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THE SACRED MUSIC OF JEAN FRANCOIS LE SUEUR: A MUSICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE STUDY

by Martin Merker Herman

The tremendous amount of attention which has been lavished on the schools of musical composition which were emerging at Mannheim and Vienna during the final third of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth, has served to obscure the fact that Paris too, rightfully occupied a prominent position as one of Europe's leading music centers. Talented composers lived in the French capital, excellent music publishers established their firms in the city, the famous French Conservatoire was founded, hundreds of new operas were being produced, a substantial number of symphonic compositions came into being, and vast quantities of sacred music were being composed. French Revolutionary Music - a fascinating species of composition created primarily because of its political potential and exploited as a means for disseminating patriotic propaganda - was being developed while a full opera-concert schedule was maintained by several of the world's foremost performing ensembles. Jean Francois Le Sueur, well-known composer, theorist, and teacher, (Berlioz, Gounod, and Thomas

were among his students) occupied a prominent position in the midst of this musical activity.

Using Le Sueur as a convenient "window" through which to view this kaleidoscopic scene, the major problem was gradually narrowed until it resolved itself into a study of the composer's life and sacred compositions. Concentrating on basic source material and bibliographical questions, the method of approach employed throughout was logically conditioned by the fact that I had direct and continued access to archival material; this proved decisive and ultimately determined both the direction and format of the entire study.

Basically, the dissertation is divided into two major sections. Part I, devoted to a study of Le Sueur the individual, begins with a survey of the existing literature written about the composer, and concludes with a substantial biographical sketch and chronology. Since this biographical sketch represents the first basic study of Le Sueur's life to appear in English, emphasis throughout has been placed upon archival and documentary sources; wherever possible, cross references to works written by contemporaries of the composer are provided.

Part II contains a survey of Le Sueur's sacred compositions, the institutions for which they were composed, the sources - both published and unpublished - in which they were made available, and the musical atmosphere that prevailed in the Paris that spawned them. The milieu in

which the composer moved is emphasized, and the many positions occupied by Le Sueur during his long and distinguished career are discussed. Emphasis throughout is placed upon the repertory composed at each post.

During the Revolution, Consulate, Empire, and Restoration, good fortune followed Le Sueur; he was appointed to positions of importance under each of these regimes. The discovery of important new manuscript material has shown, however, that the repertory performed by Le Sueur after the Restoration was virtually identical to that which the composer had previously employed while in the service of Napoleon. A precise correlation is established between works contained in the seventeen-volume collected edition of Le Sueur's sacred music, an edition published between 1828 and 1842, the repertory of the restored Chapelle Royale, and the sacred works written by the composer during the first decade of the century. Even this earlier repertory itself, was in part derivative; many of the compositions which Le Sueur introduced into it were adaptations of previously written works. The transformation of political hymns composed during the Revolutionary period into sacred works for the Chapelle Impériale, became a standard procedure, and throughout his career, Le Sueur proved extremely adroit at readapting his earlier compositions to fit new and varied circumstances.

Four appendices, collectively bound in a separate volume, serve to complete the dissertation and supplement the findings set forth in the

main body of the text. Three of these four appendices provide the reader with a general outline of each work contained in the generally unavailable seventeen-volume collected edition of the composer's sacred repertory, while the fourth is a bibliography of largely uncatalogued manuscripts. As an integral part of the dissertation, the appendices are designed to substantiate the major points made in the study.

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A MUSICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE STUDY

by

Martin Merker Herman

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To the personnel of the Rare Book Room in the University of Michigan Library who so cheerfully served as sympathetic midwives at the sometimes painful birth of this project.

To the many libraries and archival repositories in Europe where a neophyte American was so warmly received. Assistance of the most generous sort was uniformly accorded by the librarians of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, and the Archives Nationales in Paris. Among many others in the French capital, Madame Le Beau, Monsieur Francois Lesure, Monsieur Vladimir Federov, Monsieur Marcel Brion, Monsieur Jacques

Chailley, and Mademoiselle Henriette Boschot gave unstintingly of their vast experience and formidable stores of knowledge.

To the Archives du Département de la Somme in Amiens where a most pleasant and productive day was spent.

To the librarian of the Bibliothèque Municipale in Abbeville who amazingly offered to keep the library open past its normal closing hour so that I might finish working.

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[1]The four Appendices are contained in volume II.

INTRODUCTION

We live in an age obsessed with its own view of history. Rarely before has any era concerned itself so intensively with the historical record or displayed such fervor in venerating the past. Hypnotized by the apparent precision of objective methodology, scholars conscientiously sift the data preserved from bygone eras convinced of their ability to rediscover genuine and vital truths. In terms of the refined technical means presently available, this optimistic enthusiasm seems justified, for many of the problems traditionally associated with historical investigation have indeed been brought under control or gradually eliminated.

To minimize the tremendous achievements of twentieth-century scholarship, or to deny the vast potential which they offer for the future, would be foolish and unfair. Still, considerable care must be taken not to confuse definitive answers with sophisticated means. The former do not, of necessity, follow the latter, and the historiographical limitations of the past have been neither repealed nor invalidated. One set of problems may vanish or be brought under control, but another group invariably arises to take its place.

Arguments concerning the nature of historical criteria, and questions associated with broad, all-inclusive historical theories, are rarely found on the pages of scholarly monographs. Those who willingly devote their time and energy to research, dedicate themselves to presenting a partisan point of view; their interest in philosophical polemics and historical interpretations may be quite limited. Thus, doctoral dissertations, and other works of a similar nature, rarely attempt to define their objectives in terms broader than the boundaries imposed upon them by their specialized subject matter; to find the relationship that exists between these immediate objectives and large, abstract concepts, can be a difficult task. This is unfortunate, for it should be the responsibility of every work to justify its existence in terms which transcend narrow, self-imposed limitations.

Before narrowing our gaze to the highly specialized subject treated in this dissertation, let us gain some contextual perspective by examining the European musical scene as it unfolded during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Generations of music students have been introduced to this era by studying the operatic reforms of Gluck, investigating the music written by the sons of Johann Sebastian Bach, and examining the technical-dramatic innovations introduced by the Mannheim composers. Viewed collectively, these developments have then served as a primary point of departure leading to a concen-

trated study of the Viennese Classic school and its three great representatives.

As the introduction sanctioned by tradition, there can be no denying the great merit possessed by this approach, for it yields a meaningful view of the age; indeed, its soundness has been repeatedly demonstrated in the past. The questions here being raised, however, are related not to the legitimacy of this approach, but to its completeness. Does it accurately portray the entire age, or is it decidedly limited in scope? Does it yield a comprehensive or a one-sided view of the epoch? Is it the most desirable approach to the period, or are there justifiable and legitimate alternatives?

From a qualitative point of view, no important new evidence can be offered to demonstrate that a change of emphasis would be more meaningful. Although competent composers, most of whom were totally unaffected by the Mannheim-Vienna axis, were producing interesting music at hundreds of European posts, it would be foolish to suggest that the most important musical expression of the age remains undiscovered and is to be sought in their works. I do not believe this, nor do I suggest that such a possibility be given serious consideration.

Still, in the interest of historical validity, one should be equally reluctant to concede that the most characteristic and typical music of the late eighteenth century was all being written in and about Vienna.

In almost every respect, the orbit of the Viennese classic composers was a narrow one, and the amount of contemporary influence which they generated was limited. While they may have produced the best and most impressive musical monuments of their time, it is vitally important to remember that their entire approach to composition was considerably -- even radically - different from that of most of their contemporaries. The achievements of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven stand as the glories of their age, but even the blinding testimony of such wonders cannot alter the fact that they remain basically atypical and uncharacteristic. Yet an entire age is unquestioningly judged by their standards.

Paris, one of the two or three most important and active musical centers in all of Europe during the first two thirds of the eighteenth century, may serve as an ideal locale for studying those forces which counterbalanced the Viennese influence. The significance of the French capital in no way diminished towards the end of the century, and it is difficult to understand why the French musical scene between Gluck and Berlioz (c. 1780-c. 1830) has been neglected in such an unwarranted manner. Hundreds of new operas were produced, a substantial number of symphonic compositions came into being, and vast quantities of sacred music were composed in and for Paris during these years. Most of Europe's leading composers made a pilgrimmage to the city hoping to hear their works performed at the Opéra or the Concert Spirituel; and

knowledgeable commentators of the day unanimously praised the unmatched excellence of the performing organizations found in the French capital.

Throughout the entire era, Paris maintained its honored position as a multi-faceted center of musical activity. Méhul, Grétry, and Cherubini, among many other talented composers, lived and worked there. As a city which housed active and excellent music publishers in substantial numbers, it attracted considerable attention from the commercial as well as the artistic segment of the music world. Music education, too, was well served in Paris, for it was here that the Conservatoire was founded during the final decade of the eighteenth century. Similar institutions in foreign countries were quick to follow the Conservatoire's pioneering efforts, and many reshaped themselves in the image of their French model. Even amidst the turmoil of revolution, music never ceased to play a vital role in French life. A full concert and opera schedule was strictly maintained throughout the Revolution. In addition, however, the French soon began to realize that music possessed a political potential and could be used for the dissemination of patriotic propaganda. A special type of music was created for this purpose, a music specifically designed to enhance the festivals and ceremonies associated with the Revolution. French Revolutionary Music remains an important and fascinating page in the history of music;

unfortunately, it is a closed book to all but a few specialists in the field.

Jean Francois Le Sueur contributed substantially to the shaping of this active musical society; the many things he attempted during a long and active career brought him into close personal contact with virtually all of the important developments mentioned above. A respected figure, Le Sueur was a significant composer of opera, sacred music, "occasional" works and French Revolutionary Music. He was an outspoken and controversial theorist, and a vigorous participant in the numerous aesthetic-technical debates which raged in Paris during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As an influential member of this flourishing musical society, he played a major role in the founding of the Conservatoire, and, as one of its first and most important composition teachers, was passionately involved in formulating the institution's curriculum. In the dual role of professor and composer (as Maître de Chapelle to Napoleon, Louis XVIII, and Charles X from 1804 until 1831, he occupied one of France's most sought after musical positions for almost a third of a century) he became the direct or spiritual teacher of two generations of French composers. More than a dozen of his students won the coveted prix de Rome, and Berlioz, Thomas, and Gounod, were all products of his teaching efforts.

Choosing Le Sueur as the subject of this study was a relatively simple matter. As a pivotal figure in a musical-social situation that interested me, and as the teacher of Berlioz, a composer whose music I admired greatly, the initial choice seemed obvious. What to do with Le Sueur, and how to treat the man and his music, proved to be a far more perplexing problem. Initially, a detailed stylistic analysis of a selected corpus of music was considered. While certainly legitimate, analysis was rejected on the grounds of priority: it seemed completely unnatural to embark upon a technical study when so many basic problems remained unresolved. The institutions for which the music had been written, the sources in which it was contained, and the musical atmosphere prevalent in the Paris which had spawned it, had never been investigated with care. It was these that were selected as the points of departure for a source-and-context-oriented approach.

The logic of this reasoning was to prove itself when I became the fortunate recipient of a Fulbright Grant to Paris for the academic year 1960-61. Above all, it was the opportunity afforded by this grant that proved decisive in determining the course and format of the following study. This type of research could only have been undertaken by one who had continued and direct access to the primary archival sources. Since this privilege was mine, how inappropriate it would have been to write the same dissertation in Paris that I might have written in Ann Arbor.

PART I

JEAN FRANCOIS LE SUEUR

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF BIOGRAPHY

Jean Francois Le Sueur, composer, theorist, and teacher, enjoyed the abundant recognition heaped upon him throughout the final three decades of a long and active career. It was during these years that his status as a composer was considerably enhanced by a growing reputation which proved capable of transcending the boundaries of his native France. In recognition of this European fame, new honors were liberally bestowed upon him at home and fresh tributes arrived in steadily increasing numbers from every corner of the Continent.

Those who concentrate solely upon the venerable figure of Berlioz' revered teacher, however, may overlook the most important as well as the most attractive features of Le Sueur the man and artist. The composer's youthful life - the apprenticeship and early maturity of a young musician whose destiny was decisively shaped by the turbulent forces of a chaotic era - proves to be both decisive and appealing. Success came easily to no one during those hard and cynical years when modern France was being hammered out of the remains of the Old Regime, and Le Sueur paid dearly for his. As an active participant in a kaleido-

scopic society, he knew well the pains of intense frustration and thwarted ambition. Still, fortune was more than kind to this man; he lived to see virtually all of his basic personal and professional ambitions realized.

Although Le Sueur achieved considerable renown during his lifetime, certain facts associated with his biography remain unclear and open to question. The composer's genealogy has never been determined with certainity; evidence concerning the precise sequence of his youthful activities has failed to survive; and a number of incidents that transpired during his mature years seem to suggest several alternate and conflicting interpretations.

Despite these gaps, however, reliable information relative to much of Le Sueur's personal life and professional activity has survived in substantial quantities. Consisting principally of official, semi-official, and private papers, these documents may be conveniently grouped under the following headings: notifications of appointments and promotions; Chapter deliberations; pay records from the Consulate, Empire, and Restoration; personal correspondence; and a variety of archival material. Preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, and the Archives Nationals in Paris; the Archives du Département de la Somme in Amiens; the Bibliothèque Municipale in Abbeville; and the archives of the churches which the composer served in his youth; these

records provide a vast body of basic knowledge about Le Sueur. In addition, several autobiographical sketches preserved in the composer's own hand, and a number of contemporary biographies, works written about Le Sueur by intimate and knowledgeable acquaintances, supplement the ample store.

When carefully sifted, this evidence illuminates a considerable portion of the composer's life. Indeed, the material yields such a mass of apparently reliable data that one is tempted to speak of a veritable embarrassment of riches. Unfortunately, however, not all of the sources are equally valid, and great care must be exercised in evaluating their contents. The problem of reliability, for example, becomes particularly acute when the contemporary biographies are considered. Most were written from a specific point of view with a definite objective in mind. Each must be read and interpreted within the context of the purpose for which it was written.

If the biographies of Le Sueur written by contemporaries of the composer raise problems of reliability, what of the autobiographical sketches which Le Sueur himself prepared for a variety of reasons during his life? Of the many such sketches known to have been written by the composer, only two have survived; both are preserved in the archives of the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.[1] The first, dated January 16, 1815, lists

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

the dates of service spent by Le Sueur at each of the positions which he occupied during his earlier career. It was drawn up for the Baron Delaferté, Intendant of the Menus Plaisirs du Roi, who submitted it to the court in connection with Le Sueur's appointment as Surintendant of Louis XVIII's Chapelle Royale. The second, which dates from approximately 1824,[1] was prepared by Le Sueur for the administration of the Conservatoire at its request.

Considered solely in terms of accuracy and reliability, neither of these two sketches can stand up under rigorous scrutiny. Both record chronological inaccuracies, and in several important areas, present basic contradictions which must be resolved. Dates of service, for instance, are merely approximated, and the titles of several positions occupied by Le Sueur during his early career are incorrectly cited. These errors were probably no more than inadvertent slips caused by an imperfect memory. Le Sueur had no reason to be untruthful, and facts can easily become imprecise when they are related to incidents that took place during a relatively short span of time thirty to forty years earlier. Still, they serve to demonstrate that even the most simple and obvious of autobiographical statements are not, of necessity, free from error.

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[1]The document bears no date, but internal references suggest that it was written in 1824.

The most substantial biography of Le Sueur to appear during his lifetime was written by the composer's contemporary and friend, Charles Pierre Ducancel.[1] An eloquent defense of the position adopted by Le Sueur during his violent controversy with Sarrette and the Conservatoire in 1802, Ducancel's essay is a passionate and highly partisan account written by the "official defender" of the composer. In every respect it is a totally biased report.

While Ducancel's Mémoire stands as the arch example of its genre, it remains only one of the emotionally charged literary efforts inspired by the composer during his lifetime. Le Sueur was not a timid figure, and during the period 1786-1804 he became involved in a number of controversial incidents. In 1786 and 1802 the issues raised by these conflicts became so intense that the Parisian press was forced to take sides; full-scale pamphlet wars characteristically followed. Extreme statements concerning Le Sueur's activities soon began to appear; almost invariably, these statements exceeded the bounds of propriety.

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[1]Charles Pierre Ducancel, Mémoire pour J. F. Lesueur, l'un des inspecteurs de l'enseignement au Conservatoire de musique, au conseiller d'état chargé de la direction et de la surveillance de l'instruction publique; en réponse à la partie d'un prétendu "Recueil de pièces [à opposer à divers libelles dirigés contre le Conservatoire de Musique]" imprimé soi-disant au nom du Conservatoire, et aux calomnies dirigées contre le citoyen Lesueur par le citoyen Sarrette, directeur de cet établissement, et autres, ses adhérents; contenant en outre quelques vues d'améliorations et d'affermissement dont le Conservatoire paraît susceptible. Par le citoyen C. P. Ducancel, défenseur officiel et ami de Lesueur, Paris: Goujon fils, Vendémiaire an XI [September-October, 1802]

Pointed references were made to all facets of the composer's private and public life, each facet being appropriately interpreted and colored by the individual preference of the author. As the central figure in these disputes, Le Sueur became the prime target of the opposition, and the symbolic bulwark of the defense.

Several important encyclopedic works, compiled or published during the period of Le Sueur's maturity, give prominent coverage to the composer, and include lengthy articles dealing with his life and works. The article on Le Sueur in Choron's famous biographical dictionary of 1810[1] is an important early source of information, for the dictionary was published when the composer was just fifty years old. In 1833, four years before Le Sueur's death, Fétis' Biographie universelle[2] began to appear. The Belgian encyclopedist included a large and important article on his Parisian colleague and friend. It is this article which has served as the major source for virtually every subsequent encyclopedia.

Those contemporaries who wrote of Le Sueur during his mature years, those years which followed 1804, occasionally disagreed with

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[1]Alexandre Choron and Francois Joseph Marie Fayolle, Dictionnaire historique des musiciens ..., 2 Vols., Paris: Valade et Lenormant, 1810-1811.

[2]Francois Joseph Fétis, Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1833-44.

respect to details[1] but were consistent in their praise of the composer. By this time Le Sueur had become a highly respected figure, richly honored by the society which he served, and the literature reflected the great esteem in which both the man and his music were held. Most of these works were conceived as tributes to the old age of a famous composer, or, if written after his death, as eulogies to mourn the passing of a beloved figure who had occupied a leading musical position in the service of his country. Several appeared originally as articles, necrologies, or notices in the periodicals of the day, and were only subsequently published in book or pamphlet form. Several found their way into print as encyclopedia articles or were later incorporated in essay anthologies. Some may be encountered, with slightly modified titles but in virtually identical form, in several widely divergent sources.[2]

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[1]Most frequently, the birth date, genealogy, chronology, and other items of a similar nature, are presented with slight discrepancies.

[2]Almost all of Berlioz' major literary works carry some mention of Le Sueur. In the following list, the more important references have been cited. Virtually all of these items had appeared originally in the periodical literature before being collected and published in: A travers chants ..., Paris: Michel Levy Frères, 1862; Les grotesques de la musique, Paris: A. Bourdilliat, 1859; Mémoires de Hector Berlioz ..., 2 Vols., Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1865. The important "Nécrologue et esquisse biographie de Le Sueur," Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris, XLII (October 15, 1837), pp. 443 ff., was subsequently reprinted in Les musiciens et la musique, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1867, pp. 68-79.

X[avier] Boisselot, "Notice sur Jean Francois Le Sueur," La France Musicale, XVII (April 26, 1840), pp. 171-172.

All of the works cited below were written by contemporaries of Le Sueur, people who were intimately associated with the composer or his family. More recent efforts, less passionate and more objective in their view, have attempted to achieve historical perspective by eliminating much of the personal bias so evident in the earlier works. The modern critical literature devoted to Le Sueur centers about three works published during the first decade and a half of the twentieth century: Adolphe Boschot, "Années d'Apprentissage. - Lesueur," in La jeunesse d'un romantique, Hector Berlioz 1803-1831 ...;[1] Felix Lamy, Jean-Francois

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Stéphen de la Madelaine, "Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de J. Fr. Le Sueur," Notabilités Contemporaines, 1844; virtually the same article appeared as "Notice historique de Le Sueur," Fastes Artistiques, 1844; reissued as Jean-Francois Le Sueur, Paris: C. Bajat, [1844].

Pongerville, "Jean Francois Lesueur," Biographie des hommes célèbres de savans des artistes et des littérateurs du Département de la Somme, Amiens: Machart, 1837.

Désiré Raoul-Rochette, "Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Lesueur, lue à l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts," La France Musicale, LVIII (October 13, 1839), pp. 538 ff.; subsequently published in pamphlet form with additional information as Institut Royal de France. Séance publique de l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts du samedi 5 octobre 1839. Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Lesueur, par M. Raoul-Rochette, lue à la séance de l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts, 5 octobre 1839, Paris; Didot, 1840.

Abbé Tiron, "La vérité sur Le Sueur, ou Lettre à M. Raoul-Rochette au sujet de la Notice qu'il a lue à l'Institut, en octobre 1839 sur ce célèbre compositeur, par un de ses anciens compagnons d'enfance," La France Musicale, XVI (April 19, 1840), pp. 157-161; all of this is incorporated in Tiron's book, Souvenirs d'un vieux Picard, Amiens: Leonël Hérouart, 1864.

[1] Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1906, pp. 89-113. This is the first book of Boschot's three volume biography of Berlioz. The following two works

Le Sueur, 1760-1837 ...;[1] and Wilhelm Buschkötter, "Jean Francois Le Sueur, eine Biographie," in Sammelbände der internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft.[2]

As a group, these three works represent the first real effort to deal with Le Sueur's life in a scholarly and scientific fashion. In a very real sense, however, they were preceded by two late nineteenth-century biographies which served to bridge the gap between friendly chronicle and objective history: L. Petit, Notice historique sur Le Sueur, Jean Francois ...;[3] and Octave Fouque, "Un précurseur d'Hector Berlioz, J.-F. Lesueur," in Les révolutionnaires de la musique ....[4]

Published in Abbeville, the birthplace of Le Sueur, Petit's pamphlet of 1883 enjoyed only a limited circulation. It was predominantly local in both interest and character. Substantially ignored by its author's contemporaries, the work has exerted little noticeable influence

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complete the set: Un romantique sous Louis-Philippe, Hector Berlioz 1831-1842 ..., Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1908; and La crépuscule d'un romantique, Hector Berlioz 1842-1869 ..., Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1912.

[1]Paris: Fischbacher, 1912.

[2]1912-1913, pp. 58-154. Buschkötter's biography was originally written as a doctoral dissertation, and as such, was published in pamphlet form as Jean Francois Le Sueur, eine Biographie, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912. The published thesis is identical to the article contained in the Sammelbände, for they were both printed from the same plates.

[3]Abbeville: C. Paillart, 1883.

[4]Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1882, pp. 1-183.

on subsequent devotees of the composer. Quite the opposite, however, was the case with Fouque's full length biography of Le Sueur; it was widely disseminated and given considerable credence.

In organizing his biography, Fouque chose to present a predominantly journalistic and anecdotal account of the composer's life; unfortunately, he failed to substantiate his contentions from the readily available archival record. While important sources are apparently cited, and highly pertinent material is ostensibly quoted directly, no documentation of any sort is offered to validate the vital claims made on the basis of this evidence. Many events - including the composer's birth - are incorrectly dated. Add to all of this the highly romanticized approach adopted by the author, and it can be seen why the work is related more closely to the earlier Le Sueur literature, from which much of it is derived, than to the sphere of scientific biography. Fouque was completely governed by the conviction that Le Sueur was in every respect the immediate predecessor of Berlioz, and he directed all of his efforts to proving that Le Sueur was in reality a Berlioz manqué; by so doing, he threw grave doubts on the validity of his entire work.

Returning to more recent endeavors, the first work chronologically encountered is the lengthy chapter on Le Sueur which Adolphe Boschot included in the initial section of his three volume biography of Berlioz. It is a substantial and excellent essay in which Boschot attempted to

locate some of young Hector's roots in the controversial ideas advocated by his old mentor. Quite in keeping with the author's basic objective, however, this fine study is primarily concerned with Berlioz and only peripherally with Le Sueur. Boschot focussed his attention on the influence which Le Sueur exerted on Berlioz and did not concern himself with the development of Le Sueur.

The books written by Lamy and Buschkötter remain, and they represent the two most ambitious attempts yet made to study the biographical facts of Le Sueur's life in a systematic and scholarly fashion.[1] Lamy concentrated his efforts on the composer's earlier life, and it is in this area that the primary strength of his study resides. As a native of Amiens, the author inherited a specific interest in Le Sueur's youthful association with the city's Cathedral, and it was with the objective of clarifying

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[1]The following works must also be mentioned in connection with Le Sueur's biography: Georges Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," Episodes d'histoire musicale, Paris: Fischbacher, 1914, pp. 23-101. This essay is a reprint of Servières' original series of three articles which appeared as : "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," La Tribune de Saint-Gervais XI (1905) #2, pp. 43-55; #3, pp. 78-87; #'s 4-5, pp. 109-117. While Servières' study deals primarily with the oratorios of Le Sueur, and as such, is the finest work yet produced on the subject, he does include a short, but perceptive and well documented, biographical introduction.

A second source, a work of minimal importance, must here be mentioned, because, aside from encyclopedia articles, it represents the sole attempt made to write an essay on Le Sueur in English: Mary Hargrave, "Jean Francois Le Sueur," in The Earlier French Musicians (1632-1832), London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1917, pp. 68-74.

and documenting these years of the composer's early life that Lamy undertook a careful search of the Archives du Département de la Somme. The remainder of the book contains much valuable information. It is, however, so conditioned by Fouque and the earlier biographers of Le Sueur, that its trustworthiness cannot be assumed.

Buschkötter, too, dipped heavily into the sources and marshalled an impressive array of documentary evidence in support of his contentions. Many important documents - most of which are drawn from a variety of Parisian archives - are directly quoted in their entirety, and the book tends to assume the not unpleasant character of a "Le Sueur Reader." Unfortunately, both Lamy and Buschkötter took unwarranted liberties with the sources, liberties which on occasion completely distort the meaning of the original documents. Both made numerous errors in transcribing documents, and Buschkötter had the unhappy facility of incorrectly equating the Revolutionary and Gregorian calendars when confronted with the problem of transcribing dates from the former to the latter. In almost every instance his calculations are off by a day or two, and on several vital occasions, he is incorrect by months or years.

Everything considered, both Lamy and Buschkötter possess substantial value. For all of its discrepancies and deficiencies, Buschkötter's study remains the single most important book about Le Sueur ever published. It must be emphasized once more, however, that the

work of both Lamy and Buschkötter was primarily biographical in orientation. They dealt principally with the facts of Le Sueur's life, and it is in this area that they make their basic contribution. While both authors devoted some attention to the composer's operatic works, occasional music, and theoretical treatises, only minimal mention is made of the sacred compositions and the circumstances which surrounded their writing. The little that was included is frequently incorrect or, at the very least, open to serious question.

CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND CHRONOLOGY

The evidence which documents the early phase of Le Sueur's life reveals a number of strange contradictions. Beginning with the composer's date of birth, several major chronological obstacles and one complex genealogical question must be unraveled before any absolute statement concerning the precise sequence of his early biography can be validated. A number of contemporary documents, including testimony preserved in the composer's own hand, incorrectly cite 1763 instead of 1760 as his date of birth; these same documents yield conflicting information concerning the exact dates of his early appointments.[1] In addition, all of those events whose precise dates must be established from information relative to Le Sueur's age at the time of their occurrence, may be incorrect by as many as three years if the 1763 birth date is adopted as a base.

Assertions made by colleagues and relatives of the composer, coupled with the varied and contradictory written testimony contained in

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[1] Several documents written by Le Sueur and preserved in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055, alternately cite 1760 and 1763 as his date of birth, and attest to dates of service in various positions that could not possibly be correct.

several series of reference letters which Le Sueur obtained for a variety of reasons during different periods of his life, constitute the essential ingredient of the genealogical problem. Depending upon the evidence accepted, Le Sueur might have been the son of an agricultural worker engaged in threshing the fields of Ponthieu, the descendant of an old and noble Picard family, or the great nephew of Eustache Lesueur, court painter to Louis XIV.[1] If his precise genealogy is a matter of minor consequence, the circumstances which motivated Le Sueur to amass these documents are quite worthy of note. One group of references, that which dates from 1802, was obtained at Le Sueur's own request and was used by the composer to help clear his name of the slander which was being directed against it at that time. Another series, this one dating from the mid-1820's, apparently provided Le Sueur with an impressive set of genealogical credentials to present at court during a period when Charles X was considering the possibility of elevating him to the nobility.

1760

February 15: An extract from the Baptismal register of Drucat-Saint-Martin verifies that Jean Francois Le Sueur was born on this date in the

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[1]The basic genealogical evidence is impressively marshalled, cited, and explained by Wilhelm Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, pp. 58-61.

town of Drucat-Plessiel.[1] Situated near the city of Abbeville, in the Northwest corner of France, this small town occupies a site not far from the French coast of the English channel.

1760-c.1767

Le Sueur's early youth was spent in the area immediately surrounding Drucat-Plessiel where his musical ability and precocious talent were apparently soon recognized.[2]

c.1767-c.1770

He attended the parish school at the church of Saint-Wulfran in Abbeville and was immediately enrolled as a member of the church choir. He remained in Abbeville as a chorister and student until approximately 1770.

An attestation from Saint-Wulfran, dated 14 Thermidor an X (August 2, 1802), speaks of Le Sueur's great musical ability and tells of his exemplary conduct. It says that the boy left Saint-Wulfran to continue his training and studies at the maîtrise of the

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[1]The Baptismal record is cited in Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, p. 3, footnote #2: "Le 15 Février 1760 est né en légitime mariage et le même jour a été baptisé par moi, curé de cette paroisse, Jean-Francois, fils de Jean-Francois Sueur et de Marie-Jeanne Duchaussoy, son épouse. Le parrain a été Louis Leclercq et la marraine Cécile Platel." It is signed: "Duponchel, curé."

[2]The casual biographical information which has been provided deals principally with Le Sueur's early life. While many of the events are not specifically documented, all of the major biographical sources accept the accuracy of this information.

Cathedral at Amiens. Unfortunately, no precise dates of service are provided.[1]

Having been born thirty years before the French Revolution erupted into violence, Le Sueur's youth and early maturity (1760-1788) were decisively shaped by several of those outmoded educational institutions of the Old Regime which had long since lost all meaningful contact with the liberal thought of their own age. Opportunities for education were limited in number and narrow in scope, for schooling was completely controlled by the Church, and the Church had strong interests vested in maintaining the status quo. At the time of Le Sueur's birth, only eight hundred schools were to be found throughout the kingdom. Of this total, one hundred and thirty were Collèges and a like number were cathedral schools. The vast majority, however, were small abbey and monastery schools whose educational value was both limited and dubious.

Associated with almost every one of these schools was a specialized institution devoted to the professional training of musicians. Known as maîtrises, these schools occupied a dominant position in the musical life of the Old Monarchy, for the responsibility of providing musicians in sufficient quantity to meet the healthy demands of both church and court was given to them. Although the maîtrises enjoyed a virtual monopoly

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

on the vocational training of young musicians, the state provided no centralized direction. While the emerging conservatories of Italy and Germany were attempting to develop a uniform curriculum, each maîtrise in France followed an independent course of study. Generally, music was taught in the mornings while the afternoons were devoted to the study of Latin and theology. The quality of instruction varied enormously, for it depended entirely upon the competence and desire of the individual teachers.

The maîtrises were small boarding schools of limited enrollment, supported and supervised by the clerics of the cathedral, church, or abbey with which they were associated. In order to gain admission, and thus qualify as candidates for the educational benefits which were available, parents had to sign an agreement enrolling their musically gifted children for a period of ten years. At the expiration of this term, the young graduates were encouraged to enter a seminary and study for the priesthood, or join some chapelle as singer or organist. Not all, however, retained their zest for a life so oriented towards the Church, and many left the maîtrises to assume musical positions in the army or at court. Still others were employed in growing numbers by the theatres and concert halls where a steadily increasing need for singers and instrumentalists provided substantial opportunity for a secular career.

Le Sueur passed the first three decades of his life steeped in this atmosphere. Memoirs, written in their later years by contemporaries and colleagues of the composer, men who had shared this type of life and could speak from personal experience, tend to emphasize the wholesome and pleasant qualities which they remembered. While life at a maîtrise undoubtedly had its lighter moments, to think of it as generally pleasant places unwarranted trust in recollections that had undoubtedly mellowed with the passage of time. Basically, it must have been serious, difficult, and materially unrewarding.[1]

c. 1770-c. October, 1776

At the age of ten, he left Abbeville and was enrolled for a ten year period of service as a chorister and student at the maîtrise of the Cathedral at Amiens. In Amiens, Le Sueur sang in the choir and studied music while simultaneously pursuing all of those academic and theological subjects included in the curriculum of a cathedral school. It was at Amiens that he wrote his earliest musical compo-

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[1]Additional information regarding the organization of musical training in eighteenth-century France, and Le Sueur's experiences as an apprentice performer-composer in the maîtrise at Amiens, may be found in the following sources: Abbé Tiron, Souvenirs d'un vieux Picard, Amiens: Lenoël-Hérouart, 1864; Abbé Leroy, Employés du choeur et officiers de la Cathédrale d'Amiens, Montdidier: J. Bellin, 1911; Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, pp. 4-8; Fouque, "Un précurseur d'Hector Berlioz, J.-F. Lesueur" pp. 14-16; Hargarave, "Jean Francois Le Sueur, " p. 210; and Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, pp. 62-64.

sitions, and it was here that he was given the opportunity of hearing them performed.

1775

February 7: A note appended to the final verset of the earliest surviving composition by Le Sueur - an autograph manuscript score of an alternate verse setting of the Magnificat - reads: "fini à Amiens le 7 février 1775, Le Sueur, Enfant de Choeur." The title page of the same score, however, states: "fini à Amiens le 7 de mars 1775."[1]

1776

August 7: The deliberations of the Chapter at the Cathedral of Amiens show that Le Sueur was given special permission to sing at the Cathedral service on the festival of the Assumption (August 15).[2]

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[1] Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, MS 12260.

[2] Amiens: Archives du Département de la Somme, G 2984, folio 11 verso. Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, pp. 7-8, in quoting this document, incorrectly dates it as August 6. In addition, the transcription which he provides of the deliberations is inaccurate. Several phrases are omitted and one extremely misleading phrase is added. The document reads as follows: "Messieurs, ayant égard à la requête verbale de M. Le Sueur, petit vicaire de leur Eglise, lui ont permis de faire chanter en leur église le jour de la fête prochaine de l'Assomption et qu'en leur maîtrise, il y prenne le lait d'ânesse pour le rétablissement de sa santé." Following the word "chanter", Lamy has added: "(de la musique de sa composition)." It may well be that the music was indeed of Le Sueur's own composition, for it hardly seems likely that a chorister would have to obtain special permission to sing at a service in his own church, but the document does not say so.

August 16: The Chapter deliberations for this date state that Le Sueur had been thanked and paid 24 livres as a reward for his singing.[1]

c. October, 1776-Summer, 1777

Le Sueur remained in Amiens, but left the maîtrise to enroll in the Collège where he studied philosophy, rhetoric, and classics. While pursuing his studies, Le Sueur continued his musical training at the Cathedral, and remained associated with its musical organization.

1776 (Cont.)

October 2: The Chapter at Amiens granted Le Sueur permission to withdraw from the maîtrise four years prior to the fulfillment of his original ten year commitment. This action would have enabled Le Sueur to enroll at the Collège in time for the fall term.[2]

In reconstructing the basic chronological sequence of the young composer's life, heavy weight must be given to the direct testimony of Le Sueur's early employers. Attestations of service submitted by the cathedrals which he had served as a young man, and the Chapter deliberations, minutes kept by the governing body of each cathedral, provide the principal sources for this information. While the deliberations yield pertinent data relative to Le Sueur's activities, it is from the attestations

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[1]Amiens: Archives du Département de la Somme, G 2984, folio 12 verso.

[2]Amiens: Archives du Département de la Somme, G 2984, folio 19 recto.

that his precise dates of service and the location of his next appointment can most frequently be determined. Furnished by an employer shortly after a satisfactory period of employment had been terminated by mutual agreement, these attestations served as references which the former employee could use in seeking a new position, or as credentials which might be offered as proof of excellent and faithful service.

As a record of employment, Le Sueur's attestations display several unusual and interesting features. Foremost is the fact that each of the cathedrals he had served submitted two attestations relative to his period of employment: the first coincident with the end of the composer's tenure, and the second, in every instance, dated from the year 1802. Unfortunately, neither group has survived as a complete set. The very existence of a second series of attestations, all dating from a year considerably later than the terminal date of Le Sueur's employment, is highly unusual, and it seems likely that they were furnished by the cathedrals at the direct request of the composer himself. In the year 1802, a critical one in the life of the composer, Le Sueur undoubtedly found himself in need of character references and wrote to his former employers requesting additional letters which he might offer in his own support.

1777

May 2: The original attestation from the Cathedral at Amiens, the one which bears this date, helps to establish with certainty the period of

Le Sueur's tenure at Amiens. It states specifically that he had served the Cathedral for six years, both as "petit vicaire" and "enfant de choeur," while enrolled at the maîtrise. His exemplary behavior, faithful service, and great musical ability are all glowingly referred to in the most generous terms.[1]

A subsequent attestation from the Cathedral at Amiens, dated 21 Thermidor an X (August 8, 1802), praises Le Sueur's character, fidelity, and service in the usual manner, and then goes on to state that following his withdrawl from the maîtrise, he had continued his studies at the Collège of Amiens where he had been held in equal esteem by his colleagues and teachers.[2]

Summer, 1777-Summer, 1779

Sometime during the Summer of 1777, Le Sueur left Amiens to assume the duties of Maître de Musique at the Cathedral of Séez. He had accepted the position, his first professional appointment, when it had been offered that Spring, and was to remain at Séez for approximately two years.

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

[2]Ibid. Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 64, incorrectly equates the Revolutionary and Gregorian calendars when he transcribes the date as August 6, 1802.

1777 (Cont.)

July 30: The deliberations of the Cathedral Chapter at Amiens, by recognizing Le Sueur's request for financial assistance, documents his presence in Amiens as of this date. Specific note is made of the fact that he was about to leave Amiens for the new position at Séez. In the words of the Chapter, he was "...à la veille d'être maître de musique à Sées, ..."[1] The requested financial assistance was probably needed to help the young composer establish himself in new surroundings.

An attestation from the Cathedral at Séez, dated 5 Vendémiaire an XI (September 27, 1802), establishes Le Sueur's dates of service at Séez as during 1777 and 1778. The document further states that the terms of employment had been fulfilled most conscientiously by Le Sueur, and that the composer had left the Cathedral, with the regrets of the Chapter, to assume a new position in the capital (Paris), one which would permit him greater opportunity to display his musical talent more advantageously.[2]

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[1]Amiens: Archives du Département de la Somme, G 2984, folio 58 verso.

[2]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055. Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 65, incorrectly equates the Revolutionary and Gregorian calendars when he transcribes the date as September 26, 1803.

c. Fall, 1779

It seems likely that Le Sueur remained at Séez throughout the summer of 1779, taking his leave sometime during the early fall. The more advantageous position which he had accepted, the one referred to in the attestation from Séez, was that of Sous Maître de Musique at the church of the Saints-Innocents, Paris; it was here that he studied and collaborated with the Abbé Roze (or Rose), Maître de Musique at the church. Although specific details concerning this appointment have failed to survive, Choron provides the following relevent statement when writing about the Abbé Nicolas Roze: "In 1775, the Abbé Roze was appointed Maître de Musique at the church of the Saints-Innocents, Paris. . . . The Abbé Roze resigned from this position on November 1, 1779."[1] Le Sueur must have resigned at approximately the same time.

Winter, 1779-May, 1782

Le Sueur's tenure as Sous Maître de Musique at the Saints-Innocents was an extremely short one. It could hardly have lasted more than

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[1]Alexandre Choron and Francois Joseph Marie Fayolle, Dictionnaire historique des musiciens . . . , 2 Vols., Paris: Valade et Lenormant, 1810-1811, Vol. II, p. 246: "En 1775, M. l'Abbé Roze fut nominé maître de musique des Saints-Innocens, à Paris. . . . M. l'Abbé Roze donna sa démission le premier novembre 1779."

several months, for by the end of 1779, he had accepted a post as Maître de Musique at the Cathedral in Dijon. Since the original attestation is dated May 24, 1782 and specifically states that Le Sueur had been associated with the Cathedral for three years, it must be assumed that he arrived in Dijon sometime late in 1779.[1]

A second attestation from Dijon, this one dated 10 Thermidor an X (July 29, 1802), cites the years 1779 to 1782 as the period of Le Sueur's service. After corroborating the excellence of Le Sueur's work, the report incorrectly states that the composer left Dijon for a position at Notre Dame in Paris. ("qu'il n'est sorti de ses fonctions de Maître de Musique à la Cathédrale de Dijon que parceque ses talens supérieures qui l'y avaient fait admirer, l'appellaient à remplir celles de M^tre^. de Musique de Notre Dame de Paris."[2]) He actually left for a post at the Cathedral of Le Mans, and did not arrive at Notre Dame until several years later.

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055. As of May 24, 1782, the date of the original attestation, Le Sueur could not possibly have been at his post in Dijon for three years. The report apparently referred to years of the calendar (1779-1782), for Le Sueur's total service at Dijon could not have exceeded two and one half years.

[2]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

1782

March 21: Le Sueur's motet, Beatus Vir, was performed at the Concert Spirituel.[1]

April 5: A Magnificat by Le Sueur, the second work of the young composer to be programmed within a two week period, was performed at the Concert Spirituel.[2]

May 11, 1782-c. January, 1783

During these seven and a half months, Le Sueur served as Maître de Musique at the Cathedral of Le Mans.

1782

May 11: The original attestation from Le Mans, dated January 24, 1783, cites May 11, 1782 as the date on which Le Sueur arrived to assume his duties at the Cathedral.[3]

A second attestation from the Cathedral of Le Mans, dated 24 Vendémiaire an XI (October 16, 1802), places the composer in Le Mans during 1782 and 1783. The second attestation is accompanied by a letter, dated "Mans le 17 octobre 1802," which clearly states that

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[1]Michel Brenet, Concerts en France au XVIII^{e}. siècle, Paris: Fischbacher, 1900, p. 339, footnote #2.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

Le Sueur himself had written to the Cathedral asking for their reference, and had indicated quite specifically just what should be included.[1]

c. January, 1783-c. Spring, 1784

Early in 1783, Le Sueur left Le Mans to accept an appointment as Maître de Musique at Saint-Martin in Tours; he remained in Tours for a period of approximately fifteen months.

The second attestation from Saint-Martin, dated 10 Thermidor an X (July 29, 1802), certifies that the composer had faithfully and honorably discharged all of the duties assigned him during his tenure, a tenure which extended over a period of more than a year, and that he had resigned from the post with regret to assume the position of Maître de Musique at the church of the Saints-Innocents in Paris.[2]

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[1] Both the second attestation and the letter are preserved in the same archive. The letter begins: "Je m'empresse de vous envoyer, Monsieur, le certificat revêtu de toutes les formalités, telles que vous avez paru les désir, par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, ..."

[2] Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055. Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 69, incorrectly equates the Revolutionary and Gregorian calendars when he transcribes the date as July 27, 1802. In addition, he fails to include the most important section of the document, for in his citation he omits that portion of the attestation which refers to the length of Le Sueur's tenure at Saint-Martin, and leaves out the sentence which specifically indicates the composer's destination as the Saints-Innocents in Paris.

1783

November 3: A setting of the psalm, Dilexi, preserved in an autograph manuscript, definitely establishes Le Sueur in Tours as of this date. The title page of the score reads: "à Tours, le 3 Novembre 1783, Le Sueur."[1]

c.Spring, 1784-June, 1786

Le Sueur served as Maître de Musique at the church of the Saints-Innocents for approximately two years. Returning to Paris, and the church he had served as Sous Maître for several months late in 1779, he quickly became an active participant in the capital's multi-faceted musical life. Befriended by Sacchini, Le Sueur soon developed an avid interest in the stage, and began the composition of his first opera after having been encouraged to do so by the Italian master. The highly dramatic sacred music which he wrote for the Saints-Innocents aroused keen interest throughout the capital, and works by Le Sueur began to appear on the programs of the Concert Spirituel with increasing frequency as the composer's name became more widely known.

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, MS 7361. Three additional Le Sueur manuscript scores: Beati omnes, Super flumina Babylonis, and a Stabat Mater, all written while the composer was at Tours, have been collected in one volume and preserved as Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, MS 8073. The title page reads: "Composé par J. F. Le Sueur, Maître de Musique de l'Eglise S^{t}-Martin de Tours," but gives no specific date.

1784

May 20: Le Sueur's Super flumina Babylonis was performed at the Concert Spirituel.[1]

December: A Mass and Stabat Mater by Le Sueur gave rise to considerable comment when presented at the Saints-Innocents.[2]

1785

March 22: An ode, based upon texts by J. B. Rousseau which had been set to music by Le Sueur, was performed at the Concert Spirituel. It was favorably received and repeated several times during the following few weeks.[3]

1786

April 10: Le Sueur's Dilexi was performed at the Concert Spirituel.[4]

April 12 and April 15: Several choruses, composed by Le Sueur to poetry of Racine and Corneille, were performed at the Concert Spirituel.[5]

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[1]Brenet, Concerts en France, p. 339, footnote #2.

[2]Journal de Paris, March 24, 1785. Cited by Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," p. 53, and Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 70.

[3]Brenet, Concerts en France, p. 340; Fouque, "Un précurseur d' Hector Berlioz, J.-F. Lesueur," p. 19; Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 70; Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, pp. 12-13.

[4]Brenet, Concerts en France, p. 339, footnote #2.

[5]Ibid, p. 340; Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 70.

April 29: An anonymous article appearing in the Mercure de France of this date, refers to Le Sueur's music as "full of spirit and warmth." It continues by saying that "his music is very dramatic; perhaps it even has more of a dramatic character than it does the character of the chapelle; this is a happy defect."[1]

For a little more than a year, from June of 1786 until the fall of 1787, Le Sueur served as Maître de Chapelle at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. Since the propriety of Le Sueur's professional activities became the focal point of considerable controversy during the composer's tenure at the Cathedral, it has become virtually impossible to separate fact from fiction when attempting to evaluate the record. The precise circumstances of his appointment, and the true facts surrounding his departure, have been so interpreted, reinterpreted, and misinterpreted by partisans and opponents of the composer, that only the colored legends which their authors wished to perpetuate remain. The following account is an attempt to set forth the known and ascertainable facts as objectively as possible.

Soon after his appointment as Maître de Chapelle, Le Sueur petitioned the Chapter of the Cathedral requesting additional funds to be used

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[1] Mercure de France, April 29, 1786: "pleines d'esprit." "Sa musique est très dramatique; peut-être même a-t-elle plus ce caractère que celui de chapelle, ce qui est un heureux défaut." Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 73, quotes this notice in German translation.

for supplementing the musical means then at his disposal. Long an outspoken proponent of programatic church music, Le Sueur advocated a style of sacred composition which would stimulate emotional and religious feeling by musically illustrating the liturgy in a "meaningful" manner. It was the composer's contention, a contention shared by neither all of his colleagues nor his superiors, that the service for each of the church festivals should become a type of music drama or oratorio, dramatically appropriate and quite literally descriptive of the events being portrayed. If these objectives were to be realized, argued Le Sueur, if sacred music was to become a truly moving experience which would significantly enlighten the congregation, than an elaborate musical organization was necessary.

He obtained the desired permission and proceeded to implement his plan by engaging singers and instrumentalists from the Opéra. With the assistance of this expanded musical organization, Le Sueur performed the highly programatic services which he had composed for presentation at the Cathedral during the four great festivals of the church year: Chrismas; Easter; Pentecost; and the Assumption. The works were given a mixed reception.

Large crowds were attracted to the Cathedral by the reforms which Le Sueur had initiated. Admirers of the composer heartily endorsed the novel experiments, while enemies of Le Sueur reacted in violent opposi-

tion by claiming that the church had been sacreligiously transformed into a theatre. Marie Antoinette herself displayed keen interest in Le Sueur's work, and tangibly expressed her open admiration for the composer by regularly attending Mass at Notre Dame. Her enthusiastic comments about Le Sueur's music reflected an attitude which she apparently shared with other members of the royal family, for there is no doubt that Le Sueur would have received an appointment as Maître de Chapelle to Louis XVI had not the Revolution intervened.

Le Sueur's contention that the dramatic and picturesque elements of music were highly desirable characteristics, characteristics which should be fully exploited in sacred composition, was far from a unanimously acceptable doctrine. The opposing forces became increasingly more vocal in stating their respective positions. Attacks followed by rebuttals quickly appeared in the Parisian press, and in the tradition of French intellectual-artistic disputes, soon erupted into a full-scale pamphlet war. While the more conservative clerics, together with some segments of the capital's musical hierarchy, openly scoffed at these innovations, derisively referring to them as "les opéras de gueux," (the beggars' operas), the public, as well as many intellectuals, responded with considerable favor.

Contemporary newspapers were sharply divided on the question, and the merits of Le Sueur's sacred music became the subject of heated

public debate. Controversy raged about a number of specific compositions, with the Regina coeli of 1786 and the overture which the composer had provided for the Easter Mass of 1787 among the most frequently invoked. Those who opposed Le Sueur condemned his reforms as frivolous and scandalous. Such music, they maintained, was not fit to be performed in church for it failed to suit the mood of peaceful contemplation which should accompany public worship. The administrators of the Concert Spirituel, too, opposed Le Sueur's efforts; the spectacular services which the composer offered free to the public at the Cathedral had proven to be highly competitive.

Those who approved, heartily endorsed Le Sueur's attempt to inject life and "reality" into the service. The general public was very favorably disposed to Le Sueur's colorful Masses, motets, and oratorios; contemporary reports indicate that the massive basilica was not large enough to hold the throngs of admirers who came to hear the "new" music being offered at Notre Dame. Those in the forefront of the literary and musical world were divided. Some supported the composer while others opposed him.

Late in 1786, partly in response to the public clamor caused by his experiments, and partly to satisfy himself, Le Sueur wrote a pamphlet in which he enumerated his basic ideas concerning church music. Published in February of 1787, the pamphlet was entitled: Essai de musique

sacrée, ou musique motivée et méthodique, pour la fête de Noël.[1] Employing the Mass he had composed for Christmas of 1786 as his point of departure, Le Sueur tried to explain his philosophy in relation to a specific composition, one which was still fresh in the mind of the public.

Le Sueur's pamphlet failed to elicit the hoped for support, and the composer's enemies replied by issuing a manifesto of their own. Anonymously written and anonymously published, the work bore the title: l'Ile des chats fourrés. Violently attacking those principles which would permit the divine Office to be transformed into a spectacle, the anonymous author did not limit his arguments to the philosophical question at hand, but assailed Le Sueur's integrity as well. He implied that the composer was so lacking in ability that he had written neither the pamphlet which set forth his views nor the music in which they were incorporated, and the pamphlet war was on in earnest.

Le Sueur responded by publishing a related series of four short theoretical essays which were collectively entitled: Exposé détaillé d'une musique, une, imitative, et particulière à chaque solemnité.[2] Intent upon presenting a more extensive explanation of his position than that contained in the original Essai de musique sacrée, Le Sueur used

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[1] Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

[2] Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

these essays as a forum. They provided him with an excellent opportunity to discuss his ideas about music in general, the nature of music, music's relation to the other arts, etc. in considerable detail; particular emphasis was placed on the functional nature of sacred music. Employing the cyclic organization of the church year as his spring board, Le Sueur devotes single essays to each of the four major festivals: Christmas;[1] Easter;[2] Pentecost;[3] and the Assumption.[4] A theoretical essay, plus a detailed sketch of a musical service appropriate to the respective festival, is included in each of the pamphlets. The sketches, originally conceived as program guides to be distributed before the service began,

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[1] Exposé d'une musique, une, imitative, et particulière à chaque solemnité; où l'on donne les principes généraux sur lesquels on l'établit, et le plan d'une musique propre à la fête de Noël ..., Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

[2] Suite de l'essai sur la musique sacrée et imitative, où l'on donne la plan d'une musique propre à la fête de Pâque ..., Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

[3] Exposé d'une musique, une, imitative et propre à chaque solemnité; où l'on donne une dissertation sur ses effets, et le plan d'une musique particulière à la solemnité de la Pentecôte. Suite de l'essai ..., Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

[4] Exposé d'une musique, une, imitative, et particulière à chaque solemnité; où l'auteur, à la suite de ce qu'il a déja publié à ce sujet, donne à ceux de ses élèves qui se destinent à composer la musique de nos temples, les préceptes qu'il leur a cru nécessaires pour mettre la plus de poésie de peinture, et d'expression possible dans leurs ouvrages. Il y donne aussi le plan d'une musique propre à la fête de l'Assomption. Suite de l'essai ..., Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

were intended to clarify the means used by the composer in dramatizing the service, and to provide the worshippers with an outline of his specific objectives.

Throughout the polemics which followed, Le Sueur argued the basic philosophical and artistic question, while the opposition concentrated heavily on personal slander. In 1787, matters came to a head. Apparently beset by financial difficulties, the Chapter of Notre Dame decided to curtail the Cathedral's music budget. Although the retrenchment was not publicly announced until late that summer,- after the Assumption, when Le Sueur was away on vacation - it was a step that had long been advocated by many officials of the Cathedral who disapproved of Le Sueur's worldly and expensive ideas. The decision was warmly received by all who were critical of the composer.

When Le Sueur was notified of the Chapter's action, he found himself in a difficult position. He was reluctant to resign, for his resignation would have been interpreted as an admission of defeat. Under the circumstances, however, he could hardly have continued at the Cathedral for the curtailed budget would have forced him to abandon the experiments which he had so notably begun. In September of 1787, the composer requested an extended leave of absence. The Chapter chose to interpret Le Sueur's request as a resignation although it was quite obviously not intended as such. The position assumed by the Chapter was clearly

underlined later in the year. Despite repeated applications from Le Sueur, they obstinately refused to reinstate the composer.

Late in 1787, one aspect of the financial situation at Notre Dame was made the subject of a most unpleasant incident. Le Sueur's enemies accused the composer of appropriating Cathedral funds set aside for other purposes. In an anonymously written and published pamphlet entitled, Dessert des plats de son métier que M. l'Abbé L * * * a fait servir à son E. Monseigneur l'archevêque de Paris à messieurs du chapitre de la métropole, Le Sueur's honesty and integrity were attacked in the most violent fashion. It required the testimony of the canons of Notre Dame to clear his name of the scandal.

And so the controversy lingers in the printed pages of books published over a century and a half ago. Whether Le Sueur resigned his post at the Cathedral voluntarily, or was actually asked to leave the position, remains uncertain. In either event, it may be said with certainty that many non-musical and non-professional considerations were directly involved. Friends of Le Sueur claim that the effrontery of the situation caused him to resign rather than modify his program, while his enemies maintain that he was justly chased from the position. Since the composer himself did propose a leave of absence, it is likely that he intended a trip to England before returning to his post at Notre Dame. London held out the prospect of fame and fortune without the turmoil of the pamphlet

wars which raged in the French capital. In any case, the Chapter's action in accepting his "resignation" precluded this possibility.[1]

It is interesting to note that several years later, during the early phase of the Revolution, the composer was arrested and charged with the crime of having made music for the glory of God. He was eventually released, but not before being threatened with a jail sentence for his former activities. Had he remained at Notre Dame, the outcome might have been considerably different and the verdict far harsher.

1786

June 26: The deliberations of the Chapter at the Cathedral of Notre Dame show that Le Sueur had officially been appointed Maître de Chapelle at the Cathedral as of this date, and that he was to assume the duties of his new position on the first of July.[2]

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[1]For further information concerning Le Sueur's tenure at Notre Dame, as well as summaries of the theoretical works published during this period, see: Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, pp. 13-34; Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, pp. 70-94; and Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 31-52. Although these works are not completely consistent, either with respect to one another or with respect to the documents, they do present most of the pertinent information concerning this period of Le Sueur's life.

[2]Paris: Archives Nationales, "Registre des délibérations du chapitre de Notre Dame," LL 232^{40}. See also Abbé Francois-Léon Chartier, ...L'Ancien chapitre de Notre Dame de Paris et sa maîtrise, d'après les documents capitulaires (1326-1790) ..., Paris: Perrin et C^{ie}, 1897. Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 72, quotes the document but makes several errors in transcribing it. Two certified copies of this document, stating that they had been officially transcribed from the Royal Archives, together with a French translation of the original Latin, may be found in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

July 3: The Chapter deliberations state that Le Sueur had requested permission to enlarge the Cathedral's regular musical organization during the four major festivals of the year by hiring supplementary performers to assist him. He was granted permission to do so for the approaching festival of the Assumption - August 15th - and told that due consideration would be given to the remainder of his request following that holiday.[1]

August 14-15: A notice in the Journal de Paris of August 13th announced that a Te Deum by Le Sueur, with orchestra, would be performed at Matins on August 14th and repeated at Mass and Vespers on August 15th at the Cathedral.

November 17: The Chapter granted Le Sueur the additional financial support he had previously requested. He was to receive 2400 francs to pay for the supplementary musical forces under the following conditions: the number of instrumentalists would not interfere with the singing of the chorus; no performers from the Opéra would be permit-

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[1]Paris: Archives Nationales, " Registre des délibérations du chapitre de Notre Dame," LL 232^{40}. Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 73, quotes the document but makes several errors in transcribing it and omits a portion of the heading. Two copies of these deliberations, one of which is in the hand of Madame Le Sueur and dated August 1, 1856, may be found in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

ted to appear at the Cathedral, for the clerics deemed them unworthy of participating in a church service.[1]

December 8: "L'Ombre de Sacchini," a cantata written by Le Sueur in memory of the recently deceased composer, appeared on the program of the Concert Spirituel. It was performed immediately following Sacchini's oratorio Esther which was given in memoriam.[2]

1787

April 11: Responding to an anonymous letter written in opposition to Le Sueur's experimental sacred music, Count Lacépède published an article in the Journal de Paris of this date in which he praised Le Sueur highly and stated that there was much of great value to be found in his work.[3]

August 27: Le Sueur was unanimously elected to honorary membership in the Academy of Science and Fine Arts of Amiens.[4]

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[1]Paris: Archives Nationales, "Registre des délibérations du chapitre de Notre Dame," LL 232^{40}. Cited by Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 33-34; and Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 74.

[2]Brenet, Concerts en France, p. 340.

[3]Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, pp. 76-77, quotes Lacépède's reply in German translation.

[4]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055: "L'académie ...d'un voix unanime a nominé membre honoraire M[r]. Le Sueur maître de chapelle de l'Eglise Métropolitaine de Paris ..."

September 7: The deliberations of the Chapter at Notre Dame indicate that a letter, written by M. Le Sueur from Amiens on the third of September, had been read. Since the composer had stated his intention to travel outside of the Kingdom, and thus absent himself from the Cathedral for a long period of time, the Chapter declared the position vacant.[1]

September 24: The Chapter deliberations indicate that initial attempts to find a replacement for Le Sueur had failed. A composer named Hérissé, then Maître de Chapelle in Orléans was to be contacted about the post.[2]

October 3: The Chapter deliberations state that following an exchange of letters, Hérissé had agreed to accept the position.[3]

October 17: According to the Chapter deliberations, Hérissé had written a second letter expressing his regrets, for upon considering the

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055 contains a certified copy of this meeting. It reads: "Lecture faite d'une lettre écrite d'Amiens par le M^r. Le Sueur, maître de Musique de l'Eglise de Paris en date du 3 de ce mois, par laquelle il annonce à Messieurs un voyage hors du royaume qui doit le rendre absent pour longtemps, et qui est un abandon réel de sa place. Messieurs ont en conséquence déclaré la dite place vacante, et ont arrêté qu'il sera procédé incessamment à l'élection d'un autre maître de Musique." Quoted by Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 91, and Lamy., Jean-Francois Le Sueur, p. 36.

[2]Paris: Archives Nationales, "Registre des délibérations du chapitre de Notre Dame," LL 232[40]. A certified copy may be found in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055. Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 49-50 discusses this document.

[3]Ibid.

matter further, he had decided not to accept the appointment. Apparently, Hérissé had been informed of the difficulties encountered by Le Sueur at Notre Dame only after his initially favorable response, and had decided that he did not wish to accept under these conditions.[1]

November 5: In view of Hérissé's refusal, the Chapter appointed a committee to find a suitable replacement.[2] An understanding seems to have been reached among the composers of France not to accept a position which they felt had been honorably filled by a colleague who had been unjustifiedly dismissed. Thus the Chapter experienced great difficulty in trying to locate a qualified candidate for the post.

November 17: The deliberations show that the Chapter refused to reverse its original position and reinstate Le Sueur despite the fact that a letter had been received from the composer requesting such action.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Chartier, l'Ancien chapitre de Notre Dame de Paris, as cited by Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 49-52. For further discussion concerning the eventual disposition of Le Sueur's old position, and the ultimate course adopted by the Chapter with respect to musical procedures at the Cathedral, a course which was followed until the Revolution, see: Paris: Archives Nationales, "Registre des délibérations du chapitre de Notre Dame," LL 232^{40-41}. Relevant discussion took place at the Chapter meetings of March 3, March 21, April 2, and April 9, 1778. See: l'Abbé Meuret, Le chapitre de Notre Dame de Paris en 1790, Paris: Picard, 1904.

The entire Notre Dame affair was officially concluded on March 21, 1788 when the Chapter sent Le Sueur an attestation certifying the excellence of his character and noting the meritorious quality of the service he had rendered while employed at the Cathedral. The attestation refers to the fact that Le Sueur was then being considered for the post of Maître de Chapelle to the King, and a note, appended to the document in Le Sueur's own hand, indicates that the composer had submitted a copy of this attestation to M. le Duc de Villequier in April of 1788 as support for his candidacy.[1]

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055: "Nous soussignés chanoines du chapitre de Paris, déclarons que M. Lesueur, maître de musique de notre église a honoré la musique de chapelle par ses grandes idées musicales et ses nouveaux plans en ce genre où il a fait une véritable révolution. Nous lui devons des louanges sincères pour l'éducation distinguée qu'il donnait à nos élèves enfants de choeur: il leur inspirait l'excellence de la sienne. Ses moeurs, sa conduite, sa probité, son honneur furent irréprochables. Sa manière d'être et les talents extraordinaires qu'il a développé dans notre église aux yeux de la ville et de la cour, laisseront une longue mémoire parmi nous. Si les mêmes talents le portent à la chapelle du roi nous pourrons répondre qu'il remplira cette place au-dela même des espérances que Messeigneurs les Gentilshommes de la chambre du roi pourraient en concevoir. Nous jouirons de la gloire musicale qui l'attend et nous partagerons ses triomphes. Nous donnons cette présente déclaration le vingt-un mars mil sept cent quartre vingt huit. 21. III. 1788." It is signed: "De Champigny, chanoine, Dantichamp, gr. vicaire, Devienne, ch^{ne}., and Radix, chanoine." The appended note in Le Sueur's hand reads: "Le Sueur a donné double de cette attestation à M. le Duc de Villequier au mois d'avril 1788 pour une survivance à la chapelle du roi qu'il lui prommettait."

The copy of this attestation which appears in Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, pp. 93-94, contains several minor errors.

Fall, 1787-Fall, 1788

Other than the fact that LeSueur was being considered as a candidate for the position of Maître de Chapelle to Louis XVI during the Spring of 1788, - verified by the attestation from Notre Dame dated March 21, 1788 and Le Sueur's marginal note of April, 1788 - nothing is known of the composer's activities during this period.

Late in the fall of 1788, Bochart de Champigny, one of the canons of Notre Dame who had befriended Le Sueur and had supported his cause throughout the ordeal of 1787-1788, advised the composer to leave the capital, and suggested that he live at the cleric's country home in Champagne as a guest. Le Sueur gratefully accepted the generous invitation, and free from material care, passed four pleasant years at the home of his gracious host. It was during this stay that the composer was first provided with an extended opportunity to try his hand at operatic composition. His interest in the theatre had been steadily developing, and these carefree years in the country were devoted to composing several works for the stage.

Thus, while much of France was engaged in the tragic business of revolution, Le Sueur, at a safe distance from the capital, concentrated his creative efforts on composing a series of three three-act operas. The first two, La Caverne and Paul et Virginie, were entirely new works, while

the third, a setting of Télémaque, was a revised version of the opera he had first begun in 1784 at the behest of Sacchini. Originally intended for the Opéra, it had been accepted in 1787, but withdrawn by the composer prior to its first performance. In addition to revising the entire work, Le Sueur replaced the sung recitative of the original setting, the Télémaque intended for the Opéra, with spoken dialogue. All three works were subsequently produced with great success in Paris.

La Caverne was accepted by the Théâtre Feydeau, and during the winter of 1792 Le Sueur returned to Paris to assist in the production of his first opera. The work was very favorably received, and its composer, known to the capital primarily as the ex Maître de Chapelle of Notre Dame who had caused such an uproar a few years earlier, began a new career as an operatic composer. During the next few years, Le Sueur enjoyed a series of triumphs at the Théâtre Feydeau where the three operas composed in Champagne were all successfully premiered.

Caught up in the revolutionary zeal of the era, Le Sueur, together with many of his colleaques, became active participants in the Corps de Musique of the Garde Nationale. Dedicated to serving the musical needs of the Revolution, this informal organization was originally controlled by a group of enthusiastic volunteers who had been recruited from the ranks of soldier musicians. When professional performers and composers began to join in substantial numbers, however, the amateur and spontaneous

character of the original corps slowly disappeared. As the newcomers rose to positions of leadership, and as the Revolution itself continued to gain momentum, the loose, amorphous structure of the original corps was gradually replaced by a tight and highly purposeful order.

Realizing the propaganda potential of an organized musical force operating under direct governmental control, the Convention moved to create an Institut National de Musique, hoping thus to achieve its objective. On November 12, 1793 (22 Brumaire an II), the Corps de Musique was officially disbanded; it was succeeded by the new Institut National, a more militant organization, specifically created to provide music for the Revolution. Le Sueur was rewarded for his former participation by being assigned an important role in the new Institut. Indeed, a solid nucleus of the old membership was retained although the basic structure of the organization had been completely revised.

Less than two years later, acting upon the recommendation of Marie Joseph Chénier, the Convention enacted legislation which provided for the establishment of a Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation. On August 3, 1795 (16 Thermidor an III), after a short-lived existence of only twenty months, the Institut National was succeeded by the Conservatoire. It was the membership of the Institut, however, that supplied the basic impetus and necessary professional talent for the new organization. Bernard Sarrette was named administrative director of

the Conservatoire - he had held important administrative posts in both the old Corps de Musique and the Institut National - but the professional direction and supervision of the Conservatoire's activites became the collective responsibility of five Inspecteurs chosen from among the composers. Le Sueur, destined to play an extremely significant role in the early history of the Conservatoire, was named as one of the five original Inspecteurs. Together with his colleagues, Cherubini, Gossec, Grétry, and Méhul, he helped shape the future of the newly formed school.[1]

The growth of governmental interest in the use of music as propaganda may almost be measured in terms of the tightened administrative structures and increasingly professional direction imposed by the Convention on the three organizations which successively were responsible for providing the music. The composition of music for use during the revolutionary festivals, first systematized when the Institut National de Musique replaced the Corps de Musique of the Garde Nationale, became still more tightly regimented when the Conservatoire superseded the Institut.

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[1]The antecedents and early history of the Conservatoire, including a careful analysis of the roles played by the Institut National de Musique and the Corps de Musique of the Garde Nationale, are thoroughly documented in the following excellent studies, both written by Constant Pierre: B. Sarrette, et les origines du Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation, Paris: Delalain Frères, 1895; and Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation. Documents historiques et administratifs, recueillis et reconstitués, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900.

1793

February 16: (28 Pluviôse an I) Le Sueur's La Caverne ou le repentir, a lyric drama in three acts with libretto by Palat Dercy - based on an episode drawn from Lesage's Gil Blas - was given a highly successful premiere at the Théâtre Feydeau; it quickly established itself as a popular favorite and remained in the repertory for a considerable period of time. Over one hundred performances of La Caverne were presented at the Théâtre Feydeau alone in the following fifteen months.

November 12: (22 Brumaire an II) The Convention passed a decree officially creating the Institut National de Musique from the old Ecole de la Garde National, Corps de Musique.

November 21: (1 Frimaire an II) Le Sueur was appointed to the Institut National de Musique as composer and teacher.

1794

January 13: (24 Nivôse an II) Paul et Virginie ou le triomphe de la vertu, a lyric drama in three acts with libretto by A. du Congé Dubreuil - based on the novel of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre - was given a successful premiere at the Théâtre Feydeau.

June 8: (20 Prairial an II) Le Sueur's Scène religieuse et patriotique en l'honneur de l'Etre suprême, to a text by Paulin Crassous, was reportedly performed at the Fête de l'Etre suprême held on this date.

October 21: (30 Vendémiaire an III) Le chant des triomphes de la République française, a short work for mixed chorus and wind orchestra set to an ode by La Harpe, was sung to help celebrate the military victories won by the Revolutionary armies. For the first time since war had broken out between Revolutionary France and Monarchial Europe in the Spring of 1792, all foreign troops had been driven from French soil.

November 7: (17 Brumaire an III) a Scène patriotique: "C'est peu d'avoir obtenu la victoire," an extended work for male soloists, male chorus, and wind orchestra set to a text by Dercy, was performed for the first time at a concert sponsored by the Institut National de Musique and held in the Théâtre Feydeau.

1795

July 27: (9 Thermidor an III) Together with a number of works by several different composers, Le Sueur's Hymne du IX Thermidor, a short composition for solo soprano or tenor, chorus and orchestra set to a text by Desorgues, was performed at the ceremony which marked the conclusion of the National Convention's session of this date.

August 3: (16 Thermidor an III) The Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation was created, and Le Sueur was appointed to the post of Inspecteur. As an Inspecteur, and member of the Committee on Instruction, Le Sueur was directly and actively involved in the organization of the Conservatoire's original curriculum. He was a member

of the committee, a body consisting of Agus, Catel, Cherubini, Langlé, Le Sueur, Méhul, Rigel, and Rey, which collaborated to write the institution's first official instruction manuals: Principes élémentaires de musique, arrêtés par les membres du Conservatoire, pour servir à l'étude dans cet établissement, ...; and Solféges pour servir à l'étude dans le Conservatoire de Musique à Paris, ...

1796

May 11: (20 Florial an IV) Télémaque dans l'Île de Calypso ou le triomphe de la sagesse, a lyric tragedy in three acts with libretto by Dercy, was successfully premiered at the Théâtre Feydeau. It was in a completely revised version, a setting in which the sung recitative of the original (1784) Télémaque had been completely replaced by spoken dialogue, that the opera was finally produced.

1798

January 21: (2 Pluviôse an VI) The Chant national pour l'anniversaire du 21 janvier, a work for mixed chorus and orchestra set to a text by Le Brun, was performed for the first time at the Church of Saint-Sulpice.

June 28: (10 Messidor an VI) The Fête de l'Agriculture, sponsored by the administration of the Commune of Paris, took place in the capital. It was on this occasion that Francois de Neufchâteau's topical poem, subsequently set to music by Le Sueur but originally sung to the melody of the Marseillaise, was premiered.

July 28: (10 Thermidor an VI) The Chant dithyrambique pour l'entrée triomphale des objets de science et d'art recueillis en Italie, a combined strophic chorus for several soloists, mixed chorus, and orchestra, set to two stanzas of a much larger poem by Le Brun, was performed by artists from the Conservatoire. The performance was a high point of the huge celebration held on the Champ de Mars to cheer the triumphal return of the army and view the spoils of war which had been gathered in Italy.

1799

January 21: (2 Pluviôse an VII) Le Sueur's Chant national pour l'anniversaire du 21 janvier, first performed the previous year, was repeated.

August 27: (10 Fructidor an VII) The Hymne pour la Fête de la Vieillesse, 10 fructidor, a short and simple work for soloist, unison chorus and small wind ensemble to a text by Arnault, was performed at the Fête de la Vieillesse.

1800

September 23: (1 Vendémiaire an IX) The Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX, a dramatic scene of near oratorio proportions set to a text by J. Esménard, and scored for soloists, four mixed choruses and four orchestras, was performed in the Church of Les Invalides, renamed the Temple of Mars during the Revolution, to celebrate the anniversary date of the Republic's proclamation. Spectacular in scope, the work remains Le Sueur's masterpiece in the genre of Revolutionary music.

Late in the final decade of the eighteenth century, a serious rift developed between Le Sueur and Bernard Sarrette, Director of the Conservatoire. In 1801-1802, after having smoldered dangerously beneath the surface for several years, this personal, professional, and philosophical disagreement finally erupted into the open. The issues involved included Le Sueur's unorthodox ideas concerning the nature of dramatic music, the methods of instruction followed at the Conservatoire, and the forced cancellation of a Le Sueur opera which Sarrette had managed to engineer.

Early in 1791, Le Sueur submitted La Mort d'Adam and Ossian ou les Bardes, his two newly composed operas, to the jury of the Théâtre des Arts de la République - the renamed Opéra - for consideration. Both works were quickly accepted and the theatre undertook immediate negotiations for their early presentation. La Mort d'Adam, in particular, was enthusiastically received, and Le Sueur was urged to have the opera ready to be mounted in a production proposed for late 1797. Soon after the initial arrangements had been completed, however, great pressure was brought to bear upon a number of newly appointed administrators at the Opéra. They were strongly urged to reconsider their original judgment concerning the opera's basic merit. Under steadily mounting pressure, exerted by several of the capital's most influential musical figures - including some who were prominent at the Conservatoire - whose enmity towards Le Sueur was well known, the Opéra was finally forced to cancel

the originally scheduled production. Ostensibly, the cancellation was to be a temporary matter.[1]

Although the premiere of La Mort d'Adam was publicly announced on several different occasions during the next two years, each of the proposed productions was postponed with the customary assurance that the delay would be only temporary. Throughout 1798 and 1799 Le Sueur engaged in an extensive and heated correspondence with the administration of the Opéra concerning this matter. By late 1800, the entire affair had developed into a major public conflict and both sides of the issue were being prominently debated on the pages of the leading newspapers and journals.

In May or June of 1801, the Projet d'un plan général de l'instruction musicale en France,[2] an anonymously written pamphlet in which the teaching methods employed at the Conservatoire were violently attacked, further divided the capital. The anonymous author, subsequently revealed to be Le Sueur, advocated an immediate return to the pre-Revolutionary

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[1]The long and complex history of the incidents thus begun may be found recounted in considerable detail in Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, pp. 73-91, and Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur , pp. 108-127. Much of the correspondence, and several of the most important documents directly involved in these events, are quoted in these two sources.

[2]Projet d'un plan général de l'instruction musicale en France, particulièrement dirigée vers la vocale et la composition, renfermant la nécessité de rétablir les anciennes écoles primaires de musique (dites maîtrises) et de former à Paris un collège de musique pour le perfectionnement du chant et de la composition, Paris: Brasseur aîné, prairial an IX [May-June, 1801]

maîtrise system of musical training. Apparently motivated by his growing discontent with the administration of both the Opéra and Conservatoire, neither of which was in sympathy with his ideas concerning dramatic music, Le Sueur probably produced this brochure as much in the spirit of revenge as from conviction; it is difficult to conceive of Le Sueur, the anonymour author, being so diametrically opposed to the teaching methods advocated by Le Sueur, the Inspecteur and member of the Committee on Instruction at the Conservatoire.

On May 8, 1801, concurrent with the appearance of Projet d'un plan général, Le Sueur delivered a eulogy for Piccini who had died the previous year.[1] Speaking in his official capacity as an Inspecteur at the Conservatoire, Le Sueur used the opportunity to expound many of his own controversial ideas, ostensibly relating them to the dramatic concepts of the dead composer whose memory was being honored. The eulogy, combined with the pamphlet, served as additional fuel for the heated pamphlet war which was already well under way.

During the summer of 1801, the entire matter was aggravated further when the Opéra, at the request of Sarrette, set aside both La Mort d'Adam and Ossian in favor of Sémiramis, a first opera by Sarrette's

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[1] When Piccini returned to Paris in 1798, he was completely destitue; in his honor, the Conservatoire created the post of a sixth Inspecteur. He occupied this position until his death in 1800.

protégé, Catel. Although both of the Le Sueur works had priority of acceptance, and presumably the right to first performance, Sarrette, allied with other influential opponents of Le Sueur, was able to command sufficient governmental support that he carried off the intrigue successfully.

Incensed by this grave injustice, Le Sueur wrote to Nicolas Francois Guillard, the librettist of La Mort d'Adam, setting forth his grievances and enlisting Guillard's support in the continuing struggle. Guillard a famous librettist and well-known poet who had previously collaborated with Gluck (Iphigénie en Tauride) and Sacchini (Oedipe à Colone), was an old man tired of theatrical vagaries. His response to Le Sueur's impassioned letter was sympathetic, but considering the issues and his own personal involvement, quite perfunctory. The indifference of Guillard's reply led directly to the writing and publication of a second letter addressed to the librettist, Le Sueur's one hundred and thirty-five page Lettre en résponse à Guillard of October, 1801.[1]

It was in this polemic letter, only superficially addressed to Guillard, that Le Sueur publicly enumerated all of the evils perpetrated against him by his opponents. He claimed that Catel's opera had been

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[1]Jean Francois Le Sueur, Lettre en réponse à Guillard, sur l'opéra de la Mort d'Adam, dont le tour de mise arrive pour la troisième fois au Théâtre des Arts; et sur plusieurs points d'utilité relatifs aux arts et aux lettres; par Lesueur, de plusieurs sociétés savantes, Membre et l'un des Inspecteurs de l'enseignement du Conservatoire de Musique (ci-devant Maître de Chapelle de l'ancienne Métropole de Paris): pour être distribuée aux autorités, Paris: Baudouin, Brumaire an X [October-November, 1801.]

given priority at the Opéra for purely personal reasons, because Sarrette was his patron. He acknowledged having written the anonymously published pamphlet, Projet d'un plan général, and complained bitterly about being discriminated aginst because of it. He pressed his attack on the teaching methods followed at the Conservatoire, despite the fact that his earlier insinuations had caused a storm of disapproval to be raised at that institution, and he reiterated in detail his own quite specific ideas concerning the nature of dramatic music. The pamphlet is concluded with the composer's voice raised in opposition to the "disasterous innovations which menace the Théâtre des Arts."

The incendiary nature of the insinuations contained in the Lettre en réponse à Guillard, combined with the heated debate in progress since before the publication of the Projet d'un plan général; produced a violent pamphlet war between the exponents of the Conservatoire system and those who favored a return to the old cathedral schools. The musicians and literati of Paris took sides, and even the faculty members of the Conservatoire were forced to choose, for the question was basic to the institution's curriculum. Charges and counter-charges of increasing intensity produced an atmosphere in which the legitimate professional disagreement became of secondary importance as character assassination and personal vilification became the primary objectives.

During late 1801 and early 1802, a series of pamphlets written by the group of conservatives who advocated a return to the maîtrise system,

made their appearance. All of the authors chose to remain anonymous, for most denounced the Conservatoire, its methods, and its supporters, in virulent and inflamatory terms. Only a few of these vitriolic pamphlets have survived, but judging from the periodical literature of the time, the following works were regarded as the most important of the group: Censure des Théâtres;[1] La Fantasmagorie des Menus;[2] Le Russe à l'opéra, ou réflexions sur les institutions musicales de la France;[3] and Lettre à M. Paisiello par les amateurs de la musique.[4]

The combined effect of these pamphlets was substantial, and since Le Sueur had sent copies of the Lettre en réponse à Guillard to Napoleon, as well as to many other officials of the government, their ultimate significance should not be underestimated. In late 1801, hoping to gain redress for his grievances, the composer engaged in an extended correspondence with Chaptal, the Minister of Interior.[5] The entire matter

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[1]Paris: 18 Germinal an X [April 8, 1802].

[2]Paris: 1802.

[3]Paris: 1802.

[4]Paris: an X [May, 1802].

[5]Several of these letters are quoted by Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, pp. 115-122. These letters, plus additional documents - including letters dated November-December, 1801, addressed to Le Sueur by a number of government officials, acknowledging receipt of their copies of Lettre en réponse à Guillard, - are to be found in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

reached a head on June 15, 1802, when a forty page rebuttal to Le Sueur's allegations, a pamphlet entitled, Recueil de pièces à opposer à divers libelles dirigés contre le Conservatoire,[1] burst upon the scene. Written by members of the Conservatoire faculty, the brochure rebuffed the composer, and replied to the accusations he had made against the Conservatoire by personally attacking him in a highly slanderous manner. The immediate result of this exchange was embodied in a letter written to Le Sueur on June 22, 1802, by Roederer, Consul in charge of public instruction. The Consul, disturbed by the situation, temporarily relieved Le Sueur of his post at the Conservatoire, suspending him without prejudice in the hope of clarifying the issues and arriving at the truth. He suggested a reconciliation between the composer and Sarrette.[2]

In response to the Conservatoire's Recueil de pièces à opposer à divers libelles and Roederer's letter, Charles Pierre Ducancel wrote his passionate Mémoire pour J. F. Lesueur. An eloquent defender of the composer's integrity, Ducancel addressed his Mémoire directly to the Consul in charge of public instruction. Published in September of 1802, the Mémoire, together with the second group of attestations obtained by Le Sueur that summer from the cathedrals he had previously served, all

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[1]Paris: P. Didot, an X.

[2]Paris: Bibliothèque de l' Opéra, Carton 2055. Quoted with minor errors, by Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 124.

testified to the composer's good character. The effort was in vain, however, for in October, Le Sueur was formally dismissed from his post at the Conservatoire. The official reason given for this action is indicated in the letters exchanged by Chaptal and Sarrette testifying to the necessity of reducing the number of people attached to the Conservatoire staff.[1] A copy of Chaptal's letter, dated September 24, 1802, a letter which was addressed to Sarrette in his capacity as director of the Conservatoire, was included with the official letter of dismissal sent by Sarrette to Le Sueur on October 3, 1802.[2]

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[1]Some of the correspondence, including a letter from Roederer to Sarrette dated 20 Messidor an X [July 9, 1802] - written after the letter he had addressed to Le Sueur on June 20th, - several letters from Chaptal and other officials of the government concerning the proposed reorganization at the Conservatoire, as well as other pertinent information, is included in Pierre, B. Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire, pp. 145-150.

[2]Many of these letters are to be found in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055. Sarrette's official letter of dismissal reads as follows: "Paris, le 11 Vendémiaire an XIe de la République française, une et indivisible. Le Directeur du Conservatoire de Musique au citoyen Lesueur: Citoyen, le gouvernement a ordonné une réduction dans le nombre des personnes attachées au Conservatoire de Musique. Cet ordre a été exécuté; j'ai le regret de vous annoncer que vous n'avez pas été compris dans le nombre des artistes réélus pour composer le Conservatoire. Je vous transmets copie de deux lettres qui m'ont été adressées, l'une par le Ministre de l'Intérieur, l'autre par le Conseiller d'Etat chargé de la Direction de l'Instruction publique; en conséquence de cette dernière, je vous invite à venir faire au Secrétariat du Conservatoire de Musique les déclarations qu'elle nécessite pour me mettre à même d'établir l'état qui m'est demandé. Salut et considération, Sarrette."

The copies of the two letters referred to by Sarrette are to be found in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055. They are both quoted in Pierre, B. Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire, pp. 148-149.

1801

May 8: (18 Floréal an IX) In his official capacity as an Inspecteur at the Conservatoire, Le Sueur delivered his controversial eulogy in memory of Piccini.

May-June: (Prairial an IX) Projet d'un plan général de l'instruction musicale en France was published.

October: (Brumaire an X) Lettre en réponse à Guillard was published.

November 9: (18 Brumaire an X) Le Sueur's Hymne religieux, for chorus and orchestra was given its premiere at a concert presented in the Temple de la Paix. The work has been lost, and other than this record of its performance, nothing more is known of it.

1802

January-May: Most of the anonymous pamphlets attacking the Conservatoire and its system appeared during this period.

Spring: Paisiello was selected by Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, to serve as the initial director of the soon-to-be-formed Chapelle Consulaire. The re-introduction of an official governmental chapel was merely one of many steps taken by Bonaparte, following the successful conclusion of the Concordat with the Papacy in July of 1801, to reinstate Catholicism in France.

April 14: (24 Germinal an X) The Chant de paix dans le genre gallique, apparently a short chorus set to a poem by Baour-Lormian, was performed on the first day of a gigantic three day concert held at the

Opéra to celebrate the Peace of Amiens, signed on March 25, 1802.[1] Several excerpts from the as yet unperformed Ossian and la Mort d'Adam were also included on the program.

April 18: (28 Germinal an X) A newly composed Te Deum, written specifically for the occasion by Paisiello, was sung at the Cathedral of Notre Dame to celebrate the official reconciliation of Church and State symbolized by the Concordat.

June 15: (26 Prairial an X) Recueil de pièces à opposer à divers libelles dirigés contre le Conservatoire was published.

July 20: (1 Thermidor an X) Napoleon officially dedicated the Chapelle Consulaire.

September: (Vendémiaire an XI) Ducancel's Mémoire appeared.

October 3: (11 Vendémiaire an XI) Le Sueur was dismissed from his position at the Conservatoire.

Between September of 1802 and April of 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte worked diligently to consolidate all available political power. The Corsican adventurer was so certain of his own ability, that, while still First Consul of the Republic, he devoted substantial effort towards preparing himself for the day when he would rule as Emperor of France. While

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[1]The date of the performance is incorrectly cited as April 14, 1803, in Théodore de Lajarte, Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra, ..., 2 Vols., Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1878, Vol. I, p. 250.

momentous political events were thus transpiring, events which would decisively alter the entire future history of Europe and dramatically affect Le Sueur's career, the composer disappeared from view. Sarrette had clearly emerged the victor in their extended skirmish, and Le Sueur had been forced to leave the position he had occupied at the Conservatoire since its founding. Following his dismissal, he apparently was unable to locate another position, and nothing is known of his activities during this period.

In April of 1804, at a time when he must have been virtually destitute, Le Sueur received a remarkable appointment. He was unexpectedly named by Napoleon as Maître de Chapelle of the Chapelle Consulaire. Within a few weeks of the composer's acceptance, and following a carefully planned and well calculated series of incidents, Bonaparte's long cherished ambition was realized. He was named hereditary Emperor of the French. With Napoleon's political rule secure, Le Sueur's own position was further solidified when the Emperor appointed him to the post of Maître de Chapelle of the newly created Chapelle Impériale.

From the moment that Napoleon chose him as Maître de Chapelle, until death overtook the composer in October of 1837, Le Sueur's professional standing was never again to be jeopardized. During Bonaparte's long journey to the heights of military and political glory, success crowned the efforts of his Maître de Chapelle. Le Sueur's fortunes closely paralleled those of his monarch.

The parallel ceased on that fateful day in June of 1815 when Napoleon was finally defeated on the plains of Belgium at the Battle of Waterloo, and the Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, was restored to his throne for the second time. The ex-Emperor was exiled, but Le Sueur was permitted to continue much as before. Although his title changed - he was now Surintendant of the Chapelle Royale instead of Maître de Chapelle of the Chapelle Impériale - the composer continued to serve the court in virtually the same position he had occupied since 1804. He shared the post, first with J. P. E. Martini and later with Cherubini, during the successive reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X. His official duties ceased only after the revolution of July, 1839 when the demise of the Chapelle was tacitly sanctioned by Louis Philippe.

In the meantime, Le Sueur had been awarded the Legion of Honor, reappointed to his old position as professor of composition at the Conservatoire, elected to membership in the Institut Royal, named a member of the nobility, and honored by most of Europe's distinguished musical societies. When death came to Le Sueur in October of 1837, he was a thoroughly respected composer and teacher, honored and revered throughout Europe. Thirty-three years of success served to remove any of the pain that might have lingered as an after effect from the conflicts which had marked his earlier career, for the composer's mature years were happy and successful ones, unmarred by bitter memories of the past.

1804

April 11: (21 Germinal an XII) Le Sueur was officially appointed Maître de Chapelle of Napoleon's Chapelle Consulaire.

May 18: (28 Floréal an XII) The "Organic Senatus Consultum" was adopted by the Senate, and Napoleon Bonaparte became hereditary Emperor of France.

July 10: (21 Messidor an XII) Ossian ou les Bardes, an opera in five acts with libretto by P. Dercy and J. M. Deschamps - based loosely upon Macpherson's poetry of Ossian - was given a wildly successful premiere at the Académie Impériale de Musique. The Opéra had been renamed once more, for the Théâtre des Arts de la République had become the Académie Impériale de Musique on July 4th, only six days prior to Ossian's premiere.

July 18: (29 Messidor an XII) Le Sueur was elected to membership in the Légion d'honneur.[1]

December 2: (11 Frimaire an XIII) Napoleon's coronation took place in Paris at the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Some of the music performed was composed by Le Sueur.

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[1]The letter of notification, bearing this date, is quoted by Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 130. The autograph of this letter is in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

1806

It was during 1806 that Le Sueur was appointed to the musical juries of the Opéra and the Opéra Comique. He retained his membership in both through 1826.

June 3: Jean Francois Le Sueur and Adeline Jamart de Courchamps were married in Paris at the Church of Saint-Louis d'Antin.[1] The composer was forty-six years old and his bride was nineteen. Four children, a son and three daughters, were born of this marriage. The son, born the following year, only lived for a few months. Clémence, the oldest daughter, was born in 1808 and died when she was twenty years old. The second daughter, Eugénie, married the composer Boisselot, a student of her father in 1827; and the third, Clémentine, married a Monsieur de Civray in 1842.[2]

1807

January 2: A one act intermède, L'Inauguration du temple de la victoire, written by Le Sueur in collaboration with Persius to a libretto by Baour-Lormian and choreography by Gardel, was performed for the first time

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[1] Hargrave, "Jean Francois Le Sueur," p. 217, claims that Napoleon and Josephine both signed the contract de mariage. The civil acte de mariage was destroyed in the fire set by the Commune of 1871 and the religious acte de mariage fails to mention the presence of the Emperor.

[2] Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, pp. 116-118, provides more detailed information about the marriage.

at the Académie Impériale de Musique. Basically a patriotic cantata in the form of a divertissement, the work was presented only four times.

October 23: Le Triomphe de Trajan, a lyric tragedy in three acts with music by Persius and Le Sueur to a libretto by J. A. Esménard, was premiered at the Académie Impériale de Musique. Strictly a political pièce de circonstance, written to celebrate Napoleon's return to Paris, the work was based upon an incident in which the Emperor had only recently been involved. Not long before, Count Hatzfeldt, who had conspired against the Emperor's life, was generously extended a pardon by Bonaparte; the parallel suggested by Trajan's act of clemency in the opera could hardly have been an accident. That the work was able to achieve the impressive total of one hundred and twenty-three performances between 1807 and 1827 is a tribute to the prestige of Napoleon, and not an acknowledgement of the dramatic-musical merits of the score. Le Sueur's contribution consisted of three choruses and a march.

1809

March 21: La Mort d'Adam et son apothéose, a lyric tragedy in three acts with libretto by Guillard - based upon Klopstock's drama - was finally given its premiere at the Académie Impériale de Musique. Performed only sixteen times during the 1809-1810 season before being with-

drawn from the repertory, the work must be regarded as an honorable failure.[1]

1810

April 1: After having had his marriage to Josephine annulled because she had not borne him an heir, Napoleon married Marie Louise, the eighteen year old daughter of the Hapsburg Emperor of Austria, and thus allied himself with the oldest and most distinguished of the European royal families. Portions of Le Sueur's Cantate religieuse and his motet Veni sponsa mansueta, veni coronaberis, were performed at the wedding.

March 10: The infant son of Napoleon and Marie Louise was given the title of King of Rome at birth. Le Sueur's cantata, Johannes in deserto baptizat was performed at the infant's baptism in the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

1814

April 11: Early in April, with the conquest of the Empire a certainty, Napoleon was deposed by the French Senate. On April 11th, the very day chosen by the Emperor to announce his unconditional abdication, a treaty specifically designed to settle Bonaparte's future was concluded. Known as the Treaty of Fontainebleau, this document permitted

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[1]The premiere of La Mort d'Adam has frequently been misdated in the literature because the libretto, by mistake, incorrectly bears the date March 17, 1809.

Napoleon to retain the title of Emperor, but confined his rule to the island of Elba; by provision of the Treaty, permission to leave this tiny domain was never to be granted. Marie Louise, his Hapsburg Empress, was granted full sovereignty over the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Gustulla, all three of which were to pass to her son and his heirs. While the treaty was being negotiated, the Count of Provence, legitimate Bourbon heir to the throne, was making his way from England to France. Being the brother of Louis XVI, the Count had fled to England almost a quarter of a century earlier to escape the Revolution.

May 3: A special ceremony was held at Notre Dame to welcome the returning monarch. Le Sueur's motet, Dominus Deus liberavit nos, and a Te Deum were performed on this occasion.

May 30: The First Treaty of Paris was ratified. Moderate in its sanctions, the treaty reestablished the borders of France as the boundary lines in force on January 1, 1792.

September 15: The deliberations of the Congress of Vienna, destined to continue through June 9, 1815, began. The Count of Provence was officially restored to the throne of France and began his rule as Louis XVIII. Following the Restoration, despite his outspoken admiration for Napoleon, Le Sueur was provisionally retained as Surintendant of the Chapelle Royale. He remained in this position, shar-

ing it first with J. P. E. Martini and subsequently with Cherubini, throughout the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X. His duties at the Chapelle came to an end only after the Revolution of July, 1830. The Orleanist Louis Philippe, who succeeded Charles X to the throne of France, did away with the royal chapel.

1815

January 1: Le Sueur's appointment as permanent co-Surintendant of the Chapelle Royale became official. He shared the directorship with Martini.

March 1: Napoleon escaped from Elba, and gathering followers enroute, triumphantly marched on Paris to begin the final Hundred Days of his rule. Louis XVIII, meanwhile, fled to Ghent and the safety of the allied armies.

June 18: The Duke of Wellington defeated Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo and rang down the final curtain on one of the most dramatic careers in history. "To the British was left the thankless task of serving as his jailers. They hurried him off to his captivity, and in October, he landed at Saint Helena, a distant island in the Atlantic, whose 'salubrious climate' he enjoyed until his death on May 5, 1821."[1] For the second time, Louis XVIII regained his throne.

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[1]Leo Gershoy, The French Revolution and Napoleon, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1933, p. 533.

November 20: The more severe Second Treaty of Paris was ratified.

1816

February 10: Cherubini was appointed co-Surintendant of the Chapelle Royale when Martini, with whom Le Sueur had shared the direction of the Chapelle since the Restoration, died.

March 16: By a royal ordinance of this date, Le Sueur was elected a member of the Institut, known since the Restoration as the Académie Royale des Beaux Arts.

June 17: Le Sueur's Cantate religieuse, a somewhat expanded version of the work written by the composer in 1810 for the wedding of Napoleon and Marie Louise, was performed at the wedding of the Duke of Berry.

November 20: Reappointed to his old post, Le Sueur once more joined the faculty of the Conservatoire, now appropriately named the Ecole Royale de Chant et de Déclamation. He proved himself an excellent teacher, and fourteen of his students - including Berlioz, Thomas, and Gounod - were awarded the prix de Rome.

1817

February 10: Since those elected to membership in the Légion d'honneur during the reign of Napoleon were not officially recognized following the Restoration, the Baron de Laferté, Intendant Général des Menus Plaisirs, renominated Le Sueur.[1]

[1]The letter of nomination is preserved in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055. Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 141.

August 28: Le Sueur was awarded a certificate of membership in the Légion d' honneur for the second time. Presented at a ceremony which took place in the Château **des Tuileries,** the certificate acknowledges that the composer had previously been named a "Chevalier de l' Ordre Royale de la Légion d' honneur" on July 18, 1804.[1]

1818

March 2: In a letter dated March 2, 1818, the Baron de Laferté informed Le Sueur that he had been named to the "Jury d' **Examen** de l' Ecole Royale de Musique et Déclamation."[2]

May 26: Le Sueur' s Simphonie funèbre[3] was performed at the burial service held at Saint-Denis for the Prince of Condé.

December 2: Elected to membership in the Royal Academy of Music, Stockholm.

1821

May 1: In a special ceremony held at the Château **des Tuileries,** Le Sueur was presented with the cordon of Saint Michael and named a "Chevalier de l' ordre de S.t Michel."[4]

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l' Opéra, Carton 2055. Virtually all of the many certificates and honors awarded the composer during his maturity are to be found in these archives.

[2]Paris: Bibliothèque de l' Opéra, Carton 2055.

[3]The work appears to be the **beginning of a** Requiem.

[4]Paris: Bibliothèque de l' Opéra, Carton 2055.

May 14: The "Intonuit de caelo dominus," Canticum cum choris duplicibus, was performed at the baptism of the Duke of Bordeaux, posthumous son of the Duke of Berry.

1822

December 22: The composer was decorated with the Cross of Hesse-Darmstadt.

1823

Alexandre à Babylone, a grand opera in three acts with libretto by Baour-Lormian, was finished and accepted for performance at the Opéra. The work was never given a stage production during the composer's lifetime although the score was published and a substantial number of excerpts were heard in the concert hall.

November 22: A letter from Schalle, Director of the Royal Chapel of Copenhagen, reports that Le Sueur's music was well known in Denmark where the composer was held in such high esteem that he had recently been decorated with the Royal Danish Medal of Merit. A box, containing "la medaille en or de Merite, que sa Majesté le roi m'avait chargé de vous faire passer,"[1] was being sent separately.

1825

June 8: The coronation of Charles X was celebrated in the Cathedral at Reims. A considerable portion of the music performed during the

[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

ceremony, as well as many of the works written for associated municipal celebrations and attendant religious rites, was composed by Le Sueur.[1]

1826

March: Le Sueur was elected to membership in the well known literary society, Société Académique des Enfans d'Apollon.[2]

October 28: The composer received notification that he had been elected a member of the Gesellschaft des Musikfreunde des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates. In a letter dated April 20, 1826, the Viennese society had written to Le Sueur acknowledging receipt of a manuscript Credo which he had sent to them. The letter indicates that Le Sueur had been well known and highly honored for years in the Austrian capital where LaCaverne and Ossian appear to have been particular favorites.[3]

1827

August 8: Elected to membership in the Philharmonic Society of Vienna.

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[1]Some of the correspondence between Le Sueur and the commission in charge of the coronation relative to these matters has been preserved in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opera, Carton 2055.

[2]The nominating speech, given before the society by Bouiller, the permanent secretary, has been preserved in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2070.

[3]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

1828

It was in 1828 that the first two volumes - Première messe solennelle and Debbora - of Le Sueur's sacred music appeared. The collected edition eventually ran to seventeen volumes, the final six of which were published posthumously. As the publications continued to appear, numerous letters of praise were addressed to the composer from the leading musical societies of France and elsewhere. Frequently, these letters report successful performances of the works, and in general, attest to the popularity of Le Sueur's music.[1]

July 17: By order of Charles X, Le Sueur was elevated to the nobility with the title of Ecuyer.[2]

1829

November 16: In a letter dated November 23, 1829, W. Watt, Secretary of the Philharmonic Society of London, informed Le Sueur that at a general meeting of the society held on November 16th the composer had unanimously been elected to membership. The letter, written in English, has a literal French translation appended.

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2050; Carton 2055; Carton 2070.

[2]The following document, preserved in Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055, attests to this fact. Undated, the statement is written in the hand of Madame Le Sueur and reads as follows: "Par ordonnance du Roi Charles X en date du 17 juillet 1828, le Sueur a été décoré du titre de noble. Les lettres patentes en parchemin en date du 18 octobre 1828 sont signées Cte Portalis, Cte A. de Pastoret avec le sceau de l'état en cire verte. Elles confèrent à le Sueur le titre d'Ecuyer."

1830-1832

Following the Revolution of July 1830, the Chapelle Royale was officially dissolved. Le Sueur, very much concerned for the welfare of the performers who had formerly served under his direction at the Chapelle and were now unemployed, devoted a great deal of time and energy to writing a variety of government officials requesting that pensions be granted these musicians. He referred to the fact that Napoleon had established a pension system for the musicians of the Chapelle and that following the Restoration, the Bourbons had continued the practice. He pointed out that France had always been most hospitable to foreign artists, and with a final patriotic plea, argued that justice should be accorded her own children.

1836

January 23: A certificate dated Amiens, February 1, 1836, stipulates that the Académie des Sciences, Agriculture, Commerce, Belles-Lettres et Arts of the Département de la Somme, had elected Le Sueur a corresponding member at their meeting of this date.

1837

October 6: Following a short illness, Le Sueur died on Friday, October 6, 1837, in Chaillot, a suburb of Paris.

While occupying several of his country's most distinguished positions, Le Sueur contributed significantly to the changing French musical

scene during a career that spanned more than a half a century. Fame proved fleeting, however, and despite the enormous prestige and acclaim enjoyed by the composer when he was alive, relatively little of his music was performed after his death; by 1845, virtually no trace of the composer is to be found on contemporary programs. None of his operatic works remained in the active repertory, and, by a gradual process of attrition, his sacred works suffered a similar fate.

Undaunted by these facts, Madame Le Sueur systematically attempted to reverse the trend, and in so doing, proved herself a true champion of her late husband. Soon after Le Sueur's death she began an extensive correspondence, the principal objectives of which were to glorify the composer's name and insure the everlasting fame of his music. Between 1840 and 1845 she conducted an extensive campaign; during this period she distributed copies of Le Sueur's music, both sacred and secular, to a considerable number of municipal, royal, and cathedral libraries, hoping to perpetuate his name and fame. She wrote to numerous philharmonic societies, both in France and abroad, as well as opera houses, churches, and conservatories, attempting to initiate renewed interest in Le Sueur and promote performances of his works. In addition, she tried to have local authorities name streets after her late husband, and promoted subscriptions to raise money for the commissioning of statues in his memory.

This indefatigable correspondent conducted an exceedingly far flung campaign. Letters and packages were dispatched to friends, acquaintances, and professional colleagues in Toulouse, Caen, Metz, Rennes, Reims, Strasbourg, Poitier, Beauvais, as well as Munich, Vienna and Berlin. The results were singularly unrewarding. Several hundred replies to these letters, many of which were annotated by Madame Le Sueur herself, have been preserved.[1] They are filled with vague promises, polite platitudes, and professed concern, but little else.

One final day of glory remained. In 1852, a statue of Le Sueur was dedicated in the Place Saint-Pierre in Abbeville. Eloquent discourses and eulogies were read and a cantata, specifically composed for the occasion by the master's grateful pupil, Ambroise Thomas, was performed.[2] Oblivion followed, for Le Sueur lived on only in the works of his former students. The legacy was a substantial one, however, for in his many years of teaching Le Sueur had trained several generations of young French composers.

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Carton 2055.

[2]The cantata is a brief work which was never published. The manuscript score is preserved in Abbeville at the Bibliothèque Municipale.

PART II

THE SACRED MUSIC IN ITS MILIEU

CHAPTER III

THE WORK OF A YOUTHFUL MAITRE DE CHAPELLE

Considerable attention has been focused upon the music written by Le Sueur throughout his formative years, those years preceding the outbreak of the French Revolution, during which many of the composer's basic professional and philosophical attitudes were decisively shaped. Since it has been consistently maintained that none of the musical sources dating from this period of Le Sueur's life has survived, those tentative conclusions which have been suggested have all been predicated upon accounts rendered by contemporaries of the composer, or reports which originated long after the events being considered. Statements which describe the nature of the music itself have been given wide credence, and comments which discuss the relationship to be observed between the music and Le Sueur's own notions concerning the application of musical-dramatic theories to the composition of sacred music have been accepted at face value. These, together with reports that speak of the impact that music and theory combined produced upon the public, have all been readily accepted as sound, objective, and accurate.

It was during the fall of 1779, after he had accepted the position of Sous Maître de Musique at the church of the Saints-Innocents in Paris, that Le Sueur's music attracted a considerable amount of public attention for the first time. The stormy relationship in which the ebb and flow of fickle public opinion was to heap alternate criticism and adulation upon both the composer and his music for the next thirty years had been born. The innovations which Le Sueur attempted, the composer's novel approach to the problem of dramatizing the liturgy, placed him squarely in the public spotlight, and it is not surprising to find the activities of the young Sous Maître - he was only nineteen at the time - sufficiently unusual to warrant notice in the Parisian press.

Apparently the capital's sophisticated musical society had been quite impressed by young Le Sueur during the composer's initial period of tenure at the Saints-Innocents. The entrepreneurs of the Concert Spirituel, in any event, seem to have been sufficiently impressed by his work that they felt obliged to have the composer represented on their programs. Although no direct proof can be offered, it seems likely that Le Gros, the director of the famed concert series, invited Le Sueur to submit a number of scores to the jury of the Concert. The logic of this contention is substantiated by the appearance of several Le Sueur compositions at the Concert Spirituel during the four and a half years which were to elapse be-

fore the composer returned to Paris in the spring of 1784.[1] They were all well received.

It was in late March of 1782, at a time when the composer was concluding his tenure as Maître de Musique in Dijon and was about to accept a similar position at the Cathedral in Le Mans,[2] that Le Sueur's name appeared for the first time on the program of the Concert Spirituel. His motet, Beatus Vir, was performed at the concert presented on March 21st; barely two weeks later, on April 5th, the composer was represented by a second work when a Magnificat setting of his was programmed.[3]

The appearnace of these works at a time when Le Sueur was not a resident of Paris, and had not lived in the capital for over two years, is notable. While the stir created by Le Sueur in late 1779 might have been of sufficient magnitude to lend substantial staying power to his name, it seems more likely that the composer's reputation was kept alive by the influential friends he had made during his initial appointment to the musical staff of the Saints-Innocents. Furthermore, the provincial Cathedrals served by Le Sueur in the interim were all located quite close to Paris, and

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[1] Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, p. 12, is incorrect when he states that it was not until 1785 that Le Sueur had the opportunity to hear one of his works performed outside of a church.

[2] The original attestation from Dijon is dated May 24, 1782, while that from Le Mans - dated January 24, 1783 - cites May 11, 1782 as the date on which Le Sueur arrived to assume his duties at the Cathedral.

[3] Brenet, Concerts en France, p. 339, footnote #2.

the possibility remains that the composer visited the capital from time to time. In any case, it seems highly unlikely that Le Sueur attended these performances. Although the opportunity for a trip to the capital might have come "between jobs," it is difficult to conceive of any Maître de Musique finding the time required for a journey to Paris during the busy Easter season.

It is impossible to establish with certainty the precise composition dates of these two works. Le Sueur might have written them before 1779, prior to his first stay in Paris, in the capital during his tenure as Sous Maître at the Saints-Innocents, or after he had left for Dijon. It is quite possible that the Magnificat performed at the Concert Spirituel of April 5th was the alternate verse setting of the canticle text which Le Sueur had completed in February or March of 1775 while he was still at Amiens; on the other hand, it might have been a newly composed work. With respect to Beatus Vir, no setting of this text survives from any period of the composer's life.

Early in 1783, Le Sueur left Le Mans to accept an appointment at Saint-Martin in Tours. He remained at this post for approximately fifteen months, leaving it in the spring of 1784 to rejoin the musical staff of the Saints-Innocents, this time as Maître de Musique. Once back in the capital, he became an active member of the Parisian artistic community. During his second period of service at the Saints-Innocents, and throughout

his controversial tenure as Maître de Musique at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the journals of the day devoted substantial space to the composer. The dramatized liturgical music which he performed in church, and the miscellaneous compositions programmed with increasing frequency by the Concert Spirituel, evoked a tremendous volume of critical discussion. Little by little this stream of comment grew until it became a veritable flood; the torrential climax was reached during the pamphlet war of 1785-1786.

Given these circumstances, it is easy to understand why descriptions of the music which Le Sueur wrote during this period abound, and why reports of the activities in which he was engaged are readily available. Despite the unanimity of the previously cited sources, however, one need not rely completely on hearsay for information concerning the compositions written by Le Sueur during this period of his life.

Mention of the 1775 Magnificat, and reference to the position occupied by the composer at Tours, may well serve to reintroduce the entire question of musical sources which have survived from the years of Le Sueur's apprenticeship and early maturity. Although several specific compositions have been cited in the literature about Le Sueur, it has been consistently maintained that none of the music composed by Le Sueur during his youth remains extant; such, however, is definitely not the case. At least five works, all of which pre-date the Revolution, survive; they

may all be found in autograph manuscript score in Paris at the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique. In addition to the Magnificat, the group includes the four motets which were composed in Tours between January of 1783 and the spring of 1784: Dilexi - finished in November of 1783; Beati omnes; Super flumina Babylonis; and a Stabat Mater.[1]

Written when Le Sueur was only fifteen years old, the Magnificat is a simple work for soloists with chorus.[2] It is an alternate verse setting of the canticle text in which the odd-numbered versets, intoned in chant, alternate with a series of short airs and duos. In one air and in one duo, the respective soloists are joined by a four-part chorus. The total accompaniment provided consists of a simple basso continuo line.

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[1]While it may be stated with reasonable certainty that no other early Le Sueur works are to be found in the libraries of Paris, there remains the distinct possibility that additional compositions have been preserved in the libraries and archives of the churches around Paris which the composer served in his youth. Time did not afford me an opportunity to thoroughly check this possibility.

[2]The Magnificat, preserved in an autograph manuscript score, is to be found in Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, MS 12260 (8 pages). The title page reads: "fini à Amiens/Le 7 Mars/1775. Le Sueur fecit/Le Sueur Enfant de/Choeur de la Catedralle [sic] /D'Amiens 7 Mars 1775/." A note which appears at the conclusion of the final verset, however, reads: "fini à Amiens le 7 février 1775,/Le Sueur, Enfant de Choeur/."

Magnificat

soloists: soprano, alto, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano, alto, tenor, bass

accompaniment: basso continuo

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1. Air
(59 measures)

"Et exsultavit:" soprano

basso continuo

Recit. gai
(A major, 2)

Et exsultavit spiritus meus: in Deo salutari meo.

2. Duo
(31 measures)

"Quia fecit:" tenor, bass

basso continuo

Duo. Moderato
(E major, 6/8)

Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est: et sanctum nomen ejus.

3. Air with chorus
(64 measures)

"Fecit potentiam:" soprano, chorus

basso continuo

Rondeau. Vif
(A major, 2)

Fecit potentiam in brachio suo: dispersit superbos mente cordis sui.

4. Air
(33 measures)

"Esurientes implevit:" soprano

basso continuo

Recit. Moderato
(A minor, 2)

Esurientes implevit bonis: et divites dimisit inanes.

5. Duo
(32 measures)

"Sicut locutus est:" alto, tenor

basso continuo

Duo. Lent
(C major, 3)

Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semini ejus in saecula.

6. Duo with chorus
(38 measures)

"Sicut erat in principio:" soprano, tenor, chorus

basso continuo

Duo. Gratioso
(A minor, 2)

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Twenty-three or twenty-four years old when the four Tours motets were composed, Le Sueur had obviously developed the compositional means at his disposal to a high degree of sophistication during the eight or nine years that had passed since 1775. The recitatives, airs, ensembles, and choruses contained in the three Psalm settings and Stabat Mater, are mature, sensitively handled compositions in which an expressive and well developed musical technique is employed to good advantage. The manner in which the texts are set, the meaningful use of accompanying media, the handling of larger forms, and the tonal relationships are all worthy of note and admiration. Similarly socred for soloists, chorus, and orchestra - woodwinds, horns, and strings - the four works are closely related stylistically and were probably composed in reasonable proximity to one another.[1]

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[1] Dilexi (Psalm 114), is preserved in an autograph manuscript score found in Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, MS 7361 (64 pages). The title page reads: "Dilexi. Mottet à grand orchestre/à Tours/le 3 Novembre 1783/Le Sueur./"

Beati omnes (Psalm 127), Super flumina Babylonis (Psalm 136), and the Stabat Mater, all preserved in autograph manuscript scores that have been collected and bound in one volume, are to be found in Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, MS 8073 (211 pages). The respective title pages which precede each work read as follows: "Beati omnes/Motet à grand-Orchestre/Composé par/J. F. Le Sueur/Maître de Musique de l'Eglise S.t Martin de Tours/" (31 pages); "Super flumina/ Mottet à grand-Orchestre/Composé par/J. F. Le Sueur/ Maître de Musique de l'Eglise S.t Martin de Tours/" (84 pages); "Stabat Mater./Mottet à G.d Orchestre./Composé par/J. F. Le Sueur/Maître de Musique de l'Eglise S.t Martin de Tours/" (96 pages). No dates are provided, but the works were probably composed in 1783 or in early 1784.

Dilexi[1]

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, alto, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano, alto, tenor, bass

orchestra: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Air
(163 measures)

"Dilexi, quoniam exaudiet Dominus:" soprano

2 oboes, 2 horns in A, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro con spiritoso
(A major, C)

Dilexi, quoniam exaudiet Dominus vocem orationis meae, quia inclinavit aurem suam mihi, et in diebus meis invocabo.

2. Recitative and air
(162 measures)

"Circumdederunt me dolores:" alto

violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Largo
(C major, C, 9 measures)

Circumdederunt me dolores mortis, et pericula inferni invenerunt me;

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[1]Psalm 114 (complete)

"Tribulationem et dolorem:" alto

Allegretto con expressione
(F minor, 2/4, 153 measures)

tribulationem et dolorem inveni et nomen Domini invocavi: O Domine, libera animam meam.

3. Quintet
(179 measures)

"Misericors Dominus:" soprano I, soprano II, alto, tenor, bass

2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in F, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro moderato
(D major, C)

Misericors Dominus et iustus et Deus noster miseretur. Custodiens parvulos Dominus; humiliatus sum, et liberavit me. Convertere, anima mea, in requiem tuam, quia Dominus benefecit tibi, quia eripuit animam meam de morte, oculos meos a lacrimis, pedes meos a lapsu.

4. Chorus
(167 measures)

"Placebo Domino:" chorus

2 oboes, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro
(C major, 2)

Placebo Domino in regione vivorum.

Beati omnes[1]

soloists: soprano, alto, bass

chorus: soprano, alto, tenor, bass

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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1. Air
(142 measures)

"Beati omnes:" alto

2 oboes, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro moderato
(D major, 2)

Beati omnes qui timent Dominum, qui ambulant in viis eius. Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis, beatus es et bene tibi erit.

2. Chorus
(102 measures)

"Uxor tua:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in A, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Amoroso
(A major, 6/8)

Uxor tua sicut vitis abundans in lateribus domus tuae; filii tui, sicut novellae olivarum, in circuitu mensae tuae. Ecce sic benedicetur homo qui timet Dominum.

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[1]Psalm 127. (complete)

3. Duo
(136 measures)

"Benedicat tibi" Dominus: alto, bass

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro
(F major, C)

Benedicat tibi Dominus ex Sion, et videas bona Ierusalem omnibus diebus vitae tuae.

4. Air with chorus
(82 measures)

"Et videas filios:" soprano with chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro
(D major, 2)

Et videas filios filiorum tuorum, pacem super Israel.

Super flumina Babylonis[1]

soloists: soprano, alto, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano, alto, tenor, bass

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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[1]Psalm 136 (complete)

1. Chorus and air
(184 measures)

"Super flumina Babylonis:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in F, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Moderato un poco andante
(F minor, 2, 99 measures)

Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus cum recordaremur Sion:

"In salicibus:" soprano

1 flute, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

[Moderato]
(F major, 3/8, 85 measures)

In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra,

2. Introduction (recitative-duo) and duo
(230 measures)

"Quia illic interrogaverunt:" bass

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

[Recitative, moderato]
(C major, C, 27 measures)

Quia illic interrogaverunt nos, qui captivos duxerunt nos, verba cantionum; et qui abduxerunt nos: Hymnum cantate nobis de canticis Sion.

"Quomodo cantabimus:" soprano, alto

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Cantabile
(G major, 3, 11 measures)

Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?

"Si oblitus fuero tui:" soprano, alto

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in G, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro vivace
(G major, C, 72 measures)

Si oblitus fuero tui, Ierusalem, oblivioni detur dextera mea; adhaerat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non meminero tui;

I° tempo
(G major, 3, 15 measures)

Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?

Allegro vivace
(G major, C, 105 measures)

Si non proposuero Ierusalem in principio laetitae meae.

3. Air and chorus
(196 measures)

"Memor esto:" bass

2 oboes, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Sostenuto
(D major, ¢, 13 measures)

Memor esto, Domine, filiorum Edom in die Ierusalem,

Allegro
(D major, C, 45 measures)

Qui dicunt: Exinanite, exinanite usque ad fundamentum in ea.

I° tempo
(D major, ¢, 29 measures)

Memor esto, Domine, filiorum Edom in die Ierusalem,

Largo
(D major, C, 6 measures)

Filia Babylonis misera.

"Beatus qui retribuet:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato
(D major, C, 103 measures)

Beatus qui retribuet tibi retributionem tuam, quam retribuisti nobis. Beatus qui tenebit et allidet parvulos tuos ad petram.

Stabat Mater[1]

soloists: soprano, alto, bass

chorus: soprano, alto, tenor, bass

orchestra: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 1 bassoon, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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1. Air (2 sections)
(169 measures)

"Stabat Mater dolorosa:" soprano

1 flute, 2 oboes, 1 bassoon, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante expressivo
(E-flat major, C, 31 measures)

Stabat Mater dolorosa/Juxta crucem lacrimosa,/Dum pendebat Filius./

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[1]Complete, but with minor variations in the text.

"Cujus animan gementem:" soprano

Allegro agitato
(E-flat major, C, 138 measures)

Cujus animam gementem,/Contristatem et dolentem,/Pertransivit gladius./

2. Solo with chorus, air, solo with chorus
(240 measures)

"O quam tristis:" bass with chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Lento: chorus
(B-flat minor, ¢, 34 measures)

O quam tristis et afflicta/Fuit illa benedicta/Mater Unigeniti!/ Quae maerebat et dolebat,/et tremebat cum videbat/Nati poenas inclyti./

Allegro, Andante con moto: bass with chorus
(C major, C, 10 measures)

Quis est homo qui non fleret,/Matrem Christi si verderet/In tanto supplicio?/

Lento
(C major, C, 15 measures)

maerebat et dolebat . . . inclyti.

Allegro ma non tropo, Largo
(C major-F major, C, 14 measures)

Quis non posset contristari,/piano Matrem contemplari/ Dolentem cum Filio?/

"Pro peccatis suae:" bass

2 oboes, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro
(F major, 2/4, 109 measures)

Pro peccatis suae gentis/Vidit Jesum in tormentis,/Et flagellis subditum./

"Vidit suum dulcem:" bass with chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Larghetto
(B-flat minor, 3/4, 33 measures)

Vidit suum dulcem natum/Morientem [sic] desolatum,/Dum emisit spiritum./

I° tempo
(B-flat minor, ¢, 25 measures)

O quam tristis . . . Unigeniti! Quae maerebat et dolebat et tremebat.

3. Duo (2 sections)
(166 measures)

"Eia Mater:" soprano, alto

2 oboes, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Grazioso
(D major, 2, 69 measures)

Eia Mater, fons amoris,/Me sentire vim doloris/Fac, ut tecum lugeam./

"Fac ut ardeat:" soprano, alto

Allegro spiritoso
(D major, C, 97 measures)

Fac ut ardeat cor meum/In amando Christum Deum,/Ut sibi complaceam./

4. Trio with chorus (3 sections)
(234 measures)

"Sancta Mater:" soprano, alto, bass

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Un poco andante
(B-flat major, C, 51 measures)

Sancta Mater, istud agas,/Crucifixi fige plagas/Cordi meo valide./ Tui nati vulnerati,/Tam dignati pro me pati,/Poenas mecum divide./ Fac me tecum pie flere,/Crucifixo condolere,/ Donec ego vixero./ Juxta crucem tecum stare,/Et me tibi sociare/In planctu desidero./

"Virgo virginum:" soprano, alto, bass

Piu allegro
(B-flat major, C, 40 measures)

Virgo virginum praeclara,/Mihi jam non sis amara:/ Fac me tecum plangere./ Fac ut portem Christi mortem,/Passionis ejus [sic] sortem,/Et plagas recolere./ Fac me plagis vulnerari,/cruce hoc inebriari,/ob amorem Filii./

"Inflammatis:" soprano, alto, bass with chorus

2 oboes, 2 horns in B-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro
(B-flat major, 2, 143 measures)

Inflammatis et accensus,/Per te Virgo, sim defensus/In die judicii./ Fac me cruce eustodiri/morte Christi proemumiri/ Conferere gratia./ Quando corpus morietur,/Fac ut animae donetur/Paradisi gloria./ Amen./

On May 20, 1784, presumably soon after Le Sueur had returned to the Saints-Innocents, a Super flumina Babylonis by the composer was performed at the Concert Spirituel.[1] It seems reasonable to assume that it was the same psalm setting which Le Sueur had composed while in Tours. Interestingly, portions of this motet were subsequently reworked and used by the composer in one of his Revolutionary compositions; still later, revised once more and reunited with its original text, the work was published as the setting of Super flumina Babylonis which appears in the collected edition of Le Sueur's sacred music.[2]

In December of 1784, a Stabat Mater - possibly the Stabat Mater written in Tours - and an unidentified Mass by Le Sueur aroused considerable interest when they were performed at the Saints-Innocents. On March 22, 1785, Le Sueur's setting of a text by J. B. Rousseau was performed at the Concert Spirituel. The work was so well received that it was repeated several times during the following weeks.[3] Unfortunately, other than this reference, no trace of the work has survived.

Almost a year later, on April 10, 1786 - only a few weeks before he assumed the duties of Maître de Musique at the Cathedral of Notre Dame - Le Sueur's Dilexi, presumably in the setting composed at Tours,

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[1] Brenet, Concerts en France, p. 339, footnote #2.

[2] These changes are all enumerated in the appendices.

[3] Brenet, Concerts en France, p. 340.

was performed at the Concert Spirituel.[1] Within five days, on April 12th and 15th respectively, several choral settings which Le Sueur had based on the poetry of Racine and Corneille were programmed at the Concert Spirituel.[2] These choruses have not survived.

So stands the surviving record relative to those works written by Le Sueur prior to his association with Notre Dame. Although the greater part of his early compositional activity must have been directed to the sacred music which he wrote for the churches that employed him, only the five works already noted can be definitely assigned to this period of his life. The remainder of this early repertoire has been lost. Despite his obvious inclination towards sacred music, by 1784, it had already become evident that Le Sueur was developing a substantial interest in secular composition. Shortly after his return to Paris he had become interested in writing for the stage, and in 1784, he began to compose his first opera, the initial setting of Télémaque, under the tutelage of Sacchini.

The pattern thus established was maintained throughout Le Sueur's fifteen month tenure at Notre Dame. Te Deums, motets, and Masses, composed by the Maître de Musique and performed at the Cathedral, were prominently announced in the journals; his continued, albeit sporadic efforts in the field of secular composition were similarly noted. Periodicals

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[1] Brenet, Concerts en France, p. 339.

[2] Ibid, p. 340.

devoted special articles to specific works, a number of which were discussed in considerable detail, and public attention came to be focused on Le Sueur's experiments at an ever increasing rate.

On December 8, 1786, Le Sueur's memorial cantata for Sacchini, "l' Ombre de Sacchini," was performed at the Concert Spirituel, and a few weeks later, on Christmas Day, the Mass which he was subsequently to employ in outlining his theoretical objectives was heard at Notre Dame. Nothing is known of the cantata; but when the composer included a detailed sketch of an appropriate musical service in his Essai de musique sacrée, ou musique motivée et méthodique, pour la fête de Noël of February 1787, it was this particular Mass that he chose to cite as a model.

Indeed, of all the works written while Le Sueur was at Notre Dame, it is the Christmas Mass of 1786 that provides the only direct musical clue to the raging controversy in which the composer became embroiled. Although the Mass has not survived in its original form, a somewhat reworked version of the composition does remain. Some forty-five years after its premiere, the revised Mass was published by Le Sueur under the title, Oratorio de Noël. The published work corresponds so closely to the program guide included in Le Sueur's theoretical treatise, that the genesis of the "oratorio" can hardly be doubted. It was the direct offspring of the 1786 Christmas Mass.

Both Fouque and Servières have noticed this relationship and remarked upon it. Fouque has reproduced much of Le Sueur's original plan for the Christmas Mass in considerable detail, while simultaneously providing an impressive amount of speculative and fanciful comment.[1] Servières has pointed up the similarities to be observed when comparing Le Sueur's program with the published form of the work as it finally emerged almost a half century later.[2]

The process adopted by Le Sueur in applying his theory was a basically simple one. Following the general design provided by the appropriate Mass, the composer literally dramatized the liturgical texts and adapted them to the character of the specific festival. He inserted related but non-liturgical Latin recitatives to heighten the dramatic unity being sought. Wherever possible, suitable and well known music was employed in setting the texts. Folk songs and carols proved to be particularly suitable for this purpose and were prominently featured by the composer. The use of well known and generally recognizable musical material was vital to the success of the plan, for the audience, upon hearing the familiar airs, would immediately associate them with the composer's intentions, thus reinforcing the meaning of the holiday being celebrated.

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[1] "Un précurseur d'Hector Berlioz, J.-F. Lesueur," pp. 49-64.

[2] "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 34-38.

Stated in its simplest and most essential form, Le Sueur's primary theoretical objective was to achieve dramatic appropriateness in the area of sacred composition; all of his theoretical treatises were directed towards the realization of this ideal.[1] While the program booklets provided by the composer for each of the four major festivals vary in detail, the basic procedure advocated by Le Sueur remained constant. In each case, the objective was to provide an imaginative and rich spectacle, one brimming with splendor, meaning, and pageantry. How close Le Sueur's musical realization of his imaginative programs approached the theoretical ideal cannot be ascertained, since the Oratorio de Noël, a reworked torso of the 1786 Christmas Mass, remains the lone surviving example by means of which the composer's success can be judged. It is an interesting, but by no means overwhelming, work.

It has been shown that during this period of his life, Le Sueur concentrated his energy in an attempt to create a genre of composition which might best be termed Mass-oratorio. His so-called "radical" activity received a mixed reception, however, and eventually, he was forced to undergo the considerable personal and artistic anguish previously indicated. Objectively considered, the goals advocated by the composer were hardly deserving of the title radical. During the Middle Ages, before the Mass

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[1]For a general discussion of this subject, see: Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 38-48.

itself had been completely codified, portions of the liturgy had been consistently and successfully dramatized. Chronologically closer to Le Sueur, an entire school of early eighteenth-century German composers had treated liturgical subjects - particularly Passion settings - in a manner specifically designed for threatical production.[1] These movements, too, had been greeted with heated words not unlike those directed against Le Sueur by his opponents. In the broad context of history, the composer was retreading an old and well worn aesthetic path, a path that seemingly required periodic renewal.

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[1] Theile, and other early eighteenth-century composers and poets centered in Hamburg, wrote many biblical operas, poetically paraphrased liturgical texts, and staged their own originally conceived Passion settings.

CHAPTER IV

CATHOLICISM, REVOLUTION, AND CONSULATE IN AN UNCERTAIN FRANCE

From that moment on July 5, 1788 when Louis XVI yielded to mounting public demands by issuing a royal edict announcing a convocation of the Estates General, his already tenuous position on the throne of France became increasinly more uncertain. Despite tremendous pressure generated by domestic revolution and foreign warfare, Louis managed, with the successive support of the National and Legislative Assemblies, to maintain his shaky kingdom. He issued contradictory orders, repudiated published manifestoes, and simultaneously attempted to appease all of the feuding factions which had developed in a France rent by strife. By the summer of 1792, however, it became evident that the monarch's position was rapidly deteriorating. Increased republican opposition, fanned by widespread disenchantment with the moderate course taken by the Revolution, made it apparent that the future prospects of the vacillating Louis were darkening.

It was not until August 3, 1792, however, the day chosen by the insurrectionists of the Paris Commune to restate forcefully their demands

pertaining to the removal of Louis XVI from the throne, that the death knell of the monarchy was unmistakably sounded. Their ultimatum, delivered to the Assembly on the following day, left no room for negotiating or equivocating. Quite specific in its demands, it stipulated that the threatened march on the Tuileries Palace would take place if the king were not deposed by midnight of August 9th. Since Louis temporized in his usual fashion, and the Assembly appeared incapable of any specific and positive action, the signal bells tolled at midnight of the designated day. The advance which was to terminate the monarchy and initiate a revolt against the relatively moderate policies of the Legislative Assembly had begun.

The excessive violence which accompanied the taking of the Tuileries Palace on August 10, 1792 led directly to the savage massacres of the following month; combined, these two events served to drown the monarchy in a bath of blood. The extreme position adopted by the insurrectionists was merely an outward symptom of the unrest and insecurity which gripped the entire nation. The enemies of France were advancing on Paris, and the capital was in very real danger. Since decisive action was required, the radical extreme gained adherents rapidly; moderation and deliberation were luxuries that could not be afforded at such dangerous times.

With the deposed king awaiting trial for treason, and the moderate internal policies of the Legislative Assembly completely discredited, all thoughts of restoring the monarchy in any form were reluctantly dismissed. The external trappings of royalty could hardly be expected to survive in such a hostile atmosphere, and predictably, the Chapelle Royale was among the first institutional victims to fall before the purge. Strong anti-monarchial sentiment and rampant anti-clericalism made it quite apparent that the Chapelle Royale - institutional symbol of Throne and Church united - could be given no recognition in a radically oriented France.

The suppression of the Chapelle Royale served only to aggravate the mutual distrust that had developed between Church and State; it was one of the final links forged in a chain of ever increasing hostile acts. Unalterably opposed to the Revolution from its inception, the upper clergy of the First Estate viewed revolutionary principles and Catholic ideals as totally irreconcilable entities; to them, the two forces were absolutely alien and completely incompatible. It was quite the opposite, however, with a majority of the lower clergy. Their initial reaction to the idea of social reform had been a favorable one, and in general, most had genuinely endorsed much of the early revolutionary legislation.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, formally adopted on July 12, 1790, had proved decisive. It forced the lower clergy to retreat and take their stand at the side of their ecclesiastical superiors, for any legisla-

tion whose primary objective was to regulate the Church and politically incorporate it as a department of the civil state could not be tolerated by any Churchman. The vast number of changes and controls imposed and superimposed upon the entire structure of French Catholicism caused the final breech. Recasting the Church in a form which would permit it to conform with the new concept of civil society envisioned and pursued by successive revolutionary governments involved radical displacements in the political, economic, and social hierarchy of the Church. Such sweeping changes could hardly be effected or mediated during the earlier stages of the Revolution.

The fall of the Tuileries Palace completed the rupture which had begun in 1790. Those few tenuous threads which had permitted Church and State to maintain minimal and temporary relations were now irrevocably severed. When the religious and musical activities of the Chapelle Royale were suppressed, all hope for any form of coexistence was abandoned, and the rift occurred. Once established, the break stretched into an agonizing ten-year moratorium during which a bitter and cynical officialdom actively encouraged the de-Christianizing movement which swept across France. Priests were unfrocked; churches were closed or converted into temples of reason; and anti-Catholic demonstrations were commonplace.

As an antidote for this atheistic phase of the early Revolution, and to fill the void created by the absence of an officially sanctioned and formally organized religion, the civil authorities created a state religion, a cult of the Supreme Being. Emphasizing the relationship which existed between moral ideals and revolutionary principles, the official religion was designed to serve as a unifying moral force for the State. In an address delivered before the Convention on May 7, 1794, Robespierre, a most convincing and eloquent spokesman for the new state religion, outlined its objectives as follows:

> It was to be free from degrading superstition and the corrupt influence of a priesthood; it was to have only two positive articles of faith - belief in a Supreme Being and in the immortality of the soul. To impress the moral ideas of Virtue upon the nation and to mold the spiritual character of the citizens, regular ceremonies were to be held . . . in honor of various generous abstractions such as 'liberty and equality,' 'filial piety,' 'the benefactors of humanity,' 'paternal devotion,' and 'modesty.'[1]

While the new theology combined a fundamentally deistic belief with an abiding faith in immortality, the formal rite provided the balance necessary to complement these intentionally vague tenets. Predominantly functional in nature, it concentrated attention on the solid and tangible moral principles of patriotism and virtue. Since pomp and ceremony had always been essential ingredients of religious observance, the new re-

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[1]As quoted in Gershoy, The French Revolution and Napoleon, p. 287. For more detailed information, see: Julien Tiersot, Les fêtes et les chants de la révolution française, Paris: Hachette, 1908, pp. 123-168.

ligion was provided with a full share, and music was accorded a position of singular importance in the organization of the rite proper.

In addition to its important function as a vital component of the religious service devised for the new cult of the Supreme Being, music was exploited in many ways by the revolutionary governments. Prominently featured at all public observances, it soon became quite indispensable as an officially sanctioned means for arousing national feelings. The power which music possessed to move people was fully recognized, and the government quickly came to realize the potential which it offered as an agent for psychologically abetting national objectives.[1]

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[1]Julien Tiersot and Constant Pierre are the two scholars who have produced the outstanding studies in the area of French Revolutionary Music. Tiersot's Les fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française provides an excellent chronological introduction to the festivals and ceremonies of the Revolution as well as a fine survey of the music written for their celebration. Constant Pierre has produced several outstanding studies which deal in depth with both the music and the sources. His Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la révolution française; oeuvres de Gossec, Cherubini, Lesueur, Méhul, Catel, etc., recueillies et transcrites par Constant Pierre, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899 contains a scholarly edition of one hundred and fifty Revolutionary Compositions, with their orchestral accompaniments reduced for keyboard, plus a thorough and excellent introduction of seventy-one pages. In Les hymnes et chansons de la Révolution; apercu général et catalogue avec notices historiques, analytiques et bibliographique par Constant Pierre, Paris: Impimerie Nationale, 1904, Pierre has produced a truly monumental bibliographical study which exhaustively treats all of the sources of French Revolutionary Music. Thorough and accurate, the scope of this work literally staggers the imagination.

Other works of substantial importance are: Constant Pierre, Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales de la Révolution française. (Chant, choeurs et orchestre) recueillie et mise en partition d'après les parties originales manuscrites ou gravées et accompagnée de notices historiques

All of the revolutionary festivals, those specifically created to furnish a focal point for the new rite as well as those whose function was primarily patriotic, had one fundamental objective. They were designed to satisfy the spiritual and emotional needs of the public previously catered to by the Church. The ceremonies themselves varied considerably, and the music written for them ranged over the entire spectrum, but the basic task remained constant: a highly moving experience was to be provided for the participants. Sacred music and public worship, both elemental forces in the life of the French peasantry, had fallen before the Revolution, and the government, quick to sense the danger which confronted it as well as the potential opportunity which it was afforded, responded knowingly by creating appropriate ceremonial occasions to fill

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par Constant Pierre, Paris: Alphonse Leduc, [1893-1894]; Constant Pierre, B. Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation, Paris: Delalain frères, 1895; Constant Pierre, Le Magasin de musique à l'usage des fêtes nationales et du Conservatoire, Paris: Fischbacher, 1895; and Constant Pierre, Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation. Documents historiques et administratifs, recueillis et reconstitués, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900.

Throughout the final decade of the 19th century, Tiersot and Pierre became fiercely engaged in a vitriolic pamphlet war which they fought out on the pages of la Ménestrel. In general, Tiersot was the attacker and Pierre the defender. The most extensive reply made by Pierre to the charges of Tiersot was contained in a series of articles published in several successive numbers of la Ménestrel between August 28 and September 25, 1898. Subsequently, these articles were extracted and published separately as a thirty-one page pamphlet entitled: Sur quelques hymnes et faits de la Révolution, réponse à M. J. Tiersot par Constant Pierre, Commis Principal au Secrétariat du Conservatoire National de Musique, Officier de l'instruction publique. Extrait du Ménestrel du 28 août au 25 septembre 1898, Paris: Chaix, 1898.

the void. It was a well calculated act, one which served its purpose remarkably well, for traditional forms of religious observance were not officially reintroduced until after the turn into the nineteenth century. It was during the year 1801 that Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, motivated by political realities rather than spiritual scruples, negotiated a Concordat with the Papacy. Napoleon's official chapelle, his Chapelle Consulaire, was constituted in the image of the old Chapelle Royale and began to function in July of 1802.

Napoleon was motivated by many factors when he assumed the initiative in actively seeking a reconciliation with the Church shortly after the Battle of Marengo (June 14, 1800) had decisively reestablished the military might of France. Throughout the protracted negotiations in which both Napoleon and the newly elected Pope Pius VII were directly engaged, continued military success served the future Emperor well. The treaties of Lunéville and Amiens, both concluded in 1801 while the negotiations were still in progress, led directly to the cessation of hostilities in Europe. Describing the circumstances which surrounded the emergence of France as the Continent's dominant power after more than a decade of continuous warfare, privation, and revolution had threatened the country's very existence, Talleyrand, the eminent French statesman, wrote:

> One may state without the slightest exaggeration that at the time of the peace of Smiens, France enjoyed abroad, thanks to its military supremacy, such power, glory, and influence that the most ambitious person could desire nothing more for his country. And what made this

> state of affairs still more marvelous, was the rapidity with which it was accomplished. In less than two and a half years, . . . France had climbed from the depths of degradation, into which the Directory had cast it, to the highest position in Europe.[1]

With European peace temporarily achieved, Bonaparte was at liberty to devote himself to the pressing problem of internally pacifying an unsettled France. Never having firmly espoused a personal religious doctrine, Napoleon had always proved willing to bend theologically in the direction which afforded the most attractive immediate advantage. By courting the Pope at a time when France was militarily secure, he could negotiate from a position of undeniable strength. The desired rapprochement with the Church, once accomplished, could yield tremendous political dividends at home, and would help to dispel the prevalent notion that the Revolution was basically atheistic in nature. Furthermore, Napoléon would certainly become more personally acceptable to the established monarchs of Europe if he could cast himself in the role of defender and rejuvenator of the Faith in France.

The Concordat, which was finally concluded in July of 1801, united Church and State in an agreement that reconciled the extreme positions originally adopted by the two opposing parties. While the substantial concessions made by the Pope were masked in ambiguous terminology, his gains were plainly evident and clearly set forth. He had succeeded

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[1]As quoted in Gershoy, The French Revolution and Napoleon, p. 365.

in preventing France from becoming a completely secular state, a terrifying spectre which had been frequently raised during the negotiations by the threatening Bonaparte. Free Catholic worship was to be reinstated in France, but the government was to join the clergy in supervising the administrative and financial structure of the Church. For his part, the First Consul succeeded in realizing all of his primary objectives: the religious freedom legislated by successive Revolutionary governments was maintained; and Catholicism was not to be declared the official state religion. Furthermore, by relinquishing all claims to the ecclesiastical property confiscated and sold during the Revolution, the Pope recognized the civil conquests of the past decade, and announced the sale of all Church land proper and binding.

The reconciliation of Church and State was publicly solemnized in a special ceremony held at the Cathedral of Notre Dame on Easter Sunday, April 18, 1802. A newly composed Te Deum, written on Bonaparte's special commission by Giovanni Paisiello, Chapel Director to the King of Sicily, was the highlight of the commemorative celebration and served to surround the announcement of the Concordat's formal publication with appropriate pomp. To implement the provisions of the agreement, and simultaneously demonstrate his good faith, Napoleon ordered that Mass be said at the Tuileries Palace every Sunday at noon. The music which would accompany the service was to be provided by a chapelle, organized in a

manner similar to that which had prevailed under the monarchy. Paisiello, selected by the First Consul as director of the Chapelle Consulaire, left his position in Naples, and in the spring of 1802 journeyed to Paris where he assumed his new duties.[1]

The selection of Paisiello as director of the Chapelle Consulaire served as a severe rebuff to all native French musicians. An avid partisan of the Italian style, Napoleon had on several previous occasions expressed public admiration for the music of Paisiello, and in 1797 had commissioned the Italian to write a funeral ode in memory of General Hoche. Following a Parisian performance of this reportedly mediocre composition, Napoleon had openly declared to the five Inspecteurs of the Conservatoire (Cherubini, Gossec, Grétry, Le Sueur, and Méhul) that Paisiello was the first composer of the day, and that Zingarelli alone was the sole contemporary musician of comparable stature.

A position so unequivocally stated, did little to ingratiate the First Consul with the leading representatives of a flourishing Parisian musical society. The obvious hostility which many of the French composers felt towards Napoleon's Italianate taste in artistic matters, could

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[1]The circumstances surrounding the appointment of Paisiello to this position remain largely unexplained. Although it is widely known that Napoleon was a great admirer of Paisiello, it has never been established that the composer wished to leave the service of the King of Sicily for that of Bonaparte. Once in Paris, however, Paisiello accepted the challenge and gave unstintingly of himself to serve Napoleon well.

hardly be openly expressed, for the First Consul did not take kindly to any type of direct criticism. Cherubini, the outspoken Florentine who had become a naturalized French citizen and made Paris his home, incurred the direct wrath of Bonaparte when he questioned Napoleon's judgment in a purely musical matter.[1] It has been suggested, with apparent justification, that Cherubini's forthrightness cost him a number of outstanding opportunities for advancing his own interests. The only avenue open to those French composers who wished to retaliate was that of subterfuge and indirection.

The public life of the Chapelle Consulaire was inaugurated on July 20, 1802, when the First Consul of the Republic formally dedicated the reconstituted Chapelle. Castil-Blaze, an eyewitness to the event, has provided the following description of the physical surroundings in which the celebration of the Mass was reintroduced as an officially sanctioned governmental function:

> The chapel of the Tuileries had been destroyed and it was necessary to celebrate the divine office in the hall where the sessions of the State

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[1]The following incident, concerning the enmity which developed between Napoleon and Cherubini, is reported in the Mémoires de Mᵉ de Rémusat, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, volume II, p. 414. One day, when Napoleon was still a general, he had occasion to praise enthusiastically a work of decidedly questionable quality. Being pressed for his opinion, Cherubini replied obliquely by stating that one could be extremely able on the battlefield without being at all well versed in matters pertaining to harmony or counterpoint. It was ten years before Napoleon chose to forgive this remark and renew friendly relations with the composer.

> Council were held. It was only in this hall that there was sufficient room to place the singers [vocal soloists] and the piano. Arranged in two rows behind the singers, [choir] the violins played in a small gallery opposite the altar. The cellos and string basses, together with the wind instruments, were relegated to a neighboring chapel. The musicians had great difficulty performing under conditions so disadvantageous for ensemble playing. The tables, chairs, and desks, removed from the hall on the eve of the Sabbath, to ready the room for its function as a private chapel on Sunday, were replaced for the Monday meetings of the Council.[1]

Since the installation of a permanent altar was unfeasible, a temporary altar, modest and mounted on wheels so that it might be housed in a nearby closet during the week, was rolled into the Council Hall on Sunday mornings. Lack of space forced the congregation of government officials and ladies of the court to stand against the back wall of the Hall where they ranged themselves, as best they could, behind the First Consul. The musicians of the Chapelle, who thus addressed themselves to an uncomfortable and unreceptive audience, were required to perform under the most adverse conditions. The vocal solists, with the piano that accompanied them, could be accomodated in the Council Hall, but the choir and orchestra, as described by Castil-Blaze, had to be placed in

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[1] Chapelle-musique des rois de France, Paris: Paulin, 1832, p. 166. "La chapelle de Tuileries avait été détruite, on célébrait l'office divin dans la salle du Conseil d'Etat où les chanteurs et le piano pouvaient seulement être placés. Rangés sur deux files derrière les chanteurs, les violons jouaient dans une petite galerie en face de l'autel; les basses et les instruments à vent étaient relégués dans la chapelle voisine. Les musiciens avaient beaucoup de peine à manoeuvrer sur un terrain si désavantageux pour l'ensemble. Démeublée, la veille, des tables, fauteuils et bureaux, la salle que l'on disposait en oratoire pour le dimanche était remise en ordre le lundi pour les séances du Conseil."

various adjacent galleries. Amid such cramped confusion, and in the physical starkness of a room denuded of the furnishings which served it in an entirely different capacity, the celebrant was faced with the unrewarding task of presenting a dignified and meaningful service.[1]

Despite the formidable array of physical handicaps with which he was confronted, Paisiello served well as director of music at the Chapelle Consulaire for two years. In the Spring of 1804, however, he requested permission of the First Consul to resign his Parisian appointment and return to Italy. In the letter which he submitted in support of this petition, Paisiello claimed that his health, as well as that of his wife, had deteriorated in Paris, and they wished to return to the warmer climate of Naples. The increasingly open enmity displayed by many of the native composers towards the Italian "intruder" must also have been highly irksome to Paisiello. Motivated by jealousy, and an overwhelming desire to counter the Italianate musical position adopted by the First Consul, these unwarranted attacks were really aimed at Napoleon, and only symbolically at his Italian Maître de Chapelle. Despite these uncalled for abuses, Paisiello's loyalty to Napoleon remained unquestioned, and for the twelve years of life that remained to him after his return to Italy, he made substantial contributions to the repertory of the Bonaparte Chapelle from across the Alps.

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[1]Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, pp. 96-97.

When Paisiello's intended retirement was publicly acknowledged, Napoleon was confronted with a difficult task; the choice of a successor was a matter that would require great tact, for a considerable amount of artistic restiveness had already been generated. There were many potential candidates, for almost every composer in Paris, whether native or foreign born, vied for the coveted position. Cherubini was the logical choice. He was famous, respected, and had had a considerable amount of experience as a composer of sacred music; in the eyes of Napoleon, however, he was disqualified for personal reasons. No other single candidate emerged from the remaining field as an obvious choice.

In the midst of this considerable confusion, and under circumstances which have never been fully explained, Le Sueur was appointed by Napoleon in the Spring of 1804 to succeed Paisiello. Speculation concerning the appointment of Le Sueur as director of the Chapelle Consulaire is not lacking. Fétis holds that Napoleon, unable to make Paisiello reconsider his retirement, asked him to designate his own successor, and that the Italian had recommended Le Sueur as the most worthy candidate for the position.[1] Servières, citing the memoires of Blangini (Souvenirs de Blangini, Paris, 1834), states that Le Sueur had been chosen by Paisiello in 1803 to act as assistant director of the Chapelle Consulaire,[2] and that

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[1]Biographie universelle, Vol. V, p. 286.

[2]This is the only source that mentions Le Sueur as Paisiello's assistant in 1803, or indicates any formal association between Le Sueur and the Chapelle Consulaire prior to April of 1804.

when the director had sought permission to return to Italy, Bonaparte had spontaneously selected Le Sueur to succeed him.[1] Other accounts state that the post had first been offered to Méhul, and when he declined, it had been given to Le Sueur.[2] Still others mention the possible intervention of Josephine, for she had a great liking for the composer, or the direct action of Napoleon himself, who, remembering the vivid pageantry of Le Sueur's Revolutionary compositions, had acted decisively on his own initiative.[3]

However veiled the circumstances leading to Le Sueur's appointment as director of the Chapelle Consulaire may remain, the facts and dates surrounding the appointment itself are thoroughly documented. The official letter of notification, dated "A Paris, le 21 Germinal an XII [April 11, 1804] de la République française," reads as follows:

> Le Général Gouverneur du Palais au citoyen Le Sueur.
>
> Le Premier Consul, Citoyen, ayant bien voulu accorder à M. Paisiello la permission de retourner en Italie pour y soigner sa santé, vous nomme à la place de Directeur de sa musique qui devient vacante. M. Paisiello vous remettra avant son départ tous les renseignements que vous pourrez désirer.

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[1] Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," p. 57.

[2] Hargrave, "Jean Francois Le Sueur," p. 216.

[3] Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, pp. 94-96; Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, pp. 126-127.

Le Premier Consul se plaît à croire que par votre talent, vos soins et votre dévouement vous justifierez la choix qu' il fait de vous.

Je vous prie d' être persuadé du plaisir que j' ai d' être son organe dans une circonstance aussi agréable pour vous.

J' ai l' honneur de vous saluer

Duroc[1]

Nine days later, on April 20, 1804, Le Sueur received a second letter in which the financial particulars relative to his new position were set forth in some detail. Having experienced serious monetary difficulty since his dismissal from the faculty of the Conservatoire in October of 1802, the generous terms of his new employment must have been received with considerable joy and gratification.

Je vous préviens, Monsieur, que le Premier Consul vient de fixer votre traitement annuel à la somme de dix mille francs: que vous toucherez par douzième chaque mois sur mon ordonnance chez le trésorier. C' est à partir de demain, premier Florial [April 21] que votre traitement vas courir; ainsi à la fin du mois en me présentant a ordonnancer l' état du traitement de chaque employer à la musique; vous aurez soin de vous y comprendre pour un douzième de votre traitement. Quand aux formes usitées dans la rédaction de cet état, ainsi que pour ceux des concerts et dépenses de musique, j' espère que vous aurez prié M. Paisiello de vous instruire. Il vous aura sans doute appris que le Premier Consul passe pour frais une somme de 2500 francs par an dont vous pouvez tous les mois disposer par douzième. Il y a aussi une somme de six cents francs qui est passée dans la dépense annuelle pour les gages d' un commissionnaire à votre disposition. .

Vendredy 30 Germinal
an douze

Remusat[2]

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque de l' Opéra, Carton 2055. Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 127, in transcribing this letter, makes several textual errors. In addition, he incorrectly equates the Revolutionary and Gregorian calendars when he transcribes 21 Germinal an XII as April 10, instead of April 11, 1804.

[2]Paris: Bibliothèque de l' Opéra, Carton 2055.

If the newly appointed director of the Chapelle Consullaire had good reason to be pleased with the financial security conferred by his new position, the restraints placed upon his artistic activites by the physical inadequacies of the Council Hall which still served as a temporary chapel must have hampered him severely. Political events of sufficient magnitude to provide decisive changes in all areas of French life were rapidly coming to a head, however, and their far-reaching consequences were soon to affect the activities of the governmental Chapelle substantially. As early as May, 1802, a questionable parliamentary maneuver, one which was subsequently ratified by an overwhelmingly favorable popular vote in August of the same year, had produced the political machinery which Napoleon needed to have himself proclaimed First Consul for life.

The life Consulate, however, was not Bonaparte's ultimate objective; indeed, it was merely one more point of repose on the climb which led to a more ambitious goal. For two years it provided Napoleon with sufficient time to bolster his personal ambitions, consolidate political gains, and marshal the material resources necessary for the final upward step. Early in 1804, with his tremendous popularity swelled by the favorable reaction which greeted his sweeping internal reforms, Napoleon Bonaparte was declared Emperor of France by a united Senate and Assembly. This proclamation, subsequently corroborated by a popular

referendum conducted later in the year placed the formal and legal seal of legitimacy upon the imperial dreams of Napoleon.

CHAPTER V

THE CHAPELLE IMPERIALE

The pomp associated with Napoleon's coronation was so extravagant that legendary accounts of its splendor were soon being disseminated throughout Europe. Held in Paris at the Cathedral of Notre Dame on December 2, 1804,[1] the elaborate rite served a twofold purpose: it satisfied the formal demands of protocol and gratified the Emperor's vanity. Pope Pius VII journeyed from Rome to participate in the ceremony for he believed that the sight of Bonaparte bowed to receive the Papal blessing would considerably enhance the European prestige of the Church. Naopleon shrewdly encouraged Pius for he realized that Papal sanction would help legitimatize his claim to the imperial throne.

For the occasion, the interior of the Cathedral was decorated with lavish Neo-Greek and Roman furnishings that provided an appropriate setting for the elaborate theatricalism of the coronation. Albert Sorel, in

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[1]Buschkötter, Jean Francois Le Sueur, p. 127, incorrectly states that the coronation took place on May 18, 1804. In so doing, he has confused the date on which Napoleon was declared Emperor with the date of his coronation.

attempting to evaluate the significance of the spectacle, wrote the following perceptive comment: "Le sacre fut un spectacle de haute politique; il s'accomplit dans un décor de théâtre mélangé de tragédies pour les rites et d'opéra pour les cortèges."[1]

The pomp that surrounded his extravagant coronation proved to be an accurate indicator, for Napoleon soon turned his attention towards the establishment of a glittering imperial court, one complete with all of the trappings and ceremonial customs of the old Monarchy. Early in 1805, with this objective clearly in mind, Napoleon commissioned the architects Fontaine and Percier to design a permanent chapel, a proper Chapelle Impériale in the Tuileries Palace, to replace the inadequate temporary chapel still in use. He allocated the large hall formerly occupied by the

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[1]Albert Sorel, l'Europe et la révolution française, 8 Vols., Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1885-1904, Vol. VI, p. 403.

It is certain that some of the music which accompanied the ceremony was composed by Le Sueur, but any attempt to identify the precise works performed during each section of the coronation leads to a frustrating and perplexing maze of contradictory evidence. Superficially, there appears to be no problem at all. Virtually all of the sources agree to the following facts: Paisiello composed the solemn Mass used for the rite proper; Abbé Roze directed the chant sections and also contributed the concluding Vivat; Le Sueur was responsible for providing the remaining music. He was charged with the composition of the incidental works - marches, motets, scenes, choruses, arias, etc. - which were employed to accompany all of the ceremonial action. The entire question is intimately associated with the music contributed by Le Sueur in 1825 to the coronation of Charles X, and is examined at some length in CHAPTER VI during the description of Charles' coronation. For a detailed presentation of the entire problem, see: Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 58-62 and pp. 87-95.

Convention as its meeting chamber for this purpose, and work began at once. Before the year was out, the neo-classic design of the architects had been successfully achieved. The completed chapel remained virtually intact and unchanged until the fire set by the Paris Commune of 1871 destroyed the entire Tuileries Palace. During its sixty-six years of service, it witnessed an Emperor (Napoleon Bonaparte), three kings (Louis XVIII, Charles X, and Louis Philippe), the short-lived second French Republic, and a second Bonaparte Emperor (Louis Napoleon) emerge and recede upon the French political scene.

Lamy, paraphrasing the more detailed account of Frédéric Masson, provides the following description of the new chapel:

> Du moins, c'était une vraie chapelle; elle était vaste, un emplacement commode, sorte de grande niche ronde, était réservé aux musiciens derrière le baldaquin de l'autel. Le rez-de-chaussée de la chapelle était ouvert au public sans rétribution, sans carte d'entrée, sans aucune autre condition qu'un extérieur décent. A gauche s'élevait une longue tribune que décoraient de leurs brillantes toilettes, sinon toujours de leur beauté, les Dames du Palais et les Dames présentées à la Cour. A droite, aux fenêtres grandes ouvertes de la salle du Conseil d'Etat, se pressaient officiers et fonctionnaires tous en grand uniforme ou dans le costume de leur emploi. Dans la tribune impériale, au fond, face à l'autel, Joséphine au premier rang, agenouillée sur un prie-Dieu, donnait toutes les marques d'une dévotion grande et probablement sincère, ... Napoléon écoutait la messe dans une attitude militairement correcte, debout, immobile, les bras croisés, le regard vague, sans distraction et sans recueillement. Derrière les souverains prenaient place les membres de la famille et quelques hauts dignitaires. ... sous l'oeil du maître chacun se contraignait à une attitude irréprochable. Contrainte assez courte d'ailleurs. La messe durait à peine une demi-heure toute remplie d'excellente musique.[1]

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[1] Lamy, Jean-Francois Le Sueur, pp. 97-98; Frédéric Masson, Napoleon chez lui, Paris: Ollendorff, 1901, pp. 255-265.

It was this weekly Mass, barely a half an hour in length and filled with excellent music, that was Le Sueur's primary responsibility. To assist him in the performance of his office, the director of the newly organized Chapelle Impériale had at his disposal a group of excellent musicians. A pay list and roster dating from 1804[1] clearly shows that many who had originally been appointed to the staff of the Chapelle Consulaire by Paisiello in July, 1802 had been retained by the new director, and that all of the musicians in the employ of the Chapelle Impériale were among the best to be found in Paris. Le Sueur proved himself extremely able at recruiting the best talent that the capital's sophisticated musical society had to offer. The Emperor had apparently given him a free hand and a liberal budget.

Heading the Chapelle's roster, Le Sueur maintained his directorship, and with the newly created title of Surintendant, was paid the generous annual stipend of 10,000 francs; Rey, the Chef d'orchestre, and Kreutzer ainé,[2] the 1er. Violon de l'Empereur, followed at a salary of 4000 francs each. The twenty-seven member orchestra, an extremely able ensemble, possessed the following instrumental complement: 2 flutes,

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[1]Paris: Archives Nationales, $0^{2}62$.

[2]The famous violinist and composer, Rodolphe Kreutzer, was always designated at Kreutzer ainé when his first name was not given, to distinguish him from his younger brother, Jean Nicholais Kreutzer, also a violinist in the orchestra of the Chapelle Impériale, who was referred to as Kreutzer cadet, or Kreutzer jeune.

2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 3 horns, 1 harp, 4 violins I, 4 violins II, 2 violas, 2 cellos, 2 basses, and a piano accompanist.

Each of the performers was an outstanding instrumentalist, carefully chosen for his ability from the best of the Parisian orchestras, and received a salary ranging from 1500 to 2500 francs for his yearly service. The ten members of the Chapelle's vocal organization received salaries that ranged from 1500 francs for the choristers to 3000 francs for the leading soloists. Many of the capital's reigning singers were included among the vocal soloists, for performers such as Monsieurs Lay and Nourrit, Mesdames Branchu and Manet, were the toast of the Paris Opéra. In addition to actual performers, a secretary, Louis Grégoire, a librarian, Francois Lefebvre, and a tuner, Pierre Dubois, were carred on the rolls.[1]

Throughout its brief history, the number of performers and administrators attached to the musical organization of the Chapelle Impériale gradually increased. The nature of this growth can be most clearly understood by examining the complement of the Chapelle during the two distinct phases which clearly mark its existence. During the period 1804-1809, the number of musicians added were relatively few, and the total rose only slightly. The forty-two member organization of 1804 (Surintendant, Chef d'orchestre, an orchestra of twenty-seven, a vocal organization of ten, secretary, librarian, and tuner) remained intact through 1805. In 1806,

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[1]In 1804, the total budget of the Chapelle Impériale came to approximately 90,000 francs. Paris: Archives Nationales $0^2 62$.

with the strength of the orchestra increased by two, and that of the chorus by four, the total reached forty-eight. By the end of 1809, with the further addition of two orchestral members and one singer, the Chapelle Impériale was maintaining an orchestra of thirty-one, a vocal organization of fifteen, a Surintendant, a Chef d'orchestre, and three administrators for a total of fifty one.[1]

At the beginning of 1810, the Chapelle was reorganized, and, with the aid of a substantially increased budget, nearly doubled in size. By the end of 1810 a total of ninety seven people were employed in its service. Le Sueur maintained his position as Surintendant, but L'Oiseau de Persius had replaced Rey as Chef d'orchestre, and Hugé de Rochefort had been appointed to the newly created position of 2e. Chef d'orchestre. By year's end, the increased orchestra numbered fifty one performers,[2]

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[1]All of the figures cited in connection with the personnel and budget of the Chapelle Impériale, were obtained from documents found in Paris: Archives Nationales, 0^2 62. These figures do not correspond exactly with those presented by Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 62-63; Georges Servières, "La Chapelle Royale sous la Restauration," Episodes d'histoire musicale, Paris: Fischbacher, 1914, pp. 103-146; or Castil-Blaze, Chapelle-musique des rois de France, pp. 165-220.

[2]With the reorganization of 1810, the Chapelle's enlarged orchestra possessed the following forces: 2 flutes, 3 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 1 harp, 9 violins I, 8 violins II, 4 violas, 8 cellos, and 4 basses. Additional brass players, for trumpet and trombone parts, as well as percussion players, etc., were recruited as required on an individual performance basis.

while the Chapelle's vocal resources had been enlarged to include thirty-five singers: six soloists, and thirty-one choristers. Two piano accompanists, an organist, a tuner, and four administrators were required to support the enlarged force.

During the first six years of Le Sueur' s tenure as director of the Chapelle, the number of performers listed on the rolls had more than doubled. With only minor changes - several supplementary orchestral players and four new choristers were added during the period - the size and personnel of the musical organization remained virtually intact until political events dictated that the entire Chapelle be formally dissolved early in the summer of 1815. The payroll dated June, 1815, the last one met by the imperial administration, carried a total of 103 names. The annual budget, approximately 90,000 francs in 1804, the year in which the Chapelle Impériale had been created to supersede the two-year old Chapelle Consulaire, had mounted in proportion to the noted increase of personnel; the final sum reached in the summer of 1815 was 160,000 francs.

Compared to the practices followed by the old Monarchy, these figures represent a substantial increase. In 1790, two years prior to its final suppression, the Chapelle Royale had possessed a complement of eighty-seven musicians. It had employed the services of two superintendants to direct an orchestra of forty-four and a choir of thirty-nine. The orchestra contained 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 5 bassoons, 2 horns,

1 trumpet, 1 timpani, 16 violins, 4 violas, 3 cellos, and 6 basses, while the choir consisted of twenty-seven professional singers aided by twelve apprentices. An organist and a pianist completed the roster.[1]

With a permanent Chapelle Impériale an established reality, - the formal inauguration of the new chapel built in the Tuileries Palace took place on February 2, 1806[2] - Le Sueur devoted himself conscientiously to the leadership of its musical organization. Whether physically housed in its new permanent quarters, or temporarily located at one of the two nearby chateaus (Saint-Cloud and Fontainebleau) which the Emperor and his court were fond of frequenting, the Chapelle required a substantial body of music to satisfy its weekly and festival needs. As director, the selection of the repertory became Le Sueur's prerogative, and there is little reason to doubt that most of the music chosen for performance was of his own composition.

Those compositions provided by Le Sueur for the Chapelle Impériale have proved to be among the most perplexing of all his works, for lack of precise information has given rise to a considerable body of

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[1]Constant Pierre, Notes inédites sur la musique de la Chapelle royale, Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1899

[2]Masson, Napoléon chez lui, p.262 reports that the inauguration of the new chapel took place on December 9, 1805. Castil-Blaze, Chapelle musique des rois de France, p.171 and Grégoire, secretary of the Chapelle Impériale, in a note cited by Servières, "La Chapelle-Royale sous la Restauration," p. 104, both give the date as February 2, 1806.

incorrect speculation and assumption. Writing some fifty years ago, Georges Servières suggested a logical explanation, one which adequately accounted for this gap in knowledge, but unfortunately, his lead was never subsequently followed.[1]

Basing his conclusions upon evidence contained in a manuscript entitled, "Répertoire des messes et oratorios de Le Sueur,"[2] Servières maintained that some of the works thought to have been written by the composer following the Restoration, were, in fact, composed for the repertory of the Chapelle Impériale. The vital "Répertoire," a catalogue of Le Sueur's sacred compositions prepared by Louis Grégoire at the request of Madame Le Sueur following the death of her husband, was apparently compiled in late 1838, for the manuscript is dated January 15, 1839. In his catalogue, Grégoire, librarian of the Chapelle Impériale from its inception and secretary of the Chapelle Royale following the Restoration, listed all of the works written by Le Sueur for the two chapels. According to Servières, only a few of the listed compositions were specifically

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[1]Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 63-72.

[2]Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 63 and 68, states that the catalogue was to be found in the personal library of Charles Malherbe. My own investigation has revealed that following Malherbe's death, his extensive manuscript collection was divided for distribution: one portion was given to the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, and the other to the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique. Most of the collection is still to be found in these two libraries, but unfortunately, the Grégoire catalogue seems to have disappeared.

dated, but many of the entries included the names of participating soloists. By collating this information with the pay records and rosters of the two chapels, Servières was able to suggest approximate dates of compositions for some of these works.[1]

Servières' general conclusions remain remarkably valid, although some of his suggestions must now be regarded as both tentative and incomplete. Unfortunately, not all of the available information seems to have been at his disposal, and he was in no position to present a definitive explanation, one which would account for all of the circumstances surrounding the music written by Le Sueur for the Chapelle Impériale. He failed to realize the extent of the repertory with which he was dealing, and he was unable to perceive the true relationship that existed between the Chapelle Impériale-Chapelle Royale compositions, and the body of music presented in the subsequently published sacred works of Le Sueur. For this he can hardly be blamed; like all who have written about Le Sueur, he based several of his arguments upon a number of incorrect assumptions. Essentially, these misconceptions may be traced to three major problems.

The first centers about the absence of sources which may be offered in support of those contemporaries of Le Sueur who testify to the large body of music written by the composer for use in the Imperial chapel. Prior to 1810, at a time when the Chapelle Impériale itself had been in

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[1] Ibid., pp. 68-72.

existence for no more than five years, Choron was able to write of "some twenty musical works such as oratorios, Masses, and motets which Monsieur Le Sueur had already composed for the Chapelle Impériale, where they produce the most happy results each time they are performed."[1] Yet no musical examples from this period of Le Sueur's life appear to have survived, although similar works, compositions written by other composers for the Chapelle, have been preserved.

The second problem is directly related to that portion of Le Sueur's sacred music which was published between 1826 and 1841 in a collected edition of seventeen consecutively numbered volumes.[2] Presenting a varied cross section of the sacred repertory, these publications contain Masses, Latin oratorios, psalm settings, and motets. It has long been maintained that these works were composed for performance by the reconstituted Chapelle Royale of Louis XVIII and Charles X, and were thus written in close proximity to their dates of publication.[3] Little consideration

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[1]Choron and Fayolle, Dictionnaire historique des musiciens . . . , Vol. I, p.417. "...d'une vingtaine de pièces musicales, comme oratorios, messes, et motets, que M. Lesueur a déja composées pour la chapelle impériale, où elles produissent la plus vive sensation chaque fois qu'on les exécute."

[2]Dates of publication must be approximated, for very few of the titles pages are dated.

[3]Such is the impression given by Berlioz in all of his written references to these works. See, for example, "Rachel, Noëmi, Ruth et Booz," in Les musiciens et la musique, p. 64. Most subsequent authors have accepted the word of Berlioz and followed his lead in attributing these works

has been given the possibility that they were composed at some considerably earlier date.

The third and final problem is basically one of terminology. Writing at a time when Le Sueur was still living, F. J. Fétis, friend and colleague of the composer, mentions a total of thirty-three Masses written by Le Sueur, some for performance at the various churches he had served in his youth, but most for the repertories of the Chapelle Impériale and the Chapelle Royale.[1] Taking Fétis at his word, for he was a musician of considerable stature who was directly involved in these matters, most subsequent authors have followed his lead and repeated this assertion. A check of the seventeen published volumes, however, reveals that only three Mass settings have been preserved. Consequently, it has been generally assumed that thirty of Le Sueur's Masses, most of which have been attributed to the enigmatic repertoy of the Chapelle Impériale, have been lost.

Viewing the last of these problems first, a careful re-reading and re-thinking of Fétis' statement clarifies the issue and suggest an inter-

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to a period that post-dated the Restoration. Indeed, there was no reason to doubt the word of Berlioz for the composer has been a student of Le Sueur, an intimate of the Le Sueur household, and an eye witness to the events he described.

[1] Biographie universelle, Vol. V, p. 288.

pretation of the utmost importance. As an active participant in the specialized musical society of early-nineteenth century Paris, Fétis was a knowledgeable observer possessed of a keen and inquiring mind. When he described a composition as a "Mass," it may safely be assumed that something quite specific was intended. In the vernacular of the Chapelle Impériale, a vernacular subsequently adopted by the Chapelle Royale, all compositions destined to be performed during a liturgical service, be they complete Masses, Mass sections, oratorios, psalm settings, or motets, were uniformly referred to as "Masses," and it was unquesionably with this meaning clearly in mind that Fétis used the term.

The meaning generally associated with the word "Mass" when used in a musical sense, however, is something quite different, and anyone attempting to locate thirty-three Masses by Le Sueur would hardly be satisfied with any fewer than thirty-three settings of the Ordinary of the Mass from the hand of that composer. Indeed, such has been the case, and the so-called thirty missing Masses of Le Sueur's have been the result. As indicated above, however, the solution to this apparent enigma is extremely simple, for the entire problem resolves itself into a question of semantic misunderstanding. Once understood, the very problem ceases to exist, for Fétis' statement becomes completely comprehensible in an entirely different light, and the search for the thirty-three Masses to which he alludes may be broadened to include works other than settings of the Mass Ordinary.

Proof which positively supports this statement is contained in an extremely important manuscript discovered among the archival holdings of the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris.[1] Entitled, "Etat de la Bibliothèque de la Musique du Roi," this manuscript provides an index to both the musical and textual incipits of material contained in the library of the Chapelle Royale following the Restoration. Unfortunately, this manuscript catalogue bears no date, but evidence contained within suggests that it was originally compiled in 1817 or 1818; added material which updates the manuscript to approximately 1825 was subsequently appended.

The catalogue occupies two volumes; each is bound in red leather and embossed with the royal coat of arms belonging to Louis XVIII. The title page of Volume I reads:

Etat

de

la Bibliothèque

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du Roi

1er. Volume

[François-Charlemagne] Lefebvre,[2] Bibliothécaire rue Ste. Anne

N^{o}. 57, à Paris

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[1] Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Rés. 9191-2. This manuscript catalogue has never been mentioned; its existence has been unnoticed until now.

[2] Francois-Charlemagne Lefebvre was a composer and librarian attached to the staff of the Chapelle Royale.

This title page occupies side three of the six unnumbered sides with which the volume begins; sides one and two, as well as four and five, remain blank. Following the sixth undesignated side, 384 numbered pages are found. Volume II, similarly arranged, begins with six unnumbered sides which are followed by 403 numbered pages. Many empty leaves, undoubtedly provided for subsequent additions and intended for use as need arose, are interspersed throughout. Indeed, Volume II is virtually empty.

The table of contents which initiates Volume I occupies a total of four pages, the first of which is the final unnumbered side of the initial six while the second is designated as page one of the manuscript proper, and reads as follows:

> Musique/du Roi/1er. Volume/1^{ere}. Partie/Musique sacrée pour le/Service de la Chapelle, page 5./2de. Partie/Musique de Concerts, page 215./3^{me} Partie/Musique des Ballets/Divertissements et Quadrilles./ Service du Théâtre, page 275./
>
> 1^{ere}. Partie/Messes & Te Deum/de M^{r}. Paisiello, page 5/ de M^{r}. Le Sueur, page 45/de M^{r}. Martini, page 83/de M^{r}. Zingarelli, page 107/
>
> Requiem, Stabat, Miserere/Motets, Marches, etc., Morceaux/séparés de differents auteurs/de M^{r}. Paisiello, page 119/de M^{r}. Le Sueur, page 131/de M^{r}. Martini, page 143/de M^{r}. Zingarelli, page 155/de M^{r}. Persius, page 161/de Rameau, Page 167/
>
> de Pergolese, page 169/de Jomelli, page 179/de M^{r}. Gossec, page 185/ de M^{r}. Nadermann, page 191/de M^{r}. Cherubini, page 197 (voyez le 2^{d}. Volume)/de Durante, page 203/de Mozart, page 209/de M^{r}. Lefebvre, page 187/[1]

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[1]The table of contents is neither complete nor absolutely correct.

On the first page of the table of contents a complete but general outline of all the material included in Volume I is presented. The remainder of the table, however, contains a specific guide only to the 1ere Partie, the Musique sacrée pour le Service de la Chapelle; no detailed listing of the items included in the second and third parts is provided. Major titles, indicating the precise nature of the material catalogued in each section, are provided at periodic intervals throughout all three sections of the volume.

Those two sections in the first part of the catalogue which are headed Messes and Morceaux séparés, are of primary importance to this study. Each page of the section entitled Messes is devoted to an individual entry, an entry in which both the thematic and textual incipits to every major division (section or movement) included in a single large composition are set forth. Accordingly, it might follow that the number of pages assigned to each composer in this portion of the manuscript would indicate the number of compositions by that composer represented in the catalogue. This generalization must be applied with care, however, for the many blank pages mentioned above tend to confuse the issue. Thus, while thirty-nine pages of the catalogue are allocated to Paisiello, only twenty-eight compositions by that composer are listed. They are catalogued, one per page, on pages 5-32; pages 33-34 remain blank.

Corroboration of the fact that all works written to be performed for the service of the Chapelle were invariably referred to as Masses, is to be found in the title which is employed as a heading for each of the compositions appearing in that section of the catalogue entitled Messes. Oratorios, Mass sections, psalm settings, and motets are all quite arbitrarily grouped, and uniformly designated as Masses. The only consistent standard which seems to apply is one related to time or length. None of these works, be they compositions of Paisiello, Le Sueur, Martini, or Zingarelli, requires more than a half an hour to perform. The previously cited admonition, that statement relating to the Mass celebrated in the Chapelle taking no more than a half an hour,[1] was apparently taken quite seriously, for appended to each section of every work is a marginal notation indicating the time required for performance. The total never exceeds thirty minutes.

Under the heading Messes, thirty-eight numbered pages of the manuscript catalogue are set aside for works by Le Sueur. Twenty-nine complete compositions are catalogued on pages 45-74, while pages 75-82 remain blank. The textual incipits of the twenty-nine catalogued works are presented herewith exactly as they appear in the manuscript catalogue. Of special interest is the fact that almost all of these works were subsequently published. Although frequently rearranged and newly ordered for

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[1] "La messe durait à peine une demi-heure ...."

publication, the music was almost invariably presented in identical or near identical form. These relationships are indicated in the Note which follows each section.

1ere Messe

(Cantate religieuse pendant la Messe)

1. Coro, air, rondo

"Tollite: hostias:" chorus

"O Domine vestigia:" soprano

"Stare fecit cantores:" soprano

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Chorus, introduction, and air (rondo), "Tollite hostias" - " O Domine vestigia" - "Stare fecit cantores," Cantate religieuse, volume 13.

2. Air

"Vidi dicit prophetas:" bass

Note: no corresponding publication located

3. Strophes en choeur, majeur

"In perita sua:" soprano, tenor, chorus

"Sibilabit dominus:" soprano, tenor, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical musical form but with several textual changes, as 2. Combined strophic chorus, "In perita sua," Cantate religieuse, volume 13; previously published and used, with a completely different text and in a slightly altered form, as the Revolutionary composition, Chant dithyrambique pour l' entrée triomphale des objets de science et d' art recueillis en Italie.

4. Récitatif et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" solo basses, chorus

Note: subsequently used, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 5. Choeur, "Veneremur adoremus," 27e. Messe, Oratorio A du Sacre; subsequently published, in this latter version, as 6. Sixième scène, Solo with chorus, "Veneremur adoremus," Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 9.

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2e. Messe

(Kirie, Gloria et Credo, Messe)

1. Choeur

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison," Messe basse ou motet, volume 15.

2. Duo, duo [et choeur]

"Gloria in excelsis Deo:" soprano, tenor

"Laudamus te:" soprano, tenor

"Qui sedes ad dexteram:" soprano, tenor, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Gloria: Duo, "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and 3. Gloria (Cont.): Duo with chorus, "Qui sedes ad dexteram," Première messe solennelle, volume 1.

3. Air, coro

"Credo in unum Deum:" bass

"Et ex patre natum:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 4. Credo: Solo

with chorus and choruses, "Credo in unum Deum" - "Genitum non factum" etc., Première messe solennelle, volume 1.

4. Air et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" solo basses, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; subsequently used, in identical musical form, but with an amplified text, as 4. Récitatif de basse et choeur, "In virtute tua" - "Domine salvum fac," 27e. Messe, Oratorio A du Sacre; subsequently published, in this latter version, as 5. Cinquième scène: Solo and chorus, "In virtute tua" - "Domine salvum fac," Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 9.

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3e. Messe

(Motet pendant la Messe)

1. Coro, majore

"Deus judicium tuum:" chorus

"Psallite:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Introduction (chorus) and chorus, "Deus judicium tuum Regi" - "Psallite Regi nostro," Veni sponsa mansueta, veni coronaberis, volume 13; previously employed, in a considerably simplified form, as 7. Air and chorus, "Et l'avare Albion," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX.

2. Récitatif, air avec harpe - Elevation - [et choeur]

"Dixi:" bass, chorus

"O salutaris hostia:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Introduction (solo-chorus) and air with chorus, "Dixi ecce venio, laudate

adorate" - "O salutaris hostia," Veni sponsa mansueta, veni coronaberis, volume 13; serves also as 15e. Morceau séparé.

3. Air et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

Note: no corresponding publication; previously used, in a somewhat modified form, as 8. Double duo with chorus, "O liberté! Que la paix équitable," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiarire an IX; this air for tenor and chorus, in 4/4 time, is 163 measures long. Begun by the solo tenor in G minor, the chorus enters at measure 102 in G major. Statements by the chorus and soloist alternate with one another during the final 51 measures, and the work concludes in G major.

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4e. Messe

(Kirie et Gloria, Messe)

1. Complainte en choeur in modo antiquo

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison," Deuxième messe solennelle, volume 5.

2. Soli et choeur, air et choeur

"Gloria in excelsis Deo:" soprano I, soprano II

"Et in terra pax:" bass, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Gloria: Introduction (duo), air with chorus, and choruses (3), "Gloria in excelsis Deo" - "Et in terra pax" etc., Deuxième messe solennelle, volume 5.

3. Récitatif

"In die illa voces populorum:" soprano

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located; this short recitative, in 4/4 time, is 20 measures long, and serves as a transition between the preceding "Gloria," and the concluding "Domine salvum fac."

4. Air avec cor et harpe [et choeur]

"Domine salvum fac:" soprano

"Gloria, gloria imperatori:" soprano, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located; the "Domine salvum fac," in 4/4 time, is an air for soprano in E major, 129 measures long; the concluding "Gloria, gloria imperatori," an air with chorus in 4/4 time, for solo soprano and chorus in E major, is 82 measures long.

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5.e Messe

(Prières pendant la Messe)

1. Contrepoint, coro

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison," Troisième messe solennelle, volume 12.

2. Récitatif

"Gloria in excelsis Deo:" soprano

"Laudamus te:" soprano

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located.

3. Récitatif, air

"In memoria eterna:" soprano

"Paratum cor ejus:" soprano

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Recitative and air, "In memoria eterna" - "Paratum cor ejus," Cantate religieuse, volume 13.

4. Air [et choeur]

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

Note: corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence is musically identical, but employs an amplified and rearranged text: "O salutaris hostia"; subsequently published, in identical musical form, but with the amplified and rearranged text, as 2. Air with chorus (3 sections), "O salutaris hostia" - "Gloria Patri" - "O salutaris hostia," Caeli enarrant, volume 14.

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6e. Messe

(Kirie et Credo, Messe)

1. Soli et choeur

"Kyrie eleison:" soprano I, soprano II, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical musical form but with a completely new text, as 8. Agnus Dei: Duo with chorus, "Agnus Dei," Troisième messe solennelle, volume 12.

2. Air, duo et choeur, trio, et quatuor [choeur]

"Credo in unum Deum:" bass

"Deum de Deo:" soprano, bass, chorus

"Et resurrexit:" trio, quartet (chorus)

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Credo: Air, "Credo in unum Deum," and 4. Credo (Cont.): Duo with chorus, duo, quartet, and chorus, "Deum de Deo" - "Et resurrexit" etc., Deuxième messe solennelle, volume 5.

3. Récitatif

"Qui jurat in terra:" bass

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located.

4. Duo, choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" soprano, bass

"Sicut erat in principio:" chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located for the duo, "Domine salvum fac"; this work, in 3/4 time, is written in C major, and is 72 measures long; the chorus, "Sicut erat in principio," was subsequently published, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 8. Agnus Dei: Chorus, "Agnus Dei," Première messe solennelle, volume 1.

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7.e Messe

(Scène religieuse à grands choeurs pendant la Messe)

1. Coro

"Venite introite:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical forms, as 5. Offertory: Chorus, "Venite introite," Deuxième messe solennelle, volume 5.

2. Récitatif, air et choeur

"Confiteor tibi Domine:" soprano

"In media nocte:" tenor, chorus

Note: no corresponding publication located for the introductory recitative, "Confiteor tibi Domine"; this short soprano recitative, in 4/4 time, is written in C major, and is 12 measures long. "In media nocte" was subsequently published, in identical form, as 6. Offertory: Air with chorus, "In media nocte," Troisième messe solennelle, volume 12.

3. Air et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; subsequently published, in identical form, as Air with chorus, "Domine salvum fac," [II], Recueil de morceaux sacrés, volume 17.

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8e. Messe

(Credo et Mottet, Messe)

1. Recitative, air

"Offerte Domino:" soprano

"Cantate, cantate:" soprano

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located. The introductory recitative, "Offerte Domino," in 4/4 time, is written in A major, and contains 16 measures. The air which follows, "Cantate, cantate Domino gloriam et honorem," in 3/2 time, is written in A minor, and contains 45 measures.

2. Soli et choeurs

"Credo in unum Deum:" chorus

"Patrem omnipotentem:" soprano, tenor, bass, chorus

"O salutaris hostia:" tenor, chorus

"Domine salvum fac:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Credo: Chorus and soli with choruses, "Credo in unum Deum" - "Patrem omnipotentem," and 3. Credo (Cont.): Solo with chorus and chorus, "Credo in unam sanctam catholicam" - "Justia ejus orietur," Messe basse ou motet, volume 15.

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9e. Messe

(Kirie, Credo et Mottet)

1. Coro

"Kyrie eleison:" soprano I, soprano II

Note: no corresponding publication located; the introductory duo, or chorus in duo, "Kyrie eleison," in 4/4 time, is written in G minor, and is 11 measures long.

2. Soli et choeur

"Credo in unum Deum:" chorus

"Et in unum Dominum:" tenor

"Qui propter nos homines:" soprano

"Crucifixus:" sextet

"Et resurrexit:" soprano, bass

"Cujus regni:" soli and chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 4. Credo: Chorus, airs (2), and sextet, "Credo in unum Deum" - "Et in unum Dominum" etc., and 5. Credo (Cont.): Duo, and sextet with chorus, "Et resurrexit" - "Cujus regni," Troisième messe solennelle, volume 12.

3. Air, Coriphée et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" soprano

"Laudent nomen ejus:" soprano, chorus

Note: the corresponding movement, in the parallel manuscript from Florence, is an air, "O salutaris," in E-flat major. The air, "Domine salvum fac," was subsequently published, in identical form, as 4. Domine salvum: Air, "Domine salvum fac," Messe basse ou motet, volume 15. No corresponding publication has been located for the concluding solo with chorus, "Laudent nomen ejus." This work, for soprano solo with chorus in 4/4 time, is written in G major, and is 93 measures long.

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10e. Messe

(Mottet à grand choeur pendant la Messe)

1. Coriphées et choeur

"Caeli enarrant:" soprano, tenor, bass, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1, Trio with chorus, and solo with chorus (2 sections), "Caeli enarrant" - "Et super salutare" - "Exaltare Domine," Caeli enarrant, volume 14.

2. Sextuor

"O salutaris hostia:" sextet

"Benedictus qui venit:" sextet

Note: subsequently published, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 8. Agnus Dei: Chorus, "Agnus De," Deuxième messe solennelle, volume 5.

3. Récitatif et choeur

"Mille homines:" tenor, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located.

4. Air et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

Note; no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; subsequently published, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 7. O Salutaris: Air with chorus, "O salutaris hostia," Deuxième messe solennelle, volume 5; serves also as 17e Morceau séparé, with text, "Domine salvum fac," and as 18e Morceau séparé, with text, "O salutaris hostia."

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11e Messe

(Kirie et Gloria, Messe)

1. Choeur

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison," Première messe solennelle, volume 1; serves also as 23e Morceau séparé.

2. Soli et choeur

"Gloria in excelsis Deo:" chorus

"Gratias agimus:" tenor, chorus

"Qui tollis peccata mundi:" chorus

"Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris:" tenor I, tenor II, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in slightly altered form, as 2. Gloria: Chorus, "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and 3. Gloria (Cont.); Air with chorus, chorus, and duo with chorus, "Gratias agimus" - "Qui tollis peccata mundi," - "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris," Troisième messe solennelle, volume 12. The minor changes occur principally in the section, "Gratias agimus."

3. Air, Coriphées et choeur
(Clarinet et basson obligés)

"Domine salvum fac:" soprano

"Gloria Patri:" solo basses, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence. There has been no publication located which corresponds to the air, "Domine salvum fac Regem." This air, for soprano solo in 3/4 time, is written in B-flat major, and is 112 measures long. The solo with chorus, "Gloria Patri," was subsequently employed, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as the section, "Ter Sancte Deus," from 2. Choeur, récitatifs de basse et dessus, "Ter Sancte Deus" - "Exultate omnes populi," 28e Messe, Oratorio B du Sacre; subsequently published, in this latter version, as 2. Deuxième scène: Solo with chorus, "Ter Sancte Deus," Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 10.

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12e. Messe

(Pseaume à grand choeur pendant la Messe)

1. Coro, duo et choeur

"Ad templum Domini:" chorus

"Credidi, propter quod locutus suum:" soprano, tenor, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Introduction (chorus), duo, and duo with chorus, "Ad templum Domini" - "Credidi, propter quod locutus suum," - "Quid retribuam Domino," Ad templum Domini, volume 14.

2. Coriphée et choeur
(Hautbois et basson obligés)

"O salutaris hostia:" soprano

"Benedictus qui venit:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Air and solo with chorus, "O salutaris hostia" - "Benedictus qui venit," Ad templum Domini, volume 14.

3. Récitatif

"Exurge magna civitas:" bass

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located.

4. Air

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; subsequently used, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as "Quomodo sedet sola," the Moderato section of 1. Choeur, "Threni id est lamentationes," 26e. Messe; subsequently published, in this latter version, as 1. Introduction (chorus) and soli with chorus (3), "Threni

id est lamentationes" - "Quomodo sedet sola" etc., Premier oratorio de la Passion, volume 4.

13e Messe

(Te Deum)

1. Choeur

"Ecce super montes:" tenor, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located. This work, for solo tenor and chorus, alternating between 4/4 and 3/2 time, is written in B-flat major, and is 43 measures long.

2. Trio, Coro

"Te Deum laudamus:" soprano, tenor, bass

"Tu devicto mortis aculeo:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Trio and chorus, "Te Deum laudamus" - "Tu devicto mortis aculeo," Troisième Te Deum, volume 3; previously employed, with a completely different text and in a slightly shorter but basically similar form, as 3. Trio and double chorus, "Tu renais parmi nous," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er Vendémiaire an IX.

3. Air

"Te ergo quaesumus:" tenor

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Air, "Te ergo quaesumus," Troisième Te Deum, volume 3.

4. Coro

"Patrem immensae majestatis:" chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Chorus, "Patrem immensae majestatis," Troisième Te Deum, volume 3.

5. Coro

"Fiat misericordia:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as Final: Chorus, "Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos," used in both the Première Te Deum and the Troisième Te Deum, volume 3; previously employed, in a somewhat different form, as the concluding quadruple chorus, "Nous le jurons; nous donnerons la paix," 11. Solo recitatives and quadruple chorus, "O Dieu, j'entends gémir" - "Nous le jurons; nous donnerons la paix," of the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX.

6. Récitatif, Air et choeur

"Ecce diei veniunt:" tenor

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located. The air with chorus, "Domine salvum fac," in 4/4 time, is written in G major and is 157 measures long.

14e Messe, Première messe temporaire

(Cantate Religieuse pour la Carême)

1. Coro, Récitatif et choeur

"Introibo in dominum tuam:" soprano, chorus

"Exaltabote te Domine:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Combined strophic chorus and air, "Introibo in dominum tuam," - "Secundum misericordiam," Troisième oratorio de la Passion, volume 6.

2. Récitatif

"Homo fortis insulis:" soprano, bass

"Leva in circuitu oculos:" soprano, bass

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located. The recitative, "Homo fortis insulis," for soprano and bass, alternating between 4/4 and 3/4 time, is written in C major, and is 39 measures long. The text is derived from Isaiah: 59-60.

3. Coro in fuga

"Domine salvum fac:" chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; subsequently used, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 1. Choeur, "Kyrie eleison," 24e Messe, Messe de Noel; subsequently published in this latter version as 1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison," Oratorio de Noel, volume 16.

15e Messe, Deuxième messe temporaire

(Messe, à grands choeurs en Litanies)

1. Sectuor et choeur

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Chorus, "Kyrie eleison," Deuxième oratorio de la Passion, volume 4.

2. Air et choeur

"Ab ira tua:" soprano

["Miserere nobis:"] chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Air and Choral conclusion, "Ab ira tua" - "Miserere nobis," Deuxième oratorio de la Passion, volume 4.

3. Continuation du sextuor

"Lux vera, lux eterna:" soprano, tenor, bass, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Trio with chorus, "Lux vera, lux eterna," Deuxième oratorio de la Passion, volume 4.

4. Récitatif et choeur

"Domine eduxisti:" soprano, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; no corresponding publication located; the recitative and chorus, "Domine eduxisti," for soprano and chorus in 4/4 time, is written in C major, and is 63 measures long.

5. Air et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence. Subsequently published, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 7. Sixième scène: Chorus, "Peregrinus veniens," Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 11.

16e Messe

(Messe avant la Chasse, Kirie et Motet)

1. Choeur

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

Note: no corresponding publication located; the chorus, "Kyrie eleison," in 6/8 time, is written in C major, and is 157 measures long.

2. Air

"Laudate pueri, laudate Dominum:" soprano

Note: no corresponding publication located; the air, "Laudate pueri, laudate Dominum," in 3/4 time, is written in A major, and is 172 measures long.

3. Choeur

"O salutaris hostia:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as Chorus "O salutaris hostia," Recueil de morceaux sacrés, volume 17; serves also as 21e Morceau séparé.

4. Trio et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" soprano, tenor, bass, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 2. Trio with chorus, "In virtute tua," Troisième oratorio de la Passion, volume 6. The corresponding movement found in the parallel manuscript from Florence utilizes the text, "In virtute tua."

17e Messe, Rachel

(Messe, Rachel)

1. [Air et] Choeur

"Vox in excelso audita est:" tenor, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Air with chorus, "Vox in excelso" - "Quiescat in vox tua," Rachel, volume 7.

2. Air et choeur

"Circumspice ad orientur:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Air with chorus, "Circumspice ad orientur," Rachel, volume 7.

3. Air [et choeur]

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 7. O Salutaris: Air with chorus, "O salutaris hostia," Première messe solennelle, volume 1. The corresponding movement found in the parallel manuscript from Florence utilizes the text, "O salutaris."

18e Messe, Deuxième Te Deum Breve

(Messe en Te Deum)

1. Choeur

"Te Deum laudamus:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Chorus (Introduction-fugue), "Te Deum laudamus," Première Te Deum, volume 3.

2. Air et Choeur

"Te gloriosus:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Air with chorus, "Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus," Première Te Deum, volume 3.

3. Reprise du premier choeur

"Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim:" chorus

Note: a reprise of a portion of the opening chorus is used as the concluding movement.

19e Messe, Rutto et Booz (Première Partie)

(Messe, Noemi)

1. Choeur

"Noemi egressa es:" soli, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Première scène (part 1): Scene (soli-chorus), "Noemi egressa es," Ruth et Noemi, volume 8.

2. Air et choeur

"Ne vocetis me Noemi:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Première scène (part 2): Air, "Ne vocetis me Noemi," 3. Deuxième scène: Chorus, "Ah Noemi! non vidit nostras angustias," and the beginning of 4. Final, Ruth et Noemi, volume 8.

3. Air et choeur

"Ne adverseris mihi et relinquiam te:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as the conclusion of 4. Final: Troisième scène et Quatrième scène: Scene (soli), and air with chorus. "Orpha osculta est socrum" - "Quocumque enim perrexeris," Ruth et Noemi, volume 8.

4. Duo et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" duo, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence. Subsequently used, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 1. Choeur, "Domine emitte," 28e Messe, Oratorio B du Sacre; subsequently published, in this latter version, as 1. Première scène: Double chorus, "Domine emitte," Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 10.

20e Messe, Rutto et Booz (Deuxième Partie)

(Messe, Ruth et Booz)

1. Choeur

"Venit Noemi cum Ruth moabitide:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Première scène: Chorus, "Venit Noemi cum Ruth," Ruth et Booz, volume 8.

2. Air

"Noemi, Noemi te consolare:" soprano

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Deuxième scène: Air,"Noemi, Noemi te consolare," and the beginning of 3. Troisième scène: Scene (soli-chorus), air, and chorus, "Cum vobis dominus," Ruth et Booz, volume 8.

3. Air et choeur

"Audi, filia:" [ne vadas in alterum:] tenor

"Etiam si sitieris:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as the concluding two sections of 3. Troisième scène: scene (soli-chorus), air and chorus, "Audi, filia: ne vadas in alterum" - "Etiam si sitieris," and the beginning of 4. Quatrième scène: Recitative, and air with chorus, "Unde mihi hoc," Ruth et Booz, volume 8.

4. Air et choeur

"Domine, inveni gratiam:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as the concluding section of 4. Quatrième scène: Recitative, and air with chorus, "Domine, inveni gratiam," and 5. Cinquième scène, Marche pastorale, Ruth et Booz, volume 8.

5. Choeur

"Tulit Booz, Ruth accepit uxorem:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 6. Sixième scène: Chorus, "Tulit Booz," Ruth et Booz, volume 8.

6. Air et choeur

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Flor-

ence. Subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Air with chorus, "Domine salvum fac," Joannes in deserto baptizat, volume 15.

21e Messe

(Motet en trois parties pendant la Messe)

1. Choeur

"Super flumina Babylonis:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Chorus, "Super flumina Babylonis," Super flumina Babylonis, volume 6; previously used, in identical form, as the opening chorus section of 1. Chorus and air, "Super flumina Babylonis" - "In salicibus," Super flumina Babylonis, manuscript, 1784.

2. Récitatif, duo, air

"Quia illic interrogaverunt:" bass

"Quomodo cantabimus:" soprano I, soprano II

"Si oblitus fuero tui:" soprano

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Introduction (recitative-duo), and air, "Quia illic interrogaverunt" - "Quomodo cantabimus" - "Si oblitus fuero tui," Super flumina Babylonis, volume 6; previously used, in a considerably different form, as 2. Introduction (recitative-duo) and duo, "Quia illic interrogaverunt" - "Quomodo cantabimus" - "Si oblitus fuero tui" Super flumina Babylonis, manuscript, 1784.

3. Choeur

"Quomodo cantabimus:" chorus

"Juxta fluvium:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Introduction

(chorus) and chorus, "Quomodo cantabimus" - "Juxta fluvium," Super flumina Babylonis, volume 6; the chorus, "Juxta fluvium" was previously used, in identical form, as the chorus, "Beatus qui retribuet," the concluding chorus of 3. Air and chorus, "Menor esto" - "Beatus qui retribuet," Super flumina Babylonis, manuscript, 1784. In addition, this chorus, in identical form, was previously used as 9. Double chorus, "Condamnés par l'Anglais," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er Vendémiaire an IX.

4. Choeur

"Quis enarrabit:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 5. Offertory: Chorus, "Quis enarrabit," Première messe solennelle, volume 1; serves also as 22e Morceau séparé.

22e Messe, Debbora

(Messe, Debbora)

1. Choeur

"Canticum Debborae:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Chorus, "Canticum Debbora cantemus," Debbora, volume 2.

2. Air et choeur

"Dux descendit de monte Thabor:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Air with chorus, "Dux descendit de monte Thabor," Debbora, volume 2.

3. Choeur

"Ante [pedes] nostros Jacebat sisara:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as the introductory

chorus of 3. Introduction (chorus), trio with chorus and chorus, "Ante pedes nostros," Debbora, volume 2.

4. Trio-double et choeur

"Sic pereant inimici tui, Domini:" soli, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as the trio with chorus and chorus of 3. Introduction (chorus), trio with chorus and chorus, "Ante pedes nostros" - "Sic pereant inimici" - "Suffocatus exercitus eorum," Debbora, volume 2.

5. Air et choeur

"Surge Debbora, frequenta canticum:" tenor, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 4. Air with chorus, "Surge Debbora, frequenta canticum," Debbora, volume 2.

6. Quatuor et choeur

"Surge Israel:" soli, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 5. Finale: Quartet, and quartet with chorus, "Surge Israel, surge illuminare" - "Super te orta est," Debbora, volume 2.

7. Air et choeur, enchaîné avec un Domine de S.M.

"Uxor tua sicut vites abundans:" bass, chorus

Note: subsequently published as 1ere partie du final, 1er morceau: Air with chorus, "Uxor tua sicut vites abundans," Rachel, volume 7.

23e Messe, Te Deum

(Messe, Te Deum)

1. Choeur

"Te Deum laudamus:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Double chorus, "Te Deum laudamus," Deuxième Te Deum, volume 3.

2. Air

"Per singulos dies benedicimus:" soprano

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Air "Per singulos dies," Deuxième Te Deum, volume 3.

3. Choeur, fugue

"Fiat misericordia tua:" chorus

"In te Domine speravi, non:" chorus

["Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum:" chorus]

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Chorus (Introduction, fugue, and Vivat), "Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos" - "In te Domine speravi" - "Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum," Deuxième Te Deum, volume 3; previously used, in a substantially different form, as the opening section of the Revolutionary composition, Chant national pour l'anniversaire du 21 janvier; serves also - "Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum" only - as 9e Morceau séparé.

24e Messe, Messe de Noël

(Messe propre aux fêtes de Noël)[1]

1. Choeur

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison," Oratorio de Noël, volume 16; previously used, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 3. Coro in fuga, "Domine salvum fac," 14e Messe, Première messe temporaire.

2. Recitativo, choeur, choeur d'Anges

"Pastores erant vigilantes:" soprano

"Claritas Dei circumfulsit:" chorus

"Gloria in excelsis Deo:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Scène religieuse de nuit et Gloria: Recitative, chorus and postlude, chorus and interlude, "Pastores erant vigilantes" - "Claritas Dei circumfulsit" - "Gloria in excelsis Deo," Oratorio de Noël, volume 16.

3. Récitatif, choeur dialogué

"Nolite timere quia natus est:" soprano

"Laudamus te:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published in identical form, as 3. Recitative,

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[1]Note that the numbering of the Florence manuscripts, with respect to Masses 24 and 25 only, is the reverse of the numbering followed in the thematic catalogue, "Etat de la Bibliothèque de la Musique du Roi," Vol. I, pp. 68-70.

Morceau d'ensemble: air with chorus, "Nolite timere; quia natus est" - "Laudamus te," Oratorio de Noël volume 16.

4. Duo, récitatif, choeur

"Gratias agimus tibi:" soprano, I, soprano II

"Domine Deus, Rex caelestis:" soprano I, soprano II

"Laudamus te:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 4. Duo, recitative, and chorus, "Gratias agimus tibi" - "Domine Deus, Rex caelestis" - "Laudamus te," Oratorio de Noël, volume 16.

5. Choeur bergerie

"Domine Deus, Agnus Dei:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 5. Morceau d'ensemble: chorus, "Domine Deus, Agnus Dei," Oratorio de Noël, volume 16.

6. Recitativo, air et le choeur

"Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris:" soprano

"Quoniam tu solus sanctus:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 6. Recitative and air with chorus, "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris" -"Quoniam tu solus sanctus," Oratorio de Noël, volume 16.

7. Choeur, solo et choeur

"Jam desinant suspira:" chorus

"Qui natus es de virgine:" soprano, tenor, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 7. Hymne pastorale: Strophic chorus, "Jam desinant suspira," Oratorio de Noël, volume 16.

8. Domine: air et le choeur

"Dies super, Dies imperatoris:" tenor, chorus

["Domine salvum fac:"] soprano, tenor, chorus

Note: no corresponding movement in parallel manuscript from Florence; subsequently published, in identical form, as Introduction and rondo, "Dies super, Dies imperatoris" - "Domine salvum fac" [I], Recueil de morceaux sacrés, volume 17.

25e Messe, Epithalame Religieuse

(Messe)[1]

1. Choeurs

"Beatus qui legit et audit:" chorus

"Fons hortorum fluant delibano:" chorus

"Juravit dominus:" chorus

"Haec est Dies:" chorus

"Sicut locutus est per prophetas:" chorus

Note: no corresponding publication located.

2. Choeurs avec harpes

"Angelus venit habens tharibulum:" chorus

"Vivat rex, vivat rex;" chorus

Note: no corresponding publication found.

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[1]Note that the numbering followed by the Florence manuscripts, with respect to the 24e Messe and the 25e Messe only, is the reverse of that found in the thematic catalogue, "Etat de la Bibliothèque de la Musique du Roi," Vol. I, pp. 68-70.

26e. Messe

(Messe, Cantate funèbre à grands choeurs)

1. Choeur, [soli et choeur]

"Threni id est lamentationes:" chorus

["Quomodo sedet sola:"] soprano, chorus

["Sibilaverunt fremuerunt:"] soprano, chorus

["Expandit Sion manus suas:"] soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Introduction (chorus) and soli with chorus (3), "Threni id est lamentationes" - "Quomodo sedet sola," etc., Premier oratorio de la Passion, volume 4; the section, "Quomodo sedet sola," was previously used, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 4. Air, "Domine salvum fac," 12e. Messe.

2. Duo de tenore et basse

"O spes salutis omnium:" tenor, bass

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Duo (2 sections), "O spes salutis omnium" - "Te summa Deus trinitas," Premier oratorio de la Passion, volume 4.

3. Quatuor pour tous les 1ers et 2ds dessus et pour deux basses, suivi du choeur

["Insons cruentae filius:"] chorus

"Plange tristi carmine:" soprano I, soprano II, bass I, bass II

["Patri sit gloria:"] chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Introduction (chorus), quartet with chorus, and chorus, "Insons cruentae filius" - "Plange tristi carmine" - "Patri sit gloria," Premier oratorio de la Passion, volume 4.

27e. Messe, Oratorio A du Sacre[1]

1. Choeur

"Deus, Deus qui populo tuo:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Deuxième scène: Chorus, "Deus, Deus qui populo tuo," Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 9.

2. Choeur

"Supplices te rogamus:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Troisième scène: Chorus, "Supplices te rogamus," Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 9.

3. Choeur

"Omnipotentem Sancte Remigi:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 4. Quatrième scène: Duo with chorus, "Omnipotentem Sancte Remigi," Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 9.

4. Récitatif de basse et choeur

"In virtute tua:" bass, chorus

["Domine salvum fac:"] chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 5. Cinquième scène: Solo and chorus, "In virtute tua" - "Domine salvum fac," Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 9; previously used, in identical musical form but with a modified text, as 4. Air et choeur, "Domine salvum fac," 2e. Messe.

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[1]There is no composition, in the collection of manuscript scores found in Florence, which corresponds to this work, the 28e. Messe, or the 29e. Messe.

5. Choeur

"Veneremur adoremus:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 6. Sixième scène: Solo with chorus, "Veneremur adoremus," Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 9; previously used, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 4. Récitatif et choeur, "Domine salvum fac," 1ere. Messe.

6. Choeur

"Urbs beata genovefae:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 7. Septième scène: Chorus, "Urbs beata genovefae," Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 9.

28e. Messe, Oratorio B du Sacre

1. Choeur

"Domine emitte:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Première scène: Double chorus, "Domine emitte," Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 10; previously used, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 4. Duo et choeur, "Domine salvum fac," 19e. Messe, Rutto et Booz (Première Partie).

2. Choeur, récitatifs de Basse et dessus

"Ter Sancte Deus:" bass, chorus

"Exultate omnes populi:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Deuxième scène: Solo with chorus, "Ter Sancte Deus," Deuxième

oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 10; previously used, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as the section, "Gloria Patri," from 3. Air, Coriphées et choeur, "Domine salvum fac" - "Gloria Patri," 11e Messe.

3. Choeur

"Beatus qui legit:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Troisième scène: Chorus, "Beatus qui legit," Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 10.

4. Duo en choeur: 20 dessus 10 basses avec choeur

"Suscepit Israel:" sopranos, basses, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as Quatrième scène: Duo with chorus (3 sections), "Suscepit Israel" - "Sicut locutus est" - "Suscepit Israel," Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 10.

5. Choeurs entremelés de récitatifs en choeur

"Christe qui sedes Olympo:" soli, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 5. Cinquième scène: Scene (chorus-solo), "Christe qui sedes Olympo," and the first two sections of 6. Sixième scène: Chorus, scene (solo-chorus), and duo with chorus, "Domine Deus, Gratias agimus tibi" - "Omnipotens sempiterne" - "In hoc festo," Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 10.

6. Choeur

"In hoc festo:" soli, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as the concluding section of 6. Sixième scène: Chorus, scene (solo chorus),

and duo with chorus, "Domine Deus, Gratias agimus tibi" - "Omnipotens sempiterne" - "In hoc festo," Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 10.

29e Messe, Oratorio C du Sacre

1. Choeur

"David parvulus:" soprano, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Première scène: Solo with chorus, "David parvulus," Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 11.

2. Duo: Dessus et tenore et choeur

"Inveni David:" soprano, tenor, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Duexième scène: Duo with chorus, "Inveni David," Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 11.

3. Duo: Tenore et basse et choeur

"Confortare et esto vir:" tenor, bass, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 3. Troisième scène: Air with chorus, "Confortare et esto vir," Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 11.

4. Choeur

"Ora pro nobis, Sancte Remigi:" chorus

"Genitum francorum:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 4. Quatrième scène: (part 1): Double chorus, "Ora pro nobis, Sancte

Remigi - Gentem francorum," Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 11; previously used, with a completely different text but in virtually identical musical form, as the opening chorus 1. Quadruple chorus, "Jour glorieux, jour de mémoire," of the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er Vendémiaire an IX.

5. Choeur

"Laudent dominum:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 5. Quatrième scène (part 2): Duo with chorus, "Laudent dominum," Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 11.

In the next section of the manuscript catalogue, under the heading Morceaux séparés de Le Sueur, pages 131-142 are assigned to the composer. Twenty-nine short compositions, each a complete and independent work, are catalogued on pages 131-138, while pages 139-142 remain blank. In a general way, these Morceaux séparés may be broadly divided into two categories. Included in the first would be all of those compositions which were never published; a number of these survive in manuscript scores, parts, or both, while some are known to have existed only because they are cited in this catalogue. The second category would include those compositions which were subsequently published in the seventeen-volume collected edition of Le Sueur's sacred music. Several of these have already been noted above, for in addition to their indepen-

dent existence, they also serve as movements of longer compositions already included in the catalogue under the heading Messes.

A brief survey of these twenty-nine works yields the following information: under category one, some manuscript material relating to numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, and 19 survives;[1] numbers 5, 10, 12, 14, 26, and 27 are known only because they are cited in the catalogue. In the second category, published scores are available for numbers 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, and 29. Pertinent information concerning these relationships is included in the Note that follows many of the entries.

1ere Morceau séparé

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes[2]

soloists: none

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor, bass

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass, basso continuo

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[1]Surviving manuscript sources are cited in Appendix 1.

[2]A note on the title page of the preserved manuscript score reads: "Laudate Dominum/pour le 14 Octobre 1807/à Fontainebleau/in modo antiquo ed à capella/avec orgue./"

Chorus
(28 measures)

"Laudate Dominum omnes gentes:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass, basso continuo

[Moderato]
(C major, 3/2)

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes. Laudate eum omnes populi. Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus. Et veritas Domini manet in aeternum.

2.e Morceau séparé

Benediction: Sit nomen Domini[1]

soloists: celebrant

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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[1]Only the choral and orchestral portions of this responsorial benediction are notated on the preserved manuscript score. The sections to be sung by the celebrant in Chant are simply indicated by an appropriate notation. The title page reads: "Pour la cérémonie du jour de la fête de L'Empereur."

Solo with chorus
(27 measures)

[Solo]

"Sit nomen Domini:" celebrant

unaccompanied

[Chant]

Sit nomen Domini Benedictum.

1ere Strophe

"Ex hoc nunc et usque:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

[Moderato]
(C major, 3/2, 9 measures)

Ex hoc nunc et usque in Saeculum.

[Solo]

"Adjutorium nostrum:" celebrant

unaccompanied

[Chant]

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

2e Strophe

"Qui fecit caelum:" chorus

[Moderato]
(C major, 3/2, 9 measures)

Qui fecit caelum et terram.

[Solo]

"Benedicat vos omnipotens:" celebrant

unaccompanied

[Chant]

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, pater et filius et Spiritus Sanctus.

3.e Strophe

"Amen:" chorus

[Moderato]
(C major, 3/2, 9 measures)

Amen.

3.e Morceau séparé

Benedicamus patrem[1]

soloists: celebrant

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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[1]Only the choral and orchestral portions of the responsory, "Laudamus et super exaltemus," are notated on the preserved manuscript score. The verset, "Benedicamus patrem et filium," performed in Chant by the celebrant, is referred to in the following note found at the head of the first system: "Après le Te Deum/le Cardinal dira le verset/suivant:/Benedicamus patrem/et filium cum/Sancto Spiritu/à quoi la musique/répond le choeur suivant/"

Solo with chorus
(15 measures)

[Solo]

"Benedicamus patrem et filium:" celebrant

unaccompanied

[Chant]

Benedicamus patrem et filium cum Sancto Spiritu.

[Chorus]

"Laudamus et super exaltemus:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Largo avec beaucoup de mouvement
(C major, 4/2, 15 measures)

Laudamus et super exaltemus eum in saecula.

4.e Morceau séparé

Tantum ergo Sacramentum[1]

soloists: none

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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[1]The citation in the thematic catalogue reads: "Tantum ergo/ Choeur hymnique en chant plein./" The chorus, consisting of two musically identical strophes, each of which is 26 measures long, is performed

Chorus
(52 measures)

"Tantum ergo Sacramentum:" chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante bien marqué
(C major, 2)

1ere Strophe

Tantum ergo Sacramentum . . .

2e Strophe

Genitori genito que . . .

5e Morceau séparé

Veni creator spiritus

Chorus

"Veni creator spiritus:" chorus
(C major, 3/2)

"Haec dies quam fecit dominus:" chorus
(C major, 2)

"Confitemini domino quoniam:" chorus
(C major, 6/8)

Note: The citation which appears in the thematic catalogue is the sole surviving reference to this composition

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immediately prior to the benediction of the St. Sacrement. The following explanatory note is found on the title page of the preserved score: "Après le cantus fermus, en fanfare, et les oraisons du Célébrant,/la Musique chante le Tantum ergo, qui précède/le bénédiction du St. Sacrement./"

6.e Morceau séparé

O filii et filiae

Introduction, strophes, chorus

"O filii et filiae:" soprano, alto, tenor, bass, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in virtually identical form, as Introduction, strophes, chorus, "Alleluia" - "O filii et filiae" - "In hoc festo sanctissimo," Recueil de morceaux sacrés, volume 17. The manuscript parts which survive, clearly show that the introductory "Alleluia" was not included in the original composition. It must have been added shortly after the work was composed, for it is incorporated as a pasted over addition in every one of the manuscript parts.

7.e Morceau séparé

Joannes in deserto baptizat

Duo with chorus

"Joannes in deserto baptizat:" soprano I, soprano II, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Duo with chorus, "Joannes in deserto baptizat," Joannes in deserto baptizat, volume 15.

8.e Morceau séparé

Domine salvum fac[1]

soloists: soprano, tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello I (2 solo celli), cello II, bass

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Duo with chorus
(130 measures)

"Domine salvum fac:" soprano, tenor, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in B-flat basso, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello I (2 soli celli), cello II, bass

Grazioso affettuoso ma fieramente
(B-flat major, 3/2, 130 measures)

Domine salvum fac regem. Et exaudi nos in die quâ invocaverimus te. Gloria Patri, gloria Filio, gloria Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Domine salvum fac nostrum, salvum Ludovicum, exaudi nos.

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[1]The citation in the thematic catalogue reads: "Dominé isolé." The title page of the autographed manuscript reads: "Domine Salvum etc./ pour MM.Albert et Nourrit/(en Duo et choeur)/Prière pour le Roi/Musique de M.r Lesueur/."

9.e Morceau séparé

Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum

Chorus

"Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum:" chorus

Note: serves also, in identical form, as the concluding section or 3. Choeur, fugue, "Fiat misericordia tua" - "In te Domine speravi, non," 23.e Messe, Te Deum; subsequently published, in identical form, as the concluding Allegro spiritoso of 3. Chorus (Introduction, fugue, and Vivat), "Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos" - "In te Domine speravi" - "Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum," Deuxième Te Deum, volume 3. The citation in the thematic catalogue is headed, "Vivat Rex Séparée du N.o 23."

10.e Morceau séparé

Domine salvum fac

Chorus

"Domine salvum fac:"
(G major, C)

Note: The citation which appears in the thematic catalogue, headed, "Domine de l'Eglise," is the sole surviving reference to this composition.

11e Morceau séparé

Marche religieuse et guerrière[1]
(Domine luminis protege regem)

soloists: none

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, alto, tenor, bass

orchestra: piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones (A.T.B.), timpani, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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March with chorus
(82 measures)

"Domine luminis protege regem:" chorus

piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A.T.B.), timpani in D, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass.

Andante large
(D minor, ¢, 82 measures)

Domine luminis, protege Regem, Rex Salomon. Sit benedictus, orietur in Diebus ejus; justitia et abundantia pacis. Deus hoc fecit à solis ortu usque ad occursum laudabile nomen Domini. Vivat Salomon, vivat Rex noster. Laudate Deum qui fecit mirabilia. Laudate Deum, sol et lunor. Laudate Deum, omnes stellae, laudate, caeli caelorum.

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[1] This composition was subsequently published, in identical musical form, but with a completely different French text, as the "Hymne des Mages," Alexandre à Babylone, Act II, pages 372-389 of the published orchestral score. Although no absolute proof exists, it is most probable that the Latin text was subsequently substituted for the original operatic setting.

12.e Morceau séparé

Parce Domine

"Parce Domine:"
(B-flat major, ¢)

Note: The citation in the thematic catalogue, headed "Parce Domine Prières de les heures sur le Domine de l'Eglise," is the sole surviving reference to this composition.

13.e Morceau séparé

Marche triomphale

March

"Marche triomphale:" orchestra

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as the March section from 1. Première scène: March and chorus, "March" - "Vivat in aeternum," Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 9.

14.e Morceau séparé

O salutaris hostia

"O salutaris hostia:"
(D major, C)

Note: The citation in the thematic catalogue, headed "O salutaris Guerriere," is the sole surviving reference to this composition.

15e Morceau séparé

Dixi ecce venio - O salutaris hostia

Introduction (solo-chorus) and air with chorus

"Dixi ecce venio:" bass, chorus

"O salutaris hostia:" soprano, chorus

Note: serves also, in identical form, as 2. Récitatif, air avec harpe - Elevation [et choeur], "Dixi" - "O salutaris hostia," 3e Messe; subsequently published, in identical form, as 2. Introduction (solo-chorus) and air with chorus, "Dixi ecce venio, laudate adorate" - "O salutaris hostia," Veni sponsa mansueta, veni coronaberis, volume 13. The citation in the thematic catalogue is headed, "O Salutaris du N.o 3."

16e Morceau séparé

Domine libera regem

Chorus

"Domine libera regem:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 4. Chorus, "Domine libera regem," Deuxième oratorio de la Passion, volume 4.

17e Morceau séparé

Domine salvum fac

Air with chorus

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

Note: serves also, in identical form, as 4. Air et choeur, "Domine salvum fac," 10e Messe; subsequently used, in identical

musical form, but with a completely different text, as 18.e Morceau séparé, O salutaris hostia. It was published in this latter version as 7. O Salutaris: Air with chorus, "O salutaris hostia," Deuxième messe solennelle, volume 5. The citation in the thematic catalogue is headed, "Domine salvum du N.o 10."

18.e Morceau séparé

O salutaris hostia

Air with chorus

"O salutaris hostia:" tenor, chorus

Note: See 17.e Morceau séparé, Domine salvum fac, which is musically identical but utilizes a different text. The citation in the thematic catalogue is headed, "O Salutaris idem."

19.e Morceau séparé

Simphonie funèbre[1]
(Requiem sempiternam)

soloists: none

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, alto, tenor, bass

orchestra: 2 flutes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones (A.T.B.), bass drum, gong, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello I (4 solo celli), cello II, bass

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[1]The citation in the thematic catalogue, as well as the indication at the head of the full score, reads, "Simphonie funèbre,/debut de Messe des Morts./" The work is also called, "Marche funèbre, Requiem." Apparently this composition is the first movement of a complete Requiem, the remaining movements of which have been lost.

March with chorus[1]
(88 measures)

"Requiem sempiternam:" chorus

2 flutes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, 2 horns in B-flat basso, 2 trumpets in E-flat, 3 trombones (A.T.B.), bass drum, gong, timpani in B-flat, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello I (4 solo celli), cello II, bass.

Lent, mais avec mouvement, quoique très grave
(B-flat major - B-flat minor, C, 88 measures)

Requiem sempiternam dona eis Domine

20.e Morceau séparé

Messe du S.t Esprit: Offertoire[2]
(Dominus Deus liberavit nos)

soloists: none

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, alto, tenor, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones (A.T.B.), cymbals, bass drum, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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[1]Basically, the composition is a march with chorus obligatto. The chorus sings for only one third of the work. At the end of the composition, the following note is found: "on reprend depuis le commencement, à volonté, jusqu'au mot fin." Following the direction yields a simple repetition of the complete work.

[2]This composition was subsequently published, in identical musical form, but with a completely different French text, as "Fanfare et Chant

Chorus
(140 measures)

"Dominus Deus liberavit nos:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A.T.B.), cymbals, bass drum, timpani in D, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Moderato, mouvement de marche un peu plus lent
(D major, C, 41 measures)

Dominus Deus liberavit nos, propterea confitebor tibi. Domine, Rex Salomon, sit benedictus. Canticum Domini in aeternum, cantabo. Thronus ejus erit stabiles. Erit Rex Sapientiae.

Allegretto moderato, toujours large en mouvement de marche
(D major, C, 99 measures)

Magnus es Domine. Quoniam tu Salvas. Deus deducit ad inferos ab inimicis. Confitermatum est igitur Regnum in manu Salomones. Confitemini Domino, juvenes Virgines, jubilate Deo. Cantate Domino, canticum novum filiae Sion.

Filiae libani, filiae Sion, exultent in Rege Suo.

Rex Salomon, sit benedictus. Thronus ejus erit stabiles. Filiae Sion, exultent in Rege Suo.

Tempestas transit super terram. Dominus, Deus, liberavit nos. Dominus fortis. Gloria in excelsis.

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de Triomphe," Alexandre à Babylone, Act II, pages 301-324 of the published orchestral score. Although no proof exists, it is probable that the Latin text was subsequently substituted for the original operatic setting.

The citation in the thematic catalogue, as well as the title page of the manuscript score, gives the title as follows: "Oratorio bref, Offertoire pour la Messe du S^{t} Esprit à exécuter aussi; au commencement et à la fin de la cérémonie. Chant populaire de Délivrance."

21.e Morceau séparé

O salutaris hostia

Chorus

"O salutaris hostia:" chorus

Note: serves also, in identical form, as 3. Choeur, "O salutaris hostia," 16.e Messe; subsequently published, in identical form, as Chorus, "O salutaris hostia," Recueil de morceaux sacrés, volume 17. The citation in the thematic catalogue reads, "Elevation de la messe N.o 16."

22.e Morceau séparé

Quis ennarabit

Chorus

"Quis ennarabit:" chorus

Note: serves also, in identical form, as 4. Choeur, "Quis ennarabit," 21.e Messe; subsequently published, in identical form, as 5. Offertory: Chorus, "Quis ennarabit," Première messe solennelle, volume 1. The citation in the thematic catalogue reads, "Quis ennarabit du N.o 21."

23.e Morceau séparé

Kyrie eleison

Chorus

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

Note: serves also, in identical form, as 1. Choeur, "Kyrie eleison," 11.e Messe; subsequently published, in identical form, as 1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison," Première messe solennelle, volume 1. The citation in the thematic catalogue reads, "Kyrie du N.o 11."

24e Morceau séparé

Canticum cum choris duplicibus[1]
(Intoruit de caelo dominus)

soloists: none

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, alto, tenor, bass I, bass II, bass III

orchestra: piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones (A.T.B.), cymbals, bass drum, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello I, cello II, bass

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Double Chorus
(352 measures)

"Intoruit de caelo dominus:" chorus I (soprano I, soprano II, alto, tenor); chorus II (bass I, bass II, bass III)

piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns in C, 2 trumpets in C, 3 trombones (A.T.B.), cymbals, bass drum, timpani in C, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello I, cello II, bass

Andante con moto
(C major, C, 70 measures)

Intoruit de caelo dominus: altissimus dedit vocem. Natus est vobis princeps . . .

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[1]This composition was subsequently published, in identical musical form, but with a completely different French text, as "Finale," Alexandre à Babylone, Act I, pages 224-279 of the published orchestral score. It is probable that the Latin text was subsequently substituted for the original operatic setting.

The title page of the manuscript gives the title as follows: "Musique/du/Baptême. Canticum/cum choris duplicibus,/ pro Baptismo Regii filii,/paroles tirés/des hymnes pour/le Roi; de la Bible; et des psaumes."/ The citation in the thematic catalogue is headed, "Pour le Baptême du Duc de Bordeaux."

Andante un poco allegretto pomposo e nobile
(C major, C, 100 measures)

O Jesu, vita credentium! Exaudi vota precantium et desideium peccatorem peribit. . . .

Allegretto pomposo sans vitesse
(C major, C, 95 measures)

Constitues principes, plaude laetare gallia. Sacro delphimus fonte lavatur. . .

Un rien plus vite. Allegro large et jusqu'à la fin sans presser
(C major, C, 87 measures)

Exultate! Vivat princeps fidelis! Triumphet! Semper victor in te domine speravi, non confundar in aeternum. . . .

25e Morceau séparé

Sanctus

Choruses, and solo with chorus

"Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus:" chorus

["Hosanna in excelsis:"] chorus

["Qui habet aurem:"] bass, chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 6. Sanctus: Choruses, (2) and solo with chorus, "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus" - "Hosanna in excelsis" - "Qui habet aurem," Deuxième messe solennelle, volume 5.

26.e Morceau séparé

Agnus Dei

"Agnus Dei qui tollis:"
(C major, 3/4)

Note: The citation which appears in the thematic catalogue is the sole surviving reference to this composition.

27.e Morceau séparé

Ecce ego mitto

"Ecce ego mitto"
(C major, 3/2)

Note: An Ecce ego mitto angelum meum by Le Sueur was performed at the ceremony which took place in the Cathedral of Reims on the eve of Charles X's coronation. Although no musical reference to this composition survives other than this citation in the thematic catalogue, it seems quite likely that this entry refers to the ceremonial motet performed in 1825.

28.e Morceau séparé

Unxerunt Salomonem

Double chorus, and chorus

"Unxerunt Salomonem:" chorus I, chorus II

["Sit laus Patri, laus Filio:"] chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 6. Cinquième scène: Double chorus, and chorus, "Unxerunt Salomonem" - "Sit laus Patri, laus Filio," Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume II. The citation in the thematic catalogue is headed, "Unxerunt, Sacre."

29e Morceau séparé

Marche et Vivat

March with chorus, and chorus

"Marche séraphique:" orchestra, chorus

"Vivat in aeternum:" chorus

Note: subsequently published, in identical form, as 8. Septième scène (part 1): March with chorus, "Marche séraphique" - "Deus Salvator," and 9. Septième scène (part 2): Chorus, "Vivat in aeternum," Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains, volume 11.

An investigation of all sources which are in any way associated with this repertory sheds substantial light on the two remaining questions, those two bothersome problems previously raised at the beginning of this chapter. Indeed, the sources reveal a great deal relative to the survival of scores written during this period of Le Sueur's life, and provide additional insight into the relationship that exists between this repertory and those works which were subsequently collected and published in the seventeen-volume edition devoted to Le Sueur's sacred music.

Fortunately, twenty-six manuscript scores, scores which correspond closely in form and content to the repertory of Messes - but not Morceaux séparés - contained in the manuscript catalogue, "Etat de la Bibliothèque de la Musique du Roi," have been preserved in the library

of the Conservatorio di Musica in Florence.[1] Their significance can hardly be overestimated. As the only surviving source in which Le Sueur's repertory of Masses for the Chapelle Royale can be found in a form approximating that of its original design, this group of manuscripts provides extant proof of the catalogue's accuracy. The close relationship is easily demonstrated by collating the twenty-six scores with the incipits provided by the manuscript catalogue; with one minor exception - the simple inversion of numbers 24 and 25 - the twenty-six Florentine scores correspond almost exactly to Masses 1-26 of the catalogue.

Assuming that the catalogue is reliable, comparison reveals that some of the Florentine scores are not complete. The sources from which they were copied, quite possibly the manuscript scores of the Chapelle library itself, were generally longer, for minor changes and major omissions are observable. These changes and omissions are detailed in the collated source guide provided in Appendix 4. Despite these demonstrable differences, the authenticity and accuracy of the Florentine manuscripts cannot be doubted; while none of these beautifully copied scores is an autograph, most have been corrected in Le Sueur's own hand.

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[1] Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A.877-A.902. These twenty-six manuscript scores have never been mentioned in the literature, and have apparently been completely overlooked.

Precisely how and when these scores came to Florence will probably never be known with certainty. To suggest that they might have arrived c.1810 is a pleasant thought, for such an explanation, if valid, would provide absolute proof that the repertory had been composed prior to that date. Indeed, easy access in the form of a direct route to Florence was avilable during this period, for between 1805 and 1810 Napoleon had annexed Genoa, Tuscany, and Parma, together with other Italian provinces, and had incorporated them directly into his Grand French Empire. Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated. My communications with Bianca Beccherini, librarian of the Biblioteca del Conservatorio in Florence, were inconclusive; definitive information relating to the acquisition of these scores is apparently not available.

Additional evidence which conclusively identifies the repertory of Le Sueur works chronicled in the manuscript catalogues of Louis XVIII's Chapelle with that written previously by the composer for the Chapelle Impériale, may be offered as final and irrefutable proof that music composed by Le Sueur during the period 1804-1815 does indeed survive. Some, as a matter of fact, survives in its original format. In addition, further proof can be offered to demonstrate that the sacred music which was collected and published towards the end of the composer's life had virtually all been written some twenty to thirty years earlier than their dates of publication would seem to indicate.

A collection of uncatalogued manuscripts which I discovered by chance among the holdings of the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique in Paris, decisively substantiates all of the previously made assumptions. Belonging originally to the body of material contained in the working library of the Chapelle Royale, these manuscripts were apparently rescued from the flames which destroyed the Tuileries Palace in 1871.[1] Tied in bundles, and stored in a little used room of the Conservatory library, these works - many of which were considerably charred and water stained from the fire - have remained uncatalogued and virtually unnoticed for almost ninety years.[2]

Consisting of full orchestral scores, choral scores, and parts - both vocal and instrumental - preserved in random order, these uncata-

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[1]Manuscript works of Paisiello, Martini, and others are included in the collection.

[2]When this entire question was originally considered, it seemed logical to assume that the contents of the Chapelle's library, providing it had survived the fire and could be located, might offer a definitive solution. It was with this objective in mind that specific inquiries concerning the disposition of the Chapelle's library following the fire of 1871 were directed at librarians and anyone else who might have access to information relevant to the surviving material. The answers which I received were unanimous: all agreed that the library had been totally destroyed in the fire. The question must have given rise to considerable thought, however, for some ten months later, I was informed that a portion of the library had indeed been rescued, and that the manuscripts so preserved had been moved to the library of the Conservatoire, where, tied in large packets, they had remained undisturbed in a storeroom.

logued manuscripts form a miscellaneous collection. One item in particular, a part book which had originally belonged to M^lle^. Hymm, Dessus récitant of the Chapelle Impériale, is of special interest. Arranged in typical part-book format, this bound manuscript contains all of the soprano arias, recitatives, and ensembles for a repertory designated simply as nineteen Masses of M^r^. Le Sueur.[1] Since these nineteen Masses, and the Masses numbered 1-19 in the catalogue of Louis XVIII's library correspond exactly, there can be no doubt that the repertory of works by Le Sueur performed at the Chapelle Royale after the Restoration was the same as that written by him for Napoleon's Chapelle Impériale. The title page of this manuscript part book reads: "Répertoire des Messes de M^r^. Lesueur Directeur de la Musique de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi. Dessus récitant, M^lle^. Hymm."[2]

Evidence presented by some of the remaining manuscripts demonstrates that the Masses numbered 20-24 were similarly included in the original repertory of the Chapelle Impériale. It is interesting to note that title pages which at one time had included some reference to the Chapelle Impériale, and had alluded to Le Sueur as "Directeur de la Musique de sa Majesté l'Empereur," were subsequently updated and brought into con-

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[1]The soprano part of many of the choruses is also included.

[2]Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

formity with the changed political situation. This was accomplished quite simply by erasing the original reference and substituting a suitable replacement, or by composing a completely new inscription for the title page, one that mentioned the Chapelle Royale and "sa Majesté le Roi," and pasting it directly over the offending original. Similarly, all textual references to "Napoleonem" or "Imperatorem," particularly those customarily contained in "Domine salvum fac" movements, were altered to read an appropriate form of "Regem." Regimes rose and fell, but their coming and going hardly provided sufficient reason for invalidating a perfectly satisfactory repertory, a repertory that could neatly be brought up to date with a minimum amount of effort.

In addition to the regular services which he provided for the Chapelle Impériale, Le Sueur was charged with the responsibility of furnishing occasional works for special events. His Cantate religieuse and the motet Veni sponsa mansueta, for example, were both performed in 1810 at the wedding of Napoleon and Marie Louise. The following year, another of his motets, Joannes in deserto baptizat, was performed when the infant son of Napoleon and his new Empress was baptized in the Cathedral of Notre Dame and given the title, King of Rome.[1] Since all three of these

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[1]See: Cantate religieuse, Veni sponsa mansueta, and Joannes in deserto baptizat in Appendices 3 and 4.

works were already included in the repertory of the Chapelle, it must be concluded that Le Sueur simply took these compositions, and with certain skillful changes reemployed them as pièces de circonstances.

In any event, it is absolutely certain that almost none of the music was new. Portions of both Veni sponsa mansueta and the Cantate religieuse had previously been employed by Le Sueur in two compositions written during the Revolution. Indeed, the transformation of political hymns written during the Revolutionary period into sacred works became a virtual hallmark of the composer. He proved extremely adroit at re-adapting his music, and most of his Revolutionary compositions, refitted with appropriate (or inappropriate) Latin texts, enjoyed a second life in the repertory of the Chapelle.[1] This predilection for adaptation permeated much that Le Sueur did. Following the Restoration, he wrote very few, if any, new compositions for the Chapelle Royale. He was content simply to repeat and adapt the works he had written previously for the Chapelle Impériale. In fact, it is to be seriously doubted that Le Sueur really composed much music at all after 1810. For the final twenty-five years of his life he seemed quite content to repeat and modify that which he had accomplished during the first fifty.

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[1]These borrowings are noted in Appendix 4.

CHAPTER VI

THE RESTORED CHAPELLE ROYALE

Although a great many changes took place in France following the Bourbon Restoration, Louis XVIII showed little inclination to alter or modify the organization and operation of his official Chapelle. Le Sueur, despite the outspoken loyalty and devotion which he had openly professed for Napoleon, was provisionally retained in his former position. Within a year, this initial and temporary appointment was made permanent. Sole jurisdiction over the Chapell's destiny, however, was no longer his, for Le Sueur now shared the directorship with Martini.

On May 3, 1814, Louis XVIII received an official welcome from the capital at a special ceremony held in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. During the convocation, Le Sueur's Dominus Deus liberavit nos, a motet for chorus and orchestra whose Latin text suggests that the work was specifically conceived for this occasion, was performed. The surviving orchestral manuscript score of the motet, a score which postdates 1814 by several years, bears the title: "Offertoire pour la Messe du S^{t}. Esprit;" an identical designation was assigned to the work when it appeared listed as the

20.e Morceau séparé in the thematic catalogue, "Etat de la Bibliothèque de la Musique du Roi." The reason is apparent. Following its service as a ceremonial piece, without changing either text or music in the slightest manner, Le Sueur had simply taken the motet and used it as the offertory for his Messe du S.t Esprit.[1]

Further investigation reveals that the motet was not even originally composed for the ceremony of May 3; Le Sueur had merely adapted a previously-written composition for the occasion. As originally conceived, the "motet" was a choral scene entitled "Fanfare et Chant de Triomphe" which occupied a prominent position in Act II of Alexandre à Babylone, an opera written by the composer when Napoleon's Empire was at its height.[2] Lifting the entire scene quite literally, Le Sueur had merely

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[1] See: 20.e Morceau séparé, CHAPTER V; Appendix 1; and Messe du S.t Esprit, Appendix 4.

[2] Alexandre à Babylone was never given a full stage production. Following the composer's death, Madame Le Sueur frequently attempted to interest the administration of the Opéra in the work; her efforts were all in vain. A number of scenes, however, were performed at the Concerts du Conservatoire during the 1820's and 1830's and a full score of the opera was published in a limited edition c.1837. The circumstances surrounding the publication are quite strange. No title page was included with the edition, and the precise date of publication is unknown. The publication might have appeared shortly before Le Sueur died, or it might have been issued posthumously. In either event, it was Madame Le Sueur who saw the opera through the press and served as the work's champion. Very few copies of the limited edition remain extant.

provided it with an appropriate Latin text and produced a motet de circonstance for the 1814 ceremonial. The following explanatory note, written in the hand of Madame Le Sueur, appears on the title page of the motet's manuscript score: "Ce morceau d'Alexandre avec paroles latines a été ainsi exécuté à Notre Dame, Le Sueur voulant en connaître l'effet."[1] With its Latin text, as the offertory of the Messe du S.t Esprit, the work was heard frequently at the Chapelle Royale during the next decade and a half. The surviving archival programs and the eye witness testimony of Berlioz both attest to this fact.

Thus, Le Sueur's predilection for employing contrafactum was not limited to the sacred texts which he had subsequently provided for many of his Revolutionary compositions.[2] In addition to Dominus Deus liberavit nos, at least two other scenes from Alexandre à Babylone were fitted with Latin texts and used by the composer in connection with his duties at the Chapelle Royale.[3] It was a procedure which Le Sueur consistently followed, a characteristic that explains why so many of his later sacred works were simply adaptations of previously written secular compositions.[4]

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, MS 12269.

[2]These substitutions have been noted in CHAPTER V and Appendix 4.

[3]See: 11.e Morceau séparé and 24.e Morceau séparé, CHAPTER V; Marche religieuse et guerriére and Canticum cum choris duplicibus, Appendix 4.

[4]The vast majority of these adaptations were made from Revolutionary compositions or operas. In at least one case, however, a double

Castil-Blaze,[1] and others who have chosen to follow his lead, have suggested that certain members of the Chapelle were dismissed from their positions following the Restoration because their loyalty to Napoleon had rendered them politically unacceptable. Such a position grossly exaggerates the facts. While certain pressures of a predominantly political nature were brought to bear upon the Chapelle, as elsewhere, they produced a negligible effect in the area of artistic matters. In general, the seniority rights and other prerogatives of the performers employed at the Chapelle seem to have been scrupulously respected by the new regime; the retention of Le Sueur as Surintendant is a case in point. The retirement of singers and instrumentalists which took place in substantial numbers at this time may legitimately be explained on the basis of their advanced age.[2]

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substitution is known to have taken place. A movement of the Super flumina Babylonis setting, written c.1784 when Le Sueur was at Tours, was subsequently employed by the composer in his Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX. After the Revolution, the identical music, this time associated with still a third text, was employed by Le Sueur in a second setting that he made of Super flumina Babylonis. Interestingly, when the music was used in connection with a second setting of the original psalm, it was not returned to its original text but was employed for a completely different section of the psalm. It is in this third form that the music was eventually published as the final movement of Super flumina Babylonis, volume 6.

[1] Chapelle-musique des rois de France.

[2] This statement may be substantiated by comparing the rosters and pay lists of the various governmental chapelles dating from before the Revolution until after the Restoration. Servières, "La Chapelle Royale

In January of 1815, Le Sueur's appointment as co-Surintendant of the Chapelle Royale became official. He shared the directorship with Martini until the latter died in February of 1816. Under the Empire, Le Sueur, as Maître de Chapelle, had received a salary of 10,000 francs a year; following the Restoration, with the work and the responsibility divided, each of the co-Surintendants was paid 6,000 francs. While some new faces were added, many of Le Sueur's former colleagues were retained, and the basic operation of the Chapelle remained much as it had been under the Empire.[1]

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sous la Restauration," pp. 108-114, in a detailed discussion of these matters, relies heavily upon a document entitled: "Etat de la musique de la chapelle de Buonaparte telle qu'elle existe encore" (Paris: Archives Nationales: 0^3291). While Servières' position is a valid one, his contentions are still more positively supported by a document entitled: "Etat General de la Musique du Roi" (Paris: Archives Nationales: 0^3290). Basically a roster of the Chapelle membership, the document was undated but was probably compiled c.1825. In it, detailed information concerning 117 artists is presented. Names, places of birth, dates of birth, dates of nomination, positions occupied, dates of service in each position, salary received, etc., are supplied for virtually all of the directors, secretaries, tuners, instrumentalists, vocal soloists, choristers etc., associated with the Chapelle since before the Revolution. Those who were retired shortly after 1815 were retired because of their age. Those few who were removed for political reasons during the first wave of patriotic fervor that followed the Restoration, were soon rehired.

[1]One interesting problem, however, did arise. In returning to the practices of the Old Monarchy, women had been declared ineligible for positions in the Chapelle, and the female vocalists were all replaced by boy pages. The problems created by this substitution were quite amusing, but proved singularly vexing to the co-Surintendants who were responsible for the Chapelle's musical production. After a considerable amount of administrative maneuvering, women were finally readmitted. The correspondence related to these matters (Paris: Archives Nationales, 0^3291) is

For everyone associated with the Restoration, 1815 proved to be a strange and trying year. Napoleon's escape from Elba and his triumphant return to Paris disrupted all of the changes which had been instituted during the preceding ten months. The disruption, however, proved to be only momentary; Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo and by July of 1815 Louis XVIII had regained his throne.

The Chapelle Royale, too, had been effected by the Hundred Days, and it was not until the end of 1815 that normalcy again prevailed. Routine had barely been reestablished at the Chapelle, however, when another and more immediate crisis developed: on February 10, 1816, Martini died. In his place, Cherubini was chosen to serve as Le Sueur's co-Surintendant. Working with the administrators appointed by the throne, Le Sueur and Cherubini busied themselves in drawing up a set of rules and regulations to govern internal relations and procedural matters at the Chapelle. The regulations which were promulgated provide considerable insight into the organization and operation of the Chapelle Royale. They are here quoted in full.

Chapelle du Roi Règlement

La chapelle du Roi, placée dans nos attributions, est soumise à la surveillance de L'Intendant-Général des Menus Plaisirs, lequel est

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most amusing. Servières, "La Chapelle Royale sous la Restauration," pp. 115-123 discusses the highlights of the 1815 personnel problems.

chargé de tous les détails relatifs au Personnel au matériel et à l'administration intérieure.

L'Intendant-Général recevra, des surintendants de la Musique, leurs rapports sur tous les détails du service; nous en référera et prendra nos ordres.

Attributions et Police Intérieure
Surintendants de la Musique

Art. 1

Chaque surintendant dirigera le service pendant un trimestre: En cas d'absence ou de maladie, le surintendant de service sera remplacé par son collégue. Le surintendant de service, et à défaut son remplaçant, ordonneront la composition des Messes ou services; Ils y feront exécuter des morceaux de leur composition ou des ouvrages les plus renommés des anciens compositeurs; mais il leur est expressement défendu de faire composer, ou de faire exécuter, des morceaux d'artistes attachés à la Chapelle ou d'autres compositeurs vivants.

Les surintendants ne pourront faire mettre à la copie, leurs Messes ou autres morceaux composés pour le service de la Chapelle, qu'après avoir obtenu, à ces effet, l'ordre écrit de l'Intendant-Général des Menus, lequel ordre remis au copiste, sera, par ce dernier, joint-à son Mémoire mensuel de copie: cette disposition commandée par l'ordre de la comptabilité de l'Intendant des Menus Plaisirs, est de rigueur.

Le surintendant de service veillera à ce que les Mémoires, rélatifs à la copie de musique, au transport des instrumens, au souffler de l'orgue, et géneralement à tous les détails du service, lui soient remis au plus tard le 25 de chaque mois; il les vérifiera réglera et modérera, s'il y a lieu; les visera et les transmettra, de suite à l'Intendant-Général des Menus Plaisirs, pour les faire ordonnancer.

Les surintendants seuls donneront des ordres aux musiciens de la Chapelle du Roi; Ils présideront aux répétitions et à l'exécution des Messes; ils feront l'appel des musiciens et veilleront en tous points à l'exécution du présent règlement. A cet effet, ils feront leur rapport écrit à l'Intendant-Général sur toutes les infractions qui pourront y être faites, comme sur les autres objets qui leur paraitront de nature à nous être soumis.

Art. 2

Maître de Musique

Le Maître de Musique est chargé de conduire l'orchestre de la Chapelle: Il prendra les ordres du surintendant, sur les mouvemens, et il dirigera, sous ce rapport, comme sous tous ceux de l'exécution musicale, les musiciens de l'orchestre et du chant.

Il en référa et fera rapport au surintendant, toutes les foix que les détails du service l'exigeront.

En cas d'absence ou de maladie, il sera remplacé par le 1er. Violon de la Chapelle du Roi.

Art. 3

Secrétaire de la Chapelle

Les fonctions du secrétaire de la Chapelle consistent à écrire les lettres de convocations pour les répétitions et exécution des messes ou autre cérémonies ordonnées par le surintendant; à veiller à ce que ces lettres soient regulièrement transmises, à domicile, aux musiciens; à transcrire les rapports des surintendants sur un journal destiné à ces effets; et en général à prendre les ordres des surintendants sur toutes les écritures qui pourront être nécessaire pour le service.

Art. 4

Récitans

Les musiciens récitans recevront les ordres du surintendant de service. Ceux d'entre eux qui seront désignés pour l'exécution d'une messe, d'un service ou cérémonie quelconque, seront tenus de se rendre exactement à la répétition.

Ceux des musiciens récitans qui ne seront pas appelés à être de service, peuvent s'exempter d'assister aux répétitions et exécution des messes et autres cérémonies religieuses.

Art. 5

Coryphées; Choeurs; Musiciens

Les artistes coryphées, choristes et musiciens, chargés de la partie instrumentale, sont-tenus de se trouver exactement aux répétitions et à l'exécution de toutes les messes et de toutes les cérémonies quelconques ordinaires et extra-ordinaires indiquées par le surintendant de service dans les formes ci-après établies: Il sera fait rapport à l'Intendant-Général des Menus Plaisirs du Roi, sur toutes les infractions aux dispositions du présent article et de l'article précédent.

Dispositions Générales
Police Intérieure

Art. 6

Tout musicien, attaché à la Chapelle du Roi, qui voudra s'absenter de Paris, pour plus d'un jour, et pendant un laps de temps qui n'excéderait pas la huitaine, devra se munir d'une permission du surintendant de service.

Art. 7

Tout musicien qui voudra s'absenter pour plus de 8 jours devra être muni d'un congé signé de nous et contre signé de l'Intendant-Général des Menus, lequel congé ne pourra, dans aucun cas, être accordé que sur le rapport écrit du surintendant de service.

Art. 8

Tout musicien, attaché à la Chapelle du Roi, qui sera forcé, par maladie ou indisposition, de s'absenter de la Chapelle, sera tenu d'en prévenir, par écrit, le surintendant de service, lequel devra constater son indisposition, sous le double motif d'en établir la réalité, et de pouvoir, au besoin et sur le rapport qu'il en fera de suite à l'Intendant-Général des Menus Plaisirs, lui faire porter, s'il y a lieu, les secours qui lui seront nécessaires.

Art. 9

Les musiciens et employés de toutes classes, se conformeront aux ordres du surintendant, en ce qui concerne le costume et la tenue décente et convenable à observer pendant les répétitions et exécutions des messes et cérémonies.

Art. 10

L'accord sera pris par le 1er. violon et transmit, par lui, à tous les musiciens: Une fois l'accord prit, tout prélude est expressement défendu.

Art. 11

Lorsque la messe ou cérémonie religieuse sera terminée, chacun restera à sa place jusqu'à ce que le Roi et la famille royale soient sortis de la Chapelle.

Art. 12

Tous les artistes du chant concourront à l'exécution du Domine salvum fac Regem.

Art. 13

Lorsqu'il y aura quelque service extraordinaire; le surintendant en fera afficher l'avis, près la porte de la Chapelle; il en fera, en outre; prévenir, à domicile, ceux des récitans et autres musiciens de la Chapelle, appelés à y concourer, qui ne se seraient point trouvés au service du jour; à cet effet, et pour assurer la stricte exécution de cette partie du service, les garçons de la musique rapporteront au surintendant, le reçu de l'avertissement qu'ils auront-été-chargés de porter; pareil reçu sera également donné au garçon porteur de toute partie copiée, transmise par le surintendant aux récitans de la Chapelle, et que ces derniers devront recevoir, au moins, 2 jours avant la répétition.

Art. 14

Il est expressement défendu aux garçons de la musique de laisser entrer, dans l'orchestre, les personnes étrangèrs au service de la Chapelle qui ne seront point munies d'un billet, ou permis écrit, signé de nous ou de l'Intendant-Général des Menus Plaisirs du Roi.

Art. 15

L'exécution des dispositions du présent règlement en confiée aux surintendants de la musique, et afin qu'on n'en ignore, il sera adressé un exemplaire du dit réglement à chaque musicien et employé de la Chapelle et il en sera affiché une copie dans la salle des répétitions.

Donné au Château des Tuileries, le 27 Février 1816.

Signé: Le Duc de Duras - Le Duc d'Aumont.[1]

The operations of the Chapelle Royale were thus carefully regulated by a highly formalized and bureaucratically oriented set of regulations. Indeed, regulations that were so precisely enumerated left the Surintendants little room for autonomous action. By provision of the first article, the article which defined the duties of the Surintendants, the co-office holders were to function alternately throughout the year. Each Surintendant was assigned a pair of three-month periods - the year being divided into quarters - during which he was completely responsible for every facet of the Chapelle's operation. During his period of tenure, it was the duty of the respective Surintendant to see that rehearsals and performances took place as required, and that the technical competence of the performing

[1]Paris: Archives Nationales 0^3290.

media was maintained at the expected level; the choice of program for each service and special ceremony was left to his discretion. The first and third quarters of the year became the province of Cherubini, while Le Sueur was assigned the second and fourth. It was during Le Sueur's period of service that the most important religious celebrations took place. Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, All Saints' Day, and Christmas usually fell within his jurisdiction, possibly in tacit acknowledgement of his vast experience and pre-eminence as a composer of sacred music.

While the co-Surintendant in service was charged with the duty of selecting the music to be performed, his choice was explicitly restricted by the conditions imposed in the first article. He was to perform music of his own composition, or works written by the most renowned masters of the past; no other music was to be considered. Works written by living composers, or by artists associated with the Chapelle, were expressly forbidden and could not be performed.

Understandably, it was the music of the two Surintendants that prevailed: Le Sueur's works being heard during the quarters assigned to him, and Cherubini's being performed during his periods of tenure. In addition, Pergolesi's Stabat Mater, Jomelli's Requiem, a movement or two from a Mass by Martini, Zingarelli, Paisiello, or Mozart - all legitimately admissible under the renowned composer clause - were occasionally programmed. And finally, despite the clear prohibition cited above,

works by living composers and compositions written by artists attached to the musical staff of the Chapelle Royale were given an occasional hearing; special permission was required for each such performance.[1]

The validity of those sources which throw light upon the repertory performed at the Chapelle Royale during the reign of Louis XVIII cannot be doubted. The manuscript catalogue, "Etat de la Bibliothèque de la Musique du Roi," enumerates the contents of the Chapelle's working library and provides a ready inventory of those works which were considered appropriate for performance at the royal chapel. In addition, the programs issued by the administration of the Chapelle itself yield a still more detailed view of the day to day repertory. Prepared for the royal family, as well as those officials - such as the Intendant-Général of the Menus Plaisirs - who were charged with the responsibility of the Chapelle's direction, these programs provide a detailed list of every work performed during the services and ceremonial functions at which the forces of the Chapelle presided. Fortunately, a substantial number have survived.[2]

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[1] It was thus that works by Plantade, Le Febvre, and Persius - all members of the Chapelle's musical staff - were performed.

[2] Paris: Archives Nationales 0^3291. The programs for the years 1817-1819 and 1822-1823 remain intact and complete. Those for 1820 are incomplete while those for 1821 are missing. None later than 1823 seem to have survived.

A careful examination of these programs, each of which is dated and signed by the officiating Surintendant, provides pertinent information concerning both the musical and liturgical practices followed at the Chapelle. The Mass was celebrated quickly, for except on the most sacred festivals, - Easter, Christmas, etc. - the entire service was designed to last no more than a half an hour. The amount of music was also limited, for it was necessarily relative to the amount of time allotted the liturgy. Rarely was an entire Mass performed. Instead, Mass movements, psalm settings, or oratorio excerpts, plus a suitable Offertory motet and an occasional instrumental interlude, generally sufficed. In short, the liturgical and musical organization of the Chapelle Royale was virtually identical to that which had prevailed during the preceding Consulate and Empire.

Cherubini, primarily committed to the presentation of his own music, rarely permitted a work by another composer to be performed during his months of service. Furthermore, in his capacity as co-Surintendant, he seldom set a text other than one drawn from the Mass itself, and his contributions to the repertory of the Chapelle consisted almost exclusively of independent Mass movements. Indeed, it was for the abbreviated services of the Chapelle Royale that he composed virtually all of the separate Mass sections and fragments which scholars have so frequently noted.[1]

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[1]See: Servières, "La Chapelle Royale sous la Restauration," p. 126, footnote #1.

Le Sueur, on the other hand, proved more willing to share the compositional honors, and it was during his periods of service that music by predecessors and contemporaries, including several members of the Chapelle itself, were given a hearing. Works by Martini, Paisiello, Plantade, Zingarelli, Mozart, Le Febvre, and Persius were frequently programmed by Le Sueur together with his own compositions. On a number of occasions, the Surintendant even devoted entire services to music composed by one or several of his colleagues.

Despite this generosity, a substantial proportion of the music performed was of his own composition. In contrast to the practice followed by Cherubini, though, Le Sueur favored psalm settings, motets, and oratorios for his Chapelle services; Mass movements appeared less than half of the time. Regardless of the form chosen, however, one consistent and somewhat startling fact emerges from a systematic examination of the repertory. Without exception, during the five and a half year period covered by the surviving programs, every work of his own programmed by Le Sueur at the Chapelle Royale had previously been heard years before at the Chapelle Impériale.

Since the services of the two Chapelles were so basically similar, there was apparently little need for Le Sueur to do anything more than make minor adjustments, and his previously written music was neatly adapted to a new purpose. Often, the psalm settings, oratorios, motets,

and Mass movements which he had composed for the Chapelle Impériale were not even presented in their entirety at the Chapelle Royale. By comparing the titles of the programmed selections with the listings provided by the catalogued entries of the "Etat de la Bibliothèque de la Musique du Roi," it may readily be demonstrated that most of the time, only "at random" excerpts were performed.[1]

High festivals and special occasions, however, were treated somewhat differently. On Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Assumption, and so forth, as well as during those solemn ceremonies held to commemorate such past events as the deaths of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, it was customary to perform a complete Mass. Le Sueur's Oratorio de Noël, for example, seems to have been performed regularly as the Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve. The six surviving Christmas Eve programs, those for 1817-1820 and 1822-1823, all list the work in such detail that no doubt remains concerning the completeness of its presentation; it was given in a form virtually identical to that in which it was subsequently published. Throughout the entire Christmas season, excerpts from the Mass-oratorio were then repeated as featured portions of the service.[2]

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[1] In addition to indicating the works to be performed in a skeletal manner, each program provided a detailed breakdown by movement for every composition, and listed the names of the principal soloists.

[2] See CHAPTER V, 24e Messe, Messe de Noël, and appropriate entries in Appendices 2, 3, and 4.

Almost all of the complete Masses which Le Sueur supplied for the Chapelle were assembled in potpourri fashion. The composer would simply take individual Mass movements written by a number of different composers, himself included, and group them to form one complete Mass; or else, he would gather an appropriate number of his own Mass movements, works originally written as independent compositions, and weld them into a single Mass cycle. On several occasions he was even forced to rewrite the text - a Kyrie, for example, becoming an Agnus Dei - so that the original work would fit its new surroundings. It seems likely that at least three of these arbitrarily organized Masses eventually found their way into print as the Première, Deuxième, and Troisième Messes Solennelles found in the seventeen-volume collected edition of Le Sueur's published sacred music.[1]

The co-Surintendants were frequently called upon to produce occasional compositions for commemorative events of a solemn nature. It was for just such an event, a memorial service for Louis XVI, that Cherubini composed his famous Requiem in C minor. The Requiem was performed three times during the two-day service held at Saint-Denis on January 20th and 21st 1817: twice on the 20th - at 9:00 a.m. and noon - and at noon on the 21st. Le Sueur's Simphonie funèbre, similarly per-

[1]See the appropriate entries in Appendices 3 and 4.

formed by members of the Chapelle Royale, accompanied the burial service held for the Prince of Condé at Saint-Dennis on May 26, 1818.[1]

The co-Surintendents were also called upon to provide music for festive occasions, and Le Sueur's Cantate religieuse, the same work which had accompanied the nuptials of Napoleon and Marie Louise in 1810, was repeated on June 17, 1816 at the wedding of the Duke of Berry. Less than five years later the Duke was assassinated, and indignation ran high; he had been a great popular favorite. Shortly after the tragic event, however, the Duchess gave birth to a posthumous son. The royal heir was joyously received throughout France and the infant was given the title, Duke of Bordeaux. On May 14, 1821, Le Sueur's "Intoruit de caelo dominus," Canticum cum choris duplicibus, the Latin-texted finale to Act I of Alexandre à Babylone, was performed at the young Duke's baptism.[2]

When the coronation of Charles X took place in the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Reims in June of 1825, the Chapelle Royale was presented with a challenging assignment. The traditional French coronation ceremony, a magnificent display of pageantry and splendor not invoked since before the Revolution, was restored for the occasion, and the Chapelle was charged with providing the necessary musical pomp. Le Sueur and

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[1]See 19e. Morceau séparé, CHAPTER V.

[2]See Appendix 4 and 24e. Morceau séparé, CHAPTER V.

Cherubini were given the task of composing the required music and overseeing its performance. The forces placed at their disposal were formidable: 20 first sopranos; 20 second sopranos; 28 tenors; 28 basses; 36 violins; 30 violas, cellos, and basses; 28 wind instruments; and 8 percussions were made available to the co-Surintendents.[1]

Any consideration of the music contributed by Le Sueur to the coronation of Charles X must, of necessity, reintroduce the vexing problems which surround the music performed at Napoleon's coronation. Musically speaking, the two coronations are so hopelessly entangled that it is impossible to consider one without the other. Superficially, there would appear to be no problem at all, for the note which appears at the head of the published orchestral score of Le Sueur's Trois oratorios pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains is quite explicit:[2]

> Ces trois oratorios ont **été exécutés** pour la première fois au couronnement de l'Empereur, **par 400 voix et 300** instruments que l'auditeur doit se figurer représenter les assistants de cette majestueuse cérémonie. Ces trois oratorios ont été aussi chantés **au sacre** de S. M. Charles X. Ces deux cérémonies ayant **duré** près de cinq heures en y comptant les repos occupés par le plain-chant et la messe en musique de Paësiello en 1804 et celle de M. Cherubini en 1825. Ces deux compositeurs étant les collègues de M. Le Sueur à ces deux époques.

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[1] Servières, "La Chapelle Royale sous la Restauration," p. 139, footnote #1.

[2] The complete oratorio was printed by J. Frey and issued in three volumes between 1835 and 1837. The cited note is found in the Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains ..., Paris: J. Frey (1835).

This statement, particularly that portion which relates the music to Napoleon's coronation, is confirmed throughout all three oratorios by appropriately placed notes which refer to specific events that occurred during the ceremony. Thus, a paragraph receding the chorus, "Supplices te rogamus," (3. Troisième Scène: Chorus, Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains) states that the Pope, attended by all of his Cardinals, made his entrance at the reprise of the chorus, and a note which heads the chorus, "Urbs beata genovefae," (7. Septième Scène: Chorus, of the same oratorio) reads as follows: "Entrée solennelle de l'Empereur, précédé du clergé. Il se tourne vers Sa Sainteté, lui donne le baiser filial qui lui est rendu par le baiser affectueux du chef de l'Eglise. Le morceau e été exécuté aussi au sacre de Charles X."

Despite such apparently conclusive testimony, the vast amount of music contained in the publised versions of these three works precludes the possibility that they were performed at the Bonaparte ceremonial of 1804. While some of this music was certainly heard at Napoleon's coronation, it was only at Reims in 1825 that the three oratorios were performed in their entirety. It is probable that no more than three or four movements, all of which were subsequently incorporated in the published scores of the Trois oratorios pour le couronnement, were written by Le Sueur for

Napoleon's coronation. All of the remaining music belongs only to the 1825 coronation of Charles X.[1]

Servières has attempted to untangle the circumstances surrounding the composition and ultimate organization of these works, and by means of speculating from the known facts, has succeeded in developing an admirable hypothesis. He substantiates his position by citing a thirty-six page brochure - actually, a set of introductory notes relating to the text and its arrangement - written in Le Sueur's own hand, that has been preserved together with the autograph manuscript of the triple oratorio.[2] The text and the order of this scenario are in complete accord with the published accounts of the ceremonial activity that took place in 1825,[3] and the brochure provides a detailed description of the proceedings, exactly as they transpired, at Charles' coronation. The order followed by the brochure, the precise sequence of the coronation itself, differs in in detail from the order followed by the music manuscript, the latter being identical to the arrangement preserved in the published score. In short, the description of the proceedings noted in Le Sueur's own hand

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[1]A review of the evidence may be found in Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 58-62 and pp. 86-95.

[2]Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, Manuscripts 7007 and 7141.

[3]Lebers, Les cérémonies du sacre, Reims: Baudouin, 1825.

agrees perfectly with the events that transpired at Reims, and does not correspond at all to those which had occurred in Paris twenty one years earlier.

The confusion can be traced directly to those notes which appear in the published score and allude specifically to events which transpired only in Paris. In the autograph manuscript of the oratorios, that manuscript from which the publication was obviously prepared, these introductory headings - explanatory paragraphs - are written in the hand of Madame Le Sueur on separate leaves of paper, leaves which were only subsequently pasted to the manuscript at the appropriate places. And it is in the hand of Madame Le Sueur that the following note has been added to Le Sueur's own manuscript program brochure: "exécutées à Notre-Dame de Paris pour le sacre de Napoléon I.er et à Reims pour celui de Charles X."[1]

With all of the evidence in hand, what are the conclusions to be drawn? How and why did these apparently misleading notes come to be appended to the published scores, if the oratorios, in their final form, were performed at the coronations of Napoleon and Charles X?

In the first, place, it must be remembered that the initial oratorio of the trio did not appear in print until the end of 1835; the remaining two followed in consecutive years. Thus, the publication was prepared when

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[1]Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, Manuscript 7007.

the composer was approximately seventy years old. For his part, Le Sueur could quite honestly maintain that his work had been performed at Napoleon's coronation, for the introductory march, as well as several other works whose texts seem more appropriate to Paris than to Reims, were of his composition. Secondly, it is certain that the composer arranged these scores in his customary fashion. He drew upon a variety of motets and Mass fragments which he had produced under differing circumstances in the past; some date back as far as the Revolution, and some were composed during the reigns of Napoleon and Louis XVIII. In mosaic-like fashion, he added those few original works which he had actually written for the coronations. All of these he joined in a collection which was indeed unique, for the works contained therein had never before been juxtaposed in precisely this manner. To this music he appended an idealized and quite imaginary program whose text was suitably arranged to produce a collection of works published as "oratorios pour le couronnement des princes souverains de la chrétienté."

Those bothersome explanatory notes which appear in the printed score display little consistency. Some are very explicit, and like those examples previously cited, refer to specific events; other are quite general in their allusions. Archbishop, King, Pope, Emperor, Kingdom, and Empire, for example, are all titles used arbitrarily thoughout. As Servi-

ères has so aptly put it, the addition of these explanatory paragraphs "is the type of adaptation in which the practical spirit of Madame Le Sueur, who showed herself to be extremely devoted to furthering the fame of her husband, may be recognized."[1] Everything considered, the addition of these notes was probably nothing more than an attempt to make the publication more attractive and saleable. It was not unlike the practice adopted some twenty years later when the published Schonenberger brought out the vocal score of this triple oratorio in 1853. The title page simply indicated that the work had been "exécuté au Sacre de l' Empereur Napoléon 1er." After all, in 1853, it was another Bonaparte, and not another Bourbon who reigned in France.

Even the ceremony which took place on the eve of the coronation was accompanied by a Le Sueur motet. On the evening of June 7, 1825, the King and his host the Archbishop of Reims went to the Cathedral to pray for divine guidance. Le Sueur' s Ecce ego mitto angelum meum was performed for the occasion.[2]

The co-Surintendants were thus kept busy supplying occasional works in addition to the sacred compositions which they wrote for the reg -

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[1]Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," p. 92. "C' est une adaptation en laquelle se reconnaît l' esprit pratique de Mme. Le Sueur, qui se montra très dévouée à la gloire de son mari,...."

[2]See CHAPTER V, 27^{e}. Morceau séparé.

ular services of the Chapelle Royale.[1] In addition, both Cherubini and Le Sueur were constantly forced to cope with the mountain of administrative paper work required of them by the regulations. Keeping lists of excused and unexcused absences was a daily chore, while submitting confidential reports on each member of the Chapelle staff was an annual one. These reports included name, place of birth, date of birth, date of nomination to the Chapelle, positions occupied, dates of service in each position, salary, and most important of all, appropriate comments relative to individual competence and the fulfillment of assigned duties. The vast amount of correspondence which had to be carried on in connection with the Chapelle's normal operations created still more work for the two co-Surintendants.[2]

Between 1814 and 1830, a number of proposals for the reorganization of the Chapelle Royale were drawn up by several monarchial administrators. The primary objective of these periodic reform movements was to reduce the budget; suggestions ranged from making major changes and reductions in the personnel of the Chapelle to cutting existing salary and pension scales. Some of the proposals were accepted and put into effect

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[1] A number of specific works, including dates of performance and performers, are listed in Servières, "Les oratorios de J. F. Le Sueur," pp. 81-85.

[2] Many of these letters are preserved in Paris: Archives Nationales, 0^3290 and 0^3291.

while others were simply laid aside and never used. The relative success or failure of each can be judged from the yearly budgets of the Chapelle which have survived.[1]

The virtuosity of the Chapelle as a performing organization cannot be doubted. Whether physically occupying their permanent quarters in the Tuileries Palace, or temporarily removed with the court to one of the nearby chateaux, the standard maintained was one of a uniformly high caliber. Contemporaries who were privileged to attend services presided over by the Chapelle unanimously praise the excellence of their performance.[2] Young Berlioz, a frequent visitor at rehearsals and performances alike, bears eloquent testimony to these standards.

One of Europe's most renowned musical organizations ceased to exist when the Chapelle Royale was disbanded following the July Revolution. Its final performance was heard at the Chateau of Saint-Cloud on

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[1]Paris: Archives Nationales $O^3$290 includes several of these proposals and all of the preserved Chapelle budgets. Servières discusses many of these matters throughout his article, "La Chapelle Royale sous la Restauration." His treatment yields a valid picture of the situation despite several slightly misquoted citations and a number of inaccurately represented facts.

[2]Article 14 of the regulations expressly required all visitors to have in their possession a ticket of admission, or some sort of permission, signed by the Surintendant in charge, or by the Intendant-Général of the Menus Plaisirs.

July 25, 1830. Cherubini, director of the Conservatoire since 1822, and Le Sueur, longtime professor of composition at that institution, now devoted all of their energies to the school's development. The Chapelle's principal vocalists and instrumentalists all found positions at the Conservatoire, the Opéra, or one of the other major theatres of Paris. Many of the lesser known and older members of the Chapelle - the forgotten men and women - were finally given pensions by the government, but only after Le Sueur had submitted several eloquent pleas on their behalf.[1] Despite numerous and continued protest, the Chapelle Royale was never formally reconstituted.

Although operatic works, Revolutionary music, theoretical treatises, and instructional manuals written by Le Sueur had long been generally available, it was not until 1826 that the composer's first sacred composition appeared in print. The public issuing of Le Sueur's sacred music, once begun, proceeded at a steady rate: a collected edition of seventeen numbered volumes devoted to the composer's sacred repertory was published between 1826 and 1841. The full orchestral scores of this beautifully engraved edition - several volumes included keyboard reductions as well - were presented in folio format. Begun when Le Sueur was in his sixty-sixth year, the edition was not completed until four years after the composer's death. The last five volumes were issued

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[1]Paris: Archives Nationales, $0^3$291.

posthumously, and it remained for Madame Le Sueur to see this final group of works through the press.

The substantial task of publishing Le Sueur's collected sacred music was undertaken by the well-known printer Jacques Josfa Frey (1781-1838) whose shop at 8 Place des Victoires had been a Parisian landmark since 1812. Apparently, Frey planned to publish the entire seventeen-volume edition, for the first twelve volumes to appear, those issued while Le Sueur was still alive, all bear his colophon and indicate that he was the "Editeur des Oeuvres Religieuses de M.r Lesueur."

In June of 1838, less than eight months after the composer's death, Frey died, and all prior plans concerning the remainder of the edition were set aside. Frey's stock of plates was published by Richault on November 17, 1839, but the dead publisher's successor did not issue the five remaining volumes of the Le Sueur edition.[1] Volumes 13-17 of the set were published by several different groups of "éditeurs" and "marchands de musique," all of whom apparently worked under the direct supervision of Madame Le Sueur.

According to information contained on their respective title pages, these last five volumes were made available as follows: volume 13, "Au

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[1]Detailed and extremely valuable information concerning the publishers, the priorities of the respective firms, and the extent of their activities, may be found in Cecil Hopkinson, A Dictionary of Parisian Music Publishers 1700-1950, London: Printed for the author, 1954.

Magasin de Musique de Beauvais, ... et chez la Veuve de l'Auteur, ..."; volumes 14-16, "Aux Magasins de Musique de M. M. Lemoine, ... et Sieber, ...ainsi que chez la Veuve de l'Auteur, ..."; and volume 17, "Aux Magasins de Musique de M. M. Blanchet, ... et Lemoine, ..." A total of four imprimaturs are thus to be found in the seventeen volumes: the first twelve carry that of Frey, while the final five bear those of the three groups cited above.[1] Below, a sample title page from each has been included.

> Oratorio de Debbora/à Grands Choeurs et à Grand Orchestre,/Composé et Dédié/à Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse,/par/Lesueur,/Surintendant de la Musique du Roi, Chevalier des Ordres Royaux de S^{t} Michel et de la/Légion d'Honneur, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur de Composition à l'Ecole Royale./avec Accompagnement de Piano ou Orgue,/ Par Alexandre Piccini./Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur./Année 1828, prix 50 f./à Paris,/Au Magasin de Musique et Instrumens de J. Frey, Artiste de L.Académie Royale, Place des Victoires, N^{o}. 8./Editeur des Oeuvres Religieuses de M^{r}. Lesueur./Propriété de l'Auteur./

> Cantate Religieuse/Suivie du Motet/Veni Sponsa [Mansueta, Veni] Coronaberis/Soli & Choeurs/Composée et Dédiée/à La Société Philharmonique/de Londres./Par/Le Sueur/13^{e} Livraison Prix 50 f./ Surintendant de la Musique du Roi, Chevalier des Ordres de la Légion d'honneur et de S^{t} Michel./et de la maison grand Ducale de Hesse Darmstadt, Membre de l'Institut de France, professeur de haute/ Composition au Conservatoire, Membre de la Société Philharmonique de Londres et d'autres sociétés Savantes/et musicales de l'Europe etc./Paris./Au Magasin de Musique de Beauvais, Rue S^{t} Thomas du Louvre. N^{o}. 26 et chez la Veuve de l'Auteur, Rue Neuve S^{t} Augustin. N^{o} 25 où se/trouvent aussi ses Oeuvres Dramatiques, la Caverne, Paul et Virginie, Télémaque, la Mort d'Adam etc./Propriété de l'Auteur/Déposé à la Librairie/[1838]

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[1] The contents of all seventeen volumes, including a detailed breakdown by major works and individual movements within each such work, is listed in Appendix 2.

Deux Pseaumes/Premier Pseaume/Ad Templum et Credidi, Soli et Choeurs./Composés/Par/Le Sueur/14^{me} Livraison Prix 50 f./Surintendant de la Musique du Roi, Chevalier des Ordres de la Légion d'honneur, de S^{t} Michel./et de la Maison Grand Ducale de Hesse Darmstadt, membre de l'Institut de France, professeur/de haute Composition au Conservatoire, membre de toutes les Sociétés Savantes et musicales/de France et d'Europe et./Avec Accompagnement d'Orgue par M. Proust./Paris./Aux Magasins de Musique de M.M. Lemoine, Rue Vivienne N^{o}. 18 et Sieber, Rue des Filles S^{t}. Thomas N^{o}. 21/ainsi que chez la Veuve de l'Auteur, Rue Neuve S^{t}. Augustine N^{o}. 25, où se trouvent aussi les Oeuvres/Dramatiques la Caverne, Télémaque, Paul et Virginie, la Mort d'Adam etc./Propriété de l'Auteur./Deposé à la Librairie/ [1839]

Recueil/de Morceaux sacrés/ 2 Domine Salvum 1 0 Salutaris/1 O Filii 1 Stabat/avec Accomp^{t} d'Orgue/Composés/Par/Le Sueur/Surintendant de la Musique du Roi, Membre de l'Institut de France, Chevalier des Ordres de/la Légion d'honneur, de S^{t} Michel et de celui de Louis de Hesse Darmstadt, Professeur de/haute Composition au Conservatoire de Musique, Membre de plusieurs Sociétés Savantes et/Musicales de France et d'Europe etc./17eme Livraison Prix 50 f./ à Paris./Aux Magasins de Musique de M. M. Blanchet, Rue Croix des Petits Champs N^{o} 11 et Lemoine, Dramatiques de cet Auteur, la Caverne, Télémaque, Paul et Virginie, la Mort d'Adam etc./ Propriété de l'Auteur/Déposé à la Librairie/ [1841]

With the designation "Veuve de l'Auteur" so prominently displayed on the title pages of volumes 13, 14, 15, and 16, the possibility that Madame Le Sueur herself was the publisher of these works must be seriously considered. Indeed, during the eighteenth century many French composers "were given to having their works engrave at their own expense and selling them at their homes thus becoming their own music publishers."[1] There is every reason to believe that such might well have been the case with these final five volumes.

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[1]Hopkinson, A Dictionary of Parisian Music Publishers, p. ix.

In 1853, the Parisian publishing house of Schonenberger issued a collected edition of **"Musique d'église par Le Sueur."** Faithful to the original edition, Schonenberger republished virtually all of Le Sueur's sacred music in octavo keyboard-vocal scores. Thus, sixteen years after the composer's death, and twelve years after the final volume of the original collected edition had appeared, Le Sueur's sacred music was made available in a less costly form.

The appearance of Schonenberger's edition provides ample reason to speculate on several interesting points. Surely the demand for Le Sueur's sacred music in 1853 could not have been so great that a publication of this magnitude was warranted! What, then, motivated the publisher to issue such an extensive edition?

While the answer to this question cannot be supplied with any degree of certainty, several relevant facts are worth noting. When the edition was published, Madame Le Sueur was still actively engaged as champion of her late husband's music; she persisted in this self-appointed and determined crusade until her death in 1861. Precisely what her connection with the Schonenberger project might have been remains unknown, but there can be no doubt that she was associated with it in some capacity. A note which appears on several of the scores reads: "S'adresser pour la grande partition et les orchestres de ces morceaux, chez Madame veuve Le Sueur, rue Neuve-Saint-Augustin, N°. 33, à Paris." Further-

more, another Bonaparte ruled France in 1853, and Louis Napoleon might well have looked with favor upon a project which honored the memory of a composer who had served his illustrious uncle so faithfully. Indeed, with a little prodding from Madame Le Sueur, he might have been the motivating force behind the publication. While no documentary evidence can be offered to substantiate any cause and effect relationship, the possibility that all of these factors were in some way related must be considered.

One interesting characteristic shared by the original edition of Le Sueur's sacred music and the collected set of vocal scores published by Schonenberger, is the physical arrangement of the scores themselves. The printers of both series adopted an engraved format which permitted every section of each major work to appear on a separate fascicle. Thus, every aria, ensemble, and chorus, of each Mass, oratorio, motet, or psalm setting, became an independent publication. This method provided for great commercial flexibility: the sections of any major work might be gathered to form a complete unit, and then offered for sale: or, each fascicle, introduced by an appropriate title page, could be sold independently.

This printing format can be readily observed in the Schonenberger edition, for the publisher assigned an independent set of page numbers, a separate price, and a different plate designation to each fascicle. It

requires a careful physical examination of the volumes themselves, however, to demonstrate that the publishers of the original edition had previously conceived of an identical organization. Their edition, too, presented every section of each major work as an independent publication contained on a separate fascicle, but the pagination ran consecutively, no separate price was to be found on each fascicle, and each volume was assigned only a single plate number. A list, in which the fascicle-by-fascicle publication procedure has been reconstructed, is provided in Appendix 2.

With the appearance of Schonenberger's edition in 1853, it may be said that the history of Le Sueur's sacred music comes to an end. After the middle of the nineteenth century, none of his sacred compositions occupied a position in any church repertoire. The new publication did not succeed in stimulating renewed interest in his work, and the hoped for additional performances were apparently not forthcoming.

Of all the music written by the composer during his long career, only one opera and several occasional compositions were to appear in print again. In 1880, Théodore Salomé edited Ossian ou les Bardes for inclusion in Théodore Michaelis' remarkable series, "Chefs d'oeuvre de l'Opéra Français;" it was published in keyboard-vocal format. For a number of the centennial celebrations of the French Revolution held in Paris during the final decade of the century, Constant Pierre edited,

performed, and published several of Le Sueur's Revolutionary compositions. Since then, virtual silence has been the composer's lot. No other music by Le Sueur has been republished, and with the exception of those references to the composer included in the literature cited in CHAPTER I, little attention of any sort has been paid him during the last century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the interest of avoiding unnecessary repetition, no entries for Le Sueur's sacred music have been included in this bibliography. All pertinent bibliographical information relative to both the published and unpublished sacred compositions of Le Sueur has been included in CHAPTER VI, Appendices 1, 2, and 3.

1. A chronologically arranged list of Le Sueur's theoretical writings.

Le Sueur, Jean Francois. Essai de musique sacrée, ou musique motivée et méthodique, pour la fête de Noël, à la messe du jour. Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

_____. Exposé d'une musique, une, imitative et particulière à chaque solemnité; où l'on donne les principes généraux sur lesquels on l'établit, et le plan d'une musique propre à la fête de Noël. Essai par M. Le Sueur, Maître de Chapelle de l'Eglise de Paris. Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

_____. Suite de l'essai sur la musique sacrée et imitative, où l'on donne le plan d'une musique propre à la fête de Pâque. Par M. Le Sueur, Maître de Chapelle de l'Eglise de Paris. Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

_____. Exposé d'une musique, une, imitative et propre à chaque solemnité; où l'on donne une dissertation sur ses effets, et le plan d'une musique particulière à la solemnité de la Pentecôte. Suite de l'essai par M. Le Sueur, Maître de Chapelle de l'Eglise de Paris. Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

_____. Exposé d'une musique, une, imitative, et particulière à chaque solemnité; où l'auteur, à la suite de ce qu'il a déja publié à ce sujet, donne à ceux de ses élèves qui se destinent à composer la musique de nos temples, les précepts qu'il leur a cru nécessaires pour mettre le plus de poésie de

peinture, et d'expression possible dans leurs ouvrages. Il y donne aussi le plan d'une musique propre à la fête de l'Assomption. Suite de l'essai par M. Le Sueur, Maître de Chapelle de l'Eglise de Paris. Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

_____. Exposé détaillé d'une musique, une, imitative, et particulière à chaque solemnité. Paris: Hérissant, 1787.

The four separate theoretical pamphlets which Le Sueur wrote for Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption respectively, were subsequently collected and published in one volume under this title.

_____. Principes élémentaires de musique, arrêtés par membres du Conservatoire, pour servir à l'étude dans cet établissement, suivis de solfèges, par les citoyens Agus, Catel, Cherubini, Gossec, Langlé, Lesueur, Méhul, Rigel, Martini et Rey. Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de Musique, an VIII-an X [c1796].

_____. Solfèges pour servir à l'étude dans le Conservatoire de Musique à Paris, par les citoyens Agus, Catel, Cherubini, Gossec, Langlé, Lesueur, Martini, Méhul, et Rey. Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de Musique, an X [c.1796].

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2. Chapter deliberations, pay records, notifications of appointments and promotions, personal correspondence, autobiographical sketches, biographies of Le Sueur written by contemporaries, and a substantial amount of musical material in manuscript form - some of it catalogued, a good bit of it not - have been of vital importance to this study. While complete bibliographical information is provided for each document and manuscript when cited, the following archival sources have been singled out for special recognition. They have provided the greatest number of riches.

Abbeville: Bibliothèque Municipale.

Amiens: Archives du Département de la Somme.

Amiens: Bibliothèque Municipale.

Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica.

Paris: Archives Nationales.

Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.

Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.

3. A list of works written by contemporaries of Le Sueur - friends, enemies, and acquaintances of the composer - arranged alphabetically by author.

Anonymous. Dessert des plats de son métier que M. l'Abbé L * * * a fait servir à son E. Monseigneur l'archevêque de Paris à messieurs du chapitre de la métropole. [1787].
This pamphlet was written and published anonymously.

Anonymous. L'Ile des chats fourrés. [1787].
This pamphlet was written and published anonymously.

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_____. Les grotesques de la musique. Paris: A Bourdilliat, 1859.

_____. Mémoires de Hector Berlioz; comprenant ses voyages en Italie en Allemagne, en Russie et en Angleterre 1803-1865. 2 Vols., Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1865.

_____. Memoirs of Hector Berlioz from 1803 to 1865 comprising his travels in Germany, Italy, Russia, and England. Translated by Rachel (Scott Russel) Holmes and Eleanor Holmes. Annotated, and the translation revised, by Ernest Newman. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., [1948].

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Ducancel, Charles Pierre. Mémoire pour J. F. Lesueur, l'un des inspecteurs de l'enseignement au Conservatoire de musique,

au conseiller d'état chargé de la direction et de la surveillance de l'instruction publique; en réponse à la partie d'un prétendu "Recueil de pièces [à opposer à divers libelles dirigés contre le Conservatoire de Musique]" imprimé soi-disant au nom du Conservatoire, et aux calomnies dirigées contre le citoyen Lesueur par le citoyen Sarrette, directeur de cet établissement, et autres, ses adhérents: contenant en outre quelques vues d'améliorations et d'affermissement dont le Conservatoire paraît susceptible. Par le citoyen C. P. Ducancel, défenseur officiel et ami de Lesueur. Paris: Goujon fils, Vendémiaire an XI [September-October, 1802].

Fétis, Francois Joseph. Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1833-1844.

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_____. "Notice historique de Le Sueur," Fastes Artistiques, 1844.

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_____. Institut Royal de France. Séance publique de l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts du samedi 5 octobre 1839. "Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Lesueur," Paris: Didot, 1840.

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_____. Un romantique sous Louis-Philippe, Hector Berlioz 1831-1842 d'après de nombreux documents inédits avec portraits. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1908.

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_____. Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la révolution française; oeuvres de Gossec, Cherubini, Lesueur, Méhul, Catel etc., recueillies et transcrites par Constant Pierre. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899.

_____. Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales de la révolution française. (Chant, choeurs et orchestre) recueillie et mise en partition d'après les parties originales manuscrites ou gravées et accompagnée de notices historiques par Constant Pierre. Paris: Alphonse Leduc, [1893-1894].

_____. Notes inédites sur la musique de la Chapelle Royale. Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1899.

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The section of this work devoted to letters of Le Sueur is found in Vol. I, pp. 323-362.

THE SACRED MUSIC OF JEAN FRANCOIS LE SUEUR:

A MUSICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE STUDY

Appendices

by

Martin Merker Herman

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Louise E. Cuyler, Chairman
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FOREWORD

A major problem confronted by anyone who attempts to study the sacred music of Le Sueur is the general unavailability of the seventeen-volume collected edition devoted to the composer's sacred repertory. While isolated volumes are to be found in many libraries, to the best of my knowledge, the complete series is preserved only in Paris and Brussels. Since the findings presented in CHAPTER V depend upon a comparison of manuscript material with their published equivalents, the lack of available publications serves as a serious handicap.

Collectively, Appendices 2, 3, and 4 represent an attempt to provide the reader with at least a general outline of each work contained in the published set. Ideally, CHAPTER V should be read with the seventeen-volumes in hand. In lieu of this, however, Appendices 2, 3, and 4 will serve as an inadequate but valuable substitute.

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APPENDIX 1

EXTANT MANUSCRIPT SOURCES RELATED TO THE REPERTORY OF THE CHAPELLE IMPÉRIALE-ROYALE

The following group of manuscript sources provided the vital documentation employed in clarifying the repertory composed by Le Sueur for use in the Chapelle Impériale and the Chapelle Royale following the Restoration. For presentation here, these sources have been organized into two groups: the first lists the Messes, while the second is devoted to the Morceaux séparés. In both, the relevant manuscript material has been arranged under the following headings: 1. Thematic catalogue entries; 2. List of orchestral scores; 3. List of choral scores; 4. List of parts. Under the heading "List of parts," the figure enclosed in parenthesis following each entry indicates the number of copies which has survived.

Messes

1. Thematic catalogue entries (Messes de M.r Le Sueur 1-29):

   Etat/de/la Bibliothèque/de la Musique/du Roi/1.er Volume./
   Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Rés. 9191-2, pages 45-74.

2. Full orchestral scores (Messes de M.r Le Sueur 1-26):

   1.ere Messe,

   N.o 1/Cantate Religieuse/pendant la Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
   Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica,
   Firenze, A.877, 146 pages.

   2.e Messe,

   N.o 2/Kirie, Gloria et Credo/Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
   Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica,
   Firenze, A. 878, 179 pages.

   3.e Messe,

   N.o 3/Motet/pendant la Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
   Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica,
   Firenze, A. 879, 164 pages.

   4.e Messe,

   N.o 4/Kirie et Gloria/Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
   Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica,
   Firenze, A. 880, 149 pages.

   5.e Messe,

   N.o 5/Prières/pendant la Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
   Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica,
   Firenze, A. 881, 154 pages.[1]

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[1]Breaks off incomplete at page 154.

6.e Messe,

N.o 6/Kirie et Credo/Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 882, 142 pages.

7.e Messe,

N.o 7/Scène Religieuse/à grands choeurs/pendant la Messe/ de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Bilioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 883, 100 pages.

8.e Messe,

N.o 8/Credo et Mottet/Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 884, 139 pages.

9.e Messe,

N.o 9/Kirie, Credo et Mottet/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 885, 164 pages.

10.e Messe,

N.o 10/Mottet/à grand choeur/pendant la Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 886, 134 pages.

11.e Messe,

N.o 11/Kirie et Gloria/Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 887, 108 pages.

Kyrie/Messe N.o 11/M.r Le Sueur/[1]
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

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[1]Opening "Kyrie" only: cf. 23.e Morceau séparé.

12.e Messe,

N.o 12/Pseaume/à grand choeur/pendant la Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 888, 144 pages.

13.e Messe, [Première Te Deum Breve],

N.o 13/ Te Deum/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 889, 122 pages.

14.e Messe, Première messe temporaire,

N.o 14/Messe/Cantate Religieuse pour la Carême/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 890, 95 pages.

1.ere Messe Temporaire/Stances Religieuses/Oratoire/
N.o 14/M.r Le Sueur/[1]
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

15.e Messe, Deuxième messe temporaire,

N.o 15/Messe/à grands choeurs en Litanies/(dans le style de l'antiquité)/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 891, 166 pages.

16.e Messe,

N.o 16/Messe avant la Chasse/Kirie et Motet/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 892, 140 pages.

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[1]Opening chorus, "Introibo," only.

Elevation/N.° 16/Messe/Musique de M.r Le Sueur/[1]
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

17.e Messe, Rachel,

N.° 17/Messe/(Rachel)/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 893, 144 pages.

18.e Messe, Deuxième Te Deum Breve,

N.° 18/Messe en Te Deum/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 894, unpaginated.

19.e Messe, Rutto et Booz (Première Partie),

N.° 19/Messe/(Noemi)[2]/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 895, 166 pages.

20.e Messe, Rutto et Booz (Deuxième Partie),

N.° 20/Messe/(Ruth et Booz)/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 896, 218 pages.

21.e Messe,

N.° 21/Messe/(Motet en trois parties)/pendant la Messe/ de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 897, 141 pages.

22.e Messe, Debbora,

N.° 22/Messe/(Debbora)/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 898, 264 pages.

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[1]"Elevation" only: cf. 21.e Morceau séparé.

[2]The parenthesis and the word "Noemi" were added in a later hand.

23e Messe, Te Deum,

N.o 23/Messe/(Te Deum)/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 899, 162 pages.

Vivat Rex/M.r Le Sueur/[1]
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

24e Messe, Messe de Noel,[2]

N.o 25/Messe propre aux fêtes de Noel/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 901, 460 pages.

25e Messe, Epithalame Religieuse,[2]

N.o 24/Messe/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 900, 99 pages.

26e Messe,[3]

N.o 26/Messe/Cantate funèbre/à grands choeurs/de M.r Le Sueur/
Florence: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Firenze, A. 902, 220 pages.

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[1]Concluding section, "Vivat Rex," 23e Messe: cf. 9e Morceau séparé.

[2]The numbering followed by the Florence manuscripts, with respect to the 24e Messe and the 25e Messe only, is the reverse of that found in the thematic catalogue, "Etat de la Bibliothèque de la Musique du Roi," Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Rés. 9191-2, Vol. I, pages 68-70. The numbering adopted here corresponds to that of the thematic catalogue. As a result, the corresponding numbers of the Florence manuscripts are reversed.

[3]The final three compositions listed in the thematic catalogue, Oratorios A, B, C, du Sacre, are not included in the collection of manuscript scores found in Florence.

3. Choral scores:

14e Messe,[1]

Partition de choeurs/No. 14/Oratoire/pour/la Chapelle Impériale/Musique/de Mr. Lesueur/
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

4. Parts (Messes de Mr. Le Sueur):

Messes 1-19 (Dessus récitant, part book)

Répertoire/des Messes de Mr. Lesueur/Directeur de la Musique/de sa Majesté l'Empereur/et Roi/Dessus récitant, Mlle Hymn/
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

Messes 1, 3-7, 9-10, 12, 14-17, 19-20 (1er Dessus, part book)

Répertoire/des Messes de Mr. Lesueur/Directeur de la Musique/de sa Majesté l'Empereur/et Roi/1er Dessus/
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

11e Messe,[2]

a. orchestra: clarinet II (1), bassoon II (1), basso (1)

b. chorus: soprano II (1), tenor I (2)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

14e Messe, Première messe temporaire,

a. orchestra: clarinet I and II (1), badsoon I and II (1), violin I (4), violin II (4), viola (2), basso (5)

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[1]Opening chorus, "Introibo," only.

[2]For additional orchestral and choral parts of the opening "Kyrie" only, see: "Parts," 23e Morceau séparé.

b. chorus: soprano I (17), soprano II (9), tenor I (6), tenor II (5), bass I (9), bass II (6),[1]
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncataloged manuscripts.

16e Messe,[2]

a. orchestra: cello and bass (1)

b. chorus: none
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

23e Messe [3]

27e Messe, Oratorio A du Sacre,

a. orchestra: viola (1)

b. chorus: soprano I (1)

Morceaux séparés

1. Thematic catalogue entries (Morceaux séparés de Mr. Le Sueur 1-29):

Etat/de/la Biblioth·que/de la Musique/du Roi/ 1er. Volume./
Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Rés. 9191-2, pages 131-138

2. Full orchestral scores (Morceaux séparés de Mr. Le Sueur 1-4, 6, 8-9, 11, 19-21, 23-24)

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[1]The choral parts are all for the opening chorus, "Introibo," only, but the orchestral parts are for the entire 14e Messe.

[2]For additional orchestral and choral parts of the "Elevation" only, see: "Parts," 21e Morceau séparé.

[3]For orchestral and choral parts of the concluding movement, "Vivat Rex," see: "Parts," 9e Morceau séparé.

1ere Morceau,

Laudate Dominum/Pour le 14 Octobre 1807/à Fontainebleau/ in modo antiquo ed à capella/avec orgue./
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts, 12 pages.

2e. Morceau,

Bénédiction/Pour la Cérémonie de la fête de l' Empereur/ (2 copies)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts, 6 pages.

3e. Morceau,

Laudamus/ (2 copies)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts, 8 pages.

4e. Morceau,

Tantum ergo/Choeur hymnique en chant plein./
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts, 16 pages.

6e. Morceau,

Partition/O Filii/Chapelle/du/Roi, Mr. Le Sueur./
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, L. 2985.

8e. Morceau,

Domine Salvum etcetera/pr. MM Albert et Nourrit/ (en Duo et Choeur)/Prière pour le Roi [Empereur is crossed out and replaced] /Musique/de Mr. Lesueur/
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts, 48 pages.

9.e Morceau,

Vivat Rex/M.r Le Sueur/
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts,16 pages.

11.e Morceau,

Marche religieuse et guerrière, avec le choeur **général/** du peuple: pour l'anniversaire du 3 Mai, à la Chapelle R.ale /Le Sueur/
Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Rés. 161, 21 pages.

19.e Morceau,

Simphonie funèbre/Début de Messe des Morts/Musique de M. Lesueur/
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts, 26 pages.

20.e Morceau,

Oratorio bref./Offertoire pour la Messe du S.t Esprit./à executer aussi; au commencement et à la fin de la cérémonie./Chant populaire de Déliverance./
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, MS 12269, 32 pages.

21.e Morceau,

Elevation/N.o 16/Messe/Musique de M.r Le Sueur./
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

23.e Morceau.

Kyrie/Messe N.o 11/M.r Le Sueur./
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

24.e Morceau,

Musique/Du/Baptême./Canticum/cum choris duplicibus,/ pro Baptismo Regii filii/paroles tirées/des hymnes pour/ le Roi; de la Bible; et des psaumes./
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, MS 12265, 90 pages.

3. Choral score:

20.e Morceau,

Offertoire/pour la messe du S.t Esprit/Musique de M.r Le Sueur/ Partition de chant./
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

4. Parts (Morceaux séparés de M.r Le Sueur, 1-4, 6-9, 19, 21, 23)

1.ere Morceau,

a. orchestra: flute (1), bassoon (1), violin I (2), violin II (2), viola (1), basso (3)

b. chorus: soprano I (3), soprano II (3), tenor (2), bass (3)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

2.e Morceau,

a. orchestra: flute (2), oboe (2), clarinet (2), bassoon (2), violin I (6), violin II (6), viola (4), basso (8)

b. chorus: soprano I (8), soprano II (8), tenor (8), bass I (6), bass II (6)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

3.e Morceau,

a. orchestra: flute (2), oboe (2), clarinet (2), bassoon (2), horn I (2), horn II (2), violin I (6), violin II (6), viola (4), basso (8)

b. chorus: soprano I (19), soprano II (11), tenor I (5), tenor II (3), bass I (7), bass II (7)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

4e Morceau,

a. orchestra: clarinet I and II (1), horn I (1), horn II (1), violin I (7), violin II (6), viola (4), basso (11)

b. chorus: soprano I (15), soprano II (18), tenor I (7), tenor II (8), bass I (6), bass II (6),
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

6e Morceau,

a. orchestra: flute (1), clarinet I and II (2), bassoon (2), harp II (1), violin I (4), violin II (4), viola (2), basso (6, with differentiated cello and bass parts specifically indicated)

b. chorus: soprano (4), alto (6), tenor (8), bass (7)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

7e Morceau,

chorus: soprano I (1)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

8e Morceau,

a. orchestra: flute (1), oboe I and II (1), clarinet I and II (2), bassoons I and II (1), bassoons III and IV (1), horn I and II (1), violin I (4), violin II (4), viola I and II (3), basso (4, with differentiated solo cello and bass parts specifically indicated)

b. soloists: soprano (1), tenor (1)

c. chorus: soprano I and II (19), tenor I and II (12), bass I and II (10)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

9.e Morceau,

a. orchestra: flute I and II (2), oboe I and II (2), clarinet I and II (3), clarinet III and IV (3), bassoon I and II (3), bassoon III and IV (3), horn I and II (2), trumpet I and II (1), timpani (1), violin I (9), violin II (9), viola I and II (6), basso (14)

b. chorus: soprano I (30), soprano II (22), tenor I and II (35), bass I and II (31)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

19.e Morceau,

a. orchestra: flute I and II (1), clarinet I and II (2), bassoon I and II (2), horn I, II and III (2), trumpet (1), alto trombone (1), tenor trombone (1), bass trombone (1), bass drum (1), timpani (1), violin I (8), violin II (8), viola I and II (5), cello I and II with bass (10)

b. chorus: soprano I (37), soprano II (9), alto (15), tenor (18), bass (27)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

21.e Morceau,

a. orchestra: violin I (12), violin II (12), viola I and II (5), cello and bass (14)

b. chorus: soprano I and II (52), tenor I (15), tenor II (14), bass I (14), bass II (17)
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

23e Morceau,

a. orchestra: clarinet I (1), clarinet II (1), bassoon I (1), bassoon II (1), horn II (2), ophecleide (1), violin I (8), violin II (8), viola I and II (4), cello with bass (11)

b. chorus: soprano I (38), soprano II (30), tenor I (15), tenor II (15), bass I (17), bass II (14).
Paris: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, uncatalogued manuscripts.

APPENDIX 2

THE SEVENTEEN-VOLUME COLLECTED EDITION OF SACRED MUSIC

The seventeen consecutively numbered volumes which were published as the collected edition of Le Sueur' s sacred music are here outlined in chronological order. Since these works were all issued in fascicle and volume format, this catalogue-like ordering of the total contents provides an opportunity to study the internal organization of fascicles and volumes individually or collectively. The appropriate number designation is supplied for each fascicle and volume, and the major textual incipits are indicated.

Volume	Fascicle	Title
Vol. 1		Première messe solennelle
	Fas. 1	1. Kyrie:[1] Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"
	Fas. 2	2. Gloria: Duo, "Gloria in excelsis Deo"
		3. Gloria: (Cont.) Duo with chorus, "Qui sedes ad dexteram"
	Fas. 3	4. Credo: Solo with chorus and choruses (5), "Credo in unum Deum" etc.
	Fas. 4	5. Offertory: Chorus, "Quis enarrabit"
	Fas. 5	6. Sanctus: Chorus, "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus"
	Fas. 6	7. O Salutaris: Air with chorus, "O salutaris hostia"
	Fas. 7	8. Agnus Dei: Chorus, "Agnus Dei"
Vol. 2		Debbora
	Fas. 8	1. Chorus, "Canticum Debbora cantemus"
		2. Air with chorus, "Dux descendit de monte Thabor"
	Fas. 9	3. Introduction (chorus), trio with chorus and chorus, "Ante pedes nostros" - "Sic pereant inimici tui" - "Suffocatus exercitus eorum"
	Fas. 10	4. Air with chorus, "Surge Debbora, frequenta canticum"
	Fas. 11	5. Finale: Quartet and quartet with chorus, "Surge Israel, surge illuminare" - "Super te orta est"
Vol. 3		Trois Te Deum
		Première Te Deum
	Fas. 12	1. Chorus (Introduction-fugue), "Te Deum laudamus"

[1]All underlined headings are presented exactly as they appear in the edition.

Volume	Fascicle	Title
	Fas. 13	2. Air with chorus, "Te gloriosus Apostolorum"
	Fas. 14	3. Final: Chorus, "Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos"
		Deuxième Te Deum
	Fas. 15	1. Double chorus, "Te Deum laudamus"
	Fas. 16	2. Air, "Per singulos dies"
	Fas. 17	3. Chorus (Introduction, fugue, and Vivat), "Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos" - " In te Domine speravi" - "Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum"
		Troisième Te Deum
	Fas. 18	1. Trio and chorus, "Te Deum laudamus" - "Tu devicto mortis aculeo"
	Fas. 19	2. Air, "Te ergo quaesumus"
		3. Chorus, "Patrem immensae majestatis"
	Fas. 14[1]	4. Final: Chorus, "Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos"
Vol. 4		Deux oratorios de la Passion
		Premier oratorio de la Passion
	Fas. 20	1. Introduction (chorus) and soli with choruses (3), "Threni id est lamentationes" - "Quomodo sedet sola" etc.

[1] The Final of the Troisième Te Deum, is identical with the Final of the Première Te Deum. In the original publication, the same plates, with two different sets of numbers, corresponding to the appropriate pagination in each Te Deum were used in printing both finales. As a result, fascicle 14 serves for both.

Volume	Fascicle	Title
	Fas. 21	2. Duo, "O spes salutis omnium"
	Fas. 22	3. Introduction (chorus), quartet with chorus and chorus, "Insons cruentae filius" - "Plange tristi carmine" - "Patri sit gloria"
		Deuxième oratorio de la Passion
	Fas. 23	1. Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"
	Fas. 24	2. Air and choral conclusion, "Ab ira tua" - "Miserere nobis"
	Fas. 25	3. Trio with chorus, "Lux vera, lux eterna"
	Fas. 26	4. Chorus, "Domine libera regem"
Vol. 5		Deuxième messe solennelle
	Fas. 27	1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"
	Fas. 28	2. Gloria: Introduction (duo), air with chorus, and choruses (3), "Gloria in excelsis Deo" - "Et in terra pax" etc.
	Fas. 29	3. Credo: Air, "Credo in unum Deum"
		4. Credo: (Cont.) Duo with chorus, duo, quartet, and chorus, "Deum de Deo" - "Et resurrexit" etc.
	Fas. 30	5. Offertory: Chorus, "Venite introite"
	Fas. 31	6. Sanctus: Choruses (2) and solo with chorus, "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus" - "Hosanna in excelsis" - "Qui habet aurem"
	Fas. 32	7. O Salutaris: Air with chorus, "O salutaris hostia"
	Fas. 33	8. Agnus Dei: Chorus, "Agnus Dei"
Vol. 6		Super flumina Babylonis; Troisième oratorio de la Passion (du Carême)
		Super flumina Babylonis
	Fas. 34	1. Chorus, "Super flumina Babylonis"

Volume	Fascicle	Title
	Fas. 35	2. Introduction (recitative-duo), and air, "Quia illic interrogaverunt" - "Si oblitus fuero tui"
	Fas. 36	3. Introduction (chorus) and chorus, "Quomodo cantabimus" - "Juxta fluvium"
		Troisième oratorio de la Passion (du Carême)
	Fas. 37	1. Combined strophic chorus and air, "Introibo in dominum tuam" - "Secundum misericordiam"
	Fas. 38	2. Trio with chorus, "In virtute tua"
Vol. 7		Rachel
	Fas. 39	1. Air with chorus, "Vox in excelso" - "Quiescat in vox tua"
	Fas. 40	2. Air with chorus, "Circumspice ad orientur"
	Fas. 41	3. Finale (soli-chorus in 7 sections), "Dico ego opera mei Regi" - "Uxor tua sicut, etc."
Vol. 8		Ruth et Noemi; Ruth et Booz
		Ruth et Noemi
	Fas. 42	1. Première scène: (part 1) Scene (soli-chorus), "Noemi egressa es"
	Fas. 43	2. Première scène: (part 2) Air, "Ne vocetis me Noemi"
		3. Deuxième scène: Chorus, "Ah Noemi! non vidit nostras angustias"
		4. Final: Troisième scène et Quatrième Scène: Scene (soli), and air with chorus, "Orpha osculata est socrum" - "Quocumque enim perrexeris"

Volume	Fascicle	Title
		Ruth et Booz
	Fas. 44	1. Première scène: Chorus, "Venit Noemi cum Ruth"
	Fas. 45	2. Deuxième scène: Air, "Noemi, Noemi te consolare"
	Fas. 46	3. Troisième scène: Scene (soli-chorus), air and chorus, "Cum vobis dominus" - "Haec est Moabitis"
	Fas. 47	4. Quatrième scène: Recitative and air with chorus, "Unde mihi hoc" - "Domine, inveni gratiam"
	Fas. 48	5. Cinquième scène: Marche pastorale 6. Sixième scène: Chorus, "Tulit Booz"
Vol. 9		Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains
	Fas. 49	1. Première scène: March and chorus, "Vivat in aeternum" 2. Deuxième scène: Chorus, "Deus, Deus qui populo tuo"
	Fas. 50	3. Troisième scène: Chorus, "Supplices te rogamus"
	Fas. 51	4. Quatrième scène: Duo with chorus, "Omnipotentem Sancte Remigi"
	Fas. 52	5. Cinquième scène: solo and chorus, "In virtute tua" - "Domine salvum fac"
	Fas. 53	6. Sixième scène: Solo with chorus, "Veneremur adoremus"
	Fas. 54	7. Septième scène: Chorus, "Urbs beata genovefae"
Vol. 10		Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains
	Fas. 55	1. Première scène: Double chorus, "Domine emitte"
	Fas. 56	2. Deuxième scène: Solo with chorus, "Ter Sancte Deus"

Volume	Fascicle	Title
	Fas. 57	3. Troisième scène: Chorus, "Beatus qui legit"
	Fas. 58	4. Quatrième scène: Duo with chorus, "Suscepit Israel"
	Fas. 59	5. Cinquième scène: Scene (chorus-solo), "Christe qui sedes Olympo"
		6. Sixième scène: Chorus, scene (solo-chorus) and duo with chorus, "Domine Deus, Gratias Agimus"-"In hoc festo"
Vol. 11		Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains
	Fas. 60	1. Première scène: Solo with chorus, "David parvulus"
	Fas. 61	2. Deuxième scène: Duo with chorus, "Inveni David"
	Fas. 62	3. Troisième scène: Air with chorus, "Confortare et esto vir"
	Fas. 63	4. Quatrième scène: (part 1) Double chorus, "Ora pro nobis Sancte Remigi - Gentem francorum"
	Fas. 64	5. Quatrième scène: (part 2) Duo with chorus, "Laudent dominum"
	Fas. 65	6. Cinquième scène: Double chorus and chorus, "Unxerunt Salomonem" - "Sit laus Patri, laus Filio"
	Fas. 66	7. Sixième scène: Chorus, "Peregrinus veniens"
	Fas. 67	8. Septième scène: (part 1) March with chorus, "Marche séraphique" - "Deus Salvator"
	Fas. 68	9. Septième scène: (part 2) Chorus, "Vivat in aeternum"
Vol. 12		Troisième messe solennelle
	Fas. 69	1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison!"
	Fas. 70	2. Gloria: Chorus, "Gloria in excelsis Deo"

Volume	Fascicle	Title
		3. Gloria: (Cont.) Air with chorus, chorus, and duo with chorus, "Gratias agimus" etc.
	Fas. 71	4. Credo: Chorus, airs, and sextet, "Credo in unum Deum" etc.
		5. Credo: (Cont.) Duo, and sextet with chorus, "Et resurrexit" - "Cujus regni"
	Fas. 72	6. Offertory: Air with chorus, "In media nocte"
	Fas. 73	7. Sanctus: Choruses and solo with chorus, "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus" etc. - "O salutaris hostia"
	Fas. 74	8. Agnus Dei: Duo with chorus, "Agnus Dei"
Vol. 13		Cantate religieuse; Veni sponsa mansueta, veni coronaberis
		Cantate religieuse
	Fas. 75	1. Chorus, introduction, and air (rondo), "Tollite hostias" - "O Domine vestigia" - "Stare fecti cantores"
	Fas. 76	2. Combined strophic chorus, "In perita sua"
	Fas. 77	3. Recitative and air, "In memoria eterna" - "Paratum cor ejus"
		Veni sponsa mansueta, veni coronaberis
	Fas. 78	1. Introduction (chorus) and chorus, "Deus judicium tuum Regi" - Psallite Regi nostro"
	Fas. 79	2. Introduction (solo-chorus) and air with chorus, "Dixi ecce venio"- "O salutaris hostia"

Volume	Fascicle	Title
Vol. 14		Ad templum Domini; Caeli enarrant
		Ad templum Domini
	Fas. 80	1. Introduction (chorus), duo, and duo with chorus, "Ad templum Domini" - "Credidi, propter quod locutus suum" - "Quid retribuam Domino"
	Fas. 81	2. Air and solo with chorus, "O salutaris hostia" - "Benedictus qui venit"
		Caeli enarrant
	Fas. 82	1. Trio with chorus, and solo with chorus, "Caeli enarrant" etc.
	Fas. 83	2. Air with chorus, "O salutaris hostia" etc.
Vol. 15		Messe basse ou motet; Joannes in deserto baptizat
		Messe basse ou motet
	Fas. 84	1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"
	Fas. 85	2. Credo: Chorus and soli with choruses, "Credo in unum Deum" etc.
		3. Credo: (Cont.) Solo with chorus and chorus, "Credo in unam sanctam catholicam" - "Justia ejus orietur"
	Fas. 86	4. Domine salvum: Air, "Domine salvum fac"
		Joannes in deserto baptizat
	Fas. 87	1. Duo with chorus, "Joannes in deserto baptizat"
	Fas. 88	2. Air with chorus, "Domine salvum fac"

Volume	Fascicle	Title
Vol. 16		Oratorio de Noël
	Fas. 89	1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"
	Fas. 90	2. Scène religieuse de nuit et Gloria: Recitative, chorus and postlude, chorus and interlude, "Pastores erant vigilantes" - "Gloria in excelsis Deo"
	Fas. 91	3. Recitative, Morceau d'ensemble: air with chorus, "Nolite timere; quia natus est" - "Laudamus te"
	Fas. 92	4. Duo, recitative, and chorus, "Gratias agimus tibi" etc.
	Fas. 93	5. Morceau d'ensemble: chorus, "Domine Deus, Agnus Dei"
	Fas. 94	6. Recitative and air with chorus, "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris"
	Fas. 95	7. Hymne pastorale: Strophic chorus, "Jam desinant suspira"
Vol. 17		Recueil de morceaux sacrés
		Domine salvum fac [I]
	Fas. 96	Introduction and rondo, "Dies super, Dies imperatoris" - "Domine salvum fac"
		Domine salvum fac [II]
	Fas. 97	Air with chorus, "Domine salvum fac"
		O salutaris
	Fas. 98	Chorus, "O salutaris hostia"
		O filii et filiae
	Fas. 99	Introduction, strophes, chorus, "Alleluia" - "O filii et filiae"

Volume	Fascicle	Title
		Stabat [Mater] en francais
	Fas. 100	Strophic trio, "Marie en pleurs"

APPENDIX 3

THE SACRED MUSIC OF LE SUEUR:

AN ALPHABETICALLY ORDERED SERIES OF DESCRIPTIVE OUTLINES

The following descriptive outlines provide a ready reference to each of the compositions included in the seventeen-volume collected edition of Le Sueur's sacred music. Those sacred works which remain in manuscript and were never published, are outlined in Volume I under the appropriate chapter headings. Information related to the following items is supplied for each composition: total performing medium; the number, type, and length of major divisions; the text distribution, performing forces, tempo designation, metronome marking (where supplied by the publication), key, time signature, and length of every major and secondary section.

Ad templum Domini[1]

soloists: soprano, tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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1. Introduction (chorus), duo, and duo with chorus (276 measures)

"Ad templum Domini:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato
(B-flat minor, ¢, 19 measures)

Ad templum Domini adorabo nomen Domine invocabo.

"Credidi, propter quod locutus suum:" soprano, tenor

Moderato, même mouvement
(B-flat major, ¢, 62 measures)

Credidi propter quod locutus suum; ego autem humiliatus suum nimis . . . . mendax.

"Quid retribuam Domino:" soprano, tenor, chorus

2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in B-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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[1] Psalm 115:10-13

Allegro spiritoso
(B-flat major, C, 195 measures)

Quid retribuam Domino . . . invocabo.

2. Air and solo with chorus
(109 measures)

"O salutaris hostia:" soprano

1 oboe, 1 clarinet, 1 bassoon, 1 horn in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Largo mais avec mouvement
(C major, C, 33 measures)

O salutaris hostia, quae caeli pandis ostium. Bella premunt hostilia, da robur, fer auxilium.

"Benedictus qui venit:" soprano, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato avec mouvement
(C major, 3/2, 76 measures)

Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine . . .

Caeli enarrant[1]

soloists: soprano, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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[1]Psalm 18:1-11; Psalm 20.

1. Trio with chorus, and solo with chorus (2 sections) (304 measures)

"Caeli enarrant:" soprano, tenor, bass, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Un poco large
(C major, C, 67 measures)

Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei . . . et dulciora super mel et favum. Domine in virtute tua laetabitur rex.

"Et super salutare:" soprano, chorus

Allegro comodo
(C major, ¢, 92 measures)

Et super salutare tuum . . .

"Exaltare Domine:" soprano, chorus

Allegro large et sans vitesse
(C major, C, 92 measures)

Exaltare Domine in virtute tua . . . et dulciora mel et favum.

Allegro spiritoso
(C major, C, 53 measures)

Eructant cor meum verbum honum . . . ejus ad praelium. Alleluia!

2. Air with chorus (3 sections) (196 measures)

"O salutaris hostia:" bass, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

[Mineur] Allegro moderato mais avec mouvement, affection religieuse et sentiment
(D minor, C, 88 measures)

O salutaris hostia . . . fer auxilium. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

"Gloria Patri:" bass

1 flute, 1 bassoon, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Majeur
(D major, C, 40 measures)

Gloria Patri . . . saecula saeculorum. Amen.

"O salutaris hostia:" bass, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Mineur
(D minor, C, 68 measures)

O salutaris hostia . . . ostium. Domine salvum fac . . . manibus. Gloria regi nostro, gloria in aeternum.

Cantate religieuse

soloists: soprano, tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Chorus, introduction, and air (rondo)
(228 measures)

"Tollite hostias:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato poco lento
(A major, ¢, 22 measures)

Tollite hostias et introite in atria Domini . . .

"O Domine vestigia:" soprano

Larghetto
(A minor, 3/8, 37 measures)

O Domine vestigia tua non cognoscentur: . . .

"Stare fecti cantores:" soprano

[Refrain]

Allegro
(A major, C, 81 measures)

Stare fecit cantores ad altare Dei . . .

[Digression]

Minore
(A minor, C, 47 measures)

Ipsum elegit Deus . . .

[Refrain]

Majeur
(A major, C, 41 measures)

Stare fecit cantores ad altare Dei . . .

2. Combined strophic chorus
(253 measures)

"Orchestral introduction:" orchestra

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in B-flat basso, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto moderato
(B-flat major, ¢, 10 measures)

"In perita sua:" soprano, tenor, chorus

[Strophe 1]

Mineur: chorus (tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II)
(B-flat minor, ¢, 30 measures)

In perita sua . . .

[Refrain]

Majeur: soprano, tenor, chorus (tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II)
(B-flat major, ¢, 32 measures)

Gloria regi nostro . . .

[Strophe 2]

Mineur: chorus (soprano I, soprano II)
(B-flat minor, ¢, 30 measures)

Ex Egypto Deus . . .

[Refrain]

Majeur: chorus (soprano I, soprano II)
(B-flat major, ¢, 16 measures)

Renovabit regnum . . .

[Anti-strophe][1]

Mineur: soprano, tenor, chorus
(B-flat minor, ¢, 30 measures)

In perita sua . . .

Ex Egypto Deus . . .

[Refrain]

Majeur: chorus
(B-flat major, ¢, 16 measures)

Patres nostri in aegypto . . .

[Epode]

[Majeur]: chorus
(B-flat major, ¢, 89 measures)

Psallite regi nostro . . .

3. Recitative and air
(180 measures)

"In memoria eterna:" soprano

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Recitative, Allegro moderato
(F major, C, 14 measures)

In memoria eterna erit justus, ab auditione mala non temebit.

"Paratum cor ejus:" soprano

Allegro moderato
(F major, C, 166 measures)

Paratum cor ejus sperare in Domino confirmatum est . . . .

[1]A combined double chorus in which both the music and the text of strophes one and two are recapitulated and presented simultaneously.

Debbora[1]

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, tenor, bass I, bass II

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Chorus
(42 measures)

"Canticum Debbora cantemus:" chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Andantino 96=♩
(D minor, C [4/2], 8 measures)

Canticum Debbora cantemus.

Andante 96=♩
(D minor, C, 34 measures)

Domine, cum exires de seir, . . .

2. Air with chorus
(110 measures)

"Dux descendit de monte Thabor:" soprano I, chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto 108 = ♩
(D major, C, 52 measures)

Dux descendit de monte Thabor . . .

---

[1]Adapted from Judges 4; Judges 5; Isaiah 9; Isaiah 30; Isaiah 60; Psalm 2; Psalm 47; and Psalm 127.

Allegro 120 = ♩
(D major, 58 measures)

Auribus percipite, audite, principes: . . .

3. Introduction (chorus), trio with chorus, and chorus (186 measures)

"Ante pedes nostros:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Andante 58 = 𝅗𝅥
(B-flat major, C [4/2], 6 measures)

Ante pedes nostros jacebat Sisara, exenimis et miserabilis.

"Sic pereant inimici tui, Domini:" soprano I, tenor, bass I, chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in B-flat basso, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro animé 80 = 𝅗𝅥
(B-flat major, C, 86 measures)

Sic pereant inimici tui, Domini: . . .

"Suffocatus exercitus eorum:" chorus

Plus vite, allegro spiritoso, un poco vivace 126 = 𝅗𝅥
(B-flat major, 2, 94 measures)

Suffocatus exercitus eorum, . . .

4. Air with chorus (104 measures)

"Surge Debbora, frequenta canticum:" tenor, chorus

2 flutes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto fieramente, ma affettuoso 92 = ♩
(G major, C, 45 measures)

Surge Debbora, frequenta canticum . . .

Minore
(G minor, C, 27 measures)

Ululabat mater Sisarae, per fenestram respiciens . . .

Allegro pomposo, large, un peu plus lent et ferme 72 = ♩
(G minor, C, 4 measures)

Sisara mortuos est.

Majore, I^mo tempo, un peu plus animé
(G major, C, 28 measures)

Surge Debbora, frequenta canticum . . .

5. Finale: Quartet, and quartet with chorus
(249 measures)

"Surge Israel, surge illuminare:" soprano I, soprano II, bass I, bass II

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro con brio, mais sans presser le mouvement 80 = ♩
(D major, C, 65 measures)

Surge Israel, surge illuminare . . .

"Super te orta est:" soprano I, soprano II, bass I, bass II, chorus

Allegro spiritoso ed un poco vivace, mais sans presser 96 = ♩
(D major, 2, 184 measures)

Super te orta est, gloria ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo, ...

Domine salvum fac [I][1]

soloists: soprano, tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 1 flute, 3 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

- - - - - - - -

Introduction and rondo
(195 measures)

"Dies super, dies imperatoris:" tenor, chorus

1 flute, 3 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Andante moderato [mineur]
(A minor, 3/4, 26 measures)

Dies super, dies imperatoris nostri. O Domine adjicies.

"Domine salvum fac:" soprano, tenor, chorus

[Refrain]

Adagio, nobile, pomposo, ed affectuoso, majeur: tenor, chorus
(A major, 3/4, 12 measures)

Domine salvum fac imperatorem; Domine salvum fac Napoleonem.

[Digression I]

I° tempo, mineur: tenor, chorus
(A minor, 3/4, 26 measures)

Exaudi nos in Die quâ invocaverimus te.

---

[1]Psalm 19:10 with additions, and doxology.

[Refrain]

Adagio, nobile e pomposo: tenor, chorus
(A major, 3/4, 21 measures)

Domine salvum fac imperatorem; Domine salvum fac Napoleonem.

[Digression 2]

Moderato: soprano, chorus
(A major, 3, 89 measures)

Gloria Patri, gloria Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[Refrain]

Adagio come prima volta: soprano, chorus
(A major, 3, 21 measures)

Domine salvum fac imperatorem; Domine salvum fac Napoleonem.

Domine salvum fac [II][1]

soloists: tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

- - - - - - - -

Air with chorus
(127 measures)

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

---

[1] Psalm 19:10 with additions, and doxology.

Moderato fieramente e pomposo
(G major, C)

Domine salvum fac imperatorem nostrum, salvum fac imperatorem Napoleonem. Et exaudi nos in die quâ invocaverimus te. Gloria Patri, gloria Filio, gloria Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Gloria imperatori, gloria Napoleoni, gloria in aeternum.

Joannes in deserto baptizat[1]

soloists: solo sopranos I, solo sopranos II, tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 harps, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

---

1. Duo with chorus
(115 measures)

"Joannes in deserto baptizat:" solo sopranos I, solo sopranos II, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 2 harps (in unison), violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato, andante religioso mais avec mouvement
(G major, ¢, 41 measures)

Joannes in deserto baptizat, praedicans baptismum paenitentiae. Baptizat Spiritu Sancto, Christus.

Minore
(G minor, ¢, 34 measures)

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[1]Adapted from Matthew 3:1-3; 1 John 2; 1 John 5; and 1 John 7-8.

Tres sunt qui derient terstimonium . . .

Majore
(G major, ¢, 40 measures)

Joannes in deserto baptizat, . . .

2. Air with chorus
(98 measures)

"Domine salvum fac:" tenor, chorus

2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante avec mouvement: tenor, chorus
(G minor, 2/4, 50 measures)

Domine salvum fac imperatorem nostrum; salvum fac Napoleonem. Exaudi nos in Die quâ invocaverimus te.

Majeur: chorus
(G major, 2/4, 28 measures)

Gloria Patri, . . . saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Mineur: tenor, chorus
(G minor, 2/4, 20 measures)

Domine salvum fac . . . Napoleonem.

Messe basse ou motet

soloists: soprano, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 1 harp, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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1. Kyrie: Chorus
(15 measures)

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

[no tempo designation]
(G major, C [4/2])

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison

2. Credo: Chorus and soli with choruses
(236 measures)

"Credo in unum Deum:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Grave
(D major, C, 6 measures)

Credo in unum Deum.

"Patrem omnipotentem:" soprano, tenor, bass, chorus

1 bassoon, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante large: soprano, tenor, bass, chorus
(D major, 6/8, 22 measures)

Patrem omnipotentem . . . omnia saecula.

Andante allegretto avec mouvement: soprano, chorus
(D major, 2/4, 47 measures)

Deum de Deo, . . . facta sunt.

Moderato andante: bass, soprano, chorus
(D major, 3/4, 33 measures)

Qui propter nos homines, . . . Et homo-factus est.

Andante Allegretto avec mouvement: chorus
(D minor, 3/8, 49 measures)

Crucifixus etiam . . . sepultus est

Resurrexit.

Allegretto: bass, chorus
(D major, C, 43 measures)

Et resurrexit . . . erit finis.

Allegro spiritoso: bass
(D major, C, 21 measures)

Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, . . . simul adoratur,

Moderato e pomposo: chorus
(D major C, 14 measures)

Qui cum Patre et Filio . . . per Prophetas.

3. Credo (Cont.): Solo with chorus and chorus
(331 measures, continuous
with preceding movement)

"Credo in unam sanctam catholicam:" tenor, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in D, timpani in D and A, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro large: tenor, chorus
(D major, C, 129 measures)

Credo in unam sanctam catholicam . . . peccatorum.
Et iterum venturus . . . mortuos:
Et exspecto resurrectionem . . . venturi saeculi.

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra majestatis gloriae tuae.

Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. O salutaris hostia quae caeli pandis ostium

Allegro spiritoso sans vitesse: chorus
(D major, C, 38 measures)

Bella premunt hostilia. Domine salvum fac regem nostrum . . . invocaverimus te.

"Justia ejus orietur:" chorus

Allegro spiritoso
(D major, ¢, 164 measures)

Justia ejus orietur per manebit nomen ejus. In generationem sit comen ejus benedictum sit honorabile in saecula. Et per manebit cum sole nomen ejus. Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, ad flumine usque, ad terminos terrarum. Benedictum nomen ejus. Quoniam os ejus anuntiabit justitiam Domini, introibit in potentias Domini. Majestatis ejus in aeternum. Et replebitur omnis terra majestatis ejus. Salvum fac regem nostrum. Laudent nomen ejus gloria regi nostro, gloria in aeternum cantemus, psallamus, gloria in aeternum.

4. Domine salvum: Air
(51 measures)

"Domine salvum fac:" soprano

2 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 1 harp, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante affectuoso
(G major, 3/4)

Domine salvum fac imperatorem Napoleonem. Et exaudi nos in die quâ invocaverimus te.

Première messe solennelle

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Kyrie: Chorus
(140 measures)

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Moderato religioso, ma con movimento 100 = ♩
(B-flat major, C)

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison.

2. Gloria: Duo
(77 measures)

"Gloria in excelsis Deo:" soprano II, tenor

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante posément 66 = ♩
(G major, ¢)

Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax . . . suscipe deprecationem nostram.

3. Gloria (Cont.): Duo with chorus
(147 measures, continuous with preceding movement)

"Qui sedes ad dexteram:" soprano I, tenor, chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto, large 72 = ♩
(C major, C, 66 measures)

Qui sedes ad dexteram . . . in gloria Dei Patris.
Quoniam tu solus . . .

Allegro 80 = ♩
(C major, C, 81 measures)

Cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Qui sedes . . .
Tu solus Dominus, Jesu Christi, miserere nobis. Amen.

4. Credo: Solo with chorus and choruses (5)
(355 measures)

"Credo in unum Deun:" bass, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Largo, à quatre temps large 76 = ♪
(C major, C, 50 measures)

Credo in unum Deum, . . . Deum verum de Deo vero.

"Genitum non factum:" chorus

2 bassoons, 1 horn in C, violin I, violin II, viola I,
viola II, cello, bass

Moderato 120 = ♩
(C major, C, 59 measures)

Genitum non factum, . . . omnia facta sunt. Deum de Deo,
. . . omnia facta sunt.

"Qui propter nos homines:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto 132 = ♩
(C major, C, 58 measures)

Qui propter nos homines . . . Et homo factus est.

"Crucifixus:" chorus[1]

I° tempo, largo à quatre temps larges 76 = ♩
(C major, C, 25 measures)

Crucifixus etiam . . . et sepultus est.

Credo in unum Deum . . . et sepultus est.

"Et resurrexit:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro 96 = ♩
(C major, C, 49 measures)

Et resurrexit tertia die, . . . qui locutus est per Prophetas.

"Et unam sanctam catholicam:" choral <u>péroraison</u>

<u>Péroraison</u>[2]

[Allegro]
(C major, C, 114 measures)

Et unam sanctam catholicam . . . Peccatorum.

Deum de Deo . . .

Gloria in excelsis Deo . . .

---

[1]While soprano I, soprano II, tenor I and tenor II of the chorus sing the text, "Crucifixus etiam," the basses simultaneously recapitulate the entire "Credo" text to that point.

[2]In the <u>péroraison</u> of the "Credo," all of the cited texts, with their original music, are recapitulated. In the course of the movement, both music and text are fragmented, with the presentation of these restatements taking place both simultaneously and successively.

Gratias agimus tibi . . .

Et iterum venturus . . .

Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

5. Offertory: Chorus[1]
(111 measures)

"Quis enarrabit:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro moderato ma con moto 126 = ♩
(E-flat major, C)

Quis enarrabit caelorum rationem, . . .

6. Sanctus: Chorus
(78 measures)

"Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro nobile e moderato 138 = ♩
(D major, C)

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus . . . Hosanna in excelsis:

7. O Salutaris: Air with chorus
(80 measures)

"O salutaris hostia:" tenor, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

---

[1]Adapted from Job 37-38; Isaiah 40:26; Isaiah 51:6; and Psalm 18: 2-6.

Moderato cantabile con sentimento 96 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 38 measures)

O salutaris hostia . . . fer auxilium.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

Adagio
(B-flat major, C, 42 measures)

O salutaris hostia . . . fer auxilium.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

8. Agnus Dei: Chorus
(109 measures)

"Agnus Dei:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato, mouvement retenu et sans vitesse, sempre religioso e patriarcale 63 = ♩.
(C major, 6/8)

Agnus Dei, . . . dona nobis pacem.

Deuxième messe solennelle

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

- - - - - - - -

1. Kyrie: Chorus
(89 measures)

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante religioso 84 = 
(G major, 3/2)

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison.

2. Gloria: Introduction (duo), air with chorus, and choruses (3)
(431 measures)

"Gloria in excelsis Deo:" soprano I, soprano II

violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Adagio
(B-flat major, C, 6 measures)

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

"Et in terra pax:" bass, chorus

2 oboes, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in F, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro moderato 112 = 
(B-flat major, C, 95 measures)

Et in terra pax . . . Domine Deus Agnus Dei, Filius Patris.

"Domine Deus Filius Patris:"[1] chorus

Allegro spiritoso sans vitesse 152 = 
(F major, C, 67 measures)

Domine Deus Filius Patris . . .

---

[1]All of the "Gloria" text, up to and including "Domine Deus Agnus Dei, Filius Patris," is fragmented and recapitulated in arbitrary order.

Adagio 63 = ♩
(B-flat minor, 3/4, 28 measures)

Adoramus te. Benedicimus te.

"Domine Deus, Rex Caelestis:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto comodo 138 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 82 measures)

Domine Deus, Rex Caelestis . . . . Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.

"Quoniam tu solus sanctus:" chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro ma non troppe 92 = 𝅗𝅥
(B-flat major, C, 118 measures)

Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus Dominus. Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe. Domine Deus, Rex Caelestis . . . . Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris.

Adagio
(B-flat minor, 3/4, 5 measures)

Adoramus te. Benedicimus te.

I° tempo
(B-flat major, C, 18 measures)

in gloria Dei Patris.

Largo
(B-flat major, ¢, 12 measures)

Amen.

3. Credo: Air
(76 measures)

"Credo in unum Deum:" bass

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato largo et un peu lent 76 = ♩
(E-flat major, C)

Credo in unum Deum, . . . ante omnia saecula.

4. Credo (Cont.): Duo with chorus, duo, quartet, and chorus
(354 measures)

"Duem de Deo:" soprano I, bass I, chorus

1 flute, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andantino 63 = ♩.
(C major, 6/8, 118 measures)

Deum de Deo, . . . Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato: passus et sepultus est. Credo in unum Deum . . . passus et sepultus est.

"Et resurrexit:" tenor I, bass I

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante assai staccato 116 = ♩
(C major, C, 64 measures)

Et resurrexit . . . qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.

"Qui cum Patre:" tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

Allegro comodo fieramente 132 = ♩
(C major, C, 75 measures)

Qui cum Patre . . . in remissionem peccatorum. Et resurrexit . . . in remissionem peccatorum.

"Et in Spiritum Sanctum:"[1] chorus

Allegro spiritoso 96 = ♩
(C major, C, 97 measures)

Et in Spiritum Sanctum . . . . Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

5. Offertory: Chorus[2]
(253 measures)

"Venite introite:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in G, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Lento poco 88 = ♩
(E major, C, 26 measures)

Venite introite inatriadei adoramus et procidamus.

Mineur, moderato sans lenteur 144 = ♩
(E minor, C, 227 measures)

Benedictus dux noster Deo excelso . . .

6. Sanctus: Choruses (2), and solo with chorus
(155 measures)

"Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 2 trumpets in C, timpani in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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[1] All of the "Credo" text, from "Et in Spiritum Sanctum" until the end of the "Credo," is recapitulated in fragmented and arbitrary order.

[2] Adapted from Psalm 94:6, Psalm 42:3-4; Psalm 109:4; Isaiah 60:3, and Matthew 2:2-15.

Allegro pomposo e religioso mais avec mouvement 132 = ♩
(C major, C, 111 measures)

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

Te supplices rogamus aeterne Pater

Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua.

Qui vivis et Regnus in saecula saeculorum te, supplices te rogamus aeterne Pater. Proclamant omnes universae potestates.

"Hosanna in excelsis:" chorus

D'un rien plus animé, allegro spiritoso 144 = ♩
(C major, C, 34 measures)

Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

Tibi omnes angeli incessabili voce proclamant

Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth . . . Hosanna in excelsis.

"Qui habet aurem:" bass I, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Recitatif libre
(C minor, C, 10 measures)

Qui habet aurem, audiat quid Spiritus dicat ecclesiis: Dexi ecce venio adoramus procidamus

7. <u>O Salutaris:</u> Air with chorus
(57 measures, continuous
with preceding movement)

"O salutaris hostia:" tenor, chorus

4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante affettuoso 58 = ♩
(E-flat major, 3/4)

O salutaris hostia . . . fer auxilium. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

8. Agnus Dei: Chorus[1]
(77 measures)

"Agnus Dei:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andantino un poco lento 66 = ♩.
(G major, 12/8)

Agnus Dei, dona nobis pacem, miserere nobis.

Suscipe deprecationem nostram.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere nobis.

Simus dicentes agno.

Benedictio et honor et gloria et potestates in saecula saeculorum.

Dona nobis pacem, Agnus Dei.

Redemisti nos Deo in sanguine tuo.

Qui tollis peccata mundi.

Quoniam occisus es honor Benedictio et honor redemiste nos in sanguine tuo.

---

[1]The text interpolated in the Agnus Dei is adapted from Apoc. 5:9-13.

Troisième messe solennelle

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, 3 trombones, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

- - - - - - - -

1. Kyrie: Chorus[1]
(170 measures)

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato
(D major, ¢, 81 measures)

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison.

Miserere nobis, exaudinos Deus. Bone pastor parce nobis. Deus bonne pastor, Agnus Dei, miserere nobis.

I° tempo mais plus animé
(D major, C, 89 measures)

Miserere nobis, exaudinos.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison.

Miserere nobis, exaudinos Deus. Bone paster, Agnus Dei, miserere nobis.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus Dominus. Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe, miserere nobis. Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

---

[1]The "Kyrie" is troped with texts adapted from the "Agnus Dei" and "Gloria."

2. Gloria: Chorus
(43 measures)

"Gloria in excelsis Deo:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante un poco allegretto
(G major, C)

Gloria in excelsis Deo . . . . Glorificamus te. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

3. Gloria (Cont.): Air with chorus, chorus, and duo with chorus
(342 measures)

"Gratias agimus:" soprano, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Cantabile religioso un poco lento avec sentiment, affection et mélancolie religieuse
(E-flat major, C, 44 measures)

Gratias agimus tibi . . . Agnus Dei, Filius Patris.

Le Mouvement un peu plus animé
(E-flat major, C, 80 measures)

Laudamus te . . . Agnus Dei, Filius Patris[1]

"Qui tollis peccata mundi:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

---

[1]Reiteration of the "Gloria" text from "Laudamus te" to "Filius Patris," with both text and music fragmented, presented simultaneously, and in arbitrary order.

Moderato
(G minor, 3/4, 30 measures)

Qui tollis peccata mundi . . . deprecationem nostram.

"Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris:" tenor I, tenor II, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Grazioso ed allegretto avec mouvement
(G major, ¢, 133 measures)

Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris . . . Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

Allegretto fieramente et plus animé
(G major, C, 55 measures)

Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris . . . Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

4. Credo: Chorus, airs (2), and sextet:
(178 measures)

"Credo in unum Deum:" chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto moderato e pomposo
(E-flat major, C, 14 measures)

Credo in unum Deum, . . . omnium, et invisibilium.

"Et in unum Dominum:" tenor I

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante
(E-flat major, 6/8, 76 measures)

Et in unum Dominum . . . per quem omnia facta sunt.

"Qui propter nos homines:" soprano I

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in G, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Lento con moto
(G major, 3/8, 24 measures)

Qui propter nos homines, . . . Et homo factus est.

"Crucifixus:" soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato
(E-flat major, ¢, 64 measures)

Crucifixus etiam pro nobis . . . et **sepultus est**

5. Credo (Cont.): Duo, and sextet with chorus (158 measures)

"Et resurrexit:" soprano I, bass I

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato
(C major, 3/4, 21 measures)

Et resurrexit tertia die, . . . ad dexteram Patris.

Allegretto
(C major, 2/4, 19 measures)

Et iterum venturus . . . vivos et mortuos:

"Cujus regni:" soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II, chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato
(E-flat major, C, 118 measures)

Cujus regni non erit finis . . . . Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

6. Offertory: Air with chorus[1]
(131 measures)

"In media nocte:" tenor I, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in B-flat basso, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante sostenuto
(B-flat minor, 3/2, 73 measures)

In media nocte surgebam ad confitendem . . .

Andante d'un rien plus vite
(B-flat minor, 3/2, 58 measures)

Ante Deum procidamus audi . . .

7. Sanctus: Choruses (2), and solo with chorus
(238 measures)

"Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Adagio, lento religioso
(E-flat major, 4/2, 18 measures)

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus . . . Hosanna in excelsis.

---

[1]Adapted from Psalm 100; Psalm 101; Psalm 118; Psalm 64, and 2 Kings 22.

"Benedictus qui venit:" chorus

2 flutes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Plus vite andante
(E-flat major-G-minor, C, 36 measures)

Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Pleni sunt caeli majestatis gloria tua.

"O salutaris hostia:" bass I, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, 3 trombones, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Un peu plus vite, moderato religioso
(E-flat major, C, 33 measures)

O salutaris hostia . . . fer auxilium. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

Allegretto religioso
(E-flat major, C, 35 measures)

Pleni sunt caeli . . . Benedictus qui venit . . . O salutaris hostia . . . fer auxilium.

d' un rien plus vite, allegro pomposo e religioso
(E-flat major, C, 116 measures)

Pleni sunt caeli . . . Hosanna in excelsis.

Benedictus qui venit . . . Hosanna in excelsis

O salutaris hostia . . . fer auxilium.[1]

---

[1]All three texts are fragmented, and presented both successively and simultaneously in arbitrary order.

8. Agnus Dei: Duo with chorus
(76 measures)

"Agnus Dei:" soprano I, soprano II, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto grazioso
(B-flat major, 6/8)

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere, Jesu, miserere nobis: dona nobis pacem

Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.

Dona nobis pacem, Jesu, miserere nobis.

O filii et filiae[1]

soloists: soprano, alto, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano, alto, tenor, bass

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

---

Introduction, strophes, chorus
(219 measures)

"Alleluia:" soprano, alto, tenor, bass, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro
(A major, 3/4, 11 measures)

Alleluia.

---

[1]Benediction for Eastertide. See: Liber Usualis, p. 1875.

"O filii et filiae:" soprano, alto, tenor

Strophe 1

[Mineur], andantino: soprano
(A minor, 3/4, 14 measures)

O filii et filiae, Rex caelestis, Rex gloriae, Morte surrexit. Alleluia.

Majeur: soprano
(A major, 3/4, 16 measures)

Et Maria Magdelene, Et Jacobi, et Salome, Venerunt corpus ungere. Alleluia.

Strophe 2

Mineur: alto
(A minor, 3/4, 14 measures)

A Magdalena moniti, Ad ostium monumenti suo currant discipuli. Alleluia.

Majeur: alto
(A major, 3/4, 16 measures)

Sed Joannes Apostolus Cucurrit Petro citius, an sepulchrum venit prius. Alleluia.

Strophe 3

Mineur: tenor
(A minor, 3/4, 14 measures)

In albis sedens Angelus, respondit muluribus; quia surrexit Dominus. Alleluia.

Majeur: tenor
(A major, 3/4, 16 measures)

Discipulis ostantibus, In medio stetit Christus, Dicens: Pax vobis omnibus. Alleluia.

[Mineur], andantino: soprano
(A minor, 3/4, 14 measures)

Discipulis ostantibus, In medio stetit Christus, Dicens: Pax vobis omnibus. Alleluia.

Majeur: soprano
(A major, 3/4, 16 measures)

Ut intellexit Didymus, Quia surrexerat Jesus, Remansit fere dubius. Alleluia.

Strophe 5

Mineur: alto
(A minor, 3/4, 14 measures)

Vide, Thoma, vide latus, Vide pedes, vide manus, Noli esse incredulus. Alleluia.

Majeur: alto
(A major, 3/4, 16 measures)

Quando Thomas Christi latus, Pedes vidit atque manus, Dixit: Tu es Deus meus. Alleluia.

Strophe 6

Mineur: tenor
(A minor, 3/4, 14 measures)

Beati qui non viderunt, Et firmiter crediderunt, Vitam aeternam habebunt. Alleluia.

Majeur: tenor
(A major, 3/4, 16 measures)

De quibus nos humilimas Devotas atque debitas Deo dicamus Gratias. Alleluia.

"In hoc festo sanctissimo:" chorus

Adagio mineur
(A minor, 3/2, 14 measures)

In hoc festo sanctissimo Sit laus et jubilatio, Benedicamus Domino. Alleluia.

Majeur
(A major, 3/2, 3 measures)

Alleluia.

I° tempo animé
(A major, 3/4, 11 measures)

Alleluia.

O salutaris[1]

soloists: none

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

---

Chorus
(120 measures)

"O salutaris hostia:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Moderato religioso, sans lenteur et avec mouvement
(G major, ¢)

O salutaris hostia! quae caeli pandis hostium bella premunt hostilia. Da robur fer auxilium.

---

[1]Hymn, Verbum supernum prodiens, verse 5.

Oratorio de Noël[1]

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 harps, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello I, cello II, bass

---

1. Kyrie: Chorus
(212 measures)

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in D, 1 harp, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andanta con mote 104 = ♩
(D minor, 3/4)

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison.

2. Scène religieuse de nuit et Gloria:
Recitative,
chorus and postlude,
chorus and interlude
(140 measures)

"Pastores erant vigilantes:" soprano I

1 flute, 1 clarinet, 1 bassoon, 2 horns in E, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato un poco andante
(E minor, ¢, 14 measures)

Pastores erant vigilantes. Claritas Dei circumfulsit illos.

---

[1]Adapted from Luke 2:8-14, and the Mass text.

"Claritas Dei circumfulsit:" chorus

1 piccolo, 1 flute, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Mesuré 84 = ♩
(A minor, ¢, 24 measures)

Claritas Dei circumfulsit illos, et timuerunt timore magno. Facta est cum angelo multitudo militiae caelestis. Gloria in altissimis Deo.

"Postlude:" orchestra

1 flute, 1 clarinet, 1 harp

Un peu lent
(E minor, 3/4, 8 measures)

"Gloria in excelsis Deo:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

[Andante con moto] 104 = ♩
(E major, C, 74 measures)

Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

"Interlude (Appel des bergers et pasteurs des campagnes de Bethléem:" orchestra

2 horns in E, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante 72 = ♩
(E major, 3/4, 20 measures)

3. Recitative, Morceau d'ensemble:
air with chorus
(220 measures)

"Nolite timere; quia natus est:" soprano I

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro, [recitative] 120 = ♩
(C major, C, 17 measures)

Nolite timere; quia natus est hodie Salvator.

"Laudamus te:" soprano I, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 1 harp, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro moderato
(C major, C, 203 measures)

Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Glorificamus te. Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

4. Duo, recitative, and chorus
(164 measures)

"Gratias agimus tibi:" soprano I, soprano II

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in F, 1 harp, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato poco andante
(F major, 3/4, 127 measures)

Gratias agimus tibi . . . Domine Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe.

"Domine Deus, Rex caelestis:" soprano I, soprano II

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Récitatif, adagio
(G major, C, 4 measures)

Domine Deus, Rex caelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens.

"Laudamus te:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 1 harp, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro 120 = ♩.
(C major, C, 33 measures)

Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Glorificamus te.

5. Morceau d'ensemble: chorus
(310 measures)

"Domine Deus, Agnus Dei:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 2 harps, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello I, cello II, bass

Moderato, un poco andante 96 = ♩
(C minor, 3/4, 86 measures)

Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, . . . suscipe deprecationem nostram.

Plus animè, allegretto sans vitesse 110 = ♩
(C minor, 3, 203 measures)

Domine Deus, Filius Patris. Domine Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe . . . suscipe deprecationem nostram.

Allegro pomposo 126 = ♩
(C major, C, 21 measures)

Laudamus te. Benedicimus te.

6. Recitative and air with chorus
(215 measures)

"Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris:" soprano I

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Récitatif, adagio
(F major, C, 5 measures)

Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis.

"Quoniam tu solus sanctus:" soprano I, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in F, 1 harp, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro fieramente 126 = ♩
(F major, C, 210 measures)

Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus Dominus. Tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Deus Pater omnipotens . . . in gloria Dei Patris.[1]

7. Hymne pastorale: Strophic chorus
(149 measures)

"Jam desinant suspira:" soprano I, tenor, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderator grazioso 92 = ♩
(C major, 3/4, 94 measures)

[Introduction]

Jam desinant suspira

---

[1]The restatement of the "Gloria" text, from "Deus Pater omnipotens" to the end of the "Gloria," is presented both successively and simultaneously in a fragmented manner and arbitrary order.

1ere strophe moderne:
soprano I, chorus

Qui natus es de virgine, Jesu, tibi sit gloria,
Cum Patre cumque spiritu in sempiterna saecula.

Qui donas imperia, stabulum non respuis.

2me strophe
tenor, chorus

Aeterna proles feminae non horret includi sinu;
fit ipse servus, ut jugo nos servitutis eximat.

Qui donas imperia, stabulum non respuis.

Antistrophe et epode

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C,
2 harps, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Jam desinant suspira. Audivit ex alto Deus; caeli
patescunt; en adest promissa pax mortalibus.
Qui donas imperia, stabulum non respuis.

Allegro 108 = ♩
(C major, 3/4, 6 measures)

Qui donas imperia.

I° tempo
(C major, 3/4, 17 measures)

stabulum non respuis.

Allegro
(C major, 3/4, 8 measures)

Jam desinant suspira. Qui donas imperia.

Adagio
(C major, 3/4, 26 measures)

stabulum non respuis; en adest promissa pax mortalibus.

Premier oratorio de la Passion[1]

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, tenor, bass I, bass II

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, 1 bass trombone, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

---

1. Introduction (chorus) and soli with chorus (3)
(215 measures)

"Threni id est lamentationes:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato, largo un poco andante 88 = ♩
(D minor, ¢, 16 measures)

Threni id est lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae . . . .

"Quomodo sedet sola:" soprano I, chorus

Moderato
(D minor, ¢, 47 measures)

Quomodo sedet sola civitas . . .

"Sibilaverunt fremuerunt:" soprano I, chorus

Allegretto 126 = ♩
(D minor, ¢, 48 measures)

Sibilaverunt fremuerunt dentibus . . .

---

[1]Adapted from Lamentationsl; Lamentations 2; and Lamentations 3, as employed during the liturgy of Holy Week.

"Expandit Sion manus suas:" soprano I, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro spiritoso ed agitato
(D minor, ¢, 9 measures)

Expandit Sion manus suas . . .

Moderato avec desolation
(D minor, ¢, 4 measures)

non est, non est

I° tempo
(D minor, C, 91 measures)

Dominus projecit de caelo, . . .

2. Duo (2 sections)
(135 measures)

"O spes salutis omnium:" tenor, bass I

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato 104 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 96 measures)

O spes salutis omnium, crux vera mundi, . . .

"Te summa Deus trinitas:" tenor, bass I

2 flutes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in B-flat basso, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro pomposo e nobile 132 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 39 measures)

Te summa Deus trinitas, . . .

3. Introduction (chorus), quartet with chorus, and chorus (289 measures)

"Insons cruentae filius:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Lent, moderato un poco andante 108 = ♩
(C major, C, 8 measures)

Insons cruentae filius pro santibus morti datur.

"Plange tristi carmine:" soprano I, soprano II, bass I, bass II, chorus

[Moderato]
(C major, C, 101 measures)

Plange tristi carmine . . .

Allegretto affectuoso e nobile, un peu plus vite 120 = ♩
(C major, C, 107 measures)

Plange tristi carmine . . .

"Patri sit gloria:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 2 trumpets in C, 1 bass trombone, timpani in C and G, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Un peu plus animé 182 = ♩
(C major, 2, 73 measures)

Patri sit gloria, ejus que Filio . . .

Deuxième oratorio de la Passion[1]

soloists: soprano, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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1. Chorus
(96 measures)

"Kyrie eleison:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante 84 = ♩
(E-flat major, 3/2)

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison.

2. Air and choral conclusion
(93 measures, continuous with preceding movement)

"Ab ira tua:" soprano

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto agitato 92 = ♩
(G minor-B-flat major, C, 89 measures)

Ab ira tua, libera nos, miserere nobis . . .

"Miserere nobis:" chorus

Adagio
(B-flat major, C, 4 measures)

Miserere nobis.

---

[1]Adapted from the Litany sung on Holy Saturday morning.

3. Trio with chorus
(172 measures, continuous with
preceding movement)

"Lux vera, lux eterna:" soprano, tenor, bass, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

I° tempo, mouvement large quoiqu'animé 76 = ♩
(E-flat major, 3/4)

Lux vera, lux eterna per passionem, per agoniam, per crucem tuam, miserere nobis . . . .

4. Chorus
(166 measures)

"Domine libera regem:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, timpani in C and G, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro vif 160 = ♩
(C minor, C)

Domine libera regem a viro iniquio . . .

Troisième oratorio de la Passion[1]

soloists: soprano, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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[1]Related to the liturgy of Holy Week.

1. Combined strophic chorus and air
(339 measures)

"Orchestral introduction (Marche religieuse):" orchestra

4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Andante moderato 56 = ■
(G minor-B-flat major, ¢, 8 measures)

"Introibo in dominum tuam:" soprano, chorus

[Strophe 1]

Andante moderato: chorus (soprano II, tenor II, bass I, bass II)
(G minor, ¢, 29 measures)

Introibo in domum tuam, domine adorabo ad templum sanctum in timore tuo. Deus deduc no injustitia.[1]

Large
(B-flat major, C, 1 measure)

Adoramus.

Allegro spiritoso 88 = ♩ : soprano, chorus
(B-flat major-D major, C, 24 measures)

Exaltabo te Domine quoniam suscipisti me ad te clamabo deprecabor esto mihi in Deum protectorem.

[Strophe 2]

I° tempo: chorus (soprano I, tenor I - each divided)
(G minor, ¢, 30 measures)

Domine susceptor meus gloria mea et exaltans caput meum. Voce mea ad dominum, clamavi exaudivit me de monte sancto, suo exurge Domine. Exaudi orationem salvum fac populum super tuum. Benedicto tua Domine.

---

[1]To this point, all parts are notated in square, black, plain song notation.

Allegro agitato
(B-flat major-G major, C, 48 measures)

In te domine speravi non confundar in aeternum. Ad dominum cum tribularer clamavi. Libera mea linguis iniquis et a lingua doloda ad Dominum; ad te Domine.

Anti-strophe[1]

I° tempo un rien plus animé: chorus
(G minor, ¢, 30 measures)

Introibo in domum tuam, . . . injustitia.

Domine susceptor . . . Domine.

Air

"Secundum misericordiam:" soprano

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro agitato animé 80 = ♩
(G minor, C)

Secundum misericordiam tuam, memento mei tu propter bonitatem tuam . . .

Péroraison musicale de strophes[2]

I° tempo 66 = ♩ : chorus
(G minor, ¢, 75 measures)

Introibo in domum tuam, . . . injustitia.

Domine susceptor . . . Domine.

---

[1]A combined double chorus in which both the music and the text of measures one to thirty, strophe one and strophe two, are recapitulated and presented simultaneously.

[2]The péroraison centers about a second simultaneous presentation of strophes one and two. This double chorus is somewhat different, however, from the one presented in the anti-strophe, for the material is amplified and juxtaposed in a different manner.

Benedic nostro Regi fuit magnus maxiumus expugnare hostes secundum nomen suum princeps noster.

2. Trio with chorus
(116 measures)

"In virtute tua:" soprano, tenor, bass, chorus

2 flutes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Grazioso affectuoso 60 = ♩
(C major, 3/4)

In virtute tua Domine, laetabitur Rex, . . . super Regis nostri ad jicies permanet in aeternum in conspectu Dei.

Domine salvum fac Regem nostrum. Et exaudi nos in Die quâ invocaverimus te Domine.

Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains

soloists: solo sopranos, solo tenors, solo basses

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 1 piccolo, 2 flûtes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones (A, T, B), bass drum, cymbals, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Première scène: March and chorus
(108 measures)

"March:" orchestra

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 2 trumpets in C, 3 trombones (A,T,B), timpani in G and D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro fieramente 100 = ♩
(G major, C, 80 measures)

"Vivat in aeternum:" chorus

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A,T,B), bass drum, cymbals, timpani in D and A, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro commodo un peu plus vite que la marche 84 = ♩
(D major, C, 28 measures)

Vivat in aeternum.

2. Deuxième scène: Chorus
(50 measures)

"Deus, Deus qui populo tuo:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, timpani in C and G, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato religioso 112 = ♩
(C minor, C)

Deus, Deus qui populo tuo, aeterna salutis beatum Remigium ministrum tribuisti; . . .

3. Troisième scène: Chorus
(79 measures)

"Supplices te rogamus:" chorus

2 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, bass trombone, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andantino religioso 63 = ♩
(E-flat major, C, 24 measures)

Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, audinos te rogamus! . . .

Un peu plus vite, andante 80 = ♩
(E-flat major, C, 55 measures)

Hic est sanguis novi et aeterni testamenti . . .

4. Quatrième scène: Duo with chorus
(80 measures)

"Omnipotentem Sancte Remigi:" solo sopranos, solo tenors, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, bass trombone, timpani in C and G, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto nobile 63 = ♩
(C major, 2)

Omnipotentem Sancte Remigi, ora pro nobis . . . .

5. Cinquième scène: Solo and chorus
(62 measures)

"In virtute tua:" 6 solo basses

2 horns in F, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Un poco lento 56 = ♩
(F major, 3/2, 18 measures)

In virtute tua, Domine, laetabetur Rex.

"Domine salvum fac:" chorus

[lento]
(F major, 3/2, 44 measures)

Domine salvum fac Regem; et exaudi nos is die quâ invocaverimus te. Domine salvum fac Regem nostrum, salvum fac populum tuum.

6. Sixième scène: Solo with chorus
(84 measures)

"Veneremur adoremus:" 6 solo basses, chorus

2 flutes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in D, bass trombone, timpani in D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato nobile et large (avec plus de mouvement) 108 = ♩
(D minor, C)

Veneremur adoremus decretum Dei! . . .

7. Septième scène: Chorus
(240 measures)

"**Urbs** beata genovefae:" chorus

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A,T,B), bass drum, cymbals, timpani in D and A, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Adagio, Allegro pomposo mais large et sans trop de vitesse 144 = ♩
(D major, C)

Urbs beata genovefae, agitet diem laetitiae! . . .

Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains

soloists: solo sopranos, solo tenors, solo basses

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 4 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trmupets, 3 trombones (A,T,B), timpani, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Première scène: Double chorus
(100 measures)

"Domine emitte:" chorus I (soprano I, soprano II, tenor, bass); chorus II (soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass)

2 flutes, 4 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, 2 horns in B-flat basso, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Moderato affettuoso collo stile antico 80 = ♩
(B-flat major, C)

Domine emitte bona super principem fac eum esse filicem!
. . .

2. Deuxième scène: Solo with chorus
(174 measures)

"Ter Sancte Deus:" 10 solo basses, chorus

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, bass trombone, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Lent
(B-flat major, C, 6 measures)

Ter Sancte Deus! Exaudi nos!

Allegro commodo 116 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 168 measures)

Exultate omnes populi antiquae galliae! . . .

3. Troisième scène: Chorus
(52 measures)

"Beatus qui legit:" chorus

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 3 trombones, timpani in C, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Andante moderato e misterioso 84 = ♩
(E-flat major, C)

Beatus qui legit prophetiam et servat ea quae scripta sunt . . .

4. Quatrième scène: Duo with chorus (3 sections)
(155 measures, continous with
preceding movement)

"Suscepit Israel:" 20 solo sopranos, 10 solo basses

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 3 trombones, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Moderato grazioso 96 = ♩
(F major, 2, 56 measures)

Suscepit Israel, suscepit puerum suum. . . .

"Sicut locutus est:" 10 solo basses, chorus

Andante misterioso 66 = ♩ : chorus
(F minor, 3/2, 23 measures)

Sicut locutus est; Ad Patres nostros; Abraham et semini ejus; in saecula; Legite prophetiam.

Recitatif mesuré gravement: 10 solo basses
(F minor, C, 2 measures)

Sicut locutus est.

"Suscepit Israel:" 20 solo sopranos, 10 solo basses, chorus

I^mo tempo
(F major, C, 74 measures)

Suscepit Israel, suscepit puerum suum . . . .

5. Cinquième scène: Scene (chorus-solo)
(54 measures)

"Christe qui sedes Olympo:" 10 solo basses, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro fieramente, recitatif, Allegro 104 = ♩
(D minor, C, 33 measures)

Christe qui sedes Olymbo, extendat omnipotens . . .

Andantion 66 = ♩
(D minor, C, 5 measures)

Fac eum esse annis multiplicem! . . .

Allegro moderato, Andantino 88 = ♩
(D minor, C, 16 measures)

Sicut lux solis: . . .

6. Sixième scène: Chorus, scene (solo-chorus), and duo with chorus (243 measures, continuous with preceding movement)

"Domine Deus, Gratias Agimus tibi:" chorus

4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Lento sempre 72 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 34 measures)

Domine Deus, Gratias Agimus tibi, propter gloriam tuam magnum; Domine Deus.

"Omnipotens sempiterne:" 10 solo basses, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro comodo, recitatif 104 = ♩
(F minor, C, 28 measures)

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, caelestium moderator omnes galli plaudite. . . .

"In hoc festo:" 20 solo sopranos, 10 solo basses, chorus

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns in F, 2 trumpets in F, 3 trombones (A,T,B), violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto pomposo 104 = ♩
(F major, C, 99 measures)

In hoc festo sanctissimo, in hoc die solemni Ecclesia triumphat! . . .

Allegro spiritoso avec mouvement 152 = ♩
(F major, C, 82 measures)

Jubilate Deo et exultet triumphat Ecclesia. . . .

Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains

soloists: solo sopranos, solo tenors, solo basses, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 4 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones (A,T,B), bass drum, cymbals, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Première scène: Solo with chorus
(115 measures)

"David parvulus:" solo sopranos, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto avec mouvement mais sans presser 92 = ♩
(F major, 3/4)

David parvulus, David pascit oves: erat pulcher aspectu, et fortissimus, bellicosus, et sciens psallere cithara. . . .

2. Deuxième scène: Duo with chorus
(130 measures)

"Inveni David:" 10 solo sopranos, 10 solo basses, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in B-flat basso, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Grazioso affettuoso, ma fieramente 76 = ♩
(B-flat major, 3/4)

Inveni David servum meum, et oleo sancto unxi eum . . . .

3. Troisième scène: Air with chorus
(172 measures)

"Confortare et esto vir:" bass, chorus

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 4 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in B-flat basso, 2 trumpets in B-flat basso, 3 trombones (A,T,B), bass drum, cymbals, timpani in F and C, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto pompose e carattere de guerriere (fieramente) 120 = ♩
(F major, C)

Confortare et esto vir! accipe gladium gloriae ut Dei ecclesiam . . .

4. Quatrième scène (part 1): Double chorus
(121 measures)

"Ora pro nobis, Sancte Remigi-Gentem francorum:" chorus I (soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II); chorus II (soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II)

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, bass trombone, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto pomposo e nobile 132 = ♩
(A minor, C)

Ora pro nobis, Sancte Remigi! Exaudi nos, O Domine in hac die solemnitatis . . . .

Gentem francorum inclytam simul cum rege Sanctus Remigius sacro . . .

O Domine Deus, voces supplicantes nostras, exaudi nos. Sancte Remigi, ora pro nobis in hac die solemni.

5. Quatrième scène (part 2): Duo with chorus
(94 measures)

"Laudent dominum:" solo sopranos, solo tenors, chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns in B-flat basso, bass trombone, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto fieramente plus animé que le morceau précédent 144 = ♩
(F major, C)

Laudent dominum, laudent in cymbalis bene sonatibus; dixit Deus vocavi te nomine tuo. . . .

6. Cinquième scène: Double chorus, and chorus
(162 measures)

"Unxerunt Salomonem:" chorus I (soprano, tenor); chorus II (tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II)

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 4 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A,T,B), bass drum, cymbals, timpani in B and F, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro moderato 112 = ♩
(B minor, C, 61 measures)

Unxerunt Salomonem Regem in Sion, fac ut inimici non possuit nocere principi . . .

Deus qui populo tuo, majestatis domini . . .

Gloria Dei Implebat Templum.

Sancte Remigi protege principem . . .

"Sit laus Patri, laus Filio:" chorus

Allegro ma non troppo 144 = ♩
(B minor, C, 101 measures)

Sit laus Patri, laus Filio! . . .

Consolaris populum inimici . . .

Unxerunt Salomonem . . .[1]

Deus qui populo tuo . . .

Remigium tribui . . .

Regem in Sion, fac ut inimici . . .

Si ingressus fuerit populus ad bellum contra inimicos, perviam in quã miseris; . . .

7. Sixième scène: Chorus
(91 measures)

"Peregrinus veniens:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Un peu lent 80 = ♩
(A minor, 3/2)

Peregrinus veniens et videns tuum regnum, tua monumenta, . . .

---

[1]A grand climax in which all three texts are simultaneously presented.

8. Septième scène (part 1): March with chorus
(106 measures)

"Marche séraphique:" orchestra, chorus

2 flutes, 4 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A,T,B), violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Moderato nobile et largement 104 = ♩
(D major, C)

Deus Salvator mundi, tibi cherubim et searphim incessabili voce proclamant . . . .

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra majestatis gloria tua.

Protexisti galliam, protege ejus principem . . . .

9. Septième scène (part 2): Chorus
(70 measures)

"Vivat in aeternum:" chorus

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 4 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones, (A.T.B.), timpani in D and A, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass.

Allegro commodo un peu plus vite que la marche 84 = ♩
(D major, C)

Vivat in aeternum. Preparate viam populo transite per portas . . . .

Rachel[1]

soloists: soprano, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones (A,T,B), bass drum, cymbals, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

---

1. Air with chorus (2 sections)
(222 measures)

"Vox in excelso:" tenor, chorus

2 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Moderato **con agitazione un peu lent** 96 = ♩
(G minor, C, 76 measures)

Vox in excelso audita est lamentationes, locutus et fletus Rachel plorantis filios suos et nolentis consolari super eis, quia non sunt.

"Quiescat in vox tua:" tenor, chorus

2 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello bass

Allegro agitato sans vitesse 144 = ♩
(G minor, C, 146 measures)

Quiescat vox tua ploratu, et oculi tui a lacrimis quia est merces operi tuo, . . .

---

[1]Adapted from Jeremiah 9:21; Jeremiah 31:13-17; Baruch 4:1, 23,31, 36-37; Baruch 5:1, 5, 6-8; Psalms 44, 45, 97, 104, 111, and 127.

2. Air with chorus
(179 measures)

"Circumspice ad orientur:" soprano, chorus

2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Andantino maestoso e cantabile 72 = ♩
(E-flat major, ¢, 67 measures)

Circumspice ad orientem et vide iucunditatem a Deo venientem. . . .

Adagio, largo
(E-flat major, C, 4 measures)

Excuse te stola luctus.

Allegro spiritoso très animé 88 = 𝅗𝅥
(E-flat major, C, 108 measures)

Exsurge, Ierusalem, sto in excelso et circumspice ad orientem et vide collectos filios . . .

3. Finale (soli-chorus in 7 sections)
(736 measures)

Introduction du final

"Dico ego opera mei Regi:" bass, chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andantino sans vitesse 69 = ♩
(B minor, C, 16 measures)

Dico ego opera mei Regi. Astitit Regina a dextris tuis. Filii tui sicut novellae olivarum

1er. partie du final, 1er. morceau

"Uxor tua sicut:" bass, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante un poco allegretto 112 = ♩
(A major, C, 61 measures)

Uxor tua sicut vitis abundans in lateribus . . .

Mineur
(A minor, C, 20 measures)

Et videas bona Ierusalem et videas bona patriae. Videas pacem manducabis labores manuum tuarum.

Majeur
(A major, C, 39 measures)

Uxor tua sicut vitis abundans in lateribus . . .

1er. partie du final, 2e. morceau

"In voce psalmi:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in A, 2 horns in D, 3 trombones (A,T,B), violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Cantabile mais mesure marquée 88 = 𝅗𝅥
(A major, C [4/2], 84 measures)

In voce psalmi veneremur Christum humani generis . . .

1er. partie du final, 3e. morceau

"Cantate exultate:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in A, 2 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A,T,B), timpani in A, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto mais largement 120 = ♩
(A major, C, 129 measures)

Cantate exultate cum tubis; Rex credit, dat exemplum, vivat Rex in aeternum . . . .

1er. partie du final, 4e. morceau

"Psallite Domino:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in A, 2 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A,T,B), timpani in A, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro mais sans vitesse
(A major, C, 60 measures)

Psallite Domino in citharis, psallite in canticis et in voce psalmi jubilate . . .

Peroraison du final, 2e. partie du final, 5e. morceau

"Psallite Deo:" chorus

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in A, 2 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A, T, B), timpani in A and D, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro spiritose mais sans presser
(A major, C, 155 measures)

Psallite Deo in cymbalis manducabis, labores manuum . . .

2e. partie du final, 6e. morceau

"Mors Christi dat vitam aeternum:" chorus

1 piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in A, 2 horns in D, 2 trumpets in D, 3 trombones (A,T,B), bass drum, cymbals, timpani in A and D, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro con brio mais sans presser 132 = ♩
(A major, C, 121 measures)

Mors Christi dat vitam aeternum. Ut indulgeat peccatis hominum Deus . . .

Lento religioso mesure doublé
(A major, C [4/2] , 16 measures)

Veneror Christum, adoro Deum! . . .

Allegro animé 144 = o
(A major, C, 35 measures)

Beatus fortis qui legem Dei, cultum ejus sustinet. Vivat fortis princeps in aeternum! . . .

Ruth et Noemi[1]

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, soprano III

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Première scène (part 1):
Scène (soli-chorus)
(101 measures)

"Noemi egressa es:" soprano I, soprano II, soprano III, chorus

2 flutes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Andantino, recitative 80 = ♩
(C minor, C, 31 measures)

Noemi egressa es de regione Moabitide, jam in via revertendi posita es in terram Juda . . . .

Andante, un peu plus vite, recitative 88 = ♩
(C minor, C, 46 measures)

Noemi! ad Deum tuum, tecum pergemus . . .

---

[1]Adapted from Ruth 1:6-21.

Allegro, recitative 80 = ♩
(C minor, C, 24 measures)

Et egressa est manus Domini contra me; humiliavit Dominus, adflixit me, Omnipotens.

2. Première scène (part 2): Air
(52 measures)

"Ne vocetis me Noemi:" soprano

4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante 58 = ♩
(E-flat major, 3/4, 52 measures)

Ne vocetis me Noemi, id est pulchram, sed vocate me Mara, id est amaram, quia amaritudine, replevit me Omnipotens. Egressa sum plena, ...

3. Deuxième scène: Chorus
(120 measures continuous with preceding movement)

"Ah Noemi! non vidit nostras angustias:" chorus

2 flutes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro agitato e disperato, con dolore, très vite 96 = ♩
(C minor, C, 92 measures)

Ah Noemi! non vidit nostras angustias, non vidit nostrum dolorem.

Andante, doublez le mouvement en largeur 76 = ♩
(C minor, C 4/2, 28 measures)

Ah, Noemi.

4. Final: Troisième scène et Quatrième scène:
Scene (soli), and air with chorus
(341 measures, continuous
with preceding movement)

"Orpha osculata est socrum:" soprano I, soprano II

4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Largo, recitative
(E-flat major, C, 4 measures)

Orpha osculata est socrum ac reversa est;

Allegro agitato, recitative 160 = ♩
(E-flat major, C, 81 measures)

Ruth adhaesit socrui suae. . . .

Plus lent, moderato sans lenteur 76 = ♩
(E-flat major, C, 87 measures)

Quocumque enim perrexeris ego tecum pergam, . . .

"Quocumque enim perrexeris:" soprano I, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro agitato
(E-flat major, C, 169 measures)

Quocumque enim perrexeris tecum pergam adverseris mihi ut te relinquam; et ubi morata fueris et ego pariter morabor; populus tuus populus meus, et Deus tuus Deus meus; . . .

Ruth et Booz[1]

soloists: soprano, tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Première scène: Chorus
(34 measures)

"Venit Noemi cum Ruth:" chorus

2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Moderato cantabile avec mouvement 88 = ♩
(C major, ¢)

Venit Noemi cum Ruth moabitide nuru sua de terra peregrinationis suae, . . .

2. Deuxième scène: Air
(127 measures)

"Noemi, Noemi te consolare:" soprano

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro affettuoso 132 = ♩
(B-flat major-G minor, C)

Noemi, Noemi te consolare, repperero gratiam clementis patrisfamilias si jubes vadam in agrum et colligam spicas,. . .

---

[1]Adapted from Ruth 1:2-3, 19-22; Ruth 2:2-13; Ruth 4:13; Genesis 22, Numbers 23-24; Isaiah 49; and Apocalypse 2-3.

3. Troisième scène: Scene (soli-chorus in 3 parts), air, and chorus (252 measures)

"Cum vobis dominus:" tenor

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante, Allegro
(G major, C, 6 measures)

Cum vobis dominus. Benedicat tibi dominus. Cujus est haec puella?

"Haec est Moabitis:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato cantabile avec mouvement 88 = ♩
(Cmajor, C, 26 measures)

Haec est Moabitis, quae venit cum Noemi de regione moabitide et rogavit ut spicas colligeret remanentes sequens messorum vestigia.

"Dexteris manipulis:" tenor

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Recitative
(C major, C, 7 measures)

Dexteris manipulis projicite de industria . . .

"Audi, filia: ne vadas in alterum:" tenor

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in G (later horns in C), violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegretto grazioso ed affettuoso 72 = ♩
(G major, 3/4, 88 measures)

Audi, filia: ne vadas in alterum agrum ad colligendum, nec recedas ab hoc loco, . . .

"Etiam si sitieris:" chorus

Grazioso un poco piu allegretto 96 = ♪
(G major 3/8, 125 measures)

Etiam si sitieris, vade ad sarcinulas et bibe aquas de quibus et pueri bibunt . . . .

4. Quatrième scène: Recitative, and air with chorus
(136 measures)

"Unde mihi hoc:" soprano

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Recitative
(B-flat major, C, 5 measures)

Unde mihi hoc, ut invenirem gratiam ante oculos tuos; et nosse me dignareris peregrinam mulierem.

"Domine, inveni gratiam:" soprano, chorus

4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro agitato ed un poco vivace 84 = 𝅗𝅥
(G minor, C, 131 measures)

Domine, inveni gratiam apud oculos tuos, domine mi, qui consolatus es me et locutus es ad cor ancillae tuae, quae non sum similis unius puellarum tuarum. . . .

5. Cinquième scène: Marche pastorale
(34 measures)

"Marche pastorale:" orchestra

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato cantabile avec mouvement 88 = ♩
(C major, C)

6. Sixième scène: Chorus
(152 measures)

"Tulit Booz:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Allegro religioso avec mouvement 126 = ♩
(C major, C)

Tulit Booz, Ruth accepit uxorem . . .

Stabat [Mater] en français[1]

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, bass

chorus: none

accompaniment: 2 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons
or
organ or piano

---

[1]This setting of the "Stabat Mater," in French translation, contains a total of eighteen strophes, each of which is arranged in a format identical to that of the first three.

Strophic trio
(900 measures)

"Marie en pleurs:" soprano I, soprano II, bass

2 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons
or
organ or piano

Strophe 1

Lent, affectueux, avec l'accent de la douleur; mais avec mouvement senti
(A minor, 3/2, 20 measures)

Marie en pleurs, inconsolable, assistait son fils adorable, suspendu, mourant sur la croix.

Majeur, un rien plus animé
(A major, 3/2, 30 measures)

Une mère, même insensible, éprouve en cette crise **horrible**, tous les supplices à la fois.

Strophe 2

I° tempo
(A minor, 3/2, 20 measures)

Quelle fut donc votre souffrance, O vous par excellence, en voyant ce fils adoré.

Majeur, un rien plus animé
(A major, 3/2, 30 measures)

Ainsi qu'un criminel **infame**, dans les angoisses rendre l'âme, meurtri, sanglant, défiguré.

I° tempo
(A minor, 3/2, 20 measures)

Il n'est pas d'homme sur la terre, eut-il un coeur de bronze, ou pierre, qui puisse retenir ses pleurs.

Majeur, un rien plus animé
(A major, 3/2, 30 measures)

En pensant au fils à la mère, sur la montage du Calvaire, en proie à toutes les douleurs.

Super flumina Babylonis[1]

soloists: soprano I, soprano II, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

---

1. Chorus
(99 measures)

"Super flumina Babylonis:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in F, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato un poco andante 80 = ♩
(F minor, C)

Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus cum recordaremus Sion:

2. Introduction (recitative-duo), and air
(184 measures)

"Quia illic interrogaverunt:" bass

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

---

[1]Psalm 136. The text of the concluding chorus, "Juxta fluvium," is adapted from Ezechiel 1:1; Ezechiel 1:15-28; Psalm 44; and Psalm 87.

Andantino con moto mais largement 108 = ♪
(C major, C, 17 measures)

Quia illic interrogaverunt nos, qui captivos duxerunt nos, verba cantionum; et qui abduxerunt nos: Hymnum cantate nobis de canticis Sion.

"Quomodo cantabimus:" soprano I, soprano II

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Cantabile con moto 76 = ♩
(D major, 3/4, 12 measures)

Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?

"Si oblitus fuero tui:" soprano I

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro fieramente 126 = ♩
(D major, C, 155 measures)

Si oblitus fuero tui, Ierusalem, oblivioni detur dextera mea; adhaerat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non meminero tui; si non proposuero Ierusalem in principio laetitae meae.

3. Introduction (chorus) and chorus
(115 measures)

"Quomodo cantabimus:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Cantabile con moto 76 = ♩
(G major, 3/4, 12 measures)

Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?

"Juxta fluvium:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in D
violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andantino con moto 80 = ♩
(D major, C, 103 measures)

Juxta fluvium Chobar, aperti sunt caeli, et vidi visiones Dei. Apparuit rota una super terram juxta animalia habens quattuor facies. Et adspectus earum et opera quasi sit rota in medio rotae. Per quattuor partes earum euntes ibant ta in medio rotae. Per quattuor partes earum euntes ibant et non revertebantur cum ambularent. Et totum corpus oculis plenum in circuitu ipsarum quattuor. Quocumque ibat spiritus, illuc, eunte spiritu, et totae pariter elevabantur sequentes eum; spiritus enim vitae erat in rotis. Et super firmamentum adspectus lapidis sapphiri similitudo, quasi adspectus hominis desuper. A lumbis eius et desuper et a lumbis eius usque deorsum vidi quasi speciem ignis splendentis in circuitu: velut adspectum arcus cum fuerit in nube in die pluviae.

Psallite Domino, psallite voce psalmi in conspectu regis.

Première Te Deum

soloists: soprano or high tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, 2 trombones (T,T), bass drum, cymbals, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

---

1. Chorus (Introduction-fugue)
(135 measures)

"Te Deum laudamus:" chorus (introduction)

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in D, (later 2 horns in E), violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto pomposo 104 = ♩
(B minor, C, 14 measures)

Te Deum laudamus: . . . terra veneratur.

Plus lent 80 = ♩
(B minor, ¢, 16 measures)

Pleni sunt caeli et terra majestatis gloriae tuae.

"Te Deum laudamus:" chorus (fugue)

Allegretto pomposo I° tempo
(B minor, C, 105 measures)

Te Deum laudamus: . . . majestatis gloriae tuae.

2. Air with chorus
(193 measures)

"Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus:" soprano or high tenor, chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegro spiritoso e fieramente avec mouvement 120 = ♩
(G major, C)

Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus: . . . aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum.

3. Final: Chorus
(143 measures)

"Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 2 trumpets in C, 2 trombones (T, T), bass drum, cymbals, timpani in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto 132 = ♩
(C major, C)

Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te. In te Domine speravi: non confundar in aeternum.

Deuxième Te Deum

soloists: soprano or high tenor

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

---

1. Double chorus
(262 measures)

"Te Deum laudamus:" chorus I (soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II); chorus II (soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II)

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in B-flat basso, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto pomposo largement 126 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 97 measures)

Te Deum laudamus: te Dominum confitemur. Tibi omnes Angeli, . . . Voce proclamant. Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus: confiteor Ecclesia, aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum.

Allegro spiritoso sans vitesse 152 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 165 measures)

Patrem immensae majestatis. Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant: Tu Rex gloriae, Christe; ad dexteram dei sedes. In gloria dei Patris. Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus: Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.

2. Air
(87 measures)

"Per singulos dies:" soprano or high tenor

2 flutes, 2 horns in G, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato grazioso 104 = ♩
(G major, C)

Per singulos dies, . . . saeculum saeculi. Tibi omnes Angeli, incessabili voce proclamant: famulis subveni. Aeterna fac cum Sanctis tuis in gloria numerari. Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim. Te ergo quaesumus, tuis famulis subveni. Aeterna fac in gloria numerari.

3. Chorus (Introduction, fugue, and Vivat)
(233 measures)

"Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos:" chorus (Introduction)

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andante largo 116 = ♩
(C major, ¢, 22 measures)

Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos.

"In te Domine speravi:" chorus (fugue)

Allegretto maestoso moderato mais avec mouvement 132 . = ♩
(C major, C, 160 measures)

In te Domine speravi: non confundar in aeternum. Salvum fac populum tuum Domine, et benedic hereditati tuae.

"Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum"

Allegro spiritoso 112 = 𝅗𝅥
(C major, C, 51 measures)

Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum.

Troisième Te Deum

soloists: soprano, tenor, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, 2 trombones (T,T), bass drum, cymbals, timpani, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

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1. Trio and chorus
(246 measures)

"Te Deum laudamus:" soprano, tenor, bass

2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto moderato 120 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 66 measures)

Te Deum laudamus: . . . terra veneratur. Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim . . . confiteor Ecclesia: Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium.

"Tu devicto mortis aculeo:" chorus

Allegro moderato et marqué 152 = ♩
(B-flat major, C, 75 measures)

Tu devicto mortis aculeo, . . . esse venturus.

1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

d'un rien plus animé
(B-flat major, C, 105 measures)

Judex crederis esse venturus. Tu devicto mortis aculeo, sedes ad dexteram Dei Patris; in gloria Dei Patris. Tu Rex gloriae, Christe. Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius; aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum.

2. Air
(103 measures)

"Te ergo quaesumus:" soprano or high tenor

2 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in E-flat, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Andantino poco adagio 76 = ♩
(E-flat major, ¢, 41 measures)

Te ergo quaesumum, tuis famuli subveni, . . . Salvum fac populum tuum Domine, et benedic hereditati tuae.

Allegro assai un poco vivace e presto, à 2 temps 126 = 𝅗𝅥
(E-flat major, C, 62 measures)

Per singulos dies, benedicimus te. Et laudamus nomen tuum in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi. Miserere nostri, miserere Domine.

3. Chorus
(68 measures)

"Patrem immensae majestatis:" chorus

violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Moderato poco grave 100 = ♩
(C minor, ¢, 25 measures)

Patrem immedsae majestatis: . . . Paraclitum Spiritum.

Grazioso 92 = 𝅗𝅥
(C minor, ¢, 6 measures)

Tu Rex gloriae, Christe.

Allegretto avec mouvement 112 = ♩
(C minor, ¢, 10 measures)

Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.

Grazioso avec mouvement 88 = ♩
(C minor, ¢, 27 measures)

Tu ad liberandum . . . Virginis uterum. Dignare Domine die isto . . . miserere nostri.

4. Final: Chorus
(143 measures)

"Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C, 2 trumpets in C, 2 trombones (T,T), bass drum, cymbals, timpani in C, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, bass

Allegretto 132 = ♩
(C major, C)

Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te. In te Domine speravi: non confundar in aeternum.

Veni sponsa mansueta, veni coronaberis

soloists: soprano, bass

chorus: soprano I, soprano II, tenor I, tenor II, bass I, bass II

orchestra: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 1 harp, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

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1. Introduction (chorus) and chorus
(257 measures)

"Deus judicium tuum Regi:" chorus

2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in D, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Grave
(D minor, C, 17 measures)

Deus judicium tuum Regi da: orietur in diebus ejus justitia ante solem per manet nomen ejus.

"Psallite Regi nostro:" chorus

Allegro moderato
(D major, C, 240 measures)

Psallite Regi nostro in manu Domini . . .

2. Introduction (solo-chorus) and air with chorus
(150 measures)

"Dixi ecce venio, laudate adorate:" bass, chorus

1 harp, violin I, violin II, viola I, viola II, cello, bass

Andantino con moto
(F major, 6/4, 12 measures)

orchestral introduction

Recitative: bass
(F major, C, 2 measures)

Dixi ecce venio

I° tempo
(F major, 6/4, 4 measures)

orchestra

Adagio: chorus
(D minor, C, 10 measures)

Laudate adorate sanctam hostiam.

"O salutaris hostia:" soprano, chorus

Andantino con moto avec mouvement
(F major, 6/4, 102 measures)

O salutaris hostia . . . fer auxilium. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Adagio
(F major, C, 20 measures)

Deus habitat in vobis; adoramus, procidamus.

APPENDIX 4

THE SACRED MUSIC OF LE SUEUR:

A COLLATED SOURCE GUIDE

In the following alphabetically arranged tables, basic source information is provided for each of Le Sueur's sacred compositions. Under the headings Volume and Fascicle No., Chapelle Impériale-Royale No., and Florence Manuscript No., the relationships which exist between the format of a specific composition in its published form, and that which it possessed originally, as indicated by the manuscript catalog "Etat de la Biblothèque de la Musique du Roi" and the manuscript scores found in the library of the Conservatorio di Musica in Florence, are presented. Works which survive only in manuscript, and works known to exist only because entries were devoted to them in the manuscript catalogue, have also been included for the sake of completeness. Supplementary footnotes supply information related to those Revolutionary compositions of Le Sueur which served as source-models for sacred works, and to the varying textual transformations - including contrafacta - that took place in connection with some of this music.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Ad templum Domini	Vol. 14	Messe 12	No. 12
1. Introduction (chorus), duo, and duo with chorus, "Ad templum Domini" - "Credidi, propter quod locutus suum" - "Quid retribuam Domino"	Fas. 80	12:1	12:1
2. Air and solo with chorus, "O salutaris hostia" - "Benedictus qui venit"	Fas. 81	12:2	12:2
Agnus Dei		26e. Morceau séparé	

Beati omnes (1784)[1]

1. Air, "Beati omnes"
2. Chorus, "Uxor tua"
3. Duo, "Benedicat tibi Dominus"
4. Air with chorus, "Et videas filios"

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[1]This psalm setting survives only in the manuscript written for St.-Martin, Tours, dated 1784. The work was subsequently performed in Paris at the Concert Spirituel.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Benedicamus patrem		3e. Morceau séparé	
Solo with chorus, "Benedicamus patrem et filium"			
Benediction: Sit nomen Domini		2e. Morceau séparé	
Solo with chorus, "Sit nomen Domini"			
Caeli enarrant	Vol. 14	Messe 5, 10	No. 5, 10
1. Trio with chorus, and solo with chorus (2 sections), "Caeli enarrant" - "Et super salutare" - "Exaltare Domine"	Fas. 82	10:1	10:1
2. Air with chorus (3 sections), "O salutaris hostia" - "Gloria Patri" - "O salutaris hostia"	Fas. 83	5:4[1]	5:3[1]

[1]The setting of this composition which appears in the 5e. Messe is musically identical to the published version, but employs the text, "Domine salvum fac." The corresponding movement in the parallel manuscript from Florence employs the text, "O salutaris hostia," as published in Volume 14.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Cantate religieuse	Vol. 13	Messe 1, 5	No. 1, 5
1. Chorus, introduction, and air (rondo), "Tollite hostias" - "O Domine vestigia" - "Stare fecit cantores"	Fas. 75	1:1	1:1
2. Combined strophic chorus, "In perita sua"[1]	Fas. 76	1:3	1:3
3. Recitative and air, "In memoria eterna" - "Paratum cor ejus"	Fas. 77	5:3	5:2
Canticum cum choris duplicibus[2] (Intoruit de caelo dominus)		24e. Morceau séparé	
Double chorus, "Intoruit de caelo dominus"			

[1]Previously published and employed, with a completely different text and in a slightly altered form, as the Revolutionary composition, Chant dithyrambique pour l'entrée triomphale des objets de science et d'art recueillie en Italie.

[2]This composition was subsequently published, in identical musical form, but with a completely different French text, as "Finale," Alexandre à Babylone, Paris: Imprimerie Marguerie [the score bears no date; it was published without a title page] , Act I, pp. 224-279.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Debbora	Vol. 2	Messe 22	No. 22
1. Chorus, "Canticum Debbora cantemus"	Fas. 8	22:1	22:1
2. Air with chorus, "Dux descendit de monte Thabor"	Fas. 8	22:2	22:2
3. Introduction (chorus), trio with chorus and chorus, "Ante pedes nostros" - "Sic pereant inimici" - "Suffocatus exercitus eorum"	Fas. 9	22:3-4	22:3-4
4. Air with chorus, "Surge Debbora, frequenta canticum"	Fas. 10	22:5	22:5
5. Finale: Quartet, and quartet with chorus, "Surge Israel, surge illuminare" - "Super te orta est"	Fas. 11	22:6	22:6
Dilexi (1784)[1]			
1. Air, "Dilexi, quoniam exaudiet Dominus"			

[1]This psalm setting survives only in the manuscript wirtten for St.-Martin, Tours, dated 1784. The work was subsequently performed in Paris at the Concert Spirituel.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
2. Recitative and air, "Circumdederunt me dolores" - "Tribulationem et dolorem"			
3. Quintet, "Misericors Dominus"			
4. Chorus, "Placebo Domino"			
Domine salvum fac		8e. Morceau séparé	
Duo with chorus, "Domine salvum fac"			
Domine salvum fac		10e. Morceau séparé	
Chorus, "Domine salvum fac"			
Domine salvum fac [I]	Vol. 17	Messe 24	
Introduction and rondo, "Dies super, dies imperatoris" - "Domine salvum fac"	Fas. 96	24:8	

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Domine salvum fac [II]	Vol. 17	Messe 7	
Air with chorus, "Domine salvum fac"	Fas. 97	7:3	
Ecce ego mitto		27e. Morceau séparé	
Joannes in deserto baptizat	Vol. 15	Messe 20	
1. Duo with chorus, "Joannes in deserto batizat"[1]	Fas. 87	7e. Morceau séparé[1]	
2. Air with chorus, "Domine salvum fac"	Fas. 88	20:6	
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes		1ere. Morceau séparé	
Chorus, "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes"			

[1]Prior to its publication, this composition appears only as the 7e. Morceau séparé.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Magnificat (1775)[1]			
1. Air, "Et exsultavit"			
2. Duo, "Quia fecit"			
3. Air with chorus, "Fecit potentiam"			
4. Air, "Esurientes implevit"			
5. Duo, "Sicut locutus est"			
6. Duo with chorus, "Sicut erat in principio"			
Marche religieuse et guerrière[2] (Domine luminis protege regem)		11e. Morceau séparé	
March with chorus, "Domine luminis protege regem"			

[1]This alternate verse setting of the Magnificat, written in 1775 when Le Sueur was attached to the Maîtrise at the Cathedral of Amiens, is the earliest extant work of the composer. The composition survives in manuscript only.

[2]This composition was subsequently published, in identical musical form, but with a completely different French text, as the "Hymne des Mages," Alexandre à Babylone, Paris: Imprimerie Marguerie [the score bears no date; it was published without a title page] , Act II, pp. 372-389.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Messe basse ou motet	Vol. 15	Messe 2, 8, 9	No. 2, 8
1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"	Fas. 84	2:1	2:1
2. Credo: Chorus and soli with choruses, "Credo in unum Deum" - "Patrem omnipotentem"	Fas. 85	8:2	8:1
3. Credo (Cont.): Solo with chorus and chorus, "Credo in unam sanctam catholicam" - "Justia ejus orietur"	Fas. 85	8:2	8:1
4. Domine salvum: Air, "Domine salvum fac"	Fas. 86	9:3	
Messe du S.t Esprit: Offertoire[1] (Domine Deus liberavit nos)		20.e Morceau séparé	
Chorus, "Domine Deus liberavit nos"			

[1]This composition was subsequently published, in identical musical form, but with a completely different French text, as "Fanfare et chant de Triomphe," Alexandre à Babylone, Paris: Imprimerie Marguerie [the score bears no date; it was published without a title page], Act II, pp. 301-324.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Première messe solennelle	Vol. 1	Messe 2, 6, 11, 17, 21	No. 2, 11, 17, 21
1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"[1]	Fas. 1	11:1	11:1
2. Gloria: Duo. "Gloria in excelsis Deo"	Fas. 2	2:2	2:2
3. Gloria (Cont.): Duo with chorus, "Qui sedes ad dexteram"	Fas. 2	2:2	2:2
4. Credo: Solo with chorus and choruses (5), "Credo in unum Deum" - "Genitum non factum" etc.	Fas. 3	2:3	2:3
5. Offertory: Chorus, "Quis enarrabit"[2]	Fas. 4	21:4	21:4
6. Sanctus: Chorus, "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus"	Fas. 5		

[1]Serves also as 23e. Morceau séparé.

[2]Serves also as 22e. Morceau séparé.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
7. O Salutaris: Air with chorus, "O salutaris hostia"	Fas. 6	17:3[1]	17:3[1]
8. Agnus Dei: Chorus, "Agnus Dei"	Fas. 7	6:4[2]	
Deuxième messe solennelle	Vol. 5	Messe 4, 6, 7, 10	No. 4, 6, 7, 10
1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"	Fas. 27	4:1	4:1
2. Gloria: Introduction (duo), air with chorus, and choruses (3), "Gloria in excelsis Deo" - "Et in terra pax" etc.	Fas. 28	4:2	4:2
3. Credo: Air, "Credo in unum Deum"	Fas. 29	6:2	6:2

[1]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 17 is musically identical but employs the text, "Domine salvum fac." The corresponding movement in the parallel manuscript from Florence, however, employs the text, "O salutaris hostia," as does the published edition.

[2]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 6 is musically identical but employs the text, "Sicut erat in principio." There is no corresponding movement in the parallel manuscript from Florence.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
4. Credo (Cont.): Duo with chorus, duo, quartet, and chorus, "Deum de Deo" - "Et resurrexit" etc.	Fas. 29	6:2	6:2
5. Offertory: Chorus, "Venite introite"	Fas. 30	7:1	7:1
6. Sanctus: Choruses (2), and solo with chorus, "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus" - "Hosanna in excelsis" - "Qui habet aurem"	Fas. 31	25e. Morceau séparé[1]	
7. O Salutaris: Air with chorus, "O salutaris hostia"[2]	Fas. 32	10:4	
8. Agnus Dei: Chorus, "Agnus Dei"	Fas. 33	10:2[3]	10:2[3]

[1]Prior to its publication, this composition appears only as the 25e. Morceau séparé.

[2]Serves also as the 17e. Morceau séparé, with text, "Domine salvum fac," and as the 18e. Morceau séparé, with the text, "O salutaris hostia."

[3]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 10 is musically identical but employs the text, "O salutaris hostia" - "Benedictus qui venit." The corresponding movement in the parallel manuscript from Florence similarly employs the text, "O salutaris hostia" - "Benedictus qui venit." The "Agnus Dei" text appears only in the published edition.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Troisième messe solennelle	Vol. 12	Messe 5, 6, 7, 9, 11	No. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11
1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"	Fas. 69	5:1	5:1
2. Gloria: Chorus, "Gloria in excelsis Deo"	Fas. 70	11:2	11:2
3. Gloria (Cont.): Air with chorus, chorus, and duo with chorus, "Gratias agimus" - "Qui tollis peccata mundi" - "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris"	Fas. 70	11:2	11:2
4. Credo: Chorus, airs (2), and sextet, "Credo in unum Deum" - "Et in unum Dominum" etc.	Fas. 71	9:2	9:2
5. Credo (Cont.): Duo, and sextet with chorus, "Et resurrexit" - "Cujus regni"	Fas. 71	9:2	9:2
6. Offertory: Air with chorus, "In media nocte"	Fas. 72	7:2	7:2
7. Sanctus: Choruses (2), and solo with chorus, "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus" etc. - "O salutaris hostia"	Fas. 73		
8. Agnus Dei: Duo with chorus, "Agnus Dei"	Fas. 74	6:1[1]	6:1[1]

[1]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 6 is musically identical, but employs the text, "Kyrie eleison." The corresponding movement in the parallel manuscript from Florence similarly employs the text, "Kyrie eleison."

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
O filii et filiae[1]	Vol. 17	6e. Morceau séparé	
Introduction, strophes, chorus, "Alleluia" - "O filii et filiae" - "In hoc festo sanctissimo"	Fas. 99		
O salutaris[2]	Vol. 17	Messe 16	No. 16
Chorus, "O salutaris hostia"	Fas. 98	16:3	16:3
O salutaris hostia		14e. Morceau séparé	

[1] Prior to its publication, this composition appears only as the 6e. Morceau séparé.

[2] Serves also as 21e. Morceau séparé.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Oratorio de Noël	Vol. 16	Messe 24, (14)	No. 25
1. Kyrie: Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"	Fas. 89	24:1; 14:3[1]	25:1
2. Scène religieuse de nuit et Gloria: Recitative, chorus and postlude, chorus and interlude, "Pastores erant vigilantes" - "Claritas Dei circumfulsit" - "Gloria in excelsis Deo"	Fas. 90	24:2	25:2
3. Recitative, Morceau d'ensemble: air with chorus, "Nolite timere; quia natus est" - "Laudamus te"	Fas. 91	24:3	25:3
4. Duo, recitative, and chorus, "Gratias agimus tibi" - "Domine Deus, Rex caelestis" - "Laudamus te"	Fas. 92	24:4	25:4
5. Morceau d'ensemble: Chorus, "Domine Deus, Agnus Dei"	Fas. 93	24:5	25:5

[1]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 14 is musically identical but employs the text, "Domine salvum fac."

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
6. Recitative and air with chorus, "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris" - "Quoniam tu solus sanctus"	Fas. 94	24:6	25:6
7. Hyme pastorale: Strophic chorus, "Jam desinant suspira"	Fas. 95	24:7	25:7
Premier oratorio de la Passion	Vol. 4	Messe 26, (12)	No. 26
1. Introduction (chorus) and soli with chorus (3), "Threni id est lamentationes" - "Quomodo sedet sola" etc.	Fas. 20	26:1; 12:4[1]	26:1
2. Duo (2 sections), "O spes salutis omnium"- "Te summa Deus sola"	Fas. 21	26:2	26:2
3. Introduction (chorus), quartet with chorus, and chorus, "Insons cruentae filius" - "Plange tristi carmine" - "Patri sit gloria"	Fas. 22	26:3	26:3

[1]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 12 is musically identical but employs the text, "Domine salvum fac." The "Domine salvum fac" of Messe 12 corresponds only to the section, "Quomodo sedet sola" of this composition.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Deuxième oratorio de la Passion	Vol. 4	Messe 15	No. 15
1. Chorus, "Kyrie eleison"	Fas. 23	15:1	15:1
2. Air and choral conclusion, "Ab ira tua" - "Miserere nobis"	Fas. 24	15:2	12:2
3. Trio with chorus, "Lux vera, lux eterna"	Fas. 25	15:3	15:3
4. Chorus, "Domine libera regem"[1]	Fas. 26	16e. Morceau séparé	
Troisième oratorio de la Passion	Vol. 6	Messe 14, 16	No. 14, 16
1. Combined strophic chorus and air, "Introibo in dominum tuam" - "Secundum misericordiam"	Fas. 37	14:1	14:1
2. Trio with chorus, "In virtute tua"	Fas. 38	16:4[2]	16:4[2]

[1]Prior to its publication, this composition appears only as the 16e. Morceau séparé.

[2]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 16 is musically identical but employs the text, "Domine salvum fac." The corresponding movement in the parallel manuscript from Florence employs the text, "In virtute tua."

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Premier oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains	Vol. 9	Messe 27, (1-2)	
1. Première scène: March and chorus, "March" - "Vivat in aeternum"[1]	Fas. 49	13e. Morceau séparé	
2. Deuxième scène: Chorus, "Deus, Deus qui populo tuo"	Fas. 49	27:1	
3. Troisième scène: Chorus, "Supplices te rogamus"	Fas. 50	27:2	
4. Quatrième scène: Duo with chorus, "Omnipotentem Sancte Remigi"	Fas. 51	27:3	
5. Cinquième scène: Solo and chorus, "In virtute tua" - "Domine salvum fac"	Fas. 52	27:4; 2:4[2]	

[1]Prior to its publication, this composition appears only as the 13e. Morceau séparé where the March alone is included.

[2]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 2 is musically identical, but employs a somewhat modified form of the same text.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
6. Sixième scène: Solo with chorus, "Veneremur adoremus"	Fas. 53	27:5; 1:4[1]	1:4[1]
7. Septième scène: Chorus, "Urbs beata genovefae"	Fas. 54	27:6	
Deuxième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains	Vol. 10	Messe 28, (11-19)	
1. Première scène: Double chorus, "Domine emitte"	Fas. 55	28:1; 19:4[2]	
2. Deuxième scène: Solo with chorus, "Ter Sancte Deus"	Fas. 56	28:2; 11:3[3]	
3. Troisième scène: Chorus, "Beatus qui legit"	Fas. 57	28:3	

[1]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 1 is musically identical, but employs the text, "Domine salvum fac."

[2]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 19 is musically identical, but employs the text, Domine salvum fac."

[3]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 11 is musically identical, but employs the text, "Domine salvum fac" - "Gloria Patri." "Ter Sancte Deus," corresponds only to the "Gloria Patri" section.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
4. Quatrième scène: Duo with chorus (3 sections), "Suscepit Israel" - "Sicut locutus est" - "Suscepit Israel"	Fas. 58	28:4	
5. Cinquième scène: Scene (chorus-solo), "Christe qui sedes Olympo"	Fas. 59	28:5	
6. Sixième scène: Chorus, scene (solo-chorus), and duo with chorus, "Domine Deus, Gratias Agimus tibi" - "Omnipotens sempiterne" - "In hoc festo"	Fas. 59	28:5-6	
Troisième oratorio pour le couronnement des Princes Souverains	Vol. 11	Messe 29 (15)	
1. Première scène: Solo with chorus, "David parvulus"	Fas. 60	29:1	
2. Deuxième scène: Duo with chorus, "Inveni David"	Fas. 61	29:2	
3. Troisième scène: Air with chorus, "Confortare et esto vir"	Fas. 62	29:3	

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
4. Quatrième scène (part 1): Double chorus, "Ora pro nobis, Sancte Remigi - Gentem francorum"[1]	Fas. 63	29:4	
5. Quatrième scène (part 2): Duo with chorus, "Laudent dominum"	Fas. 64	29:5	
6. Cinquième scène: Double chorus and chorus, "Unxerunt Salomonem" - "Sit laus Patri, laus Filio"[2]	Fas. 65	28e. Morceau séparé	
7. Sixième scène: Chorus, "Pergrinus veniens"	Fas. 66	15:5[3]	
8. Septième scène (part 1): March with chorus, "Marche seraphique" - "Deus Salvator"	Fas. 67	29e. Morceau séparé	
9. Septième scène (part 2): Chorus, "Vivat in aeternum"	Fas. 68	29e. Morceau séparé	

[1]Previously employed, with a completely different text but in virtually identical musical form, as the opening chorus 1. Quadruple chorus, "Jour glorieux, jour de mémoire," of the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiare an IX.

[2]Prior to its publication, this composition appears only as the 28e. Morceau séparé.

[3]The setting of this composition which appears in Messe 15 is musically identical, but employs the text, "Domine salvum fac."

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Parce Domine		12e. Morceau séparé	
Rachel	Vol. 7	Messe 17	No. 17
1. Air with chorus (2 sections), "Vox in excelso" - "Quiescat in vox tua"	Fas. 39	17:1	17:1
2. Air with chorus, "Circumspice ad orientur"	Fas. 40	17:2	17:2
3. Finale (soli-chorus in 7 sections), "Dico ego opera mei Regi" - Uxor tua sicut" etc.	Fas. 41		
Ruth et Noemi	Vol. 8	Messe 19	No. 19
1. Première scène (part 1): Scene (soli-chorus), "Noemi egressa es"	Fas. 42	19:1	19:1
2. Première scène (part 2): Air, "Ne vocetis me Noemi"	Fas. 43	19:2	19:2
3. Deuxième scène: Chorus, "Ah Noemi! non vidit nostras angustias"	Fas. 43	19:2	19:2
4. Final: Troisième scène et Quatrième scène: Scene (soli), and air with chorus, "Orpha osculata est socrum" - "Quocumque enim perrexeris"	Fas. 43	19:2-3	19:2-3

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Ruth et Booz	Vol. 8	Messe 20	No. 20
1. Première scène: Chorus, "Venit Noemi cum Ruth"	Fas. 44	20:1	20:1
2. Deuxième scène: Air, "Noemi, Noemi te consolare"	Fas. 45	20:2	20:2
3. Troisième scène: Scene (soli-chorus in 3 parts), air, and chorus, "Cum vobis dominus" - "Audi, filia: ne vadas in alterum" -"Etiam si sitieris"	Fas. 46	20:2-3	20:2-3
4. Quatrième scène: Recitative, and air with chorus, "Unde mihi hoc" - "Domine, inveni gratiam"	Fas. 47	20:3-4	20:3-4
5. Cinquième scène: Marche pastorale	Fas. 48	20:4	20:4
6. Sixième scène: Chorus, "Tulit Booz"	Fas. 48	20:5	20:5
Simphonie funèbre (Requiem sempiternam)		19e. Morceau séparé	
March with chorus, "Requiem sempiternam"			

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Stabat Mater (1784)[1]			
1. Air (2 sections), "Stabat Mater dolorosa" - "Cujus animam gementem"			
2. Solo with chorus, air, solo with chorus, "O quam tristis" - "Pro peccatis suae" - "Vidit suum dulcem"			
3. Duo (2 sections), "Eia Mater" - "Fac ut ardeat"			
4. Trio with chorus (3 sections), "Sancta Mater" -"Virgo virginum" - "Inflammatis"			
Stabat [Mater] en Français	Vol. 17		
Strophic trio, "Maria en pleurs"	Fas. 100		

[1]This setting of the Stabat Mater survives only in the manuscript written for St.-Martin, Tours, dated 1784. The work was subsequently performed in Paris at the Concert Spirituel.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Super flumina Babylonis (1784)[1]			
1. Chorus and air, "Super flumina Babylonis" - "In salicibus"			
2. Introduction (recitative-duo), and duo, "Quia illic interrogaverunt" - "Quomodo cantabimus" - "Si oblitus fuero tui"			
3. Air and chorus, "Memor esto" - "Beatus qui retribuet"[2]			

[1]This original setting of psalm, Super flumina Babylonis, the one which served as the model for the subsequently published edition, survives in the manuscript written for S.t-Martin of Tours dated 1784. The work was subsequently performed in Paris at the Concert Spirituel.

[2]The chorus, "Beatus qui retribuet," was subsequently employed, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 9. Double chorus, "Condamnés par l'Anglais," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX. Still later, this same chorus was used once more, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as the concluding chorus, "Juxta fluvium," of 3. Introduction (chorus) and chorus, "Quomodo cantabiumus" - "Juxta fluvium," in the published setting of Super flumina Babylonis, volume 6.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Super flumina Babylonis	Vol. 6	Messe 21	No. 21
1. Chorus, "Super flumina Babylonis"	Fas. 34	21:1	21:1
2. Introduction (recitative-duo), and air, "Quia illic interrogaverunt" - "Quomodo cantabimus" - "Si oblitus fuero tui"	Fas. 35	21:2	21:2
3. Introduction (chorus) and chorus, "Quomodo cantabimus" - "Juxta flumvium"[1]			
Tantum ergo Sacramentum		4e. Morceau séparé	
Chorus, "Tantum ergo Sacramentum"			

[1]The chorus, "Juxta fluvium," was previously employed, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as the concluding chorus, "Beatus qui retribuet," of 3. Air and chorus, "Memor esto" - "Beatus qui retribuet," in the manuscript setting of Super flumina Babylonis written in 1784 for St.-Martin of Tours. The same chorus was also employed, in identical musical form but with a completely different text, as 9. Double chorus, "Condamnés par l'Anglais," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
Premier Te Deum	Vol. 3	Messe 13, 18	No. 13, 18
1. Chorus (Introduction-fugue), "Te Deum laudamus"	Fas. 12	18:1	18:1
2. Air with chorus, "Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus"	Fas. 13	18:2	18:2
3. Final: Chorus, "Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos"[1]	Fas. 14	13:5	13:3
Deuxième Te Deum	Vol. 3	Messe 23	No. 23
1. Double chorus, "Te Deum laudamus"	Fas. 15	23:1	23:1
2. Air, "Per singulos dies"	Fas. 16	23:2	23:2

[1]Previously employed, with a completely different text and in a somewhat different form, as the concluding quadruple chorus, "Nous le jurons; nous donnerons la paix," 11. Solo recitatives and quadruple chorus, "O Dieu, j'entends gémir" - "Nous le jurons; nous donnerons la paix," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX. This same composition also serves as Final of the Troisième Te Deum.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
3. Chorus (Introduction, fugue, and Vivat), "Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos" - "In te Domine speravi" - "Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum"[1]	Fas. 17	23:3	23:3
Troisième Te Deum	Vol. 3	Messe 13	No. 13
1. Trio and chorus, "Te Deum laudamus" - "Tu devicto mortis aculeo"[2]	Fas. 18	13:2	13:1
2. Air, "Te ergo quaesumus"	Fas. 19	13:3	13:2
3. Chorus, "Patrem immensae majestatis"	Fas. 19	13:4	

[1] Previously employed, with a completely different text and in a substantially different form, as the opening section of the Revolutionary composition, Chant pour l'anniversaire du 21 janvier. The section "Vivat rex, vivat in aeternum" only, serves also as 9e. Morceau séparé.

[2] Previously employed, with a completely different text and in a slightly shorter but basically similar form, as 3. Trio and double chorus, "Tu renais parmi nous," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX.

Title	Volume and Fascicle No.	Chapelle Impériale-Royale No.	Florence Manuscript No.
4. Final: Chorus, "Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos."[1]	Fas. 14	13:5	13:3
Veni creator spiritus		5e. Morceau séparé	
Veni sponsa mansueta, veni coronaberis	Vol. 13	Messe 3	No. 3
1. Introduction (chorus) and chorus, "Deus judicium tuum Regi" - "Psallite Regi nostro"[2]	Fas. 78	3:1	3:1
2. Introduction (solo-chorus) and air with chorus, "Dixi ecce venio, laudate adorate" - "O salutaris hostia"[3]	Fas. 79	3:2	3:2

[1]Previously employed, with a completely different text and in a somewhat different form, as the concluding quadruple chorus, "Nous le jurons; nous donnerons la paix," 11. Solo recitatives and quadruple chorus, "O Dieu, j'entends gémir" - "Nous le jurons; nous donnerons la paix," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX. This same composition also serves as Final of the Premier Te Deum.

[2]Previously employed, in a considerably simpler form, as 7. Air and chorus, "Et l'avare Albion," in the Revolutionary composition, Chant du 1er. Vendémiaire an IX.

[3]Serves also as the 15e. Morceau séparé.