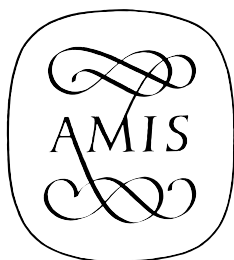


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Musical Instruments in the Archives of the French Court: The *Argenterie, Menus Plaisirs et Affaires de la Chambre*, 1733–1792

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ESTABLISHING A PRECISE CHRONOLOGY for the evolution of musical instruments is an ongoing task for researchers. In the absence of patents or authenticated, dated specimens, other resources can provide reliable evidence, notably inventories and invoices in public collections. One of the richest of these is the archives of the *Argenterie, Menus Plaisirs et Affaires de la Chambre* of the French court, the department responsible for the organization of all religious ceremonies and entertainments, and for supplying the members of the royal family with the objects necessary for their personal and somewhat extraordinary day-to-day lifestyles. Held at the *Centre Historique des Archives Nationales* in Paris (hereafter abbreviated *F-Pan*) and comprising the 470 call numbers O¹ 2806 to O¹ 3276, the series spans the reigns of Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI.

French writers such as Félix Raugel, André Tessier, and Norbert Dufourcq were among the first to recognize the value of this documentation, early in the twentieth century.¹ In 1961 Sibyl Marcuse published a transcription of an inventory of the musical instruments of the crown, dating from 1780, which has served as an important source for subsequent organological studies.² A landmark study by Marcelle Benoît of

1. Félix Raugel, *Les Grands Orgues de Paris et du département de la Seine* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1927); André Tessier, “Un catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Musique du Roi au château de Versailles,” *Revue de Musicologie* 15 (1931): 106–117; Norbert Dufourcq, *Documents inédits relatifs à l’orgue français* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1934–1935).

2. Sibyl Marcuse, “The Instruments of the King’s Library at Versailles,” *Galpin Society Journal* 14 (1961): 34–36. An inventory was commissioned from Christophe Chiquelier *fils* in 1763 but has not yet been discovered: he billed the court “For having had made on orders from M. de La Ferté an inventory of the instruments belonging to the King for two cartons of Dutch papers, one for M. de La Ferté, and the other for me, for this 4 / For researching and writing the said inventory for this . . . 18.” (O¹ 3008, 1, no. 36, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour avoir fait faire par les ordres de M. de la Ferté un Etat des Instruments appartenant au Roy pour deux Cartons de papiers d’hollande, L’un pour M. De la Ferté, et l’autre pour moy, pour ce . . . 4 / Pour la recherche et Ecriture du dit Etat pour ce . . . 18.*)

From 1549 to 1795, the official monetary unit used in accounting in France was the *livre tournois* or Tournoise pound, represented by a pound figure with only one

the portion corresponding to the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) and the Regency (1715–1733) appeared in 1971.³ The archives for the period comprising the reigns of Louis XV (1733–1774) and Louis XVI (1774–1792) have been consulted selectively for studies too numerous to list here, but owing to their vastness have not yet been the subject of a complete investigation, much less a detailed inventory. Concentrating on the portion of the series comprising call numbers O¹ 2984 to O¹ 3094, this article will catalog the documents pertaining to musical instrument construction, and present the most pertinent findings relating to the evolution of musical instruments in Paris and the surrounding region for the period from 1733 to 1792.⁴

Not even the absolute monarchy of France was exempt from the necessity of efficient accounting. Though not answerable for its use of public funds, disbursements by the royal household had to be justified internally by invoices that, over time, evolved from vague and haphazard to increasingly detailed and systematic; indeed, they offer a virtual study in the evolution of accounting itself. Regular suppliers, including the curator of the king's instruments, submitted first annual, then quarterly statements: just as the builder itemized every last nail and the dressmaker each ribbon, the luthier similarly listed the smallest procedure to justify the inflated sums demanded as compensation for frequent delays in payment.⁵ Leafing through these documents evokes the splendor of the court of the Bourbon kings with an immediacy that the most verbose eyewitness accounts or the most elaborate paintings cannot rival. More than two hundred years after the Revolution to which they doubtlessly contributed, the records of these sumptuous expenditures provide invaluable evidence of musical instrument construction and use, as well as insight into the techniques employed by craftsmen to repair and main-

horizontal bar. The *livre tournois* was subdivided into twenty *sols* and the *sol* into twelve *deniers*. Unless specified otherwise, all numerical values that appear without this figure are quoted in *livres tournois*; when two or three columns of numbers appear, these represent successively *livres tournois*, *sols*, and *deniers*.

3. Marcelle Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du Roi 1661–1733. – Etude institutionnelle et sociale* (Paris: Picard, 1971).

4. It was not possible to consult the following call numbers during the preparation of this article: 3027, 3030^A, 3030^B, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3036, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3044, 3046.

5. Compare Henry Miller, *Black Spring* (Aylesbury: for the author, 1936; St. Albans: Panther, 1974), 78: "But Tom Moffat was a genuine aristocrat: he never questioned the price and he never paid his bills."

tain them, and can supply early-music practitioners with the information they require to select the instruments best suited to the repertoire they intend to perform.

The position of official curator of the king's instruments (*Garde des instruments du Roi*) was held, successively, by the harpsichord builders Christophe Chiquelier père (c. 1661–1748) beginning in 1728, Christophe Chiquelier fils (1715–1792) from the death of his father until 1774, and Pascal Joseph Taskin (I) (1723–1793) from 1774 until the abolition of the monarchy in 1792. The curator was responsible for the maintenance of all the instruments of the crown employed by the *Musique de la Chambre* except for the organs, which were the exclusive domain of Louis-Alexandre Clicquot (c. 1684–1760) and his son François-Henri (1732–1790). The maintenance and repairs of the brass and string instruments and the timpani were subcontracted to craftsmen who remain for the most part anonymous. Beginning in 1780, the responsibility for the string instruments (violin, viola, violoncello, and double bass) was assigned to the luthier Caron in Versailles (likely Jean-François Caron [1745–c. 1792]), who billed the court directly.⁶ In 1783 one Le Febvre similarly became the official supplier of brass instruments and billed the court directly for the maintenance of the horns and trumpets.⁷ Taskin, assisted beginning in 1784 by his nephew, Pascal Joseph Taskin (II) (1750–1829), remained responsible for the harpsichords and pianos while Cliquot continued to maintain the organs.⁸

One general observation to be gleaned from these documents is that the musical instruments of the French court were subjected to such abusive conditions that it is incredible that any examples have survived at all. Instruments were clearly considered tools of the trade (or equipment for

6. On Caron see Marcelle Benoît, "L'apprentissage chez les facteurs d'instruments de musique à Paris 1600–1661, 1715–1774," *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 24 (1986): 5–106, at 87. Among the outstanding sums due to court suppliers on 10 August 1792 was 350 livres 16 sols to "Caron (v^c) [veuve] Luthier" (O¹ 3094, 1).

7. This is likely the "Lefèvre" who was active as a horn-maker between 1789 and 1803 (see William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* [London: Tony Bingham, 1993], 229), and whose earliest date of activity should be revised to 1774 on the basis of an invoice he submitted to the Comédie-Française on 11 April 1774 for two "English-style horns" (*une pere De cors a Lengloise en tous tons entier*, i.e. with a general tuning slide); in an invoice of 29 April 1789 he describes himself as "*Seul ordinaire de La musique chapelle du Roy*" (Bibliothèque de la Comédie-Française, 2AC8, *Ballet et orchestre: instruments de musique: achat – location réparations: 1763–1793*).

8. All references to "Taskin" are to the uncle unless otherwise specified.

leisure activities in the case of those serving the princes and princesses) rather than art objects to be cherished. It is significant that in all the invoices save those submitted by craftsmen for instruments they supplied themselves (e.g. members of the Blanchet and Taskin families for keyboards and François Lejeune [c. 1720/24–1785], Louis Guersan [c. 1700–1770], and Benoît Fleury [c. 1718–after 1791] for strings), the names of the makers are never mentioned, with two notable exceptions: those of the Ruckers family and Antonio Stradivari (1644–1737). In 1749 François Étienne Blanchet (I) (c. 1700–1761) supplied a harpsichord by Ioannes Ruckers (1578–1642) for the Dauphin Louis (1729–1765);⁹ in 1761 he enlarged the compass of a harpsichord by “André Ruckers”—by which he may have meant either Andreas Ruckers (I) (1579–1652) or Andreas Ruckers (II) (1607–c. 1655)¹⁰—and in 1762 repaired harpsichords that he specified were by Hans (d. 1598) and Andreas Ruckers.¹¹ In 1767 and 1769 Pascal Taskin likewise stated that he repaired harpsichords by Andreas Ruckers,¹² while in 1778 he appears to have enlarged the compass of one of these instruments.¹³ In 1770 Taskin rented an instrument of his own by Ioannes Ruckers for rehearsals at the *Comédie française*,¹⁴ and in 1771 restored and enlarged the compass of a harpsichord by Hans Ruckers for the Comte d’Artois.¹⁵ In 1774 Taskin provided strings for a viola by Stradivari,¹⁶ while on 1 April 1785 Caron specified that he worked on a “Stradivarius violin of Mr. Harand,”¹⁷ concertmaster of the *Musique du Roi*. The value of the instruments by these master craftsmen was thus recognized quite early by players and makers—in the case of Stradivari within forty years of his death and more than half a century before instrument dealers would begin transforming him into a household name.

9. O¹ 2987, 1, 3C, invoice from Blanchet.

10. O¹ 3005, 9, no. 81, invoice from Blanchet.

11. O¹ 3006, 2, no. 50, invoice from Blanchet.

12. O¹ 3022, 7, no. 57.

13. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63.

14. O¹ 3026, 1, no. 92.

15. O¹ 3031, 8, no. 64.

16. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin.

17. O¹ 3069, 4, no. 241, invoice from Caron: *Violon de Stradivarius a M^r Harand*.

String Instruments

Violin. Repair records permit us to date, virtually to the day, one of the most fundamental transformations that string instruments underwent during the eighteenth century: a change in the angle of the neck relative to the body.

Although not stated explicitly, it is possible that Louis Guersan modified the pitch of the wedged fingerboard of a violin purchased for the Princess Marie-Adélaïde (1732–1808) in June 1749, when he billed the court for “planing the fingerboard of a violin, regluing it, installing a bridge and restringing it.”¹⁸ He might also have made new wedged fingerboards for two violins belonging to the Dauphin in 1764, since on 16 August 1764, during the residence of the court in Compiègne, Chiquelier took these instruments to Guersan in Paris to have him raise the fingerboards that had sagged.¹⁹ Sometime in 1765 Guersan installed a new fingerboard and nut on a violin.²⁰

A change in the neck angle is mentioned explicitly for the first time on 5 February 1776, when Taskin billed the court for having “tilted back the neck” (*jette le manche en arrière*) of a violin,²¹ and on 13 September 1784, when Caron did the same to a violin that he strung up as a viola.²² On 1 April 1785 Caron billed the court 72 *livres* for having

removed the table of a Stradivarius violin belonging to Mr. Harand that was shattered by the sound post passing through the top, repaired all the cracks,

18. O¹ 2986, 2, “5 M.f de la Chambre,” record of payment to Chaberon: *au Sieur de Chaberon [. . .] pour deux violons pour Mad^e Adelaïde 443.10*; O¹ 2987, 1, 3D, invoice from Guersan: *14 juin 1749 [. . .] Plus pour avoir redressé la Touche d’un violon, Et L’avoir recollé, avoir mis un Chevalet, Et L’avoir remonté . . . 4.*

19. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27, invoice from Chiquelier: *Du 16 aoust [1764] Sur les ordres que M. le Dauphin me donna a Compiègne de faire porter ces violons a Paris, chez M. Geurson pour dresser les Touches qui s’étoient déjetté, et de les rapporter le surlendemain / Pour cette effet J’ay pris une place de plus pour aller a Paris . . . 16. 10.*

20. O¹ 3013, invoice from Chiquelier, 1765: *Le présent mémoire étant fait, M. Guersan m’a envoyé un petit memoire d’avoir mis une touche neuve a un violon, des bords a la table, un Ciliet et monté a neuf . . . 22.*

21. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 74, invoice from Taskin: *Du 5 [février 1776] Avoir recoller un violon a plusieurs endroits redressé la touche, jette le manche en arriere mis une cheville, ajusté les autres et l’avoir monté de cordes et chevalet . . . 9.*

22. O¹ 3066, 2, no. 223, invoice from Caron: *Du 13 [septembre 1784] Avoir recoller un Violon a plusieurs endroits au fond et a la table jeter le manche en arriere mis un bouton des Chevilles une queux, et L’avoir monter en quinte . . . 9^l.*

installed a new bass bar, thinned the blocks and the linings, tilted the neck backwards, installed a fingerboard, pegs, a tailpiece, strings, and a bridge, repaired the case, made a gilded brass plaque engraved with his name.²³

Otherwise there are few details relating to the violin, since the players attended individually to the maintenance of their personal instruments. In 1763 one Guarry was paid for supplying mutes.²⁴ In 1764 the personal violins of the Dauphin, the Dauphine, and the princesses were set up with silver tailpieces that were attached with silver wire.²⁵

Viola. Violas, along with double basses, harpsichords, and fortepianos, are among the instruments that are mentioned most frequently, since the court supplied them to the players and was therefore responsible for their maintenance. The invoices record the transformation—or, if one prefers, the mutilation—of some old violas (*quintes*) to adapt them to the evolving demands of contemporaneous performance. As early as 20 February 1764 Chiquelier installed “shims to raise the fingerboard” of a viola lent by the musician Antonio-Geminiano-Gaetano Torressani (1709–after 1792).²⁶ In 1771 Chiquelier “resized the four violas that Monsieur the Abbé Gauzar [the *sous-maître de chapelle* Charles Gauzargues (1723–after 1780)] purchased for the service of the Chapel according to the model of viola that Mr. Harang [Harand] uses at Madame the comtesse du Barry’s [Marie-Jeanne Bécu, Comtesse du Barry (1743–1793)], reduced the thicknesses and doubled the edges that were too

23. O¹ 3069, 9, no. 241, invoice from Caron: *Du 1^{er} avril 1785 Avoir lever la table d’un Violon de Stradivarius a M^r Harand, qui avoit été fracasser L’âme passant au travers de la table réparer toutes les fractures L’avoir rebarrée diminuer les tassot et les Contreclisses jeter le manche en arriere mis une touche, des Chevilles une queue et monter de Cordes et Chevalet, raccomoder L’étuit fait une plaque en cuivre doré et fait graver son nom dessus . . . 72^u.*

24. O¹ 3008, 1, no. 40, *Etat des dépenses faites a l’occasion des comedies, Concerts, et Bals, pendant L’Année Mil Sept cent Soixante trois. Payé au Nomé Guarry pour un memoire de Sourdines faites par ordre de M. de Bury pour le Service des Comedies et couvert la somme de quarante une livre dix huit sols cy . . . 41. 18.*

25. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27, invoice from Chiquelier: [1764] *Pour 8 queües garnies d’attaches d’argent a 3^u 10^e piece . . . 28 [. . .] Madame Adelaide, ayant Changé ces deux violons avec Ceux de M. le Dauphin pour avoir rétably les deux violons de Madame Adelaide pour M^r le Dauphin, avoir relevé les Tables, et rebaré, mis des Tasseaux un manche a un des violons, des Touches des Chevilles, et des queües d’argent remonté a neuf pour ce . . . 55.*

26. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27, invoice from Chiquelier: *Le 20 fevrier [1764] M. Antonio ayant prêté sa quinte pour faire le service du Roy, il a falu y mettre des chevilles neuves, et des cordes remis un Chevalet des calles pour Elever la touche plus haut, et l’avoir redressé par dessus, et ajusté un Cillier pour ce . . . 15.*

thin, plugged the sound holes to make them in a different model, proportioned them, installed new bass bars, and made necks, pegs, bridges, and restrung them for 36 *livres* each.”²⁷ This model might have been a viola supplied by Filippo Prover in 1771,²⁸ and may be the instrument by Stradivarius mentioned by Pascal Taskin in 1774.²⁹

The advent of new technical demands subsequent to the creation of François-Joseph Gossec’s opera *Sabinus* in 1773 and Christoph-Willibald Gluck’s operas *Iphigénie en Aulide* and *Orphée et Euridice* in 1774 might have incited the players to request that Taskin reinstall straps on the violas of the *Musique du Roi* on 19 October 1774,³⁰ perhaps to free their left hands from supporting the instrument. More radical measures were undertaken beginning the next year. On 14 April 1775 Taskin had the bass bar on one viola replaced, its f-holes enlarged, the neck shortened and tilted backwards, the fingerboard dressed, and a nut and a bridge installed,³¹ and twelve days later he had the same work done on another viola, in addition to having its blocks thinned.³² On 13 June 1775 new bass bars were installed on two violas, their necks shortened, the depth of the ribs reduced on one, and both outfitted with new fingerboards.³³ On 3 December 1776 the top of a viola was removed to regraduate it and

27. O¹ 3031, 8, no. 63, invoice from Chiquelier, 1771: *Avoir retaillé les quatre alto que M. Labbé Gauzar a acheté pour le service de la Chapelle suivant le Patron de l’alto que M. Harang ce sert chez Mad^e la C^{ss}e du Barry[:] Avoir diminué les grosseurs, et redoublé les bords qui étoient trop minces, et rapporter des pièces pour boucher les oüys pour les faire dans une autre patron, et les mettre dans leur proportion, et les avoir rebaré, et fait les manches, les Chevilles, Chevalets, et monter les Cordes a raison de 36^l pièces . . . 144.*

28. O¹ 3031, 8, no. 51.

29. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin: *Du 9 février [1774] avoir monté une quinte de Stradivarius et une qui est à coté dans un étui en cordes de choix, founry deux sol de plus . . . 5 [. . .] Du 10 juin [1774] et founry deux Sol, de plus pour la quinte de Stradivarius.*

30. O¹ 3043, 4, no. 242: *Du 19 8^{bre} [1774] avoir fait remettre des courrois a des quintes de la Musique du roy 3^l.*

31. O¹ 3044, 10, invoice from Taskin: *Du 14 avril [1775] avoir levé la table d’une quinte l’avoir recollé a plusieurs endroits mis une pièce au fond, l’avoir rebarrée, ouvert les ffs, raccourcit le manche, l’avoir jette en arrière redresser la touche mis un sillet, un chevalet, et l’avoir monte de cordes . . . 30.*

32. O¹ 3044, 10, invoice from Taskin: *Du 26 avril [1775] Avoir levé la table d’une autre quinte, oté une pièce sous l’âme en avoir mis une autre collé plusieurs cassures, l’avoir rebarrée diminué les tassots raccourcit le manche, l’avoir jetté en arrière, redresser la touche ajuste les chevilles les chevilles [sic], mis un Sillet et un chevalet, et l’avoir monté de cordes . . . 27^l.*

33. O¹ 3044, 10, invoice from Taskin: *Du 13 [juin 1775] avoir levée les tables de deux quintes raccommode plusieurs fractures aux tables les avoir fortifier en dedans les avoir rebarrées raccourcit les manches, baisse les eclisses d’une; mis des touches et des chevilles a une, ajusté celles de l’autre mis des coins aux tables et des chevalets et les avoir monté de cordes . . . 48.*

install a new bass bar, install a new block and thin the others, outfit it with a new neck, fingerboard, pegs, tailpiece, button and bridge.³⁴ At the end of that month a fingerboard shim as well as a nut and a new bridge were installed on a viola;³⁵ this comparatively minimal intervention might have been done to a newer instrument supplied by Georges-Adalbert Gelinek (1739–after 1814) sometime earlier in the same year.³⁶ On 27 November 1779 the top of a viola was removed for repair but also to replace the bass bar and tilt the neck backwards, in addition to installing a new bridge and fingerboard.³⁷ Six violas in all were modified, the same number as are listed in the inventory of 1780. Nor were these to be the last such alterations, for a decade later, when the section comprised four players, Caron billed the court on 18 November 1788, 1 October 1789, and 5 June 1790 for tilting back the necks of three violas.³⁸

Violoncello. The invoices reflect the development in eighteenth-century France of a distinct school of virtuosic violoncello playing that would dethrone the seven-string bass viol as the preeminent solo bass instrument and establish its rival as a concert instrument equal to the violin. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century, players of the violoncello used different bows for ensemble and solo playing: on 5 December 1749 Louis Guersan delivered for Princess Adélaïde “a

34. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 74, invoice from Taskin: *Du 3 X^{bve} [1776] Avoir levé la table d'une quinte l'avoir rebaré mis d'épaisseur mis un tassot et diminuer les autres, mis un manche, une touche, des chevilles, une queue, un bouton et l'avoir monté de cordes et chevalet . . . 48.*

35. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 74, invoice from Taskin: *Du 30 X^{bve} [1776] avoir montée une quinte de cordes et chevalet mis un sillet et une calle a la touche . . . 5.*

36. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 51: [1776] *Le S. Gelineck aourny pour le service de la Chapelle un Alto du prix de cy . . . 300^l.*

37. O¹ 3055, 5, no. 58, invoice from Taskin: *[27 novembre 1779] Avoir levé la table d'une quinte pour Racomoder plusieurs fractures, les avoir fortifiées En dedans, l'avoir Rebarée, Mis une touche, Jetté le Manche En arriere et L'avoir Montée de Cordes et Chevalet cy . . . 12.*

38. O¹ 3081, 7, no. 196, invoice from Caron: *Du 18 [novembre 1788] Avoir lever la table d'une quinte pour raccomoder plusieurs fractures, L'avoir rebarrée, jeter le Manche en arriere mis une touche et monter de Cordes et Chevalet . . . 24;* O¹ 3084, 6, no. 177, invoice from Caron: *Le 1^{er} 8^{bve} 1789 Avoir levé la Table d'une Quinte pour raccomoder une fracture sous l'âme y avoir mis une pièce l'avoir rebarré, jetté le manche en arriere redressé la touche et monté de cordes et Chevalet, 24^l;* O¹ 3087, 6, no. 127, invoice from Caron: *du 5 juin [1790] Avoir lever la table d'une quinte pour raccomoder plusieurs Cassures au fond et aux éclises les avoir fortifier en dedans mis un tassot jeter le manche en arriere redresser la touche et monter de Corde et Chevalet . . . 24.*

violoncello with its case, and two bows, one for the accompaniment, and one for the pieces.”³⁹ Beginning in 1775 the instruments of the court were modified to endow them with greater brilliance of tone and to facilitate playing in the upper register. On 3 May 1775 Taskin billed the court for repairs to a violoncello including the installation of a new fingerboard, nut, and bridge, and nine days later had the top of another instrument removed to regraduate it, replace the bass bar and linings, and install a new block, neck, fingerboard, pegs, tailpiece, an ebony saddle, and bridge. On 30 May 1775 Taskin had a back installed on a violoncello, the depth of the ribs reduced, the linings and the bass bar replaced, and a fingerboard and bridge installed. On 3 June 1775 he had the interior of yet another violoncello strengthened and a new fingerboard and bridge installed. Later in June, and again the following September, the tailpieces of two cellos were attached with brass wire.⁴⁰

It is possible to date with precision when three notable performers, Joseph Rey (1739–1811), Pierre Talon (1721–1785), and Berton [Breton,

39. O¹ 2987, 1, 3D, invoice from Guersan: *5^e X^{bre} 1749 Livré à M^r De Cury, Pour Madame Adelayde de France; un violoncelle avec Son Etuy, Et deux archets; un pour l'accompagnement, Et un pour Les pièces . . . 240*. This invoice is reproduced in Sylvette Milliot, *Les luthiers parisiens du XVIII^e siècle, Histoire de la lutherie parisienne du XVIII^e siècle à 1960*, 2 (Spa: Les amis de la musique, 1997), 49.

40. O¹ 3044, 10, invoice from Taskin: *Du 3 mai [1775] avoir levée la table d'une basse, pour recollée plusieurs fractures aux eclisses et a la table, les avoir fortifier en dedans et mis du Verni, mis une touche, un Sillet, ajusté les chevilles, mis des bords et des coins a la table; mis un chevalet et l'avoit monte de cordes . . . 30 [. . .] Du 12 [mai 1775] avoir levée la table d'une autre basse pour la mettre depaisseur, l'avoit rebarrée, collé plusieurs cassures sous lame et aux eclisses, l'avoit contreclissée, mis un tassot, un manche, une touche, des chevilles, une queu, un Sillet, des bords et des coins a la table, un morceau debeine sous l'atache, un chevalet, et l'avoit monte de cordes . . . 72 [. . .] Du 30 [mai 1775] Avoir mis un fond a une basse, baissé les eclisses, l'avoit Contréclisse, raccomoder plusieurs fractures a la table, ajouté des pieces en dedans, l'avoit rebarrée, mis des bords a la table et au fond, mis une touche, un chevalet et l'avoit monté de cordes . . . 80 [. . .] Du 3 [juin 1775] Avoir levé la table d'une basse, raccommodé plusieurs fractures au fond de la Table et aux éclisses, les avoir fortifier en dedans ajuste des bords au fond et a la table mis une touche, et un chevalet et l'avoit monte de cordes . . . 30 [. . .] Du 21 [juin 1775] avoir mis une attache de Cuivre a la queux du Violoncelle . . . 3 [. . .] Du 6 [septembre 1775] Avoir mis une attache en cuivre a une basse . . . 6*

Although the violoncello had superceded the *basse de violon* in France since at least 1716 (Michel Corrette, *Méthode théorique et pratique pour apprendre en peu de tems le violoncelle dans sa perfection* [Paris, 1741; reprint Geneva: Minkoff, 1972], preface, A), the terms *basse* and *violoncelle* continued to be used interchangeably in France well into the nineteenth century.

Le Breton] (fl. 1780–1792/1814⁴¹), had their instruments modified. On 23 December 1779 Taskin billed the court for having

removed the top of the bass of Mr. Rey, repaired several cracks on the table, installed a block, thinned the others, installed a piece on the back, tilted the neck backwards, installed a new bass bar, installed pieces all around the edge of the top, and on the back in several places, inlaid purfling on the edges of the top, installed a fingerboard, a nut, adjusted the pegs and set it up with strings and bridge.⁴²

The mortising of the neck of a string instrument into the top block instead of fixing it thereon with nails or screws is mentioned for the first time on 20 January 1780, when Taskin charged 27 *livres* for having

removed the top of the bass of Mr. Talon to repair several cracks, installed a block, fitted the dovetail neck, tilted it backwards, installed a new bass bar, installed a shim on the fingerboard, dressed it, varnished the neck and set it up with strings and bridge.⁴³

And on 15 March 1788 Taskin billed 48 *livres* for having

removed the top of a bass of Mr. Le Breton that was broken in service, in order to repair several cracks on the top and the ribs, installed two pieces on the top, installed a block, installed a new bass bar, tilted the neck backwards, put edges on the top, a fingerboard, and set it up with strings and bridge.⁴⁴

41. He was deceased when a list of the former members of the *Musique du Roi* was compiled around 1814, probably by Jean-Baptiste-Jacques Metoyen (1733–1822), with the intention of restoring them to the chapel that the Bourbons inherited from Bonaparte (Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra [hereafter abbreviated *F-Po*], Arch. Div. 7, *Etat des Sujets composant la Musique de la Chapelle du Roy, lors de sa destruction au 10 Aoust 1792*).

42. O¹ 3055, 5, no. 58, invoice from Taskin: 23 *X^{bre}* [1779] *Avoir levé la table de la basse de M. Rey, Racomodé plusieurs fractures à la table, Mis un tassot, diminué les autres, ajusté un Morceau au fond, Jetté le Manche En arriere, L'avoir Rebarrée, mis des bords tout autour de la table, Et au fond à plusieurs Endroits, incrusté des filets au bords de la table, Mis une touche, un Sillet ajusté les Chevilles et L'avoir Montée de Cordes Et Chevalet . . . 24.*

43. O¹ 3057, 1, no. 46, invoice from Taskin for January–March 1780: 20 [janvier 1780] *Avoir levé la table de la Basse de M. Talon pour racomoder plusieurs cassures, Mis un Tassot, ajusté le manche à queue déronde, L'avoir Jetté En arriere, L'avoir Rebarré, Mis une Calle à la touche L'avoir Redressée, Vernis le Manche et l'avoir Monté de Corde Et Chevalet cy . . . 27.* It is curious that a shim would be installed on the fingerboard when the neck was already tilted back: perhaps the new angle proved insufficient when completed and the luthier resorted to this solution to achieve the desired pitch.

44. O¹ 3081, 7, no. 193: *Du 15 [mars 1788] Avoir lever la table d'une Basse a M^r Le Breton qui a été Cassée au Service pour racomoder plusieurs fractures a la table et aux éclises ajuster deux pieces a la table mis un tassot L'avoir rebarrée jetter le Manche en arriere mis des bords a la table une touche et monter de Corde et Chevalet . . . 48.*

The Revolution in no way slowed this tendency: on 1 October 1790 Taskin's bill mentions having the neck tilted back on a violoncello used by the pages for their musical study.⁴⁵

Double bass. The invoices supply the dates of acquisition of three of the four double basses listed in the inventory of 1780.⁴⁶ In 1762 the court paid 360 *livres* to Fleury "for a double bass that he provided to M. Dumignau [Louis-Charles Demigneaux (1731–after 1794)]."⁴⁷ On 16 September 1765 Fleury delivered another double bass to Versailles; he billed the court 400 *livres* for it in 1768, specifying that it was played by one Augustin (fl. 1763–1780) and is "the same as the one that I made for the service of His Majesty."⁴⁸ In 1766 the court paid 500 *livres* to an unnamed luthier for "a double bass and its strings";⁴⁹ this might also be an instrument by Fleury, since an extant double bass by this maker, dated 1766, is described as "one of four that he made for the service of the King."⁵⁰ By 1766 the crown possessed four double basses: Chiquelier's

45. O¹ 3089, no. 98: *Du 1^{er} octobre 1790 Pour les Pages Avoir lever la table D'une Basse pour recoller une Cassure sous L'Âme mis une piece jeter le manche en arriere redresser la touche ajuster les Chevilles mis un Sillet et monter de Corde et Chevalet . . .* 36^{li}.

46. Marcuse, "The Instruments of the King's Library," 35.

47. O¹ 3006, 2, no. 62: *au S. Fleury la somme de trois cent soixante livres pour prix d'une contre basse qu'il a fourny a M. Dumignau musicien du Roy.* Demigneaux, who participated in the rehearsals of Rameau's unperformed *Les Boréades* in 1763, was born in Avignon on 29 December 1731 and was active at the Paris *Opéra* in August 1794 (O¹ 673, no. 321; *F-Po*, AD 7, p. 106; *F-Po*, PE 18, p. 134).

48. O¹ 3019, 7, no. 38: *Cette Instrument est de mesme que celle que j'ay fait pour le service de Sa Majesté.* This invoice is reproduced in Milliot, *Les luthiers parisiens du XVIII^e siècle*, 261.

49. O¹ 3015, 4, receipt dated 1 June 1766: *De même au S. une somme de Cinq Cent livres pareillement pour une Contre basse et Sa Monture cy . . .* 500^{li}.

50. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.979.2.45. The label reads "Benoist Fleury, rue des Boucherie / fauxbrg . . . St germain a paris, 1766. / d.m . . . qua[tre] qu'il a fait / pour le service du Roy . . ." On the back below the neck joint is an inscription, "Fleury / 1767," which was probably added in 1820 by Nicolas Lupot (1758–1824) following the orders of the Baron de La Ferté, *Intendant* of the *Menus Plaisirs* (O³ 276, f. 130, no. 479, 1 February 1820: *J'ai reçu, Mons^r, les devis et soumission que vous m'avez adressés pour le renouvellement des Violons, Altos, Violoncelles et Contrebasses de la Chapelle du Roi, et je les approuve avec une seule modification dans la dorure des légendes; c'est que vous apposerez sur les instruments le millésimé de l'année de leur fabrication sur la table de fond, à l'endroit correspondant au bas du [tasseau] du manche.)*

Among the instruments of the *Conservatoire* transferred to the *Menus Plaisirs* on 31 May 1816 is "1 Contrebasse aux armes du Roi;" it is described as a double bass by "Benoît Fleury de Paris (aux armes de France)" in an inventory of 7 May 1822 (A^J³⁷ 81, 9).

invoice for that year includes “maintenance of the four double basses serving in the Chapel for the service of the King.”⁵¹ In 1768 Chiquelier had them decorated with the royal coat of arms.⁵²

The invoices are particularly rich in information relating to double basses, whose maintenance was the responsibility of the court (since it supplied them to the players), and whose unwieldy size resulted in frequent accidents when being moved.⁵³ In 1762 the musician Torressani billed the court 10 *livres* for installing an ebony tailpiece on the double bass of the Dauphin.⁵⁴ Invoices from Fleury and Taskin reveal that the tailpiece was attached with copper or brass wire,⁵⁵ while an invoice from Taskin reveals that this rested on an ebony saddle.⁵⁶ In 1774 Taskin “supplied a thick string to attach the bridge to the tailpiece to prevent it from falling forward.”⁵⁷ An invoice from Taskin in 1775 suggests that the screw mechanisms for tuning at that time were made of wood.⁵⁸ In an invoice of 1776 we find an end pin “that can be dismantled in two parts, in

51. O¹ 3015, 4, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour l'entretien des quatre Contrebasses servant à la Chapelle pour le service du Roy*.

52. O¹ 3019, 7, no. 39, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour avoir fait mettre aux quatre contre Basses les armes du Roy . . . 24*.

53. In 1792, Louis-Joseph Francœur (1738–1804) specified that the luthier Léopold Renaudin (1756–1795) was allotted an annual sum of 200 *livres* by the *Opéra* “for repairs to the double basses that are frequently broken when being moved” (*F-Po AD 6*, letter of 25 July 1792 from Louis-Joseph Francœur, inserted between pages 80–81: *M^r Renaudin luthier p^r L'entretien des instrumens de L'Opera — 200^l / N^a Cette somme lui est aloué p^r Les Racomodages des Contre Basses que frécamment on casse dans les transports*).

54. O¹ 3010, 2, no. 213, invoice from Torressani: *Dans le Courant du Mois D'Aoust pour avoir mis une queue d'Ebéne à la ditte Contrebasse . . . 10*.

55. O¹ 3037, 2, no. 76, invoice from Fleury: *au mois de septembre [1773] [. . .] fournie une queüe garnie d'une agraphe de cuivre*. O¹ 3058, 1, no. 94, invoice from Taskin: *Du 13 May [1780] [. . .] fait une queue Mis une attache En Cuivre*.

56. O¹ 3044, 10, unnumbered invoice from Taskin: *Du 18 mai [1775] ajuste un morceau d'ébène sous l'attache*.

57. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin: *Du 28 aoust [1774] avoir dressé le chevalet d'une contrebasse, c'est a dire, fourny deux calles collés sous les deux pieds du chevalet, et pieté le dit chevalet, fourny une grosse corde pour arreter le chevalet, avec la queue pour l'empecher de tomber en devant et place l'ame qui étoit derangée 3^l*.

58. O¹ 3044, 10, unnumbered invoice from Taskin: *Du 22 9^{bre} [1775] avoir fait faire deux visses en bois pour les contrebasses 5^l*. It could be, however, that Taskin confused visses (screws) with chevilles (pegs). In May 1769, Guersan supplied three pegs in rosewood for the double bass of the *Comédie-Française* (Bibliothèque de la Comédie-Française, 2AC8, *Ballet et orchestre: instruments de musique: achat – location réparations: 1763–1793*, invoice from Guersan dated 20 June 1769: *Du courant De may / Journis 3 chevilles en palisandre . . . 3^l*).

which there is a steel screw that threads into a nut in the second part of the end pin, with three steel tips at the end.”⁵⁹

The mechanical tuners that are a distinctive feature of the modern double bass were first installed on the four instruments of the French court in 1768.⁶⁰ According to an inventory made the previous year, one of the two double basses of the *Opéra* was already equipped with such tuners,⁶¹ so the adoption of this device in Paris can be dated as early as 1767. Judging from the frequency of their appearance in the invoices, the new tuning gears were not quite perfected and required constant maintenance: in 1773 Chiquelier billed the court for removing the gears from one instrument, fabricating new parts, and reinstalling them on a new neck;⁶² in 1774 and 1775 the gears on two double basses required attention;⁶³ Taskin billed the court for the fabrication of two steel cogwheels in 1775,⁶⁴ for installing a tuning gear “of turned and polished steel” on an instrument in 1778,⁶⁵ and for a turned and polished steel cogwheel in 1779.⁶⁶ In 1780 one Bourdet performed this work.⁶⁷ Mechanical tuners became a standard accessory by the end of the

59. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 74, invoice from Taskin: *Du 18 X^{bre} [1776] avoir fait faire un bouton pour la ditte contrebasse, qui se demonte en deux parties dans lequel il y a une cheville d'acier qui se visse dans un écrou de la seconde partie du bouton avec trois pointes d'acier au bout.*

60. O¹ 3019, 7, no. 39, invoice from Chiquelier.

61. Michael D. Greenberg, “Perfecting the Storm: The Rise of the Double Bass in France, 1701–1815,” *Online Journal of Bass Research* 1 (2003) <<http://www.ojbr.com/vol1no1.html>>, par. 5.4.

62. O¹ 3037, 2, no. 57, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour la mécanique d'une contrebasse l'avoir démonté et avoir fait des pièces neuves, et l'avoir remonté sur un nouveau manche de la Contrebasse . . . 36.*

63. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin: *Du 1^{er} mars [1774] avoir fait porter la contrebasse de la chapelle chez un machiniste avoir fait raccommodé toute la mécanique et avoir payé le raccommodage et les ports . . . 13^{li} 10^{li}; O¹ 3043, 4, no. 242, invoice from Taskin: *Du 28 7^{bre} [1775] avoir fait demonter toute la mecanique d'une contrebasse de la chapelle pour la raccomoder et lavoit fait raccomoder . . . 12^{li}.**

64. O¹ 3044, 10, unnumbered invoice from Taskin: *du 15 [avril 1775] fait faire une rouë d'acier a mequanique pour une contrebasse 24^{li} [. . .] Du 31 [mai 1775] avoir fait faire d'acier a mecanique pour une contrebasse . . . 24^{li}.*

65. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63: invoice from Taskin: *29 [août 1778] Avoir accomodé une Contrebasse de la Chapelle, fait et fourni une visse sans fin en acier tournée et polie suivant sa place pour ce . . . 12^{li}.*

66. O¹ 3055, 5, no. 58, invoice from Taskin: *25 7^{bre} [1779] Pour une Contrebasse de la Musique fait et fourni une Rouë d'acier, tournée, polie et ajustée suivant sa place . . . 15^{li}.*

67. O¹ 3058, 1, no. 95, invoice from Taskin: *10 juillet [1780] Avoir fait porter une Contrebasse chez M. Bourdet pour y faire une Rouë . . . 12^{li}.*

century: in 1801 all eight double basses in the shop of Jean-Baptiste Lejeune (1749–1822) were fitted with them.⁶⁸

The archives are particularly valuable for the evidence they provide to settle the thorny debate concerning the number of strings on the double bass and their tuning. An invoice from Guersan, dating from 1749, suggests that the instrument, in the region of Paris, was set up with at least four strings, because he billed the court 15 *livres* for “a third and fourth [string] for double bass.”⁶⁹ The invoices from 1764 onwards leave no doubt that the four-string double bass was used exclusively at the court until 1788: on 2 December of that year Caron thinned the neck of one double bass “to convert it to three strings.”⁷⁰ This instrument was possibly intended for one of the external musicians from the Paris *Opéra*, where the three-string double bass had been in use since 1765.⁷¹ No details concerning the strings themselves are to be found before 1764, when we discover that the two lowest ones were apparently wound, since Chiquelier “installed two pieces of ivory on the bridge to prevent the strings from wearing the notches,”⁷² a procedure repeated often. This is confirmed by an invoice of 1765 that includes two wound A strings (*amilla fil*),⁷³ and another invoice of 1769 (fig. 1) that specifies the pitch of each string—“wound E” (*mi fillé*), “wound A” (*la fillé*), D (*ré*) and G (*sol*)—thus supplying the most irrefutable evidence for the tuning of the instrument in fourths.⁷⁴ It seems that the winding was applied in Paris to the plain gut strings received from the supplier: on 3 February 1778 Taskin billed the court for “supplying 6 strings for the double basses of the chapel plus winding them.”⁷⁵ The introduction of the three-string double bass to the orchestra in 1788 could explain a new preference for an unwound third string as the *bourdon* for this type of instrument, as re-

68. Sylvette Milliot, *Documents inédits sur les luthiers parisiens du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1970), 230.

69. O¹ 2987, 1, 3B, invoice from Guersan, 3 October 1749: *une troisième, et quatrième de Contrebasse . . . 15*.

70. O¹ 3081, 7, no. 196: *Du [2 décembre 1788] Avoir lever la table d'une Contrebasse pour raccomoder plusieurs Cassures a la table L'avoir rebarrée, diminuer le manche pour le mettre a trois Cordes mis une touche un Silet fait un Chevalet et L'avoir monter de Cordes . . . 84*.

71. Greenberg, “Perfecting the Storm,” par. 5.4.

72. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27, invoice from Chiquelier: *ajusté deux morceaux d'Ivoire sur le Chevalet pour empecher les Cordes d'user le Cran des Cordes*.

73. O¹ 3013, unnumbered invoice from Torressani.

74. O¹ 3022, 7, no. 50, invoice from Fleury for strings supplied to Torressani.

75. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63, invoice from Taskin: *Fourni 6 Cordes pour les Contrebasses de La Chapelle plus les avoir fait filer*.

*Comptes de Concerts
 200th*
Minova *Comptes de Concerts*
 des cordes de contrebasse que j'ay fournis
 livrés à monsieur Antonio, pour le service du Roy, pendant l'année
 mil Sept cent soixante huit, et mil sept cent soixante neuf, par
 moi fleury, m^e luthier, rue des boucheries, faub^e S. Germain.

Année 1768. *fait*
 6. janv. 1768. une monture 24. " "
 du 4. Fev^r un la fille 6. " "
 du 2. Mars un la fille 6. " "
 du 14. Mars, un la, un ré et un sol 18. " "
 du 8. May, un la fille 6. " "
 du 10. Septembre, une monture 24. " "
 Le 17. Decembre, un la, un ré et un sol 18. " "

Année 1769. *N^o 50 -*
Vise de votre total **102.** " " "

le 4 Janvier, un mi fille 6. " "
 le 17 Janvier, un la, un ré 12. " "
 le 30 Janvier, un mi et un sol 12. " "
 15. fevrier, un la fille 12. " "
 le 19. Mars, une monture 24. " "
 le 14. May, un sol 6. " "
 Le 17. Juin, un la fille 6. " "
 Le 4. Septembre, un la et un mi 12. " "
 Le 22. Septembre, un sol et un ré 12. " "
 le 4. Decembre, un la 6. " "

Total **108.** " " "

Je certifie que m^e fleury maître luthier rue des Boucheries Faubourgne
 S. Germain ma fournis et livrés Les Cordes ciy dessus mentionnés pour le
 service de la chappelle et chambre du Roy, dont je lui et donnée
 Le present Certificat. Fait à Versailles ce 17 Janvier 1770
 Antonio Torressani

FIGURE 1. Invoice from Benoît Fleury for double bass strings supplied to the musician Antonio-Geminiano-Gaetano Torressani in 1768 and 1769. *FPan O¹ 3022, 7, no. 50.*

vealed by Caron's invoice of 12 February 1788 for "two unwound third strings [and] two wound third strings."⁷⁶

In 1773 new necks that might have been set at a different angle were installed on two of the four double basses constructed between 1762 and 1768,⁷⁷ while the necks of two other instruments were "tilted backwards" in 1788 and 1789.⁷⁸ Cutting the upper bouts and reducing the depth of the ribs to facilitate playing is usually thought to be an expedient specific to the twentieth century, but these archives reveal that in 1773 Fleury cut down an instrument belonging to the court, also installing a new top;⁷⁹ its reduced size is corroborated by an invoice from Taskin who, in 1780, repaired "the small double bass."⁸⁰

New instruments did not remain pristine for long. Practically every year from 1764 onward there were cracks and seams to reglue, new corners were installed, and the tops were routinely removed from the instruments to repair cracks and reinforce the structure. A typical year was 1767, in which Chiquelier billed the court a comprehensive charge of 282 *livres* for "having furnished strings, bridges, nuts, pegs, dressed the fingerboards, and reglued the double basses as they broke or became

76. O¹ 3081, 7, no. 196, invoice from Caron: *deux troisiemes non filler deux troisiemes fillée.*

77. O¹ 3037, 2, no. 57, invoice from Chiquelier (quoted at note 62); O¹ 3037, 2, no. 76, invoice from Fleury: *au mois de septembre [1773] pour avoir recoupé lad[ite] contrebasse; mis un manche et une Table; prix convenu deux cent quarante livres, cy 240^{lt}.* The neck angle of the double basses constructed during the first half of the eighteenth century appears to have been unsuited to the evolving musical style: on 16 December 1749, Louis Guersan (1700–1770) billed the Paris *Opéra* "for dismantling the neck" of the theater's double bass "in order to tilt it backwards" (*F-Po*, *Opéra*. Archives. Pièce 13: *Le 16 décembre 1749 / Pour avoir [. . .] démonté le manche pour le jeter en arrière*), probably the instrument by Nicolas Bertrand (1687–1725) acquired between 19 November 1714 and 1 April 1721 (*F-Pan* AJ¹³ 1, III, *Mémoire concernant la régie de l'Opéra & sa situation au premier Avril 1721*, 8). It is therefore very likely that the neck angle of double basses constructed after the middle of the century was more radical than that adopted previously.

78. O¹ 3081, 7, no. 194, invoice from Caron: *Du même [1^{er} avril 1788] Avoir lever la table d'une Contrebasse pour raccomoder plusieurs Cassures a la table, jeter le Manche en arriere [. . .];* O¹ 3084, 6, no. 176, invoice from Caron: *Le 8 dudit [août 1789] Avoir levé la Table d'une contrebasse pour raccomoder plusieurs cassures à la Table, l'avoir rebaré, défait le manche pour le jeter en arriere l'avoir diminué [. . .].*

79. See note 77 above. This procedure was practiced in France as early as 16 December 1749: Guersan billed the *Opéra* "For removing the back and the belly of the double bass, for installing a new bass bar and reducing the depth of the ribs by two and a half inches." (*F-Po*, *Opéra*. Archives. Pièce 13: *Pour avoir levé le fond et la table de la contrebasse, l'avoir rebarrée, baissé les éclisses de deux pouces et demi.*)

80. O¹ 3058, 1, no. 94, invoice from Taskin: *Du 20 [mai] Avoir Recollé une Cassure au fond de la petite Contrebasse [. . .].*

unglued, applied pieces to [and] rehaired the bows, reattached the hair, and removed the grease [from the wood].”⁸¹ Repair records also reveal some of the stopgap measures to which luthiers could resort. In 1774 Taskin “raised the bridge of a double bass, viz. glued two shims under the two feet of the bridge.”⁸² In the same year, he repaired the broken shaft of a bow by winding it with brass wire.⁸³

Bows. The earliest references to bows in this series of documents date from December 1749, when the same invoice that mentions two different bows for Princess Adélaïde’s violoncello also records that Guersan “gave to Mr. Guignon [Jean-Pierre Guignon (1702–1774)] a fluted violin bow garnished in silk and gold.”⁸⁴ The explicit mention of fluting suggests a recent innovation that was not standard, and may allow 1749 to be advanced as the date this type of bow first appeared in France.

The invoices suggest that a performer or maker hitherto unknown was responsible for introducing a new style of bow to Paris around 1764, for in that year, at the request of the Dauphin, Chiquelier supplied “three long Gravillier-style bows.”⁸⁵ The identity of this person and the distinguishing characteristics of his model remain to be investigated, although this might simply be an erroneous transcription of the name of the French violinist and composer Pierre Gaviniés (1728–1800).

The convex bow was still in use on 4 June 1774, when Taskin supplied “a completely new, brown, arched bow for Messieurs the pages.”⁸⁶ Although mention of its arched nature implies the simultaneous existence

81. O¹ 3017, 4, no. 23, invoice from Chiquelier: *avoir founy des cordes, des Chevalets, sillets chevilles, redresser les touches, et recoler les contrebasses à mesure qu’elles se cassent, ou qu’elles se décollent, mis des pièces, des Crins aux archets, ratacher les crins, et les dégraisser* [. . .] 282. In an earlier invoice (O¹ 3013, no. 30), Chiquelier specified that it was the wood of the bow that was “degreased”: *Pour avoir remis du Crin à l’autre archet, et l’avoir remonté, et dégraissé le Bois* . . . 3.

82. See note 57.

83. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin: *Du 9 avril Pour un archet de contrebasse founy du fil de laitton pour lier la baguette qui étoit cassé.*

84. O¹ 2987, 1, 3D, invoice from Guersan: *du 8. [X^{bve} 1749] donné à M^r Guignon un archet de violon Canelée et garny en soyes et or* . . . 9. This invoice is reproduced in Milliot, *Les luthiers parisiens du XVIII^e siècle*, 49.

85. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27, invoice from Chiquelier: *Au Commencement de L’année [1764] [. . .] Pour avoir founy trois archets longs a la Gravillier que M. le Dauphin m’a ordonné de lui apporter a 8^u pièce* . . . 24.

86. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin: *Du 4 juin [1774] founy un archet cintrée brun tout neuf pour M^{rs} les pages* . . . 7^u 4^s.

of an unarched bow in 1774, the model with the distinctive hatchet-shaped tip favored by the soloist Wilhelm Cramer (1745–1799) is documented at Versailles beginning in March 1775, when Chiquelier supplied two “Cramer-style viola bows” mounted with silk and gold for 24 *livres*, an ordinary “Cramer-style viola bow” for 9 *livres*,⁸⁷ and “a Cramer-style violoncello bow to replace one that was broken at the Comedy”;⁸⁸ five years later he supplied three more Cramer-style viola bows.⁸⁹ The first Cramer-style double bass bow appeared on 10 April 1784,⁹⁰ although some double bassists still preferred the existing model since Taskin supplied “an ordinary-style double bass bow” on 24 January of the same year.⁹¹ One or the other may have proved too long, however, since Taskin shortened a double bass bow on 1 May 1784.⁹² It was not before 24 April 1786 that Taskin supplied an “English-style violin bow”⁹³ i.e., the Cramer model, although the players may have equipped themselves at their own expense several years before then.

The few available details of construction concern almost exclusively double bass bows. According to invoices from 1776 and 1780, the shaft of the bow was made of sebesten (*bois de la chine*),⁹⁴ likely a recent import from French possessions in the Caribbean.⁹⁵ As early as 1770 Chiquelier

87. O¹ 3044, 10, unnumbered invoice from Taskin: *Du 14 [mars 1775] fourni deux archets d'alto à la cramer, garni en Soye et or . . . 24 [. . .] Du 20 [mars 1775] fourni un archet d'alto a la Cramer . . . 9.*

88. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 74, invoice from Taskin: *Du 26 mars [1776] avoir fourni un archet de basse a la cramer en place d'un qui a été cassée a la commédie . . . 12^{li}.*

89. O¹ 3058, 1, no. 98: *Du 24 [septembre 1780] fourni trois archets de quinte à la Cramer . . . 18.*

90. O¹ 3066, 2, no. 222: *Du [10 avril 1784] fournny un archet de Contrebasse a la Cramer . . . 15.*

91. O¹ 3066, 2, no. 221: *Du même [24 janvier 1784] [. . .] plus fournny un archet de Contrebasse a L'ordinaire . . . 10.*

92. O¹ 3066, 2, no. 222: *Du 1^{er} may [1784] Avoir racoursty un archet de Contrebasse mis une ausse, une vice, un bouton un écrouë et raccoursty le Crain.*

93. O¹ 3073, 6, no. 231: *Du 24 [avril 1786] fournny un archet de Violon a L'angloise . . . 6.*

94. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 74, invoice from Taskin: *Du 20 X^{bre} [1776] [. . .] Avoir fourni un archet de contrebasse en bois de la chine garni de soye et de draps . . . 15^{li}; O¹ 3058, 1, no. 98, invoice from Caron: *Du 27. Dud^t [novembre 1780] Fournny un archet de contrebasse en bois de la Chine . . . 10.**

95. According to an invoice from the luthier Saint Paul (either Pierre or Antoine) in the library of the *Comédie française*, the shaft of the double bass bow was made of maple in 1771, but of sebesten in 1772 (2AC8, invoice from Saint Paul: *Du 27 fevrier 1771 avoir fournis un archet de Contrebasse en Bois D'Erable mis a vice cy . . . 4^{li} 10^s [. . .] Du 3 X^{bre} suivant [1772] [. . .] Plus dans le même Tems fournny un archet Neuf de contrebasse en Bois de La chine cy . . . 9^{li}).*

installed “a screw with a nut and a tip of ivory on a bow,”⁹⁶ while in 1774 Taskin provided “two heels with their screws and eyes to replace those that were broken.”⁹⁷ In 1775 he repaired the “button of a screw that was too loose”⁹⁸ and in 1778 made an ivory button for a bow.⁹⁹ The double bass bows could be mounted with “a piece of white leather”¹⁰⁰ or silk and cloth,¹⁰¹ while violin and viola bows could be mounted with silk and gold thread: in 1764 Chiquelier charged 18 *livres* for having “cleaned the hair of the bows and put on new ribbon garnished on the end with gold thread, and reset them.”¹⁰²

The invoices also provide some clues concerning rosin. The Dauphin and the princesses stored their rosin in ivory boxes that Chiquelier supplied in 1764.¹⁰³ In 1774 Taskin specified that this was “white rosin” (*colophane blanche*),¹⁰⁴ while in 1786 Caron supplied “clarified rosin” (*Colofane Clarifié*).¹⁰⁵

Harp. In 1759, at the request of Gabriel-Louis Besson (1733–1785), harp master of the daughters of Louis XV, Jean Mathias Wolters (fl. c. 1740–1777) constructed a harp for Princess Louise-Marie (1737–1787), known as Madame Louise, for the sum of 720 *livres*. The luthier’s invoice

96. O¹ 3026, 1, no. 45, invoice from Chiquelier: *Avoir mis une vice avec une Ecroue, et un bout d'Ivoire a un archet . . . 5.*

97. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin: *Du 17 au 29 7^{bre} [1774] avoir fait etourny deux hausses a deux archets avec leurs visses et écrous pour remplacer celles qui étoient cassées . . . 6th.* As the preceding and following line items concern the double bass, these were likely double bass bows.

98. O¹ 3044, 10, unnumbered invoice from Taskin: *Du 25 [novembre 1775] Avoir garni de crin un archet de contrebasse et raccomodé le bouton de la visse qui étoit trop lâche . . . 4.*

99. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63, invoice from Taskin: *22 [janvier] 1778 Avoir fait un bouton d'ivoire a un archet de contrebasse.*

100. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin: *Du 9 avril [1774] Pour un archet de contrebasse [. . .]ourny un morceau de peau blanche la hausse.*

101. See note 94.

102. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour avoir dégraissé les Crins des archets, et mis du ruban neuf garnis par le bout de fil d'or, et les avoir remontés . . . 18.*

103. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27, invoice from Chiquelier: *Au Commencement de L'année [1764] [. . .] Pour quatre Boettes de Colofane D'Ivoire dont une Sert dans les Cabinets de M. le Dauphin qui m'ordonna d'en mettre une dans l'appartement de Madame la Dauphine, et les deux autres Servent a remplacer ceux qui sont vuides, une desdite Boettes fut cassée par M. le Dauphin, qu'il a falu remplacer pour les dittes cinq Boettes . . . 30.*

104. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin.

105. O¹ 3073, 6, no. 231: *Du 18 [mai 1786] Avoir monter un archet de Violon de Crain mis une ausse etourny un pain de Colofane Clarifié . . . 1th 16th; O¹ 3073, 6, no. 232: *Du 4 juillet 1786 [. . .]ourny de la Colofane Clarifié . . . 12 [sols].**

mentions the collaboration of a machinist for the mechanism, a sculptor, a gilder, and a painter for the decoration.¹⁰⁶

On 8 June 1767, on orders from Princess Victoire-Louise (1733–1799), known as Madame Victoire, Chiquelier “put her harp in order, restrung it entirely, repaired the pegs, hooks, and the buttons that hold the strings and repaired some movements, and supplied a few extra packets of strings.”¹⁰⁷

In 1772 Godefroi Holtzman (fl. c. 1780–1794) built a harp for Madame Adélaïde for the sum of 600 *livres*, while Jean-Henri Naderman (1734–1799) supplied a model for Madame Victoire costing 750 *livres*. The decoration of the latter may explain the difference in price that prompted an inquiry: “the said harp painted with bouquets on the table, sculpted, varnished, polished, the bands in white and the lock gilded.”¹⁰⁸

Queen Marie-Antoinette (1755–1793) was a noted harp aficionado, and the archives contain the bill of sale of her personal instrument: in 1776 the Parisian luthier Jean Walster (d. after 1780) charged the court 720 *livres* for “a pedal harp by Salomon [Jean-Baptiste Deshayes, known as Salomon (1713–1767)], the frame painted blue, the sculpture gilded and the flowers painted, delivered for the Queen to the *Menus Plaisirs du Roi*” (fig. 2).¹⁰⁹ Taskin might have renovated this instrument by 17 May 1779, when he itemized the following work on what was clearly a single-action pedal harp:

Made seven new braces for the mechanism of the King’s harp . . . 24
 Seven springs and their installation . . . 36
 Changed the pedals . . . 12
 Made seven tie-rods with their levers, pivots, and rollers . . . 21
 Lengthened all the screws in the mechanism that pass through the console
 . . . 9
 For seven rods . . . 14

106. Milliot, *Les luthiers parisiens du XVIII^e siècle*, 160.

107. O¹ 3017, 4, no. 23, invoice from Chiquelier: [8 juin 1767] *Madame Victoire ayant donné ordre qu’on mette sa harpe en ordre, avoir mis une monture entiere, avoir racommodé les chevilles les crochets, et les Boutons pour tenir les cordes et avoir fait aller quelques mouvements, et fourny quelques paquets de Corde de plus . . . 110. 15.*

108. O¹ 3035 1, no. 84: *la ditte harpe peinte en bouquets sur la table, sculptée, vernissée, polye, les filets en blanc et la serrure dorée.* See also Milliot, *Les luthiers parisiens du XVIII^e siècle*, 160.

109. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 48: *Une harpe a pedalles de Salomon lebras peint en bleu la Sculpture dorée et les fleurs peintes livrée pour la Reine aux menus plaisirs du Roÿ par Walster M^{lre} Luthier rue S^t Denis au Roÿ d’angleterre vis a vis la rue Mauconseil moyennant Sept Cents vingt livres prix Convenu.*

Année 1776. Comptes de Concerts de Walster
 n° 48
 ARCHIVES NATIONALES
 720⁰⁰

Je harpe a pedales de Salomon
 le bras peint en bleu la sculpture
 dorree & les fleurs peintes l'ivoire
 pour la Reine, aux mesmes
 plainies Ludlow par Walster
 M. Authier rue St Denis au
 Roy d'Angleterre vis a vis l'arc
 M. au conseil, moyennant sept
 cents vingt livres pris l'ouvrage

FIGURE 2. Invoice from Jean Walster for Marie-Antoinette’s harp by Jean-Baptiste Deshayes, known as Salomon. F-Pan O¹ 3047, 10, no. 48.

Readjusted the nuts of the flats . . . 24
 For strings installed on the instrument . . . 18
 For the mending of the cover . . . 3.¹¹⁰

Wound harp strings were apparently covered with silk, since several times in 1778 Taskin supplied “strings wound with silk for Madame la duchesse de Villequier,” Antoinette-Marguerite-Henriette Mazade de Saint-Bresson, duchesse de Villequier (1756–1785), who played the harp.¹¹¹

110. O¹ 3055, 5, no. 58, invoice from Taskin:
 17 [mai 1779] Avoir fait Sept Equerre Neuve dans la Mécanique de la harpe du Roy
 . . . 24
 Sept Ressorts et leurs ajustemens . . . 36
 Avoir Changé les pedales . . . 12
 Avoir fait Sept Tirans avec leur Bascules pivots Et Rouleaux . . . 21
 Avoir fait Ralonger toutes les Visses dans la Mecanique qui passent à travers la Console
 . . . 9
 Pour Sept Tringles . . . 14
 Rajusté les Sillets des bemol . . . 24
 Pour Cordes Mises sur L'instrument . . . 18
 Pour le Racomodage de la Couverture . . . 3.

111. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63, invoice from Taskin: 6 [février 1778] fourni deux Cordes filées en Soye pour Mad^e La Duchesse de Villequier cy 7 [. . .] 19 [mars 1778] Avoir fourni deux

Guitar. From November 1749 until July 1750 Pierre Maréchal, known as Paisible (d. 1773),¹¹² gave guitar lessons to the princesses royal. He billed the court 24 *livres* for “guitar strings that I bought for the guitars of Mesdames” and 30 *livres* “for having repaired my beautiful guitar that I lent Mesdames during six months and which they broke and having repaired the case which was forced open and having installed a new key and lock.”¹¹³

Woodwinds

Flute. In 1759 the Italian flutist and oboist Filippo Prover,¹¹⁴ an extra player in the *Chapelle musicale du Roi* between 1756 and 1761,¹¹⁵ had made for Princess Victoire “two flutes in rosewood mounted with silver” for 100 *livres* each, plus a case lined in green velvet with gold piping and covered with red leather for 40 *livres*.¹¹⁶ These must be the “two transverse flutes in five joints in brown exotic wood, with two silver keys and mounted silver, in a coffer-shaped case covered in shagreen with a key lock” listed in the inventory of 1780.¹¹⁷

A bill presumably from the flute player François-Alexandre Sallentin [Sallantin] (1726–after 1782) specifies that on 20 May 1764 he delivered for the *Chapelle du Roi* “Two ebony piccolos (*petites flutes*) mounted with ivory with two joints [and] silver key” for 30 *livres* each and “Two other

Cordes filées En Soye pour Madame La Duchesse De Villequier [. . .] 10 [avril 1778] Avoir fourni une Corde filée en Soye pour M^{de} La Duchesse de Villequier cy . . . 4 / 15 [avril 1778] Avoir Remonté La harpe de Mad^e La Duchesse de Villequier En Corde Neuve cy 24.

112. His widow, Jeanne-Thérèse Soyer (1727–after 1799), was awarded a pension on 16 July 1773 “in consideration of the services of her husband,” who likely died that year (O¹ 682, 2).

113. O¹ 2987, 1, 3D, invoice from Paisible: *pour avoir fait Racco[mo]der ma Belle guitare que jay presté a mes dames pendant six mois et quelle mon casse et avoir fait Raccomoder Léstuy que lon a forcé et avoir fait mettre un clef et une serrure neuve . . . 30^{li} / pour des Cordes de guitare que jay acheter pour monter Les guitar de mes dames . . . 24^{li}.*

114. On Prover, see Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy from 1640 to 1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 416.

115. In 1756, he appears as “Provers” on the list of musicians for Fontainebleau (O¹ 2999, 2) and as “Prowerts” on the list for Compiègne (O¹ 2999, 12), as “Philippe Prowert” in lists of 17 March 1760 (O¹ 842, no. 49) and 13 May 1760 (O¹ 842, no. 47), and as “Provers” in a personnel roster of 1761 (O¹ 3005, 1).

116. O¹ 3003, invoice from Provers: *Pour avoir fait deux Flutes de bois de Rose toutes garnies en argent à cent franshs la piece . . . 200 / pour un etuy doublé de velour vert avec du petit galon d’or et couvert de maroquin rouge . . . 40.*

117. Marcuse, “The Instruments of the King’s Library,” 35. Marcuse transcribed Prover’s name as “Provet,” thereby giving rise to the assumption that the latter was a different maker from the former. See Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 312.

boxwood piccolos with two joints” for 18 *livres* each; included on the same invoice are “Two other ivory recorders” (*flutes A Bec d’ivoire*) for 48 *livres* each delivered on 26 March 1765, as well as six small bags in which to put the six flutes (fig. 3).¹¹⁸ These are likely the instruments by Lot listed in the inventory of 1780.¹¹⁹

On 8 June 1773 Chiquelier supplied “two flutes with their semitone joints both high and low for the pitch of the Chapel” for 48 *livres*,¹²⁰ which suggests that at this date the pitch of the chapel differed from that of the chamber or opera by a semitone. On 16 March 1775 Taskin supplied bags for these “made of grey leather lined with green taffeta edged with green silk piping.”¹²¹

On 1 July 1776 Taskin furnished “two ebony piccolos [*flutes octaves*] with three *corps de rechange* mounted with ivory and silver keys” for 72 *livres*, plus bags “with three compartments” similar to those of the previous year.¹²²

Oboe. Oboes are rarely mentioned in the invoices. In 1756 Charles Bizet (1685?–after 1756) supplied two oboes da caccia with three small *corps de rechange*, two dozen reeds, and a case (fig. 4);¹²³ these instruments are

118. O¹ 3013, invoice from Salentin: *Mémoire des Instrument fourny pour La Chapelle du Roy et Comandé par une Léstres de Monsieur Lévêque et Anvoyé A Mr Brise garde De la Bibliotec de Musique A Versailles, Le 20 May 1764*

Deux petites flutes Debeine garnie Divoire et A 2 Corps Clef Dargent a Trente Livres piece . . . 60^l

Deux autres petites flutes de Buis A 2 Corps a 18^l piece . . . 36

Deux Autres flutes A Bec d’ivoire Livrer Le 26 Mars 1765 A quarante huit . . . 96

Six petit Sac pour Mestres Les Six flutes . . . 6

Total . . . 198.

119. Marcuse, “The Instruments of the King’s Library,” 35.

120. O¹ 3037, 2, no. 57: *Du 8 juin [1773] pour deux flutes avec leurs cors de demy ton tant haut que Bas pour le ton de la Chapelle . . . 48.*

121. O¹ 3044, 10, invoice from Taskin: *Du 16 [mars 1775] avoir fait faire et fourni des Sacs pour les flutes de la chapelle; les dits Sacs en peau grise doublée en taffetas vert et borde en galon de soye verte.*

122. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 74: *Du 1^{er} juillet [1776] Avoir fourni 2 flutes octaves en bois d’ebene garni d’ivoire et clefs d’argent a trois cors de rechange . . . 72 / plus avoir fourni des scacs pour les flutes, les dits scacs en peau grise avec trois compartiments, doublés de taffetas verd, bordés en galon de Soye Verte . . . 6.*

123. O¹ 2999, 26, no. 77, invoice from Bizet: *Deux haubois En Corp de Chasse a trois petite pièces de Rechanges Vallant quatre Vingt Livre pieces fait Les Deux haubois Cente soixante livre . . . 160^l / plus deux douzaine d’hanche pour Jouer ledits instrumts . . . 9^l 12 / fourny un Etuy qui Renferme lesdits instrumts . . . 20^l.* This document extends by four years the latest evidence for this maker’s activity, previously given by Waterhouse as 1752 (*New Langwill Index*, 34).

Comédie, et Cognac
198th

Memoire Des Instruments fournis
Pour La Chapelle Du Roy et Commande par
une Lettre de Monsieur Le Vescy et d'Autres
Messrs Brise garde De La Bibliothé de Musique
Versailles, Le 6 May 1764

Deux petites flutes de bois garnies
D'ivoire et de Corps d'Or Argent a
Frentes d'ivoire pise - - - - - 60th

Deux autres petites flutes de bois
de Corps a 18th pise - - - - - 36

Deux autres flutes de Corps d'ivoire
d'ivoire Le 26 Mars 1763

a quarante huit - - - - - 56

Six petit Sac pour Mestres Les
Six flutes - - - - - 6

Total 138

Fait et delivré a Paris le 6 Mars 1764
de la main de Messrs Payer
Sallentin

ARCHIVES NATIONALES

FIGURE 3. Invoice, presumably in the hand of François-Alexandre Sallentin, for flutes delivered in 1764. F-Pan O¹ 3013.

listed in the inventory of 1780.¹²⁴ In 1757 Chiquelier billed the court for “having restored the oboes, oiled them and prepared the reed;”¹²⁵ he described them as “*hautbois de forest*” when billing the court for their maintenance on 8 June 1767.¹²⁶ Otherwise the players appear to have seen to the maintenance of their own instruments, since only a single oboe by Prover is listed in the inventory of 1780.

Clarinet. Several invoices suggest a possible date for the instrument’s transformation from a baroque three-key clarinet to a classical four-key instrument. Although specified as early as 1749 in Jean-Philippe Rameau’s *Zoroastre*, the clarinet was not officially adopted at the French court until 1762, when one Goango—probably a dealer or an intermediary—supplied two pairs of clarinets for the *Musique du Roi* at 300 *livres* per pair; the first set was delivered on 9 April 1762, the second on 4 October 1762.¹²⁷ These were very likely four-key instruments similar to a surviving clarinet made in Paris by Johann Gottfried Geist,¹²⁸ and the decision to include the instrument in the ensemble might have been motivated by its recent improvement. In 1763 one Caillot (also probably a dealer) supplied another pair of clarinets,¹²⁹ and at the end of that year Chiquelier commissioned two cases to store them all.¹³⁰ In 1764 he “reduced all the *corps de rechange* of the clarinets to put them at the pitches of the Chapel,”¹³¹ and the aforementioned Goango may have supplied some new instruments or related parts at around the same time, since a statement records a payment to him of 72 *livres* for “supplying clarinets.”¹³²

124. Marcuse, “The Instruments of the King’s Library,” 35.

125. O¹ 3001, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour avoir rétabli les hautbois les avoir huillés et accomodé l’anche* . . . 9.

126. O¹ 3017, 4, n° 23, invoice from Chiquelier: [8 juin 1767] *Pour l’entretien des hautbois de forest* . . . 6.

127. O¹ 3006, 2, *Etat des dépenses et paiements fait pour les comedies et concerts sur mémoires ou quittances, en l’année mil sept cent soixante deux: Au S. Goango la somme de six cent livres pour deux paires de clarinettes du prix de trois cent livres chacune, la premier fournie le 9. avril la seconde le 4. octobre pour la musique du Roy ci* . . . 600.

128. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.922.2.1.


129. O¹ 3008, 1, no. 32: invoice from Caillot: *pour une pair de Clarinette, fait par ordre de Mr. Le Duc de Duras. 10 Louis.*

130. O¹ 3008, 1, no. 36: *M. Demonville me donna ordre de faire faire deux Coffres pour Conserver les Clairinettes pour ce* . . . 24.

131. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour avoir fait diminuer tous les Corps des Clairinettes pour les mettre aux tons de la chapelle* . . . 6.

132. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 32: *Payé au S. Gohango, la somme de soixante douze livres, pour fourniture de clarinettes, suivant son Mémoire certifié de M. de Bury, Ci* . . . 72^u.

1756.
Menu Memoir des Instruments que Jay fournis pour les
 n^o 77. Menus Plaisirs du Roy fournis par en Bizet
 Premierement



Deux Hautbois En Cor de Bass a trois petite pieces
 de Lechanges Vallant quatre Vingt Livre pieces fait les
 Deux Hautbois Cents six ante livre. 160^{tt}
 plus deux douzaine d'anche pour Jouer ledits instruments 9^{tt} 12
 fournis un Etuy qui les ferme ledits instruments 20^{tt}
 plus fournis une quinte de Violon avec son archet
 et Etuy Cents Livre 100^{tt}

Total 289^{tt} 12^{tt}

Je Certifie que les Instruments mentionnés au present
 inventaire m'ont été fournis par Chiquelier
 comme en double y en ayant
 un entre les mains de M. de
 Desmonville

FIGURE 4. Invoice from Charles Bizet for oboes da caccia delivered in 1756. *F-Pan O*¹ 2999, 26, no. 77.

In 1765 Chiquelier had a new mouthpiece made “to replace that broken on the clarinet of Mr. Charles, and repaired another, and had a *rivolle* made.”¹³³

The above instruments appear to have been replaced in 1778, when the court ordered three new pairs of clarinets “with all the different *corps*”—probably still four-key instruments—from the maker Michel

133. *O*¹ 3013, no. 30, invoice from Chiquelier: *Avoir fait faire un Jeu danche [d'anche] a la place de celle qui etoit cassée a la Clairinette de M. Charles, et en racommoder un autre, et avoir fait faire une rivolle . . .* 6. 2. The only musician of this surname on the rosters during this period was Pierre Charles, a tenor (*taille*). As court officials often referred to musicians by their first names, this could also be the trumpet player Charles Huguenet (fl. 1751–60). According to the woodwind reviewer for this article, *rivolle* “refers to a thin piece of brass or thick pin inserted through a hole in a turned ring on the body of the instrument and through a hole in a metal lug bent down from the key shank. It acts as an axle on which the key shank pivots.”

Amlingue (Amelingue) (1741–1816).¹³⁴ These in turn appear to have become obsolete by 12 October 1785, when Amlingue supplied two sets of clarinets that he described as follows (fig. 5):

- Clarinet in *Bb*, *corps* in *A* and one in *B-natural* the whole mounted with ivory . . . 100^l
- Four *corps de rechange* for playing in the Operas [i.e. at opera pitch] at 18^l each . . . 72
- Plus two barrels at 6^l each . . . 12
- An ivory mouthpiece . . . 9
- A decorated bell . . . 15
- Clarinet in *C* . . . 72
- Three *corps de rechange* at 18 each . . . 54
- Two Barrels at 6^l each . . . 12
- A bell . . . 15 [. . .]
- Four leather cases embroidered with silk piping at 12^l each . . . 48
- Two bags for the four cases at 10 . . . 20¹³⁵

This set probably had five keys and, based on eighteenth-century descriptions and three surviving sets by J. J. Baumann (c. 1790–1800) and one by Roche (c. 1800), would have included a B-flat clarinet with a *corps de rechange* and barrel for playing in A (an ivory mouthpiece and decorated bell—actually a larger section called a stock-bell—were used when playing with the two different *corps de rechange*), and a C clarinet with a *corps de rechange* in B-natural (likewise with a separate mouthpiece and stock-barrel for use with its different *corps de rechange*), as well as two other *corps de rechange* probably for playing at chapel and opera pitch. These instruments and their *corps de rechange* were kept in one

134. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 60: *Mémoire du S. Hamelingue facteur d'instrumens dans les quinze-vingt pour clarinettes fournies par ordre de M. Delaferte intendant des menus plaisirs du Roy[:]* 3 paires de clarinettes, avec tous les differens cors pour la musique de la chapelle du Roy à 6 Louis chaque paire . . . 432.

135. O¹ 3069, 9, no. 247:

- Clarinette en Si, cors en la et un en mi grand dièze le tout garni en jivoire . . . 100*
- Quatre cors de rechange à pouvoir jouer dans les Opéras à 18^l piece . . . 72*
- Plus deux Barils à 6^l piece . . . 12*
- Une embouchure d'ivoire . . . 9*
- Un Pavillon garni . . . 15*
- Clarinette en ut . . . 72*
- trois Cors de rechange à 18 piece . . . 54*
- Deux Barils à 6^l piece . . . 12*
- Un Pavillon . . . 15. [. . .]*
- Quatre Etuits de peau Brodés en galon de Soie à 12^l chaque . . . 48*
- Deux Sacs pour les quatre étuits à 10^l . . . 20.*

L'assistier d'octobre
1785.

Com. en Concerto,
S^r. Amelingue,
facteur d'instrument,
790. " "

Memoire des Clarinettes fournies
par Amelingue facteur d'instrument à
vest pour la Chapelle du Roi à Versailles
le 12 Octobre 1785.

1^{re} Clarinette
Clarinette en si, cor en la et un
mi grand Dièse le tout garni en
ivoire.

Quatre cors de rechange à pouvoir
puer dans les Opéra à 18.^e pièce — 72. — " "

Sur deux Barils à 6.^e pièce — 12. — " "

Une embouchure d'ivoire — 9. — " "

Un Savillon garni — 15. — " "

Clarinette en ut — 72. — " "

trois cors de rechange à 18.^e pièce — 54. — " "

Deux Barils à 6.^e pièce — 12. — " "

Un Savillon — 15. — " "

2^e Clarinette
Clarinette en si, cor en la et un en
mi grand Dièse le tout garni en ivoire.

Quatre cors de rechange à pouvoir
puer dans les Opéra à 18.^e pièce — 72. — " "

Sur deux Barils à 6.^e pièce — 12. — " "

Une embouchure d'ivoire — 9. — " "

Un Savillon garni — 15. — " "

Clarinette en ut — 72. — " "

trois cors de rechange à 18.^e pièce — 54. — " "

Deux Barils à 6.^e pièce — 12. — " "

Un Savillon — 15. — " "

Quatre Hauts de grand Brode
en galon de pie à 18.^e Chaque — 18. — " "

Deux sacs pour les quatre Hauts à 10.^e — 20. — " "

790. — " "

247.

MECHLINGUE
FACTEUR D'INSTRUMENTS
SECTION 1120

FIGURE 5. Invoice dated 12 October 1785 from Michel Amelingue (Amelingue) for clarinets. F-Pan O¹ 3069, 9, no. 247.

case, meaning that instruments in all four of these pitches (A, B-flat, B-natural, and C) would then be available for players at the *Opéra* when performing works, such as those composed by Grétry and Floquet during the 1770s, that call for clarinets in these pitches.¹³⁶

Bassoon. Like the oboe, bassoons are rarely mentioned in invoices. On 15 December 1774 Taskin billed the court for making a new crook and probably a boot for the bassoon used at the chapel.¹³⁷ On 8 April 1778 Taskin supplied “a bassoon *corps* for the *Chapelle du Roi*”—perhaps a tenor or wing joint—as well as “a key for said bassoon.”¹³⁸ No bassoons are listed in the 1780 inventory, however.¹³⁹

Brass Instruments

Horn. An important development in the evolution of a truly orchestral horn was the invention around 1753 of the model known as the *Inventionshorn*. Conceived by the famous horn player Anton Joseph Hampel with the help of the instrument maker Johann Georg Werner of Dresden, “this model has the distinctive features of a fixed mouthpipe and series of sliding crooks of cylindrical bore which are inserted into the body of the instrument to lower the pitch from E downwards, while from F upwards it is necessary to insert a new mouthpipe which also acts as a crook.”¹⁴⁰ The invoices suggest that this model was introduced to the French court in 1762, when a pair of new horns was ordered for the *Musique du Roi* from Anton Kerner, senior, in Vienna. Priced at 30 ducats each, the maker described these in his invoice as “1 pair of Horns of a New Invention” (fig. 6).¹⁴¹ They were sent from Vienna a few days prior

136. Rice, 127–128. My thanks to the woodwind reviewer who provided this reference and the information in the two preceding sentences.

137. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin: *Du 15 X^{bre} avoir fait refaire a neuf la grande piece du basson servant a la chappelle parce qu'elle étoit toute fracassé . . . 36^{li} / Plus avoir fourni un bocal et avoir fait reporter le basson a la chapelle a Versailles pour le bocal et le port . . . 6^{li}.*

138. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63, invoice from Taskin: *8 Avril [1778] Avoir fourni un Corps de Basson pour La Chapelle du Roy cy . . . 30 / Plus fourni Une Clef au dit Basson cy . . . 3.*

139. Marcuse, “The Instruments of the King’s Library.”

140. Renato Meucci (with Gabriele Rocchetti), “Horn,” in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 11:718.

141. O¹ 3007, 1: *1 paire de Corne d’Invention Nouveau 60 #.*

to 26 September 1762¹⁴² and were still in use in 1780.¹⁴³ The difference in pitch levels between Vienna and Paris necessitated modifications to these instruments: in June 1765 Chiquelier billed the court for “raising the hunting horns by a half quarter tone”;¹⁴⁴ in January 1767 the horn player Molidor travelled to Paris to supervise repairs to the instruments “and other works for [their] improvement”;¹⁴⁵ and in 1771 Chiquelier billed the court “for raising 4 hunting horn semitones [i.e., crooks] for a comic opera.”¹⁴⁶

In 1771 the court reimbursed the Abbé Gauzargues for “two horns that he had sent from Germany,”¹⁴⁷ but this might refer to two horn players since there is no mention of such instruments in the inventory of 1780.

In 1777 the court paid 288 *livres* to one Ott for “a hunting horn with all the crooks.”¹⁴⁸ This is likely the horn by Jean-François Corméry listed in the inventory of 1780,¹⁴⁹ and might have been destined for the first horn player Kohl [Koll] (fl. c. 1779–1792/1814)¹⁵⁰ (perhaps for use as a *cor basse*, as we shall see below), since Taskin billed the court on several occasions for modifications to an instrument used by this musician, for example on 3 November 1779 for having “made the E crook and the F crook with their slides of Mr. Col’s horn for the service of the King and Queen.”¹⁵¹ Taskin might also have had the same instrument’s D crook

142. O¹ 3007, 1, letter of 26 September 1762 from the comte du Châtelet (Vienna) to the comte de Choiseul. One Favre was paid 132 *livres* for transporting a case containing hunting horns from Vienna (O¹ 3006, 2, no. 62 : *Au S. Favre la somme de cent trente deux livres pour le port d’une caisse qui renferme des cors de chasse venant de vienne cy . . . 132*).

143. Marcuse, “The Instruments of the King’s Library,” 35.

144. O¹ 3013, no. 30, invoice from Chiquelier: [June 1765] *Pour avoir fait monter les Cors de chasse d’un demy quart de ton, et avoir dressé des Bosses pour ce . . . 5*.

145. O¹ 3017, 4, no. 23, invoice from Chiquelier: *Du 12 [janvier 1767] [. . .] M. Molidor ayant été a Paris pour convenir des réparations, et ayant eut un Billet de voiture de M. Demonville je lui ai remboursé le pour Boire du Cocher . . . 1.4 [. . .] / Pour avoir dressé les Cors de chasse et avoir mis des pieces aux endroits persés, et avoir dressé les quarts de ton, et les demy ton, et autres ouvrages pour la perfection pour ce . . . 72*.

146. O¹ 3031, 8, no. 63, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour avoir fait hausser 4 demy tons de cors de Chasse pour un opera comique avoir ajusté les embouchures et mis des viroles . . . 7*.

147. O¹ 3031, 8, no. 50: *Est du au S Abbé Gauzargues pour deux Cors qu’il a fait venir d’Allemagne pour la Chapelle du Roy, y compris les frais . . . 781*.

148. O¹ 3050, 8, no. 89: *un Cors de chasse avec tous les changements de tons*.

149. Marcuse, “The Instruments of the King’s Library,” 35.

150. *F-Po*, Arch. Div. 7 (see note 41).

151. O¹ 3055, 5, no. 58, invoice from Taskin: *3 9^{bre} [1779] [. . .] Plus Redressé, Netoyé, poli Et Remis à Neuf, fait le ton Mi et le ton fa avec leurs Coulisses du Cor de M. Col pour le service du Roy et de la Reine . . . 18*.

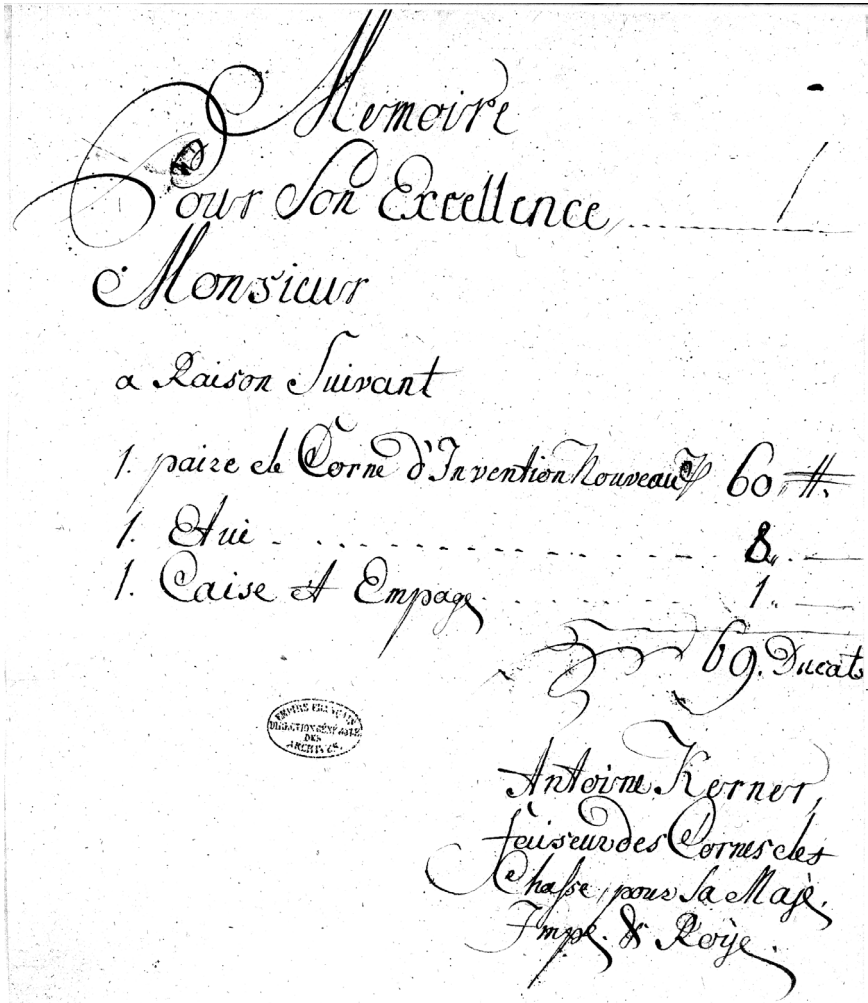


FIGURE 6. Invoice from Anton Kerner, senior (Vienna) for horns supplied in 1762. *F-Pan O¹ 3007, 1.*

lengthened, since on 4 October 1779 he itemizes “removing the crook in D and adding a length of tubing” without specifying the instrument.¹⁵²

152. O¹ 3055, 5, no. 58, invoice from Taskin: 4 8^{bre} [1779] *Avoir demonté le ton En delaré Et Mis un bout de Branche . . . 3.*

Le Febvre appears to have supplied two new horns sometime before 22 April 1784, since at this date he refers to “having straightened and cleaned the recently-made horns and all eighteen crooks” (as well as polished and straightened “the old ones and their sixteen crooks”).¹⁵³ The need for new horns might have been motivated by a change in pitch or the necessity to play in keys for which the existing instruments were not suited: several months after he supplied the new horns, Le Febvre also “took apart the C crook and added a piece of tubing”¹⁵⁴ on a single instrument and on 23 August 1784 he “took apart Mr. Col’s accompaniment horn [= *cor basse*?], made a piece of new tubing, took off the four crooks and cut the slides to put it in tune.”¹⁵⁵ On 20 August 1785 Le Febvre delivered “a pair of horns and the sixteen crooks and two *accords*” for 450 *livres* but charged an extra 48 *livres* for supplying a pair of one-piece B-flat *basso* crooks (*Be fa cy en bas plein*, i.e., without the additional tube that one usually puts on a C *basso* crook), plus 36 *livres* for “two *accords* for the chapel.”¹⁵⁶ These extra crooks were probably intended for the new instruments and the *accords*—likely tuning bits enabling the same set of crooks to be used for playing at both chapel and opera pitch—for the instruments delivered in 1784. On 25 January 1786 Le Febvre took apart the crooks in B-flat *alto* and A (*Be fa cy* and *Amila*), supplying new protruding tubes and sleeves and cutting them by one inch.¹⁵⁷ In July 1786 Le Febvre supplied a new horn “with two sets of crooks with slide,”¹⁵⁸ one set likely intended for playing at the pitch of the opera, the other at the pitch of the chapel.

153. O¹ 3066, 2, no. 225, invoice from Le Febvre: *Le 22 avril 1784 avoir redressé les deux Cors derniers fait et redressé les dix huit tons et Poly cy . . . 18 / Plus les deux vieux et leurs seize tons dressé et poly, cy . . . 12.*

154. O¹ 3066, 2, no. 225, invoice from Le Febvre: *Plus démonté Le ton ut et mis un Bout de Branche neuf cy . . . 6.*

155. O¹ 3066, 2, no. 226, invoice from Le Febvre: *Le 23 Aoust 1784 Avoir démonté le cors d’accompagnement de M^r Col fait un bout de branche neuf, démonté les 4 tons et coupé les Coulisses pour le mettre d’accord, redressé, poli, et remis à neuf, Cy . . . 36.*

156. O¹ 3069, 9, no. 245, invoice from Le Febvre: *Le 20 Aout 1785 [. . .] Plus fourni une paire de cors et les seize tons et deux accords, prix fait 450 / Plus deux Tons Be fa cy en bas plein, Cy . . . 48 / Plus deux accords pour la Chapelle par augmentation, Cy . . . 36.* My thanks to Claude Maury who provided this information.

157. O¹ 3073, 6, no. 234, invoice from Le Febvre: *Le 25. Janvier [1786] avoir démonté les deux tons en Be-fa-cy et les deux en amila et avoir fourni couverture tenons et anneaux et coupé un pouce sur les dits tons redressé et poli cy . . . 36^{li}.* My thanks to Graham Nicholson for identifying these parts.

158. O¹ 3073, 6, no. 236, invoice from Le Febvre, July–September 1786: *Fourni un cors d’accompagnement avec deux garnitures de tons avec coulisse . . . 240^{li}.*

It is noteworthy that mouthpieces were not included in the price of the instruments but were supplied separately at extra cost: on 23 August 1784 Le Febvre “supplied a silver mouthpiece for the *cor basse*,”¹⁵⁹ on 23 June 1785 “a silver mouthpiece with a ring to Mr. Kolk,”¹⁶⁰ and on 29 October 1785 he shipped “two silver mouthpieces to Fontainebleau.”¹⁶¹

Trumpet. The invoices supply the date of manufacture of the two slide trumpets listed in the 1780 inventory, showing that on 26 March 1775 Taskin billed the court for “having had made two slide trumpets with six pairs of crooks serving to play the keys of F, E-natural, E-flat, D, C, B-flat, in all comprising fourteen pieces enclosed in a case covered in red leather as ordered by Mr. Des Charmes [Georges Desmoulins, known as Decharmes (1737–after 5 July 1798)], musician of the Chamber, in all totaling the sum of 420 [*livres*].”¹⁶² This slide was likely a general tuning slide located on the second bend (nearest the chin of the player), of the sort with which the majority of trumpets were equipped by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which one finds on extant instruments by Joseph Raoux (1730–1808), Courtois frères, and Michael Saurle (1772–1845). In his *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* of 1780, Jean-Benjamin de La Borde (1734–1794) reported that “trumpets are currently being made with slides like those on the new horns, which allows them to be employed more easily in orchestras.”¹⁶³ This hypothesis is further supported by the absence, in both the invoice and the inventory, of tuning bits that were inserted on natural trumpets between the mouthpiece and the crook, or the crook and the instrument, to improve their intonation. (It is also noteworthy that there is no

159. O¹ 3066, 2, no. 226, invoice from Le Febvre: *Le 23 Aoust 1784* [. . .] *Plus fourni une embouchure d'argent pour L'accompagnement, Cy . . . 9.*

160. O¹ 3069, 9, no. 244, invoice from Le Fevre: *Le 23 Juin 1785* [. . .] *Plus fourni une embouchure d'argent avec un anneau à Monsieur Kolk, Cy . . . 12.*

161. O¹ 3069, 9, no. 246, invoice from Le Febvre: *Le 29 8^{bre} 1785* [. . .] *Avoir envoyé deux embouchures d'argent à Fontainebleau . . . 24.*

162. O¹ 3044, 10, invoice from Taskin: *Du 26 [mars 1775] Avoir fait faire deux trompettes a coulisses avec six paires de supléments, servant a faire les tons de fa, mi dieze, mi bemol delare, ce Sol ut, bé fa ci, le tout composant quatorze pieces renfermées dans un coffre couvert de maroquin, rouge tel que Monsieur des charmes, musicien de la chambre les a commandées le tout montant a la somme de . . . 420.*

163. Jean Benjamin de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* 1 (Paris: Ph.-D. Pierres, 1780), 277: *On fait actuellement des Trompettes avec des coulisses dans le genre des nouveaux Cors, ce qui les rend plus faciles à être employés dans les orchestres.*

mention of mouthpieces.) The crooks were inserted between the mouthpiece and the body of the instrument: assuming that the instrument was in F, the crook in F was a straight tube; the E-natural one a small, round loop; the E-flat one a large, round loop with the same radius as the bends of the trumpet; and the remainder were ovals of increasing lengths with the same radii as the aforementioned bends. Since the date of manufacture coincides with the arrival in Paris of the Braun brothers—of whom the eldest, Jean-Frédéric Braun, was admitted to the orchestra of the *Opéra* as second trumpet on 1 April 1775,¹⁶⁴ retiring on 21 August 1806¹⁶⁵—it is possible that they introduced this type of instrument into France. A foreign origin (and level of pitch) is also suggested when Taskin billed the court, on 29 November 1776, for “dismantling the two trumpets and twelve crooks to raise the pitches and restore and clean all the aforementioned parts.”¹⁶⁶

Trombone. On 12 June 1791 Le Febvre delivered a trombone for 400 *livres* and a case with compartments for “the new trombone,” plus “repaired the trombone of Mr. Mariotty who used it for five months for the service of the chapel.”¹⁶⁷ One Mariotti is listed as a viola and trombone player in the *Musique du Roi* from January 1791 until its liquidation on 10 August 1792.¹⁶⁸ This would be Antonio Mariotti of Bologna, who is also known to have worked in Paris between 1789 and 1791 at the Concert Spirituel and the Théâtre de Monsieur.¹⁶⁹

164. AJ¹³ 15, IV. My thanks to Jean-François Madeuf who provided the information contained in the preceding six sentences.

165. AJ¹³ 69, VI, no. 152.

166. O¹ 3047, no. 74, invoice from Taskin: *du 29 [novembre 1776] avoir démonté les deux trompettes et les douze suppléments pour les hausser de tons et redresser et repoli a neuf les susdites pièces en totalité . . . 36.*

167. O¹ 3091, 6, no. 107: *plus fourny Le 12 Juin [1791] une trombonne prix fait a 400^l Cy . . . 400^l / plus avoir Racomodé La trombonne de monsieur mariotty qui Sen est Seruy pendant Cinq mois pour Le Service de La chapelle Cy . . . 48^l / plus fourny un etuy a Compartiment pour La trombonne neuve Cy . . . 36^l.*

168. O¹ 842, nos. 97, 98, 100, 101, 106, 107, 111. This does not necessarily imply that Mariotti played the viola. Since it was legally impossible to create new positions within the *Musique du Roi* after the promulgation of a new regulation on 1 May 1782, the *surintendants* may have decided to reduce the number of violas to three and assign Mariotti the salary of the fourth position.

169. My thanks to the brass reviewer of my article for this identification. See David M. Guion, “Great, but Forgotten Trombonists: Some Biographical Sketches,” *Brass Bulletin* 97 (1997): 62–73, at 63–67.

Percussion

Timpani. Considering the military origins of the instrument, it is significant that on 20 June 1763 the timpanist Placide-Simon Caraffe (1718–after 9 February 1795) delivered for the *Musique du Roi* what he described as “a pair of concert timpani” as well as cases to store and transport them.¹⁷⁰ It will come as no surprise that the most frequent repair effected to the instrument was the replacement of punctured drum heads—in 1771 Chiquelier specifically ordered three heads “for the large timpano in case of accident because of the difficulty of having some on hand”¹⁷¹—but Chiquelier’s own explanation for this is noteworthy: his invoice for 1764 includes “four large heads for the timpani that were punctured in the years 1763 and 1764 due to the great diameter of the heads that one is obliged to stretch extremely to raise them to different pitches, at the rate of 12 *livres tournois* per head, and 6 *livres tournois* for working each one.”¹⁷² The name of the craftsman to whom Chiquelier subcontracted the work is specified on 21 September 1769, when he transported “the small timpani” to one Carlin “to make new screws, restore the timpani and other repairs.”¹⁷³ In 1771 Chiquelier billed the court for having “cleaned the screws, and applied oil” on the “large timpano.”¹⁷⁴

170. O¹ 3008, 1, no. 31:

Du 20 [juin 1763] fourni une paire de Timballes de Concerts pour la Musique du Roi payée . . . 360

Plus pour les Boîtes pour les conserver et les Transporter . . . 18

Du 27 7^{me} pour la ferrure des Boîtes . . . 16

Pour y avoir fait mettre des traverses de bois . . . 3

Plus pour deux paillassions pour garnir lesd. Boetes . . . 6.

171. O¹ 3031, 8, no. 63: *Avoir fait faire trois peaux pour la grande Timbale au Cas d'accident par la difficulté d'en avoir aux besoins qui sont entre mes mains . . . 36.*

172. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27: *Plus pour quatre grandes peaux pour les Timballes qui se sont crevées pendant les années 1763, et 1764 occasionnés par la grande largeur des Peaux que l'on est obligé de tendre extrêmement pour les monter a différents tons, a raison de 12^{li} la peau, et 6^{li} de façon chaque fait . . . 72.*

173. O¹ 3026, 1, n^o 44: [21 septembre 1769] *Pour avoir fait porter les petites Timbales de l'hôtel des menus de Paris avec les Etuits chez M Carlin pour faire des vises neuves, et redresser les Timbales et autres réparations pour les ports . . . 1.16.* In an invoice of 6 May 1787 in the library of the *Comédie française* he gives his name as “Brunet alias Carlin” (2AC8, *Ballet et orchestre: instruments de musique: achat-location réparations: 1763–1793: Brunet dit Carlin*).

174. O¹ 3031, 8, no. 63: *Avoir fait porter la Grande timbale avec sa boîte sur un Brancard de la Chapelle au Bureau de Versailles . . . 1 / De Versailles a Paris . . . 1.16 / De Paris chez le lutier . . . 1.4 / Pour avoir redressé la Timbale, netoyer les vises, et mis de l'huile, et mis une Peau neuve a la place de celle qui avoit été crevé dans l'orqueste . . . 24.*

Cymbals. In 1777 the gilder Le Sage supplied “seven pairs of brass cymbals decorated all around” for 36 *livres* each.¹⁷⁵

Keyboard Instruments

Harpsichord. The findings in these archives pertaining to the harpsichord were the subject of an article by Colombe Verlet in 1963,¹⁷⁶ and several of the documents were presented in full in her 1966 book *Les Facteurs de clavecins parisiens*.¹⁷⁷ As these studies do not exist in English translations, it might be useful to present here, for the benefit of English-language readers, those documents that can further illuminate the discussion of the French harpsichord in Frank Hubbard’s *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*. For Hubbard, “The history of the harpsichord in France during the eighteenth century is primarily the story of the *ravalement* and redispotion of the Ruckers instruments inherited from the previous age, and the construction of new instruments in their image.”¹⁷⁸ The invoices provide first-hand accounts of these transformations by the very authors themselves.

In 1749 Blanchet billed the court 600 *livres* for “having widened [a] harpsichord in the treble and bass and enlarged the compass to 56 keys [*mis a ravalement*], made new keyboards, registers, and jacks.”¹⁷⁹ In 1761 Blanchet billed the same sum “for having enlarged the compass to 61 keys [*mis a grand ravalement*] of a harpsichord by Andreas Ruckers.”¹⁸⁰ In 1767 Taskin charged the court for

having enlarged to 61 keys the compass of a harpsichord by Andreas Ruckers used by Messieurs the Italians of the *musique du Roi* in Versailles, widened it in

175. O¹ 3050, 9, no. 185: *Sept paires de Cimballes de Cuivre et Composition faites et tournées au Tour a 36^u pièce.*

176. Colombe Verlet, “Les Clavecins royaux au XVIII^e siècle,” *Recherches sur la Musique française classique* 3 (1963): 159–170.

177. Colombe Samoyault-Verlet, *Les Facteurs de clavecins parisiens* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1966).

178. Frank Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 112.

179. O¹ 2987, 1, 3C, invoice from Blanchet: *avoir Elargie le dît Clavessin haut et bas et mis a ravalement y avoir fait Claviers Registre et Sauteraux neufs, pour ce la somme de six cent livres cy . . . 600^u.*

180. O¹ 3005, 9, no. 81, invoice from Blanchet: *Pour avoir mis un Claveçin D’André Ruckers, a grand ravallement, L’avoir Monté de Cordes Neuves, Et fait Claviers, registres, et Sautreaux Neufs, par Ordre de Monsieur De La Ferté, prix fait a La Somme de . . . 600^u.*

the treble and bass, set it up with new strings, registers and jacks, and keyboards and rebuilt the stand to fit the case, made a music desk and supplied silvered candle-holders the whole in the most perfect order by order of Mr. Chiquelier for this the sum of 500 *livres*.¹⁸¹

In November and December 1771 Taskin charged 360 *livres* for

having enlarged to 61 keys the compass of a harpsichord by Hans Ruckers for Monseigneur le comte d'Artois price . . . 360
 plus for varnishing the said harpsichord in polished green and gold bands, and the interior in red with gold bands for the sum of . . . 300
 plus, for gilding the lacquered stand . . . 150.¹⁸²

In the following invoice from November 1777 Taskin details the process involved in transforming a harpsichord:

[For] having moved from Fontainebleau the King's harpsichord: paid for the transportation . . . 36

Plus having taken off all the strings, removed the bottom board, doubled the spine as well as the bent side [and] the cheekpiece, widened the wrest plank to make room for the wider compass, lengthened the bridges, braced the whole interior, set right the entire soundboard, glued all the cracks and added pieces everywhere where needed, remarked all the positions on the wrest plank and bridges, installed *pointes de division* everywhere and a new *portine* [hitch-pin rail?], installed a buff stop, supplied a mechanism to move the three registers, removed the registers and the [lower] guides, drilled the [pin] positions for the enlarged compass, adjusted and replaced them in their appropriate positions, installed this mechanism each part in its place, installed new cross braces to receive the bottom boards, glued the whole with the greatest precision possible and installed new strings, put completely new cloth on the keyframes of the two manuals and on all the keys, freed the [balance-pin] mortises of the key levers, leveled and straightened the two manuals and polished them, made a new lid flap as well as the front board that closes the harpsichord, widened the main part of the lid, trued [these] three parts and mounted new hardware on them, adjusted and regulated the three ranks of

181. O¹ 3017, 4, no. 29, invoice from Taskin: *Premierement avoir mis a grand ravallement un clavecin d'andré Ruckers servant a Messieurs les italiens ordinaire de la musique du Roy a versailles, l'avoir élargis haut et bas monté de cordes neuves registres et seautereaux et claviers et rebattir le pieds suivant le corp, avoir fait le pupitre et fournit des bobeches argentées le tout dans l'ordre le plus parfait par ordre de monsieur chaquelier pour ce la somme de . . . 500[#].*

182. O¹ 3031, 8, no. 64, invoice from Taskin: *au mois de novembre et decembre [1771] avoir mis a grand ravallement un clavecin de hans Ruckuers pour Monseigneur le Comte d'artois prix fait . . . 360 / plus pour vernir le dit clavecin en verd polis et filets d'or, et les dedans en rouge avec des / filets d'or pour la somme de . . . 300 / plus pour la dorure du pieds en lacs . . . 150[#].*

jacks, fitting them all with new quills and damper cloths, and generally transformed this bad harpsichord into the King's best, plus had a new stand and music desk made: for this . . . 1200.¹⁸³

Charles Burney recounted in *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1771):

After church M. Balbastre [the organist Claude-Benigne Balbastre (1727–1799)] invited me to his house, to see a fine Rucker harpsichord. . . . The tone of this instrument is more delicate than powerful; one of the unisons is of buff, but very sweet and agreeable; the touch is very light, owing to the quilling, which in France is always weak.¹⁸⁴

The preference for weaker quilling in France is indeed attested by Chiquelier's invoice for 1764, which includes an item for "requilling softer the harpsichord of the Queen so as to be suited to the hand of Madame [Princess Marie-Adélaïde]."¹⁸⁵ However, the invoices reveal that for opera performances the contrary was preferred. In September and October 1764, during the residence of the court at Fontainebleau, Chiquelier "requilled the harpsichord stronger to serve in the operas."¹⁸⁶ Likewise, in 1765 at Fontainebleau he "requilled the harpsi-

183. O¹ 3050, 8, no. 145: 18 9^{bre} [1777] [. . .] *Avoir fait venir de Fontainebleau Le Clavessin du Roi payé pour le port . . . 36*

Plus avoir démonté toutes les Cordes, levé les fonds Et avoir doublé le derriere ainsi que la Courbe la Jouë, Relargi le sommier pour trouver place a Mettre le Ravalement, allongé le Chevalet, arbuté tout L'intérieur, Redressé toute la table d'harmonie, Recollé Toute les fractures Et Mis de pieces partout où il Etait Besoin, Retrassé toutes les divisions tant du Sommier que des Chevalets de table Mis partout des pointes de division Et Une portine Neuve, Mis Un Jeu de luth, Fourni Une Mecanique pour donner Mouvement aux trois Registres, avoir demonté les Registres Et les guides, persé les divisions du grand Ravalement, les avoir Rajusté Et replacé dans leurs positions Convenables, avoir ajusté Cette Mécanique Chaque piece dans leurs positions, avoir Mis des traverses neuves pour Recevoir les fonds, avoir Collés le tout avec la plus grande précision possible Et Remontés de Cordes Neuves, avoir Redrappés Tout a Neuf Les Chassis des deux Claviers, avoir Redrapés toutes les touches dégorgeés, les Mortaises et les Bascules, Egalisé Et Redressé les deux Claviers Et les avoir Repolis; avoir fait a Neuf la piece quarée du Couvercle ainsi que la porte qui ferme le Clavessin; avoir Elargi l'autre partie de Couvercle, Rajusté Et Ferré tout a Neuf les trois parties, avoir ajusté Et Egalisé les trois Rangés de sauteraux, les Remplumés Et Redrapés tout a Neuf Et généralement avoir fait de Ce Mauvais Clavessin Le Meilleur qui soit Chez Le Roi, plus avoir fait faire Un pied Et pupitre Neuf pour Ce . . . 1200

184. Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: T. Becket and Co., 1771), 38.

185. O¹ 3010, 9, no. 27, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour avoir remplumé a Neuf le Clavecin de la Reine pour qu'il soit plus doux pour estre a la portée de la main De Madame, et autres petites réparations . . . 50.*

186. O¹ 3011, 1, no. 74: *Pour avoir remplumé a neuf plus fort le Clavecin pour servir aux opera . . . 30.*

chord of the *Opéra* much stronger so that it can be heard in the orchestra.”¹⁸⁷ In February 1770, before sending back to the new *Opéra* at Versailles an instrument by Andreas Ruckers that he had farmed out to Taskin for repair, Chiquelier “made a new, firmer quilling in my own way to make the harpsichord sparkle.”¹⁸⁸ On 11 June 1778 Taskin himself “quilled very strongly and put new cloth on a harpsichord for an opera at Versailles.”¹⁸⁹

The invention of the *peau de buffle* register, in which quills were replaced by plectra of soft leather, was claimed by Taskin (or on his behalf by people close to him), and harpsichords with this register were nearly always equipped with a system of knee levers to change the stops. Taskin mentions both of these innovations in the following invoice of 23 December 1778:

Returned to the *Menus Plaisirs* two harpsichords belonging to the King, [one of them] a very good Ruckers, enlarged its compass and restored to new its interior and exterior, had the [knee-lever] mechanisms made and installed them on all the stops, installed a new [*peau de*] *buffle* stop that makes a very beautiful and good piano forte, had a new stand, music-desk, and silvered candle-holders made; varnished the said harpsichord as well as [its stand and decorated it] very richly with gold banding . . . 960.¹⁹⁰

Taskin sometimes also installed a device for changing rapidly the pitch of a harpsichord: among other work done on a harpsichord in 1770, he billed the court for “adding all the necessary mechanism for raising it by half a tone in a minute.”¹⁹¹

187. O¹ 3013, no. 30, invoice from Chiquelier: *Plus pour avoir remplumé beaucoup plus fort le Clavecin de L'opera pour qu'il puisse s'entendre dans l'orqueste, et autres réparations pour lesdits ouvrages des quatre Clavecins la somme de . . . 180.*

188. O¹ 3026, 1, no. 45: *Pour y avoir fait un emplumage a neuf de ma façon plus ferme pour faire petiller le Clavecin [. . .].* The invoice from Taskin for the repairs to this instrument is in O¹ 3026, 1, no. 92.

189. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63, invoice from Taskin: *11 [juin 1778] Avoir Emplumé Très Fort Et redrappé Un Clavecin pour un opera a versailles par ordre de Mg^r Le Duc de Villequier cy . . . 72.*

190. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63: *23 [décembre 1778] Avoir Rendu au Menus plaisirs deux Clavecins appartenant au Roy, Un Ruckers très bon, y avoir Mis Un grand Ravallement et avoir Retablí a Neuf L'intérieur Et l'extérieur, fait faire les Mecaniques Et les poser a tous les Jeux, avoir Mis Un Jeu Nouveau de Buffle qui fait Un très Beau et Bon piano forte, avoir fait faire Un pied Neuf, pupitre Et Baubeche Neufs argentés; fait vernir le dit Clavecin ainsi que [son pié Et l'orné] très Richemen En filet d'or cy . . . 960.*

191. O¹ 3026, 1, no. 92, invoice from Taskin: [. . .] *ajouter toutes les machines necessaires pour le monter dans la minute d'un demy ton [. . .]*

Organ. With the exception of three documents that are presented here for the first time, the documentation in the present series has been consulted for the many authoritative studies published in recent years of the organ of the palace chapel at Versailles and the so-called organ of the Dauphin.¹⁹² Four invoices from François-Henri Clicquot are particularly noteworthy for the detail they provide concerning the evolution of French organ construction in the eighteenth century. In 1762 the four official organists of the *Chapelle Royale* inspected the organ at Versailles and recommended repairs for which Clicquot submitted an estimate on 10 June 1762. Clicquot proposed revoicing the *cromorne* stop “to give it a more pleasant and brilliant tone,” and replacing the existing *trompette* rank of the *récit*, judged too small in diameter, with a new one “in fine tin, in a larger scale than the old one to give it the true sound of a *trompette de récit*.”¹⁹³ In April 1790 Clicquot restored this organ (perhaps in anticipation of the return of the royal family to Versailles) after it suffered substantial water damage during the abandonment of the palace beginning 6 October 1789 (figs. 7–8).¹⁹⁴ Until now, this transaction was known only from a few lines in an estate inventory.¹⁹⁵

In studies of the organ that Clicquot constructed in September 1772 for the palace chapel at Fontainebleau, two invoices appear to have escaped the notice of researchers.¹⁹⁶ The first of these reveals that in August 1772, Clicquot disassembled the instrument for the construction

192. Norbert Dufourcq and Roberte Machard, “Autour des orgues versaillais,” *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 6 (1966): 177–188; Pierre Dumoulin (dir.), *Inventaire des orgues des Yvelines et du Val d’Oise*, Orgues d’Île-de-France, 1 (Paris: Aux amateurs des livres, 1988), 179–209, 232–241; Jean Marc Baffert, “L’orgue de la chapelle du château de Versailles: glanes et images (1710–1937),” *L’Orgue francophone* 22–23 (December 1997): 5–37; *ibid.* 24–25 (October–December 1998): 5–31; *ibid.* 26 (March 1999): 5–40; *ibid.* 27–28 (2000): 5–40; *ibid.* 29–30 (2001): 5–40; *ibid.* 31–32 (2002–2003): 7–41.

193. O¹ 3007, 3, invoice from Clicquot: *le jeu de cromorne sera entièrement étanguillier a neuf pour luy donner une harmonie plus agréable et plus brillante [. . .] le jeu de trompette se trouvant de trop menu taille sera fait à neuf en étain fin, d’une plus grosse taille que L’ancien pour lui donner le véritable son de trompette de récit.*

194. O¹ 3087, 3 bis, no. 57, estimate from Clicquot.

195. Jean Marc Baffert, “L’orgue de la chapelle du château de Versailles: glanes et images (II),” *L’Orgue francophone* 24–25 (October–December 1998): 5–31, at 5.

196. Jean Fonteneau, “Présentation d’orgues,” *Renaissance de l’orgue* 1 (1970): 3–7, at 6 (my thanks to Christian Dutheil for locating this article); Pierre Dumoulin (dir.), *Inventaire des orgues de la Seine-et-Marne et de l’Essonne*, Orgues d’Île-de-France, 2 (Paris: Aux amateurs des livres, 1991), 88–92; J.-A. Villard, “The Clicquot Family and its Place in French Organ Building,” *Organ Yearbook* 23 (1992–93): 71–96, at 84–85.

of the new musicians' gallery, returning to Fontainebleau on 9 September to reassemble it, clean and repair all its pipes, set them in place, and tune them; "moreover it was necessary to reconstruct the winding mechanism because of the site, and the whole organ was recut in pitch [to put it] in unison with that of the King's Chapel at Versailles."¹⁹⁷ In September 1786, after repairing this instrument, Clicquot discovered that it was no longer at the same pitch as the organ of the chapel at Versailles, requiring him to shorten all its pipes in order to raise it by a quarter-tone (figs. 9–10);¹⁹⁸ therefore the pitch of the *Chapelle* was raised between January 1784, the last time Clicquot worked on the instrument at Fontainebleau,¹⁹⁹ and September 1786, when this difference was noticed.

Fortepiano. For some, the harpsichord is emblematic of the *ancien régime*, its abandonment in favor of the piano a consequence of the Revolution of 1789. In fact, the coexistence of the two instruments is attested at the French court as early as 1769: while progressively abandoned in favor of the piano, the harpsichord is nonetheless mentioned in invoices as late as 16 December 1791.

Princess Victoire-Louise, known as Madame Victoire, acquired a "*Piano forte*" sometime before 1769, since Chiquelier repaired its action in April of that year,²⁰⁰ thereby also providing a clue to its nature: the reference to *baleines* in the document must refer to the baleen damper springs characteristic of the square pianos produced in England or made in the

197. O¹ 3035, 1, no. 56, invoice from Cliquot: *avoir été expres a Fontainebleau avec un Compagnon dans le Courant du mois d'aoust pour demonter L'orgue de la Tribune et Toutes Ces accessoires avec Sujestions et L'avoit plaçer dans une Salle jusqu'a Temps que la nouvelle Tribune soi faite, pour Les frais de ce Voiage, Voiture aller et Retour et nourriture . . . 72^{li}*

2^e *avoir refais un Segond Voiage le 9 Septembre pour remonter L'orgue dans la Nouvelle Tribune, L'ouvrage Consistait a Netoyer Tous les jeux, Les retabli, Les reposer en place et les accorder, de plus il a fallu reconstruire le Mécanisme de la Soufflerie a cause de L'emplacement, et Toute L'orgue a été recoupes en Ton a L'unisson de celuy de la chapelle du Roy de Versailles.*

198. O¹ 3073, 3, no. 66, invoice from Clicquot: *4^e refaire la partition totale, pour pouvoir remonter de ton et sur le même que l'orgue de la Chapelle de Versailles. ce qui a occasionné a recouper tous les jeux dudit orgue tant en bois qu'en Plomb et étain. [. . .] 6^e avoir été a fontainebleau douze journées pour remettre tous les jeux dudit orgue en harmonie le recouper D'un quart de ton plus haut et le repasser généralement en accord [. . .].*

199. O¹ 3064^A, 3, CHAN no. 117.

200. O¹ 3022, 7, no. 44, invoice from Chiquelier: *Le 19 avril [1769] avoir fait porter le Piano forte de la part de Madame Victoire chez moy pour le faire aller, avoir démonté toute la mécanique, par les Bois qui s'étaient gonflés, et avoir fait aller les Claviers, et avoir diminué l'e-paisser des Baleines, et autres ouvrages de mouvement qui n'alloient point pour ce . . . 36.*

Quatrième de Janvier
1790.

M. Four. Detachambre

Estimate Des Reparatious
faites a l'orgue de la Chapelle Du Roy à versailles.
Presenté par moy F. H. Clicquot facteur d'orgues de
Sa. M. bjete. & par ordre de son Supérieur.

1^o Les trois Jeux de Pedalle ont été démontés de leur place,
Pour démonter les faussonniers, Portevants, Chapes, &
Registres, Pour pouvoir remettre les 3 registres des pedalles
en peaux neuves, les anciennes étant moiisi par la cause
qui étoit tombé sur la Somier, d'après cette réparation
les registres & les Chapes ont été exposés, tous les portevants
de plomb ont été rejustés à seselles, Il y en a été fournis
beaucoup de plomb neuf. D'après quoy, les faussonniers
ont été replacés de même que les trois jeux de pedalles.

2^o
Démontés généralement une partie du jeu, du grand orgue
Savoir: Les jeux de Clairon, Cromorne, Cornette gr. orgue,
Cornette positif, Pleinjeu grand orgue, Pleinjeu positif, le
Jeu positif. D'après ce, démontés les faussonniers, Chapes,
& Registres, Pour en arracher tous les vieux Cuirs Moisi
à cause du saup tombé sur la Somier, Ces dits registres
ont été remis en peaux neuves, & reposer au fer rouillé
ensuite exposés à leur place, de même que des Chapes
& faussonniers, D'après quoy, tous les jeux Cy dessus
nommés ont été replacés.

3^o . Reparations des Jeux
Le Pleinjeu du grand orgue Composant 450 tuyaux a été
redressé, Nettoyé & arondy. Le pleinjeu du positif Composant
250 tuyaux a été réparé comme celui du grand orgue,
Le jeu de Vierge de 50 tuyaux a été redressé, Nettoyé & arondy.

FIGURE 7. Estimate (recto) from François-Henri Clicquot for repairs to the organ of the Chapel Royal, Versailles, in April 1790. F-Pan O¹ 3087, 3 bis, no. 57.

4^e Les Jeux d'anche qui sont La Crompette grand orgue, Crompette positif, Cromorne, & Clairon au nombre de 200, ^{luyans} Ont été redressés sur du mandrin, métoyés & arondis. Les rayettes, Languettes, Coins, & Gluchon ont été métoyés & sont remplis de vernis de grain & de l'essence qui s'étoit introduit dans les Jeux d'anche, une partie des Languettes ont été fournies & remises à neuf ayant été rasées par le vernis.

5^e La suite du Jeu campanum & l'orgue ont été redressés d'un apert d'autre pour être la poussière qui estoit sur les Douches pour faire parler également tout ce dit jeu. D'après quoy ils ont été réglés de force & d'harmonie le diapason tout d'instrument en accord.

6^e Pour les quatre Claviers & celui de pédalle ont été redressés & réglés ayant beaucoup souffert de l'humidité qui a été reguë dans la Chapelle.

7^e Il a été fait & fourni en laston neuf pour les tirages des abrogés de pédalle à chaque bout de rayette & de Plan une tringle de bois pour consolider & guider les Claviers de Pédalle.

8^e Les jeux de Cornes de Nœut & haut bois ont été métoyés redressés & réparés généralement en accord, de même que les jeux d'Echo. //

Je soussigné La Souverain de Douze cent Anne
Puis convenu pour faire cette réparation. faite au mois
d'Avril 1790. //

Subsistant du double du présent Mémoire, est le justificatif de M. Goude, Grand
Maître général des Menus, du 10. Avril 1790. /

FIGURE 8. Estimate (verso) from François-Henri Clicquot for repairs to the organ of the Chapel Royal, Versailles, in April 1790. F-Pan O¹ 3087, 3 bis, no. 57.

L'apostrophe de Jussieu.

1786.

M. f. de la Ch.^{re}S.^r Clicquot,
facteur d'orgues,

560. " "

V. l'abbé Cadeville

n.º 66.

Memoire des ouvrages que j'ai faits
à l'orgue de la Chapelle du Roy. à Fontainebleau
en septembre 1786. par ordre de Monsieur D'Anet.

1.^e avoir démonté les deux soufflets de leur Place pour
apacher à l'extérieur, pour les cuir rougés par les rats,
avoir regardé en dedans, nouvelles tou-les-plis et montures
des deux soufflets, les avoir emboutés en mainserie,
pour les côtés extérieurs, pour éviter de pareils accidents,
de plus avoir recollé les deux gozières et remplacé les deux
soufflets.

2.^e avoir démonté tout les tuyaux extérieurs formant la
décoration dudit orgue, qui étoient rempli de Bomes
et de taches de rouille causées par les eaux de la couverture,
avoir redonné tout les tuyaux bon état, réparé toutes
les taches de rouille, en réparé en général la tête en bois,
et pour empêcher le déperissement de l'instrument, il
m'a été fourni des tables de plomb pour couvrir la
surface du plafond du buffet d'orgue.

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3.^e
avoir démonté tout les jeux qui composent l'instrument,
étant remplis de poussière, j'ai vu au grand orgue
les jeux de huit pieds, Bourdon, prestant, flûte, trompette
et flûtes, au positif les jeux de Bourdon, prestant,
huit pieds, regard, Cinq Doublette, cromorne, hautbois,
Basson et plûte. de plus le jeu de cornet de haut. tout ces
dits jeux ont été arondis et nettoyés, d'après ce rapport tout
les dits jeux en leur place.

4. refaire la paraison totale, pour pouvoir reconnaître
de tout ce sur le même qui l'orgue de la Chapelle
voisins, ce qui a occasionné de réparer tout les jeux
dudit orgue tant en bois qu'en Plomb les dits.

FIGURE 9. Invoice (recto) from François-Henri Clicquot for repairs to the organ of the Chapel Royal, Fontainebleau, in September 1786. F-Pan O¹ 3073, 3, no. 66.

avoir réglé de force et harmonie tout l'orgue
 composer l'orgue et les réparer généralement en accord.

5^e cet ouvrage a employé seize jours à trois ouvriers
 à deux livres chacun par jour 96[#]
 pour leur nourriture et loyers 96[#]
 pour leur voitures par le canon de melun 45[#]
 fournitures 3 douzaines de peaux de mouton
 à 18[#] la Douzaine 54[#]
 8 livres de colle d'anglétterre 8[#]
 Charbon 7[#]

6^e avoir été à fontainebleau douze jours pour
 remettre tout l'orgue en harmonie
 le recouper d'un quart de ton plus haut et le réparer
 généralement en accord. mes déboursés durant un mois
 et ouvrages 250

Total 560[#]

FIGURE 10. Invoice (verso) from François-Henri Clicquot for repairs to the organ of the Chapel Royal, Fontainebleau, in September 1786. F-Pan O¹ 3073, 3, no. 66.

English style of Zumpe and his imitators. This instrument might have indeed been one of the latter kind, since on 10 October 1770 Taskin varnished “a German fortepiano polished with gold fillets inside and out.”²⁰¹ Three fortepianos were purchased in 1772, of which two were English;²⁰² all four fortepianos—two German, two English—were adapted for use as claviorganums during the same year (see below). On 12 August 1774 Taskin sent to Compiègne “a fortepiano from England by Beck,”²⁰³ and the following December he sold two English fortepianos to the court, one for the use of the pages, the other for the Italian singers.²⁰⁴ In 1776 one Branche supplied a fortepiano.²⁰⁵ In 1778 Taskin added cloth to a “piano” to reduce the depth of action of the keys.²⁰⁶

Between July and September 1784 Taskin delivered three fortepianos for the sum of 1800 *livres*,²⁰⁷ without providing details of their origins. These were likely grand pianos imported from England: on 11 December 1788 Pascal Taskin II had a “piano in the form of a harpsichord” i.e., a grand piano, transported from Paris to Bellevue on orders from Madame Victoire,²⁰⁸ while in May and June 1791, on orders from Marie-

201. O¹ 3026, 1, no. 92, invoice from Taskin: *du dix octobre 1770 avoir fait vernir un forté piano d'Allemagne polis avec des filets d'ors dedans et dehors et avoir fourni un pupitre pour la somme de . . . 120^{fr}.*

202. O¹ 3035, 1, no. 56, invoice from Cliquot: *du même jour [i.e., 23 December] avoir reçu des ordres de Madame Sophie pour Lui acheter un forté piano anglais que jay acheter a mon Retour Six cent Livres que jay payé Comptant, pour être organisé Cy . . . 600; ibid., no. 57: Achapt d'une forte Piano à Londre 16 Guinées; ibid., no. 58: Le S Balbastre a fourni pour le service de Mesdames un forté Piano du prix de 28 Louis Cy 672^{fr}.*

203. O¹ 3043, 3, no. 229, invoice from Taskin: *du 12 aout [1774] avoir envoyer a compiegne un fortee piano d'angletere de bec [Frederick Beck, fl. 1756–98] y avoir fait faire une caisse lavoit encaisser et emballer pour le service de la cour . . . 24^{fr}.*

204. O¹ 3042, 1, no. 69, invoice from Taskin: *du 9 X^{bve} [1774] avoir vendu et livrée un forte piano d'angleterre a Monsieur Levesque pour l'education de M^{rs} les pages de la musique par ordre de Monsieur de la ferte prix fait avec monsieur de la ferte a . . . 600^{fr} / plus avoir fourni un pupitre en bois d'acajou pour le dit piano . . . 15^{fr} [. . .] Du 22 X^{bve} [1774] avoir vendu et livrée a Monsieur Falco par ordre de monsieur de la ferte un forte piano d'angletere pour Messieurs les italiens de la musique du Roy prix convenu avec Monsieur de la ferte a . . . 600^{fr}.*

205. O¹ 3047, 10, no. 50: *Le S. Branche a fourni en 1776 pour le service du Roy, un forte piano du prix de [. . .] 720^{fr}.*

206. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63, invoice from Taskin: *[10 janvier 1778] Avoir fait porter le piano qui étoit Chés Mad^e La Duchesse de Villequier Chés Moi, y avoir Mis des draps pour que le Clavier Enfonce moins, Regalisé tous les Martaux, pour les ports Et Rapports cy . . . 12.*

207. O¹ 3066, 2, no. 215, invoice from Taskin: *Plus livré trois forté Piano pour la Somme de . . . 1800.*

208. O¹ 3081, 7, no. 192, invoice from Pascal Taskin II: *Du même [11 décembre 1788] avoir fait venir de Paris un piano en forme de Clavecin par ordre de Madame Victoire.*

Antoinette, Pascal Taskin I shipped “a large fortepiano in the form of a harpsichord to the Tuileries palace for use there, and to give lessons to Madame Royal [Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte de France (1778–1851)]” during the repairs to the Queen’s own instrument,²⁰⁹ which he described as an “English grand piano,” as we shall see.

Beginning in 1790 the pianos of the court used by the royal family underwent substantial renovations. In April 1790 the elder Taskin

took by order of the Queen her English grand piano, removed all the strings and the bottom to newly reconstruct the whole interior which did not hold the tuning, doubled all the case walls on the inside, shoring up by a combination of strength the box that must produce the harmony, directed its tension to the suitable point, made a rectangular bottom piece [for the area under the keyboard] with its accessories to support the mechanism that slides at will [to make] the gradations of the keyboard from loud to soft [i.e., action of the *una corda* pedal, which causes the whole keyboard to slide] as well as the mechanism that, at will, moves the dampers which graduate the sounds of the instrument, newly replaced the hitch-pin moldings, redid the bridge pins, repinned them in brass as well as all the hitch pins, doubled the wrest plank at a weak point in the bass, braced the wrest plank on both sides to give it the suitable resistance to the tension of the strings, reconstructed the components of the key frame and the mechanism of the keyboard where the hammer butts are acted upon as well as their escapements, straightened and adjusted all the jacks to the suitable position to touch the surfaces of contact with all the hammers and while so doing to set up the ease that the Queen desires for [playing] ornaments, scales and trills as well as finding the means to give the keyboard a lighter response; strengthened the three parts of the lid that were broken, tuned it up to opera pitch for this the sum of 288^{l^t}

Plus made a new stand in mahogany with fluted [legs] and gilt mounts, and onto each foot bolted strong wheels in steel and brass able to withstand movement from one apartment to another; on orders from the Queen constructed a shelf about halfway up the legs for holding all the necessary music, everything to be able to be disassembled at will for journeys and moving; made also a music desk in mahogany including a mechanism for adjusting to any angle one’s view of the music placed thereon, [with] large silvered candle holders; [also] supplied another pair of silvered candle holders for another square fortepiano for this the sum of . . . 92.²¹⁰

209. O¹ 3092, 2, no. 178, invoice from Taskin: *En Mai Et Juin [1791] fait porter aux ordres de la Reine un grand forté piano En forme de clavecin au chateau des Thuileries pour servir, et a donner des leçons a Madame Royale, l’avoir fait Reporter chès Moi, ayant Mis Celui de la Reine En place, pour le temps, les ports Et Rapports . . . 30.*

210. O¹ 3087, 6, no. 123, invoice from Taskin: *Dans le courant d’avril [1790] avoir fait prendre par les ordres de la Reine Son grand forté piano anglais, démonté entierement les Cordes*

In February 1791 he

dismantled a fortepiano serving for the education of the pages of the *Chapelle du Roi*, made the damper rail [able to be] raised on pivots and rotating in [their] supports with a brass mechanism, renewed all the levers with [pieces of] buckskin to damp the sounds at will, also sixty-one springs; refurbished the hammers, installed new hinges, regulated the hammer guides to make them each strike equally, adjusted all action parts suitably to render the sounds in their purest possible equality, also refurbished the supports and the guide rails across the front and back to provide the equal response necessary to enable perfect rendering of the true expressions desired by a composer and to facilitate all sorts of playing; modified the lid [flap mechanism?] for it to provide proper loudnesses; restrung it and tuned it to the pitch of the *Chapelle du Roi* for this . . . 144.²¹¹

et levé le fond pour Reconstruire de Nouveau tout l'intérieur qui ne tenoit point l'accord, redoublé toutes les éclisses intérieurement, arbutés par combinaison de force le Coffre qui doit produire l'harmonie, dirigé sa tension au point convenable, fait une piece quarrée du fond avec ses accessoires pour y placer les Mecaniques a faire glisser à volonté les divisions du fort au doux du Clavier ainsi que la Mécanique qui fait Mouvoir à Volonté les étouffemens qui gradient les sons de l'instrument, reposé les moulures d'attaches à neuf, refait les divisions, les avoir repointé en cuivre ainsi que toutes les attaches, redoublé le sommier a un endroit faible des basses, arbuté le sommier des deux cotés pour lui donner la Resistance Convenable aux efforts du tirage des tensions des Cordes, Reconstruit les assemblages des chassiss et Mécanique du Clavier ou sont dirigé les points du Centre des Marteaux ainsi que leurs Echappemens, Redressé Et Reposé toutes les palettes au niveau Convenable a Recevoir les superficies de tous les marteaux et en cela trouver les facilités de Nuances à Volonté les traits et les Cadences au desir de la Reine ainsi que d'avoir trouvé le moyen d'adoucir le tac du Clavier à son point, Remis en force les trois parties des Couvercles qui étoient cassés, l'avoir remonté au ton de l'opéra pour ce la somme de . . . 288^u

Plus fait un pied Neuf en bois d'acajou Cannelure Et Sculpture dorée et a chaque pied des Visses et Erou tarodé avec des fortes Roulettes en acier Et Cuivre pour être en force de le faire passer d'un appartement à l'autre y avoir construit un fond vers le milieu des colonnes aux ordres de la Reine pour y mettre toutes les Musiques Nécessaires, le tout se démontant à Volonté pour les Voyages Et transports, fait aussi un pupitre en bois d'acajou Composé d'une Mécanique à faire Mouvoir à tous degrés le point de Vue de la Musique y avoir adapté de grandes baubeches argentées, fourni une autre paire de baubeche argentée pour servir a un autre forté piano quarré pour Ce la somme de . . . 192.

211. O¹ 3091, 6, no. 99, invoice from Taskin: *En février [1791] demonté un forté piano servant à l'Education des Pages de la Chapelle du Roy, avoir fait lever sur des pivots Tournants et appuis de fermeture en Mécanique de Cuivre le chassiss des étouffements, remis à neuf toutes les pilottes en peau de Dain ainsi que Soixante un ressorts servant à étouffer les sons à Volonté, regarni les guides des marteaux, mis des charnières neuves, remis les marteaux a les faire frapper chacun leur coup en égalité, ajusté tous les mouvements convenable pour rendre les sons dans leur égalité de pureté possible, plus regarni les appuis et les traverses derriere et devant servant de guide à l'Egalité du Tact Nécessaire à donner la facilité de rendre parfaitement les Vrais expressions que desir un Compositeur et faciliter toutes sortes d'Exécutions quelconques, racomodé le couvercle pour lui donner les forces convenables, l'avoir remonté de Cordes et remis au ton de la chapelle du Roy pour ce . . . 144.*

Three months later Taskin performed another overhaul on an English grand piano belonging to the queen, possibly the same one he had renovated only a year earlier:

On orders from the Queen had removed from the Tuileries palace an English grand fortepiano on which many hammers were broken and the key levers out of order; took it apart, provided a suitable gap between the soundboard and the wrest plank, reworked and regulated all the hammers, adjusted the jacks and the escapement springs each in its bearing, plus had a mechanism made able to graduate the sounds at will and provide nuances of all possible degrees for all the expressions appropriate for music; had screws made to raise and lower the hammer hinge rail, likewise to screw the two side rails so as to remove easily the keys as needed; restrung it and tuned it to the pitch of the *Opéra*, for this . . . 120.

Had made and installed a wheel and hooks with screws that were broken in the apartments for this . . . 6.²¹²

Clavichord. Princess Sophie-Philippine (1734–1782) favored this instrument, as two invoices attest. In 1765 Chiquelier billed the court for “retrieving a clavichord from Mr. Le Tourneur for Madame Sophie,” and “making the keys go, adjusting the pieces of brass [i.e., the tangents], stringing, and taking everything apart to clean it.”²¹³ In May and June 1769 Taskin took this instrument apart, installed “a sound board newly rebarred and strengthened, and evened the keyboard and had it varnished and returned it to the *Menus Plaisirs* of Versailles 4 July 1769.”²¹⁴

212. O¹ 3092, 2, no. 178, invoice from Taskin: *Dans le courant de Mai [1791] aux ordres de la Reine avoir fait prendre au Château des Thuileries un grand forté piano anglais dont quantité de Marteaux étoient cassés et des Touches dérangées de leur Bascule, l'avoir démonté donné l'ouverture convenable entre la table d'harmonie et le sommier, Refait Et Mis en Egalité tous les marteaux, ajustés les pilottes et les Ressorts d'Echappemens chacun dans leur direction, plus avoir fait faire une Mécanique à pouvoir graduer les sons à volonté et a pouvoir Nuancer à tous les degrés possible toutes les Expressions Convenable à la Musique, avoir fait faire des Visses à Monter et démonter la portine de même visser les deux guides des cotés à pouvoir défaire aisément les Claviers au besoin, l'avoir remonté Et Mis au ton de l'opéra, pour Ce . . . 120*

Avoir fait faire Et ajuster une Roulette Et des Crochets a Ecroux que l'on avoit cassés dans les appartemens pour ce . . . 6.

213. O¹ 3013, no. 30, invoice from Chiquelier: *Pour avoir été chercher un manicordion chez M. le Tourneur pour Madame Sophie pour ce . . . 1. 4. / Pour avoir fait aller les Claviers, ajusté les morceaux de Cuivre, mis des Cordes, et avoir tous démonté pour le netoyer pour ce . . . 24 / Pour l'avoir fait porter a Marly dans l'appartement de Madame Sophie . . . 6.*

214. O¹ 3022, 7, no. 57, invoice from Taskin: *Dans le courant de may et juin avoir démonté un manicordion appartenant a Madame Sophie avoir mis une table d'armonie neuve rebarrés et resolidés et redressés le clavier et l'avoir fait vernir et l'avoir rendu aux menus plaisir de versaille le quatre juillet 1769 pour ce la somme de . . . 72[#].*

Claviorganum. In 1772, four fortepianos were adapted for use as claviorganums (*fortepiano organisé*) in a collaborative effort involving Taskin, the machinist Bucheuer, and Clicquot.²¹⁵ Taskin made new dampers and fitted blocks to the keys to engage the organ action.²¹⁶ On the German fortepianos, Bucheuer

made the mechanism for the keyboard for raising the hammers in the air [that is, presumably, to disengage them so the organ could sound alone], made three brass stems with four slides, made two pull-rods with two nuts placed on the plates attached to the wooden battens, made two brass stems with two turned sleeves, made rosettes for the small plate; polished all the said works . . . 144^{lt}

Plus made a brass knob with a crowned head, made and added a sleeve to the knob moving the pilots in and out . . . 18^{lt}

Plus made four brass handles for the fortepiano made 8 brass plates attached with wood screws . . . 30.²¹⁷

215. The first instrument was probably the fortepiano supplied by Taskin in April 1772 for Marie-Josephine-Louise de Savoie, comtesse de Provence, known as Madame (1753–1810), which he modified to house a flute stop, also paying a machinist for a brass and steel mechanism to change the stops. The machinist was likely Bucheuer who appears to have billed twice for the same mechanism: the first time in this invoice, the second time in his own (see note 217). O¹ 3047, 3, no. 441, invoice from Taskin: *Mémoire d'un piano forte pour Madame au mois D'avril 1772 par Pascal Taskin facteur de Clavecin prix convenu a . . . 600^{lt}*

plus avoir fait un couvercle en bois d'acajou et y faire Gravé les armes de madame pour la somme de . . . 72

avoir disposé le dit piano forte pour y mettre un jeu de flutte pour . . . 72

Plus avoir payé au machiniste pour une machine en cuivre et acier pour varier les jeux pour . . . 72

de plus avoir fourni un pupitre pliant en bois d'acajou pour . . . 15.

216. O¹ 3035, 1, no. 59, invoice from Taskin: *en juillet et aoust 1772 avoir fait au pianoforte d'alle[m]agne de Madame victoire des etouffoirs neufs les renures et mortaises tous les taquets aux touches pour faire iouer la flute pour ce 150[#] [. . .] le onze xbre 1772 [. . .] avoir fait des etouffoirs neufs au piano forté d'Allemagne de Madame Sophie les renures et Mortaiser tous les taquets aux touches pour faire iouer la flute avoir doublés les marteaux et donner l'égalité aux touches redresser le clavier pour ce la somme de 150[#] [. . .] plus ont ma envoieez deux pianos fortés d'engleterre par les ordres de Mesdames et de Monsieur de laferté pour y faire les renures et mortaiser tous les taquets aux touches pour faire iouer la flute donné l'égalités aux touches et redresser les claviers pour les deux la somme de 250[#].*

217. O¹ 3035, 1, no. 60, invoice from Bucheuer: *Lesdits ouvrages servant a faire mouvoir la mecanique pour le fort pienau d'Allemagne*

fait La Mecanique pour le Clavier pour lever les Marteaux En lair, fait 3 montans de Cuivre avec 4 Coulisses, fait deux tirages avec deux Ecrous posés sur des platines attachés sur des regles de bois, fait deux montans en Cuivre avec deux Canons tournés, fait des Rosettes pour la planchette tous Lesd. ouvrages polis . . . 144^{lt}

Plus fait un bouton en Cuivre avec une tete Coutronnée, fait un Canon rajouté sur le Bouton pour faire mouvoir Les pilottes pour Les faire entrer et reporter . . . 18

Plus avoir fait quatre mains en cuivre pour le fort pienau fait 8 platines de cuivre attachées sur des visses en bois . . . 30.

Bucheuer's modifications to the English fortepianos were more extensive:

For the English fortepiano, made the mechanism for the keyboard for the hammers, for disengaging the strings; made two brass movements placed on a brass plate, made two steel battens for the said movements attached on the two brass plates, made two steel levers with two springs placed on the key frame with wood screws, made two brass movements with two crowned knobs attached to the key frame to activate the movements of the keyboard, made two escutcheon plates in brass and the two movements, the two escutcheon plates and movements are gilded; for this . . . 180

Plus made for the fortepiano a brass knob with crowned head, made a sleeve for the knob to move the stickers in and out, the knob and sleeve are gilded . . . 20

Plus made the foot mechanism to move the registers for the said fortepiano, made a movement with a pedal placed on a plate, made two levers with a screw, made a crowned brass nut, made a square [i.e., probably an L-shaped lever] with an eye and a screw attached to a plate, made a strong spring to activate the movement to silence the flute, made a threaded pin to attach the pedal for the flute; the pedal and pin are gilded . . . 72.

Plus made the foot mechanism to move the registers for the said fortepiano, made a movement with a pedal placed on a plate, made two levers with a screw, made a crowned brass nut, made a square with an eye and a screw attached to a plate, made a strong spring to activate the movement to silence the bourdon, made a threaded pin to attach the pedal for the bourdon; the pin and the pedal are gilded . . . 72

Plus made the foot mechanism to move the registers for the said fortepiano, made a movement with a pedal placed on a plate, made two levers with a screw, made a crowned brass nut, made a square with an eye and a screw attached to a plate, made a strong spring to activate the movement to silence the fife, made a threaded pin to attach the pedal for the fife; the pedal and pin are gilded . . . 72

Plus made two brass handles for the fortepiano made 4 brass plates attached with wood screws; the handles and the plates are gilded . . . 20.²¹⁸

218. Ibid.: *Pour le fort pienau Anglais, fait la mecanique pour le Clavier pour les Marteaux, pour luther [ôter] Les Cordes, fait deux mouvemens de Cuivre Posés sur une platine de Cuivre fait 2 regles d'acier Pour Lesd mouvemens attachés sur Les deux Platines de Cuivre fait deux Leviers d'aciers avec deux ressorts Posés Sur Le Chassis du clavier avec des visses en bois, fait deux mouvemens de Cuivre avec deux boutons coutronnés attachés sur le chassis pour faire mouvoir Les mouvemens du clavier, fait deux entrées en Cuivre et les deux mouvemens, les 2 Entrées Les 2 mouvemens sont torés [dorés] Pour ce . . . 180*

Plus fait Pour le fortepienau Un bouton de Cuivre avec la tête Coutronnée, fait un Canon Pour Le bouton Pour faire mouvoir les Pilottes, entrer et ressortir, le bouton et le Canon sont dorés . . . 20

Plus fait la mecanique pour le pied pour mouvoir les registres pour ledit fort pienau avoir fait un Mouvement avec une petalle [pédale] posé sur une platine, fait 2 leviers avec une visse, fait un Erou en Cuivre Coutronné, fait une Equaire avec un Piton et une visse attaché sur un

Clicquot made the organ cases upon which the fortepianos were installed. For the German fortepiano of Madame Victoire,

The work for the organization consisted in having made and supplied a stand in mahogany-veneered oak, the metalwork of the doors in yellow brass lined with green taffeta, supplied two iron pedals to activate the bellows, supplied the said double bellows, the windchest with grooved boards, lead wind ducts, large and small stickers, made and supplied the complete flute rank of which the basses are of Dutch oak and the treble in fine polished tin agreed total price . . . 1200^{lt}.²¹⁹

For the English fortepianos of the princesses Victoire and Sophie, Clicquot

made and supplied a second [i.e., new] stand to house the organization of a large English fortepiano and constructed to house several ranks, viz. a Bourdon bass, a flute stop, and a fife stop, the Bourdon bass is made of Dutch oak, the flute in common metal [an alloy of tin with a larger amount of lead] and the fife also in common metal. The windchest is made of Dutch oak and all the accessories like the toe boards, sliders, stickers, grooved boards, made and supplied a large double bellows provided with its pedals, veneered the stand of oak in mahogany on all sides, the grillwork of all the doors and panels in yellow brass lined with green taffeta, plus made and supplied all the hardware and casters . . . 1920^{lt}.²²⁰

Platine, fait un fort ressort pour mouvoir Led mouvement pour luther [ôter] La flute, fait une Cheville filletée pour accrocher La petale de la flute La petalle et la cheville sont torés . . . 72

Plus fait la Mecanique pour Le pied pour mouvoir Les registres pour le d. fort piéneau, avoir fait un mouvement avec une petalle posé sur une platine fait deux leviers avec une visse, fait un Erou en Cuivre Coutronné, fait une Equaire avec un Piton et une visse attachée sur une platine fait un fort ressort pour mouvoir Led. mouvement pour luther [ôter] Le Bourdon, fait une cheville filletée pour accrocher la petalle du Bourdon la cheville et la petalle sont torés . . . 72

Plus fait la mecanique pour le pied pour mouvoir Les registres pour ledit fort piéneau, avoir fait un mouvement avec une petalle posé sur une platine fait deux Leviers avec une visse, fait un Erou en Cuivre Coutronné, fait une Equere avec un Piton et une visse attaché sur une platine, fait un ressort fort pour mouvoir led mouvement Pour luther [ôter] le fifre, fait Une cheville filletée pour accrocher La petalle du fifre, la petale et la cheville sont torés . . . 72

Plus avoir fait deux mains en cuivre pour led fort piéneau fait 4 platines en cuivre attachés aux visses en bois Les mains et les platines sont torés . . . 20.

219. O¹ 3035, 1, no. 56, invoice from Clicquot: *L'ouvrage de L'organisation Consiste a avoir fait etourny un pied en bois de chene, plaquées en bois d'acajou, toutes Les portes Laitonés en Cuivre jaune doublé de Taffetas vert, avoirourny deux pedalles de fer pour faire articuler Le Soufflet, avoirourny Le dit Soufflet double, le somier piecent [pièces] gravées portevents, de plomb, grandes et petites pilotes, avoir fait etourny Le jeu de flute entiers dont les Basses sont faites en bois d'holande et Les dessus En étain fin poly prix convenu pour La Totalité . . . 1200^{lt}.*

220. *Ibid.*: *Plus avoir fait etourny un Segond pieds pour recevoir L'organisation d'un grand forté piano anglais et Construit pour recevoir et pouvoiry placer plusieurs jeux, Savoir*

Taskin appears to have replaced the blocks on the keys of Madame Victoire's instrument on 30 April 1778,²²¹ and in 1779 modified "the king's piano," fitting a buff stop and "machines to silence at will the piano stop from that of the flute,"²²² while Clicquot repaired three of these instruments in June 1778, September 1779, and May 1780.²²³ Curiously, only two such instruments are listed in the inventory of 1780.²²⁴

Cimbalom. A "sabalon" listed with the keyboard instruments in the inventory of 1780 has previously been thought to have been a dulcimer.²²⁵ This was likely the "Cymbalom or small harpsichord by Dumont" (probably Nicolas Dumont, fl. 1673–1710) purchased from the Marquis Nicolas-Alexandre de Ségur (1697–1755) on 4 April 1743 for the use of the younger princesses boarding at Fontevrault Abbey. The instrument is described as "3 feet 1 inch long and a maximum of 19 inches wide, of plain wood on the outside, the table painted ordinarily on the inside with flowers and birds, with its turned walnut base with black bands, the whole selected by the Sieur Royer [Joseph-Nicolas-Pancrease Royer, c. 1705–1755], music master of the *Enfants de France*."²²⁶

une basse de Bourdon, un jeu de flute, et un jeu de fifre, La Basse de Bourdon est faite en bois d'holande, la flute en étoffe [étain] et Le fifre aussy en étoffe. Le Somier est fait en bois d'holande, et Tous ces accessoires Comme chapes, registres, pilotes, et piecent [pièces] gravées, avoir fait etourny un grand soufflet double garnie de Ses pantouffles, Le pieds de bois de chene a été plaqué en bois d'acajou tout au pourtour, Toutes Les portes et panneaux Sont grillagé en laiton jaune et doublé de Taffetas vert, plus avoir fait etourny Toutes Les ferures et Rouletes . . . 1920^{li}.

221. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63: 30 [avril 1778] Avoir Racomodé un piano forte servant à Mad^e Victoire, demonté les Claviers, collés de taquets aux touches pour servir d'Expression aux Baguettes de la flute qui est au dessous, avoir levé toutes les Cordes, Recollés Le Chevalet de La table, Resolidé le Sommier, Egalisé tous les pilotes, Remonté de Corde, Recherché L'Egalité des divisions pour Ce . . . 76.

222. O¹ 3055, 5, no. 58, invoice from Taskin: 5 May [1779] Avoir fait Rapporter le piano du Roy aux Menus Plaisirs après y avoir fait les Reparations suivantes, demonté toutes les Cordes, Retraccé Et Repointé les divisions, ajusté à Neuf tous les étouffemens, L'avoit Remontés de Cordes Neuve, ajusté un Jeu de Luth, Redrapé a Neuf et Rajusté les Machines pour Supprimer à Volonté le Jeu de Piano d'avec Celui de la flute, Redressé le Clavier et Raffermi toutes les bascules, doublé de peaux tous les Marteaux Et les Egaliser au tac Nécessaire ou Convenable à L'instrument, Reposé 4 Charniere Neuve au Couvercle . . . 150.

223. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 64, invoice from Clicquot; O¹ 3056, 3, no. 272, invoice from Clicquot; O¹ 3058, 6, no. 456, invoice from Cliquot.

224. Marcuse, "The Instruments of the King's Library," 34–35.

225. Marcuse, "The Instruments of the King's Library," 36.

226. O¹ 3313, f. 109^v (transcribed in Samoyault-Verlet, *Les Facteurs de clavecins parisiens*, 39): Du 4 Avril 1743 / J'ay acheté par ordre du Roy et païé comptant à M. De Segur, Président a

Clavicordium. This two-manual gut-strung instrument—one manual a sort of *Geigenwerk*, the other with a set of harpsichord jacks with leather plectra—presented by the machinist Didier Le Gay to the *Académie royale des sciences* in 1762,²²⁷ was demonstrated before Louis XV and the Dauphin at the palace of Choisy in 1763:

On 14 April 1763 the duc de Duras, First Gentleman of the *Chambre du Roi*, showed to His Majesty and to His Highness the Dauphin, at Choisy, a new musical instrument, invented by Mr. Le Gay. This keyboard instrument, set up with gut strings, was played by the Harpsichord Master Damoreau Desaulnais, – The effects are to render a series of sounds of bowed instruments in the entire range of one manual, and a series of other plucked sounds in the entire range of another manual. This instrument was appreciated.²²⁸

Miscellaneous Instruments

Musette. This archival series contains the only known invoice submitted by the musette player and maker Nicolas Chédeville (1705–1782) (figs. 11–12). In 1749 he supplied for the princesses four ivory musettes with their bellows at 200 *livres* each. The first two, delivered to Fontainebleau

mortier du parlement de Bordeaux / Pour Servir a Mesdames de France a l'abbaye de Fontevault / Un Cymbalon ou petit Clavecin de Dumont de 3 pieds 1 pouce de long sur 19 pouces par le plus large, de bois uni en dehors; La table peint en dedans a l'ordinaire, a fleurs et oyseaux, avec son pied de Noyer tourné a filets noirs, Le tout choisi par le S^r Royer Maître de musique des Enfants de France, Suivant Son billet et la quittance dud. S^r de Segur. This was likely the “cimbalom belonging to the King” that Taskin returned to the *Menus Plaisirs* on 23 August 1780 after having “put new cloth on the keyboards, regulated all the key levers, put new cloth on the rails of the key frame, regulated the three rows of jacks, and requilled and redampened them all like new” (O¹ 3058, 1, no. 95: [23 août 1780] *Avoir fait remettre aux Menus plaisirs Ruë Bergere un Cimbalon appartenant au Roy que J'ai Racomodé, avoir Redrapé les Claviers, Rajusté En égalité toutes les bascules, Redrappés les Barres du Chassis, Egalisés les trois Rangée de sautereaux Et Remplumé, Redrapé le tout à Neuf cy . . .* 39). The eighteenth-century *ped de roi* was 324.83 mm versus 305 mm for the modern foot, making the dimensions of this instrument 1001 by 514 mm.

227. Albert Cohen, *Music in the French Royal Academy of Sciences: a Study in the Evolution of Musical Thought* (Princeton, 1981), 54.

228. O¹ 3008, 7, invoice from Le Gay: *Le 14 Avril 1763, M. Le Duc de Duras Premier Gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roy, fit voir a Sa Majesté et à Monseigneur Le Dauphin, à Choisy, un Nouvel instrument de Musique, inventé par le Sieur Le Gay, cet Instrument qui est à claviers, monté en Cordes de Boyaux, fut touché par le Sieur Damoreau desaulnais Maître de Clavecin, – Les effets, sont de rendre, un suite de sons d'instruments à archets dans toute l'étendue d'un clavier, et une suite d'autres sons pincés dans toute l'étendue d'un autre clavier. Cet Instrument a été Gouté.*

on 11 November, were covered “in taffeta trimmed with cut-up ribbons furnished by a tailor of the *Opéra* on orders from Mr. de Jelyotte [Pierre de Jélyotte (1713–1797)],” while the other two were sent to Versailles twelve days later. Chédeville had all four “covered in patterned velvet with gold and silver braid and fringe” and their bellows trimmed in velvet. He also supplied four leather cases lined in velvet and trimmed in gold for storing the *chalumeaux*, two caskets in gilded leather lined with satin for housing the musettes in pairs, and large and small buckles in polished steel for the straps.²²⁹

Trumpet marine, dulcimer, and psaltery. In December 1749 the luthier Jean-Nicolas Lambert (1708–1759) supplied for the princesses “a trumpet marine, specially made, ornamented with marquetry, mother-of-pearl, all the carving gilded and varnished, made of Dutch oak and ebony,” in addition to a dulcimer and a psaltery the cases of which doubled as games boards for French and Polish checkers, backgammon, hopscotch and pool, “with all the utensils and accessories for the said

229. O¹ 2987, 1, 3D, invoice from Chédeville *cadet*:

Fourny a Fontainebleau Le onze Novembre Deux Musettes Divoire garny De Leurs Soufflets huit Cens Livres 800^{lt}

Pour Deux Etuis En maroquin pour Les Chalumaux De musette garny En or [. . .] 24^{lt}

Pour Des Boucle Dasier poly Deux grande Et deux petite pour Les Cinture de musette douze Livres 12^{lt}

Pour Une Cassette En maroquin Doré Doublé En Satin avec Les ferrure Dorée soixante Livres 60^{lt}

pour deux petite Robe Detoille pour Les deux musette avec leur facon Douze Livres 12^{lt}

Les abillements En taffetas garny De Rubans decoupée ont Estéeourny par un tailleur De Lopera sous Les ordre de Monsieur de Jeliote

Pour un Expres Envoye De Fontainebleau a paris pour Commander Deux autre musette En jvoire par ordre de Mesdames quy Lavois demandé a Monseigneur Le duc de Richelieu douze Livre 12^{lt}

Le toutourny a Fontainebleau total 920^{lt} [. . .]

Fourny a Versailles Le Dimanche Vintros novembre

Deux autres Musette Divoire avec Leur soufflets 800^{lt}

Pour avoir fait abiller Les quatre musette En velour siselé avec Leur galons Et frange an or Et argent avec facon la fourniture Six Cens Cinquante Livres 650^{lt}

Pour Deux autre Estuy pour Les Chalumaux Double En Velour et doré sur [illisible] 24^{lt} plus pour La garniture de quatre soufflets En velour pour Les quatre musette quarante huit Livres 48^{lt}

Une autre boitte En maroquin Double En Satin et dorée pour metre Les Deux autres musette plus grande que Lautre soixante Et douze Livres 72^{lt} [. . .].

Memoire fourni Pour mesdames De France par
 Chédeville Le cadet sous Les ordres De Monseigneur
 Le Duc De Richelieu la par monsieur De Juy
 Lieutenant Del mesmes


fourni a fontainebleau La onze nombre Deux musettes Douze garny de Leurs foullets huit sous Lues.	800 ^{ll}
Pour Deux Huis la masoquin pour Le Duc d'Alumay De  garny la or Douze Lues.	424 ^{ll}
Pour Des Boule D'acier poly Deux grande la Douze podete pour Les futures de musette deux Lues.	12 ^{ll}
Pour Une Casquette la masoquin Dose 'Double' la fatin avec La ferrure Dorée foment Lues.	60 ^{ll}
pour Deux petite Robe Detaille pour Les Deux musette avec Leurs facon Douze Lues	12 ^{ll}
Les habillements la taffetas garny de Lubans de puyé ont été fourni par m. tailleur D'adopera sous Les ordres de monsieur De jolote	
Pour Un layes linge de fontainebleau agravis pour Commander Deux autre musette la quoisie par or de mesdames qui L'avis demandé a Monseigneur Le Duc de Richelieu deux Lues	12 ^{ll}
Le tout fourni a fontainebleau	
Total	920^{ll}

FIGURE 11. Invoice (recto) from Nicolas Chédeville for musettes supplied in November 1749. F-Pan O¹ 2987, 1, 3D.

De l'autre Pas fournis a Fontainebleau 920th

 Fourny a Neustille La Demande d'entre nous nombre
 Deux autres Musette D'ivoire avec deux feu flots 800th
 Pour avoir fait abiller Les quatre musette en velours
 fipela' avec deux galons le frange en or et argent
 avec facon le fouriture son fons cinquante deux 650th
 Pour deux autres lites pour les fl alumans double.
 Les Velours en doré fus frange 24th
 plus pour la garniture de quatre soufflets en velours
 pour les quatre musette quarante huit lises. 48th
 Une autre boîte en masoquin double en fators
 es doré pour metre Les deux autres musette
 plus grande que l'autre forante le double lises. 72th
 Pour de la musique fournis la plusieurs tomes
 Reliez en masoquin avec Les armes de France
 qui sont des ouvrages de desent autres font boiseurs. 103th
 plus pour un autre tomes des mesme ouvrage
 que mes dames ont demmandé qui font les ouvrages
 de l'Escolle Cadet forante lises 60th
 Pour avoir l'apare' le a l'apare' des musette
 de mes dames la de forante fois depuis qui
 ont lité fournis toute lises 30th
 2707

FIGURE 12. Invoice (verso) from Nicolas Chédeville for musettes supplied in November 1749. F-Pan O¹ 2987, 1, 3D.

games, equipped with their keys and mallets, the whole in exotic wood, ivory and ebony.”²³⁰

Glasscord. In 1786 one “Beyer, Physicien,” billed the court 720 *livres tournois* for “A harpsichord with glass strings of his own invention of which the first one was taken to America by Mr. Franklin, and to which he has given the name of Glasscord” (fig. 13).²³¹ This was a square-piano-like instrument with glass plates instead of metal strings.²³² An example once owned by the Empress Josephine, now in the collection of the Musée de la Musique, Paris, bears a plaque which reads: “*Glacchord* by Beyer, so named by the illustrious Franklin, who received the inventor’s homage in 1785.”²³³

Pitch pipes and tuning forks. The mention of pitch pipes or tuning forks in invoices suggests several dates that might be key to pinpointing general changes in pitch. On 14 December 1769 Chiquelier supplied “three steel tuning forks with their cases garnished with iron, one for Mr. Beche the elder [Pierre Lambert Beche (1722/3–1779)] and [another] for his pupil, and [the third] to Mr. Beche the younger [Marc François Beche (1729–after 1779)] for the service of the pages.”²³⁴ On 10 June 1778 Pascal Taskin “went to Paris on orders from the duc de Villequier to take

230. O¹ 2987, 1, 3D, invoice from Lambert, December 1749: *Fourny à Mesdames de France, Par ordre de Monseigneur Le Maréchal Duc de Richelieu, et commandée Par Monsieur De Curyrs, une trompette marine, faite exprés, ornée de marqueterie, de nacre de perle, toute la sculpture dorée et vernis, fabriquée de bois d’hollande et d’Ebène, pour ce . . . 450^l.*

Plus fournny un magazin de differents jeux, comme jeu de damiers à la françoise et à la Polonoise, Servants d’Etuvis à un Tympanon et à un psalterion, doublez des jeux de trictrac, de la marelle et de la Poule, avec tous les ustancilles et accessoirs auxdits jeux, munis de leurs clefs et bagueëttes, Le tout de bois des indes, d’ivoire et d’Ebène, pour ce . . . 200^l.

This invoice is reproduced in Milliot, *Les luthiers parisiens du XVIII^e siècle*, 63.

231. O¹ 3073, 6, no. 221: invoice from Beyer, Physicien: *Un clavecin à cordes de verre, de son invention dont le premier a été emporté en Amérique par M^r Franklin, et auquel il a donné le nom de Glass-cord / Prix . . . 720^l.*

232. See Cohen, *Music in the French Royal Academy of Sciences*, 66, where a press report is also cited that mentions Franklin’s having taken the first one to America.

233. Paris, Musée de la Musique, E.992.1.1: *Glacchord de Beyer, ainsi nommé par l’illustre Franklin, qui en reçut l’hommage en 1785.*

234. O¹ 3026, 1, no. 44, invoice from Chiquelier: *Le 14 X^{bve} [1769] [. . .] Pour avoir fournny 3. diapasons en acier avec leurs Etuvis garnis de fer l’un a M. Beche lainé et a son Ecolier, et a M. Beche le Cadet pour le service des pages . . . 36.*

the pitch of the operas,²³⁵ perhaps subsequent to its modification. As discussed above, pitch did in fact rise in the period between January 1784 and September 1786. In October 1789 Taskin “supplied two *A mi la* to the Library serving to give the pitch for the ballets, to the violoncellos and other musical instruments.”²³⁶

The use of two different pitches at the French court, one for church and one for chamber—or *Chapelle* and *Opéra*, as these were designated in Paris—remained in force until the abolition of the monarchy in 1792: in April 1790 and May 1791 Taskin tuned Marie-Antoinette’s fortepiano “to the pitch of the *Opéra*,”²³⁷ while in 1791 he tuned the fortepiano used by the pages “to the pitch of the *Chapelle du Roi*.”²³⁸

Conclusion

It is fitting that the French word for invoice, *mémoire*, in its feminine form also means memory. A *mémoire* or invoice was sent by the supplier to remind the purchaser of the obligation the latter had to reimburse the former. Dating and describing the service rendered was a means of jogging the memory of the purchaser. A record of transaction that had no purpose other than ensuring that the one party received his payment and the other did not pay more than he owed, has, more than two hundred years later, endowed research in music history with a rich documentary source allowing technical developments to be dated with accuracy where patents or extant specimens are lacking. While the findings presented here apply to the construction and use of musical instruments in Paris and the surrounding region during the second half of the eighteenth century, they may also prove relevant to studies of other musical centers, since trends in the French capital were often imitated throughout Europe.

235. O¹ 3053, 6, no. 63, invoice from Taskin: *10 [juin 1778] Avoir Eté a Paris par ordre de M^{sr} Le Duc de Villequier pour prendre Le ton des opera pour ce . . . 24.*

236. O¹ 3084, 6, no. 169, invoice from Taskin: *[octobre 1789] Fourni deux A mi la à la Bibliotheque servant à donner les tons aux ballets, aux Violoncelles et autres instruments de musique.*

237. O¹ 3087, no. 123, invoice from Taskin: *Dans le courant d’avril [1790] [. . .] l’avoir remonté au ton de l’opéra;* O¹ 3092, no. 178, invoice from Taskin I: *Dans le courant de Mai [1791] [. . .] l’avoir remonté Et Mis au ton de l’opéra, pour Ce . . . 120.*

238. O¹ 3091, 6, no. 99, invoice from Taskin: *remis au ton de la chapelle du Roy.*

Taken as a whole, the findings presented here would appear to evidence the impact of a new musical style on the playing and construction of musical instruments in France. Shortly after the premiers of Gossec's opera *Sabinus* (1773) and Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide* and *Orphée et Euridice* (1774), the documentation demonstrates that beginning in 1775 the violins, violas, and violoncellos used at court underwent significant modifications to their internal structure, neck angle, and neck length; the Cramer-style bow was adopted; and new piccolos, clarinets, and trumpets were purchased. It is noteworthy that a new series of modifications occurred beginning in 1784: the necks of all the string instruments were tilted further back, and new clarinets and horns were purchased. As the organ at Fontainebleau had to be raised by a quarter tone in 1786, pitch had clearly risen sometime between January 1784 and September 1786, a phenomenon either caused by, or necessitating, new clarinets and horns and modifications to the existing string instruments.

Though often overshadowed by the colossal talent of Jean-Philippe Rameau, who dominated French music from 1732 until his death in 1764, the quarter-century following his demise was an equally fecund period that saw the creation in Paris of works for the stage, concert hall, and church by Grétry, Gossec, Gluck, Piccini, Philidor, Sacchini, Salieri, Haydn, Mozart, Chérubini, and Méhul. The archives of the *Argenterie, Menus Plaisirs et Affaires de la Chambre* constitute a vital primary source for the study of music in France in the period between the appearance of its musical revolutionary and the Revolution itself.

APPENDIX: Inventory of Documents

The following inventory conforms to the presentation adopted by Marcelle Benoît in her *Versailles et les musiciens du Roi 1661–1733. – Etude institutionnelle et sociale* (Paris: Picard, 1971). An asterisk indicates that the document is a register; the other call numbers are cartons containing unbound documents. Occasionally the curator of the *Archives nationales* has numbered sequentially all the documents within the carton: this will be indicated by “CHAN no.” Otherwise, the number provided is the original one assigned to the invoice by the court official.

1732

O¹ 2861*

f. 150^{rv}: record of payment to Chiquelier

1738

O¹ 2862*

f. 121^v: record of payment to Chiquelier

1739

O¹ 2864*

f. 106^v: record of payment to Chiquelier

1741

O¹ 2985, 4

“*Gratifications et recompences,*” mentions payment to Chiquelier

1744

O¹ 2865

f. 174^r: record of payment to Chiquelier

f. 273^r: record of payment to the tuner Bourdet for rental of a harpsichord for concerts at Marly

f. 273^v: record of payment to Chiquelier for presence at concerts at Marly

1749

O¹ 2986, 1, 7D

Invoice from Bourdet for transporting harpsichords between Versailles and Marly, paid at Compiègne, 4 August 1749

Invoice from Bourdet for transporting harpsichords 29 June 1749–1 July 1749

Receipt from the joiner Letuvé for two music stands, Compiègne, 4 August 1749

O¹ 2986, 1, 7F

Invoice from Demonville for expenses at Compiègne, mentions payments to Letuvé and Bourdet

Receipt from Bourdet dated at Compiègne, 29 June 1749

Receipt from Racine dated at Compiègne, 9 June 1749, for bonus for storing two harpsichords of the King

“*Compte de M. Bourdet*” (account of Bourdet)

“*Compte de M. Bourdet du voyage de Compiègne 1749*”

“*Dépenses de Compiègne 1749*,” mentions payments to Bourdet and the organist Racine

O¹ 2986, 2, 8A

Unsigned, undated invoice for work on the lock of the Queen’s harpsichord

O¹ 2986, 2, “5 M.f de la Chambre”

Order of payment to Chaberon including 433 *livres* 10 *sols* for two violins for Madame Adelaide

O¹ 2987, 1, 3C

Invoice from the cabinetmaker Cochois for a harpsichord case ordered by Blanchet and delivered 5 January 1750

Invoice from Chiquelier

Receipt from Doublet dated 7 February 1749 for down payment for work on a harpsichord

Receipt from Doublet for payments received 8 February 1749, 8 March 1749 and 11 March 1749

Receipt from Doublet for payments received 8 March 1749 and 11 March 1749

Invoice from Doublet paid 14 June 1749

Receipt from Doublet dated 12 September 1747 for painting the soundboard of the Dauphin’s harpsichord

Memorandum of payment to Chiquelier for transporting the King’s harpsichord from Versailles to Blanchet’s workshop

Order from De Curys to Chiquelier dated 1 October 1749 to transport the harpsichord serving Madame Infante to Blanchet for repairs

Invoice from Blanchet for a Ioannes Ruckers harpsichord supplied to the Dauphin

Invoice from Blanchet for enlarging the compass of a harpsichord belonging to the King

Estimate from Blanchet dated 16 October 1749 for work on the King’s harpsichord
Invoice for payment to Caterbi “*Huissier du Cabinet du Roi*” for a vielle consigned to the luthier Louvet and delivered to de Curis 17 November 1749

Invoice from the cabinetmaker Migeon for a music desk and stand furnished in February 1749

Invoice dated 3 October 1749 from Louis Guersan for strings supplied to the Dauphin

O¹ 2987, 1, 3D

Invoice from Paisible, the guitar master of the princesses, 15 November 1749–April 1750

Invoice from Chiquelier

Report by Miss Couperin dated 11 August 1749

Invoice for repairs to the harpsichords of Madame and Madame Victoire, approved 4 July 1749

Invoice from Chédeville *cadet* for musettes and accessories supplied to the princesses at Fontainebleau, 11 November 1749

Invoice dated 14 June 1749 from Louis Guersan for instruments and accessories supplied to the princesses (facsimile in Sylvette Milliot, *Les luthiers parisiens du XVIII^e siècle*, Histoire de la lutherie parisienne du XVIII^e siècle à 1960, 2 [Spa: Les amis de la musique, 1997], 49)

Invoice dated December 1749 from the luthier Lambert for a trumpet marine, tympanon, and psalterion supplied to the princesses (facsimile *ibid.*, 63)

1751

O¹ 2988, 1

“*Depenses Journalieres ordinaires et Extraordinaires faites pour Les menus plaisirs*,” January–June 1751, mentions payment to Chiquelier for repairing the music stand and harpsichord stand of Madame

“*Depenses Journalieres*,” July–December 1751, mentions payment to Chiquelier for transporting a harpsichord and replacing two punctured timpani heads

O¹ 2988, 3

Invoice from Briere for miscellaneous expenses, mentions payment to Chiquelier “for maintenance of the violoncello played by M. Masse, which belongs to the King” (*pour L’Entretien de la Basse dont M^r Masse joue, la quelle appartient au Roy*)

Invoice from Bourdet, October 1751, for rental and transport of a spinet from Paris to Fontainebleau for the service of Miss Vestrise [(Marie) Teresa (Francesca) Vestris, 1726–1808]

O¹ 2988, 9

Invoice from Demonville, includes crossed-out payment to the harpsichord maker Bourdet for repairs to harpsichords used at Compiègne

1756

O¹ 2999, 3

“*Gratifications extraordinaires*,” mentions payment to Chiquelier

O¹ 2999, 26

Unnumbered invoice from Chiquelier

Unnumbered invoice from Blanchet, 30 June 1756

no. 76: invoice from Blanchet, 29 March 1756

no. 77: invoice for two hunting oboes and a viola supplied by Bizey

O¹ 3000, 25

Excerpts of invoices submitted by Chiquelier

1757

O¹ 3000, 1

Invoice from the painter and gilder Bouvet for work on a harpsichord

Note from Chiquelier to de la Touche advising repairs to a harpsichord and a viola (cf. O¹ 3001)

Two invoices from Chiquelier

O¹ 3001

Invoice from Blanchet for travel to Versailles to maintain the harpsichords of the Dauphin and the Dauphine, July 1757

Invoice from Blanchet for travel to Versailles to maintain the harpsichords of the Dauphin and the Dauphine during the residence at Fontainebleau, September 1757

Invoice from Chiquelier dated 23 November 1757 for transports for the play *Le Maître de Musique*

Etat des dépenses ordinaires qui se payent a Fontainebleau, mentions payments to Chiquelier for transporting and repairing instruments

Letter from De la Tousche to Chiquelier dated 17 June 1757 requesting repairs to the harpsichord serving for the Queen's concerts at Fontainebleau and a viola belonging to Chevalier "Simphoniste du Roi" damaged in the orchestra pit at Fontainebleau

Three invoices from Chiquelier approved 24 December 1757

Two petitions from Nicolas Somer requesting payment for three chamber organs supplied to the Dauphin, the Dauphine, and Madame Adélaïde in 1747

Invoice from Nicolas Somer for an organ case for the Dauphin delivered in December 1746

Invoice from Nicolas Somer for the balance due for the organ of Madame Adélaïde

Invoice from Nicolas Somer for an organ case for the Dauphin delivered 8 January 1747

1758

O¹ 2866*

f. 39^v: payments to Chiquelier "replacing the Sieur Bourdet as custodian of the instruments" comprising 250 *livres* for care of the instruments, 300 *livres* "for the harpsichord of the concerts," and 500 *livres* "for that of the Dauphin"

f. 80^r: payment to Chiquelier for miscellaneous repairs

f. 95^v: payment of 700 *livres* to Blanchet for a harpsichord delivered on 7 September 1758

O¹ 3002, 6

Statement of salaries, gratuities, and rewards

O¹ 3002, 7

Invoice from Blanchet dated 16 September 1758 for a harpsichord

1759

O¹ 3003

Invoice from Prover for flutes

O¹ 3003, 3

Bordereau de la Dépense Contenue en l'Etat des gages gratifications et Récompenses pour l'année 1759, mentions payments of 1050 *livres* to Chiquelier

Bordereau de la Dépense faite contenüe en l'Etat des Dépenses Imprevües pendant l'année 1759, mentions a payment of 720 *livres* to the instrument maker "Volters" (Jean-Mathias Wolters)

Bordereau de la dépense contenüe en L'Etat des comedies Concerts a la Cour pendant l'année mil sept cent cinquante neuf, mentions payment of 1027 *livres* 5 *sols* to Chiquelier

O¹ 3003, 5

Invoice from Wolters for a harp for Madame Louise

Invoice from the musician Antonio Torressani for strings supplied for the Dauphin's double bass

Invoices from Chiquelier

1760**O¹ 2867***

f. 30, no. 11: invoice from Bouin "purveyor of harp strings" (*m^d pour cordes de harpes*)

f. 31, no. 24: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 158: order of payment in the name of the musician Antonio for strings supplied to the *Menus Plaisirs*

f. 43: lists a payment to Chiquelier

f. 44: lists payments to Bouin, Chiquelier

f. 45: lists a payment to Chiquelier

f. 49: lists a payment to Antonio

O¹ 3004, 1

no. 24: invoice from Chiquelier

O¹ 3004, 11

no. 158: order of payment to Antonio Torressani for reimbursement for strings

1761**O¹ 2868***

f. 31, no. 23: invoice from Guersan; no. 29: invoice from Bellot; no. 32: two invoices from Chiquelier

f. 34, no. 81: invoice from Blanchet

f. 42: lists payments to Guersan, Chiquelier

f. 43: lists payment to Blanchet

O¹ 3005, 1

no. 29: invoice from the organ maker Bellot for repairs to a harpsichord

no. 32: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 23: invoice from Guersan for double bass strings supplied to Antonio Torressani

Letters from Antonio Torressani dated 24 July 1762 and 17 August 1762 concerning reimbursement for strings

Invoice from Guersan dated 30 September 1762 for double bass strings supplied to Antonio Torressani

Undated letter from Antonio Torressani to the *Intendant des Menus Plaisirs* La Ferté

Invoice from Chiquelier

no. 45: invoice from Girault including construction of a music stand for concerts

O¹ 3005, 6

Dépenses Imprévues, mentions payment to the harpsichord maker Blanchet

O¹ 3005, 8

Bordereau de la Depense contenu en l'Etat des fournitures faittes par les Valets de Chambre Tapissiers Menues fournitures de la Chambre, Et autres Depenses annuelles en l'année Mil Sept Cent Soixante un, includes a payment to the organ-maker Somer

O¹ 3005, 9

no. 81: invoice from Blanchet

1762

O¹ 3006, 2

no. 50: invoice from Blanchet

no. 62: Statement of expenses and payments made for comedies and concerts

O¹ 3007, 1

no. 136: invoice from Chiquelier for transporting harpsichords between Paris and Fontainebleau, etc.

Unnumbered invoice from Anton (Antoine) Kerner (Vienna) for a pair of horns

Correspondence concerning these horns: letter of 26 September 1762 from the comte du Châtelet (Vienna) to the comte de Choiseul, copy of a letter from the comte du Chatelet (Vienna) to the duc de Praslin (Versailles) of 24 May 1763

O¹ 3007, 3

Invoice from Clicquot for repairs to the organ of the Chapel Royal at Versailles (facsimile in Pierre Dumoulin [dir.], *Inventaire des orgues des Yvelines et du Val d'Oise*, *Orgues d'Île-de-France*, 1 [Paris: Aux amateurs des livres, 1988], 203–205)

1763

O¹ 2869*

Indicates only name of supplier and amount owed:

f. 31, no. 30: invoice from Antonio; no. 36: invoice from Chiquelier

f. 35, no. 116: invoice from Chiquelier

f. 38, no. 195: invoice from Blanchet

f. 39, no. 213: invoice from Antonio

O¹ 3008, 1

no. 31: invoice for timpani supplied by the timpanist Caraffe

no. 32: invoice from Caillot for a pair of clarinets ordered by the duc de Duras

no. 36: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 40: statement of expenses made for comedies, concerts, and balls

O¹ 3008, 7

Letter of 8 April 1763 from Morantin (?) to Le Gay concerning the demonstration of the clavicordium

Invoice from Le Gay for a clavicordium

O¹ 3009, “Fontainebleau”

no. 115: statement of unforeseen expenses during the residency at Fontainebleau

no. 116: record of payment to Chiquelier

O¹ 3010, 2

no. 195: invoice from Blanchet

no. 213: invoice from Antonio Torressani for expenses in 1762 for the double bass of the Dauphin

1764

O¹ 3010, 9

no. 25: invoice from Antonio Torressani for expenses for the double bass of the Dauphin

no. 27: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 32: list of expenses for Comedies and Concerts in 1764, including payment of 72 *livres* to Gohango for clarinets

no. 55: invoice from Doublet for painting a harpsichord

O¹ 3010, 12

no. 62: list of unforeseen expenses during the residence in Compiègne, mentions payment to Chiquelier

O¹ 3011, 1

no. 74: invoice from Chiquelier for repairs to three harpsichords during the residence at Fontainebleau

O¹ 3011, 3

Letter from Cardonne dated 19 September 1764 concerning a harpsichord belonging to Virbès

Invoice from Virbès, organist at Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois, for transporting a harpsichord to Compiègne

no. 168: invoice from the painter Bocquet for gilding a harpsichord pedestal belonging to the Dauphin

1765

O¹ 3012, 12

Document attesting receipt of two invoices from Chiquelier dated 3 October for transporting instruments to Fontainebleau and 21 December for extending his residency there

O¹ 3013

Unnumbered invoice, presumably in the hand of François-Alexandre Sallentin [Sallantin] (1726–after 1782), for flutes delivered in 1764

no. 25: fair copy of an invoice from Salentin for flutes

Unnumbered invoice from Antonio for expenses for the Dauphin's double bass

no. 30: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 37: invoice from Blanchet for repairs to a harpsichord during the residence at Marly

no. 38: invoice from Doublet for varnishing harpsichord legs and a music desk

1766**O¹ 3015, 5**

Document attesting payment of 500 *livres* to an unspecified beneficiary ("*le nom en blanc*") for a double bass and strings

Attestation of payment to Antonio 2 June 1766 for a double bass destined to replace the one that the Dauphin gave him as a present

Document recapitulating the above payments, specifying that the coupons are dated 1 June 1766

Record of payment 27 May 1766 to Guersan for a violoncello delivered to Huet and destined for the education of the Pages

no. 29: invoice from Chiquelier

O¹ 3016, 1

Mandements donnés sur l'Exercice 1766 (List of payments made in 1766)

O¹ 3016, 7

Mandements donnés sur l'Exercice 1766 (List of payments made in 1766)

1767**O¹ 3017, 4**

no. 23: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 24: invoice from Lejeune for rental of a double bass to Demigneaux, November 1760 to May 1761

no. 29: invoice from Taskin and explanatory letter from Chiquelier dated 3 March 1768 [transcribed in Samoyault-Verlet, *Les Facteurs de clavecins parisiens*, 153]

O¹ 3017, 11

no. 118: invoice from the painter Doublet for varnishing a harpsichord

1768**O¹ 3019, 7**

no. 38: invoice from Fleury for a double bass (facsimile in Milliot, *Les luthiers parisiens du XVIII^e siècle*, 261)

Unnumbered record of payment to Chiquelier

no. 39: invoice from Chiquelier

1769**O¹ 3022, 7**

no. 44: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 50: invoice from Fleury for strings supplied to Antonio Torressani

no. 57: invoice from Taskin

1770**O¹ 3026, 1**

no. 45: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 92: invoice from Taskin

O¹ 3028^B, 4

no. 254: invoice from Sauton for transporting timpani and hire of a double bass

1771**O¹ 3031, 8**

no. 50: invoice from Abbé Gazargues for “two horns that he had sent from Germany”

no. 51: invoice from Prover for a viola

no. 63: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 64: invoice from Taskin

1772**O¹ 3035, 1**

no. 55: invoice from Houssel for repairing two hunting horns with a note from Molidor attesting to their completion

no. 56: invoice from Cliquot

no. 57: invoice from [Lové?] for a fortepiano purchased in London

no. 58: invoice from Balbastre for a fortepiano

no. 59: invoice from Taskin

no. 60: invoice from the machinist Bucheuer

no. 83: invoice from Holtzman for a harp supplied to Madame Adélaïde

no. 84: invoice from Naderman for a harp supplied to Madame Victoire

unnumbered letter dated 22 April 1773 from La Ferté to Ribouté concerning the difference in price of the above harps

O¹ 3037, 2

no. 56: invoice from Chiquelier

unnumbered invoice from Fleury for repairs to a double bass

1773**O¹ 3037, 2**

no. 57: invoice from Chiquelier

no. 59: letter and invoice from Taskin

no. 76: invoice from Benoît Fleury

O¹ 3038, 2

140: invoice from Chiquelier for transporting instruments between Versailles and Compiègne

1774

O¹ 3042, 1

n° 69: invoice from Taskin

O¹ 3043, 3

229: invoice from Taskin for expenditures during the residence of the Court at Compiègne

O¹ 3043, 4

242: invoice from Pascal Taskin for expenditures during the residence of the Court at Fontainebleau

1775

O¹ 3044, 10

Unnumbered invoice from Taskin

O¹ 3045, 1

no. 102: invoice from Taskin for the residence at Fontainebleau

O¹ 3047, 1

no. 392: invoice from Clicquot for maintenance of the organ at the palace of Fontainebleau

O¹ 3047, 2

no. 441: invoice from Taskin for a fortepiano delivered in April 1772

no. 442: invoices from Taskin for the service of the Princesses

no. 445: invoice from Darnault for a music stand delivered 11 April 1772

1776

O¹ 3047, 10

no. 48: record of payment to Walster for a pedal harp by Salomon for the Queen (Marie-Antoinette)

no. 49: record of payment for a harp conceded by Caillot

no. 50: record of payment to Branche for a fortepiano

no. 51: record of payment to Gelinek for a viola

unnumbered document recapitulating the above payments

nos. 74–75: invoices from Taskin

O¹ 3048, 1

no. 115: invoices from Taskin for the residence at Fontainebleau

O¹ 3049, 1

no. 246: invoice from Clicquot for maintenance of the organ at the palace of Fontainebleau

O¹ 3049, 2

no. 262: invoices from Taskin for the service of the King's aunts and the residence in Fontainebleau

1777

O¹ 3050, 8

no. 89: record of payment to Ott for a hunting horn and crooks

no. 145: invoice from Taskin [extract published as document no. 45 in Samoyault-Verlet, *Les Facteurs de clavecins parisiens*, 171]

no. 148: invoice from Clicquot for maintenance of the organ and a fortepiano in Fontainebleau

O¹ 3050, 9

no. 171: invoice from Taskin

no. 185: invoice from Le Sage for seven pairs of brass cymbals

O¹ 3052, 1

no. 391: invoice from Taskin

1778

O¹ 3053, 6

no. 59: payment of 668 *livres* 5 June 1779 to Boyer for a "Harpichord from Ratisbone"

no. 60: invoice from Amelingue for 3 pairs of clarinets

no. 63: invoice from Taskin

no. 64: invoice from Clicquot

O¹ 3053, 10

Gratifications relatives au service des Spectacles, proposées par M^{sr} Le Duc de Villequier et M^{sr} Le Duc d'Aumont, gratification of 240 livres to "Sr Pascal, facteur de Clavecin recommandé par Mesdames."

1779

O¹ 3055, 5

no. 58: invoice from Taskin [excerpt published as document no. 47 in Samoyault-Verlet, *Les Facteurs de clavecins parisiens*, 160]

O¹ 3055, 7

Bordereau de la Dépense contenue en l'Etat des Dépenses ordonnées par la Reine en l'année Mil Sept cent Soixante dix Neuf, Taskin paid 800 livres for "Other expenditures."

O¹ 3056, 3

no. 272: invoice from Clicquot

1780**O¹ 3057, 1**

46: invoice from Taskin for January–March 1780

O¹ 3057, 11

169: payment to Taskin for transporting the harpsichord and fortepiano of Madame Victoire

File “*Reçus de différents fournisseurs* [. . .],” receipt from Cliquot for service of the Princesses April–June

O¹ 3058, 1

nos. 94–96: invoices from Taskin

nos. 97–98: invoices from Caron

O¹ 3058, 6

no. 444: invoice from Cliquot for repairs to the fortepiano of Madame Elisabeth, September 1780

nos. 445–447: invoices from Taskin for maintenance of the instruments of Madame Elisabeth, April–December 1780

no. 456: invoice from Cliquot for repairs to a pianoforte and organ belonging to Madame Sophie de France

no. 457: invoice from Houdon for transporting the above pianoforte from Cliquot’s workshop in Paris to Versailles

1781**O¹ 3059, 8**

nos. 212–214: invoices from Taskin

1782**O¹ 3061, 9**

nos. 193–195: invoices from Taskin

1783**O¹ 3064^A, 3**

CHAN no. 117: invoice from Cliquot for repairs to the organ at the palace of Fontainebleau

O¹ 3064^A, 6

no. 182: expenses paid by Marquand, January–March

no. 183: expenses paid by Marquand, April–June

no. 184: expenses paid by Marquand, July–September

no. 185: expenses paid by Marquand, October–December

CHAN nos. 467–472: invoices from Taskin

O¹ 3064^B, 4

CHAN no. 311: invoice from Taskin for October 1783 residence of the Court at Fontainebleau

1784**O¹ 3066, 2**

- nos. 213–216: invoices from Pascal Taskin I
- nos. 217–220: invoices from Pascal Taskin II
- nos. 221–224: invoices from Caron
- nos. 225–227: invoices from Le Febvre

1785**O¹ 3069, 9**

- nos. 232–235: invoices from Taskin I
- nos. 236–239: invoices from Taskin II
- nos. 240–242: invoices from Caron
- nos. 243–246: invoices from Le Febvre
- no. 247: invoice for clarinets from Amlingue

1786**O¹ 3073, 3**

- nos. 65–66: invoices from Cliquot for repairs to the organ at the palace of Fontainebleau

O¹ 3073, 6

- no. 221: invoice from Beyer, Physicien
- nos. 222–225: invoices from Taskin I
- nos. 226–229: invoices from Taskin II
- nos. 230–233: invoices from Caron
- nos. 234–237: invoices from Le Febvre

1788**O¹ 3081, 7**

- nos. 185–188: invoices from Taskin I
- nos. 189–192: invoices from Taskin II
- nos. 193–196: invoices from Caron
- nos. 197–198: invoices from Le Febvre

1789**O¹ 3084, 6**

- nos. 166–169: invoices from Taskin I
- nos. 170–173: invoices from Taskin II
- nos. 174–177: invoices from Caron
- nos. 178–180: invoices from Le Febvre

1790**O¹ 3087, 3bis**

- no. 57: estimate from F. H. Cliquot for repairs to the organ of the chapel at the palace of Versailles, January–March 1790

O¹ 3087, 6

- nos. 122–123: invoices from Taskin I, January–June 1790
 nos. 124–125: invoices from Taskin II, January–June 1790
 nos. 126–127: invoices from Caron, January–June 1790

O¹ 3089, 6

- nos. 93–94: invoices from Taskin I, July–December 1790
 nos. 95–96: invoices from Taskin II, July–December 1790
 nos. 97–98: invoices from Caron, July–December 1790
 no. 99: invoice from Le Febvre, July–December 1790

O¹ 3090, 2bis

- nos. 282–283: invoices for expenditures for the *Ecole royale de chant*, July–December 1790 (mention payments to the luthier Nicolas)

1791**O¹ 3091, 6**

- no. 99: invoice from Taskin I
 nos. 104–106: invoices from Caron
 nos. 107–108: invoices from Le Febvre

O¹ 3092, 2

- nos. 178–179: invoices from Taskin I
 nos. 180–183: invoices from Taskin II

O¹ 3093, 2

- nos. 521–522: invoices from the luthier Nicolas for supplies and repairs for the *Ecole royale de chant*, January–June 1791
 no. 524: invoice from Taskin I

1792**O¹ 3094, 1**

- File “*Menus Plaisirs / Liquidation de la Liste civile au 10. Aout 1792*,” Statement of sums owed to suppliers, 1 January–10 August
 File “*Menus Plaisirs / Administration Nationale / du 11 août 1792 au 1^{er} / 8^{bre} suivant*,” *Etat de la dépense des Menus Plaisirs depuis le 11 août 1792 Jusqu’au 30 7bre suivant* (Statement of expenses of the *Menus Plaisirs*, 11 August–30 September), includes a payment of 40 *livres* to Taskin for rental of a fortepiano