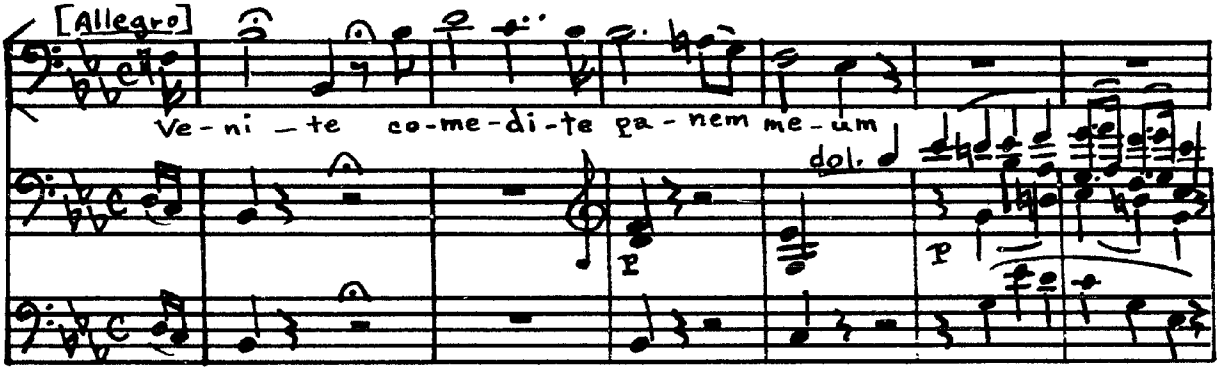


For a chapel service, Cherubini formed a cyclic arrangement of three motets under the heading Iste die, the title of the opening four-voiced chorus, to which was attached (segue) the composer's trio

Ave verum corpus and a concluding chorus, O sacrum convivium. The cycle together formed the music of the chapel during a spoken low Mass, but separate indications of duration (in minutes) were also indicated at the end of each motet (see p.62, par. 1).

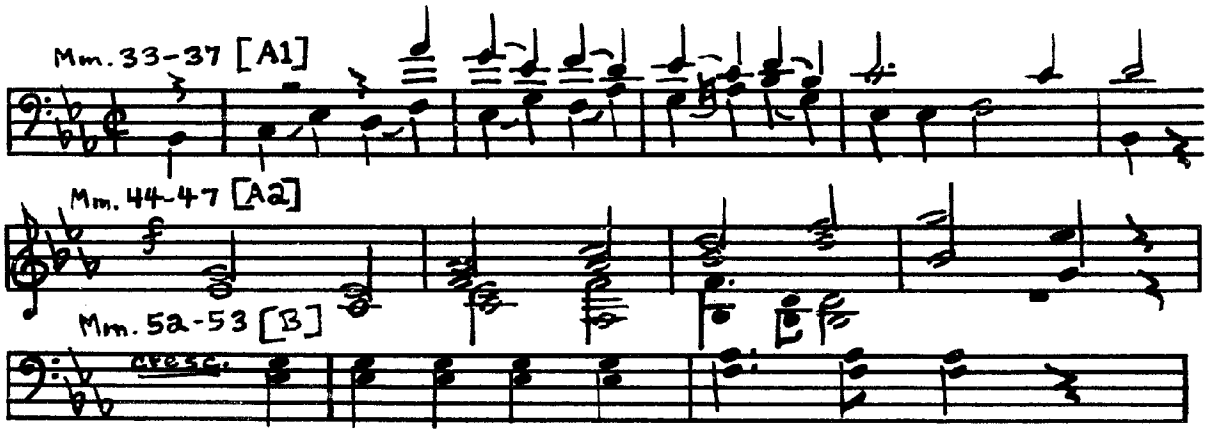
The opening Iste die of the cycle and the concluding four-voiced O sacrum convivium are drawn from Corpus Christi texts, the latter sung as an antiphon at Vespers. The Iste die is set in the general manner of the motto jubilate and consists of short heraldic phrases in E-flat major. The words "buccinate tubâ" ("sound the trumpet") and "venite comedite" ("come taste and see," etc.) are sung in fanfare-like invitations to the Holy Supper. A brief bass solo on the same text is inserted between the choral announcements, increasing the declamatory effect (Ex. 22):

Ex. 22. Iste die, mm.42-47



Among the more elaborate of the thematic choruses in Cherubini's motets is the O sacrum convivium which concludes the cyclic Iste die. Independent in structure from the preceding Iste die and Ave verum, it is introduced by a heraldic Andantino maestoso in four voices with full orchestra. The main Allegro movement, a setting of the "Et mens impletur" of the antiphon, is set to three principal phrases (Ex. 23):

Ex. 23. O sacrum convivium, Allegro.



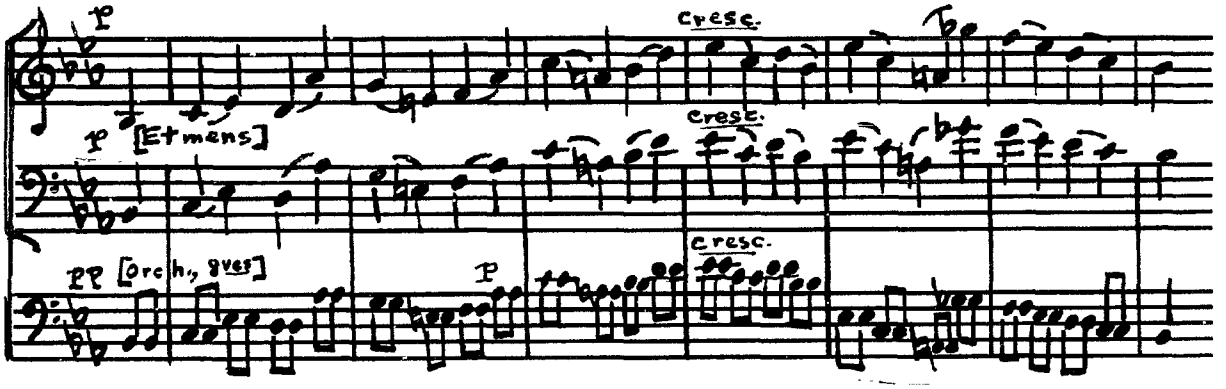
The structural arrangement of the Allegro forms a type of sonata-rondo movement, in which the text bears little or no relationship:

Theme	Keys	Method of Treatment	Measures
A1	E♭ (V)	Imitation in all voices	6-19
A2	E♭ (I)	Paired imitation	20-27
B	E♭ ~ c (V)	Rising, paired voices	28-36
A1	c ~ g ~ c	Development, rel. minor	37-49
B	c ~ f	Ibid., new modulation	50-56
A1	f ~ D♭ ~ G♭ ~ C♭ (N) ~ B♭	Sequence to Neap. of V	57-87
B	E♭ (V^7 pedal)	Crescendo, texture rises	88-101
A2	E♭	Reprise, textural climax	102-109
B	E♭	Reprise, second theme	110-119
A1	E♭	Reprise, th. inverted	120-138
A2	E♭	Coda, parts of th. A2	138-166

The thematic presentation of the Allegro is thus heard in consecutive groups of exposition, development, and reprise. The return to the original key of E-flat modulates to the Neapolitan-sixth of the dominant chord, after which is begun a steady dramatic rise. The final return of

the first theme leads into the coda in octaves, reinforced by all instruments of the orchestra (Ex. 24):

Ex. 24. O sacrum convivium, mm.132-139.



Choruses Written for Performance Outside the Chapel

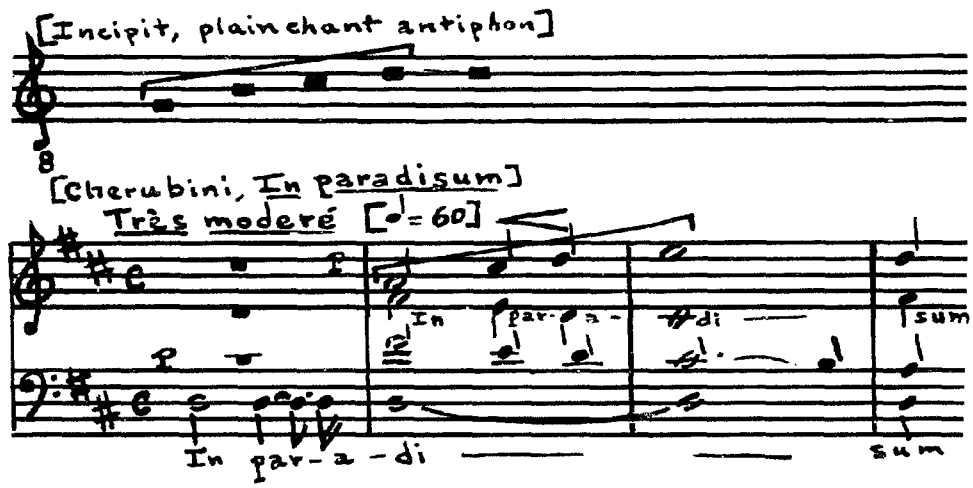
The motet In paradisum, listed in Cherubini's catalog under 1820, was dedicated to the slain Duke of Berry and first performed at the baptism of the infant son of the prince at Notre Dame. On the following day (May 2, 1820), the work was repeated in an absolution ceremony at the king's chapel. The text is taken from a burial antiphon traditionally chanted over the body during the procession to the site of interment:

> In Paradisum deducant te angeli,
> In tuo adventu suscipiant te martyres,
> Et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Jerusalem.
>
> Chorus angelorum te suscipiat,
> Et cum Lazaro quondam paupere,
> Aeternam habeas requiem.

In Cherubini's setting, both verses are repeated, the first indicated by signs and the second written out in a varied treatment, resulting in an overall form of AABB'. The principal rhythmic motive of the motet is a

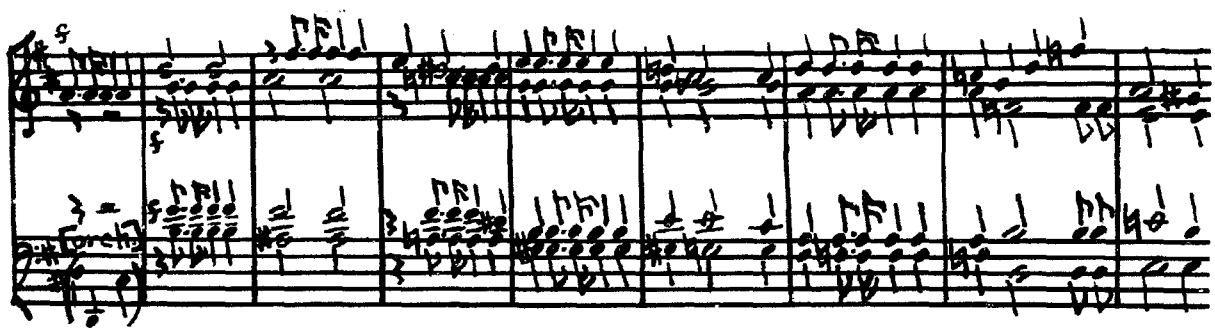
dotted-note pattern ♩. ♪ ♩ in $\frac{4}{4}$ meter, anticipated in the opening bass of the four-voiced chorus (Ex. 25). In the entrance of the upper voices, the soprano sings a motive which closely parallels the general melodic shape of the incipit of the traditional plainchant:

Ex. 25. In paradisum.



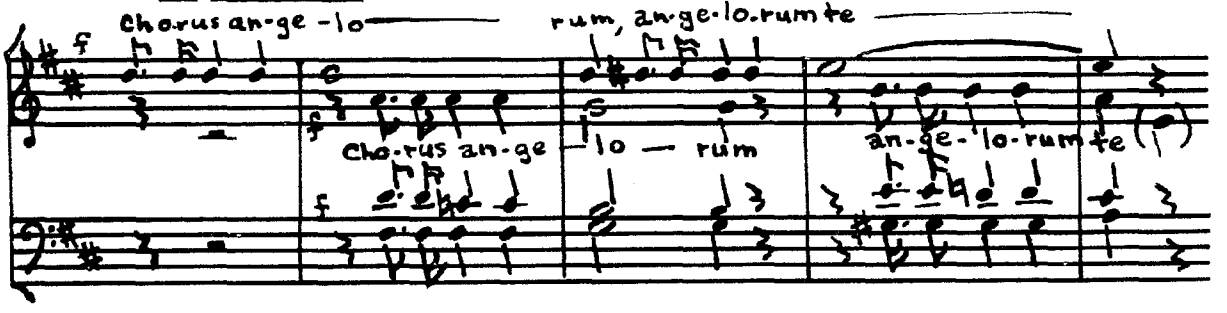
The opening section of the motet is repeated with the principal motive shifted to the tenor voice. The second section contains a series of reiterations of the rhythmic motive of the opening bass, harmonized on a descending chromatic line (Ex. 26):

Ex. 26. In paradisum, mm.21-29.



The pattern forms a general harmonic progression from the tonic to dominant key, after which the direction is reversed. The bass now ascends toward the dominant, as the text "Chorus angelorum" ("Chorus of Angels") is sung (Ex. 27):

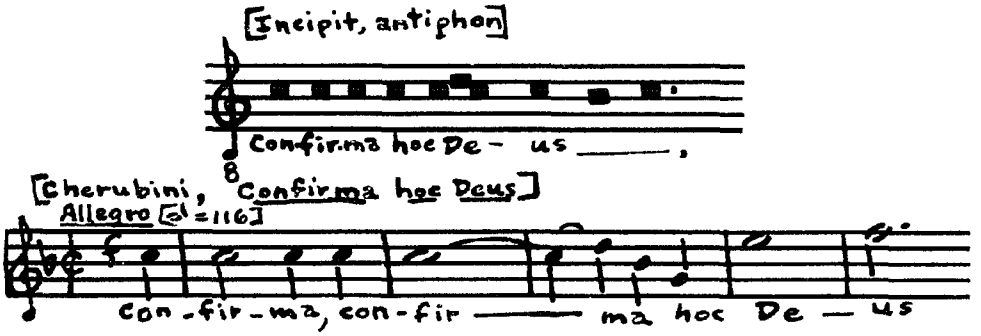
Ex. 27. In paradisum, mm.53-56.



Cherubini's orchestral texture supports and enhances the gradually rising mood of the absolution motet, especially in the setting of "Et cum Lazaro" ("And with Lazarus"). Strings alone accompany the passage in the first part of the binary presentation, but in the reprise a full ensemble enters, including woodwinds, brass (horns and trombones), and timpani. A liturgical implication in the text, an assuring view toward heaven, is carefully followed in the unfolding of the motet, which constantly increases and points upward. The motet forms a worthy companion piece to Cherubini's two Requiems.

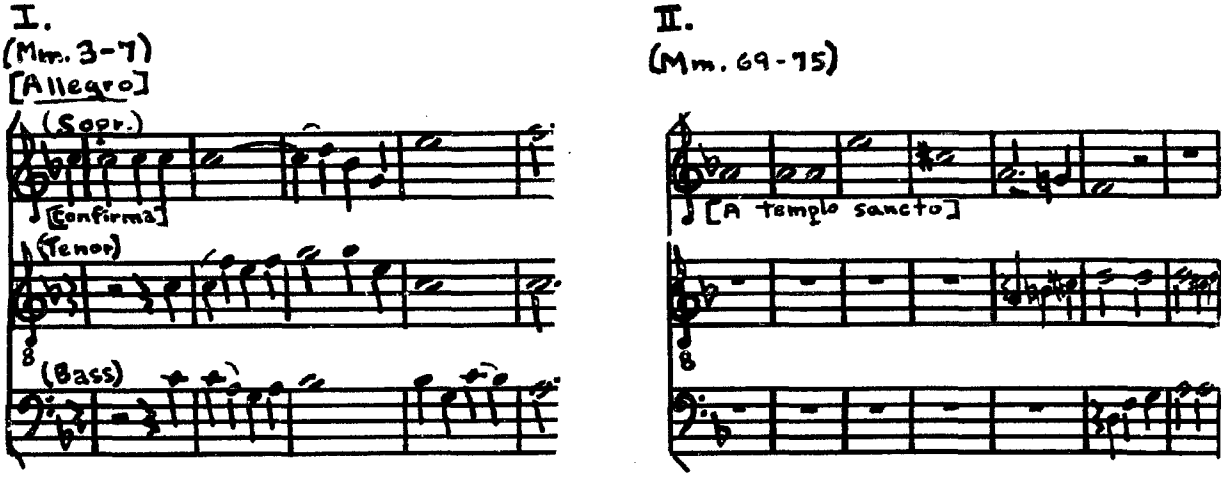
Attached to the monumental Messe du sacre in F which Cherubini composed for the communion of Charles X is a contrapuntal motet for the offertory, Confirma hoc Deus, a bold and energetic chorus. As in In paradisum, the incipit of the plainchant is embodied in the intervals of the opening statement of the motet (Ex. 28):

Ex. 28. Confirma hoc Deus.



The main groups of entries are employed in setting the antiphon text, each of which consists of three themes. These phrases are then treated as subjects or countersubjects in succeeding groups of entries. In the first of four major presentations (Allegro), the two groups begin with the sopranos, followed by the lower voices (Ex. 29). In the first group, the uppermost voice has the subject and the countersubject is divided between the other parts--in the second group, the tenor sings the principal melody, a new pattern, freely answered in the bass:

Ex. 29. Confirma hoc Deus, Principal Subject Groups.



Each of the four large sections of the chorus contains a new treatment of either one or both of the main groups. In each is also presented imitative episodes and secondary groups. The first three sections are repeated; the last is an Alleluia with a coda based on bits of motives from earlier subjects. The structure of the first section, based on the opening group, unfolds in the following order:

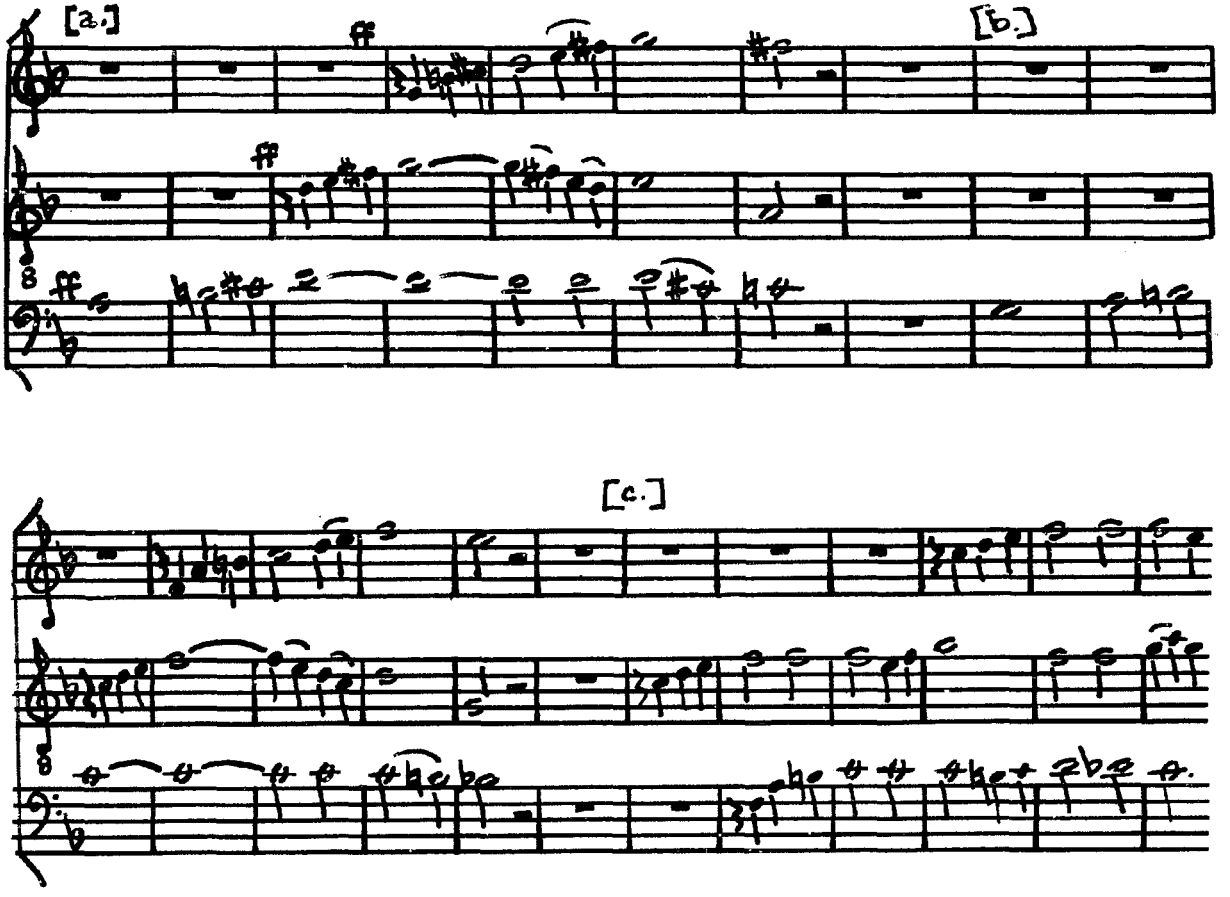
[Mm.]		
	1-15	Group I in Tonic and Subdominant Statements (F-B♭)
	16-23	Episode Modulating to Dominant (C)
	24-36	Group I in Dominant and Related Minor Keys (C-a-d)
	37-59	Closing Group A, Modulating to Dominant (d-C)
	60-67	Transition, to Mediant Level (a)

While only the first principal group of contrapuntal sections is sung in the opening section, the next presentation contains both groups, in new modulations:

[Mm.]		
	68-78	Group II in Relative Minor or Dominant (a)
	79-93	Episode Modulating to Dominant (C)
	94-105	Group I in Tonic and Dominant Statements (F-C)
	106-113	Episode Modulating from Dominant to Minor (C-a)
	114-125	Group I in Related Minor Keys (a-d-g)
	126-149	Closing Group A, Modulating to Tonic (g-F)
	150-161	Transition, to Mediant Level (a)

Were it not for the final transition in the above, the structure would be sufficiently balanced at the tonic close, but at this point Cherubini introduces a developmental section, in which are employed such contrapuntal devices as augmentation of the subject with stretto answers (see Ex. 30a), sequences of the same treatment (Ex. 30b), and rearrangement of voices at new intervals and distances of imitation (Ex. 30c). As in the preceding sections, brief episodes separate the groups and a final transition is added, but to mediant rather than dominant key:

Ex. 30. Confirma hoc Deus, mm.163-184.

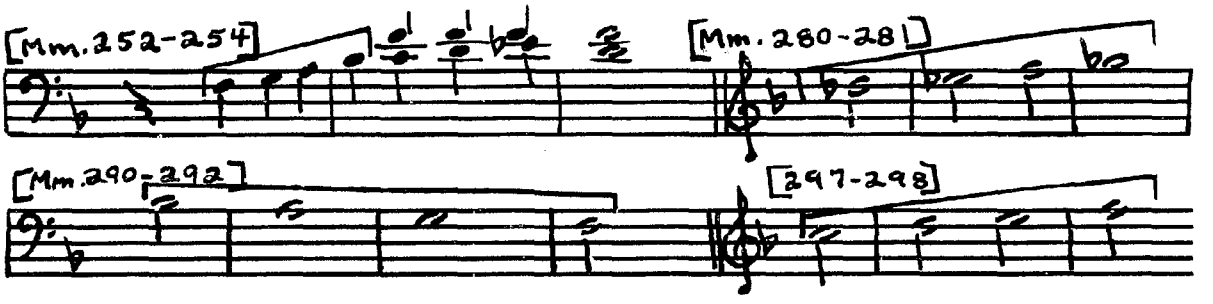


The third section (begun as in Ex. 30) is followed by the Alleluia which closes the motet. Set to a new subject at the opening, the text is also employed in the reprise of the first main contrapuntal group:

Mm.	201-220	New Chordal Theme in Tonic Key (F)
	221-227	New Theme Beginning in the Subdominant (B♭)
	228-234	Group I Reintroduced in the Tonic (F)
	235-262	Motivic Reprise from Main Groups (F: IV-V-I)
	263-292	Coda, Motives Rhythmically Augmented (F)

The motive which continues to reappear in the last reprise and coda of the motet (cf., Ex. 31) is the simple four-note pattern from the head of the second subject:

Ex. 31. Confirma hoc Deus, Headmotive, Subject Group II.



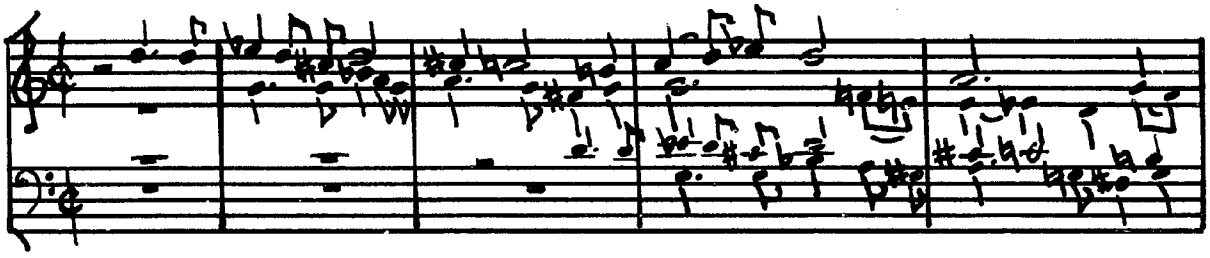
Motets for Mixed Media

Nemo Gaudeat

The earliest extant motet by Cherubini is a setting of an apocryphal hymn, based on a text from the book of Baruch (IV:12 in modern editions). The work is inscribed "Motetto a 8 voci / Nemo Gaudeat, etc. / In festo septem dolorum B. M. Virginis / Del Signor Cherubini / Milano l'anno 1781." Written for the cathedral choir of Milan, the work is scored for two four-voiced choruses and two organs, in two movements (Adagio and Allegro), with brief solos and ensembles specified in the chorus. The text was probably adapted from texts often spoken during the September Feast of the Seven Dolors, since the Lection of the Mass on that date is traditionally derived from the Apocrypha.

The musical setting of Nemo gaudeat is antiphonal through most of both movements, with solos and choruses answered literally at the unison over a figured bass (see the Allegro, Appendix B). Thematically, the Adagio is uncomplicated, with a straightforward melody at the opening which gives way to chromatic counterpoint at the close (Ex. 32):

Ex. 32. Nemo gaudeat (Adagio), mm.28-32.



The antiphonal entries in the Adagio increase progressively from one to eight voices at the close of the imitative movement. The Allegro movement contains a series of modulations to closely related keys with a sufficient number of alterations to lend a modal flavor to the work (see, for example, the preparation of A minor in m.23, after which the solo enters in A major.). While likely written under the influence of Sarti's predominantly melodic style, the setting is enhanced by rhythmic vitality and carefully balanced deployment of forces (cf., Appendix B).

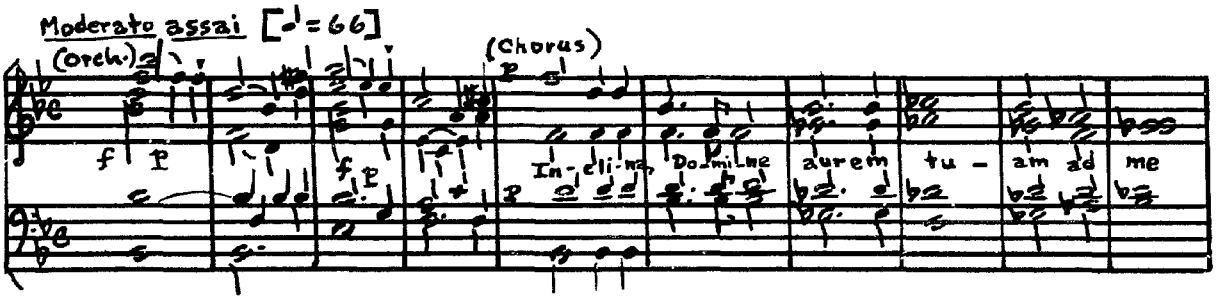
Motets on Texts from Items of the Proper

Cherubini's most highly developed sacred composition, other than in his Masses and Requiems, is in his five festive settings of items from the Proper of the Mass. All but one of these motets are derived from texts during or near the season of Lent, or those in which the Alleluia is replaced by a Tract. Three of the settings include the appropriate Tract, the others consisting either of an Introit alone or with a Gradual. All the texts are extant in present-day editions of plainchant (cf., Liber usualis, Desclée editions).

In Cherubini's Inclina, Domine, (aurem tuam) of 1823, the

Introit of the paschal season is set for soprano solo, four-voiced chorus, and orchestra. The original source of the text is the biblical Psalm eighty-five, verses of which are traditionally intoned during Compline or at special church commemorations. Externally, the Inclina, Domine is constructed of three movements, an opening full chorus, much of which is given over to a soprano solo, a unison chorus for male voices, and a concluding chorus in fugal setting of the "Amen." The opening movement, Moderato assai in B-flat, begins with a quiet choral theme anticipated in the violins of the orchestra (Ex. 33):

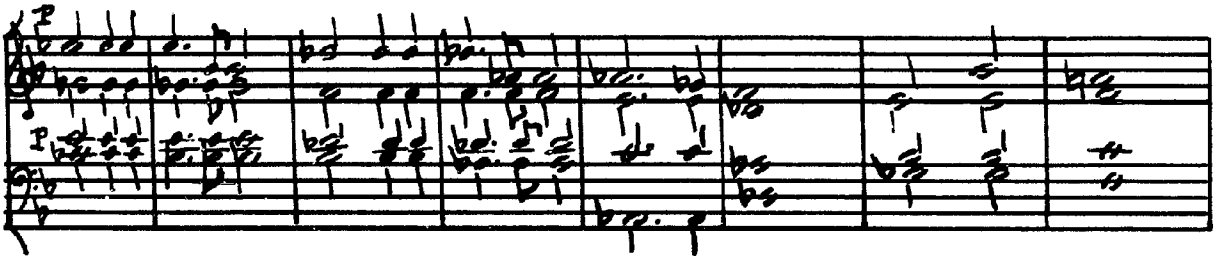
Ex. 33. Inclina, Domine, mm.1-10.



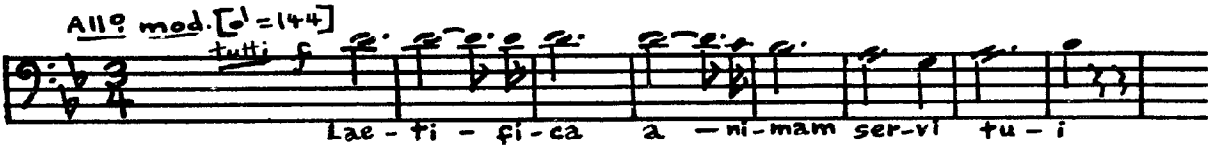
An early tonal movement to G-flat is effected in the third measure, not a modulation to that level, but simply to a chord which is employed in the parallel minor key (B-flat minor). The next phrase begins on a C-flat chord, an even greater distance from the opening, but again employed only as an altered chord in B-flat minor (Ex. 34). The soprano solo which enters at the second verse of the Psalm, "Salvum fac servum" is similarly treated by a setting in both modes. Thematically, the solo is comprised of two phrases, the second of which modulates to the dominant key (F major). Both melodies are repeated, the second in parallel minor and extended to include a declamatory solo, after which

the chorus returns with a quiet cadence to the tonic on "Exaudi me," a tonal answer of the section which preceded the solo. The unison male chorus, Allegro moderato, is a setting of the third line of text "Laetifica animam servi tui, quoniam ad te Domine animam meam letavi" ("Rejoice, the soul of thy servant, for unto Thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul"). Much speculation is made in early Cherubini sources about this passage, implying that it is constructed to infer the style of plainchant. Its melody is stylized in declamatory repeated-note patterns, although it otherwise bears no significant connection with liturgical monody (cf., Ex. 35).

Ex. 34. Inclina, Domine, mm.13-15.

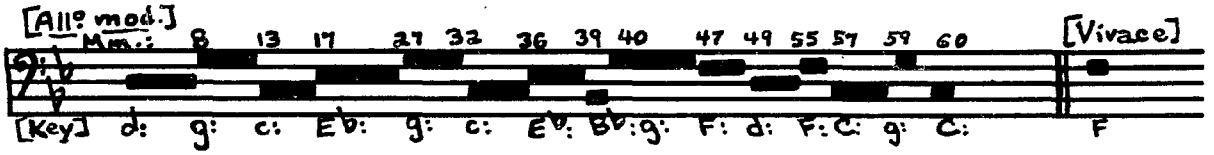


Ex. 35. Inclina, Domine (Allegro moderato), mm.3-11.



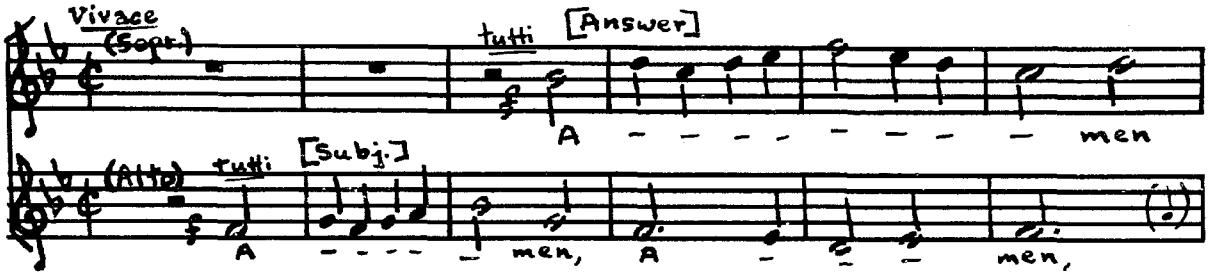
The orchestral accompaniment beneath the unison chorus plays a constant ostinato in sixteenth-notes, which spins incessantly over a steadily modulating series of chord progressions, giving the entire section a quality of agitation (far from the typical mood of plainchant) in Cherubini's interpretation of the servant's cry:

Ex. 36. Inclina, Domine, Key scheme of the Allegro moderato.



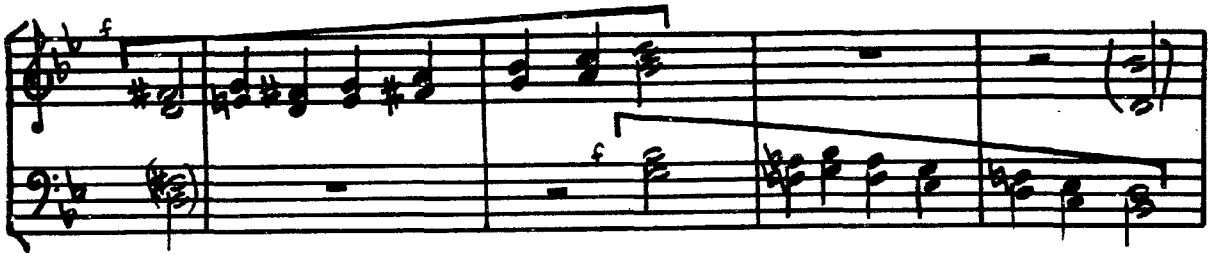
The unison chorus ends in the dominant, leading directly into a fugal movement (Vivace) which begins with a subject at the same level. The first entry is answered in reverse tonal order (at the tonic) by a phrase which closely resembles the opening subject (Ex. 37).

Ex. 37. Inclina, Domine, Fugal subject and answer (Vivace).



The fugue itself is comprised of series of regular and inverted groups of entries, usually in paired voices, occasionally of both forms in stretto (Ex. 38). The keys employed are those closely related to the tonic (B-flat), with no modulations after a long dominant pedal in the first half of the movement. (For a more detailed analysis of Cherubini's fugal treatment in the motets, see the last heading in this chapter.)

Ex. 38. Inclina, Domine (Vivace), mm.16-19.

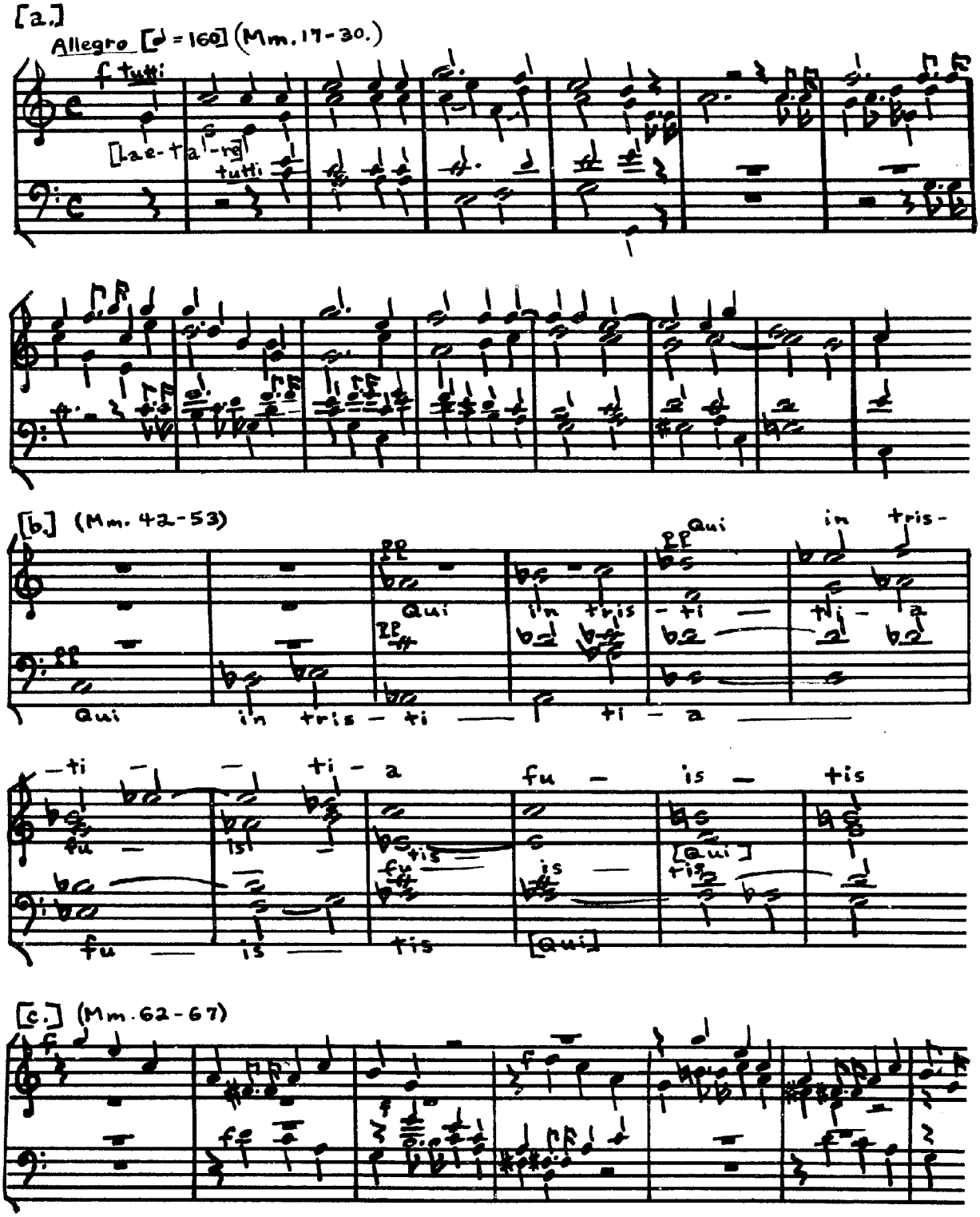


Cherubini's motet, Laetare Jerusalem (1823), is an extensive amplification of the Introit and Gradual for Laetare Sunday, the texts of which stem originally from Isaiah (66:10) and Psalm 121. Both items in plainchant setting contain the first verse of the psalm, "Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus" ("I was glad when they said to me, Let us go into the house of the Lord"). The composer repeats freely the word gaudate ("rejoice!") in the text.

The musical setting of Laetare Jerusalem, symphonic in scope and proportions, consists of a four-voiced double Introit (Allegro) in C major, a double setting of the Gradual (Andantino con moto) for five soprano soloists, in G, followed by a Doxology (Vif) and Fugue (Un peu plus vite) in C major.

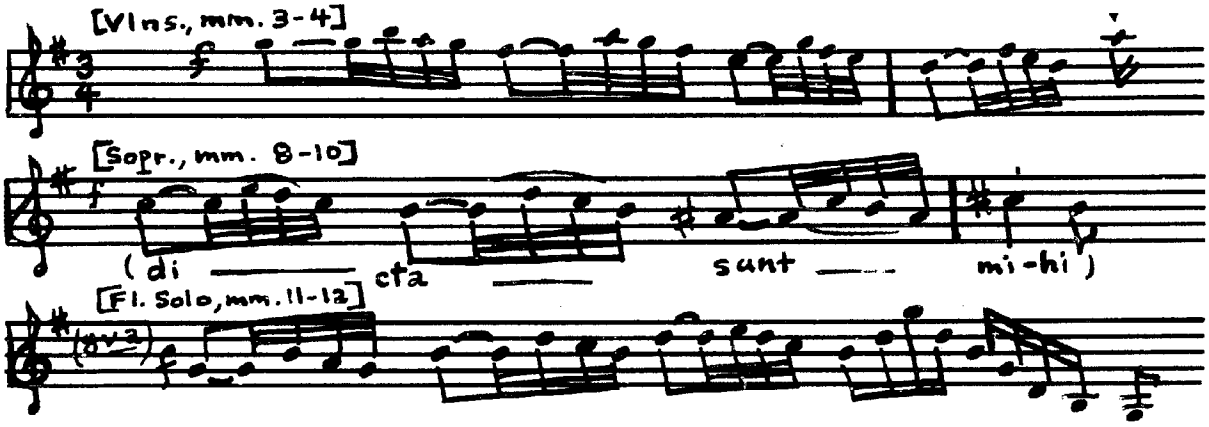
Large sections of the first movement are built on alternate lines of text, in an ABCABC thematic structure. In the first instance (Ex. 39a), the chorus sings a jubilant anthem with full orchestral support, followed at the words "Qui in tristitia" ("who in sadness") by a contrasting imitative section in A-flat major (Ex. 39b). Two devices which add to the distinction of the treatment are the augmentation of the note-values from the first to the second section, with a sudden employment of full orchestration, followed by a contrasting unison. The modulation accomplished in the first measures of the second section by a single common tone is reflected at the interval of a fourth above in a later return of the section. The third of the three themes (Ex. 39c) is employed in a retransition to C major and later as a closing theme:

Ex. 39. Laetare Jerusalem, Introit.



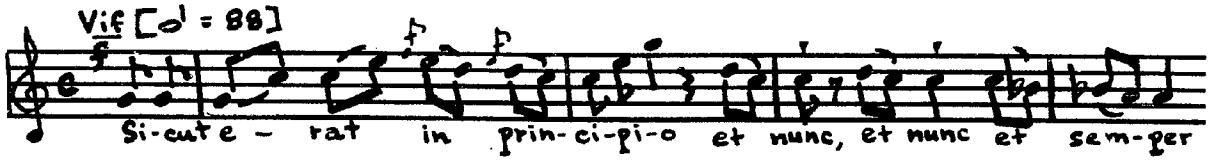
The text of the second movement of Laetare Jerusalem is expanded by a device unique in Cherubini's settings, an inclusion of a verse from the original Psalm not in the plainchant setting of the Gradual. This new verse is sung by five sopranos in a florid ensemble, the main characteristic of which is the motivic relationship between the figures sung and those played by the orchestra (Cf., Ex. 40):

Ex. 40. Laetare Jerusalem (Andantino con moto).



In the third movement (Vif), a musical dialogue is sung antiphonally between a soprano solo and the chorus. Smoothly-flowing rhythmic phrases characterize the melodic structure, in contrast to the preceding movement. A setting of the Doxology, the movement is unified by returns of the phrase first set at "Sicut erat" in the manner of a ritornello or rondo theme (Ex. 41):

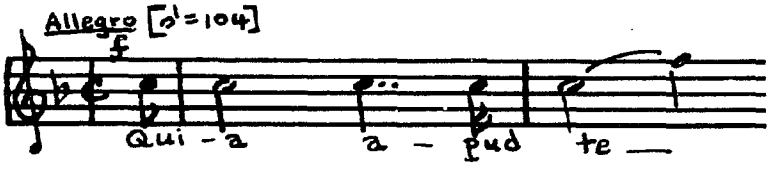
Ex. 41. Laetare Jerusalem (Vif).



A lively double fugal setting of an "Amen" closes the motet (see p.123).

In Cherubini's Adjutor in opportunitatibus, a setting of the Gradual and Tract for Septuagesimal Sunday, several techniques are employed which are unique in the motets. The four-movement work is organized more on motivic development than on clearly distinguishable themes. Figural phrases are sung and played throughout which are initiated by a common rhythmic headmotive (cf., Ex. 42):

Ex. 42. Adjutor in opportunitatibus, Headmotive.



The first of the fanfare-like motives opens a twenty-one measure orchestral introduction, a section which sets the rather martial tone of the motet due to the fact that strings are practically excluded. In the next movement of the work, a steady intensification of mood is expressed through tempo acceleration and through an increase in the number of modulations. From a tenor solo in the second movement to a full jubilant chorus which follows, the tempi are marked Lent (♩=50), then Moderato (♩=104), and finally Vif (♩=160). Cherubini employed metronomic markings on many of his later works, a matter discussed by his biographers and in special studies.[1] The motto jubilate prevails in the chorus (Vif), a lively movement in its rhythm and orchestration, but one which is somewhat static in tonality.

Of historical note, Cherubini adapted for the third movement of

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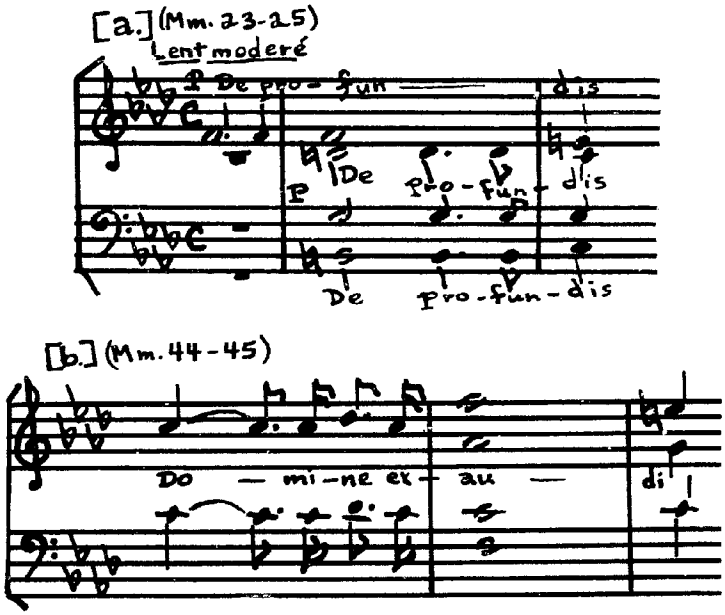
[1]Cf., Fritz Rothschild, Musical Performances in the Times of Mozart and Beethoven ("The Lost Tradition in Music," Part II, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961), pp.102-105.

Adjutor in opportunitatibus a part of his own Hymne du Panthéon of 1794. While his motets generally include no more than an occasional figure from his other works, here an entire marche funèbre is incorporated.[1] The text of the Tract "De profundis clamavi ad te" ("Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee") is set in the march, divided between four different phrases. The straightforward manner of thematic presentation is rare in Cherubini's motets and contrary to the general practice of the composer. A depth of expression is achieved in the setting, however, especially in the dark choral range employed at "De profundis" (Ex. 43a) and in the motivic cry of the soprano at "Domine exaudi" ("Hearken, O Lord," Ex. 43b):

Ex. 43. Adjutor in opportunitatibus, III (Lent modéré).



[1] See Ludwig Schemann, Luigi Cherubini, p.580.

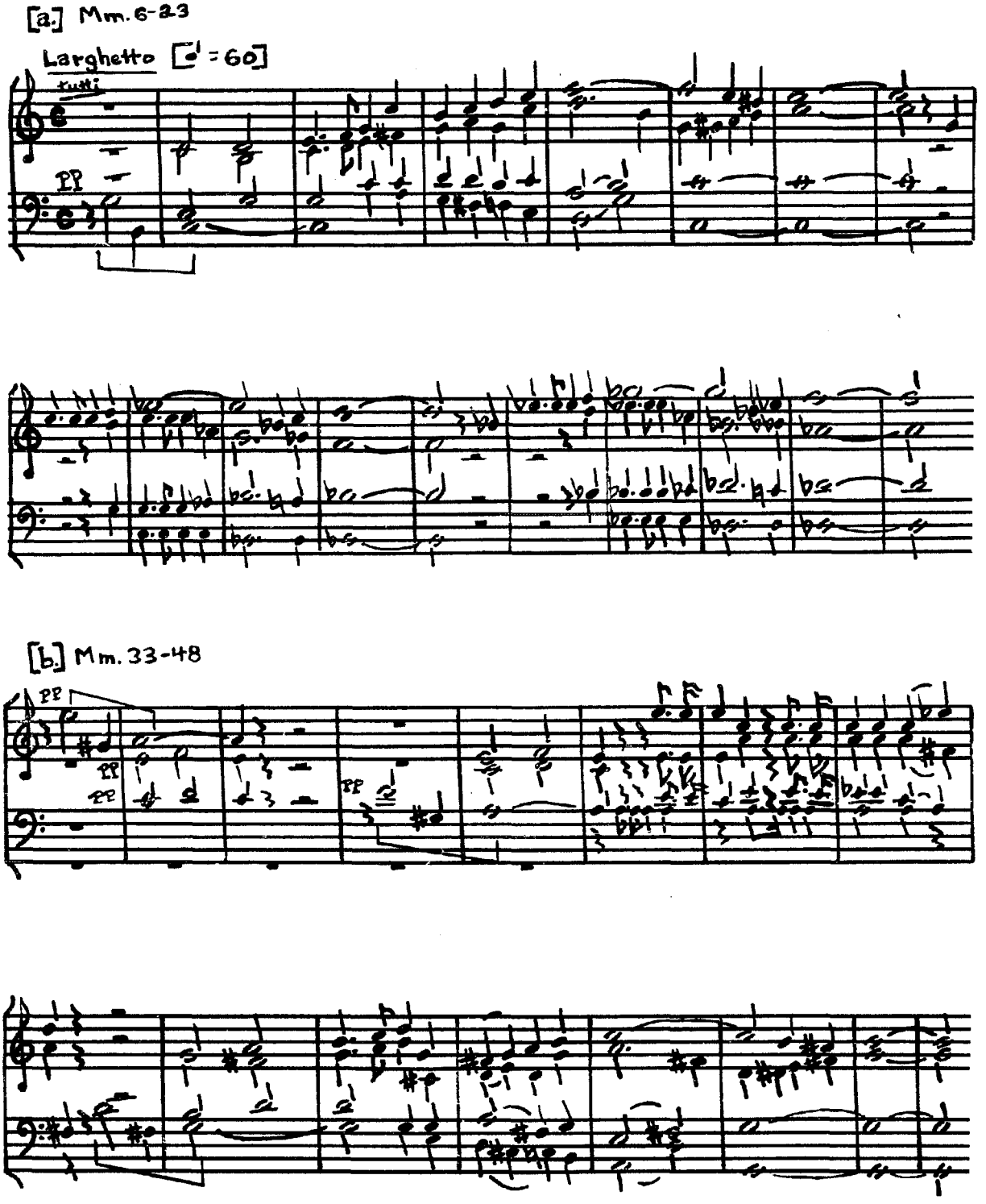
The closing Allegro of the work is more typical of Cherubini's motets than the preceding movements, especially in the employment of two principal themes in alternation. Two contrasting midsections in the motet causes the form to resemble the "second" rondo-form (ABACA).

The most extensive of Cherubini's settings of items from the Proper is his Esto mihi, a three-movement motet on the texts of the Introit, Gradual, and Tract for Shrove Sunday. Written in the latter part of the year 1829, the work is one of the last two motets written by the composer. The Introit consists of three sections, Larghetto-Andantino-Larghetto (antiphon-doxology-antiphon), in the following order of media and keys:

Text	Media	Keys
Antiphon	Chorus, Basses tutti	C ~ G minor
Doxology	Soli (2 Sopr., Ten.)	E-flat
Antiphon	Chorus	C

The first Larghetto of Esto mihi is constructed in alternation scheme (ABAB), with separate themes for each of the two verses of the antiphon. The psalm-setting which follows is sung by the basses of the chorus, leading into the Andantino. In the doxology, a motive employed in the opening of the movement (Ex. 44a) returns in the solo-ensemble setting. The same motive is also employed in another context, in the modulating episodes between themes of the first Larghetto (Ex. 44b). After the initial motive is sung, the choral theme and most of the remainder of the section returns unaccompanied. The orchestration increases throughout the succeeding sections, becoming figural in the Andantino and heroically dramatic in the second Larghetto.

Ex. 44. Esto mihi (Introit).

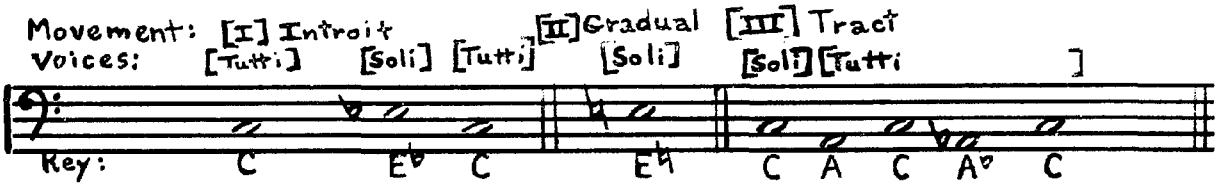


The Gradual of Esto mihi, scored for full chorus (forte), stands in the center of the work as a brief but powerful display of forces in the festive work. Its phrase structure unfolds in a type of arched design (see the music in Appendix B):

Phrase	Key	Measures
a	E	3-5
b	E	6-10
a (extended)	E	11-14
closing	B	15-17
c	D ~ C	18-21
c	C (Neap., B)-E(V)	22-25
b (varied)	E (V-pedal)	26-31
a (reprise)	E	32-34

Two Allegro movements are sung in the final Tract of Esto mihi, the first by five solo voices (two sopranos, two tenors, and a bass), all in the main key of the motet, C major. The second Allegro is a final tutti chorus, another setting of the same text in C major, but in the motto jubilate. Two contrasting modulations in the last section, to A-natural and A-flat, indicate a deliberate intention of symmetrical key structure in the entire motet (Ex. 45):

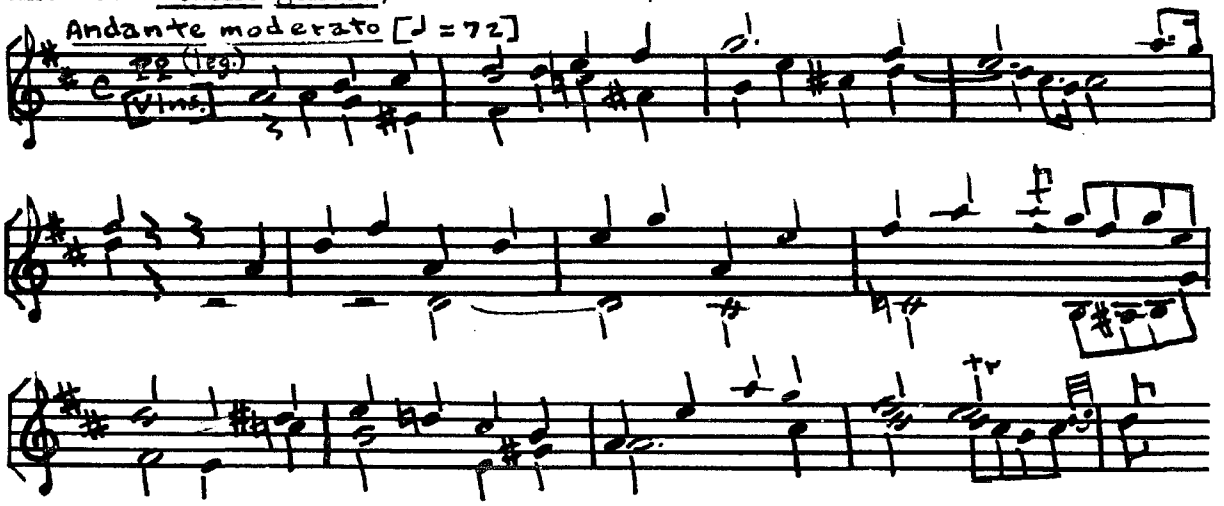
Ex. 45. Esto mihi, Principal Key Levels.



For Sexagesimal Sunday of 1829, Cherubini composed a powerful setting of the Gradual, Sciant gentes (with Tract). Similar to Adjutor in opportunitatibus in its acceleration in tempo from movement to movement, a genuine stile concertato treatment of performing forces abets

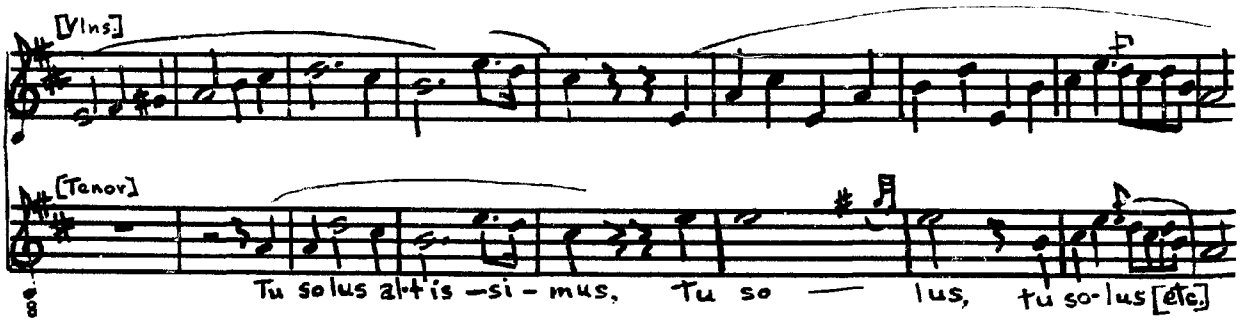
the subtle beginning. Unique in Cherubini's work, the first theme is completely stated in the violins before it is sung (Ex. 46):

Ex. 46. Sciant gentes, First Movement, mm.10-20.



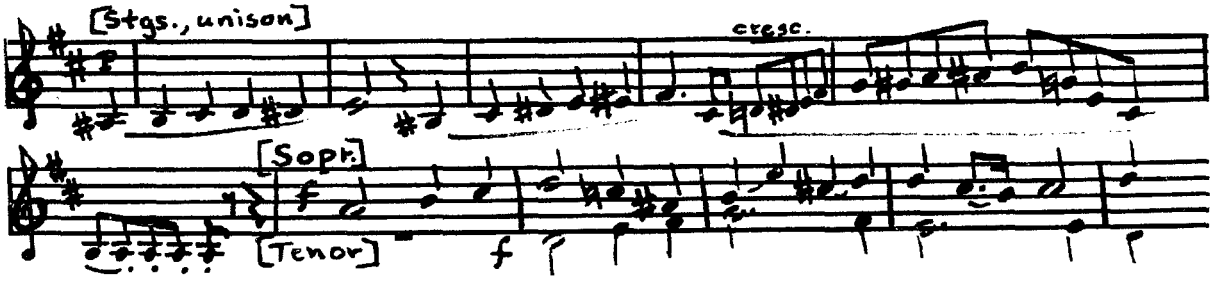
The theme returns in the dominant key (A major) in a colorful synchronization between the full melody in the orchestra and a variation sung by a tenor solo (Ex. 47):

Ex. 47. Sciant gentes, I, mm.36-44.



A further employment of the orchestra in the thematic and tonal presentation of the work arises in the return to the main theme. The modulation from relative minor to tonic key is accomplished solely in a unison passage for strings (Ex. 48a). An imitation of the headmotive of the theme is heard in the return (Ex. 48b):

Ex. 48. Sciant gentes, I, mm.59-69.



The examples in the present chapter represent only a few of the areas in Cherubini's motets which reflect a great consideration of the unity between various musical elements. Within the balanced form of the items of the Proper set by the composer, a general effect is predominant--most of the settings contain a trait of romanticism which is not based on external poetic propensity but on the dramatic device of increasing tension. This intensification rests on purely musical means, treated in an individual manner in each motet.[1]

The Fugal Amen in Cherubini's Motets

Although fugato treatment appears in the opening section of several of Cherubini's settings of the Proper (e.g., in the first tract of Esto mihi), only two complete movements are wholly based on fugal principles, the last movements of Inclina, Domine and Laetare Jerusalem. Both are settings of the single word "Amen" and neither the text nor the thematic material of the preceding movements bear direct relation to the contrapuntal structures.

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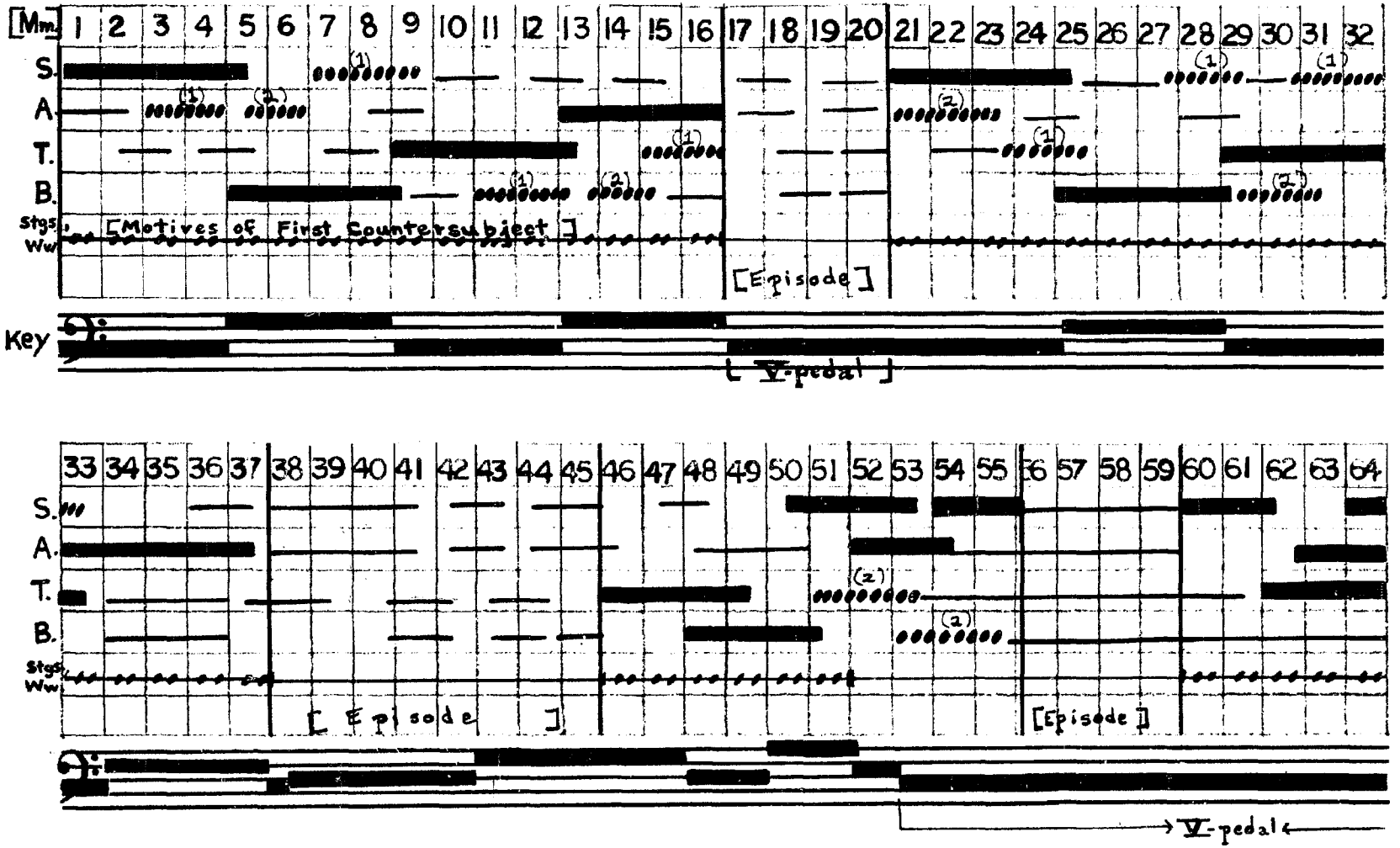
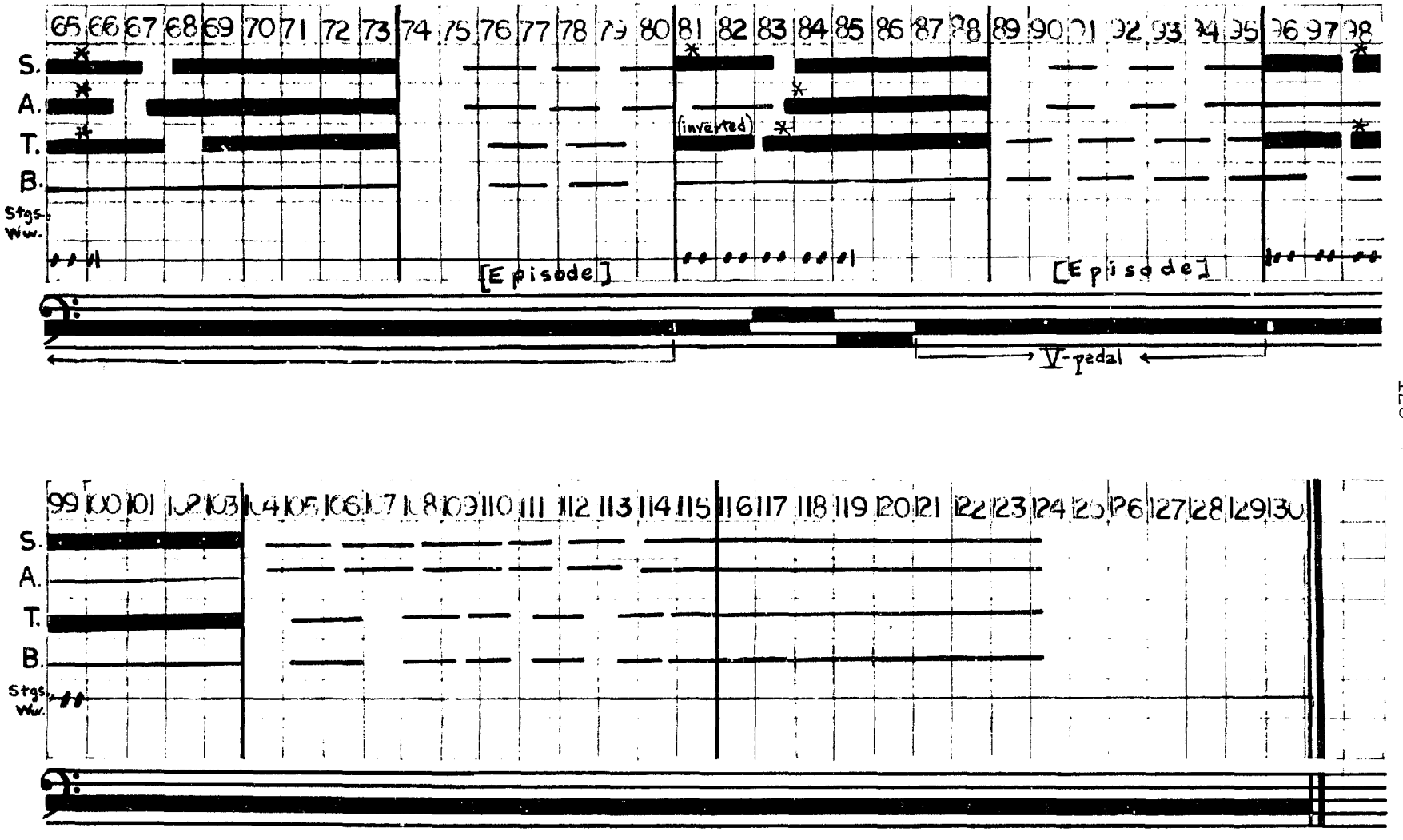
[1]Among the motets of Cherubini for mixed vocal media and orchestra, two settings are omitted from the discussion. Regina coeli, for solo quartet and chorus in three movements (1818), stands with Cherubini's Ave Maria as a Marienlied. His O fons amoris, a motet for male choir and soprano (or tenor) solo (1822), is of sparser proportions, consisting primarily of operatic bravura in heroic style.

The conclusion of Laetare Jerusalem is a fugue of broad proportions, a hundred and thirty measures in length (¢, ♩ = 120), scored for four-voiced choir and orchestra, with parts for timpani and trombones ad libitum. A subject and a countersubject in two parts form the first group of entries in the exposition. Segments of the countersubject are employed both successively and independently. Three basic treatments follow in developmental groups: subjects and countersubjects are presented in stretto entries in various keys (mm.46-56 in the diagram of the movement [p.125]); they are combined and extended over a dominant pedal (mm.60-74); or they are freely inverted and extended while modulating (mm.81-89). Motives based on the countersubject, particularly on its syncopated rhythmic pattern (¢ 𝅗𝅥 ♩ | 𝅗𝅥), are played by the orchestra during each group of entries. Brass and timpani accompany each episode and are otherwise heard only in the sections harmonized over dominant pedal tones. Episodes in the Amen fugue consist of short antiphonal phrases between pairs of upper and lower voices. Two main structural points in the movement, the area of free development (m.60ff.) and the final coda (mm.124-130), are heralded by a free codetta in the voices. The last statements of the subject enter with no accompanying countersubjects in the voices. In general, thematic references decrease as the movement progresses toward greater variety. Organic unity is maintained through Cherubini's deployment of related entries, episodes, and tonal levels.

Ex. 49. Diagram of Fugal Amen, Laetare Jerusalem



Symbols: Principal subjects in heavy lines; countersubjects in broken lines; free counterpoint in thin lines. [The two parts of the motivic countersubject are numbered according to their appearance.]



*These subjects are freely extended.

CHAPTER IV

CHERUBINI'S MOTETS IN THE TRADITIONS OF CHAPEL AND CHURCH

Cherubini served as a director of music for the Bourbon Chapelle during a crucial era in European culture, one in which a flood of secular developments influenced all the arts, even those that were attached to the Roman Church. The history of music came to be inextricably altered by ideas in literature and philosophy of the period, expressed in the writings of Thomas Moore, Lord Byron and Schopenhauer, as well as in the lectures of Hegel, the philology of the brothers Grimm, and the romantic fantasies of Hoffman. Due to technical advancements, such as the improvement of musical instruments, secular musical composition began to outweigh that for the church. By 1816, for example, the piano had become the prime medium of composition; Schubert, Clementi, Hummel, Cramer, and Kalkbrenner, to name a few, composed their keyboard masterpieces and Beethoven completed his great sonata "für Hammerklavier" in 1818.

The Catholic Church received less and less attention from major composers after the middle of the eighteenth century, partially due to the association of the church with monarchy and aristocracy during the Enlightenment. Singular masterworks of Catholic music became known more in the concert hall than in the church. Such works were deemed appropriate, however, for performance in the institution which

constituted the religious establishment of sovereign courts, the chapel.

The Chapelle royale in France, as a private body of musicians attached to the court, had been active in that country since the conversion of Clovis in the sixth century until the Bourbon Restoration, the era in which Cherubini composed most of his sacred works. Alcuin had accorded a special place to sacred music in the studies of the Schola Palatina under Charlemagne. Afterwards, the contributions to sacred music which evolved from the French court were legion: Gregorian plainchant superseded Gallican during the Capetian dynasty, harmonized forms emerged, and polyphonic masters such as Ockeghem, Josquin, Mouton, Févin, and Sermisy displayed their skills before monarchs from Louis IX to François I.

Outstanding stylistic developments in the motet genre were realized by Franco-Flemish composers at the Chapelle royale. These included the attempts to recreate classical long and short scansion (musique mesurée) of Du Caurroy, the inauguration of double choruses by Formé, and the employment of dramatic techniques by Dumont, Lully, and M. R. de Lalande. The last three composers laid the definitive foundation of French chapel music of the eighteenth century. An important baroque motet composer, M. A. Charpentier, surpassed Lully in contrapuntal style, but was supported by Jesuit patronage rather than at the royal chapel. His numerous Masses and motets for the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris were created with subtle inventions in rhythm and harmony.[1]

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[1]Charpentier also distinguished himself in the cantata-like histoires sacrées. See Jean-François Paillard, La musique française classique (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1960), p.73.

Lalande, the veritable successor to Lully in sacred music, composed florid motets in which traditional plainchant melodies were adapted to melismatic grand airs, anticipating style galant.

The rising influence of secular cantatas and concerted style affected the motet composition of such composers as Bernier and Campra, a development which reached its climax in the grand motet of Rameau. Rameau's motets written between 1715 and 1720 contained both dramatic and contrapuntal movements, such as the aria in his Converte Domine and the fugue in his Quam dilecta. The five-voiced fugue was cited in the composer's Traité d'harmonie (Paris, 1722) as a model of fugal style. Motets in the spirit of the concerto were introduced at Versailles and at the Concerts spirituels by Mondonville and his pupils.

By the time of Gossec's La Nativité of 1774, oratorios had become a definitive part of the service at the chapel. Motets and oratorios were also imported in increasing numbers near the end of the century. Church music by Cavalli, Legrenzi, J. A. Hasse, and F. X. Richter, among others, was frequently heard.

The Revolution annihilated the very base of French church and chapel music, by eliminating the more than four hundred cathedral choir schools (maîtrises) which had provided thousands of singers and instrumentalists. Under the Empire, Paisiello was charged with the task of reorganizing the schools, but he was not allocated sufficient funds. Napoleon's services were devoted to music of Zingarelli, J. P. E. Martini (born Schwarzendorf), J. F. LeSueur, and the director, Paisiello. LeSueur, who succeeded Paisiello, enthusiastically created a programmatic style of church music, which he envisioned as an entirely

dramatic art. His colorful and popular innovations in oratorio had led to his retirement from the chapel of Notre Dame in 1888. In spite of the official Catholic reaction to his theatrical imagery, he was welcomed in Napoleon's lavish Chapelle impériale.[1] LeSueur, as Cherubini's co-director under the Bourbons, continued to produce his picturesque works for the restored Chapelle royale.

After the first decade of the nineteenth century, a movement to restore plainchant singing in the liturgy was initiated, anticipated by conditions of worship in the Revolution, during which the faithful huddled in groups to celebrate Mass in its simplest manner.[2] As the broken church was officially restored in the Empire, prelates and contemporaneous musical historians alike looked back to the middle ages and glorified the liturgy of early Christianity. Alexandre Choron, who was charged by Napoleon with the reestablishment of musical training for the church in 1807, issued a number of pamphlets proposing the employment of plainchant in all the Roman Churches of France. To cultivate his idea, Choron opened a "Conservatoire de musique classique et religieuse" in 1817, a school which was subsidized by the government until his death in 1833.

Another important movement toward plainchant restoration was that initiated by Dom Prosper Guéranger, who founded the Benedictine Congregation of France in 1833, a society later known as the Monks of

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[1]See Martin Meeker Herman, "The Sacred Music of Jean Francois LeSueur: A Biographical Source Study" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Musicology, University of Michigan, 1964), p.210ff.

[2]Discussed in the lectures of Peter Wagner, in his Einführung in die katholische Kirchenmusik. Vorträge, gehalten an der Universität Freiburg in der Schweiz (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1919), p.38.

Solesmes. The principal task of the movement was the reform of corrupt editions of plainchant which had been employed in France since the early part of the seventeenth century. Dom Joseph Pothier continued the earnest study, which culminated in the publication of the new Editio Vaticana in 1908. The Benedictines, however, were banned from France to Belgium, while their adversaries continued to patronize corrupt editions of chant.

The restoration and reform of plainchant contributed to an erudite growth of studies in French music, but they simultaneously fostered official attacks on performances of orchestrally accompanied music for worship. Masterpieces nurtured in the liberal tradition of earlier chapels--among them works by Mozart, Beethoven, and Cherubini--were condemned, even while a number of Catholic musicians were dissatisfied with unaccompanied plainchant. Many of the musicographes of the churches, stimulated by the romantic literary movement in France and Germany or by the efforts of such scholars as Padre Martini or Abbé (Giuseppe) Baini, turned to the music of Palestrina and other masters of early polyphony. Baini, in his biography Memorie storico-critiche della vita e della opera di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (2 vols., Rome, 1828), idealized the Catholic spirit of the sixteenth-century composer and his music. The exaggerated interpretation was cultivated in Germany by those who complained about the lack of appropriate music for the church in the new romantic era. Anton Thibaut, in his study Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst (Heidelberg, 1825-26), argued for the performance of early sacred polyphony on the moral issue of purity in music. In France, Joseph d'Ortigue, the most prominent musicologist of

the day, supported similar ideals. With A. L. Niedermeyer, Félix Danjou, and Stephen Morelot, d'Ortigue continued to proclaim the return of both polyphonic masterpieces and plainchant, the latter with limited accompaniment.

The restoration of music from the polyphonic era in the Catholic Church has all too narrowly been identified by the term "Cecelian movement" because of the widespread publications of its doctrines by the German "Cäcelienverein," a society inspired by publications of Karl Proske and founded by Franz X. Witte in 1867. Witte held that the lifting of voices in worship was entirely "natural" whereas the lifting of hands to instruments in praise was equally "unnatural." The same view, however incredible, was nurtured in France by d'Ortigue and by Felix Clément, and later in the Scola cantorum founded by Vincent d'Indy. A prominent teacher in the school, Amédée Gastoué, who was also appointed to head pontifical studies in plainchant, summarized the reactionary position on accompanied church music which culminated in the Motu proprio of Pius X in 1903:

> ... Jusque vers la fin du XIXe siècle, c'est la musique religieuse la plus opposée à l'esprit de l'Eglise qui va dominer. L'intrusion, définitive, de l'orchestre symphonique, dénature, de ce point de vue, la plus belle des musiques écrites alors pour le temple. Nul plus que moi n'admire tel Christe eleison pour soprano, de Mozart, ou le sublime Et incarnatus est de la grande messe de Beethoven ... musique admirable, mais musique de cantate ... musique dont l'Eglise ne veut pas dans le sanctuaire, si parfois ses prélats l'y ont admise.
>
> . . . Until nearly the end of the nineteenth century, the religious music which came to dominate the church was that which was most opposed to its spirit. The intrusion of the symphonic orchestra, by definition, destroys the very nature of the greatest works written for the temple, from this point of view. None admires works such as Mozart's Christe eleison or the sublime Et incarnatus est of Beethoven's great Mass more than this writer. . . . It is music to admire, but music of the

> cantata . . . music which the church does not wish to have in its sanctuary, even if at times its prelates are admirers of it.[1]

The Motu proprio, or those parts of it which concerned the regulation of music in the Catholic service, made official the dominant tendencies in French church music: the abolition of theatrical devices; the restoration of both Palestrina style and correctly-edited plain-chant; and the suppression of instrumental music (including the reduction of organ playing to a minimal function). The decree allowed, however, for generous interpretation regarding admissibility of other music. On many occasions since, permission has been spontaneously granted, even for the purpose of employing music with orchestral instruments, in keeping with extra-liturgical functions.

Cherubini's sacred music has been officially precluded from performance in the Catholic church, but church scholars have disagreed about the acceptability of his works for festive services outside the liturgy. The first performances of his Masses and motets outside the chapel were those for the "Societé des Concerts du Conservatoire," after 1828. In churches of Leipzig and Vienna, certain of the motets came to be well-known, and in Aachen, Franz Liszt conducted Cherubini's settings of items from the Proper for the "Niederrheinischen Musikfest."[2] In Breslau, Silesia, church documents for special feasts listed Cherubini's motets until nearly the end of the nineteenth century. After the turn of the twentieth century, Hohenemser wrote, "the present-

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[1]Amédée Gastoué, L'Eglise et la musique (Paris: B. Grasset, 1936), p.188.

[2]Cf., Ludwig Schemann, Cherubini (Berlin, 1925), p.584, 582.

day period is one in which Cherubini's sacred works are heard almost exclusively in the churches."[1]

The major papal decrees on church music have been clearly intended to strike from the services works given highly individualized or romantic treatment, such as Berlioz' Messe des morts. The text of this Mass, for example, is divided into ten abridged fragments, within which is interpolated a verse of an Introit.[2] By comparison, no such liberties were employed in Cherubini's sacred music, save for a brief simultaneous presentation of text in his second Requiem.

A somewhat similar position in Catholic church music existed among Cherubini and two of his successors, Charles Gounod and Franz Liszt. While each composed dramatic Masses, they each also employed a more restrained character in smaller, devout works for the church, Cherubini in his motets, Gounod in his sacred trilogies, and Liszt in his Kirchen-Chor-Gesänge. By no coincidence, the last two musicians knew Cherubini's music well. Gounod studied with Cherubini's most erudite and devoted pupil, J. F. Halévy; while Liszt, too young for official admission to the Conservatoire at the time, prepared himself under the tutelage of Cherubini's colleagues, Reicha and Paër.

A prominent Belgian Jesuit critic, Louis Girod (d.1888), noted that Cherubini's motets were liturgically and aesthetically suitable

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[1]"In der Periode, in welcher wir stehen, gehört Cherubinis Schaffen fast ausschliesslich der Kirche." Hohenemser, Luigi Cherubini, p.450.

[2]"Berlioz and Liszt . . . were both affected by the revolutionary church music of LeSueur, but while Berlioz retained throughout his life the basic traits of this music, Liszt overcame its bad aspects by merging his essentially modern music with the revived Gregorian spirit and the Cecilian movement." Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York, 1941), p.855.

for employment in evening services (saluts) of the church or for special feasts.[1] Girod described the works in his writings as pious settings of texts from "two liturgies," Roman and French.[2] He also praised Cherubini's orchestral accompaniment for its subtlety and for the depth of expression which it adds to the motets and Masses. Girod's views have stood as exceptional in the modern church, since the motets have had few performances in recent decades and those were in concerts.

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[1]Louis Girod (S.J.), De la musique religieuse (Namur: Librarie-Douxfils, 1855), pp.249-251.

[2]Cherubini's texts for O fons amoris and Regina coeli were not included in plainchant editions of Germany or Italy, according to Girod. See loc. cit., p.251.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The career of Luigi Cherubini and especially his production of sacred music were affected by massive political upheavals during the middle years of his life. After an auspicious beginning in his native Italy, where he was tutored in Neapolitan opera, counterpoint, and works for the Roman Church, he settled in the turbulent city of Paris during the year prior to the Revolution. In that era he established himself as a favorite composer to the French aristocracy and entered into numerous musical institutions supported by the royal court. During the Revolution he developed a new style of opera in Paris, his most widely-renowned accomplishment, after being pressed into service of the republican movement to compose music for cultist and heroic festivities. Refusing to join the worship of Revolutionary deities, however, he retreated on several occasions from Paris to the provinces, where he composed Latin church music in the style of his youthful studies. Later, Cherubini was refused employment by Napoleon during the Empire, in spite of the successes of the composer in Viennese and French opera.

Cherubini turned to the composition of a new type of sacred composition after Roman Catholicism was re-established under the Empire. While visiting near Rouen, he began a Mass with orchestral accompaniment, a work which anticipated his numerous sacred compositions

of his later years. The Mass was completed in Paris and highly acclaimed, not in church but in the salon of a Parisian town house. The greater part of his sacred compositions were written after this success, especially after his appointment to the Bourbon chapel in 1815, which re-united Cherubini with him former royal patronage and compensated him in part for his rebuffs at Napoleon's court. While in the service of Louis XVIII at the Chapelle royale, he was also appointed head of the Conservatoire de musique, a position which he maintained for nearly twenty years. The composer lacked skill in mastery of the French language but filled the demands of chapel and school with the help of native colleagues with whom he shared membership in humanistic societies and in the Institut de France. With his co-intendant of the chapel, J. F. LeSueur, he developed performing forces of considerable virtuosity, incorporating brilliance of the concert hall into the traditionally conservative service.

The music used within the Mass at the Chapelle royale was not required to follow correct Roman liturgic order and procedure, but consisted instead of various sacred works performed during the spoken office. A contemporaneous description suggested that the musical portion of the low Mass typically consisted of a Kyrie followed by a motet. The example, however, failed to account fully for the varied practices revealed in Cherubini's motets, in his catalog of works, and in his biographical sources. Cycles of motets were employed during the service, for example (such as the composer's Iste die), along with items from the Proper in polyphonic setting. The exact dates for which these works were written were indicated in the headings of each

of his cyclic motets, a preponderant number of which were composed for movable feasts of the year.

A major number of Cherubini's motet texts were adapted from the Benediction service, an extra-liturgical tradition observed following the office of Vespers, during which the congregation is blessed with the Host. At the royal chapel, such services likely preceded evening gatherings at court. Ludwig Spohr, for instance, noted that fanfares were played by fife and drum after the "Ite, Missa est," heralding the end of the Mass and simultaneously announcing the beginning of social affairs at court after the service.

A number of artistic limitations are revealed in Cherubini's extant motets. The texts are primarily restricted to those found in plainchants or in offices of the Roman Church and are never paraphrased or arranged in an order contrary to their correct sequence in official worship. The principal means of their expansion are textual repetition, partial reprise, and occasional addition of a further verse from the Biblical antecedent of the plainchant. The last method applies to the Psalms of the Gradual set by Cherubini.

All of the twenty-two extant motets are provided with an accompaniment, ranging from the earliest with organ and figured bass to the later chapel music with orchestral ensemble consisting of strings and various additional instrumentation. Mixed vocal media of solos and choruses are employed in the earliest example (Nemo gaudeat, of 1781) and in several of the works written for the Bourbon chapel. The remainder of the motets are about equally divided between solos (or ensembles of soloists) and choruses. There are no successive sections

of recitatives and arias in the manner common to many sacred cantatas.

Most of the autographed scores of Cherubini's chapel motets are inscribed with an indication of duration, in the composer's hand. Both single movements and cyclic arrangements (the latter marked segue between movements) are marked with the measurements, shown in minutes. The works vary, according to the timing indicated, from two to nearly eighteen minutes. These compositions could not have been significantly greater in proportions, due to the fixed allocation of time for the entire chapel service at about one-half hour.

Double settings of texts are predominant in the motets, with the second presentation typically more expanded. Exact symmetry between larger sections of text and music is rare except for reprise of principal thematic constructions. The words of the plainchant are generally assigned, according to their literary form, whether by lines or verses, to successive thematic sections or movements, a technique employed by Palestrina and other composers of later Renaissance music. In Cherubini's contrapuntal movements, specific portions of the text are set to principal subjects, except for fugal treatment of the word "Amen."

The melodic style of Cherubini's solo motets varies from florid passages with bravura ornamentation to more declamatory phrases. Frequent wide intervals and melismatic treatment lend a coloratura quality to the melodies, although they lack theatrical narrative or portrayal of roles. Biographical evidence suggests that Cherubini designed some of his solo motets for specific virtuosi, including Luigi Marchesi and Girolamo Crescentini, celebrated male sopranos, as well as

Madame Scio and other Parisian virtuosi. Vocal writing in the choral movements of the works, while not ornamental, is animated by rhythmic-motivic patterns throughout, especially in contrapuntal texture. The motives are either heads of subjects or miniature geometric constructions in themselves that are made to suggest chordal or scalar motion rather than exact intervals.

Cherubini's motets are harmonized in a tonal vocabulary essentially centered around major and minor key structures, to which is added an infusion of secondary dominants and other altered chords. Modulation is effected through diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic methods, occasionally reaching distant key relationships in the chapel works. A frequent means of turning to the new key is the employment of parallel mode, whereby relationships to distant keys are established by a few simple alterations. Symmetry is evident in Cherubini's choice of modulations between sections of the works: the key levels of a reprise often mirror those of the first statement, but in opposite modes or directions from the tonic. Exact sequential treatment is rare, moreover, even in small phrases. A particular skill is evidenced in Cherubini's manipulation of ambiguous chords such as the augmented-sixth, which is employed enharmonically in contrasting resolutions. In terms of the frequency of harmonic changes within measured time (an essential ingredient of Piston's "harmonic rhythm"), the later works of Cherubini are lively but not erratic. The concluding sections usually contain an area of repose, created by static harmony or by the insertion of an underlying pedal tone.

The varied alternation scheme is the most highly developed

single structure in the works. In certain movements, it resembles the general outline of first-movement sonata designs. The principal thematic group is usually formed of a variable number of themes and motives set in contrasting tonality. The second part of the work consists of either development of the initial phrases, new music, or a combination of the two. Changes of media and key are typical in the midst of the form. The clarity of reprise in these movements identifies their designs with early sonatas rather than with the freer romantic types. Cherubini's method of thematic expansion is related to a binary or alternation scheme in most of his motets, within which is employed repetition, variation, and (frequently varied) reprise.

The motets are models of flexibility in expression, ranging from hushed unisons or unaccompanied voices (cf., "Qui in tristia," of Cherubini's Esto mihi with "Et incarnatus" in Beethoven's Missa solemnis) to bright and jubilant songs of praise in the baroque tradition (such as the Allegro movement of Cherubini's Laetare, Jerusalem). Operatic critics in Cherubini's milieu praised his correct treatment of dramatic situations while criticizing the composer's lack of skill in following the action on stage. Although the expansion of mood may have impeded the progress of Cherubini's works for the theatre, it adds strength to his later motets, while the remainder of the operatic criteria does not apply.

Centuries of musical development are reflected in the sacred and dramatic style of Cherubini's motets. Various techniques employed by Palestrina, Handel, and eighteenth-century Italian composers are embodied in the works, but there is little evidence of the spectacular

effects and programmatic novelties which often surrounded Cherubini. The minor influence of the works on the sacred music of succeeding generations is due in part to external circumstances, since they were written during a period of transition in church music from traditional styles toward both new and ancient forms of expression. Berlioz and other composers who continued to develop a complex style of sacred music were probably influenced by Cherubini's models, but they rejected the restrictions which he set for his works. The motets were sung for several decades in concerts at the Conservatoire de musique until they were eventually ignored in favor of German symphonic works. Paradoxically, they remained in the repertory of German churches and choral societies for more than a century after the composer's death. They remain today a sizeable body of works of intrinsic value.

Compositions so well adapted to an aristocratic society as were the motets of Luigi Cherubini need not vanish in future generations. Written for a special set of ceremonial services, it is understandable that the settings were neither performed in the later chapels of constitutional monarchs and other heads of state nor in the less elaborate services of the church. They are nonetheless significant vehicles of expression in a volatile era. Logical in artistic structure, they contain an inner array of musical invention designed to amplify their sacred texts. The abrupt conclusion of their production due to the July revolution occurred at a time when the composer had only begun to attain a new height of symphonic unity and order in the motets.

APPENDIX A

A THEMATIC LIST OF THE EXTANT MOTETS OF LUIGI CHERUBINI

The entries below are headed by the numbers which Cherubini assigned to his own works, as published in Bottée de Toulmon's Notice des manuscrits autographes de la musique par Cherubini ... (Paris: E. Duverger, 1843). Alphabetical suffixes after the numbers identify separate motets listed under the same heading in the Notice.

The following abbreviations are applicable, following the form of those employed in the International Inventory of Musical Sources, Recueils imprimés de la XVIII siècle (München-Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1964), pp.17ff.:

Libraries.

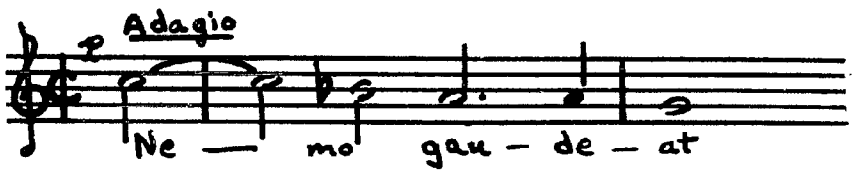
D-Bds.	Germany: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (DDR)
F-Pn.	France: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
GB-Lbm.	Great Britain: London, British Museum
I-Fc.	Italy: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio
I-Mc.	Italy: Milan, Biblioteca del Conservatorio
I-Vnm.	Italy: Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana
US-Bp.	United States: Boston, Boston Public Library
US-MiU.	United States: University of Michigan Library
US-Cn.	United States: Chicago, Newberry Library
US-Wc.	United States: Washington, Library of Congress

Collections within the Libraries.

F-Pc.	France: Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire (F-Pn.)
F-Po.	France: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra (F-Pn.)
GB-Lk.	Great Britain: London, King's Music Library (GB-Lbm.)
US-Bab.	United States: Boston, Allen Brown Collection (US-Bp.)

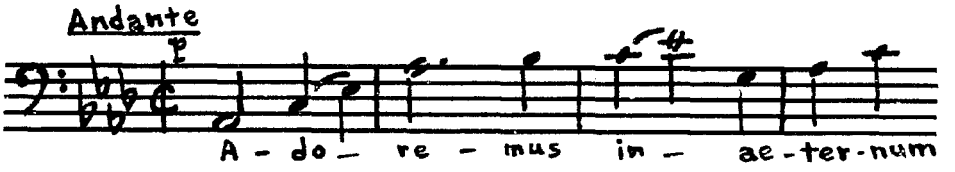
Motets Written between 1781 and 1790

16. Nemo gaudeat in C major, for two 4-vc. choirs and 2 organs, 1781.



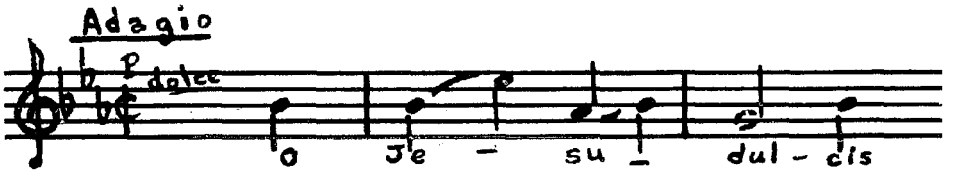
Autogr. ms. (score) lost. Ms. copy with fig. bass: F-Pc.
Cherubini listed a score of 41pp. (Toulmon, p.6). The copy in F-Pc. is comprised of 26pp.

76a. Adoremus in aeternum in A-flat, for 3 basses and organ, 1790.



Autogr. ms. (score) lost. Ms. copy: I-Vnm.
Rev. by the composer, 1824. See Schroeder, "Chronologisches Verzeichnis . . .," Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft (1961), p.58.
Rev. in Musique sacrée, Paris: Porro, n.d., no.2: US-Bab.
Id. (rev.ed.), Musica sacra, Bonn: N. Simrock, n.d.: US-Bab.
The rev. setting is in C major, for 3 sopranos and orchestra.

76b. O Jesu dulcis in E-flat, for bass, 2 tenors and organ, ca.1790.

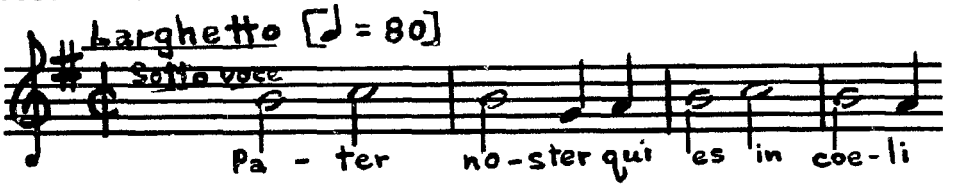


With 76a., scored in same hand. Ms. copy: I-Vnm.
Rev. by the composer as part of his Ave verum corpus (184-b).

Motets Written between 1816 and 1829

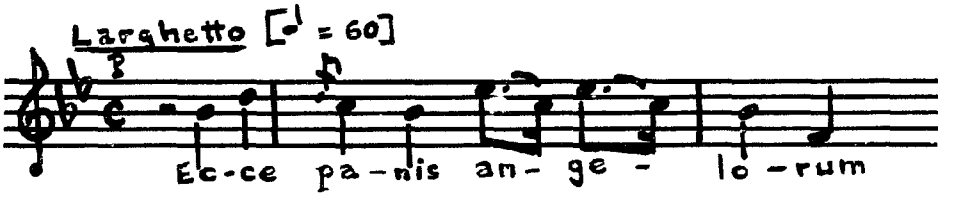
The major group of Cherubini's motets was composed during his employment at the Bourbon chapel. Each work is headed "Service de la Chapelle du Roi" on the autographed manuscript.

177. Pater noster in G major, for 4-vc. choir and orch., 1816.



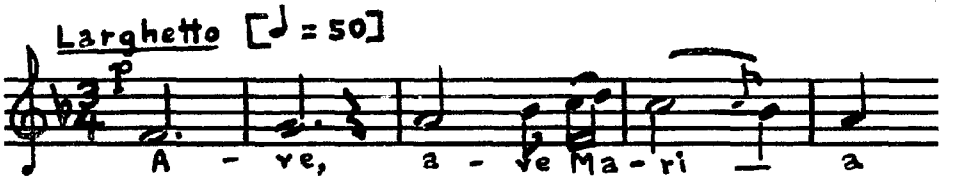
Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.
Autogr. ms. (arr. for accomp. by string sextet): F-Pc.
Early (prob. 1st) ed. in Cinq Motets, Paris: Farrenc, 1842, no.2: F-Pn. An ident. impression in Six oeuvres choisies de musique religieuse, Paris: Porro, 1843, no.2: US-MiU.
Early ed. (pfte. with opt. parts) in Hymnes sacrés, Mayence and Antwerp: B. Schott Söhne, 1845, no.5: US-Cn.

179. Ecce panis angelorum in B-flat, for ten. or sopr. and orch.,1816.



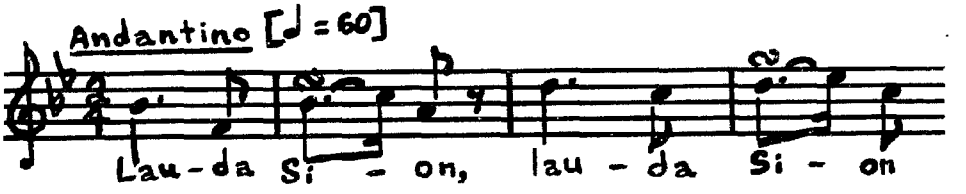
Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.
Copy: I-Mc.
Early (prob. 1st) ed. in Cinq Motets, no.1 (Id. in Six oeuvres, no.1: F-Pn).
Early ed. (pfte. with opt. parts) in Hymnes sacrés, no.6: US-Cn.

180. Ave Maria in F major, for sopr., Eng. hn., and orch., 1816.



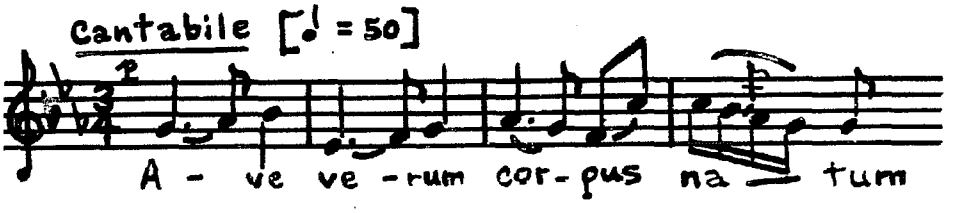
Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.
Autogr. ms. (for tenor and organ): I-Vnm.
Early (prob. 1st) ed. in Cinq Motets, no.3 (Id. in Six oeuvres, no.3: F-Pn).
Early (pfte.) ed. in Cinq motets en partition d'orchestra ou piano, Paris: Canaux, n.d., no.3: F-Bo. [See other early arrs. in Pazdírek's Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur (Wien, 1904-10), I, 251.]

181. Lauda Sion in B-flat, for 2 sopranos and orchestra, 1816.



Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.
Early ed. in Cinq Motets, no.4: F-Pn (Id. in Six oeuvres, no.4).
Early (pfte.) ed., Mayence: B. Schott, n.d.: US-Wc.

184b. Ave verum corpus in E-flat, for 3 sopranos and orch., 1816.

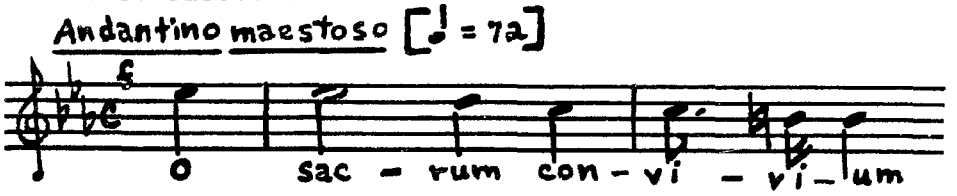


Autogr. ms. with Iste die (185) and O sacrum convivium (184c): D-Bds.

Ms. copies: I-Mc. and F-Pc.

1st ed. in Motets à quatre voix, Paris: A la Lyre Moderne, 1842, no.3: F-Pc. [According to Cherubini, the three works were combined to form the music performed during the spoken low Mass at the Chapelle royale (see Toulmon, p.21).]

184c. O sacrum convivium in E-flat, for 4-vc. choir and orch., 1816.

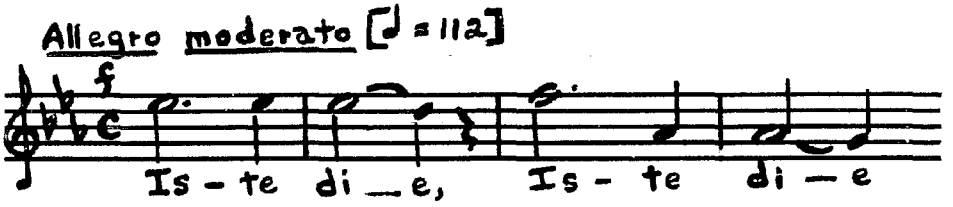


Autogr. ms. (orch. score) with 184b and 185: D-Bds.

1st ed., Motets à quatre voix, no.3: F-Pc.

An early arr. for 3-vc. choir (STB) and orch., Paris: Gallet, n.d.: F-Pc.

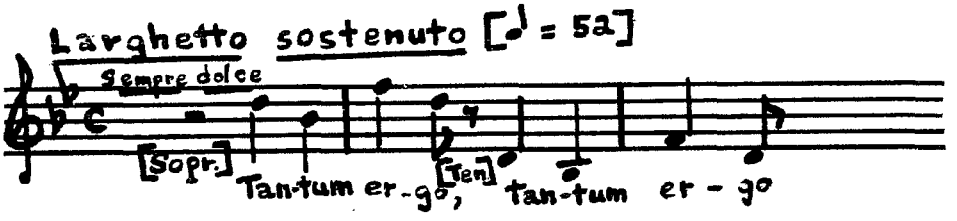
185. Iste die in E-flat, for 4-vc. choir and orch., 1817.



Autogr. ms. (orch. score) with 184b and 184c: D-Bds. The title applies to both the first motet and to the cycle of three works (see Toulmon, p.21).

Early ed. in Motets à quatre voix, nos.1-2 (no.2 is a brief bass solo in the work, sold separately as Venite, comedite): F-Pc.

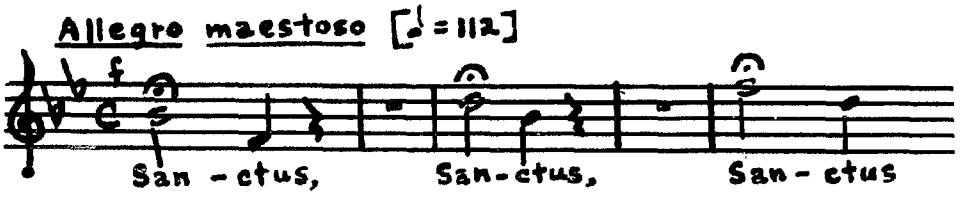
186. Tantum ergo in B-flat, for 5-vc. choir and orch., 1817.



Autogr. ms. (orch. score with separate ms. parts): D-Bds.

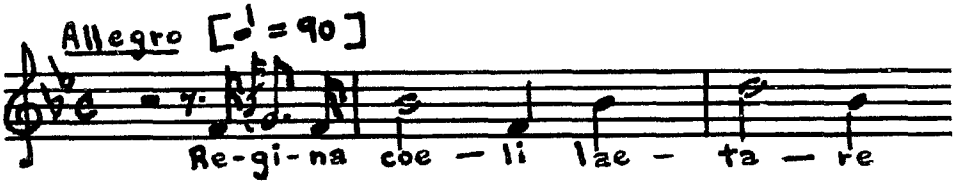
Early ed., Mayence: B. Schott, n.d.: US-Bab. Also in Six oeuvres, no.5: US-MiU.

191. Sanctus--O salutaris in B-flat, for ten. or sopr. and string orch., 1817.



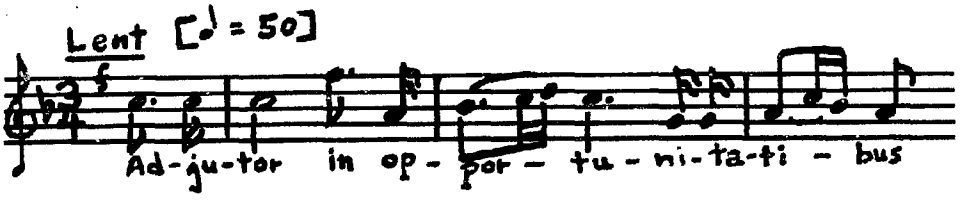
Autogr. ms. (orch. score with sep. parts): D-Bds.
Ms. copy: I-Mc., dated 1820.
Early (prob. 1st) ed. in Cinq Motets, Paris: Farrenc, 1842, no.5: F-Pn.
Early (pfte.) ed. in Cinq motets en partition, Paris: Canaux, n.d., no.5: F-Po. Id. in Six oeuvres, no.6: US-MiU.

194. Regina coeli in B-flat, for soli, 4-vc. choir, and orch., 1818.



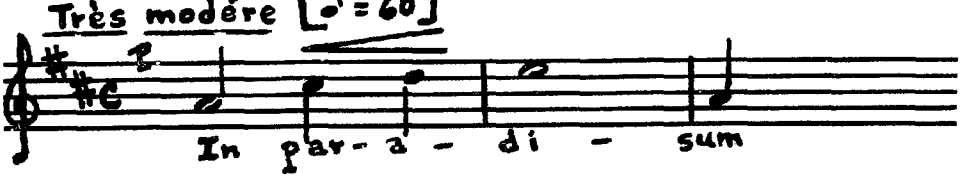
Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.
Early ed. "à grand Orchestre mélé de choriphes," Paris: Porro, n.d.: I-Fc. Id., Paris: Schonenberger, 1850: F-Pn.
Early (pfte.) ed. in Musica sacra (Musique sacrée), no.6.

199. Adjutor in opportunitatibus in F, for soli, 4-vc. choir and orch., 1818.



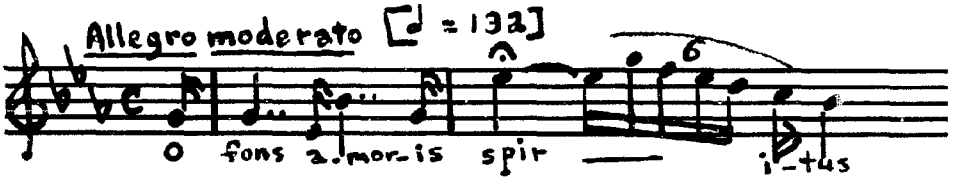
Autogr. ms. (orch. score): GB-Lk.
1st ed., Oeuvres posthumes, Paris: Richault, 1867, no.1: F-Pn.
Early ed. in Ricordi's "Biblioteca musicale sacra," Opera postume (special series), VII, no.2: I-Mc. See also Percy Scholes, The Mirror of Music, 1844-1944 (London: Novello, 1947), I, 79fn.

205. In paradisum in D, for 4-vc. choir and orch., 1820.



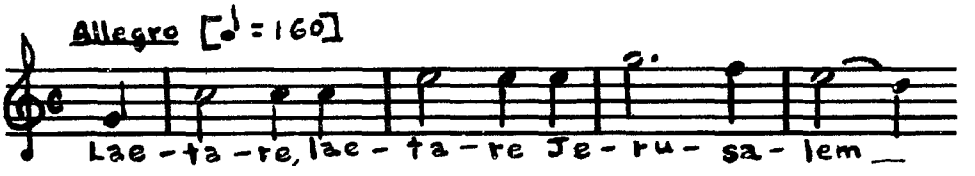
Autogr. ms. (orch. score and sep. parts): D-Bds.
Early ed., Opere postume, II, no.5: I-Mc.

212. O fons amoris (spiritus) in E-flat, for tenor solo, 3-vc. male chorus (TTB), and orch., 1822.



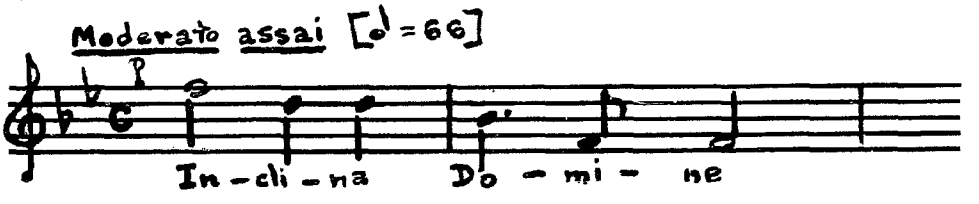
Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.
Early ed. in Musica sacra, no.3: US-Bab.
A separate ed. listed in "Tentativo di un Catalogo della produzione di Luigi Cherubini," Historiae Musicae Cultores, XIX (Florence: Olschki, 1962), p.178.

218. Laetare Jerusalem in C, for soli, 4-vc. choir and orch., 1823.



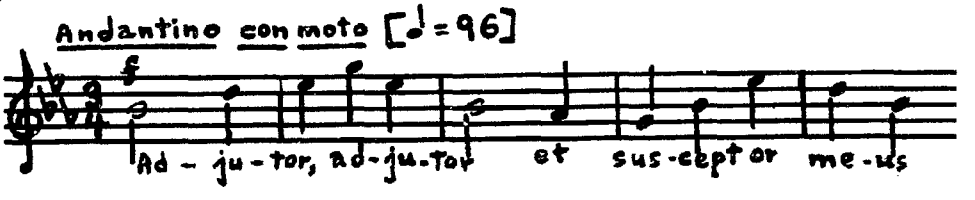
Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.
No publication listed in available sources.

219. Inclina, Domine in B-flat, for sopr. solo, 4-vc. choir, and orch., 1823.



Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.
Early ed. in Musica sacra (Musique sacrée), Bonn: Simrock, and Paris: Porro, n.d., no.4 (with pfte. reduct. and sep. orch. parts): US-Bab.

(*) Adjutor et susceptor meus in E-flat, for 4-vc. choir and orch., 1824.



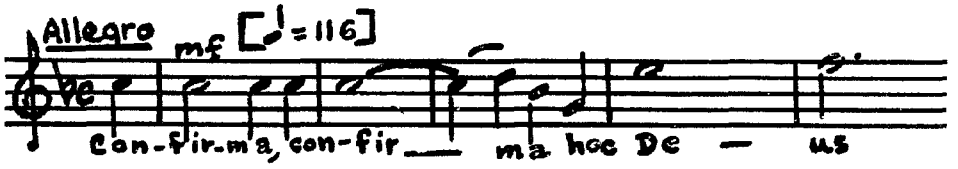
*Not listed by Cherubini, but by Toulmon, in his "Supplément"

to Cherubini's works (Toulmon, Notice, p.34), no.16.

Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds., under "Werke, die in dem Gesamt-Katalog des Herrn Cherubini nicht enhalten sind" ("Works which were not included by M. Cherubini in his general list of compositions").

Early ed. in Musique sacrée: US-Bab. See Toulmon, p.34.

222. Confirma hoc Deus in F, for 3-vc. choir (STB) and orch., 1825.

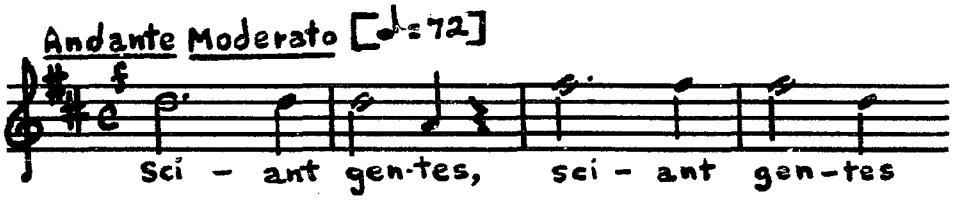


Autogr. ms. (oversized orch. score) with Cherubini's Messe du sacre in A major for the coronation of Charles X (May, 1825): D-Bds.

Early ed. (with the Mass) in Messen und andere Kirchenmusik, Leipzig: Peters, n.d.: D-Bds.

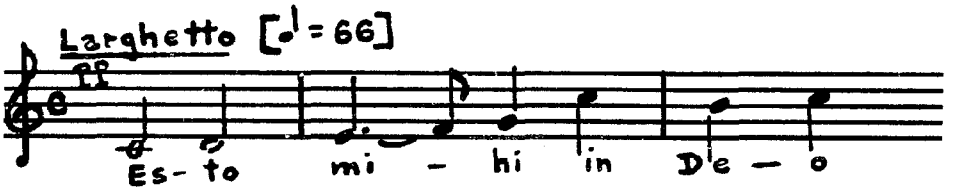
Pfte. ed. in Musica sacra, no.1 (with opt. orch. parts): US-Bab.

228. Sciant gentes in D, for soli, 4-vc. choir, and orch., 1829.



Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.
Early (prob. 1st) ed. in Opere postume, VI, 6: F-Pn.

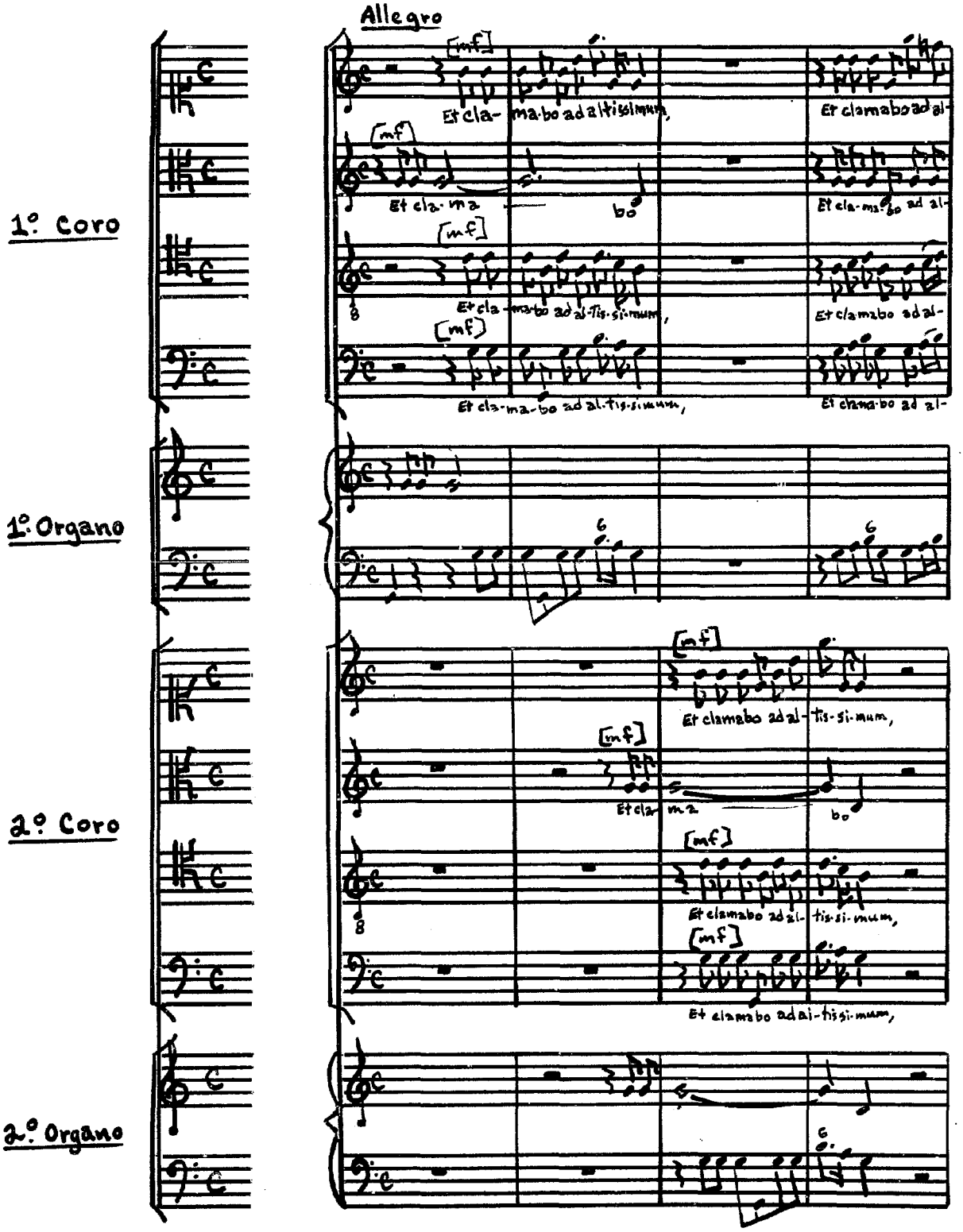
229. Esto mihi (in Deo) in C, for soli, 4-vc. choir, and orch., 1829.

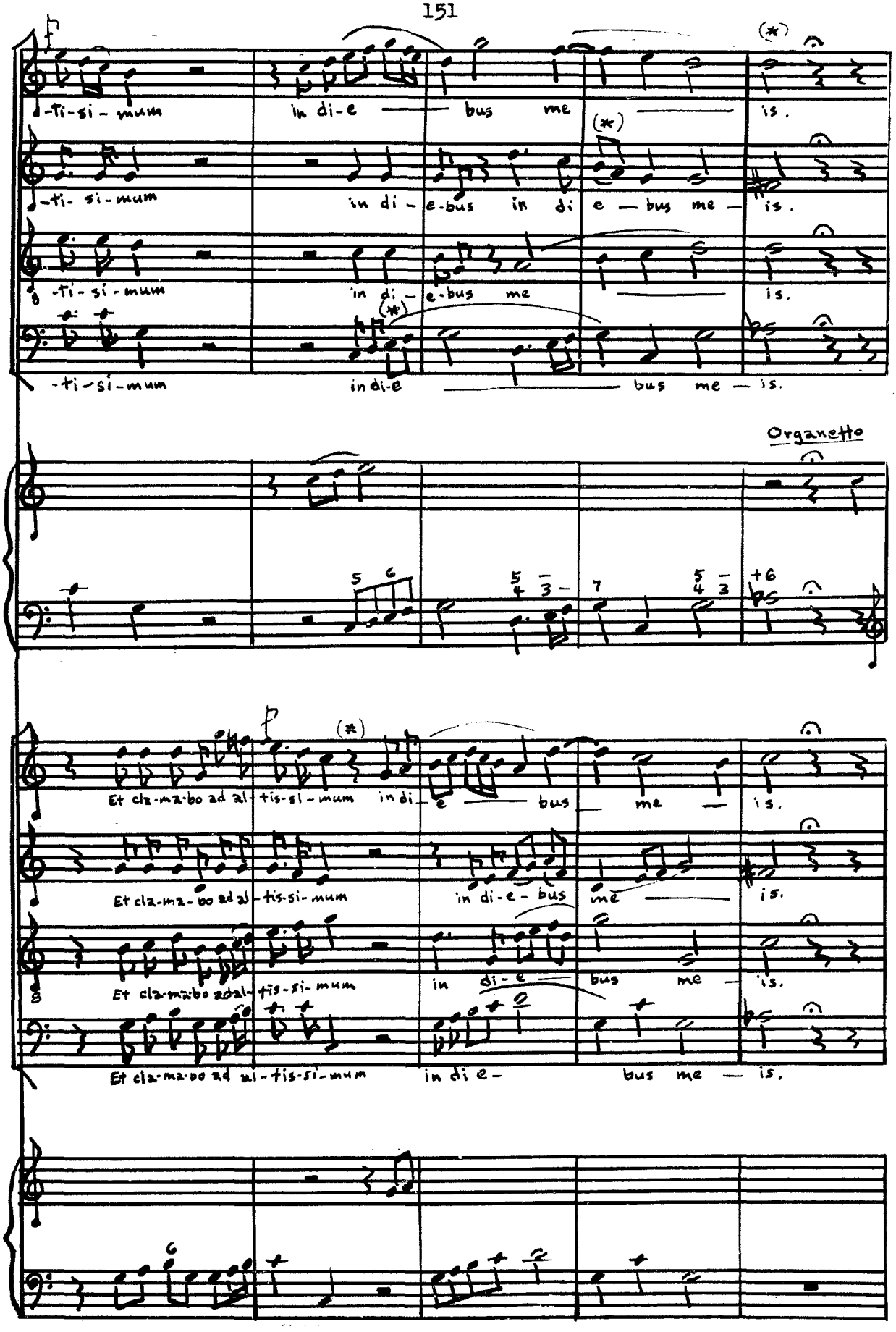


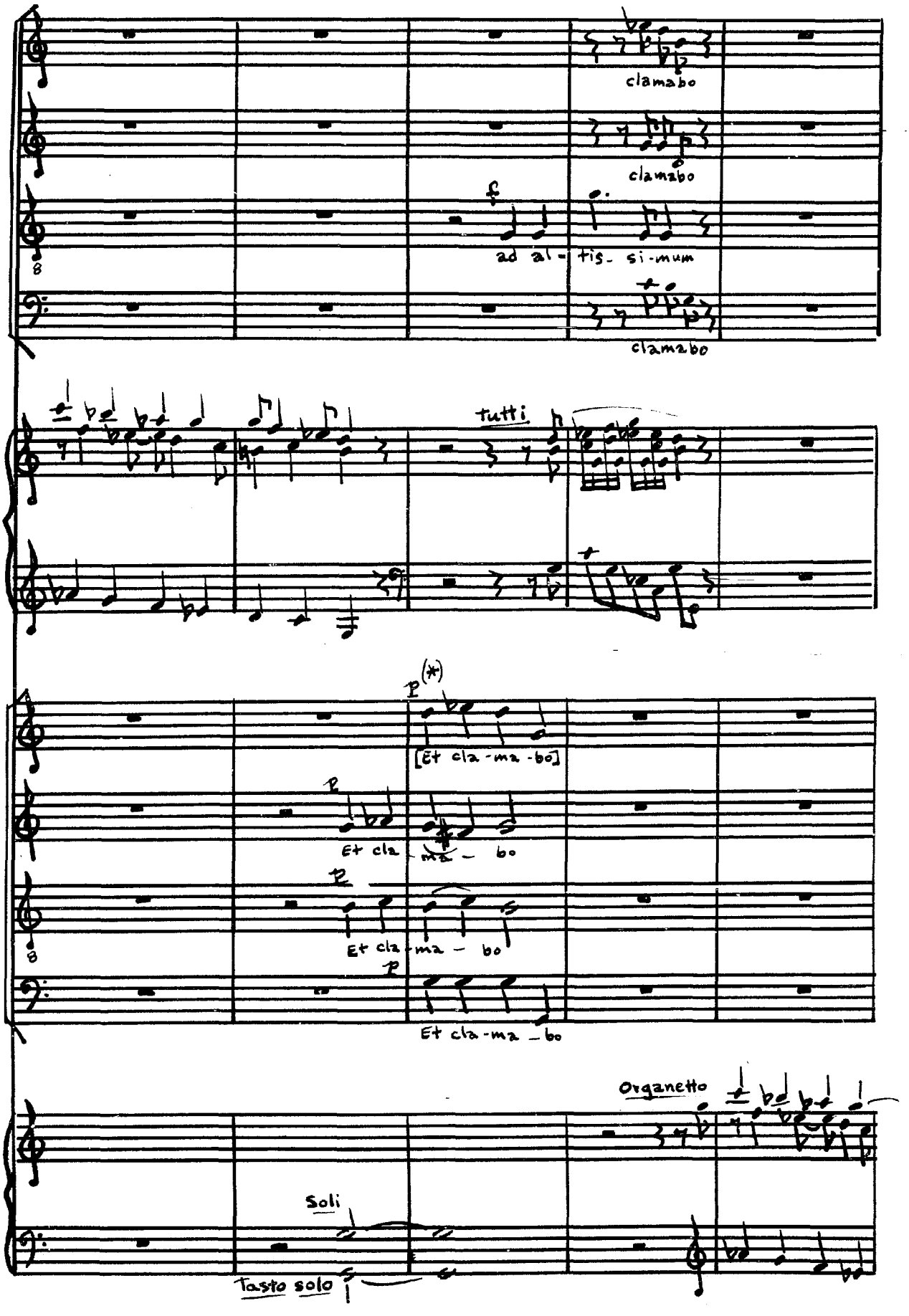
No publication listed in available sources.
Autogr. ms. (orch. score): D-Bds.

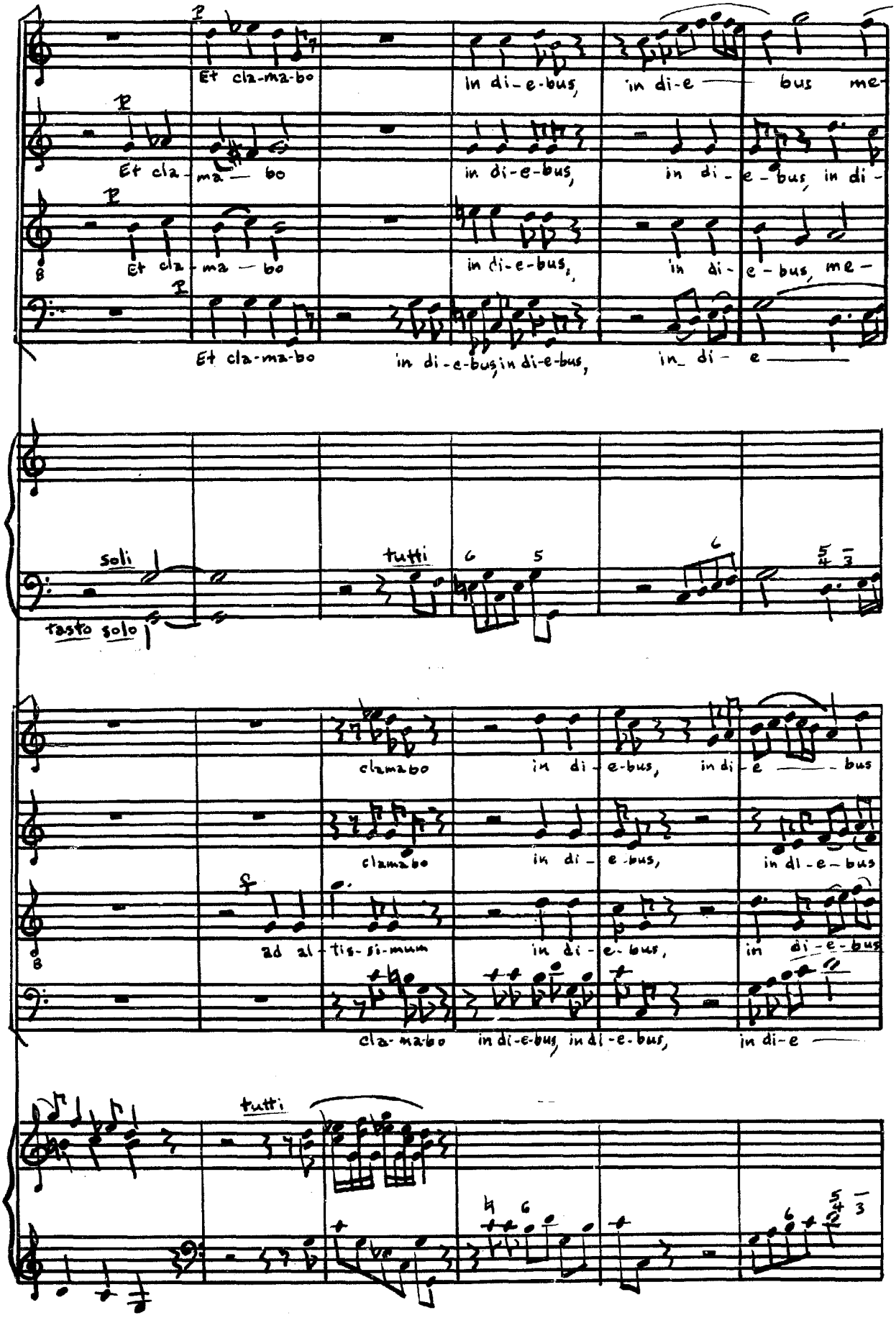
APPENDIX B: SELECTED MUSICAL EXAMPLES

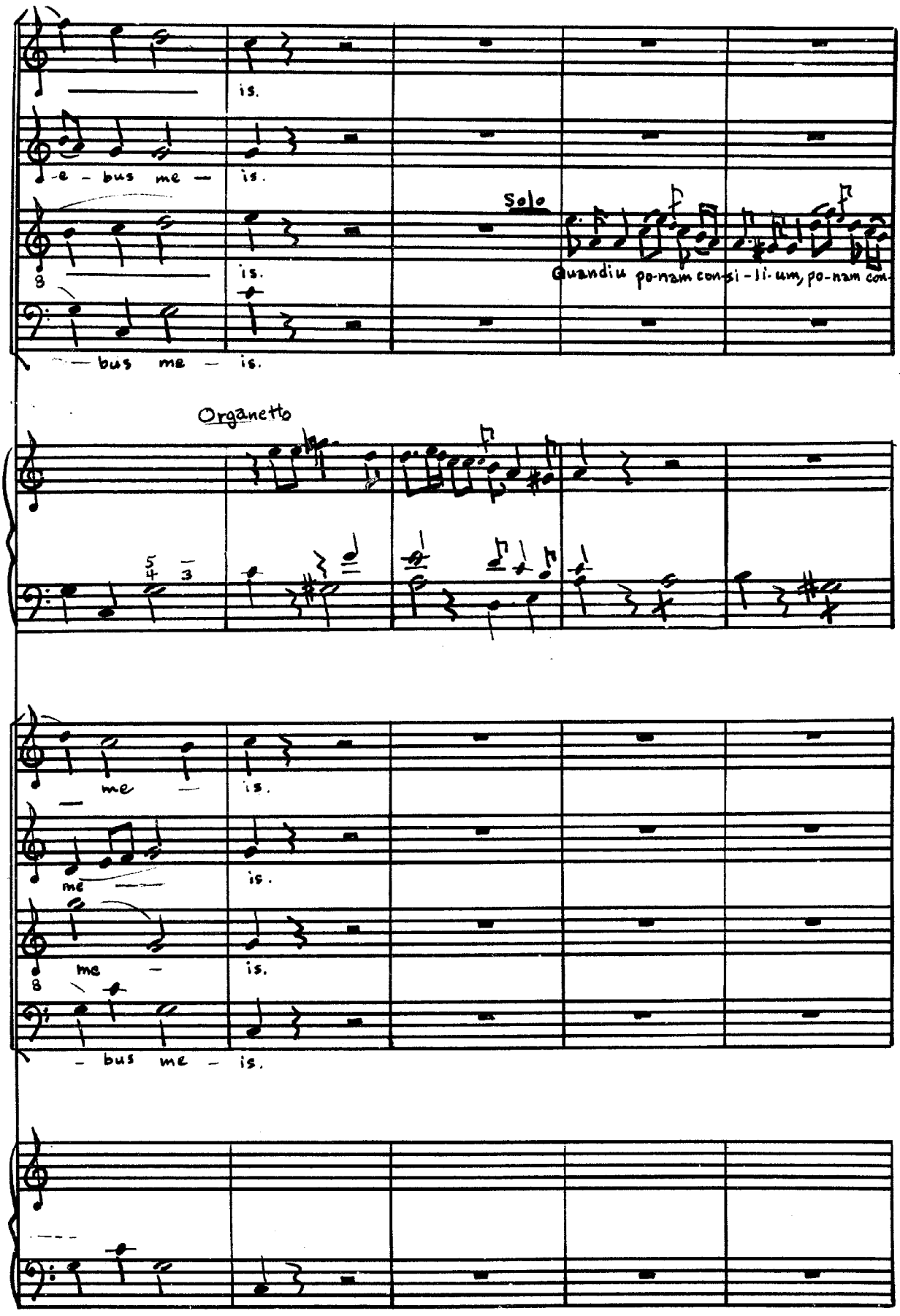
1. Allegro movement, Nemo gaudeat (1781).

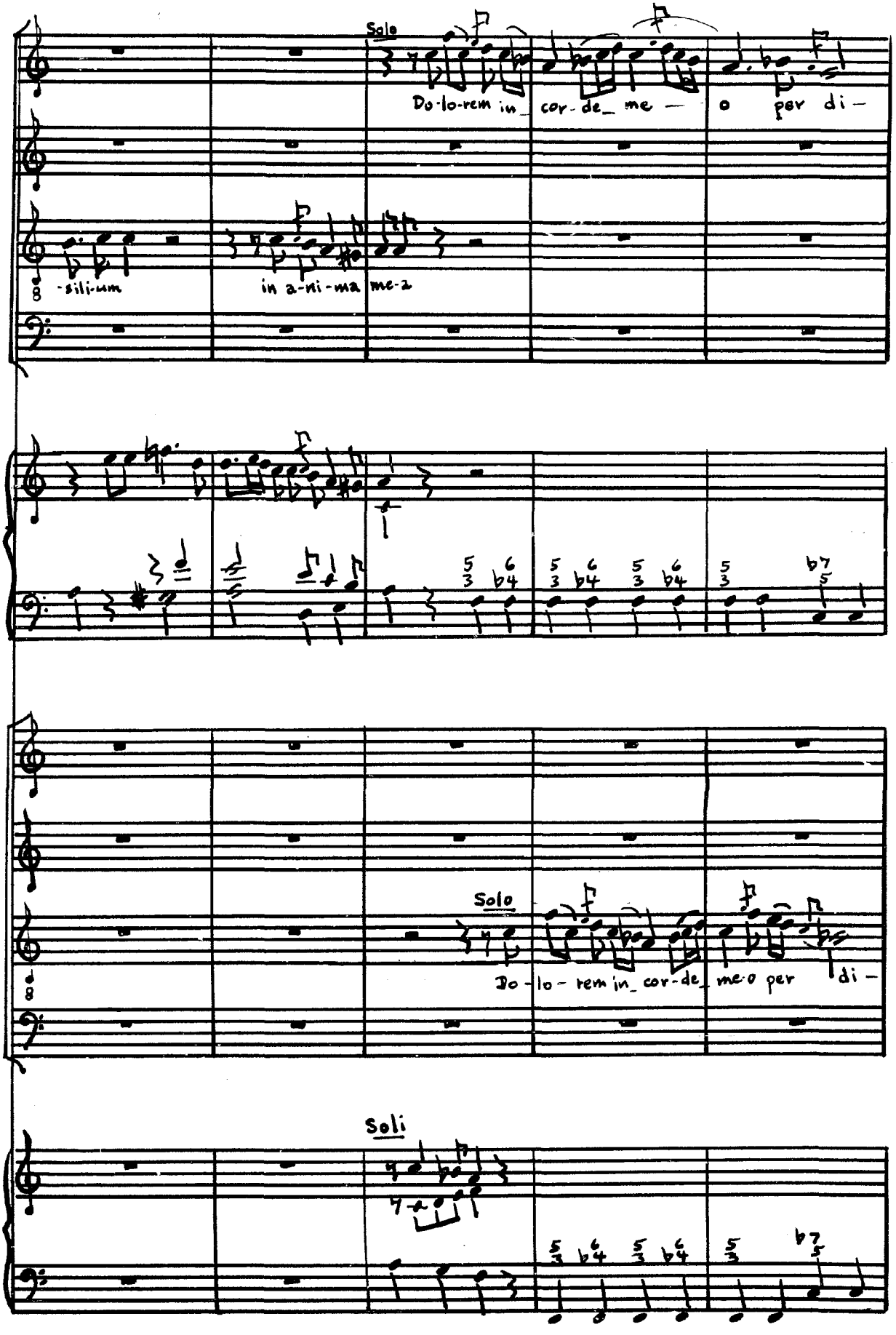


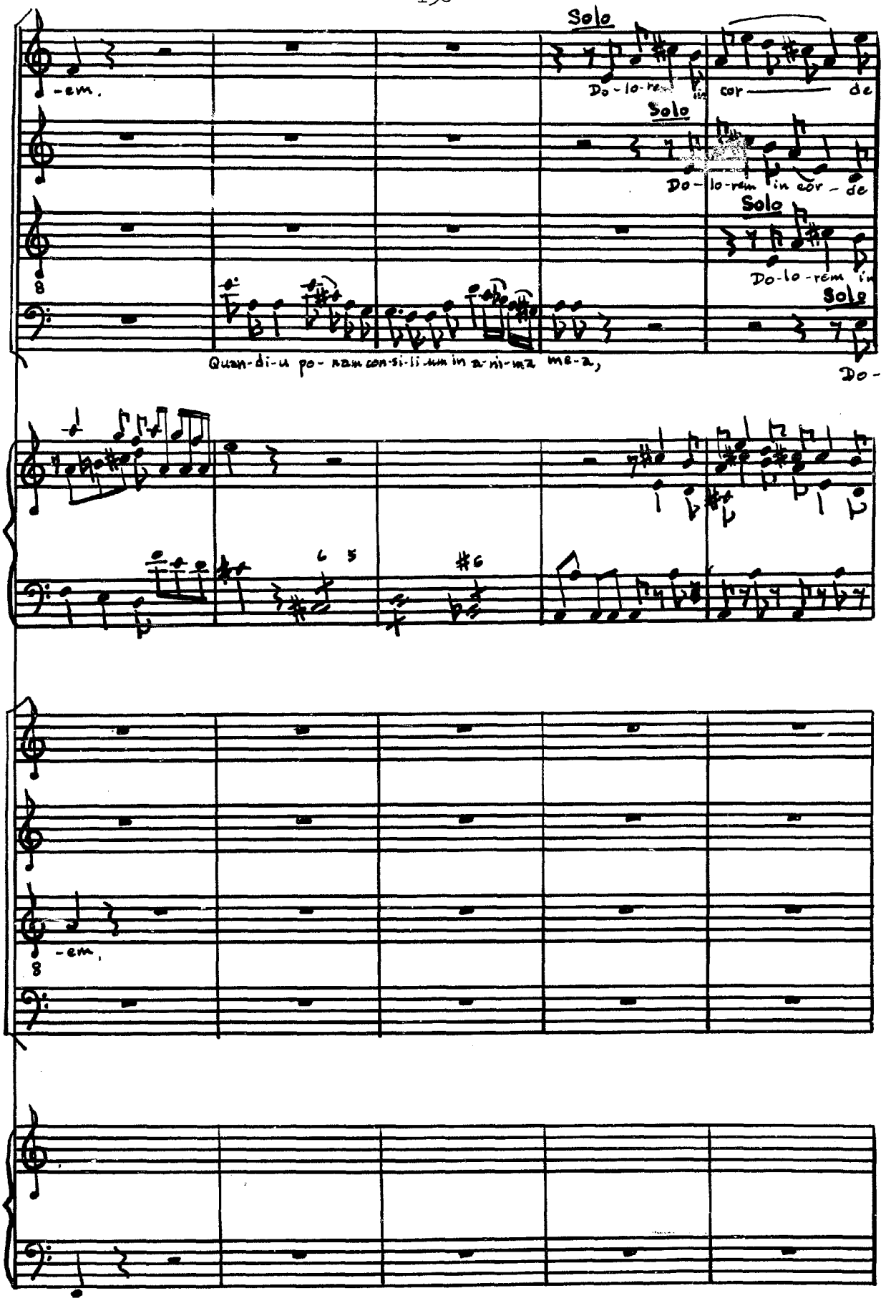

-ti-si-mum in di-e bus me is.
-ti-si-mum in di-e-bus in di e bus me is.
-ti-si-mum in di-e-bus me is.
-ti-si-mum in di-e bus me is.
Organetto
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-tis-si-mum in di-e bus me is.
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-tis-si-mum in di-e-bus me is.
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-tis-si-mum in di-e bus me is.
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-tis-si-mum in di e- bus me is.

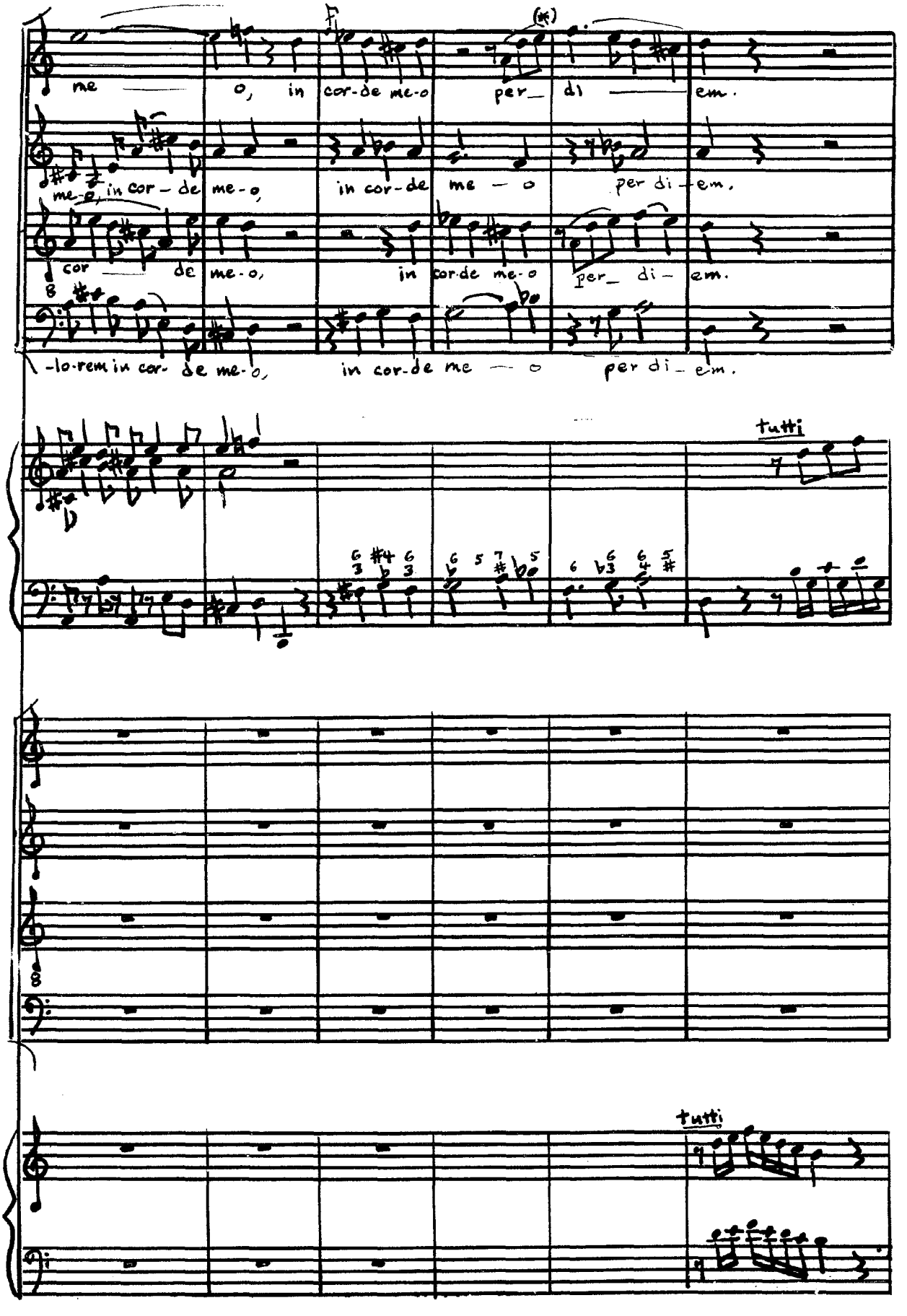

clamabo
clamabo
f
ad al - tis - si - mum
clamabo
tutti
p (*)
[Et cla - ma - bo]
p
Et cla - ma - bo
p
Et cla - ma - bo
p
Et cla - ma - bo
Organetto
Soli
Tasto solo

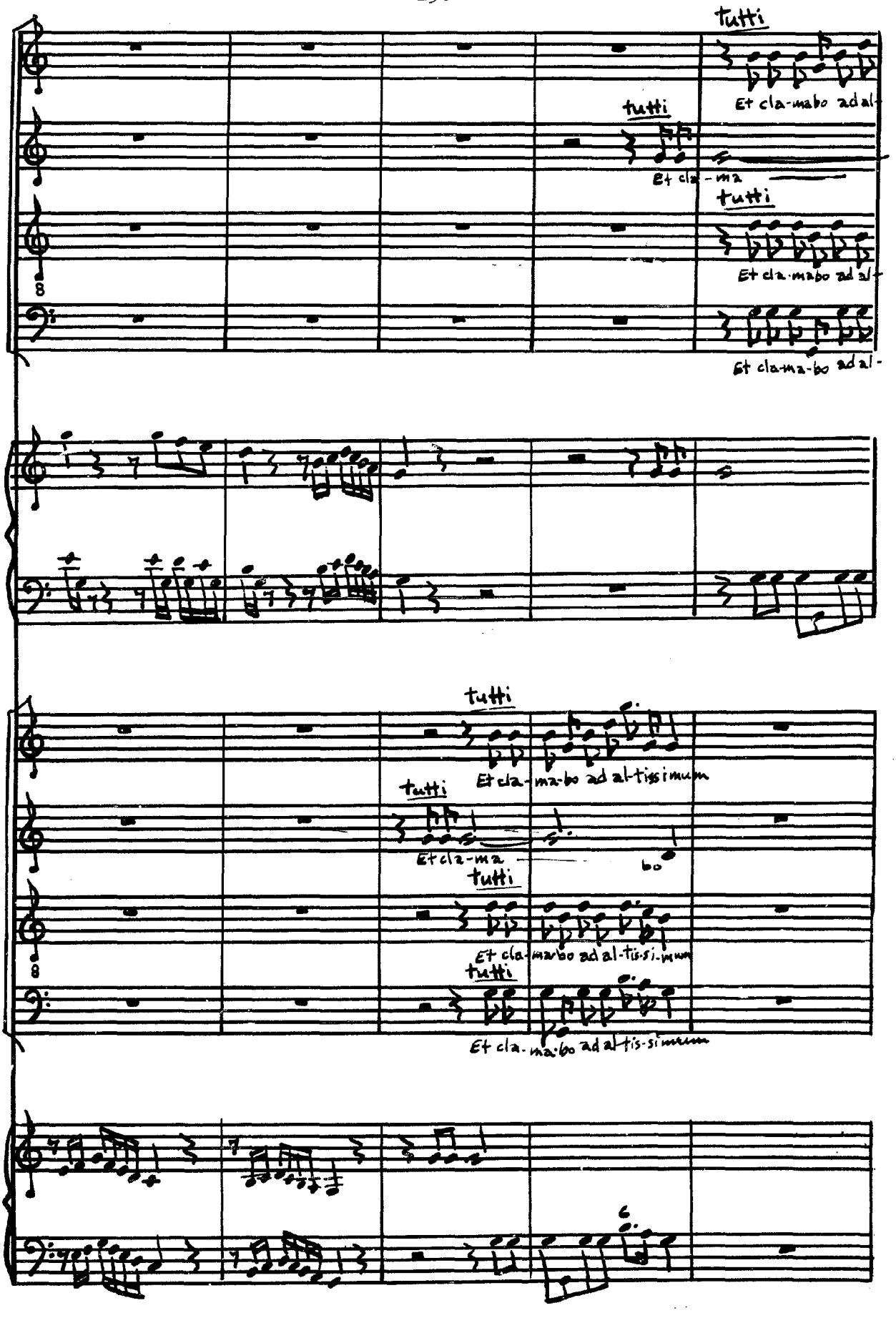

Et cla-ma-bo
in di-e-bus,
in di-e — bus me-
Et cla — ma — bo
in di-e-bus,
in di-e-bus, in di-
Et cla — ma — bo
in di-e-bus,
in di-e-bus, me-
Et cla-ma-bo
in di-e-bus, in di-e-bus,
in di-e —
soli
tutti
tasto solo
clamabo
in di-e-bus,
in di-e — bus
clamabo
in di-e-bus,
in di-e-bus
ad al-tis-si-mum
in di-e-bus,
in di-e-bus
cla-ma-bo
in di-e-bus, in di-e-bus,
in di-e —
tutti

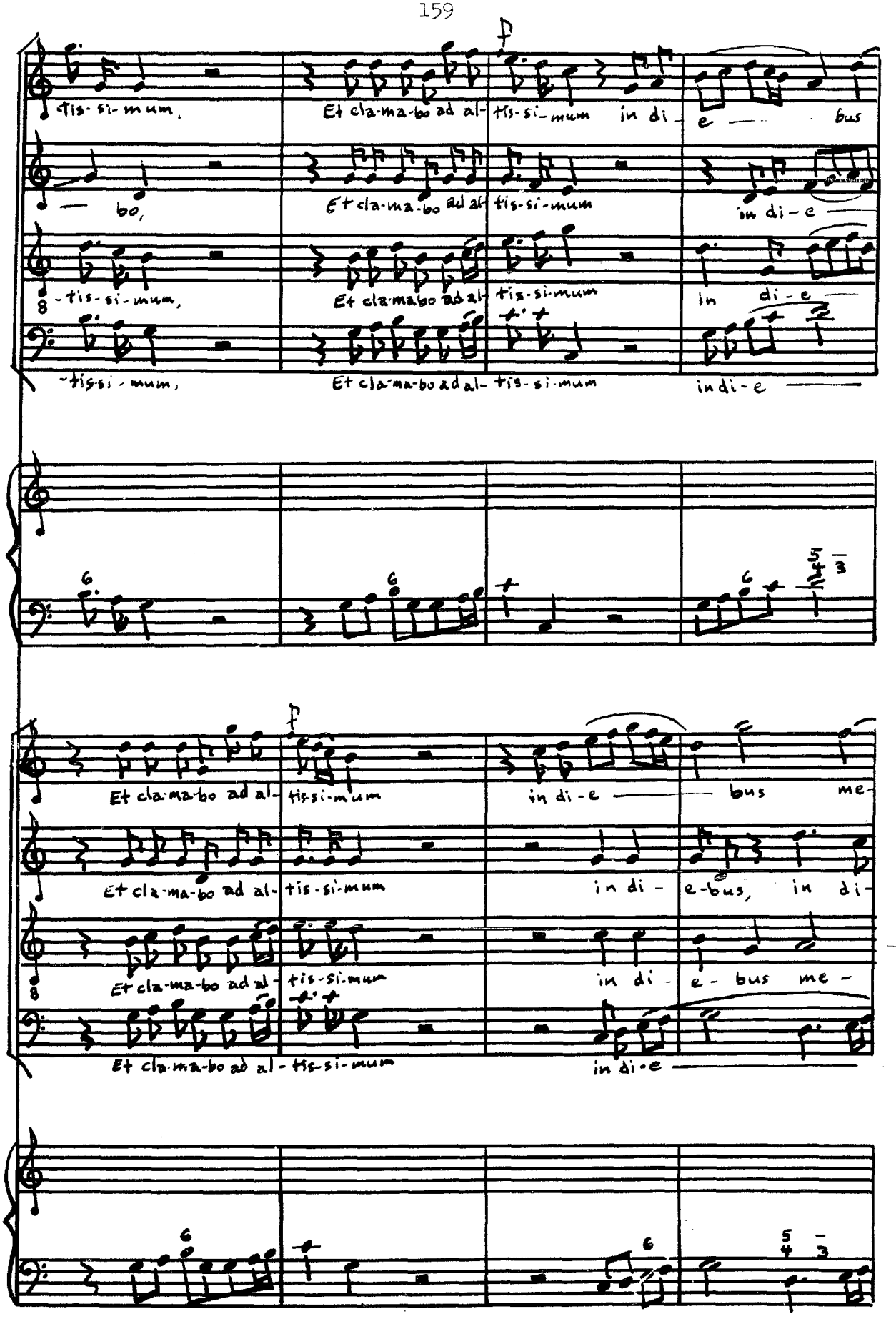

is.
-e - bus me — is.
Solo
8
is.
Quandiu po-nam con-si-li-um, po-nam con-
— bus me — is.
Organetto
5/4 3
me — is.
me —
is.
8
me — is.
- bus me - is.

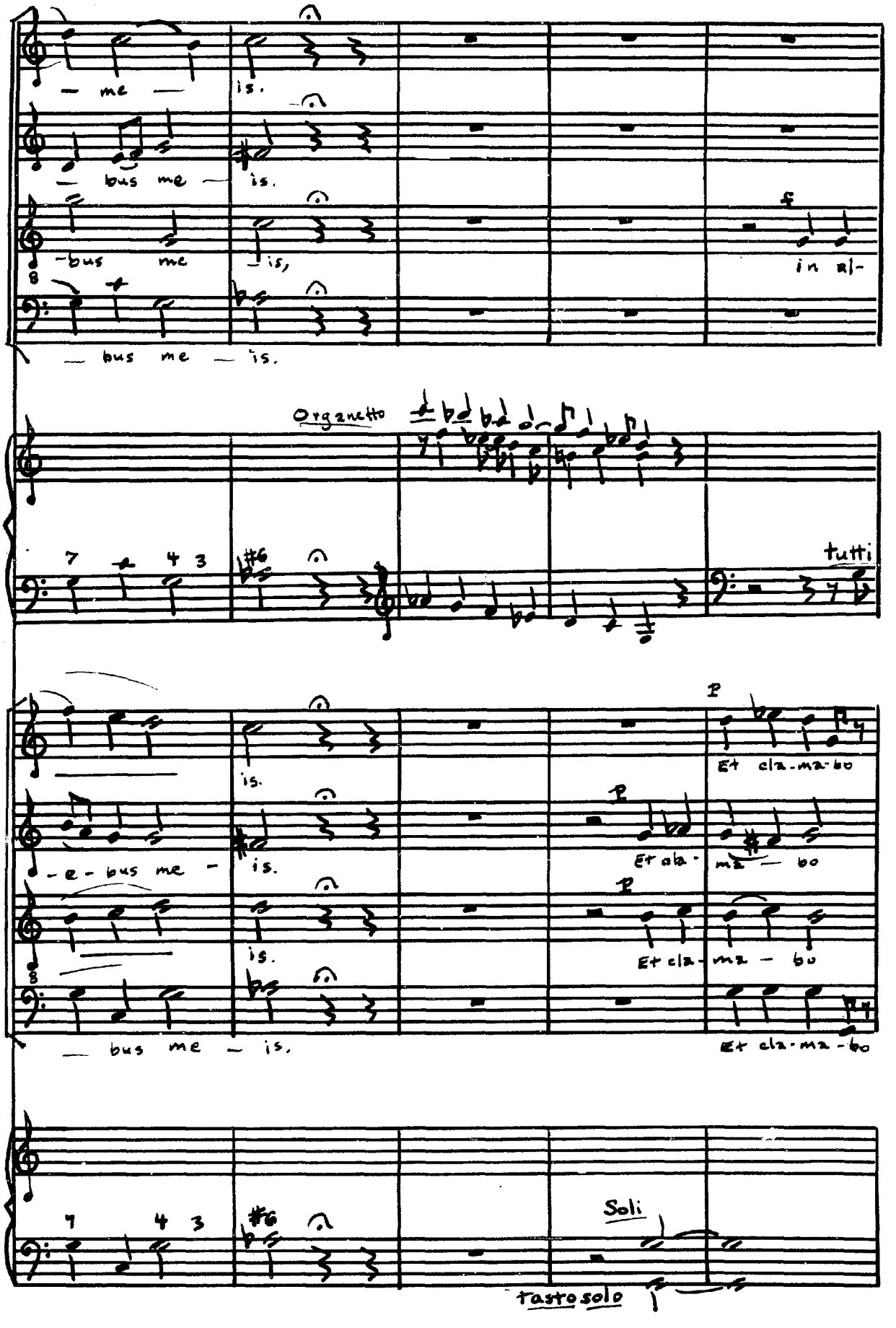

Solo
Do-lo-rem in_ cor-de_ me — o per di —
-sili-um
in a-ni-ma me-a
Solo
Do - lo - rem in_ cor-de_ me-o per di -
Soli

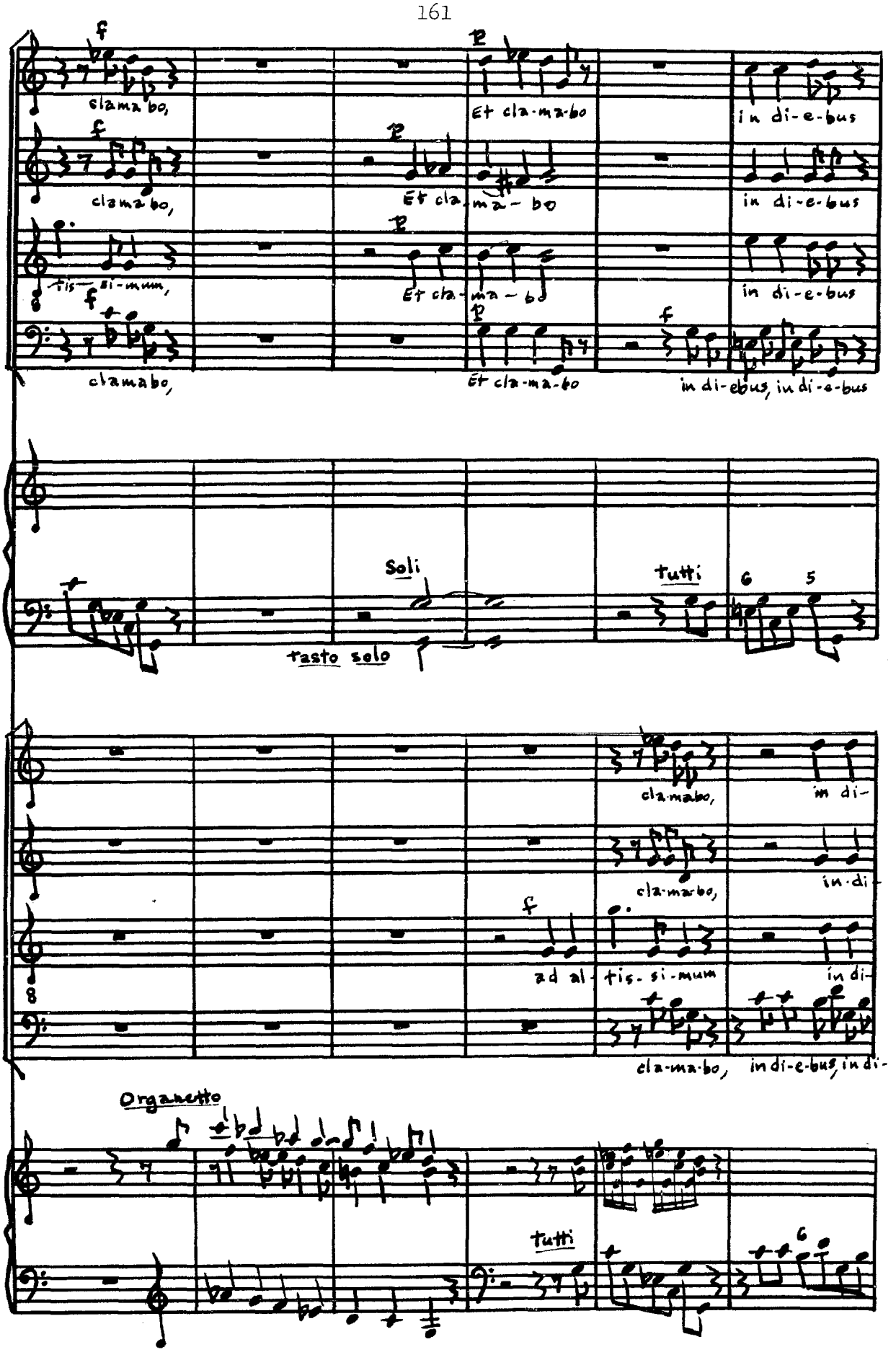

Solo
-em.
Do-lo-re
cor de
Solo
Do-lo-rem in cor-de
Solo
Do-lo-rem in
Solo
Quan-di-u po-ram con-si-li-um in a-ni-ma me-a,
Do-
6 5
#6
-em.

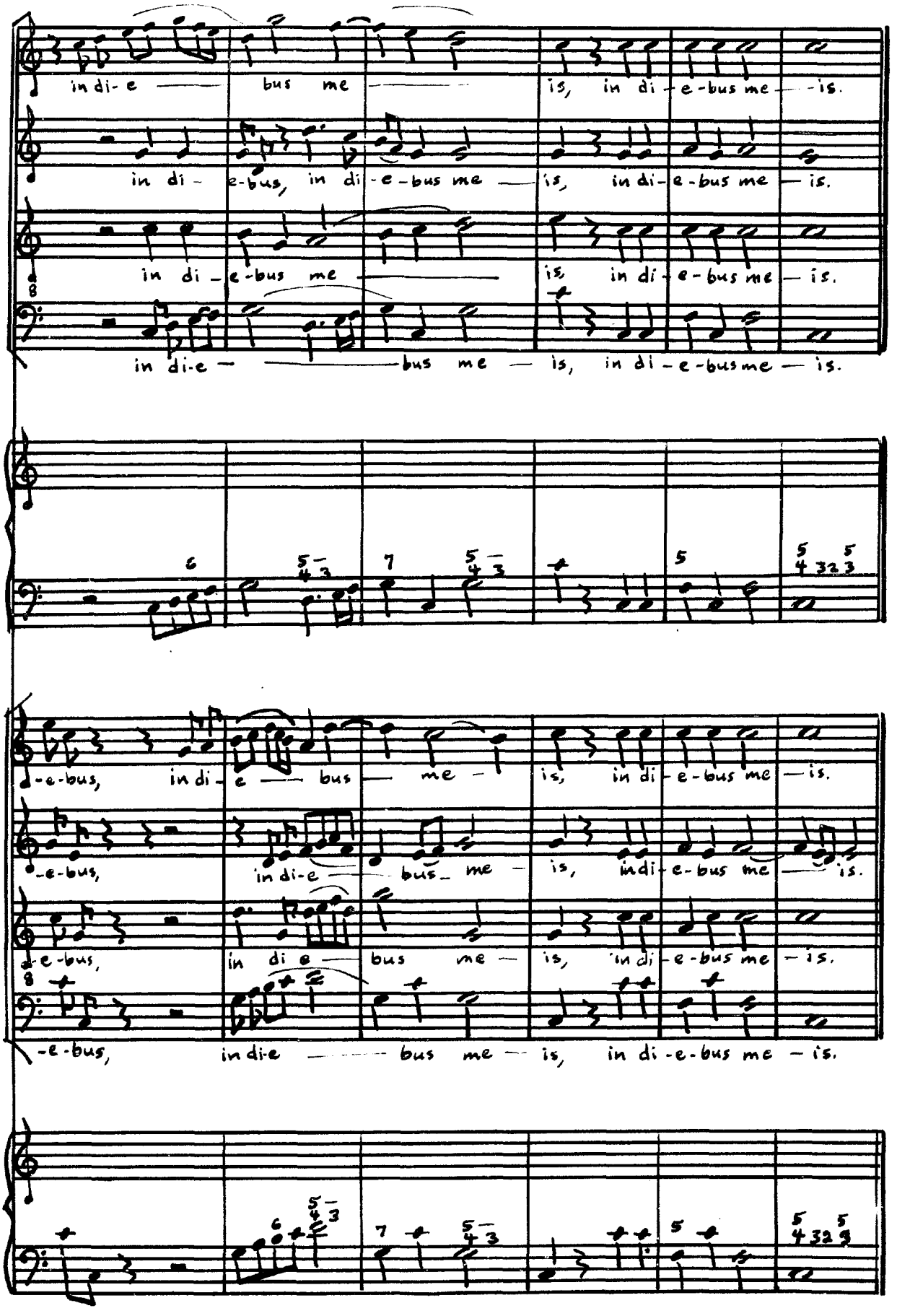

me — o, in cor-de me-o per— di — em.
me-o, in cor-de me-o, in cor-de me — o per di-em.
cor — de me-o, in cor-de me-o per— di-em.
-lo-rem in cor-de me-o, in cor-de me — o per di-em.
tutti
tutti


tutti
Et cla-mabo ad al-
tutti
Et cla-ma
tutti
Et cla-mabo ad al-
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-
tutti
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-tissimum
tutti
Et cla-ma
bo
tutti
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-tis-si-mum
tutti
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-tis-si-mum

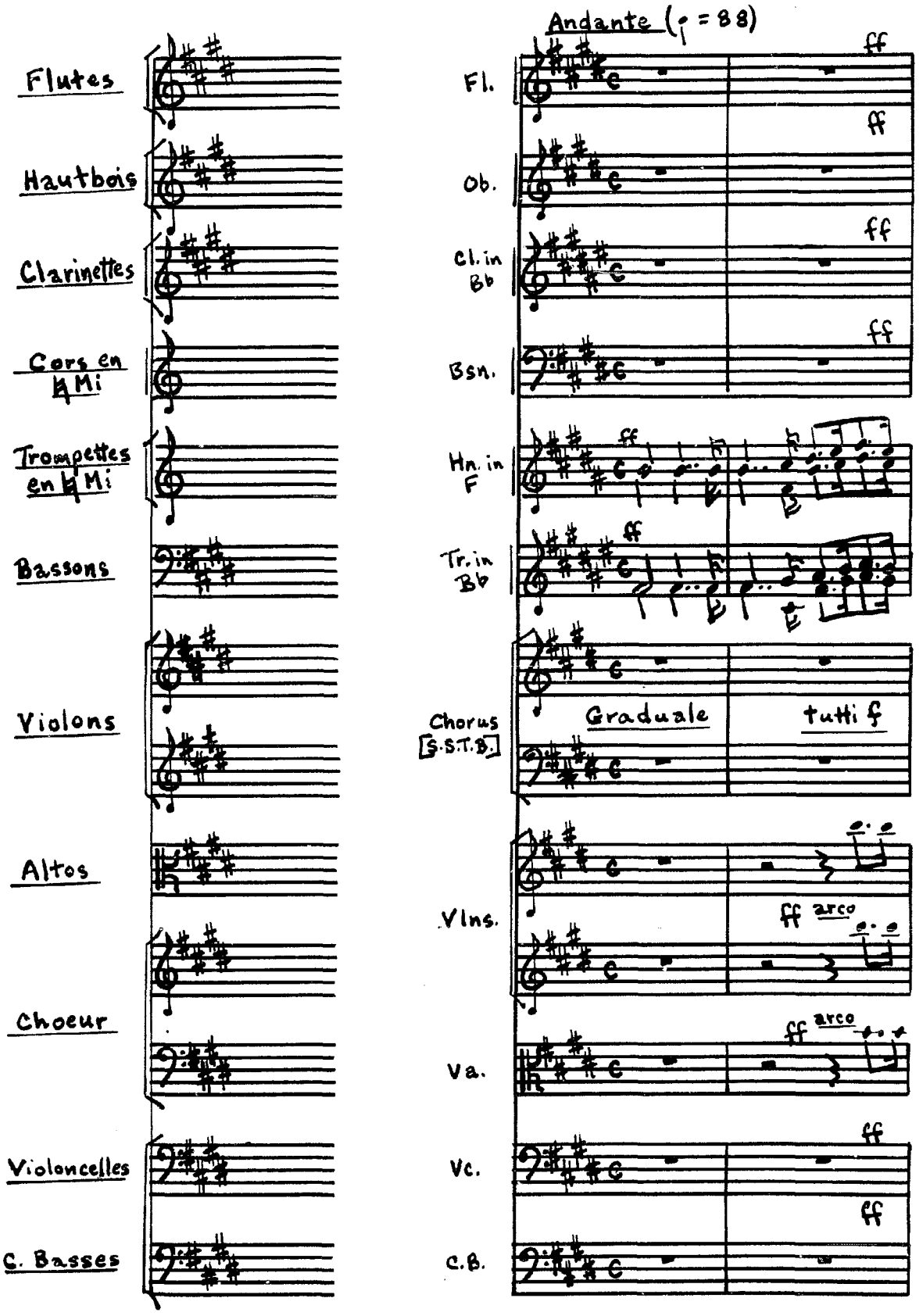

tis-si-mum,
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-
tis-si-mum in di-
e bus
bo,
Et cla-ma-bo ad al
tis-si-mum
in di-e
8 -tis-si-mum,
Et cla-ma-bo ad al
tis-si-mum
in di-e
-tis-si-mum,
Et cla-ma-bo ad al- tis-si-mum
in di-e
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-
tis-si-mum
in di-e bus me-
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-
tis-si-mum
in di- e-bus, in di-
Et cla-ma-bo ad al-
tis-si-mum
in di- e- bus me-
Et cla-ma-bo ad al- tis-si-mum
in di-e

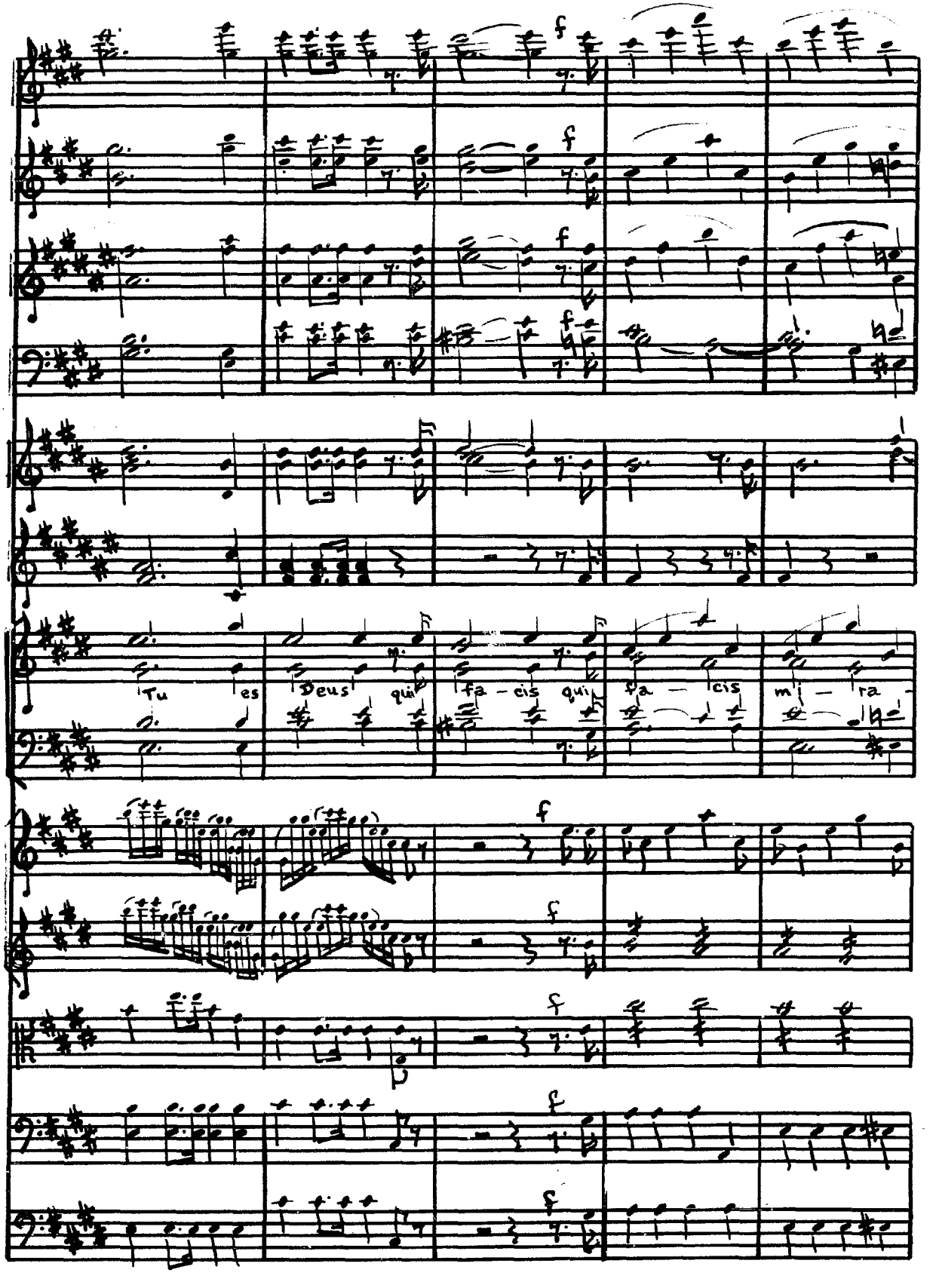

— me —
is.
— bus me —
is.
-bus me
is,
— bus me — is.
in a|-
Organetto
tutti
is.
-e-bus me -
is.
is.
— bus me — is.
Et cla-ma-bo
Et cla-
ma — bo
Et cla-ma — bo
Et cla-ma-bo
Soli
tasto solo

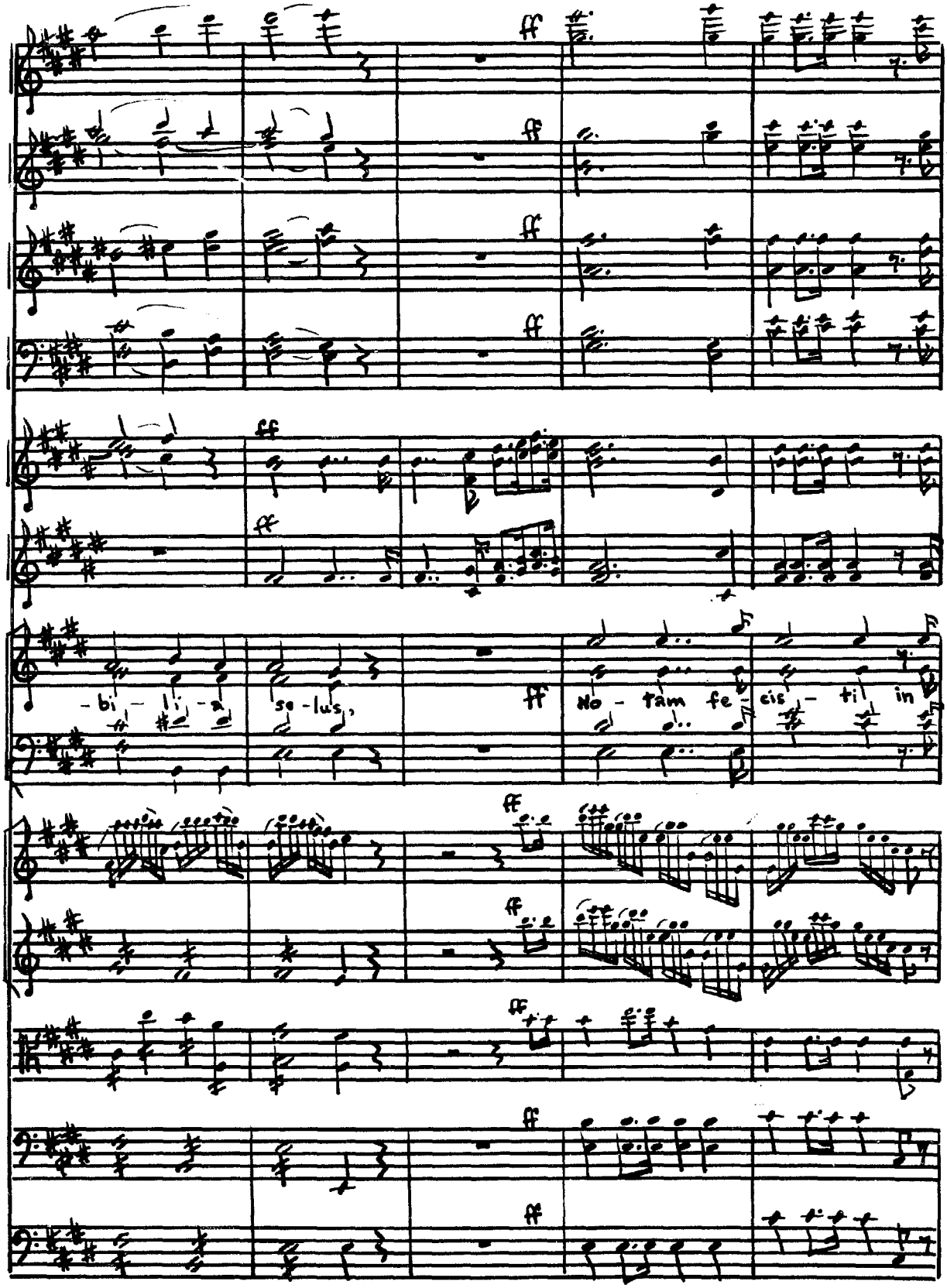

clamabo,
Et cla-ma-bo
in di-e-bus
clamabo,
Et cla-ma-bo
in di-e-bus
tis-si-mum,
Et cla-ma-bo
in di-e-bus
clamabo,
Et cla-ma-bo
in di-ebus, in di-e-bus
Soli
tasto solo
tutti
cla-mabo,
in di-
cla-mabo,
in di-
ad al-
tis-si-mum
in di-
cla-ma-bo,
in di-e-bus, in di-
Organetto
tutti

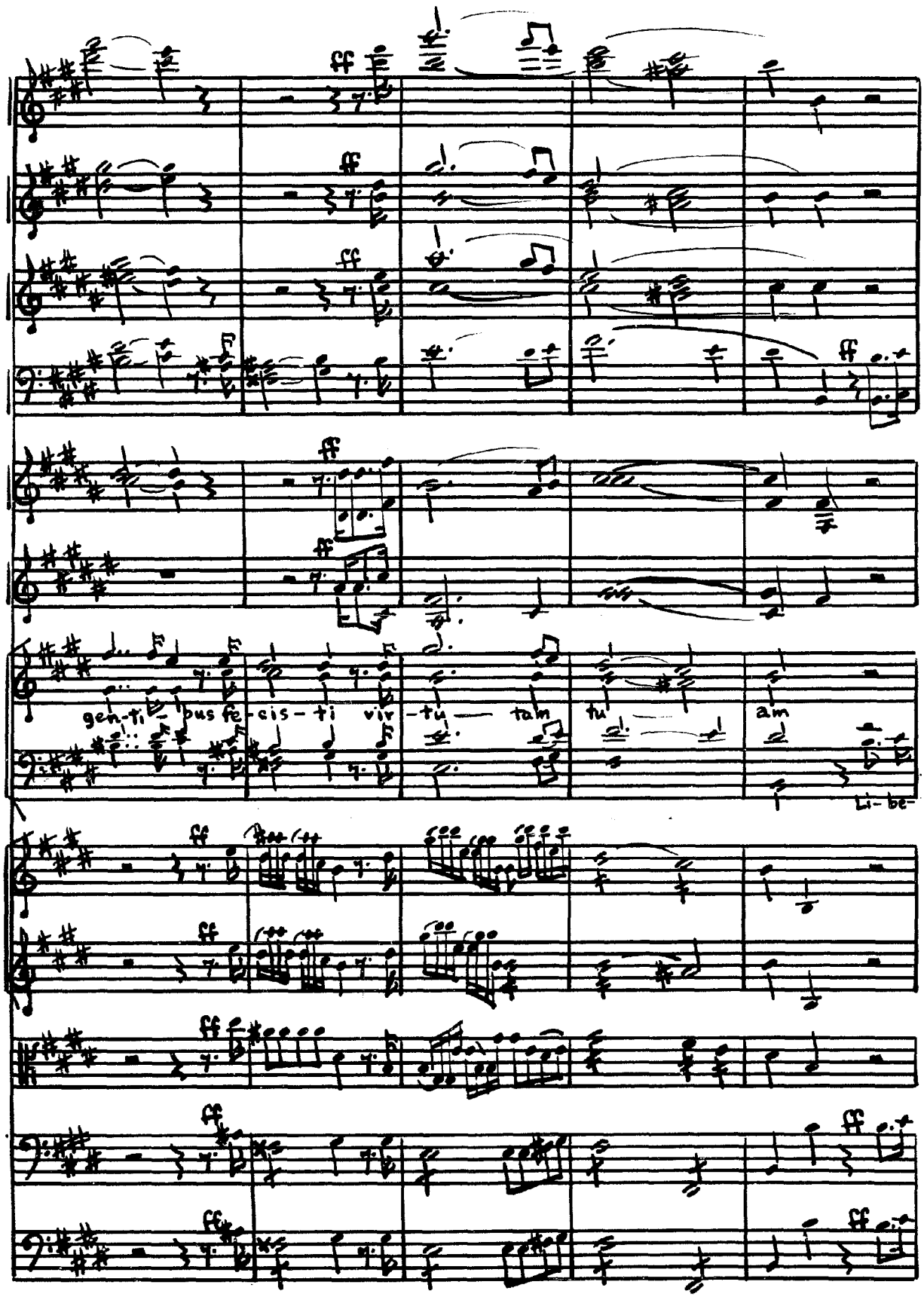

in di- e — bus me — is, in di - e-bus me — is.
in di - e-bus, in di - e - bus me — is, in di - e - bus me — is.
in di - e-bus me — is, in di - e - bus me — is.
in di-e — bus me — is, in di - e - bus me — is.
-e-bus, in di - e — bus — me — is, in di - e-bus me — is.
-e-bus, in di-e — bus me — is, indi - e-bus me — is.
-e-bus, in di e — bus me — is, in di - e-bus me — is.
-e-bus, in di-e — bus me — is, in di - e - bus me — is.

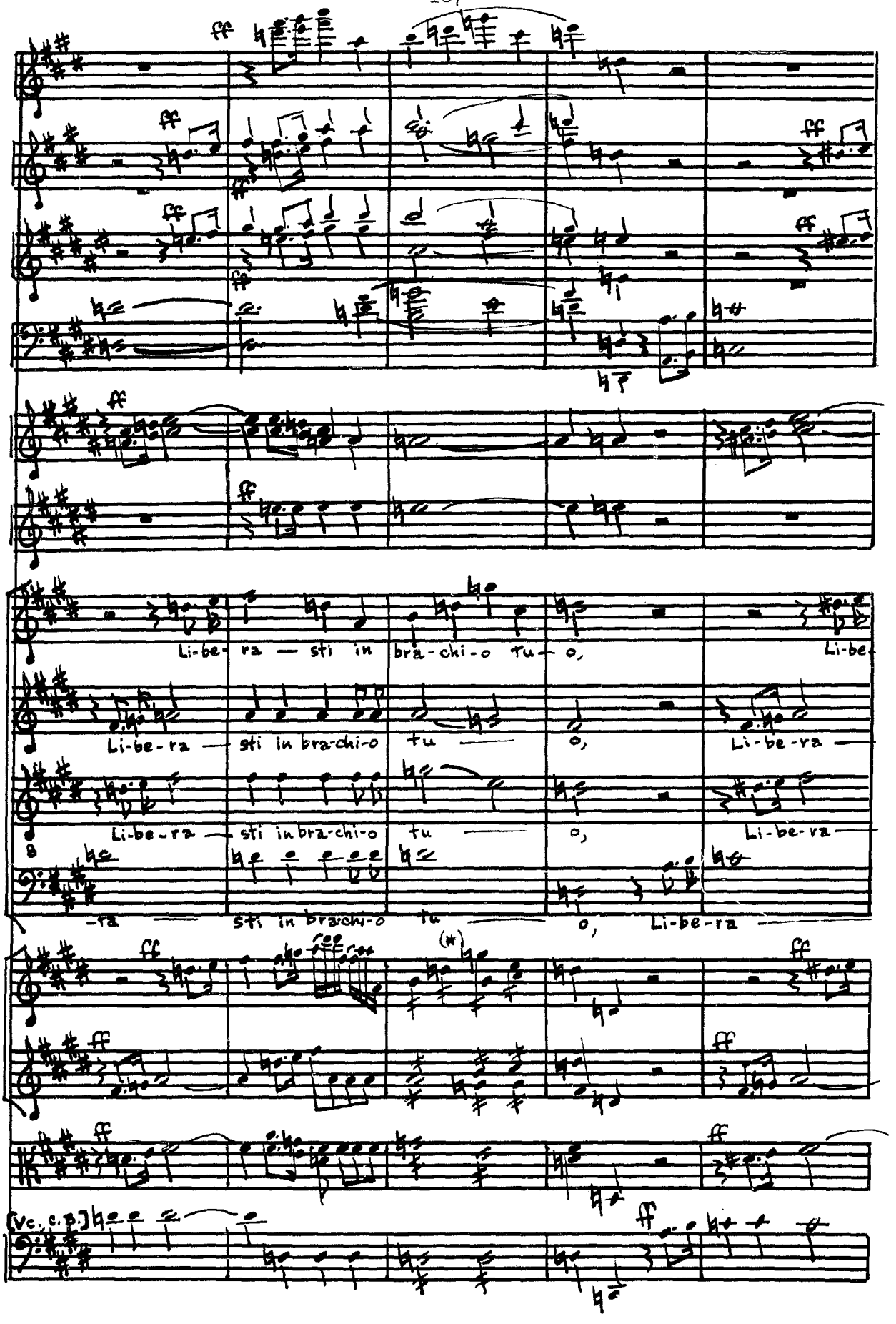
2. Andante (Gradual), Esto mihi (1829).

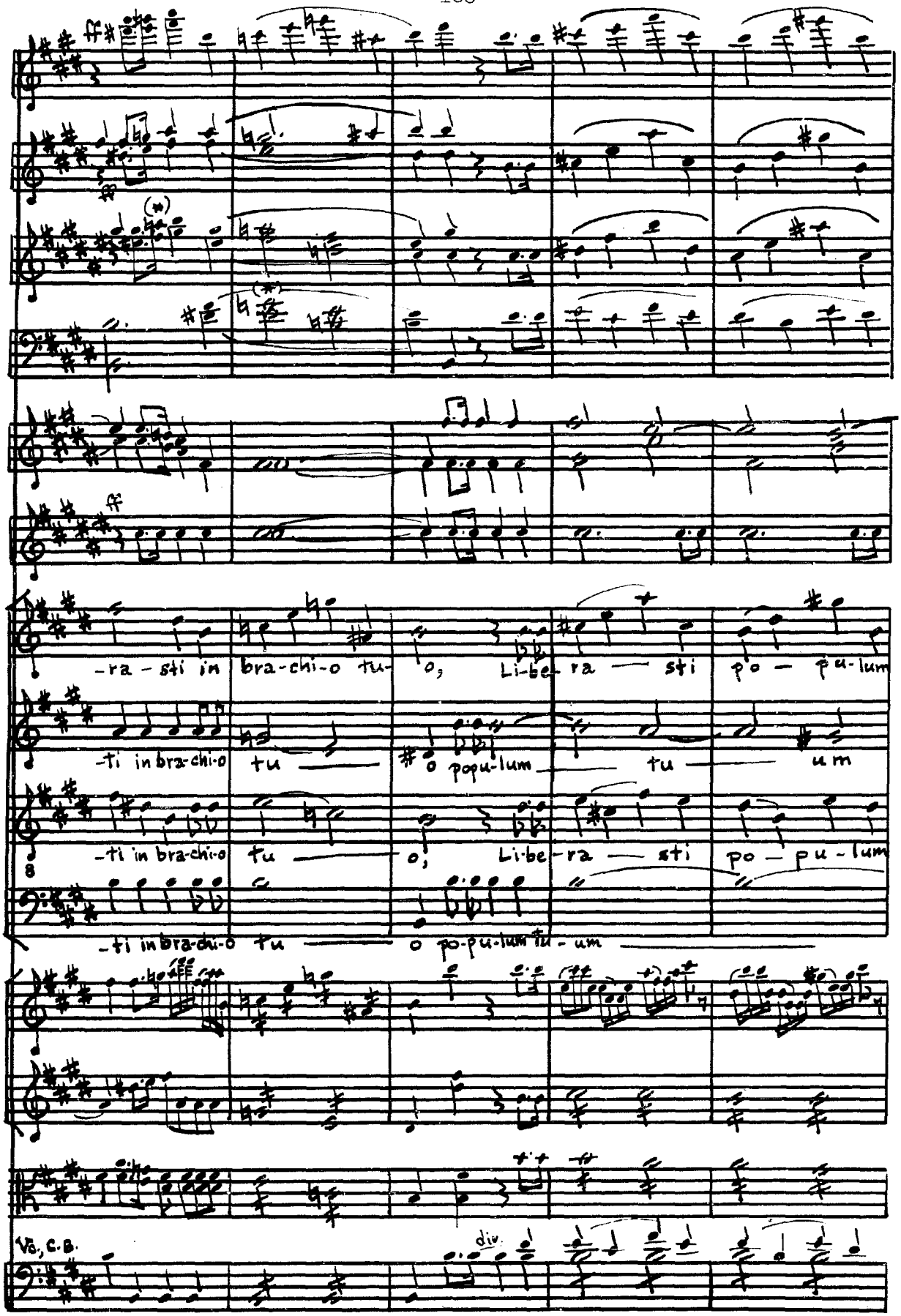


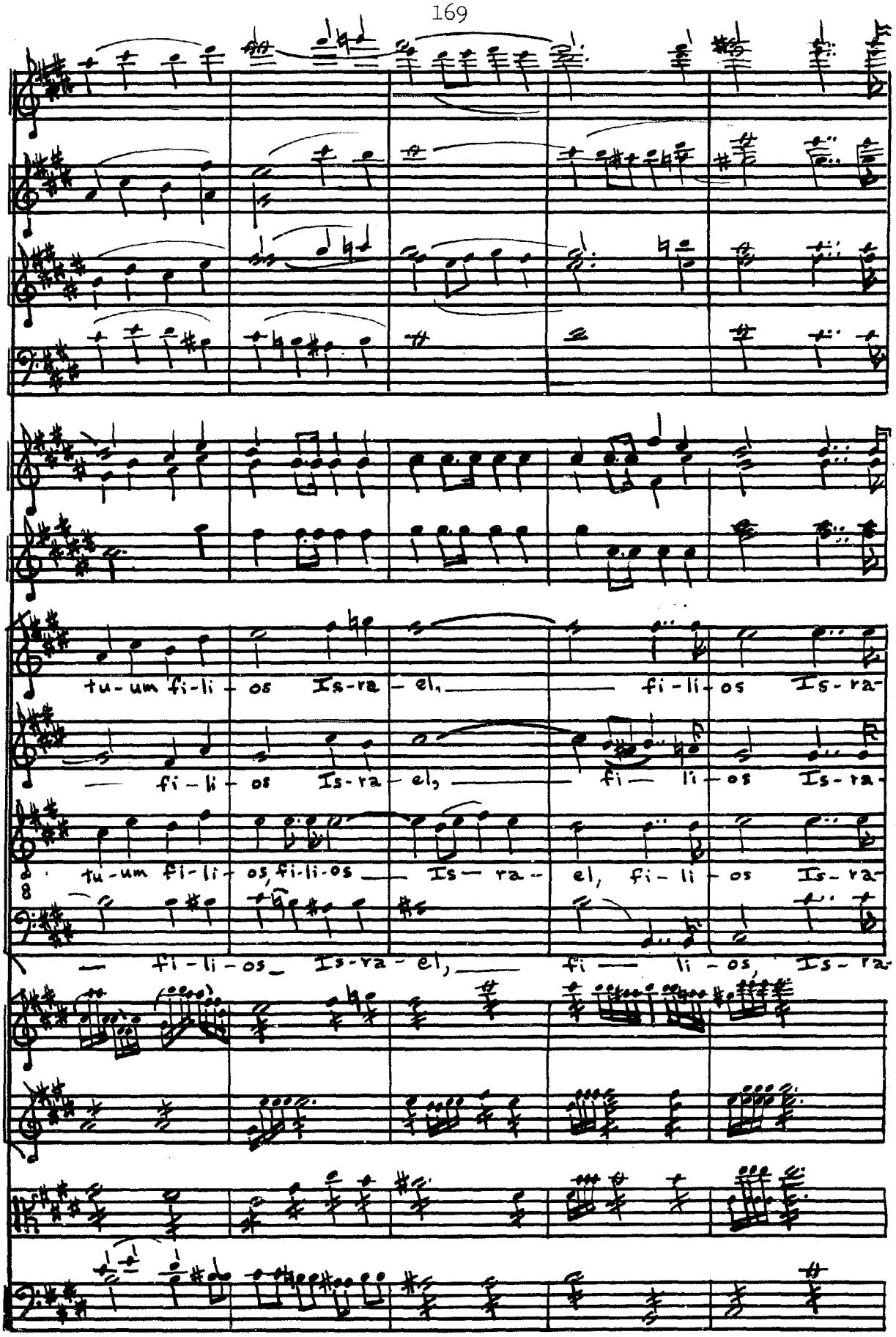

f
Tu es Deus qui fa - cis qui fa - cis mi - ra

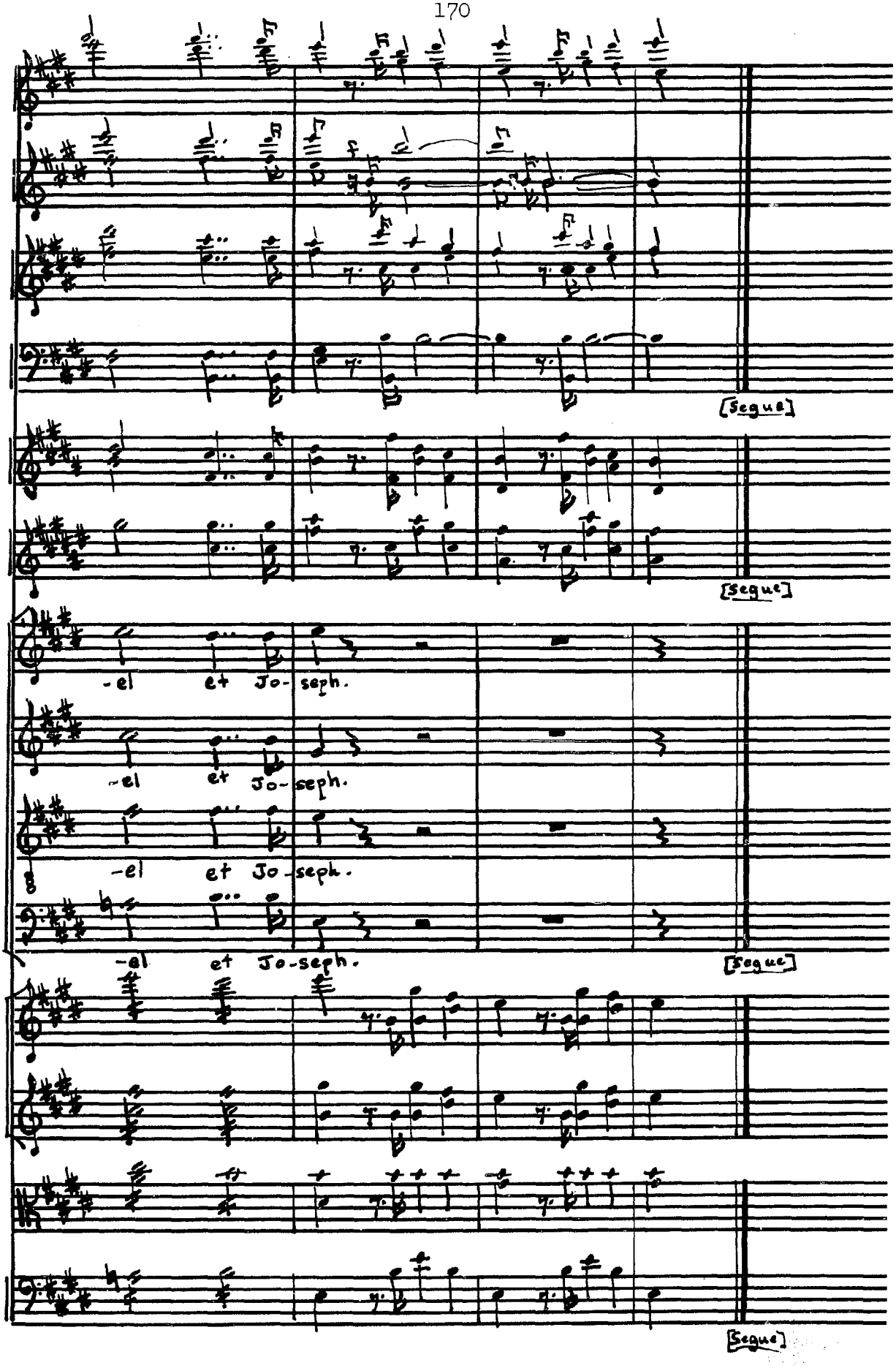

ff
ff
ff
ff
ff
ff
- bi - li - a
so - lus,
ff
No - tam fe -
cis - ti in
ff
ff
ff
ff
ff


ff
gen-ti- bus fe-cis-ti vir-tu tam tu am
Li- be-


Li-be- ra — sti in bra-chi-o tu — o, Li-be-
Li-be-ra — sti in bra-chi-o tu — o, Li-be-ra —
Li-be-ra — sti in bra-chi-o tu — o, Li-be-ra —
-ra — sti in bra-chi-o tu — o, Li-be-ra —
[Vc., c.B.]


-ra - sti in bra-chi-o tu- o, Li-be- ra — sti po — pu-lum
-ti in bra-chi-o tu — o popu-lum — tu — um
-ti in bra-chi-o tu — o, Li-be- ra — sti po — pu-lum
-ti in bra-chi-o tu — o po-pu-lum tu - um
Vc., C.B.
div.


tu-um fi-li-os Is-ra-el, fi-li-os Is-ra-
fi-li-os Is-ra-el, fi-li-os Is-ra-
tu-um fi-li-os, fi-li-os Is-ra-el, fi-li-os Is-ra-
fi-li-os Is-ra-el, fi-li-os, Is-ra-


[Segue]
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-el et Jo-seph.
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Notes on Appendix B

The *Allegro* of Cherubini's early double-chorus *Nemo gaudeat* is taken from a manuscript copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The form of the manuscript is similar to that of Cherubini's madrigal *Ninfa crudel* of the same era. The Gradual of *Sciant gentes* is based upon the original autograph in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (DDR). The oversize score is somewhat reduced here by the notation of pairs of wind instruments on single staves.

Below are listed some common types of errata which have been noted in the sources:

1. *Nemo gaudeat*, p.151, soprano of the first chorus, measure five (of the page): the syllable "is" lies under the preceding note in the original.

2. *Ibid.*, p.151, alto and bass of the first chorus: phrase marks have been supplied here and at subsequent measures where lines are missing over a divided syllable.

3. *Ibid.*, p.151, soprano of the second chorus, measure two: half-rest was indicated in the original.

4. *Ibid.*, p.152, soprano of the second chorus: words supplied.

5. *Ibid.*, p.157, soprano of first chorus, measure five: naturals here and elsewhere are assumed in succeeding measures.

6. *Sciant gentes*, p.167, first violins, third measure: tremolo missing.

7. *Ibid.*, p.168, clarinet, first measure: natural sign missing (this and other similar conflicts resolved with oboes and other parts).

8. *Ibid.*, p.168, bassoons, second measure: the natural sign on *G* originally reads on *E*.

9. *Ibid.*, p.170: The movement proceeds *segue* into the Tract which follows through an oboe solo (not shown), hence the ending concludes on the first beat as indicated.

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