

Daniel Allenbach

A Glimpse into the Orchestra Pit at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris on 29 May 1913

When we talk about the world premiere of Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps*, we cannot avoid the scandal of its opening night on 29 May 1913, a Thursday, at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris. The testimony of several who were present tells of a public out of his senses, screaming, whistling, and even clapping their hands on the bald heads of men sitting in front of them.¹

Despite all this noise, nobody in our day can be sure just what the uproar was all about. Some claim it was the perceived crudity of the music conducted by Pierre Monteux – for the music is the thing one normally speaks about today when discussing *Le Sacre*. But we must bear in mind that just one year later, on Sunday, 5 April 1914, the first concert performance of *Le Sacre* in Paris, in the Concerts Pierre Monteux at the Salle du Casino, met an enthusiastic reception from a frenetic public.² Some are sure that the riot in the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées must have been caused by Vaclav Nijinsky's choreography, which had been very different from classical ballet, using bent-in feet and distorted bodies in line with the primitive scenario and naïve stage sets by Nicholas Roerich. Others believe that the scandal was much less serious than was later claimed – in fact, strong reactions to performances seem to have been quite normal at that time. And, finally, some believe – albeit without concrete evidence, but still with good reason – that the whole incident was pre-planned by the impresario Sergei Diaghilev himself in order to provoke a response to his Ballets russes in the Parisian newspapers: “The greater the controversy, the better his cause was served.”³ None of these explanations wholly excludes the others.

- 1 See Jean Cocteau: *Le coq et l'arlequin. Notes autour de la musique*, Paris 1918, pp. 67f. The reviews in the newspapers were less sensational than the reminiscences of Cocteau and others: “*Le Sacre du Printemps* fut hier assez mal accueilli, et le public restait impuissant à retenir son hilarité. Il eût donc été de bon gout à ceux qui pensaient autrement – ils n'étaient pas nombreux – d'épargner aux auteurs une ovation sur la scène dont tout le monde sentit la comique impertinence.” Henri Quittard: Théâtre des Champs-Élysées: *Le Sacre du Printemps* [...], in: *Le Figaro*, 31 May 1913, p. 5. For a more objective but still fascinating discussion of this evening, see, for example, Esteban Buch: *The Scandal at Le Sacre. Games of Distinction and Dreams of Barbarism*, in: *Avatar of Modernity. “The Rite of Spring” Reconsidered*, ed. by Hermann Danuser and Heidy Zimmermann, London 2013, pp. 59–79.
- 2 *Le Sacre* was put on the programme for the Concerts Pierre Monteux (or Société des Concerts populaires) again on 26 April 1914.
- 3 Charles M. Joseph: *Stravinsky's Ballets*, Yale 2011, p. 97.

The one thing of which we can be sure is that the story dominated the reception of the premiere, making it difficult for us to discern other aspects of the performance. My task in the HKB's project on corrosion in historic brass instruments⁴ was mainly to find out about the brass section present in the orchestra pit on a remarkable evening that not only presented *Le Sacre* to the world, but three other ballets too, namely *Les Sylphides* using music by Frédéric Chopin and choreography by Michel Fokine, *Le Spectre de la rose* with music by Carl Maria von Weber with Vaclav Nijinsky dancing in one of his most famous roles, and the *Polovtsian Dances* from *Prince Igor* by Alexander Borodin.⁵

But let us now consider the orchestra itself, which was conducted by Pierre Monteux and had undergone no less than seventeen rehearsals, as the conductor testified:

“Day after day I studied the score with Stravinsky at the piano. I studied it all that winter. In the spring we brought it to the orchestra engaged for the Paris season. We rehearsed the strings first, then woodwinds and brass, each section of the orchestra alone, except for the percussion instruments which were there all the time. The musicians thought it absolutely crazy, but as they were well paid, their discipline was not too bad! When at last I put the whole thing together, it seemed chaotic but Stravinsky was behind me pointing out the little phrases he wished heard. We rehearsed over and over the small difficult parts, and at last were ready for the ballet. We had in all, seventeen rehearsals.”⁶

First of all, we know – despite claims to the contrary⁷ – that the orchestra in the pit was the “Société des nouveaux concerts”, that is, the orchestra of the newly inaugurated Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. In contrast to other years, when Diaghilev and the Ballets russes brought their own orchestra from Russia, in this season they worked with the orchestras on location – also for the performances of *Le Sacre* in London one month later, as Pierre Monteux himself confirmed.⁸ Although there is no list of the orchestra

4 See www.hkb-interpretation.ch/projekte/korrosion (all links in this article last accessed 18 November 2022).

5 The case of the *Spectre de la rose* is extraordinary: directly after the chaotic premiere of *Le Sacre* (and an entr'acte), its choreographer Nijinsky himself had to dance on stage – and was hailed unanimously by the audience: “*Le Spectre de la Rose* vint ensuite. La réaction qui devait se produire s'est produite. Karsavina, Nijinsky, et ce bon Weber, qui y est bien pour quelque chose, furent follement et unanimement ovationnés”. Gustave Linor: *Le Sacre du Printemps*, in: *Comoedia*, 30 May 1913, p. 3.

6 Doris Monteux: *It's all in the Music. The Life and Work of Pierre Monteux*, London 1965, p. 91.

7 Tarr implies in the context of trumpeter Pyotr Lyamin that it was still the “Ballet russe” orchestra. See Edward H. Tarr: *East Meets West. The Russian Trumpet Tradition from the Time of Peter the Great to the October Revolution*, Hillsdale, NY 2003 (Bucina. The Historical Brass Society Series, Vol. 4), pp. 117f. and 185f. The reason for this is an obituary that Lyamin wrote for his teacher Brandt in 1967: “In that year [1909], still as a conservatory student, I was called to Paris to Diaghilev's troupe as a trumpeter [...]. I have kept the contract even to today.” *Ibid.*, p. 399.

8 See also letters of Monteux to Stravinsky, held by the Paul Sacher Stiftung Basel, Microfilm 099.1.



FIGURE 1 Les Adolescentes in *Le Sacre du Printemps*
(Photo Gerschel, in: *Le Théâtre*, 1 July 1913, p. 20)

LES SYLPHIDES
Rêverie romantique en un acte de M. Michel FOKINE
Musique de CHOPIN

LE SACRE DU PRINTEMPS
Tableaux de la Russie païenne en 2 actes, de Igor STRAWINSKY et Nicolas RERICH
Musique de Igor STRAWINSKY
Chorégraphie de NIJINSKY
Décors et Costumes de Nicolas RERICH

LE SPECTRE DE LA ROSE
Tableau Chorégraphique. Poème de Th. GAUTIER

Danses Poloviésiennes du "Prince Igor"
Musique de BORODINE
Danses composées et réglées par M. FOKINE

FIGURE 2 Programme (clippings) of the *Sacre* premiere, 29 May 1913

members in the evening programme of the *Sacre* premiere, we can find one in the programme of an opera premiere from that same month (Gabriel Fauré's *Pénélope*).⁹

There is no doubt that the majority of these musicians must have taken part in the premiere of *Le Sacre* as well, as such evidence exists for at least some of the players,¹⁰ and most of them may be found in payrolls from the autumn of that year (Figure 4).¹¹ Furthermore, the American musicologist Truman Bullard has given us a list with almost all the players that he discovered in "a small black composition tablet which was found in a closet beneath a pile of early financial records of the theatre. In this notebook the list of the musicians in the orchestra for the 1913 Russian Ballet season was written, including a separate page of supplementary players for the Stravinsky ballet".¹² As the scoring of *Le Sacre* requires many more musicians than normally played in the orchestra (and who are listed in the *Pénélope* programme), this source is important. It is therefore a pity that the notebook seems to have disappeared since the 1970s; I have been unable to find any trace

- 9 This programme can be found, for example, at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris, shelfmark Pro B 82.
- 10 Not for the brass, but for the woodwind section: A business card of the bassoon player Abdon Laus is held in the Stravinsky collection of the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel with a handwritten note: "Basson qui joua aux Champs Elysées à Paris pour la 1ère fois le Sacre en 1913" (Microfilm 120.1-000033). Furthermore, the oboe player Louis Speyer is mentioned on various occasions as having participated at the premiere: "Among the members of that orchestra was the oboist Louis Speyer, who had been an extra oboist (that is, not a regular member of the ensemble, but one called in for works requiring more than the normal complement of players) with the Colonne Orchestra and thus had participated in the premieres of the Stravinsky and Ravel ballets with the Ballets Russes. Called for military service in World War I, he came to the United States in 1918 as a member of a French military band and soon became the English horn player of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, a post he held until his retirement in 1964." John Canarina: *Pierre Monteux. Maître*, Cambridge 2003, p. 46. Although Canarina's mention of the Colonne Orchestra initially seems wrong, because Speyer was a regular member of the Champs-Elysées orchestra, it is probably founded in truth, as there is other evidence that Gabriel Astruc, the manager of the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées, often collaborated with the Concerts Colonne when in need of extra players. Through his artists' agency (the Société Musicale), Astruc was already in regular contact with the Concerts Colonne and Concerts Lamoureux; his archives contain budgets for substitutes hired from the Concerts Colonne for performances of (Berlioz's?) *Requiem* on 19 and 24 April 1912. See Archives Nationales, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, Sig. 409 AP26. Furthermore, the conductor Pierre Monteux had been an assistant conductor at the Concerts Colonne, a post from which he resigned when he started working for the Ballets Russes; see Canarina: *Pierre Monteux*, p. 37.
- 11 We again find the names of Algrin, Champendal, Hoogstoël, Marcerou, Martin, Mériguet, Michel, Mondou, Perret, Rouge, Sazy, Vieulou and Warin as full members, and of Ferret and Lechien as "Supplémentaires (Scène)" on payrolls dated September and October 1913 at the Archives Nationales, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, shelfmark 409 AP39.
- 12 Truman Campbell Bullard: *The First Performance of Igor Stravinsky's Sacre du Printemps*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Rochester 1971, p. 96.

THÉÂTRE DES CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES

SOCIÉTÉ
des
NOUVEAUX CONCERTS

Artistes de l'Orchestre

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|--|--|---|--|---|
| <p>1^{er} Violon solo</p> <p>M. R. Krettly</p> <hr/> <p>1^{ers} Violons</p> <p>Merkel, 2^e viol. solo.</p> <p>Gorsky, 3^e viol. solo.</p> <p>Godebsky, 4^e viol. solo:</p> <p>Deligat. Servais. Celli. Walther. Vinson. Supervielle Lebot. Steck. Bloch. Bolufer. Stevens.</p> <hr/> <p>2^{mes} Violons</p> <p>Coréa-Luna. Fernandez. Lévêque. Jumas. Chaplat. Couaillet.</p> | <p>Sucher. Bazin. Gautier. Volant. Pecquet. Maze. Dyke. Glaser.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Altos</p> <p>Macon, 1^{er} alto solo.</p> <p>Speyer Mus. 2^e alto solo,</p> <p>Dejean. Lavallée. Jarecki. Ellis. Botti. Picard. Duvivier. de Bièvre.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Violoncelles</p> <p>Audisio, 1^{er} violle sol.</p> <p>Lyon, 2^e violle sol.</p> <p>Eysermann. Bourgeois. Martin. Delporte.</p> | <p>Crouzé. Gablin. Jamin.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Contrebasses</p> <p>Dumond, 1^{er} cont. solo</p> <p>Marrain. 2^e cont. solo.</p> <p>Ghys. Girard. Fortier. Vassal. Olive.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Harpes</p> <p>M^{lle} Meunier. M^{me} Ellie. Jamet.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Flûtes</p> <p>Joffroy. Pascal. Castagnasso. Carivenc.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Hautbois</p> <p>Speyer Lis. Roucour. Victor.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Cor anglais</p> <p>Myrtil Morel.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Clarinettes</p> <p>Dauwe. Villetard. Bâton.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Clarinette-Basse</p> <p>Lebailly.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Bassons</p> <p>Laus. Rogean. Dhérin Ch.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Contrebasson</p> <p>Dhérin G^{ve}.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Cors</p> <p>Hoogstcel. Michel. Algrin. Warin. Fabre. Ferret.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Trompettes et Cornets</p> <p>Perref. Champendal. Mériguet. Marcerou. Dubois. Lechien.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Trombones</p> <p>Mondou. Sazy. Martin. Dervaux.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Tubas</p> <p>Rouge. Vioulou.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Timbales</p> <p>Lang.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Timbales-Tambours</p> <p>Pierrot.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Percussion</p> <p>Drugeon. Challet. Dietrich. Trouillet.</p> |
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Artistes des Chœurs

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|---|---|---|--|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">Soprani</p> <p>Mesdames :</p> <p>Meyril. Guibert. Haff. Souchon. Floréal. Malou. Coye. Riellant. Bourgogne. Traxel. Bernier. Roos. Varnel. Jamme. Lesnards. Prevost. Berryer. Lasserre.</p> | <p>Mesdames :</p> <p>Mouzin. Morel. Thibaut. Barrault. Cossi. Lemercier. Cathala.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Contralti</p> <p>Mesdames :</p> <p>Zuccani. Rosemai. Laval. Maximoff. Malraison. Hœffler. Varney. Lafontan-Lahor Teller. Berthin. Mesnil.</p> | <p>Mesdames :</p> <p>Jeanès. Ticier. Vignes. Bresly. Burgaud. Raige. Havet. Cartier. De Wuillerz. Couty. Bertrand. Auffrère.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Ténors</p> <p>Messieurs :</p> <p>Valette. Daponte. Pourville. Delmas. Eternod. Laloye.</p> | <p>Messieurs :</p> <p>Saint-Germier. Payan. Vilder. Berryer. Schlosser. Cortesi. Malzac. Bellanger. Libert. Pasquet. Maire. Gavarry. Nagelle. Darim Violette. Sophocle. Desmarais.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Basses</p> <p>Messieurs :</p> <p>Deliano.</p> | <p>Messieurs :</p> <p>Deschamps. Car. Savelli Delrieu. Lievain. Chauchon. Auer. Guichard. Dubois. Athès. Richard. Vallermont. Mamberti. Chavanettes. Euzet. Moulin. Wieshaupt. Barrois. Fabre-Calixte. Flotte.</p> |
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FIGURE 3 Société des nouveaux concerts (Orchestra of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées), Pénélope programme, 9 May 1913

THÉÂTRE DES CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES
Direction Gabriel ASTRUC

FEUILLE DE PAYE DE L'ORCHESTRE :

Répétitions 2^e QUINZAINE du mois de Septembre 1913

IMP. MARCEL PICARD, 10, PLACE SAINT-MICHEL, PARIS (13321)

| APPOINTEMENTS | NOMS | NOMBRE DES | | CACHETS | TOTALS | NOMBRE DES | | TOTALS | RESTE A PAYER | OBSERVATIONS |
|---------------|--------------------------|------------|----------|---------|--------|------------|----------|--------|------------------|--------------|
| | | SOIRÉES | MATINÉES | | | AMENDES | RETENUES | | | |
| | Alquin | | | | 250 | | | | 250 | |
| | Audiot | | | | 150 | | | | 150 | |
| | Bazin | | | | 202 | | | | 202 | |
| | Bière (de) | | | | 186 | | | | 186 | |
| | Bloch | | | | 212 | 1 | 0.50 | | 211.50 | |
| | Bolufer | | | | 212 | 1 | 0.50 | | 211.50 | |
| | Botti | | | | 212 | 3 | 1.50 | | 210.50 | |
| | Bourgeois | | | | 136 | | | | 136 | |
| | Castagnasso | | | | 199 | | | | 199 | |
| | Celli | | | | 204 | | | | 204 | |
| | Challet | | | | 202 | | | | 202 | |
| | Champendal | | | | 204 | 1 | 0.50 | | 203.50 | |
| | Chaplat | | | | 212 | | | | 212 | |
| | Corea. Lima | | | | 250 | | | | 250 | |
| | Conaillet | | | | 204 | | | | 204 | |
| | Crouze | | | | 212 | 1 | 0.50 | | 211.50 | |
| | Dauwe | | | | 250 | | | | 250 | |
| | Dejean | | | | 212 | | | | 212 | |
| | Deligat | | | | 212 | | | | 212 | |
| | Delporte | | | | 178 | | | | 178 | |
| | Dherin C. | | | | 250 | | | | 250 | |
| | Dietrich | | | | 212 | 2 | 1. | | 211 | |
| | Dugeon | | | | 207 | | | | 207 | |
| | Dumond | | | | 250 | | | | 250 | |
| | Duvivier | | | | 212 | | | | 212 | |
| | Edlie (1 ^{re}) | | | | 202 | 1 | 0.50 | | 201.50 | |
| | | | | | | | | | 5427 | |

FIGURE 4 First page and excerpt from the last page ("supplémentaires") of the payrolls of September 1913 for the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées (Archives Nationales, Fonds Gabriel Astruc, shelfmark 409 AP39)

| | | | | |
|---|-----|---|------|--------------------------------|
| Massal | 202 | 1 | 0.50 | 201.50 |
| Bieulou | 100 | | | 100 |
| Billetard | 219 | 3 | 1.50 | 217.50 |
| Bison | 212 | | | 212 |
| Walthor | 202 | | | 202 |
| Warin | 212 | | | 212 |
| Omnibus remboursés à la Caisse de Secours Supplémentaire (Scène) | | | | 170 |
| Baton | 13 | | | 13 |
| Castelain | 43 | | | 43 |
| Dyke | 174 | | | 174 |
| Ferret | 33 | | | 33 |
| Lechien | 43 | | | 43 |
| Nazzari | 199 | | | 199 |
| Refureuille | 43 | | | 43 |
| Solant | 73 | | | 73 |
| Six Sept mille neuf Cent quatre vingt dix francs | | | | 17990 |
| | | | | J. L. Hugelbucht Via Jambry |

of it.¹³ The list, as communicated via Bullard, is not quite complete, for the ordinary trumpet section is missing, and it only gives the supplementary trumpets.

TABLE 1 Brass players in the orchestra for *Le Sacre*¹⁴

according to the *Pénélope* programme
(9 May 1913)

Horns: Hoogstoel
Michel
Algrin
Warin
Fabre
Ferret

according to the “small black composition
tablet” found by Bullard

Horns: [Paul] Hoogstoel
[Jules] Michel
[Joseph] Algrin
[Pierre] Warin
S [Marius-Joseph] Fabre
S Ferret [= Henri Farré?]
S Vadot
S [Ferdinand] Bailleux

- ¹³ Nor could any trace of it be found in the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées – and Bullard himself says that he no longer knows the location of the notebook (private communication to the present writer).
- ¹⁴ Programme *Pénélope*; Bullard: *The First Performance*, p. 237f. First names in square brackets added by Bullard.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|---|------------|--|
| Trumpets (& cornets) | Perret Champendal Mériguet Marcerou Dubois Lechien | Trumpets | (?) (?) S S [Albert] Dubois [Georges] Mager |
| Trombones: | Mondou Sazy Martin Dervaux | Trombones: | [Xavier-Marius] Mondou [Adrien] Sazy [Fernand] Marin S [Jules] Dervaux |
| Tubas: | Rouge Vieulou | Tubas: | [Jean] Rouge Vieulou |

If we combine these lists, we can be relatively sure of knowing most of the names of the brass section on 29 May 1913, at least for the horns and tubas. With the trombones the question remains as to whether Jules Dervaux was a substitute for one of the other trombone players or whether all four of them played (we shall come back to this question below). And for the trumpets we have two names who were certainly part of the *Sacre* orchestra, plus a list of five more players in the *Pénélope* programme from whom the remaining musicians for *Le Sacre* will presumably have been drawn.

Biographies of brass players If we look for all these brass players in the ‘concours’ lists of the Paris Conservatoire, we can see that most of the musicians in the orchestra were rather young and had either just finished their studies at this time, or were about to do so.¹⁵ Six horn players (1906–1914), six trumpet players and two trombones (and many more woodwinds; we here do not take the strings into account) may be found on these lists. The typically French study system at this institution is the reason for this. At an internal exam in June, students were selected to be given an opportunity to compete in the public ‘concours’ that always took place in July, at the end of the academic year, and was held for every class (instrumental, theory and composition). Whoever was not selected for this competition within two years after beginning their studies had to leave the Conservatoire, as did those who took part three times without success. Prize-winners were allowed to continue their studies for one year after achieving a Premier Prix. Besides this Premier

¹⁵ Unless stated otherwise, all information given here on studies at the Conservatoire is taken from Anne Bongrain: *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation 1900–1930. Documents historiques et administratifs*, Paris 2012, pp. 226–228, 439–445 and appendices.

Prix, a Second Prix, 1er Accessit and 2e Accessit were determined by a secret vote of the jury.¹⁶

We shall here offer a brief outline of the biographies of all potential brass players in the orchestra pit at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris on 29 May 1913, several of whom died at a young age, not long after the premiere of *Le Sacre*, in the battles of the First World War.

PAUL HOOGSTOËL, born in Liévin (Pas-de-Calais) on 7 December 1890, studied with François Brémont at the Conservatoire, achieved his 1er Accessit in 1909, won a Second Prix in 1910 and ended his studies with a Premier Prix in 1911, together with Joseph Algrin. While a report in the newspaper *Le Gaulois* lists only the names of the other prize winners (including the trombonist Jules Dervaux), the two horn players receive a special mention: “MM. Hoogstoël et Algrin, qui tous deux ont une remarquable et poétique sonorité.”¹⁷ Hoogstoël was also a member of the Concerts Monteux, the orchestra that gave the first concert performance of *Le Sacre* in April 1914, again under the baton of Pierre Monteux.¹⁸ In later years Hoogstoël played under Sergei Koussevitzky, as did the trumpeter Mériquet.¹⁹

The first name assigned by Bullard to MICHEL – Jules – might be a mistake, as no such person is listed as having studied at the Conservatoire at that time.²⁰ Instead, a GUILLAUME JOSEPH MICHEL is mentioned as being a member of the horn class. He was born in Toulouse (Haute-Garonne) on 23 December 1885 and received a 2e Accessit in 1908.

JOSEPH ALGRIN, born in Mèze (Hérault) on 16 (or 18?) November 1887, received a 1er Accessit in 1910 and, as mentioned above, won his Premier Prix alongside Paul Hoogstoël in 1911. He was one of the many victims of the First World War, dying “suite de blessures de guerre” on 23 June 1916.²¹

PIERRE WARIN, born in Valenciennes (Nord) on 1 September 1892, studied with François Brémont and received his 2e Accessit in 1912 and his Second Prix in 1914, though only after the premiere of *Le Sacre*. He was thus still studying while already a full

16 See the regulations in Constant Pierre: *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation. Documents historiques et administratifs*, Paris 1900, pp. 263, 265 and 267.

17 Louis Schneider: *Conservatoire*, in: *Le Gaulois*, 25 June 1911, p. 3.

18 Programme in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris.

19 www.classical.net/music/guide/society/krs/programs/1922Mus_1of2.php.

20 We have here also consulted the predecessor of Bongrain's book, namely Pierre: *Le Conservatoire national*.

21 www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/de/ark:/40699/m005239d55e2c4e4/5242bacce7dar.

PARTIE À REMPLIR PAR LE CORPS.

Nom **ALGRIN**

Prénoms **Joseph**

Grade **Brancardier 56 RAC**

Corps **56^e Régiment d'Artillerie**

N^o Matricule. { **217593** au Corps. — Cl. **1907**
2583 au Recrutement **Montpellier**

Mort pour la France le **23 juin 1916**
à **Villy (Aisne)**

Genre de mort **Suite de blessures de guerre.**

Né le **18 Novembre 1887**
à **Méze** Département **Hérault**

Arr^s municipal (p^r Paris et Lyon), }
à défaut rue et N^o.

Cette partie n'est pas à remplir par le Corps. { Jugement rendu le.....
par le Tribunal de.....
acte ou jugement transcrit le **12 Octobre 1916**
à **Chateaufort en Forez**
(B. du Rhône)
N^o du registre d'état civil.....

534-708.1921. [26434.]

FIGURE 5 Death Certificate of Joseph Algrin (© Ministère des armées – Mémoire des Hommes)

member of the orchestra. He was called up into the army in The War, and achieved his Premier Prix (“Prix d’excellence”) only in 1919.

MARIUS-JOSEPH FABRE was born at Sète (in these days: Cette, Hérault) on 17 June 1889. After a 2e Accessit in 1908 and a 1er Accessit in 1909, he finished his studies in 1919 with a Second Prix.

We have no details about the horn player FERRET. Bullard suspects that he might have been Henri Farré, who was a horn player at the Opéra comique. Nevertheless, a misspelling seems unlikely, as the name “Ferret” is also found printed in the programme of *Pénélope* and in the programme for the concert premiere of *Le Sacre*, and also written by hand in the aforementioned payrolls.

The next horn player, VADOT, has not been found in any of the sources we have consulted, so it is unlikely that he and Ferret studied at the Conservatoire. Perhaps they were taught at the Garde Républicaine, or had studied in Brussels.

A little more is known about the last horn player. FERDINAND BAILLEUX was born in Valenciennes (Nord) on 17 July 1883, studied at the Conservatoire, and received a 1er Accessit in 1903 and a Second Prix in 1906. He was a member of the Orchestre Colonne officially from 1913 to May 1916, but had probably already joined the army by this latter date, as he was killed in the Somme Valley in 1916. He was awarded the Médaille militaire and the Croix de guerre.²²

Now to the trumpeters: GUSTAVE JULES PERRET, born in Feyzin (Isère) on 28 October 1886, studied the trumpet with Merri Jean-Baptiste Franquin at the Conservatoire, was awarded a 2e Accessit in 1906, a Médaille for Solfège and 1er Accessit in 1907 and the Premier Prix in 1908. After the war, he continued his career in America, where he played in the trumpet section of the Boston Symphony Orchestra from 1920 to 1933.²³ He later returned to France and was active as a teacher.²⁴

LOUIS ÉMILE CHAMPENDAL was born in Paris on 12 April 1888 and also studied with Franquin. After his 2e Accessit in 1908 and his 1er Accessit in 1909, he was awarded the Premier Prix in 1910. He too belongs among the many young men who were lost in the catastrophe of World War I.

AUGUSTE PIERRE LOUIS MÉRIGUET, born in Saint-Junien (Haute-Vienne) on 4 October 1889, studied the cornet à pistons at the Conservatoire with Jean Mellet and Alexandre Petit. He was awarded a 2e Accessit in 1911 and a Premier Prix one year later, in

²² www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/fr/ark:/40699/mo05239d6fod3a4c/5242bbf85ed89.

²³ www.stokowski.org/Boston_Symphony_Musicians_List.htm.

²⁴ Jean-Pierre Mathez: Georges Gay [*1922] – Trompeter der leichten Musik, in: *Brass Bulletin* 76 (1991), pp. 50–54, here p. 50.



FIGURE 6 The brass section of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1921, with Gustave Perret (standing, right) and Georges Mager (seated, in the middle) (Courtesy of Boston Symphony Orchestra Archives, Douglas Yeo)

1912. He seems not to have been active in the army: “During World War I, René [Voisin, father of Roger] was a freelance musician in many Parisian theaters together with trumpeters Auguste Mériguet and Bailleul (1914–18)”.²⁵ Later, like Hoogstoël, he played in Koussevitzky’s Parisian orchestra.²⁶

CLÉMENT SILVAIN ALPHONSE ARMAND MARCEROU, born in Elne (Pyrénées-Orientales) on 2 August 1888, studied the trumpet at the Conservatoire: 1er Accessit in 1911, Second Prix in 1912, Premier Prix in 1913. He was also awarded the “Prix Théophile Lisbonne”. Nothing seems to be known about his life thereafter.

The next trumpeter might well be a member of a dynasty of trumpeters (though he bears a rather common family name). In the Conservatoire’s documents as edited by Constant Pierre, there are four trumpeters named DUBOIS, among them ALBERT DUBOIS, whom Bullard suspects was the supplementary player listed in the abovementioned notebook. However, the 1913 edition of the *Annuaire de l’Association syndicale professionnelle*

²⁵ David Hickman/Michel Laplace/Edward H. Tarr: *Trumpet Greats. A Biographical Dictionary*, Chandler 2013, p. 849.

²⁶ www.classical.net/music/guide/society/krs/programs/1925Mus.php.

et mutuelle de la critique dramatique et musicale lists Albert (residence: Nogent-sur-Marne) as a “pensionnaire”,²⁷ while a fifth Dubois, who is also found in the later documents edited by Bongrain, is mentioned as still being active: ARMAND MARIE DUBOIS, born in Valdahon (Doubs) on 26 July 1885, who received a 2e Accessit in trumpet in 1907.

DÉSIRÉ LECHIEN, born in Champigny (Yonne) on 4 April 1863, studied the cornet à pistons in the class of Jean-Baptiste Arban and finished his studies with a Second Prix in 1885 before many of the other musicians mentioned here had been born.²⁸ He was thus one of the more established musicians of the orchestra. Lechien is listed only after Dubois in the *Pénélope* programme, and since Bullard states that the latter was a supplementary player, it seems plausible that Lechien was similarly a supplementary trumpeter. His absence in Bullard’s list thus suggests that he could not have been in the pit for *Le Sacre*.

Besides Dubois, GEORGES ÉMILE CHARLES DÉSIRÉ MAGER, born in Tourcoing (Nord) on 7 November 1884, is the only trumpeter of whom we can be certain that he played at the premiere of *Le Sacre*. He had studied the cornet à piston at the Conservatoire and received a 2e Accessit in 1904, a Second Prix in 1905 and finally a Premier Prix in 1906. His playing was praised by the newspaper *La Presse* at the time: “MM. Mager et Foveau sont des exécutants impeccables, ils sont l’objet d’une ovation aussi chaude que méritée. [...] Deux premiers prix à l’unanimité à MM. Mager et Foveau.”²⁹ He later made a career in the Boston Symphony Orchestra (see Figure 6). It is interesting that he played a D trumpet by Courtois, at least in his later years. We will return to this matter below.

Now let us proceed to the low brass. XAVIER-MARIUS MONDOU was another established member of the orchestra. Born in Mèze (Hérault) on 27 June 1855, he studied the trombone with Paul Delisse (called Lespaigne) and received a Second Prix in 1882 and a Premier Prix in 1883. He became a member of the Orchestre des Folies Dramatiques even before the end of his studies, and in 1882 joined the Opéra orchestra, a post he held for more than twenty years.³⁰ Later, he became a member of the Monte Carlo Orchestra, and after his retirement he acted several times as an expert for the Conservatoire.

Very little information can be found on ADRIEN SAZY. It seems that he became a member of the musicians’ association in 1914.³¹

27 *Annuaire de l’Association syndicale professionnelle et mutuelle de la critique dramatique et musicale*, Paris 1913.

28 Pierre: *Conservatoire national*, p. 792.

29 Robert Mondor: *Onzième Journée des Concours du Conservatoire*, in: *La Presse*, 29 July 1906, p. 2.

30 Pierre: *Conservatoire national*, p. 815.

31 *Annuaire de l’Association syndicale professionnelle et mutuelle de la critique dramatique et musicale*, Paris 1914.

The identity of the next trombonist is shrouded in uncertainty because the *Pénélope* programme and Bullard differ in their spelling of his name. Bullard opts for FERNAND ÉDOUARD MARIN, born in Pantin (Seine) on 29 March 1887, who received his 2e Accessit in 1907, 1er Accessit in 1909 and a Second Prix in 1910. But there were also two trombone players named Martin who studied at the Conservatoire in the early years of the twentieth century: ADOLPHE MARTIN, born in Valenciennes (Nord) on 1 December 1888, who only achieved a 2e Accessit in 1910, and HENRI JULIEN MARTIN, born in Saméon (Nord) on 19 May 1879, who received a Second Prix in 1900 and a Premier Prix in 1901. We cannot exclude any of these three trombonists from consideration, and it is possible that Bullard's spelling is correct.

The last trombone player is easier to identify, though there is not much information about him. He was JULES DERVAUX, born in Tourcoing (Nord) on 11 May 1887, who first studied solfège and finished his trombone studies with a 2e Accessit in 1908, a 1er Accessit in 1909 and a Premier Prix in 1911.

The tuba players were among the few musicians who did not study at the Conservatoire, for the simple reason that there was no tuba class there at the time. For this reason, they probably studied in the military, though we have been unable to verify this in the case of JEAN ROUGE (or whatever his first name might have been – the *Annuaire de l'Association* also lists an organ and cornet player named FRANÇOIS ROUGE in the years before and after the premiere of *Le Sacre*).

More evidence exists for EUGÈNE-RENÉ VIEULOU, whose name is found several times in the *Journal officiel de la République française*, as in 1910 for example, when he was “directeur de la musique municipale de Gallardon (Eure-et-Loir)” and was made “officier d'académie”.³² Eighteen years later, he received a “médaille militaire” (Garde Républicaine de Paris) as a “musicien de 2e classe, 35 ans de service, 4 campagnes”.³³ Various arrangements and marches appear under his name, and in circa 1939 he published a set of études for tuba (*Études caractéristiques pour basse à 4, 5 et 6 pistons*) where he is named as “Tuba Solo à l'Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, Ex-Soliste de la Musique de la Garde Républicaine” and the recipient of several medals (Figure 7).

The instruments Let us now consider the instruments themselves. It is clearly even more difficult to tell what types of horns, trumpets, trombones and tubas were played by the musicians in the pit. But since all of them were French, and France was a rather foreclosed market, it is likely that most of them played French instruments. What is more, in the

32 *Journal officiel de la République française*, 1 January 1910, p. 55.

33 *Journal officiel de la République française*, 11 July 1928, p. 7719.

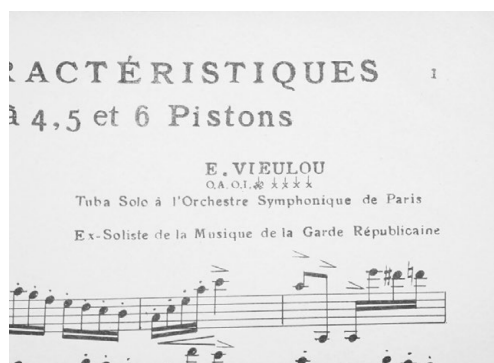


FIGURE 7 Palmarès of Eugène-René Vieulou on the opening page of his *Études caractéristiques pour basse à 4, 5 et 6 pistons* (Copy at the BnF)

early years of the Conservatoire at least, those students awarded a Premier Prix were gifted a (French) instrument:

“Nature des premiers Prix: Composition: dix partitions; [...] Piano: six partitions; Violon: un violon; Violoncelle: un violoncelle; Flûte: une flûte; Hautbois: un hautbois; Clarinette: deux clarinettes, l’une en si, l’autre en ut; Cor: un cor en tous tons; Basson: un basson. [...] Les instruments donnés en prix doivent être de facture française.”³⁴

In later years, however, when the number of students had increased, this tradition seems to have ceased (or at least it is not mentioned anymore): “Art. 67. [...] Chaque lauréat reçoit un diplôme. Des médailles en argent sont remises aux premiers et aux seconds prix. Art. 68. L’élève qui a remporté le premier prix peut rester dans sa classe encore une année.”³⁵

In general, the French manner of building brass instruments entailed using a different bore that was narrower than is normal today, while the construction was also slightly different from that of brass instruments in other European countries. For example, French valve horns often had a detachable crook, whereas the German type was mostly built with a fixed leadpipe. It is also obvious that the playing style and articulation differed from what we are used to today (though this depended on both the instruments and the players themselves).

One can therefore imagine that the horn players at the premiere of *Le Sacre* used horns by firms such as Raoux-Millereau or Courtois-Mille, or perhaps the rather cheaper,

34 Dispositions principales de l’organisation du conservatoire de musique (Germinal an VIII – Mars 1800), quoted as in Pierre: *Le Conservatoire national*, p. 234.

35 Arrêté portant règlement (11 septembre 1878), quoted as in Pierre: *Le Conservatoire national*, p. 264. Already in 1817, horn players seem to have received money (100 francs), while those playing the oboe, clarinet or bassoon received either the money or an instrument: “Un hautbois pour premier prix, s’il est possible, ou 100 francs. [...] Un basson, s’il est possible d’en avoir un bon pour 100 francs.” And in 1818 it was said that “ces prix sont de trois espèces, savoir: 1° Des instruments, pour les classes de violon et violoncelle; 2° De la musique, pour toutes les classes de musique; 3° Des livres, pour la déclamation.” *Ibid.*, pp. 321f.

mass-produced horns by Couesnon and Gautrot. The tradition of the detachable crook has already been mentioned above. It is furthermore very likely that the higher parts of *Sacre* were played on the ascending valve system that was very common in France. Instead of lowering the instrument by a minor third (as is the case with today's instruments), the third valve in this system raises the instrument by a major second when depressed. This is why it is normally played with a G crook, so that a 'normal' instrument in F results when no valves are depressed. Sometimes, the instruments were also built with a changeable third valve and two different slides – one for an ascending horn for the higher horn parts (with a slide of the same length as for the first valve), and one to change it to a descending model, which the horn section preferred for the lower parts. In any case, these two versions were undoubtedly played side by side in the orchestra pit, rather than the modern double horn in B \flat /F that had been developed some years earlier but was not generally employed in those days.

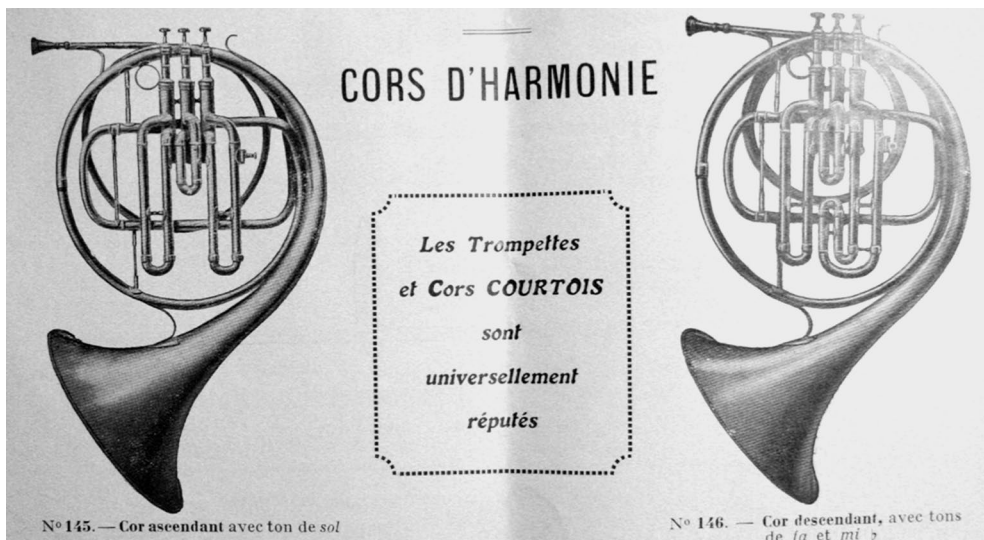


FIGURE 8 Cor ascendant and cor descendant

The case of the tenor tubas, doubled by horns 7 and 8, is more difficult to determine. There is no doubt that Stravinsky meant two so-called Wagner tubas (where the tenor refers to the tuning in B \flat , the instruments in F are called bass tubas).³⁶ The question remains as to whether such instruments were actually available in Paris, as they were mostly built by German manufacturers at the time, such as Moritz (Berlin) or Alexander

36 "The procession of the sage", played by the tenor tubas und bass tubas, was first intended to be played by muted horns. See Mark DeVoto: *The Rite of Spring. Confronting the Autographs*, in: *The Boston Musical Intelligencer*, 15 February 2021, www.classical-scene.com/2021/02/15/rite-autographs/.

(Mainz). According to the *Encyclopédie musicale* published in 1927 by Lavignac and La Laurencie, these parts were normally played on Saxo-trombas baritons/basses in B \flat when Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung* was performed at the Opéra.³⁷ Adolphe Sax Junior is said to have built four instruments with movable bells for this purpose.³⁸ But since the *Sacré* performances in Paris actually ran at the same time as the *Ring* at the Opéra Garnier,³⁹ these instruments could not have been used for the former. Another possibility would be the so-called cornophones built by the firm Fontaine-Besson.⁴⁰ And, last but not least, the catalogue by Evette & Schaeffer also lists “tubettes”, “especially determined for Wagner performances” that were provided with four different mouthpieces so that they might be played by cornet, horn, trombone or tuba players (Figure 9).⁴¹ The question as to the identity of the tenor tuba instrument in the pit for *Le Sacré* remains open, but it is still more likely that the musicians used either some sort of Saxhorn or Saxo-tromba, the abovementioned tubettes or cornophones, rather than actual German Wagner tubas.

| EVETTE ET SCHAEFFER, 18-20, PASSAGE DU GRAND-CERF, PARIS | | — 55 — |
|--|--|--------|
| N ^{os} | TUBETTES Avec le doigté de <i>la</i> au 3 ^e piston LIVRÉS AVEC CLÉ D'EAU, UN PUPITRE ET 4 EMOUCHURES ARGENTÉES | PRIX |
| —360 | TUBETTE en si b, 4 pistons..... Ces Instruments ont été spécialement établis pour l'exécution des œuvres de RICHARD WAGNER <i>Les 4 embouchures livrées avec l'instrument permettent qu'il soit joué indifféremment par un</i> Cornettiste ou Bugle. Trombone ou Baryton. Corniste ou Alto <i>mi</i> b. Tuba ou Basse. | 195 |

FIGURE 9 Advertisement for “Tubettes” in the catalogue by Evette & Schaeffer (1912), p. 55

Many different sizes and types of tuba existed in France in the late 19th and early 20th centuries: bass and contrabass tubas (sometimes also listed as saxhorns) in C and B \flat , with three, four or even six valves. While wind bands normally used tubas in B \flat with three valves, the tuba in C with four or six valves was more common in orchestras.⁴²

37 Joseph Brousse: Le tuba, in: Albert Lavignac/Lionel de la Laurencie: *Encyclopédie de la musique. Dictionnaire du Conservatoire. Deuxième partie. Technique – Esthétique – Pédagogie*, Paris 1927, pp. 1674–1680, here pp. 1676f., see also Clifford Bevan: *The Tuba Family*, Winchester 2000, p. 470.

38 Ibid.

39 On the same Thursday, 29 May 1913, the Opéra gives *Siegfried*, as can be seen in the calendar of events in *Comoedia*, 28 May 1913, p. 6.

40 See John Webb: The Cornophone as Wagner Tuba, in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 51 (1998), pp. 193–195.

41 [Catalogue Evette & Schaeffer] 1912, p. 55.

42 Brousse: Le tuba, p. 1677. See also Bevan: *The Tuba Family*, pp. 345–347.

Given the actual range of the tuba parts – from low $E\flat^1$ to $G\flat^4$ (the first starting on A^1 , see Figure 10) – the French speciality of the six-valve tuba (with Périnet valves) seems well suited to *Le Sacre*. It is relatively small – more the size of a euphonium today, which gives it a sound that blends somewhat better with the rest of the orchestra than that of the giant contrabass tuba – but is perfectly able to provide the whole range needed by the part in question.



FIGURE 10 The tuba range in *Le Sacre*

The French trombones of the time differed from modern instruments in their bore and bell in particular. Valve and slide instruments existed alongside each other, with the valve trombone more common in military ensembles and also in the orchestra pit.⁴³ There is evidence for the existence of the slide trombone in the music, for Stravinsky requires glissandos in all the trombone parts in the “Rondes printanières” (figures 53–54), in the “Glorification de l’Élué” (III–III3) and in the “Danse sacrale” (174–186). Nevertheless, Trevor Herbert has been able to prove that Stravinsky was happy enough to have his “glissandos” played by valve trombones, rather than not being played at all.⁴⁴ One should therefore at least take into account the possibility that these parts could have been performed with valve trombones. The size of the trombones is also uncertain. Stravinsky does not give any indication as to what he prefers, and the parts – written in tenor and bass clef for all three trombones – seem to exclude an alto instrument at best. Three tenor trombones, or – because the bass clef dominates in the third part, in contrast to the others – two tenor trombones and one bass trombone might have been the actual types played. The instruments built by the various French makers nevertheless exist in rather different bores and forms, while even the makers themselves produced different models that are impossible to list in full, even without considering the problematical question of what mouthpieces were used. Such musical ‘interfaces’ are both very personal and yet also reflect the period in question, at least to a certain extent. Further research will have to be undertaken here.

With regard to the trumpets, we have evidence that no less than three of our six possible trumpeters participated in an exhibition concert for the firm of Couesnon in 1910:

“Le 20 décembre 1910, il [Eugène Foveau] participe au concert donné au Grand Palais par l’orchestre Léon Déliance: il fait partie d’un ensemble de 10 cornettistes qui jouent à l’unisson ‘Cypris’ et ‘Fête Militaire’ d’A. Petit sur des cornets ‘Monopole’; une photo mémorable représentant les 18 solistes de

43 See Trevor Herbert: *The Trombone*, New Haven 2006, p. 191.

44 See Trevor Herbert: *Trombone Glissando. A Case Study in Continuity and Change in Brass Instrument Performance Idioms*, in: *Historic Brass Society Journal* 22 (2010), pp. 1–18, here p. 13.

Déliance (tous cornettistes) le montre aux côtés de Lecussant (Opéra), L. Champendal, Lucien Body, G. Delevoye (Club des xx), Gustave Perret (Valette), Lubineau (Colonne), Lucien Jean Robert Gurs, Narcisse Bizet, Arthur Guillet (Lamoureux), Henri Lamouret (Opéra Comique), H. Harscoat, Georges Mager (Concerts Touche), Gaston Petit (Colonne), Noël Laborie, R. Caron et E. Veluard!"⁴⁵

This naturally does not mean that they played only Couesnon trumpets throughout their lives, though it offers further evidence that French instrument makers regarded these musicians as useful partners in promoting their instruments.

There are three different types of trumpet to consider here. Trumpets in B♭ or C were generally the instrument of choice when using a valve trumpet. The trumpet in C was sometimes called trumpet in C alto, because its valves mean it can be constructed shorter than the old natural trumpet in C (basso). The trumpet in D alto, which is a second higher than the trumpet in C, and in which "alto" again refers to Baroque trumpets of double the length, was also in use. Players liked both instruments, in C and D, because of their precision and security in performance.⁴⁶ While the trumpet in C – often constructed with a B♭ crook – was regularly used for the normal orchestral repertoire, the shorter trumpet in D was used to interpret the high, risky parts in Baroque pieces by Handel and Bach.⁴⁷

We have a picture of a D trumpet by Courtois that was apparently owned by one of the performers at the premiere of *Le Sacre*: Georges Mager (Figure 11). It bears no serial number, so we do not know when it was built, whether before or after the premiere, though it seems to date from about that time.⁴⁸ It is also unclear as to what part Georges Mager played in *Le Sacre*. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that this was indeed one of the very instruments played in the pit of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on the night of the premiere.

Unanswered questions remain about the trumpet in D alto. Correspondence exists between Stravinsky and Max Steinberg, who was in contact with the company of the instrument salesman Julius Heinrich Zimmermann in St. Petersburg.⁴⁹ On 19 December 1912, Stravinsky wrote from Clarens in Switzerland to ask Steinberg what a trumpet in D alto would cost at Zimmermann's.⁵⁰ On 11 January 1913, Steinberg wrote back to inform him that none in D was available, but that there was one in E♭ alto with a crook for D.⁵¹

45 www.thierrycaens.com/efoveau/biographie-deugene-foveau.html.

46 Merri Franquin: La trompette et le cornet, in: Albert Lavignac/Lionel de la Laurencie: *Encyclopédie de la musique. Dictionnaire du Conservatoire. Deuxième partie. Technique – Esthétique – Pédagogie*, Paris 1927, pp. 1597–1637, here p. 1611.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 1619.

48 See www.robbstewart.com/courtois-mager.

49 I am grateful to Anselm Gerhard for referring me to these Russian letters.

50 Igor Stravinsky: *Perepiska s russkimi korrespondentami. Materialy k biografij*, ed. by Viktor Pajlakowitsch Varunc (3 volumes), Moscow 1998–2003, Vol. 1, p. 391.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 399.



FIGURE 11 Trumpet in D by Courtois, apparently owned by Georges Mager (© Robb Stewart/Boyde Hood)

There is no letter to confirm that such an instrument was actually ordered, but on 3 May 1913 Stravinsky wrote to insist on being sent the trumpet immediately, which was clearly a more urgent matter for him than procuring the piccolo timpani he had also requested. In this same letter, he wrote about the mutes for the trombones and tubas, which were apparently also to be purchased in Russia:

“Order at least the Tromba picc. in Re. Even if it doesn’t work with the Timpani picc., the Tromba must arrive *contre tout!* Order from Zimmermann some mutes (made of metal or leather – it doesn’t matter) for tuba and trombones – three pieces for trombones and two for tubas. They shall be immediately sent to: Direction des Ballets russes – chez G. Astruc et C°. Pavillon de Hannover, Rue Louis le Grand, Paris.”⁵²

Stravinsky does not seem to be too picky, as it does not matter to him if he is sent copper or leather mutes. Steinberg wrote back to confirm the order four days later: “Trumpet and mutes (5 pieces) are ordered, today they start testing the trumpet, and in a week, they will be sent to Paris; hopefully they will arrive prior to the *Sacre* premiere.”⁵³

Why Stravinsky decided to import a trumpet from Russia remains unclear. After all, Zimmermann was more of a salesman than an instrument maker himself, and the most expensive (and best?) instruments were purchased by him from Courtois in Paris and others, and then resold.⁵⁴ We do not know if the trumpet and all the mutes arrived in time, nor whether the first trumpeter would have been willing to change his instrument to a foreign one, just two or three weeks before the premiere. These too are questions that remain unanswered on our search for the instruments used on 29 May 1913 in Paris.

We do have some information about Georges Mager and his mouthpieces. The Schilke company designed a mouthpiece explicitly for him (Schilke 20D2d),⁵⁵ though this was probably many years after the premiere of *Le Sacre*. All the same, its design – with a “large diameter [17.73 mm] for the robust embouchure”, which included “a larger ‘D’ style cup, #2 semi-round rim and larger ‘d’ backbore [slightly curved out]”⁵⁶ – might offer us an indication of his sound preferences (though these might also have changed over the years).

We now come to the last instrument in the brass section of *Le Sacre*, namely the tromba bassa in E \flat , played – according to the score – by the fourth trumpet. Today, probably every performance of *Le Sacre* divides up this part, with a trumpet player on a

52 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 65, translations from the Russian are by the present writer.

53 Ibid., p. 66. The next extant letter is from two days after the premiere, in which Steinberg expressed his hopes that all the instruments had arrived. Ibid, p. 82.

54 See Julius Heinrich Zimmermann: *Musikinstrumente* [catalogue], Leipzig [1899], Reprint ed. by Günter Joppig, Frankfurt 1984, Preface, p. [III].

55 www.thomann.de/de/schilke_20d2d_trompetenmundstueck.htm.

56 Schilke. *Mouthpieces for Brass* [catalogue], [s.l. 2016], p. 12, see also p. 5 for the labelling system.

trumpet in C for the fourth trumpet, and a trombone player on a bass trumpet for the rest of the part (either a bass trumpet in E \flat , as written in the score, or even in C or B \flat , which were the usual keys for bass trumpets since Richard Wagner invented them). The bass trumpet has valves, though it is more like a trombone in both bore and length, and has normally been played by trombone players. This brings us to the question as to why Stravinsky wrote these two instruments in the same part.

We can find indications as to an answer in Stravinsky's sketchbook, where he states that the part is to be played by a 'trompette contralta in F'.⁵⁷ Such low trumpets in F, as well as their counterparts in E \flat (the latter mostly used by the military), can also be found in the abovementioned catalogue of Evette & Schaeffer. This trumpet is narrower in bore than the bass trumpet, and was in fact the instrument on which most trumpet players in older days had to study. This trumpet in F or E \flat might be the reason for Stravinsky having wrote a 'combined' part.

However, if we peruse the performers' list in Bullard again, we see that four trombone players are listed instead of three. If the part could have been played by a low trumpet in F instead of the bass trumpet used nowadays, why would there have been four trombone players?

The solution might be that the old trumpet in F was being increasingly abandoned by trumpet players. In his article on the trumpet for the Lavignac/Lalaurencie *Encyclopédie de musique* of 1927, Merri Franquin tells us that all trumpet players learned the trumpet in F until World War I, with some even doing their exam on that instrument. But he adds that none of them, graduation after 1896, later played it in orchestras because it was assigned more and more to trombone players (its length being the same as that of the alto trombone):

"La trompette ancienne (dite en fa) est dans la même tonalité (même longueur de tube) que le trombone [alto]. C'est une trompette basse jouée, de nos jours, par des trombonistes. [...] Sur 43 premiers prix sortis de la classe de trompette, de 1896 à 1914, 15 l'ont obtenu en jouant de la trompette en fa, et tous les autres ont appris à en jouer [...]. Aucun d'eux n'a jamais joué de la trompette ancienne dans les orchestres."⁵⁸

It remains unclear as to what Stravinsky intended when combining these parts. Was he unaware that the time for combining both instruments in a single part had passed? Or did he have a particular player in mind when he wrote the part? And was that person also the fourth trombonist on the list? Many questions thus remain unanswered.

57 "Tr. c-alta in Fa", see Igor Stravinsky: *The Rite of Spring/Le Sacre du Printemps. Sketches 1911–1913*, London 1969, p. 2.

58 Franquin: *La trompette*, p. 1614.

In our project, we had to make decisions when planning a workshop concert of brass excerpts from *Le Sacre* using instruments mainly from the Klingendes Museum Bern.⁵⁹ Students from the Hochschule der Künste Bern HKB performed several examples at the Fourth Romantic Brass Symposium, using four ascending and four descending horns by Couesnon, Courtois and Raoux-Millereau, trumpets by Couesnon, Pélisson and Halary, an F trumpet by Besson (with a replica by Egger), (slide) trombones by Pihan, Besson and Thibouville-Lamy and finally two six-valve tubas by Gras and Couesnon.⁶⁰ These excerpts provided a rough, yet well-balanced brass sound. It was not as rounded (and not as loud) as would have been the case with modern instruments, but had a wide variety of tonal colours. Since the strings, woodwind and percussion were absent for that workshop concert, I here refrain from offering audio examples from it, and instead would like to direct those interested to the live recording of *Le Sacre* by the orchestra Les Siècles under the baton of François-Xavier Roth.⁶¹

Since the actual sound of the premiere depended on the combination of the instruments and mouthpieces used, the preferences and artistry of the players, the acoustics of the location and the ears of the listeners, we cannot go back in time to recreate the exact soundscape of *Le Sacre* on 29 May 1913 in the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. But it is clear that there are still many tone colours yet to be discovered when considering historical performances and instruments.

59 www.klingendes-museum-bern.ch.

60 This was combined with the 2017 CIMCIM annual conference: www.hkb-interpretation.ch/cimcim.

61 François-Xavier Roth/Les Siècles: Igor Stravinsky: *Le Sacre Du Printemps/Petrouchka* [CD], Actes Sud, ASM 15 (2014). This recording is available at <https://youtu.be/E9evNJU5kBo>.