



‘Noble throughout’
The transformations of the pedal harp in Paris
and London, between 1749 and 1811

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La harpe me plait ; elle est harmonieuse, forte, gaie dans les dessus, triste et mélancolique dans le bas, noble partout.

The harp pleases me; it is harmonious, strong, gay in the treble, sad and melancholic in the bass, noble throughout.

Denis Diderot, Lettre à Mademoiselle de Volland, 2 August 1760

I certify that this submission is my own unaided work and that I have acknowledged all references to the work of others in the course of the text. I declare that it has been specially written for the doctoral degree (RCM), and that it has not been submitted for a comparable academic award. I declare that this submission complies with the Doctoral Programme Handbook guidelines.

Signed: Fanny GUILLAUME-CASTEL

Date: 20/09/2023

Abstract

When Denis Diderot first heard a pedal harp played by Oginski, he was enchanted. The philosopher's appreciation for the instrument introduces the pedal harp as an object of fascination for the Enlightenment. From the arrival of the first single-action pedal harp in Paris in 1749, to the patenting of the double-action pedal harp in the 1810s, the instrument underwent significant changes making the harp easier to play and more versatile. Several makers offered different versions of the mechanism, while others added to the tonal possibilities. The transformations of the single-action pedal harp paved the way for the development of the double-action pedal harp – patented by Sébastien Erard in London in 1810 and in Paris in 1811 – which remains the standard pedal harp mechanism today.

This thesis examines the single-action pedal harp's place within Paris and London societies during this period. It engages with a musical instrument that was also considered an object of luxury, with a range of economic and social implications. The first chapter explores these issues, detailing the different meanings tied to the pedal harp at the time. The second chapter focuses on the makers of the pedal harp, assessing their lives and careers. It sheds a new light on their role in various networks such as the German Protestant community in eighteenth-century Paris, which helped to sustain their activity, both personally and professionally. The third chapter explores the quest for transformations that harp makers sought to bring to the pedal harp highlighting the processes employed to protect and disseminate their creation. The analysis of each of these transformations outlines their different trajectories, with a focus on the Erard workshop in Paris and London. The pedal harp is foremost a musical instrument, played by musicians, with its own compositions. The fourth and final chapter examines the performance aspect of the pedal harp, and its place in the music of the period. It explores new links between players and harp makers and highlights the careers of musicians often forgotten in music history.

Drawing on a variety of sources, this study offers a comprehensive view of a crucial period in the pedal harp's history. Through the investigation of more than eighty pedal harps spanning the years 1749 to 1810, this study demonstrates the invaluable insights that can be gained from material culture studies when telling the history of a musical instrument. The harps have been studied alongside archival texts, iconography, and music of the period, in order to present the many aspects of their material presence. The instrument emerges here as a prism through which to explore complex issues of labour, market, class, gender, and culture at the time.

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Tools

Note on Currencies mentioned

This study covers a period where significant economic changes happened, particularly in France. Until the French Revolution, the currency used was the *livres tournois*. It was a non-decimal currency, with 1 *livre*, equalling to 20 *sous* and 240 *deniers*. From 1795, France adopted the *francs* as its official currency. Along with the new units of measurement implemented by the revolution, the *franc* was defined as decimal, equalling 100 *centimes*.

In England, the pound functioned the same way as the *livre tournois*. One pound equalled twenty shillings, and two hundred and forty pennies. The currency was in place until 1971. When calculations are made in this study, non-decimal prices were calculated as decimal. The number of pounds stayed the same, while the decimal was the addition of pennies to the shillings times 12, then divided by 2.4.

Abbreviations for Collections of Musical Instruments

For clarity, the collections consulted for this research have been abbreviated in the table below.

The abbreviation with an asterisk come from the sigla defined by the Comité International des Musées et Collections d'Instruments et de Musique (the International Committee of Museums and Collections of Instruments and Music) known as CIMCIM.¹

A	Auction
ADN	Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Namur, Belgium)
B.A.mv*	Museum Vleeshuis (Antwerp, Belgium)
B.B.mim*	Musée des Instruments de Musique (Brussels, Belgium)
CHM	Château de Morlanne (Morlanne, France)
CMH	Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau, Canada)
F.NI.pl*	Palais Lascaris (Nice, France)
F.P.ad*	Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Paris, France)
F.P.cm*	Musée de la Musique (Paris, France)
F.V.m*	Château de Versailles (Versailles, France)
GB.L.cm*	Royal College of Music Museum (London, United Kingdom)
GCL	Grand Curtius (Liège, Belgium)
GMB	Groeningemuseum (Bruges, Belgium)
I.M.ts*	Museo Teatrale alla Scala (Milan, Italy)
MGL	Musée Gretry (Liège, Belgium)
MHC	Musée de l'Hospice Comtesse (Lille, France)
MJA	Musée Jacquemart-André (Paris, France)
MRAH	Musée Royal d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels, Belgium)
MVV	Musée de Vendôme (Vendôme, France)
NL.A.rm*	Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam, Netherlands)
PC	Private Collection
PPP	Petit Palais (Paris, France)

¹ It should be noted here that this sigla is currently under review by CIMCIM. I am part of this project, which is aimed at covering as many of the musical instrument collections as possible.

Abbreviations for Libraries and Archives

The libraries and archives consulted for this research have also been abbreviated in the table below.

Abbreviation with an asterisk come from the sigla defined by the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM).

ADS	Archives de l'Académie des Sciences (Paris, France)
A-Sm*	Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum (Salzburg, Austria)
F-CHad*	Archives départementales de l'Essonne (Chamarande, France)
F-LRYa	Archives départementales de Vendée (La-Roche-sur-Yon, France)
F-Mba*	Archives départementales des Yvelines (Montigny-le-Bretonneux, France)
F-Pan*	Archives Nationales (Paris and Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France)
F-Pap*	Archives de Paris (Paris, France)
F-Pcf*	Bibliothèque de la Comédie Française (Paris, France)
F-Pmm*	Musée de la Musique (Paris, France)
F-Pn*	Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris, France)
F-REad*	Archives départementales de l'Ile-et-Villaine (Rennes, France)
F-Sad*	Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin (Strasbourg, France)
F-SBRad*	Archives départementales des Côtes d'Armor (Saint-Brieuc, France)
GB-Lbl*	British Library (London, United Kingdom)
GB-Lcm*	Royal College of Music (London, United Kingdom)
GB-Lna*	National Archives (London, United Kingdom)
INPI	Institut National de la Propriété Intellectuelle (Courbevoie, France)
SHPF	Société pour l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (Paris, France)
US-PRVhp*	International Harp Archives, Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah, United States of America)

Translations

All translations, unless otherwise stated, were made by the author.

Life dates

When possible, the dates of birth and death were added for each person discussed in the study. The dates are from either direct archival sources, or from secondary sources, found in the bibliography. In several cases, no dates were found, and none were added to the person.

Introduction

The harp has been used in various cultures and eras throughout human history. However, the period defined in this study has notably transformed the pedal harp, its construction and playing techniques. These transformations have influenced both the performance and perception of the harp, centring this research on the first iteration of the modern pedal harp: the single-action pedal harp.

This research begins in 1749, when the first pedal harp, possibly made in Bavaria, was played for the first time in Paris. The introduction of this instrument to the Parisian public attracted the attention of musical instrument makers. Soon, several of them began producing their own versions of the instrument. Parisian luthiers thus gave the instrument a new shape, impacting on its playing and its importance in the economy and society. The French pedal harp then arrived in London in the 1770s, where the fashion for all things French helped to spread the instrument among the British elite. However, this early model of the French pedal harp had limitations that makers tried to overcome. From the 1780s onwards, a number of makers introduced innovations that altered the way the strings were played, or changed the sound the instrument could produce. In the 1790s, the harp maker Sébastien Erard moved his business to London, thus shifting the centre of pedal harp production from Paris to London. This thesis concludes with the advent of a new and final model of pedal harp, the double-action pedal harp. Patented in 1810 in London and in 1811 in Paris, the double-action pedal harp is still the model played by harpists today. The instrument was an immediate success in London but received a lukewarm reception in Paris. Within two decades, however, it had become the dominant harp model in Europe.

The history of the pedal harp has already been studied on several occasions. However, most of these studies have focused on the music and the playing, with little contextualisation of the period. The novelty of this research lies in its global vision of an instrument whose history has been only partially told, and in its anchoring in the study of surviving pedal harps. This thesis presents the pedal harp in its economic, social and cultural context, demonstrating its importance beyond music alone.

Literature Review

In this literature review, I explore how the interconnecting fields of economic and social history, material culture and music history had an impact on the pedal harp's history.

Firstly, economic and social history is explored, establishing the importance of a pedal harp as a luxury object and its consumption as such. This section addresses the role of communities in shaping the way labour was used. It also considers the parallels between France and England about issues of invention. Secondly, the literature review discusses how material culture can provide new insight in history and organology. Thirdly, the chapter explores literature on musical life in Paris and London during the second half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, while discussing the perspectives brought to music history by interdisciplinarity. The literature review will address the interdisciplinary nature of music history in recent years, and how this research shapes my project. Finally, the review will address literature specifically dedicated to the history of the harp, considering makers, harps, and musicians and their repertoire.

1. Economic and Social History

1.1 Consumption and Luxury

By the mid-eighteenth century, Paris and London had seen an increase of the demand for manufactured goods, as a result of both the growing population and manufacturing improvements. This phenomenon pertained to the growing population, that had an easier access to such items. Many have characterised this period as a consumer revolution, however historian Maxine Berg argues in favour of a more complex definition of consumption at the time.² Berg explores how eighteenth-century England brought new meaning to consumption and to luxury. Specifically, she proposes the term *semi-luxury* to highlight the new market for luxury imitations developed at the time. Berg further broadens luxury studies beyond the aristocracy to include the middle and bourgeois classes, focusing on the cultural and social contexts of goods. By challenging existing theories and highlighting the importance of semi-luxuries, she offers a nuanced and interdisciplinary perspective on the dynamics of consumption in the seventeenth

² Maxine Berg, "New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England" in *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

and eighteenth centuries in England, encompassing questions of industry, luxury and leisure –all of which will be discussed here in relation to the harp.³

Shops and shopkeepers played a key role in the transformations of manufacturing and consumption at the time, a focal point at the heart of historian Natacha Coquery's work. In her 2003 paper, Coquery explores these issues through the documents of merchants, specifically focusing on their relationships with their clientele.⁴ Her investigation demonstrates the importance of networks in consumption, an aspect she examines further in her 2010 article. In the latter, she stresses the role and significance of the urban landscape in the life of shops.⁵ The research highlights the ties of shopkeepers with their subcontractors and consumers, and how these constructed neighbourhood groups. Coquery also reprises the characterisations instituted by Maxine Berg, specifically that of *semi-luxury* and luxury as drivers of innovation for Parisian boutiques.⁶ Coquery further highlights the role of craftsmen in this consumption, where commerce and production are inextricably linked. Coquery's understanding of trade through networks and spaces is important to appreciate the economy in which the pedal harp market was established.

French society and culture were profoundly impacted by the changes in the demand for goods. With a compelling balance between historiography and accounts from the eighteenth century, John Shovlin shows the importance of these transformations.⁷ Shovlin focuses on the idea of luxury and its use in France at the time. Shovlin understands consumption as a space for representation and recognition amongst the upper class. His research emphasises the need to recognise the new roles of consumption as integral to the changes at the end of the century. Furthermore, historian Cissie Fairchild examines the lasting impact of the luxury market on the Parisian economy, and on what she calls the *Populuxe* market.⁸ Using a contraction of the words *popular* and *luxury*, Fairchild labels the new items of consumption as imitations of those bought by the aristocracy. To understand this phenomenon, she studies estate inventories of Parisians,

³ *The age of manufactures, 1700-1820: Industry, innovation and work in Britain* (Routledge, 2005); *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁴ Natacha Coquery, "Mode, commerce, innovation: la boutique parisienne au XVIIIe siècle. Aperçu sur les stratégies de séduction des marchands parisiens de luxe et de demi-luxe" in *Les chemins de la nouveauté. Innover, inventer au regard de l'histoire*, ed. Liliane Hilaire-Pérez and Anne-Françoise Garçon (Paris: éditions du CTHS, 2003).

⁵ Natacha Coquery, "La boutique parisienne au XVIIIe siècle et ses réseaux : clientèle, crédit, territoire" in *Les Passions d'un historien. Mélanges en l'honneur du Professeur Jean-Pierre Poussou* (PUPS, 2010).

⁶ Natacha Coquery, "The language of success: marketing and distributing semi-luxury goods in eighteenth-century Paris," *Journal of Design History* 17, no. 1 (2004).

⁷ John Shovlin, "The Cultural Politics of Luxury in Eighteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 23 (2000).

⁸ Cissie Fairchild, "The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris" in *Consumption the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993).

demonstrating the relevance of these important documents, which are also utilised in this study. Fairchild describes the *Populuxe* trade as the evidence that France was producing many original goods, showing that consumption was also evolving in the rest of Western Europe, and not just in England, as highlighted in earlier works.

1.2 Communities

During the period of this study, French craftsmen belonged to certain communities that dictated many aspects of their professional lives. Before the French Revolution, the municipal guilds oversaw labour in France. Each trade organised around a dedicated corporation that would define the rules of practice, such as the number of trainees, or the path to enter the industry in question. Historian Steven Kaplan devotes his research to the intricacies of the Parisians guilds, particularly in the eighteenth century. Kaplan discusses the issues of apprenticeships, and the political practices of these powerful groups.⁹ His analysis offers a comprehensive perspective of labour at the time, as he also studies workers at the margins of these regulations.¹⁰ He asserts that these behaviours led to the demise of corporations during the French Revolution. Paris counted one musical instrument makers' guild at the time. Therefore, Kaplan's research helps to discern the labour practises in which makers evolved.

Musical instrument makers in Paris were organised within their own guild, several musicologists have addressed this, most notably musicologists Jean Jeltsch and Denis Watel, and John Hunt. Jeltsch and Watel, in their 1998 paper, discusses detailed accounts of the guild's records, compiling data about the election of administrators, and the masters' receptions.¹¹ The research presents tables with this information, making archival information readily accessible when researching musical instrument makers. However, this study fails to consider the guild within the wider context of other corporations and of policies in place, which would have made it relevant beyond the field of organology. As a result, it should be read in parallel with more general works, like the ones by Kaplan. The two studies in parallel offer a clearer view of how the musical instrument maker's guild functioned in comparison with others. John Hunt's paper, published

⁹ Steven L. Kaplan, "L'apprentissage au XVIIIe siècle: le cas de Paris," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (1954-) 40, no. 3 (1993).

"Idéologie, conflits et pratiques politiques dans les corporations parisiennes au XVIIIe siècle," 49-1, no. 1 (2002).

¹⁰ Steven Kaplan, *La Fin des Corporations* (Paris: Fayard, 2001).

"Les corporations, les « faux ouvriers » et le faubourg Saint-Antoine au XVIIIe siècle," *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 43 (1988).

¹¹ Jean Jeltsch and Denis Watel, "Maîtrises et jurandes dans la communauté des maîtres faiseurs d'instruments de musique à Paris," *Musique Images Instruments* 4 (1998).

that same year, presents the system of the guild's jurors in the broader context.¹² His research explores its history alongside that of other corporations, referencing more recent literature on the subject. Similar to Jeltsch and Watel, Hunt's study provides important data, presenting detailed lists of the members of the guild's governing body throughout time, including several harp makers, as will be discussed in the second chapter of this thesis.

The Parisian guilds derived from Catholic fraternities, as they were each devoted to a saint, for example Saint Cecilia was the saint for the musical instrument makers' guild. The intricacies of work and religion in eighteenth century Paris is detailed in David Garrioch's research.¹³ He explores how these issues influenced the premises of the French Revolution and the organisation of labour afterwards. Furthermore, he researches the *Huguenots*, French Protestants, between the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685 and the advent of the Revolution.¹⁴ Several of the Parisian harp makers studied here were born in the German regions and of Protestant faith. Along with other craftsmen, most of them cabinetmakers, the political and economic situations of their country had led them to move to Paris, where the demand for a skilled workforce was rising. German Protestants are the centre of Janine Driancourt-Girod's research. Driancourt-Girod notably explores the life and community of craftsmen in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Paris.¹⁵ Her 1992 paper, introduces her rediscovery of the records of the most active Protestant chapels in Paris at the time, which she uses to highlight the role of Germans in the community. Notably, she presents a description of the parishioners' profession, estimating that 56% of them were craftsmen. This paper offers valuable insights into the lives of German Protestants in Paris, and lists several musical instrument makers and musicians, including harp makers and harpists. In her thesis on Lutherans in Paris, submitted in 1990, Driancourt-Girod gives even more detail on these professions, providing lists of the parishioners.¹⁶ Driancourt-Girod acknowledges her limitations when it comes to music history, but she still provides very valuable data. Her research is referenced in this research project, as it provides a new perspective on non-professional networks, and the opportunity to understand how some harp makers settled in Paris.

¹²John N. Hunt, "Jurors of the Guild of Musical Instruments Makers of Paris," *The Galpin Society Journal* 51 (1998).

¹³ David Garrioch, "Confréries de métier et corporations à Paris (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)," *Revue d'histoire moderne contemporaine*, no. 1 (2018).

¹⁴ *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom, 1685-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

¹⁵ Janine Driancourt-Girod, "Les Allemands luthériens à Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles" in *Allemands en France, Français en Allemagne 1715-1789 Contacts institutionnels, groupes sociaux, lieux d'échanges*, ed. Jean Mondot, Jean-Marie Valentin, and Jürgen Voss (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992).

¹⁶ "Les Luthériens à Paris du début du XVIIe siècle au début du XIXe siècle (1626-1809)" (Université Paris-Sorbonne IV, 1990).

Regarding the German workforce in Paris, historian Ulrich-Christian Pallach describes this community in the 1992 book *Allemands en France, Français en Allemagne 1715-1789 Contacts institutionnels, groupes sociaux, lieux d'échanges*.¹⁷ Conversely to Driancourt-Girod, he studies this population not through their religious practice but through their work, especially within the cabinetmakers' guild. Pallach discusses the difference between artistic achievement and commercial success for this community through the example of renowned cabinetmaker Johann Franz Oeben. Pallach considers that, by the Revolution, half of the members of the cabinetmakers' guild were of German origin, thus demonstrating their integration within the Parisian economic and social life.

In the aftermaths of the French Revolution, many of those threatened, mostly among the aristocracy, fled to London. The community of French migrants, referred to as *émigrés* in this study, was a tight one, as craftsmen also followed their customers. Historian Kirsty Carpenter researched this group and the establishment of their network in London.¹⁸ Carpenter highlights the role of artists such as musicians in this community, and in the dissemination of French culture in the city. One of the makers introduced in this thesis, Sébastien Erard, also settled in London during this time, where he fostered relationships among the *émigrés* community, as will be detailed in the third chapter.

1.3 Inventions

The existing literature on the politics of invention is crucial to this study, particularly in relation to pedal harp innovations introduced in Paris and London between 1750 and 1811. In eighteenth-century France, invention was seen as a link between the inventor and society, as presented by Liliane Hilaire-Pérez in her 1990 article.¹⁹ The French governing authorities encouraged inventions by offering bonuses to inventors through the Bureau de Commerce. Hilaire-Pérez highlights the vital role of the inventors' network in influencing the Bureau and advancing their inventions. Her paper describes the context of invention in eighteenth-century France, using a comprehensive approach and numerous examples, demonstrating the complex relationships between inventors and society, particularly in the process leading up to an invention. Hilaire-Pérez's conclusions on these networks are particularly valuable for the second chapter of this

¹⁷ Ulrich-Christian Pallach, "Deutsche Handwerker im Frankreich des 18. Jahrhunderts" in *Allemands en France, Français en Allemagne 1715-1789 Contacts institutionnels, groupes sociaux, lieux d'échanges*, ed. Jean Mondot, Jean-Marie Valentin, and Jürgen Voss (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992).

¹⁸ Kirsty Carpenter, "The novelty of the French *émigrés* in London in the 1790s" in *A history of the French in London*, ed. Martyn Cornick and Debra Kelly (London: University of London Press, Institute of Historical Research, 2013).

¹⁹ Liliane Pérez, "Invention, politique et société en France dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 37, no. 1 (1990).

thesis, which deals with the networks of musical instrument makers and their influence on innovations.

Meanwhile, inventors in London benefitted from a system of regulated patents of invention. This system has often been regarded as the inspiration behind the French patents, discussed later. However, Hilaire-Pérez untangles the economic ties between both countries in her 1997 paper.²⁰ Hilaire-Pérez introduces a number of parallels, as she deconstructs the myth of England as the sole nation for innovation in Europe and offers examples of British entrepreneurs who sent workers abroad to learn new skills. In regard to the British patent system, she discusses the French influence, notably pertaining to the specifications required for patent applications. Overall, the paper's perspective on transnational influence is important to understand the difference in innovation in those two countries. Furthermore, Hilaire-Pérez underlines the imperfections of the British patent system that need to be considered. Because this system had been in place for a long time, accounts on eighteenth-century London tend to interpret the patents as the measure for inventions. In recent years, scholars have recognised the system's limitations, like Jenny Nex in her thesis on musical instrument makers.²¹ Nex work acknowledges that inventions happened outside of the patents, and that patents did not consistently lead to commercialisation, as will be discussed in chapter 3.

The French patents, called *brevets*, were developed through a series of laws passed in 1791, that took the success of the British system as the example. These legislations are detailed in Valérie Marchal's research.²² Formerly in charge of the patent archives, she discusses the lasting impact of the system on invention itself. The new system offered administrative and legal protection for inventors and allowed for more freedom of enterprise. Marchal offers a technical but clear summary of the state of French patents, that is valuable when discussing innovation in France in the early nineteenth century.

Acknowledging the systems in place to protect inventions is necessary to understand the trajectory of inventors. A number of innovations relating to the pedal harps were patented during the period studied in this thesis, and while British harp patents have been the subject of recent studies, discussed later in this literature review, a lot remains to be uncovered on harp-related patents in France and their relation to British patents.

²⁰ Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, "Transferts technologiques, droit et territoire: Le cas franco-anglais au XVIIIe siècle," *ibid.*44 (1997).

²¹ Jenny Nex, "The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London" (Goldsmiths, University of London, 2013).

²² Valérie Marchal, "Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles. Évolution des protections de propriété industrielle au XIXe siècle en France," *Documents pour l'histoire des techniques. Nouvelle série*, no. 17 (2009).

2. Material Culture and Organology

2.1 Material culture and History

Material culture methodologies, originally used in anthropology, provide a new perspective for historians. The study of lower social classes, who rarely left written accounts of their life, has pushed historians to find new ways to understand their history. Through transdisciplinary approaches, several historians have found that material culture studies were a new entry point for their research. Initially used in pre-historical studies (i.e., societies which did not write) or the studies of non-Western societies, material culture studies have been used increasingly over the past few years. The application of material culture to French early modern history is discussed in Marjorie Meiss' 2016 handbook.²³ Drawing on the works of Fernand Braudel and Daniel Roche, and Meiss' own research, Meiss introduces the importance of considering the material world when writing history. Meiss' book articulates the importance of material culture history in relation to various topics. The book discusses musical instruments in a chapter on leisure, commenting on what instruments say about leisure practices and interiors. Overall, Meiss introduces this book as an appeal to researcher to deepen their understanding of objects as sources of history.

In the 2014 book *Writing Material Culture History*, edited by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, the two historians argue for the widespread integration of material culture into historical writing.²⁴ They define material culture as the study of objects and the meanings these objects had for the people who interacted with them. In this research, they explain that objects can complement other sources of information by introducing new ways of interpreting written and visual documents. As a result, material culture can be used as a tool for asking questions that cannot be answered by written sources alone, such as those relating to the history of textiles and fashion. The frequent collaboration between academics and museum professionals, who have direct access to these objects, further illustrates how the study of history and material culture can interact. Through various examples, this book offers historians an understanding of material culture as a means of bringing new perspectives to their research.

In recent years, several studies have introduced a similar methodology applied to organology. Flora Dennis' research is often cited as innovative in this particular field. In the aforementioned 2014 book, edited by Gerritsen and Riello, Dennis introduces the application of material culture

²³ Marjorie Meiss, *La culture matérielle de la France. XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2016).

²⁴ *Writing Material Culture History*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

studies to a sixteenth century bronze bell.²⁵ Dennis explores the cultural meanings of this object as well as its symbolic meanings. Organology and material culture are quite similar, in that organology often requires the study of musical instruments, their meanings in relation to the people interacting with them, as well as their material history, according to Dennis. In a 2018 paper, Dennis advocates for a general use of material culture in the study of musical instruments.²⁶ As the makers, and often the musicians themselves, did not leave many accounts of their interaction with the instruments, the close inspection of these objects can provide precious details about their making and their use. Considering her own work, Dennis reflects on the new questions material culture brought to her study of musical instruments, and how it led her to new perspectives. Similar to Gerritsen & Riello's introduction, Dennis takes the history of textile and fashion as an example, to demonstrate the importance of collaborative endeavours for material culture history, and its implication for the study of musical instruments. The application of material culture to organology is a recent practice, that is gaining more and more momentum. Given that the study of musical instruments must rely primarily on non-textual sources, an object-led approach seems appropriate to writing a comprehensive history of any instrument.

2.2 New approaches to organology

The study of organology benefits from new perspectives and methodologies drawing from other disciplines, like the aforementioned material culture studies. Florence G treau's 1993 account of organological research, conducted between 1960 and 1992, discusses the trends that drive the study of musical instruments.²⁷ G treau demonstrates how the development of heritage sciences has pushed researchers to perceive musical instruments in innovative ways. Considering musical instruments as heritage items is at the basis of organology, a discipline that originated out of music museums.

Scholars are today contemplating new approaches from various fields, especially the social sciences. Eliot Bates, an ethnomusicologist, researches the intersection of Actor-Network Theory ("ANT") and organology, notably in his 2018 paper.²⁸ Sociologist Bruno Latour developed the

²⁵ Flora Dennis, "Material Culture and Sound: A Sixteenth-Century Handbell" in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (2014).

²⁶ "Organology and Material Culture," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 44 (2018).

²⁷ Florence G treau, "La recherche en organologie: Les instruments de musique occidentaux. 1960-1992," *Revue de musicologie* 79 (1993).

²⁸ Eliot Bates, "Actor-Network Theory and Organology," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 44 (2018).

concept of ANT in his study of the practice of science and its interaction with people.²⁹ This methodology assumes an equivalence in analysis between human and non-human entities, proclaiming that any item can be an object if acted upon. Similarly, ethnomusicology explores the relation between music and the society that created it, making it a good field of application for ANT.³⁰ Bates demonstrates how this methodology can be applied to musical instruments, considering them objects which are acted upon by various individuals (makers, players, collectors). He presents an enticing new way of considering organology, that includes the factors of change in musical instrument construction. However, this paper fails to assess the effectiveness of this application and its limitations. Therefore, it is necessary to look at practical examples of the implementation of ANT methodologies. Simon Waters uses them extensively in his research on London woodwind makers.³¹ Waters analyses the networks of people, ideas, technology and materials that were at play in musical instrument making in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Waters completes this analysis by including an analysis of surviving instruments, similar to what this thesis presents. He uses these instruments as an indication of a maker's productivity, comparing them to advertisements of that time. This paper would have been more persuasive if a complete application of ANT to musical instruments had been explored. Still, Waters provides a compelling argument for how to apply, at least partly, these methodologies to the study of musical instruments.

The network of interaction of a musical instrument is crucial when introducing an invention, like with scientific advancements, a phenomenon that can be seen with the introduction of innovations in pedal harps, for example. Researchers in organology introduce a parallel between the study of musical and scientific instruments. The former are objects of complex ontology, considered as objects of fine art for their visual appeal (decorations) or for their ability to produce the art of music. Like scientific instruments, their production results from research on materials (which wood is best for which part of the instrument, for example), acoustics and physics. Emily Dolan and John Tresch explore this link in their 2013 paper entitled *Toward a New Organology: Instruments of Music and Science*.³² Neither musical nor scientific instruments have their own agency, which implies the necessity of understanding how people interact with them. Dolan and Tresch advocates for the establishment of the instrument's 'map of mediation': the network of objects that the instrument relates to (for example with the other instruments of an orchestra). Both the musical and non-musical aspects of the instrument need to be acknowledged to

²⁹ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

³⁰ Carole Pegg *et al.*, "Ethnomusicology," *Grove music Online* (2001).

³¹ Simon Waters, "Networks of Innovation, Connection and Continuity in Woodwind Design and Manufacture in London between 1760 and 1840," *The Galpin Society Journal* 73 (2020).

³² Emily Dolan and John Tresch, "Toward a new organology: Instruments of Music and Science," *Osiris* 28, no. 1, Music, Sound and the Laboratory from 1750-1980 (2013).

understand it fully, for example musical instruments used in religious liturgy have a value beyond the music they produce. Dolan and Tresch promote the approach of studying instruments to understand the objects and people that interact with it. They provide an interesting approach by mixing organology, history and science and philosophy. However, the research does not consider more recent works in the field, relying on early modern organological treatises (by Virdung from 1511 and by Praetorius from 1611). Emily Dolan bridges this gap in her 2018 paper on instrumental agencies, both musical and scientific.³³ Dolan highlights the application of scientific, anthropologic and ethnographic methodologies to organology, based on recent scholarship.

Parallels between organology and the history of science are also at the heart of James Davies' and Ellen Lockhart's research. In their 2016 book *Sound Knowledge: Music and Science in London, 1789-1851*, Davies and Lockhart questioned sensory experiences in London, especially by studying oral culture that had been neglected in favour of visual culture.³⁴ Through London's network of musicians and scientists, Davies and Lockhart showed the strong bond between science and music, notably in upper-class social circles: their work also considers urban history. For example, Davies and Lockhart explore how John Nash's redevelopment of London's centre purified the aural environment, as it led to the opening of new venues for concerts and scientific lectures. This book offers appealing perspectives on London's acoustic life, and on the links between music and scientific endeavours at the time. It also demonstrates the importance of acknowledging the context of musical production in order to understand it fully.

Both material culture studies and organology place the object at the heart of research. In this way, an item can be perceived as an intersection of topics, networks, and people. Research perspectives become more varied when they consider the role of different disciplines in highlighting certain aspects of organology. The diverse perspectives for analysis presented here have been interesting and useful point of insight in approaching for the study of pedal harps in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Approaching the development of pedal harps through these diverse perspectives shall provide the opportunity to understand what it says about French and English societies at the time of its development.

³³ Emily Dolan, "Seeing Instruments," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 44 (2018).

³⁴ James Q Davies and Ellen Lockhart, *Sound Knowledge: Music and Science in London, 1789-1851* (University of Chicago Press, 2016).

3. Music History

3.1 Paris

Several institutions ruled over music in eighteenth-century Paris, starting with the Menus Plaisirs, the royal administration in charge of leisure. Its records, today kept at the Archives Nationales, have been at the heart of studies exploring music's economic and social aspects. Michael D. Greenberg discusses the place of musical instruments in the court's life through these documents in his 2006 paper.³⁵ Greenberg introduces a systematic approach to these archives, as he presents his results instrument by instrument, looking at purchases and maintenance of the court's instruments. His investigation thus highlights the musical life at the court of Louis XV and Louis XVI, whose impact on music has been less studied than that of Louis XIV. It offers researchers on any of the instruments discussed new perspectives, with precise citing of archival material. The musical purchases introduced here demonstrate the evolution of musical taste within the court. The paper fails to acknowledge the general administration of the Menus Plaisirs, which invites more questions on these purchases' conditions. In contrast, Pauline Lemaigre-Gaffier's book provides an in-depth analysis of the institution's governance and finances.³⁶ Lemaigre-Gaffier's study covers all the elements controlled by the Menus Plaisirs, which include music. It presents an approach of the institution's economic and social history through the archives. Lemaigre-Gaffier also collaborated with Solveig Serre on the Menus Plaisirs and the administration of the Académie Royale de Musique, which produced concerts in Paris.³⁷ The Académie is at the heart of Serre's research, especially with her 2011 book, derived from her thesis. Serre's research offers a complete history of the institution during the eighteenth century, a defining era for many of its components. Both Lemaigre-Gaffier and Serre understand the necessity of bringing social and economic approaches to the study of these cultural institutions, previously solely studied for their artistic impact. These works have helped shape the aim of this study, to research beyond the harp only as an artistic object, and understand its social, economic and political implications.

In Paris, the Concert Spirituel presented concerts on religious days, which were off days for the Académie Royale de Musique. As one of the most important venues in the city, the Concert

³⁵ Michael Greenberg, "Musical Instruments in the Archives of the French Court, The "Argenterie, *Menus Plaisirs* et Affaires de la Chambre," 1733-1792," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 32 (2006).

³⁶ Pauline Lemaigre-Gaffier, *Administrer les Menus Plaisirs du roi: L'Etat, la cour et les spectacles dans la France des Lumières* (Editions Champ Vallon, 2016).

³⁷ Pauline Lemaigre-Gaffier and Solveig Serre, "L'Académie royale de musique sous l'Ancien Régime" in *La réglementation de l'Opéra de Paris (1669-2019): édition critique des principaux textes normatifs*, ed. Giroud Vincent and Serre Solveig (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2019).

welcomed many performances on the pedal harp, as will be discussed in several parts of this study. Constant Pierre pens the most complete history of the institution, using mostly the advertisements placed in the press, as the other remaining sources are scarce.³⁸ The book highlights the musicians and instruments that performed at the Concert, showing the evolution of musical trends. This monograph is one of the first on this topic, providing valuable information on the musicians and repertoire. There is still potential for further research on each performer, and on the economic implications of this organisation. More recent works, like the ones of Florence Gétreau, discussed in the final part of this review, or Imyra Santana's present more details about the people who played at the Concert Spirituel and in which circumstances.³⁹

Concerts in eighteenth-century Paris were further characterised by the significance of aristocratic leisure and patronage. David Hennebelle's research explores the relationships of musicians and the aristocracy, as 'secular patronage' conversely to religious patronage that had been in practice in prior centuries.⁴⁰ Hennebelle's work delves into the aristocracy's role in the transformations of music in the eighteenth century, particularly through their influence on musicians, composers, and venues.⁴¹ Hennebelle is among historians offering new perspectives on eighteenth-century musical patronage. Georges Cucuel is one of the first to discuss the relationship of aristocrats as patrons of music, notably through his study of the orchestra of Alexandre Joseph Le Riche de la Pouplinière.⁴² Utilising the *financier's* archives, Cucuel's research focuses on the ensemble's repertoire and the role of each musician in composition. More recently, researchers such as Hennebelle have delved deeper into the question of musical patronage by examining the creation and maintenance of relationships between aristocrats and musicians.

3.2 London

Music played an essential role in the organisation of London life in the eighteenth century. Jerry White's *A Great and Monstrous Thing*, highlights this in a section on 'public pleasures', which discusses concerts organised mainly by powerful entrepreneurs, in contrast to Parisian

³⁸ Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel: 1725-1790*, Publications de la Société française de musicologie. 3e série ; 3 (Paris: Société Française de musicologie, 1974).

³⁹ Florence Gétreau, "Une harpiste au Concert Spirituel," *Musique Images Instruments* 1 (1995). Imyra Santana, "Les Femmes Instrumentistes au Concert Spirituel (1725-1790): Le Regard de la Presse" (Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2014).

⁴⁰ David Hennebelle, "Nobles, musique et musiciens à Paris à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: Les transformations d'un patronage séculaire (1760-1780)," *Revue de musicologie* (2001).

⁴¹ *De Lully à Mozart. Aristocratie, Musique, et Musiciens à Paris (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 2009).

⁴² Georges Cucuel, *Études sur un orchestre au XVIIIe siècle* (Fischbacher, 1913).

institutions.⁴³ White's research focuses on the influence of these musical figures and venues on the city's culture and leisure, presenting an overview of urban history through social, economic and cultural life. The impact of music on urban life continued into the nineteenth century, as Leanne Langley's *A Place for Music* shows.⁴⁴ Langley examines how the development of the musical repertoire in the 1810s necessitated the creation of new venues, using John Nash and the Royal Philharmonic Society as a case study. Her article critically evaluates the society's archives, highlighting the need to set them alongside additional documents to grasp the full picture. The article shows that Nash's architectural contributions facilitated the growth of the society and its integration into the cultural and commercial landscape of London. This highlights the symbiotic relationship between urban development and musical innovation.

The organisation and economic context of musical life in London in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the object of research by scholars such as Simon McVeigh and Jenny Nex, whose work offers invaluable insights into the city's rich musical history.

McVeigh's seminal work, *Concert Life in London*, is based on the systematic survey of London newspapers to understand concerts, their audiences and promoters.⁴⁵ McVeigh's research discusses the social and economic implications of concerts in London comprehensively. McVeigh also gathers contribution from other scholars on this topic, notably in his 2004 book.⁴⁶ In 2014, he published online a comprehensive database comprising newspaper data on 4,000 concerts between 1750 and 1800. This work prompted the newspaper survey for this thesis, as his dataset includes explanatory text detailing the methodology and typologies employed. McVeigh also addresses the issue of musical instrument manufacturing, particularly during the Industrial Revolution.⁴⁷ He explores the impact on musical instrument makers and their motivation to produce new instruments, incorporating discussions of the economics of the trade and the social impact of musical instruments in British society. His data-driven approach to music history, combined with a comprehensive view of music's economic and social challenges, has significantly influenced the methodology of the present research.

In both Paris and London, the music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries needs to be understood in the wider context of the city, its people, and its businesses. The examples presented

⁴³ Jerry White, *A Great and Monstrous Thing, London in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015).

⁴⁴ Leanne Langley, "A Place for Music: John Nash, Regent Street and the Philharmonic Society of London," *Electronic British Library Journal* (2013).

⁴⁵ Simon McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁴⁶ *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 2016 ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

⁴⁷ Simon McVeigh, "Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music: Markets, Efficiency, Demand" in *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Roberto Illiano and Luca Sala (Bologna: UT Orpheus, 2010).

here show what can be achieved through a transdisciplinary approach to music, which has influenced the present study.

3.3 Interdisciplinarity

Music history can benefit from a transdisciplinary approach by incorporating perspectives from other fields such as social history. This interaction is explored in Trevor Herbert's *Social History and Music History*.⁴⁸ Herbert's research underlines tendencies in early twentieth century scholarship, which considered music solely for cataloguing purposes, without acknowledging social and cultural implications. Music history was reassessed from the 1930s, following the rising interest for the history of the lower classes. Herbert presents potential tools for historians to highlight people and activities that music history had not previously considered. The links with social and economic history constitute the focus of Cyril Ehrlich's research, exemplified in his contributions to the piano's history.⁴⁹ Ehrlich's work advocates for transdisciplinary approaches to the history of musical instruments in order to offer new perspectives. Ehrlich's presentation of his results in this article illustrates a convincing and successful transdisciplinary approach to the study of music history.

Recent research emphasises the need to understand music history in a wider social, political, and urban context. Historian Mélanie Traversier advocates for such interdisciplinary study of music history, for example in her 2015 paper.⁵⁰ By highlighting the evolution of music criticism, the changing role of the public and patrons, and the influence of political dynamics, Traversier shows the potential for new angles of research derived from social history.⁵¹ Traversier's work further underlines the role of the city in music history, notably in *Le Quartier Artistique*; as it encourages music historians to consider urban history.⁵² The paper also presents urban historians with potential new areas of research. Traversier discusses these exchanges in her review of *Espaces et*

⁴⁸ *The Cultural Study of Music, A Critical Introduction*, Second edition ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012).

⁴⁹ Cyril Ehrlich, "Economic History and Music," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 103 (1976).

⁵⁰ Mélanie Traversier, "Revisiter l'histoire sociale et politique de la musique années 1770 - années 1830," *Annales historiques de la Révolution Française* 379 (2015).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Mélanie Traversier, "Le Quartier Artistique, un objet pour l'histoire urbaine," *Histoire Urbaine* 26, no. 2009/3 (2009).

lieux de concert en Europe, 1700-1920: Architecture, musique, société, edited by Hans Bödeker, Patrice Veit, and Michael Werner in 2008.⁵³ Using the example of concert venues, Traversier demonstrates the need to situate music in wider contexts, exploring in particular the roles of urban history and architecture. Like Ehrlich, she argues in favour of diversified studies of music history. She encourages researchers to consider music as a historical source in the same way as texts and images, promoting a social and political perspective for music historiography. William Weber further diversifies approaches to music history by examining musical culture in Paris and London in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵⁴ Weber emphasises the importance of urban history through the interweaving of music and societal norms in both cities. His analysis of music as a political force during the quarrels of the Académie Royale de Musique enriches our understanding of eighteenth-century French society. Through a comprehensive literary analysis, Weber offers multiple perspectives on the socio-economic dimensions of musical life, advancing perspectives on urban and musical history.

In conclusion, the integration of social and economic history with music history has significant advantages. Historically, musical instruments and their makers have been neglected in scholarly discourse, but successful exchanges between social history, economic history and music history illustrate the richness of diverse perspectives. This approach encourages researchers to explore the intersections between these disciplines. This research uses these interdisciplinary prisms to examine the pedal harp as a social and economic entity.

4. Harp History

4.1 Makers

The history of the pedal harp is mostly told through the lives and work of its important figures, harp makers and harpists that have impacted the instrument's history. These studies offer a valuable focus on the networks of each individual and how it shaped; led by two factors: first the fame of the character in question, and second the availability of sources. The Erard family benefits from both aspects, as the inventors of the modern double-action pedal harp, and as most of the manufacturer's archives have survived until today. As a result, it has been the subject of several investigations over the past decade, starting with the seminal work *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp in Letters and Documents*, published by Robert Adelson, Laure Barthel,

⁵³ "Histoire Sociale et Musicologie: un tournant historiographique," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 57 (2010).

⁵⁴ William Weber, "La Culture musicale d'une capitale: l'époque du beau monde à Londres, 1700-1870," *ibid.* 49 (2002).

Michel Foussard, Jenny Nex and Alain Roudier in 2015.⁵⁵ This account presents the history of the company through the correspondence and the ledgers from Erard, offering a new analysis of the firm's trade. The book includes the transcription and translation of many of the company's letters, making them available to more researchers. Most of the company's ledgers are available online, which has opened up the possibility of many studies of various areas of the company. The latest example is Panagiotis Pouloupoulos's study on the strategies of the company in England, published in June 2023.⁵⁶ Adelson, who edited the 2015 book, has worked for many years on Erard, publishing in 2022 a new analysis of the production, sales, and customers.⁵⁷ This research benefitted from the support of *Les Harpes Camac*, France's last remaining harp manufacturer. Camac also has an important collection of historical harps, of which Adelson has written the catalogue.⁵⁸

The wealth of archives can also benefit individuals who might have impacted the instrument's history in a small way, but whose lives and work are well documented, like with the Erat harp manufactory in London. The firm is the heart of Mike Baldwin's research, notably with his thesis submitted in 2017.⁵⁹ The Erat family took part in the pedal harp market in England, patenting several innovations in the early nineteenth century, most of which had not impacted the instrument's history. The firm's archives and documents provide Baldwin with the material to understand the pedal harp market. Baldwin's research articulates a rare and detailed look into the organisation of a pedal harp manufacturers in nineteenth-century London. Baldwin expands his scope to analyse the lives and works of other makers in his 2020 book.⁶⁰ However, one of the main difficulties with this approach is that archive collections such as Erat's are scarce for other London makers. Although information on each maker is patchy, it provides the basis to draw up a list of pedal harp manufacturers at the time.

Erat and Erard remain amongst the most researched of all harp makers, because they left a large volume of archives, unlike most eighteenth-century makers. Research on makers is also carried out through one of their inventions, for example, with Adelson's and Roudier's analysis of

⁵⁵ Robert Adelson *et al.*, *The history of the Erard piano and harp in letters and documents, 1785–1959* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁵⁶ Panagiotis Pouloupoulos *et al.*, "Technological Study of the Decoration on an Erard Harp from 1818," *Studies in Conservation* 65, no. 2 (2020).

⁵⁷ Robert Adelson, *Erard: l'Empire de la Harpe, Erard: Empire of the Harp* (Mouzeil: Les Harpes Camac, 2022).

⁵⁸ "Harp Makers' Collections: From Erard to Camac," *The American Harp Journal* (Winter 2020
2020-04-14 2020).

⁵⁹ Mike Baldwin, "The harp in early nineteenth-century Britain: innovation, business, and making in Jacob Erat's manufactory" (London Metropolitan University, 2017).

⁶⁰ *Harp making in Late-Georgian London* (London: Bright Light, 2020).

Cousineau's 1782 harp.⁶¹ In this case, the paper presents in parallel archives and surviving documents, which help to understand elements that are lacking in the documents, presenting a convincing example of the plurality of sources.

4.2 Harps

As mentioned earlier, the study of musical instruments benefits from the collections of museums. Considering the instrument in the context of its collection offers a wider perspective on its history. Roslyn Rensch's and Dagmar Droysen-Reber's catalogue present enticing examples of such a perspective. They respectively cover the Salvi collection in Italy, and that of Berlin's Musikinstrumenten-Museum. The catalogues present the history of the instrument through the examples held by the collection. Both use close investigations of the historical harps, including detailed measurements and research on the materials used, customary methods of material culture studies. Rensch's and Droysen-Reber's catalogues provide important information for researchers both on the collections and on the harp's history.

Joël Dugot applies a similar methodology to his research on the harp developed by Jean Henry Naderman and Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz in 1785.⁶² A former curator at the Musée de la Musique in Paris, he initiates his analysis with one of the harps in question, held by the Musée. Dugot wields a variety of sources to tell the invention's complete history. He uses his observation of other surviving pedal harps and archival documents, including the accounts from the *Académie des Sciences*, press articles and writing from Krumpholtz himself. Dugot's research introduces a useful example of the sources' interaction for comprehensive results and locates archival material that is used in this thesis.

In other cases, research focuses on one instrument of a collection in particular. Robert Adelson analyses one of the harps held at the Palais Lascaris in Nice. This instrument was acquired by the museum after it was discovered in the attic of a French castle. Adelson offers a detailed history of the instrument and its owners, based on his detailed analysis of the harp. Contrary to Dugot's paper, this one focuses on a regular eighteenth-century pedal harp. It shows how important the close observation is important for all instruments, not only those that bear particular innovations.

⁶¹ Robert Adelson, Alain Roudier, and Francis Duvernay, "Rediscovering Cousineau's Fourteen-Pedal Harp," *The Galpin Society Journal* 63 (2010).

⁶² Joël Dugot, "Sonorités inouïes : la nouvelle harpe de Messieurs Krumpholtz et Naderman," *Musique Images Instruments* 7 (2005).

4.3 *Playing the harp*

Several studies focus on harp players, driven by the harpist's significance in the instrument's history. Krumpholtz, discussed as part of Dugot's research, is also the focus of Miloš Müller's work.⁶³ Krumpholtz explores the life of the Czech harpist, notably through his compositions and his innovations for the harp. The book, published in Czech, offers valuable information on Krumpholtz and includes a catalogue of his works. The study would have been more relevant if it placed the harpist's life and work in the context of his time, thus highlighting his impact on the instrument and music in general. In contrast, Florence Gétreau presents an example of using one harpist as a prism to discuss concert life in eighteenth-century Paris.⁶⁴ Gétreau's paper analyses the life of Mademoiselle Schencker, and through her story, it discusses the role of harpist in Parisian concerts. The analysis is based on the depiction of a concert, given by Mademoiselle Schencker in Paris. It demonstrates once again the need for a plurality of sources.

Contemporary harpists also show interest in the history of their instrument, often choosing to analyse the repertoire and the way the harp was played. For example, Masumi Nagasawa explores in her 2018 thesis the writing of pedal harp treatises.⁶⁵ She uses her practise of the instrument to discern the different types of playing required. Similarly, Maria Cristina Cleary researches the different pedal techniques required in eighteenth-century treatises and repertoire.⁶⁶ Her thesis uses an array of sources, which include published repertoire, surviving instruments to observe signs of wear, and iconography. Both Nagasawa and Cleary are performers and teachers on historical harps. Their practice of the harp informs their research, which in return enriches their way of playing.

⁶³ Miloš Müller, *Jan Křtitel Krumpholtz: život a dílo harfového virtuóza a skladatele: studie-texty-analýzy: La vie et l'oeuvre du harpiste virtuose et compositeur: etudes-textes-analyses: The life and the work of harpist and composer: study-text-analyses* (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR, 1999).

⁶⁴ Gétreau, "Une harpiste au Concert Spirituel".

⁶⁵ Masumi Kanemitsu-Nagasawa, "Understanding the characteristics of the single-action pedal harp and their implications for the performing practices of its repertoire from 1760 to 1830" (University of Leeds, 2018).

⁶⁶ Maria Christina Cleary, "The 'harpe organisée', 1720-1840: rediscovering the lost pedal techniques on harps with a single-action pedal mechanism" (2016).

Research aims

While several aspects of the single-action pedal harp's history have been studied, the present research aims at offering an overarching view of this instrument. It introduces the pedal harp, in both its French and English iterations, as the product of the Enlightenment and the early industrial period. The transformations of these instruments were made possible because of the social and economic context of the time, that enticed innovators to experiment, in order to reach for a perceived *perfection*.

This work explores four main themes in the pedal harp's history, articulated in four chapters: its early definition; the makers who built the pedal harps and their characteristics; the transformations and attempted transformations introduced to the instrument during the period; the implications of playing the pedal harp.

Each of them will answer the following research questions:

Chapter 1

How was the pedal harp defined after its introduction in Paris and London?

How did the rapid adoption of the pedal harp into French music and leisure influence its perception and integration into late eighteenth-century aristocratic circles in Paris and London?

What role did its inclusion in the *Encyclopédie* play in consolidating its status during the Enlightenment?

Chapter 2

How did the lives and careers of harp makers contribute to the characterisation of the instrument, particularly in terms of their training, family ties and communities?

What means did they use to characterise their instruments and distinguish themselves from their competitors?

Chapter 3

What issues did harpists and harp makers identify with the first pedal harps, and how did the makers attempt to solve them?

To what extent did the transformations of the pedal harp benefit from the institutional protections of innovation that existed in Paris and London at the time?

How did the Erard company manage to play such an important role in these transformations, both in Paris and in London?

Chapter 4

How did the emergence of professional harpists in the eighteenth century influence musical trends and challenge social norms, particularly with regard to the participation of women?

What role did institutions such as the Académie Royale de Musique play in the professionalisation of harpists and the dissemination of pedal harp music in the late eighteenth century?

How did the music publishing ventures of harp makers such as Cousineau, Naderman and Erard contribute to the accessibility and popularity of pedal harp music?

Methodology and sources

The present study uses a combination of different sources, all of which have contributed to research into the history of the pedal harp.

Archives from the makers

The Erard archives represent an important part of this research project, as well as a starting point, through the previous study I conducted on the company.⁶⁷ The Erard firm is one of the few musical instrument manufacturers whose archives have survived. These archives are divided into those of the London company and those of the Paris company, both of which have been extensively digitised. For London, the registers are kept at the Royal College of Music Library. In three volumes, the registers cover sales of Erard harps between 1798 and the 1910s, after which the company was taken over by the Morley family. The archive also includes a section on the workshop's expenditure between 1807 and 1809. With regard to the Paris branch, the majority of the remaining archives are deposited in the Musée de la Musique in Paris. They include the workshop accounts, which list the instruments that left the workshops, and the sales registers for the manufacture of harps and pianos between 1788 and 1960, when the company was bought by Gaveau. These archives provide a wealth of information on the manufacture and sale of Erard pedal harps, as well as on the company's clientele. However, this was an exception, as records of musical instrument makers from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries rarely survived if they ever existed in the first place. To go around this issue, I had to locate the types of archives that would help in understanding the makers, the harpists, and the customers.

Notarial archives

The Archives Nationales in Paris hold the collection entitled Minutier Central, gathering the archives and minutes from all Parisian notaries, from the 15th to the 20th century. This source is perhaps amongst the most important one to tell the history of any person who lived in Paris. Notaries were called upon for various events in a person's life, making it possible to trace their biography through the minutes. People commonly used the same notary throughout their life, making it easier to find more documents. The most common document is that of a person's marriage. This would often give information about their address, their parents, and where they were born, all important information when tracing back a life. Regarding addresses, I have gathered a number of leases from harp makers. These often included both living quarters and the

⁶⁷ Fanny Guillaume-Castel, "L'entreprise Erard: étude d'une entreprise basée à Paris et à Londres entre les années 1790 et 1810 à travers la fabrication et la vente de harpes" (Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2017).

workshop. Some makers even leased or purchased more property, demonstrating a certain affluence. The description given of the house and the workshop often helped to understand the scale of production for a maker. The most interesting and informative documents were often the estate inventories. Established after the passing of a person, these listed all their possessions, and what remained within their homes and workshop upon their death, in order to gauge the inheritance. For the workshop, the inventory was drawn usually by a representative from the guild, who could identify the tools and objects inside. Several estate inventories were found for harp makers, all giving important information like if they produced other instruments, and in the case of Jean Henry Naderman's wife, a list of people who owed him money for harps. This was perhaps the biggest find in this study, which brought a new light to Naderman's production, and is transcribed in Appendix III.

Menus Plaisirs

As the pedal harp became an instrument of the aristocracy, there are several references to it in the archives of the Menus Plaisirs, the crown's leisure administration. Arranged by year, the archives contain all expenditure relating to the royal family's entertainment, including everything to do with music. They include purchases of musical instruments, notes for repairs to these instruments, purchases of strings, published music, etc. The archives therefore provide rare information on purchase and maintenance prices. Harps sold to the Menus Plaisirs are among the few for which a detailed invoice has been found.

Archives of the Opera

The archives of the Académie Royale de Musique, or Opéra, are necessary to understand the institution and the role harpists played in it. Held by the Archives Nationales in their Pierrefitte-sur-Seine location, outside of Paris, the collection is numbered AJ¹³, and covers the entire existence of the Opéra, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. I have chosen to focus on the accounting documents, as they included the payments made to the people working in the institution, permanent or not. In some cases, the harpist appeared amongst a list of people who had received payments, and in others they had a dedicated document, detailing which piece they had played in, which was useful to then find the corresponding score. Once harpists were hired as permanent musicians in the orchestra, they also had dedicated files, containing much information about them and their career.

Music

Several examples of the harp's repertoire were analysed for this study. Musicologist François Lesure and harpist Catherine Michel have published a repertoire of all music published for the pedal harp in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.⁶⁸ Fortunately, many editions from that period have been digitised. From the Lesure-Michel repertoire, musical publications were found through the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM) and on the *International Music Score Library Project* (IMSLP). A significant portion of the music was digitised by the International Harp Archives, held by the Brigham Young University in the U.S.A. For non-published music, several were examined on-site in the music department of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF). In order to acknowledge the presence of harpists at the Opera, I consulted the archives of the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, also part of the BNF. There, I have found the manuscripts for the harp parts of some pieces previously mentioned in the AJ¹³ collections.

Archives of innovation

In both Paris and London, I consulted the archives of innovations to discuss the transformations made to the pedal harp. In Paris, I consulted the records of the Académie des Sciences. The Académie still exists today, and holds the records in Paris, within the Institut de France. For this study, I researched the accounts of the assemblies, and the files deposited by the petitioner, in this case harp makers. I also used the records of the Institut National de la Propriété Intellectuelle (INPI), the French patent office, which preserves records of all patents filed with the French state since the middle of the 1790s. Fortunately, these have been widely digitised and presented in the online database *Brevets 19e*, housed on the INPI's website.⁶⁹ For each patent, the file contains significant correspondence before and after it was granted, drawings, and descriptions, along with the office's decision. For London, records of patents are held by the National Archives in Kew. They are held within the Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature papers and are written on parchment rolls (hence the term patent rolls). After being granted a patent, each applicant had to register the specifications of their invention, including the drawings, with one of the three Chancery offices: the Enrolment office, the Petty Bag office or the Rolls Chapel. For all patents, I first used the indexes to locate the number and the date of each patent, to then find the relevant documents.

⁶⁸ Catherine Michel and François Lesure, *Répertoire de la Musique pour Harpe Publiée du XVIIe au Début du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres International, 1990).

⁶⁹ The author wishes to thank Steeve Gallizia (INPI) for sharing the high-definition images of each patent.

Correspondence and Memoirs

The correspondences and memoirs of the time are important tools to understand the harpists and purchasers of pedal harp. A variety of them were consulted for this study, from many different people. The letters exchanged by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and his father Leopold contain several mentions of Parisian harpists. They have all been digitised, translated, and published online, making them accessible, and searchable.⁷⁰ This is the case for many correspondences, including that of Denis Diderot, whose input on the instrument was also valuable. Most commonly, correspondence and memoirs were written by a member of the aristocracy, some of whom had relations to the harp, like for example the correspondence of the Marquise de Bombelles, a friend of Madame Elisabeth, sister of king Louis XVI.⁷¹ The memoirs of people in the musical world have also been important in this study, including those of Fanny Burney for musical life in London⁷², and those of Madame de Genlis for her own practice of the instrument and her network.⁷³

The press

Paris

Another major source for this study has been the research conducted in the press of the times. By now, enormous numbers of newspapers have been digitised, allowing for easier access and research. For Paris, I consulted the available digital issues of newspapers between 1749 and 1811. Generally, the term *harpe* was used in plain text search, bringing forth a first difficulty: Paris has a *Rue de la Harpe* on the left bank. The term *harpiste* was also used, or the word harp with an asterisk at the end, in order to catch all versions of the word. This thesis acknowledges that this excludes newspapers which are not available for plain text search yet, such as *Les Affiches de Paris*. The initial research was conducted within the digital issues of certain newspapers, some of which had published articles quoted in the literature. These were mainly *Le Mercure de France*; *L'Avant Coureur*; and *l'Almanach Musical*. In a second phase, the same criteria were entered on the website *Retronews*, part of the network of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The website was also used to research specific people, by searching their names into the website,

⁷⁰ "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente - Online Edition," in *Book Mozart Briefe und Dokumente - Online Edition*, ed. Editor, Series Mozart Briefe und Dokumente - Online Edition (reprint, Reprint Edition), accessed 14/11/2021, <https://dme.mozarteum.at/briefe-dokumente/online-edition/>.

⁷¹ Marc De Bombelles and Angélique De Bombelles, "*Que je suis heureuse d'être ta femme*", *Lettres Intimes, 1778-1782* (Paris: Taillandier, 2009).

⁷² Frances Burney, *Journals and Letters* (Penguin Books, 2001).

⁷³ Stéphanie-Félicité Du Crest comtesse de Genlis, *Mémoires*, ed. D. Masseur, *Le Temps Retrouvé* (Mercure de France, 2019).

with the boundaries of their dates of activity. Overall, twenty-four different newspapers were surveyed, almost in their entirety for the period of the study, resulting in five hundred and ninety-two mentions of the harp. It should be noted that text-recognition is not perfect, particularly when dealing with old publications, where the ink might have faded in some place, or the spelling of some words was different. Music-related publications were also surveyed, such as the *Almanach Musical*, published between 1775 and 1783, later continued as the *Calendrier Musical* in 1788 and 1789.

<i>Les Affiches de Paris</i>	<i>La Feuille du Jour</i>	<i>Journal de Paris</i>	<i>Mercure Universel</i>
<i>Annonces, Affiches et Avis Divers</i>	<i>La Feuille Nécessaire</i>	<i>Journal des débats et des décrets</i>	<i>Le Miroir</i>
<i>L'Avant-Coureur</i>	<i>La Gazette de France</i>	<i>Journal Encyclopédique</i>	<i>Les Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts</i>
<i>Bulletin des Amis de la Vérité</i>	<i>La Gazette du Commerce</i>	<i>Journal général de la cour et de la ville</i>	<i>La Quotidienne ou Feuille du jour</i>
<i>Courrier des Spectacles ou Journal des Théâtres, Le</i>	<i>Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur Universel</i>	<i>Le Logographe</i>	<i>Le Républicain Français</i>
<i>Le Courrier extraordinaire ou le Premier Arrivé</i>	<i>Journal de l'Empire</i>	<i>Mercure de France / Mercure Français</i>	<i>Le Thé ou le Journal des Dix-Huit</i>

Figure 0-1 – List of French newspapers consulted for this study.

London

For the press in London, initially most concerts were found in the database established by Simon McVeigh of all London concerts between 1750 and 1800. In his database, I identified all concerts with harps in it, and attempted to find the corresponding announcement and review, cited in the dataset. Until 1800, all newspapers were found on the online Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Newspapers Collection. I further used this website to search for terms such as *harp* or *harpist*, or specific names, and found further information. The text recognition although good for the most part, is not perfect on such ancient documents, and it is likely that these searches did not uncover all of the occurrences of the term *harp*.

However, both the McVeigh database and the Burney collection roughly end around 1800. In order to search beyond that date, I used The British Newspaper Archive website. Without a guide like the McVeigh dataset, I used similar terms to search the full text. Once again, because of the imperfections of the text-recognition, it is very likely that this was not a complete search. The search newspaper by newspaper would require much more time. For London, I have retrieved over 470 mentions of harps, harpists, or harp makers, between 24 publications, presented here.

<i>Adam's Weekly Courant</i>	<i>General Evening Post</i>	<i>Morning Herald</i>	<i>Star and Evening Advertiser</i>
<i>Argus</i>	<i>Lloyd's Evening Post</i>	<i>Morning Post</i>	<i>Sun</i>
<i>Bath Chronicle</i>	<i>London Chronicle</i>	<i>Oracle</i>	<i>The World</i>
<i>Daily Advertiser</i>	<i>London Magazine</i>	<i>Oracle and Daily Advertiser</i>	<i>Times</i>
<i>Diary or Woodfall's Register</i>	<i>Monthly Mirror</i>	<i>Public Advertiser</i>	<i>True Briton</i>
<i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i>	<i>Morning Chronicle</i>	<i>Saint James's Chronicle</i>	

Figure 0-2 – List of British newspapers consulted for this study.

Iconography

In order to understand the pedal harp in that time, the iconography of the instrument is important. This includes oil paintings, drawings, and engravings that included a pedal harp. First, I collected the representations already present within literature on the pedal harp, pictures that were already known for their depiction of harps. I then made use of the plethora of online catalogues from museums to search for more iconography. Like with instruments themselves, I also regularly checked auctions for new paintings or drawings. I have gathered around 190 representations of the pedal harp during the period of the study.

Depictions of pedal harp are very informative about the way the instrument was played. A representation can show the setting where it was played, if it was represented more with women or men playing etc. The iconography can often show fine details of the harp, and in many cases even the maker's signature, which has been preserved in the painting. Details are also helpful when trying to link the iconography to the person represented with it. In some cases, we know the sitter had purchased a harp through archival documents, and the depiction can be tied to the harp depicted in the image. Other representations show with unexpected proportions or without great detail that could imply the artist did not have a harp for reference.

Pedal Harps

I began to conduct observations while interning at the Musée de la Musique in Paris and the Musée des Instruments de Musique in Brussels, in the two years preceding this doctorate. After several observations, I realised how much information such study can bring to the history of the harp itself, information that cannot be found otherwise. I shaped my observations around the information I wanted to collect. Initially, my focus was to find inscriptions inside the harp, that would indicate a maker, an owner, or a worker. As data piled, I started noticing elements that discerned each maker, and each era of the pedal harp history. Building upon such indicators, I constructed a database that consisted of over forty-five criteria that potentially assist in defining the makers' work, and identifying anonymous harps.

For the selection of harps to study, I started with the museums I worked with in Paris and Brussels. While working in the latter, I took the time to see harps in other Belgian cities and in Amsterdam. Then, I used published and online catalogues of museums and collections to locate the pedal harps that corresponded to my criteria of period and place of production. I then contacted the museums to arrange a visit, where I would be allowed to manipulate, observe, and open the instrument, as detailed in p.30. Regarding private collections, I monitored most public sales in France and England to track the pedal harps that were sold. Thirty five percent of the harps recorded in the database were from public auctions. I was also in contact with harp stores in Paris, where I met several people who own eighteenth and nineteenth century harps. Furthermore, I regularly scanned social media posts to find owners of pedal harp and ask them more information about their instrument.⁷⁴

Through the first observations of pedal harps, several characteristics have been highlighted as important. This led me to create a form to fill out during in-person observations. Out of the two hundred and forty pedal harps surveyed for this study, about eighty-two were studied in person. Indeed, it was physically impossible to study all of the recorded harps in person because they were located across the world, or in other cases because owners - museums or private collectors - did not allow researchers to manipulate their instrument. It should be noted that a number of observations had been planned for the Spring of 2020, which were cancelled because of the pandemic, mostly in British collections, which explains the relatively small number of them in the dataset.

⁷⁴ This was mostly done through Instagram by searching hashtags, and through Facebook within dedicated groups.

The form, described in Appendix III, is divided in seven sections: General, Inscriptions, Dimensions, Strings, Construction, Mechanism, and Other.⁷⁵ The form was built in Microsoft Excel and is optimised for printing. That way, the form can be used in any location without a computer (museum, museum depot, private home, etc.).

Observations

After several studies, I produced an observation protocol that details the steps of the observation, that I sent out to collections when asking about seeing their harps. The studies all began with a general observation of the pedal harp, which included the number of strings, number of staves of the soundbox, measurements, etc. Then followed the observation of the inside parts of the instrument, starting with the neck. On single-action pedal harps, except those with fork mechanism, the mechanism in the neck is covered by a wood panel. It is usually attached to the instrument either by a set of screws (between two and five) or is secured to the body with a small wooden cleat, located near the joint between neck and soundboard. In the first case, I used a block of foam to keep the screws in order and remember their location. Inside of the neck is where were often found signatures, labels, or serial numbers. Beyond inscriptions, it was also necessary to see how the mechanism was mounted, to understand its condition, period, or maker. Once all information had been collected, and pictures taken, I put the wood panel back in place.

The harp was then laid down, usually on a table, with pieces of foam to protect the mechanism on top, and to elevate the base of the instrument. This was done to remove another part of the instrument: the base. It is usually attached to the body of the harp by regular screws, or by screws with heads like tuning pins, thus removable with a tuning key. Once the base is removed, the mechanism of the pedal is visible, and often inscriptions and labels can be found. The following picture shows the set up used for removing the base, on a pedal harp by Jean Louvet studied in August 2022 in the Palais Lascaris in Nice.

As presented in Figure 0-3, from the base there is often access to the inside of the soundbox. with a flashlight, it is then possible to observe the inside construction of the harp, as well as locating labels or inscription. In this example, a label with a production date was found.

⁷⁵ An example of a form can be found in Appendix I



Figure 0-3 – Harp by Jean Louvet, 1772. F.NI.pl, D.2019.1.4. Photo by the author.

Generally, the in-person observation lasted between forty-five minutes and an hour and a half, depending on the amount of information found on the instrument, and on the possibility to open it. In several cases, the wood panel in the neck or the base had been glued to the instrument following a restoration, making it impossible to open without damaging the instrument. The production of the observation protocol was important to reassure the collections owners that the study did not involve damage to the harp, as it only removed parts that were built as removable. In a few cases, and even with the protocol, some collections preferred me not to open the instrument, thus limiting the information I could gather.

Database

All of the information gathered, either through personal observation or in catalogues, was then entered in a Microsoft Access database built for the purpose of this study. In total, the database holds two hundred and forty pedal harp records, spread between thirty-one makers, and within seventy collections. I have personally investigated eighty-two of these harps, listed in the Sources section, and detailed in Appendix V.

The database consists of three tables, introduced in Appendix II. A first table records data on the collection where the harp is located, with the type of collection – museum, private collection, auction, musical instrument store, or school, the city and country, as well as the person contacted there. The second table accounts for the makers, with their city and country, as well as their period of activity when known. Finally, the third table contains the information about each pedal harp, organised around forty-four criteria. The third table is linked to the first two, through a column *Maker* and a column *Collection*. The data was gathered from the pedal harps I personally studied, but also from pedal harps found in published or online catalogues, online auction catalogues, as well as forums and social media. For pedal harps I did not observe in person, the data is not often complete, as not all online catalogues have high resolution photos of the inside of the instrument, or even a detailed catalogue entry.

The accumulation of data helps to understand the production of each maker represented, for example their choices of construction (number of strings, number of staves in the soundbox, placement of signature etc.). By accumulating details on each instrument, queries can be used to search for certain criteria to, for example, identify a pedal harp in iconography, or find the possible maker of an anonymous harp.

Two datasets from this database are presented in Appendix V and VI. The first one, presents information about the eighty-two pedal harp I have studied in person. The second one, details the one hundred and fifty-five harps I have located, but was not able to study in person. In a few cases, for the latter, I was able to get more information from the collection itself, from the online collection database when there was one, or from other researchers including Robert Adelson, Elise Kolle for the Nydahl Collection in Sweden, and Eve Zaunbrecher for the Victoria & Albert Museum. Because of copyright issues with the collections that own each harp, the dataset is a simpler version of the database, only including the essential information about each instrument.

Chapter 1 Defining the canon of the pedal harp

The eighteenth century was a turning point in the development of the pedal harp due to a number of factors. Many elements both in the musical, social, and economic spheres influenced the place of the instrument in society. This chapter aims at giving a definition of what the pedal harp represented in its first decades. The first section examines the musical and societal traditions that made the single-action pedal harp the instrument it was. The invention of the first pedal mechanism in Bavaria is discussed, regarding its dissemination in Europe and in France.⁷⁶ The second part considers how the instrument quickly became defined as a specific object in Paris, reflecting the economic world of the last half of the eighteenth century. It came to be known in France during the Enlightenment era and was thus outlined within the important publications of the time. The third part discusses the social dynamics that became linked to the pedal harp first in Paris, and subsequently in London. Specifically, it investigates the pedal harp as a component of the market for luxury items, that was thriving at this time. By gaining this social and economic status in Paris, the French pedal harp was then exported to London, creating a new market, and later production hub for this instrument. The final section studies the identification of the pedal harp as an instrument of nobility, especially as members of the French royal family adopted it as part of their musical practice. It further discusses the myth of the pedal harp and Marie Antoinette and other participants of the court at Versailles, while exploring the relationships of aristocratic patrons and musicians.

⁷⁶ While doubts remain today about the precise name of the inventor, this study does not aim at asserting any name, as this is a research subject in itself, and outside the scope of this one.

1.1 The Early pedal harp

1.1.1 The harp in Europe before 1720

A variety of shapes and sizes have marked the history of the harp in Europe. Multiple variations pertained to the fact that makers and players wanted the instrument to offer a variety of musical possibilities. Some types of harps became normalised in certain regions, but makers never settled on a consensus.⁷⁷

Practically, a harp could only be fitted with a certain number of strings, as the musician's arm could only reach to a certain length. This restricted the number of notes the instrument could play. However, in the south of Europe, musical instrument makers built harps with a wider range. Around the mid-sixteenth century, they added a second and even a third staggered row of strings to allow players to perform more notes. These harps were in particular built in the Italian and Spanish regions, where they took the respective names of *arpa doppia* and *arpa de dos ordenes*. Rows of strings were not the only way to expand the range of the harp. In the German regions, makers added manual hooks to some strings of the harp. The hooks, activated by the player's hand, raised the string's pitch, and allowed for more notes to be played, without adding another row of strings. However, as harpists used both their hands, they had to play for at least a couple of seconds with only one hand, while the other activated the hook.

Harps strung with two and three rows of strings proved complex to build and difficult to play compared to the single-rowed ones. While the manual hook harps might have been easier to build, it still meant that harpists had to adapt their playing depending on when they needed to turn the hooks.⁷⁸ Both harp models, however, were played in Europe well into the eighteenth century, when a Bavarian musical instrument maker found a more practical solution to the expansion of the harp's range. In absence of any other evidence, it is commonly acknowledged that Jacob Hochbrucker (c.1673-1763) originated this new harp.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ In her thesis, Cleary detailed the different types of harp present in Europe from 1500, and their different shapes and mechanisms. See Cleary, "The 'harpe organisée', 1720-1840: rediscovering the lost pedal techniques on harps with a single-action pedal mechanism," 1-16.

⁷⁸ Sue Carole DeVale *et al.*, "Harp," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁷⁹ The inception of the first pedal mechanism for the harp remains unclear. While it is beyond the scope of this study, this topic requires further scholarship.

1.1.2 The pedal harp: invention in Bavaria and dissemination across Europe

Jacob Hochbrucker opened a shop in Donauwörth, Bavaria, in 1699 where he built and sold string instruments. The son of a violin maker, he first produced harps with manual hooks, placed at right angles with the neck, and was a skilful harp player himself.⁸⁰ His personal practice combined with potential discussions he had with harpists in his shop might have led him to consider the issue posed by these manual hooks. To alleviate the problems that they posed to the musician, Hochbrucker replaced the U-shaped hooks with crutches, activated by a set of pedals, projecting from the plinth of the instrument. Almost all the strings had a corresponding crutch, most often with the exception of the two lowest and two highest notes, either because these were the fundamentals of tonalities, or because players rarely used them. Harpists could activate the pedals with their feet by pressing on them, as can be seen in Figure 1-2. Each pedal was connected to a metal rod placed in the sound box of the harp, linked on the other end to a small rocker, itself attached to rods placed in the neck. In this latter part, each rod communicated with the crutches placed on the left hand of the neck. Through this mechanism, the crutches (Figure 1-1, part A), moved sideways and pressed the strings on their side against a fixed pin (Figure 1-1, part B) which protruded from the neck. Each pedal referred to one note of the diatonic scale and was connected to the appropriate strings. For example, if the player engaged the pedal corresponding to C – circled in Figure 1-2 – all the crutches of the C strings would turn.

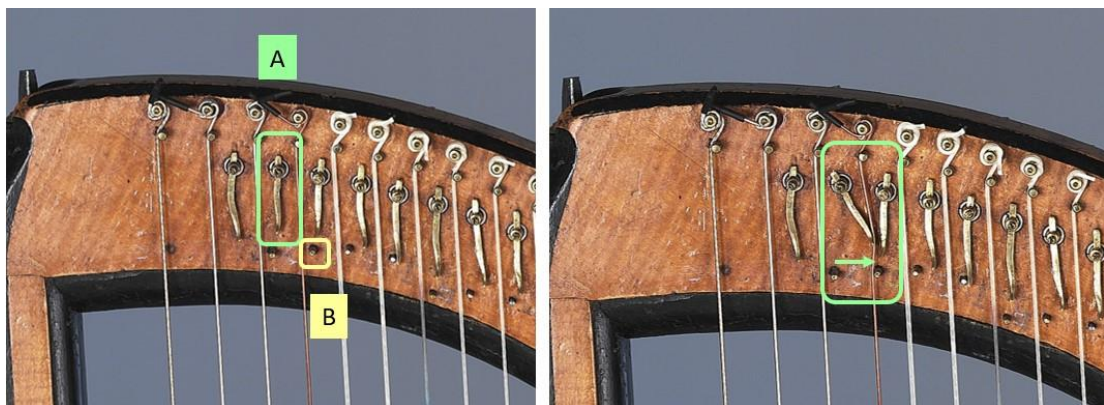


Figure 1-1 – Detail of the neck. Harp by Hochbrucker; F.P.cm, E.2009.1.1. Collection Musée de la Musique / Cliché Jean-Marc Anglès. Reproduced with permissions of Jean-Marc Anglès and the Musée de la Musique.

⁸⁰ When discussing Jacob's son Simon Hochbrucker, Johannes Walther described that 'his father, who is still alive and staying in Augspurg, is also an accomplished harpis't' ("Sein noch lebender, und in Augspurg sich aufhaltender Vater, ist gleichfalls ein starcker Harffenist") Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon Oder Musicalische Bibliothec* (Lepzig: Deer, 1732), 316.

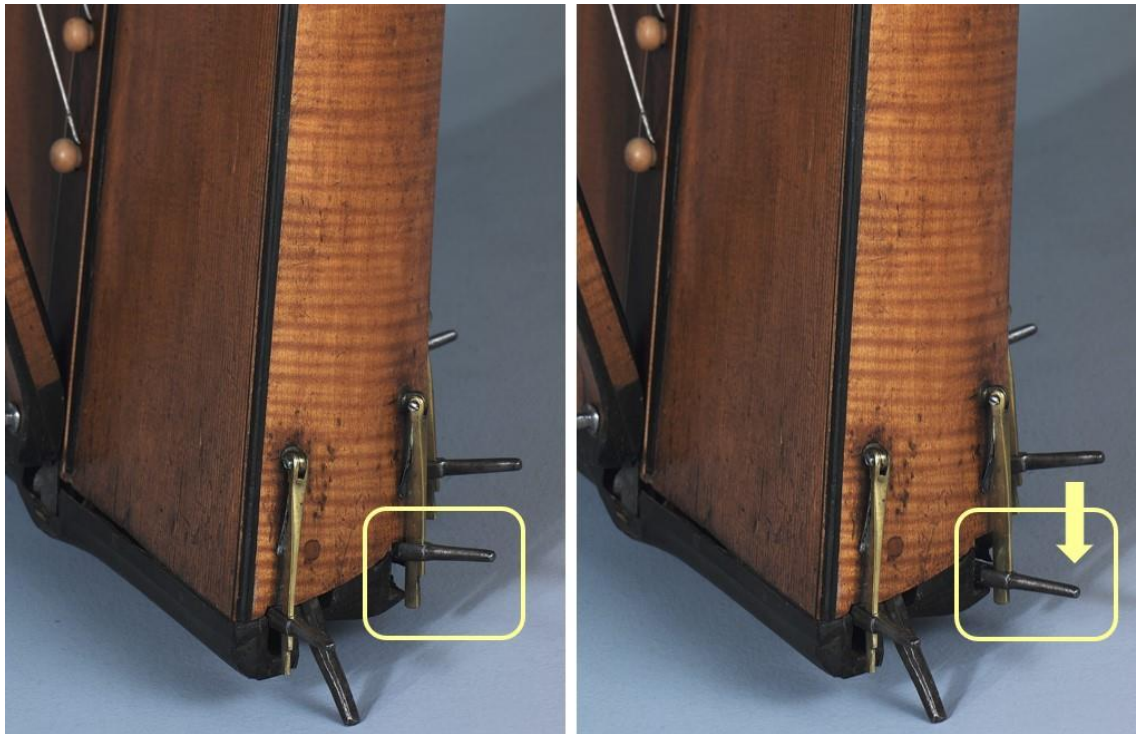


Figure 1-2 – Detail of the pedals. Harp by Jacob Hochbrucker; F.P.cm, E.2009.1.1. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Jean-Marc Anglès. Reproduced with permission of Jean-Marc Anglès and the Musée de la Musique.

Like the manual hooks, this system raised the pitch of the strings by one semitone when the player pressed the pedals, offering more musical possibilities for composers and musicians. The Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna holds the earliest known surviving Hochbrucker harp of this kind.⁸¹ Dating from 1720, this harp suggests that the first pedal harp mechanism was developed in the 1710s, although the Bavarian maker might have been working on this mechanism before that.⁸²

Following the introduction of his action for the harp, Jacob Hochbrucker utilised his family's musical abilities to present the pedal harp throughout Europe. Three of his sons and one of his nephews introduced Jacob's instrument in important European cities, beginning with Vienna and the imperial court. In March of 1729, Hochbrucker's eldest son Simon (1699-c.1750) played the pedal harp developed by his father in front of the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles VI (1685-1740). Musician and musicographer Johann Gottfried Walther recounted this concert in 1732 in his *Musicalisches Lexicon*:

⁸¹ Inventory Number SAM 565, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria.

⁸² "The tangible and the transient: (re)constructing musics of the harp," *The Early Pedal Harp*, 2019, accessed 27/01/2022, <https://www.theearlypedalharp.net/post/the-tangible-and-the-transient-re-constructing-musics-of-the-harp>.

*A native of Donauwörth, [he] is a great artist on the large pedal harp invented by his father, on which he was able to play all the semitones without detuning. At the end of the year 1729, he made himself heard praiseworthy before His Imperial Majesty in Vienna.*⁸³

From Walther's account, it appears that Hochbrucker had achieved to demonstrate the main advantage of his father's pedal harp: to play all – or at least as many as possible – semitones. Playing at the imperial court launched Simon's tour of European cities, as he performed in Brussels and Leipzig, before possibly going to London in 1743.⁸⁴ Hochbrucker stayed at the Golden Dove in Exeter Street, near the Strand, where he made himself available for concerts and to give lessons on his instrument, as stated in a notice placed in the Daily Advertiser, in January 1743:

*Mr HOCKBRUCKER, lately arriv'd from Germany, has brought over with him a new-invented Pedal Harp, and is willing to teach young Gentlemen or Ladies to play thereon; or to entertain the Nobility and Gentry with his Performance; either in full Concerts or Solos*⁸⁵

Simon Hochbrucker's career as a harpist in Europe might have prepared the ground for other members of the Hochbrucker family. Later on, two of his brothers also played an important part in circulating the pedal harp invented by their father. Johann Christoph (1715–1762 or later) played for Queen Catherine the Great in Saint Petersburg, who even purchased a Hochbrucker harp for the Smol'ny Institute, a girls' educational institution that she had established in 1764.⁸⁶ In Russia, Johann Christoph also offered teachings along with his performances.⁸⁷ Lastly, Johann Baptist (1732-1812) gained fame across Europe, and not only for his musical talent. Like his brothers, he appeared in several European cities, before getting appointed in August of 1753 at the court of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715-1760) in Slutsk and Biała – now

⁸³ "Von Donawerth gebürtig, ist ein grosser Künstler aus der von seinem Vater erfundenen grossen Bret-Harffe [Tret-Harfe], aus welcher er ohne Verstimmung, alle Semitonia spielen und mitnehmen kan. Er hat sich zu Ausgange des 1729ften Jahres vor Ihro Kayserl Majestät in Wien [...]" in Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon Oder Musicalische Bibliothec*, 316.

⁸⁴ Ongoing research is being undertaken about the Hochbrucker family, which should clarify whether this Hochbrucker was indeed Simon. See Lewis Jones, "Harpists of the Hochbrucker family - their role in disseminating and establishing the pedal harp in eighteenth-century Europe," in *Between the Strings, Festival of Historical Harp — First edition: Haydn's Folk Harp* (Innsbruck, Austria 2021).

⁸⁵ Daily Advertiser, 19 January 1743, Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Newspapers Collection, GB-Lbl.

⁸⁶ N. Hans, "Dumaresq, Brown and Some Early Educational Projects of Catherine II," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 40, no. 94 (1961): 233.

⁸⁷ Johann Christoph had only been "rediscovered" recently as part of the Hochbrucker family because little is known today about his life. See Jones, "Harpists of the Hochbrucker family - their role in disseminating and establishing the pedal harp in eighteenth-century Europe."

respectively in Belarus and Poland.⁸⁸ While the court enjoyed Hochbrucker's musicianship and composition skills, he quickly acquired a reputation as a drunk and abusive husband.⁸⁹ After serving five years at the Radziwiłł court, paid 80 ducats a year, Hochbrucker left before the end of his second engagement, and went to Strasbourg. He entered the service of the Prince Cardinal Louis de Rohan (1734-1803), who then introduced him to Paris in the early 1760s. In France, the reputation of his dreadful temperament had preceded him and persisted, so much that when Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) travelled to Paris in 1778, his father Leopold warned him in a letter about the harpist's character:

*Hochbrucker, harpist; he is, as you know, an entertaining clown, but you must avoid his company, for he has the worst of reputations because of his dissolute conduct, a coarse fellow and an amasser of debts.*⁹⁰

However, his bad reputation did not prevent him from a successful music career, particularly among the French aristocracy, in his employment with the Rohan family. Johann Baptist also composed and wrote the first work dedicated to the harp published in France, dated from 1762, dedicated to his patron.⁹¹ The link with an important aristocratic figure became a burden when the revolution broke out in Paris, which led him to flee to London in 1792. He later finished his life back in France, in Saint-Servan, a small Breton town, where he passed away in 1812.⁹²

The pedal harp made by Jacob Hochbrucker benefitted from one more ambassador from the family: Jacob's nephew Christian also known as Celestin (1727-1805). He spent a few years as a Celestine monk in a Bavarian monastery – which gave him the nickname Celestin – where he learned composition alongside other musicians.⁹³ As his cousin Johann Baptist, he settled in

⁸⁸ Jana Franková, "La Migration des musiciens dans l'Europe des Lumières : le cas de Joseph Kohaut (1734–1777)" (Université Paris-Sorbonne, Masarykova Univerzita, 2016), Annexes, 91.

⁸⁹ Irena Bieńkowska, "The Music Ensemble of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715–1760)," *Musicology Today* 6 (2009): 70-72.

⁹⁰ Letter 0420: Leopold Mozart to his wife, Mannheim; postscript by Nannerl. 9 February 1778. LM MAM WAM "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente - Online Edition," in *Book Mozart Briefe und Dokumente - Online Edition*, ed. Editor, Series Mozart Briefe und Dokumente - Online Edition (reprint, Reprint Edition). English translation by William Buchanan. Accessed 14/11/2021.

⁹¹ This work has often been attributed to Jacob Hochbrucker's nephew Celestin, but the dedication to Prince Louis de Rohan points towards an attribution to Johann Baptist. See Hochbrucker, *Six sonates pour la harpe avec une gamme & des pièces doigtées... mise au jour par Huberty... oeuvre I* (Paris: Huberty, 1762).

⁹² *Décès de Jean-Baptiste Hosbrouck*, 29 July 1812, 10 NUM 35313, F-REad.

⁹³ Ludwig Wolff, "Placidus von Camerloher (1718–1782) und seine Brüder " *Musik in Bayern* 83 (2018): 13-14.

Paris, where he performed in concerts while publishing his own compositions, under the name *Hochbrucker Nephew*.⁹⁴

The Hochbrucker family put all their effort into disseminating Jacob Hochbrucker's pedal harp in Europe. Appearing in some of the most fashionable stages, the Hochbrucker family got the word out about this new instrument, while playing, teaching, and sometimes selling it to European royalty. While Jacob's sons and nephews gained fame on the European stages in the 1750s and 1760s, it took the performances of Georg Adam Goepffert (c.1727-c.1809), another Bavarian harpist, to anchor the pedal harp in Paris, a city that would transform it in various ways.

1.1.3 Arrival of the pedal harp in France, example of an early French pedal harp

On the Whitsunday of 1749, Parisian audiences flocked to the Salle des Cent Suisses in the Palais des Tuileries. As one of the thirty-odd religious days of the calendar where theatres were closed, the Concert Spirituel was the only institution offering musical entertainment that day.⁹⁵ At this time, this was the main musical venue of Paris, attracting locals and foreigners alike. That day of May 1749, German musician Georg Adam Goepffert performed on the harp there, being the first harpist to play at the Concert Spirituel. The press stated he was 'strongly applauded' by audiences.⁹⁶

Goepffert was born in the Franconia region of Bavaria and probably settled in Paris around the time of his performance at the Concert Spirituel. Following this concert, he received the protection of Alexandre Jean Joseph Le Riche de la Pouplinière (1693-1762), one of the royal tax collectors – *fermiers généraux* – at the time. La Pouplinière, like other financiers and aristocrats of the time, had established a reputation for the quality of the musicians he sponsored. These musicians played together in an orchestra and performed regularly in La Pouplinière's residencies in the rue de Richelieu and in the village of Passy. The ensemble was led by some of the most recognised musicians of the time, such as Jean Philippe Rameau (1683-1764).⁹⁷ Parisian audiences considered the concerts of La Pouplinière's orchestra among the best musical

⁹⁴ « Six sonates pour la harpe, dédiées à la Marquise de la Guiche, par Hochbrucker neveu, Œuvre I, rue Saint Denis... » in *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, (Paris: Various). February 1779.

⁹⁵ Daniel Heartz, "The *Concert Spirituel* in the Tuileries Palace," *Early Music* 21, no. 2 (1993).

⁹⁶ "M. Goepfferm, Allemand, a joué de la Harpe, & a été fort applaudi." *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, June 1749, 178.

No mention of a harp played at the *Concert Spirituel* before 1749 has been found during this study.

⁹⁷ Hennebelle, "Nobles, musique et musiciens à Paris à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: Les transformations d'un patronage séculaire (1760-1780)", 417.

entertainments the city had to offer.⁹⁸ Among these musicians, La Pouplinière housed his protégé Goepffert in the rue de Richelieu, at least since 1751, when the musician married Anne Barbe Halm, with La Pouplinière present as a witness.⁹⁹ Like many foreigners in Paris at the time, Goepffert's name was not always spelled consistently, but various contextual clues help to follow his presence in Paris throughout the 1750s and 1760s. For example, the *Tableau de Paris* presented a variation of his name: Keipher. The pronunciation of the name in French is close to Goepffert, but ultimately the address substantiated that Keipher could be Goepffert. He is listed as the only master on the harp for Paris, residing in the Quinze-Vingt. The Quinze-Vingt was one of the three main Parisian hospitals that offered assistance and hospitalisation to the poor.¹⁰⁰ Settled between the Louvre and the Palais Royal, in the heart of Paris, it also housed many craftsmen. As a place for the poor, hospitals in Paris were exempted from guild regulations, and could thus allow craftsmen to work without being part of a guild. Workers there did not have access to guilds, either because they came from foreign lands or sometimes because they had been practising their craft without an apprenticeship.¹⁰¹

In an article published about Goepffert in 1759, he was said to reside in the 'Quinze-Vingt, coming in from the door on rue Saint Honoré, on the right, in the new building'.¹⁰² This address indicates that Keipher was probably Georg Adam Goepffert, who remained the only harp master listed in the press. As the first performer on the pedal harp in Paris, Goepffert was also credited on several occasions for having invented the pedal mechanism.

*This instrument was once very imperfect, by the absence of sharps and flats. He [Goepffert] gave it all the perfection of which it seems capable.*¹⁰³

One of Goepffert's students, Stéphanie Félicité Du Crest, Comtesse de Genlis (1746-1830) also attributed to him the paternity of the pedal mechanism:

⁹⁸ Thierry Favier, "Nouvelles sociabilités, nouvelles pratiques: les concerts sous le règne de Louis XV" in *Regards sur la musique au temps de Louis XV*, ed. Jean Duron (Wavre: Mardaga, 2007), 135.

⁹⁹ Mariage, 3 April 1751, MC ET XXXVI 468, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

¹⁰⁰ Christian Romon, "Le monde des pauvres à Paris au XVIIIe siècle," *Annales* (1982): 751.

¹⁰¹ Kaplan, "Les corporations, les « faux ouvriers » et le faubourg Saint-Antoine au XVIIIe siècle", 355.

¹⁰² « Sa demeure est à Paris, dans l'enclos des Quinze-Vingt, en entrant par la porte de la rue S. Honoré, à droite, dans le Bâtiment neuf » – La Feuille Nécessaire, 24 September 1759.

¹⁰³ « Cet instrument [la harpe] étoit autrefois très imparfait, par le défaut de dieses & de bémols. Il [Goepffert] lui a donné toute la perfection dont il paroît susceptible » – La Feuille Nécessaire, 24 September 1759.

Before him the harp, having no pedals, was such a limited instrument that it was only known in Germany in the streets and taverns. Gaiffre [Goepffert] ennobled it, with an invention that made it the most beautiful instrument.¹⁰⁴

Unfortunately, these two sources are the only mentions of Goepffert's supposed pedal mechanism invention, as no harps or archival documents has been uncovered to support this claim. Goepffert was the most present in the press of the time, but other foreign musicians played the harp in Paris around the same time. In 1750 for example, *Les Affiches de Paris* published this announcement:

We can see in that venue Mr Grabhammer, a German, native of Prague, who plays the Harp with great delicacy with his feet & hands: he also visits the homes of those who will want to hear him at home.¹⁰⁵

While the pedals are not directly mentioned, the description of 'playing with his hands and feet' undoubtedly described a pedal harp. However, the mention of Prague as his birthplace does not correspond to Goepffert, confirming that this was probably another harpist.

Following Goepffert's performance at the Concert Spirituel, audiences waited for more than ten years before hearing another harp concert, in April of 1760.¹⁰⁶ By that time, several musical instrument makers in Paris built harps of a different kind than the Hochbrucker ones. Many examples of harps built in Paris in the 1760s survive, but little is known about how the first pedal harps transitioned to the French model used in the 1750s. In 2022, a harp resurfaced at an auction in Dijon, France, that could be an example of the missing link between the Hochbrucker and French harps.¹⁰⁷ While it is presented here in comparison to the first iteration of the pedal harp to demonstrate the transition, no evidence has shown that this was in fact the first pedal harp built in France. Nonetheless, it remains the earliest surviving example of a pedal harp built in eighteenth-century France.

The Dijon harp bears an action that is not found on any other surviving pedal harp. The mechanism acts upon the strings like the Hochbrucker harp: by laterally pushing the string against

¹⁰⁴ Madame de Genlis referred to him as 'Gaiffre' in all of her writings. « Avant lui la harpe, n'ayant point de pédales, était un instrument si borné qu'on ne le connaissait qu'en Allemagne dans les rues et les tavernes. Gaiffre l'ennoblit, par une invention qui en fit le plus beau des instruments. » in Genlis, *Mémoires*, 87.

¹⁰⁵ « On voit encore dans cette même loge le sieur Grabhammer, Allemand, natif de Prague, qui joue avec grande délicatesse de la Harpe avec les pieds & les mains : il se transport aussi chez les personnes qui voudront l'entendre chez elles. » *Les Affiches de Paris*, 19 February 1750, 6.

¹⁰⁶ « M. Hochbrucker, Allemand, a joué plusieurs fois de la harpe... ». *Mercur de France, dédié au Roi*, April 1760.

¹⁰⁷ Aware of its organological importance, the harp was purchased by the Musée de la Musique. Harpe à pédales, attribuée à Salomon. Musée de la Musique, Paris. E.2022.22.1.

a pin, it raises its pitch by one semitone. Differently from Hochbrucker, however, the crutches are smaller and sturdier. The crutches also pivot to the left (when facing the mechanism in the neck) when the pedal activates them, unlike the 1720s Hochbrucker harps whose mechanism moves to the right, as shown in Figure 1-3. This change in the direction is due to the location of the action rocker, linking the pedals to the mechanism. With the Hochbrucker harp, it is located at the top of the sound board, thus pulling the action towards it, and on the Dijon harp, it is placed at the top of the pillar, resulting in an opposite motion. It remains unclear whether this shift in direction resulted from French manufacturing, or if Hochbrucker harps built in the 1740s and 1750s already had a left-adjusted action.

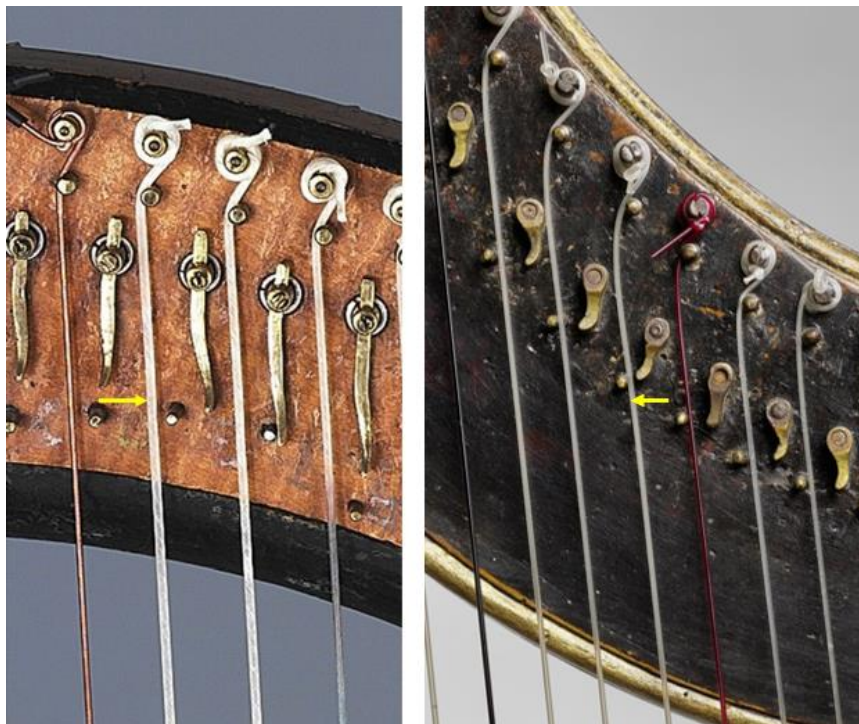


Figure 1-3 – Details of the harp mechanism. Left: Harp, Jacob Hochbrucker, 1728, F.P.cm, E.991.1. Right: Harp, attributed to Salomon, F.P.cm, E.2022.2.1. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Jean-Marc Anglès (1) / Cliché Pauline Guyon (2). Reproduced with permission of Jean-Marc Anglès, Pauline Guyon, and the Musée de la Musique.

In this harp, the action is mounted inside the neck similarly to that of Hochbrucker. The rods are fixed in ‘suspensions’ to a fixed axis running through the neck. When the player pressed the pedal, the rods slide from one side to the other thanks to their link to the fixed axis, making the crutches move laterally.

The difference between the Dijon and the Hochbrucker harps also lies in the way the pedal set the action in motion. On Hochbrucker harps, rods linking the pedals to the neck mechanism were

placed in the sound box of the harp. On the Dijon harp, the hollowed-out pillar – thus built bigger than on Hochbrucker harps – holds the rods.



Figure 1-5 – Harp, attributed to Salomon, F.P.cm, E.2022.2.1. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Pauline Guyon. Reproduced with permission of Pauline Guyon and the Musée de la Musique.



Figure 1-4 – Harp by Jacob Hochbrucker, 1728, F.P.cm, E.991.1.1. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Jean-Marc Anglès. Reproduced with permission of Jean-Marc Anglès and the Musée de la Musique.

This harp is known by scholars because it is in a painting. It is depicted in a portrait of the Masson family, painted in 1763, and today held at the Musée Lorrain in Nancy, France. In the painting, five of the family's daughters are playing musical instruments: one at the harpsichord, one with a lute, and three with harps in their hands. The first two harpists are playing what appears to be diatonic harps, with thin bodies and decorations atop the pillar resembling those of German hook

harps. The third harpist in the painting plays a larger instrument, and she is featured at the forefront.

Differently from the two former instruments, this latter one has a wider pillar, that bears an inscription also found on the Dijon harp, presented in Figure 1-6:

*I was the harp of Madame Victoire de France, and I was given in Plombière by Mesdames Adélaïde and Victoire to Marie Gabriel Masson on the third of August 1761.*¹⁰⁸

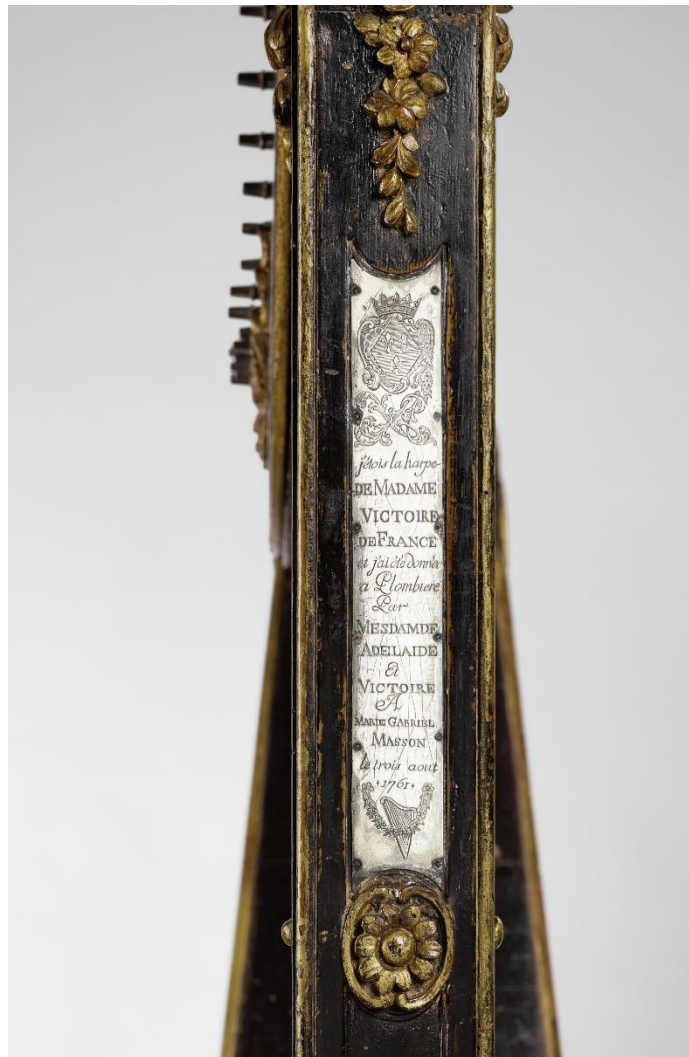


Figure 1-6 – Harp, attributed to Salomon, F.P.cm, E.2022.2.1. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Pauline Guyon. Reproduced with permission of Pauline Guyon and the Musée de la Musique.

¹⁰⁸ « J'étais la harpe de Madame Victoire de France et j'ai été donnée à Plombière par Mesdames Adélaïde et Victoire à Marie Gabriel Masson le trois août 1761 ». Portrait de la Famille Masson, Musée Lorrain, Nancy.

In the summer of 1761, Mesdames Adélaïde (1732-1800) and Victoire (1733-1799), daughters of King Louis XV (1710-1774), set on a journey to the spa town of Plombières, in the Lorraine region, then under the control of their maternal grandfather Stanislas Leszcynski (1677-1766). During their trip, it seemed that they had travelled with the harp, and offered it to Marie Gabriel Masson, daughter of the prominent Masson family. The royal papers do not contain information about the initial purchase of the harp, but it seemed like this type of pedal harp was fashionable in the late 1750s and early 1760s. This type of harp is present in the earliest depictions of the pedal harp in France, first with Jean-Baptiste Greuze's (1725-1805) portrait of Ange Laurent La Live de Jully (1725-1779)¹⁰⁹, or in the portrait of Mademoiselle Privé by Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle (1717-1806)¹¹⁰. Both paintings show a harp with a shape that closely resembles the Dijon Harp.

The striking difference between the depictions and the physical harp is in the colour of the instrument. While the painting shows a harp simply varnished, the harp has been painted over in black and gold paint, but some weary spots reveal an undercoat of natural varnish that might have been the original shade. The family who owned the harp in the 1960s had it restored, as it was in a bad condition, notably with the top of the sound board missing. The restorer stated in his exchanges with the owners that he saw an inscription reading 'Salomon à Paris' on the inside of the instrument.¹¹¹ An attribution to musical instrument maker Jean-Baptiste Deshayes, dit Salomon (1713-1767), is indeed possible. He remains one of the Parisian harp makers for which no surviving harps exist to our knowledge, as only archival documents attest to his involvement in harp making. The estate inventory established following his death in 1767 listed, among many other string instruments, several harps, including 'two new harps ready to be fitted with mechanism'.¹¹² A trade card from Salomon also confirms the presence of harps in his workshop. The card explicitly says he 'makes and sells violins, cellos, double basses, viola da gamba, bass viols, guitars, harps...'.¹¹³ In her treatise published around 1802, Madame de Genlis claims:

¹⁰⁹ Ange Laurent de la Live de Jully, probably 1759, by Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1946.7.8, Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

¹¹⁰ Mademoiselle Privé by Louis Carrogis dit Carmontelle, Car433, Musée Condé, Chantilly.

¹¹¹ As of July 2022, this inscription has yet to be found inside the harp. The patches and fill-ins added by the restorer may be hiding said inscription.

¹¹² *Inventaire après le décès de Jean Baptiste Deshayes dit Salomon*, 3 February 1767, MC ET XXIV 834, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

¹¹³ Trade card of Jean-Baptiste Salomon, Musical instrument Maker, A Sainte Cecile, ca. 1748, 3686.2.69.179, Waddesdon Manor, UK.

*In order to make the Harp more sonorous, he [Salomon] imagined to make them bigger and taller, they truly had a beautiful sound, but they were cumbersome and unpleasant to play.*¹¹⁴

While Genlis does not explain to which harps she is comparing this to, but the Dijon harp appears to be bigger than the Hochbrucker harp from the Musée de la Musique, seen previously. The former stands at 1.55 metres, taller than the latter by 16 centimetres, as the Hochbrucker harp is 1.39 metres high. Unfortunately, the archives of the royal account do not contain evidence of a royal purchase from Salomon that would link them with the harp, but as will be discussed, Mesdames, daughters of King Louis XV ostensibly practised music, particularly the pedal harp.

While Goepffert's performance was the first one on the harp at the Concert Spirituel, the presence of the pedal mechanism on his instruments is assumed from the later sources discussed in this section, that mention his ability to play musical alterations. Although the harp had been less present in France upon Goepffert's arrival, there seems to have been a rise in diatonic harps along with the pedal harps in the middle of the eighteenth century. For example, several musical publications mention the harp without pedals, along with the one with pedals. One explanation could come from the rising prices of pedal harps – as will be discussed in 1.3.2 – that would have led more people to cheaper instruments. Another justification might be that students began to learn the harp without pedals, so that their hands were trained, before moving on to pedal harps.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ « Pour rendre les Harpes plus sonores, il imagina de les faire plus grosses et plus grandes, elles avoient véritablement un beau son, mais elles étoient embarrassantes et désagréables à jouer. » Stéphanie-Félicité Du Crest comtesse de Genlis, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe en moins de 6 mois* (Paris: Mme Duhan et Compagnie, n.d.), 3.

¹¹⁵ Composer Jean Baur's 1763 Collection of airs include pieces of varying difficulty, with the easier ones for the non-pedal harp. See Chapter 4.3.2.

1.2 Physical and intrinsic value of the French pedal harp

1.2.1 Consumption

By the eighteenth century, the European economic market had expanded through the trades and discoveries of the Renaissance period. Private companies traded between the old continent and Asia or the Americas, exporting European items while bringing home new goods, materials, and techniques.¹¹⁶ By the eighteenth century, these foreign goods were well established on the market, while still enticing the curiosity of consumers in European cities. The arrival of these new items and techniques had created a spark in European manufacturing, by broadening the possibilities of production. As their import remained costly, European inventors seized the opportunity of the large demand for them and began producing objects as ‘import substitution’.¹¹⁷ Foreign items were copied and made readily available to customers. The combination of foreign inspiration and local inventors’ skills generated innovations and experimentations in the production of new commodities and the use of new materials. For instance, European manufacturers now produced printed calicoes, formerly imported to Europe from India.¹¹⁸ The import of new items also stimulated the production of objects required for their usage, such as tableware for the consumption of exotic beverages like tea, coffee, and chocolate.¹¹⁹ While these new productions were flourishing in the eighteenth century, they resulted from a process of travel, discoveries, commerce, and innovation, in place for a couple of centuries in Europe.¹²⁰ The stimulation of the European markets by the importation of goods also impacted the variety of products available. Now more than ever, items could be purchased in a variety of materials and quality. The latter specifically meant that a wider part of the population could take part in the consumption of goods previously considered a luxury, such as wallpapers, printed *indiennes* fabrics, watches, or glasses.¹²¹

Following its introduction in France, the pedal harp followed a similar pattern of import substitution. Since its introduction on the public scene in Paris in 1749, French audiences were

¹¹⁶ *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (New York: Routledge, 1993), 4-7.

¹¹⁷ Maxine Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *The Economic History Review* 55, no. 1 (2002): 7-8.

¹¹⁸ "New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England", 65.

¹¹⁹ In 2015 the Musée Cognacq-Jay in Paris dedicated an exhibition to the role of these exotic beverages in Paris social circles and crafts of the eighteenth century, see Rose-Marie Herda-Mousseaux, Patrick Rambourg, and Guillaume Séret, *Thé, Café ou Chocolat ? Les Boissons Exotiques à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2015).

¹²⁰ Natacha Coquery, "La diffusion des biens a l'époque moderne: une histoire connectée de la consommation," *Histoire Urbaine* 30 (2011): 6-7.

¹²¹ Coquery, "Mode, commerce, innovation: la boutique parisienne au XVIII^e siècle. Aperçu sur les stratégies de séduction des marchands parisiens de luxe et de demi-luxe", 4.

charmed by the performance, and the demand for this new instrument grew. Rather than importing pedal harps from the German regions, Parisian musical instrument makers took over the production of these instruments, making harps more convenient to acquire. Few of the early French pedal harp models have survived. One harp, built by luthier Edmond Saunier (c.1730-after 1783) and today held at the Musée de la Musique in Paris, seems to be among them.¹²² From its construction and shape, this harp can be considered as an example of import substitution for pedal harps.

As Parisian musical instrument makers began producing pedal harps, they added a new action to produce the semitones: the *crochets* or hook mechanism. The hooks replaced the crutches of the Hochbrucker system. Unlike the latter, the hooks pulled the string towards the neck, pressing it against the head of the fixed pin, which was built wider in this mechanism – presented in Figure 1-7. French pedal harps began to bear this action towards the end of the 1750s and the early 1760s, and it became the standard for French-built pedal harps. Unfortunately, no written sources have yet shed an understanding of this transition, that can only be observed through the study of surviving instruments.

¹²² Harpe, Edmond Saunier, E.17, Musée de la Musique, Paris.

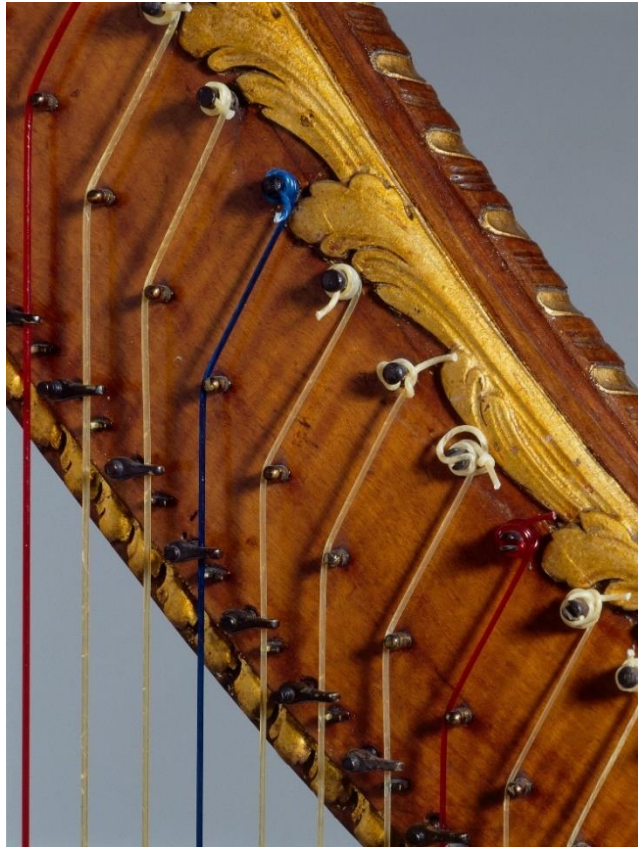


Figure 1-7 – Detail of the harp by Saunier, F.P.cm, E.17. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Albert Giordan. Reproduced with permission of François Giordan and the Musée de la Musique.

The Saunier harp (at the centre of Figure 1-8) has this *crochets* action. While the mechanism differs from that found on Hochbrucker harps, its shape appears to imitate that of early eighteenth-century Bavarian harps, particularly with the shape of the neck, with a shallower curve than on later harps.¹²³ Moreover, Saunier's harp carries other elements that later became standard on the French pedal harp; this includes the scroll on top of the instrument's pillar carved out with decorative motifs, and the sound box built with seven staves. Indeed, along with a distinctive mechanism, French harp makers developed a new design for pedal harps, as can be seen on the harp built by Jean Louvet on the right in Figure 1-8.

While from the late 1750s, French pedal harps widely carried a *crochets* action, it still presented flaws on certain aspects. For example, as the strings were pulled towards the neck, these were no longer aligned with the other strings, which could disrupt the player's technique of the strings. Like the Hochbrucker mechanism, its main flaw remained the restriction of a mechanism that only raised the pitch of the strings by one semitone. In an era that sought out closely related tones,

¹²³ Mike Baldwin, "Jacob Hochbrucker - Innovating and developing the First Pedal Harps," in *Between the Strings, Festival of Historical Harp — First edition: Haydn's Folk Harp* (Innsbruck, Austria 2021).

several makers attempted to produce new mechanisms with that aim, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

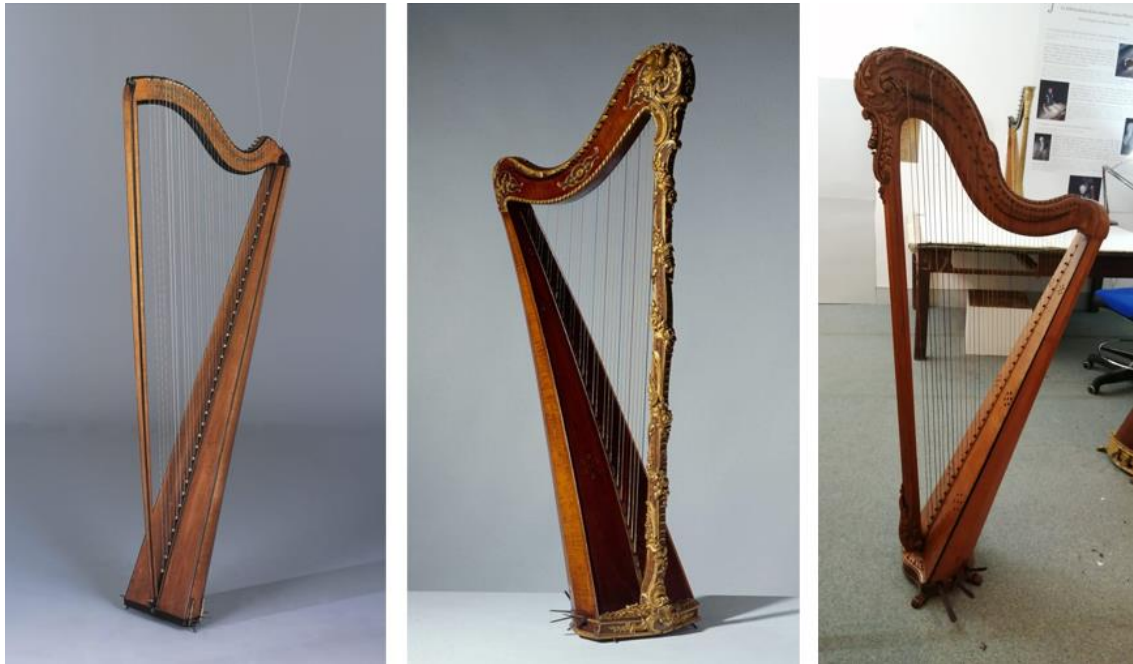


Figure 1-8 – Harps by (from left to right) Hochbrucker, F.P.cm, E.2009.1.1; Saunier, F.P.cm, E.17; Louvet, F.NI.pl, D.2019.1.4. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Jean-Marc Anglès (1), Cliché Albert Giordan (2); Photo by the author (3). Reproduced with permission of Jean-Marc Anglès, François Giordan and the Musée de la Musique.

1.2.2 First makers and characteristics of the French pedal harp

From the 1760s, a growing number of musical instrument makers built pedal harps with the *crochets* mechanism. Several string instrument makers were among the first producers of French pedal harps. For example, Salomon, Saunier and Jean Louvet (c.1720-1793), whom we have already mentioned, all built other string instruments. Salomon and Louvet specifically are often cited as the first ones to produce an important number of pedal harps:

*Salomon and Louvet took advantage of this enthusiasm for the harp, they built a huge amount of them.*¹²⁴

Salomon and Louvet were also amongst the first harp makers to be inducted into the musical instrument makers' guild, respectively in 1743 and 1748. Saunier entered the guild a decade later in 1756. While there is no evidence yet to assert that they were the first to produce pedal harps,

¹²⁴ « Salomon et Louvet profitèrent de cet engouement pour la Harpe, ils en fabriquèrent une énorme quantité... » in Genlis, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe en moins de 6 mois*.

Saunier and Louvet appear however, to be among the earliest ones to adopt the French pedal harp design and mechanism.

All three makers were previously producing other musical instruments, all from the strings family. Edmond Saunier had gained a reputation for building citterns and mandolins, while Louvet, along with his brother, had been making and selling hurdy-gurdies. Salomon had also been marketing a variety of musical instruments and strings imported from Italy before making harps. The exact beginning of their respective involvement with pedal harps remains unknown, but by the 1760s the Parisian press recognised them as prominent harp makers. In June 1760, the *Mercure de France* discussed a harp of Salomon's, in a poem dedicated to Madame the Duchesse de Me*** who had received a 'very beautiful harp'. The newspaper also claimed that Salomon's harps are better than the ones from the German regions:

*This excellent harp, made by Mr Salomon, who pushed this Instrument to a perfection previously unknown, even in Germany, where it is widely used.*¹²⁵

The following year Louvet received praise in the press, as the *Avant-Coureur* published, when talking about the harp:

*Mr Louvet is particularly attached to this instrument, he makes very beautiful and very complete pedal-operated ones.*¹²⁶

Although Salomon, Louvet, and Saunier seemed to have been among the earliest Parisian harp makers, neither of them was credited as the inventor of the *crochets* mechanism. Throughout literature and archival documents, several names are cited as inventors of this new action, but none of them can be corroborated. Madame de Genlis, discussed previously, wrote in her harp treatise that Goepffert had created this mechanism. She claimed that Salomon and Louvet were only profiting off from it, as makers Jean Henry Naderman (1734-1799) and Georges Cousineau (1732-1800), who both gained fame in the 1770s, continued to do after them.¹²⁷ Unfortunately, no harp or writing from Goepffert or his contemporaries have been uncovered so far that could prove Genlis's claim, an author known today for exaggerating many parts of her life.

Several makers followed Louvet, Salomon and Saunier, such as Georges Cousineau and Jean Henry Naderman. During the 1760s and 1770s, more harp makers joined the musical instrument

¹²⁵ « Cette excellente Harpe, est faite par le sieur Salomon, qui a poussé cet Instrument à une perfection qui étoit encore inconnue, même en Allemagne, où il est très en usage. » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, June 1760, 82.

¹²⁶ « Le sieur Louvet s'est attaché particulièrement à cet instrument, il en fabrique de fort belles à pédales et très complètes » *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, (Paris: Lambert). 16 March 1761, 165-166.

¹²⁷ Genlis, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe en moins de 6 mois*.

makers' guild, so much so that by 1783, the *Almanach Musical* listed sixteen of them, now grouped in their own category. In previous editions, the *Almanach* included them among the *Luthiers ou Facteurs de Violons, Harpes, Guitarras, etc.* However, by the 1780s, the pedal harp became such a sought-after instrument, that it was important for them to be listed separately.¹²⁸

French pedal harps from the 1760s onwards were not only characterised by their use of the *crochets* mechanism. As described on the Saunier harp, the shape and decorations became a recognisable feature. French pedal harps were on average 26 centimetres taller than the Hochbrucker ones, reaching an average height of 1.59 metres.¹²⁹ Regarding the decorations, the French pedal harp had the particularity of responding to consumers' decoration desires. The pedal harp played a part in their owner's representation, thus corresponding to the fashionable decorations of the time. Pedal harps were thus adorned with motifs found on other pieces of furniture: acanthus leaves, friezes, natural motifs of flowers, birds, leaves, etc. Two parts of the harp usually bore decorations: the scroll at the top of the pillar and the soundboard. The former was usually sculpted with motifs, often with a sculpted flower placed at the centre of the scroll. The sides of the scroll were sculpted in low relief with plant motifs (olive or rose branches, flowers, etc.), as can be seen in Figure 1-9 below, showing a harp by Louvet from 1766, one by Naderman from 1776, and one by Sébastien Renault (c.1745-1829) and François Chatelain (c.1745-after 1800) from 1786.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *Almanach Musical*, (Paris: Ruault). 1783, 135.

¹²⁹ For French pedal harps, the average is based on the height of forty pedal harps, dated between 1755 and 1775, gathered by the author (see the introduction for the description of the pedal harp database).

¹³⁰ The harp made by Louvet in 1766 and held at the Musée de la Musique in Paris is used extensively in this chapter, as it is the only one with a precise date from the 1760s.

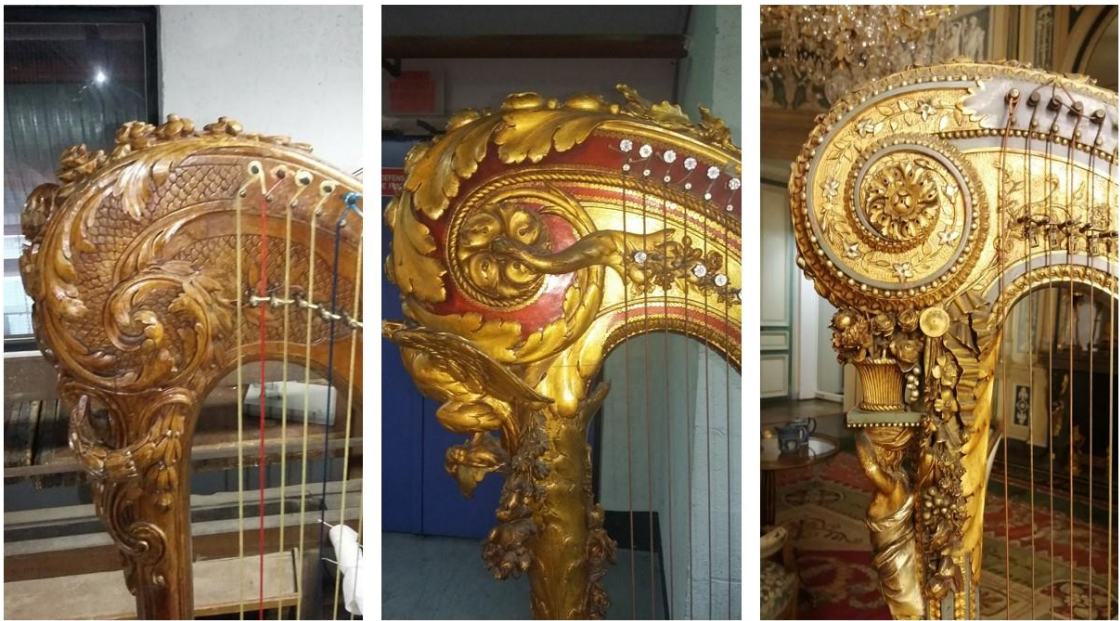


Figure 1-9 – From left to right: Jean Louvet, 1766, *F.P.cm*, E.982.7.1; Jean Henry Naderman, 1776, *F.P.cm*, E.482; Renault & Chatelain, 1786, *F.P.ad*, Inv.22359. Photos by the author.

The soundboards of French pedal harps were often painted with various fashionable motifs of the time. It is common to see them painted with flowers, birds, arabesques, or *chinoiseries* motifs reflecting the fashion for orientalism of the late eighteenth century, or gallant scenes and landscapes. Such decorations were the usual ornaments for French pedal harps. Some harps were built with less decor, and were only varnished, with the scroll usually always sculpted. Conversely, some other harps were decorated more lavishly, either by using more expensive materials – such as mother-of-pearl – or by adding more ornaments on the neck, or at the base, like with the Naderman harp in Figure 1-10.



Figure 1-10 – Example of lavish sculpture and gilding on a harp by Jean Henry Naderman in 1776, *F.P.cm*, E.482. Photo by the author.

1.2.3 Advent of the canon: the *Encyclopédie*

The appearance of the harp in the musical landscape of Paris coincided with the era referred to as the Enlightenment. During this period, science and research were prominent in Western Europe, particularly in France. The description and definition of things became the centre of attention of intellectuals. In his 1781 *Tableau de Paris*, Louis Sébastien Mercier claimed that ‘we have put everything in dictionary’.¹³¹ The consecration of the pedal harp as part of French society was indeed its inclusion in important works of classification and dictionaries. It was present as early as 1761, in François Alexandre Pierre de Garsault’s *Notionnaire ou Mémorial Raisonné*, in which the author described the new pedal action, that Goepffert played, as ‘rendering the Harp fit for great concerts.’¹³²

The consecration as part of French society for the instrument came from the article on the pedal harp in the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Published by philosopher Denis Diderot (1713-1784) and mathematician Jean Le Rond D’Alembert (1717-1783) between 1751 and 1772, the *Encyclopédie* characterised the era’s thirst for knowledge. Until the mid-eighteenth century, most dictionaries only covered one single discipline. For the *Encyclopédie*, Diderot and D’Alembert asked people of various professions and origins to write articles on their topic of expertise. Thus, the publication was designed to ‘gather the scattered knowledge of the earth’s surface’ to expose it to their contemporaries and transmit it to future generations.¹³³ As such, they intended it as a description of human knowledge, its creation, transmission, and representation within society.

On 1 August 1760, Madame Louise d’Epinay (1726-1783) hosted an evening in her Parisian salon. In the second half of the eighteenth century, salons were places for the aristocracy to discuss politics, literature, and science. Furthermore, as spaces of sociability, they housed games, dinners, and concerts.¹³⁴ One summer evening, Count Michał Kazimierz Ogiński (1729-1800) had invited Diderot to listen to him play the harp in Madame d’Epinay’s salon. Ogiński had been

¹³¹ « On a tout mis en dictionnaire » quoted in Marie Leca-Tsiomis, "Les dictionnaires en Europe. Présentation," *Dix-huitième siècle* 38, no. 1 (2006): 6.

¹³² « Rendent la Harpe propre aux grands Concerts » in François Alexandre Pierre de Garsault, *Notionnaire, ou Mémorial raisonné de ce qu'il y a d'utile et d'intéressant dans les connoissances acquises depuis la création du monde jusqu'à présent* (Paris, 1761), 660.

¹³³ « Le but d'une encyclopédie est de rassembler les connaissances éparses sur la surface de la terre ». Article ENCYCLOPÉDIE, (Philosoph.), *Encyclopédie, Ou Dictionnaire Raisonné Des Sciences, Des Arts Et Des Métiers*, vol. V (1755), 635. The *Encyclopédie* is at the heart of a digitisation programme from the *Académie des Sciences*, which made it available in its entirety online. See Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond D’Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris 1751-1772), <http://enccre.academie-sciences.fr/encyclopedie/>.

¹³⁴ Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons* (Paris: Fayard, 2005), 155.

playing the harp for many years, even before coming to Paris.¹³⁵ In France, his musical talent gave him access to aristocratic salons and he regularly attended concerts hosted by financier La Pouplinière. Diderot was not one to attend such concerts, he also did not attend the performances at the Concert Spirituel, places where he would have seen a pedal harp. Conversely, the event at Madame d'Épinay's was the very first time the philosopher heard this instrument. When recalling the concert in a letter to his correspondent Sophie Volland (1716-1784), he said:

*The harp pleases me; it is harmonious, strong, gay in the high notes, sad and melancholic in the bass, noble throughout, at least under the count's fingers...*¹³⁶

In his pursuit of the *Encyclopédie*, Diderot wanted to find contributors with expertise on their topics. When it came to the article on the pedal harp, he called on Ogiński to write it. Published in 1765, in the eighth volume of the work, the article is entitled *Harpe Organisée*, a term coined as musicians had to use both their hands and their feet to play the pedal harp, as organists did.¹³⁷ In his description of the harp, Ogiński distinguishes the *simple* – without pedals – from the *organised* – with pedal action – harps. The addition of the pedal system to set the crutches and hooks in motion made the harp *organisée* (organised). The article then goes into greater detail about the construction of the organised harp. A series of plates accompanied the description of the instrument, engraved by Robert Benard, and published in a separate volume two years later.¹³⁸ These plates are very detailed, particularly when comparing them with pedal harps from that time.

¹³⁵ Musicologist Malou Haine explored Ogiński's life, and how he came to writing the article. See Malou Haine, "Michał Kazimierz Ogiński: un encyclopédiste occasionnel," *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopedie* (2018). 1

¹³⁶ « La harpe me plait ; elle est harmonieuse, forte, gaie dans les dessus, triste et mélancolique dans le bas, noble partout, du moins sous les doigts du comte... » Letter from Denis Diderot to Sophie Volland, XXI, 2 August 1760. Denis Diderot, "Lettres a Mademoiselle Volland (1759-1774)," *Oeuvres complètes de Diderot* (Paris: Garnier, 1876), <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/50605/50605-h/50605-h.htm>. Accessed 24/10/2021.

¹³⁷ Diderot and Le Rond D'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Volume 8, 56-58. Organologist Maria Cleary has argued for the use of that term to designate the single-action pedal harp made in France in the eighteenth century. See Maria Christina Cleary, "The Invention of the 18th Century: the Harpe Organisée and Pedals," *The American Harp Journal* (2018).

¹³⁸ Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond D'Alembert, *Recueil de Planches, sur les Sciences, les Arts Libéraux, et les Arts Mécaniques*, Quatrième (1767), <http://enccre.academie-sciences.fr/encyclopedie/planche/v26-x13?p=v26-g194&vp=y&>. Accessed 27/10/2021. For more on Robert Benard and the other engravers of the *Encyclopédie*, see Frank A. Kafker and Madeleine Pinault-Sørensen, "Notices sur les collaborateurs du recueil de planches de l'Encyclopédie," *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopedie* (1995).

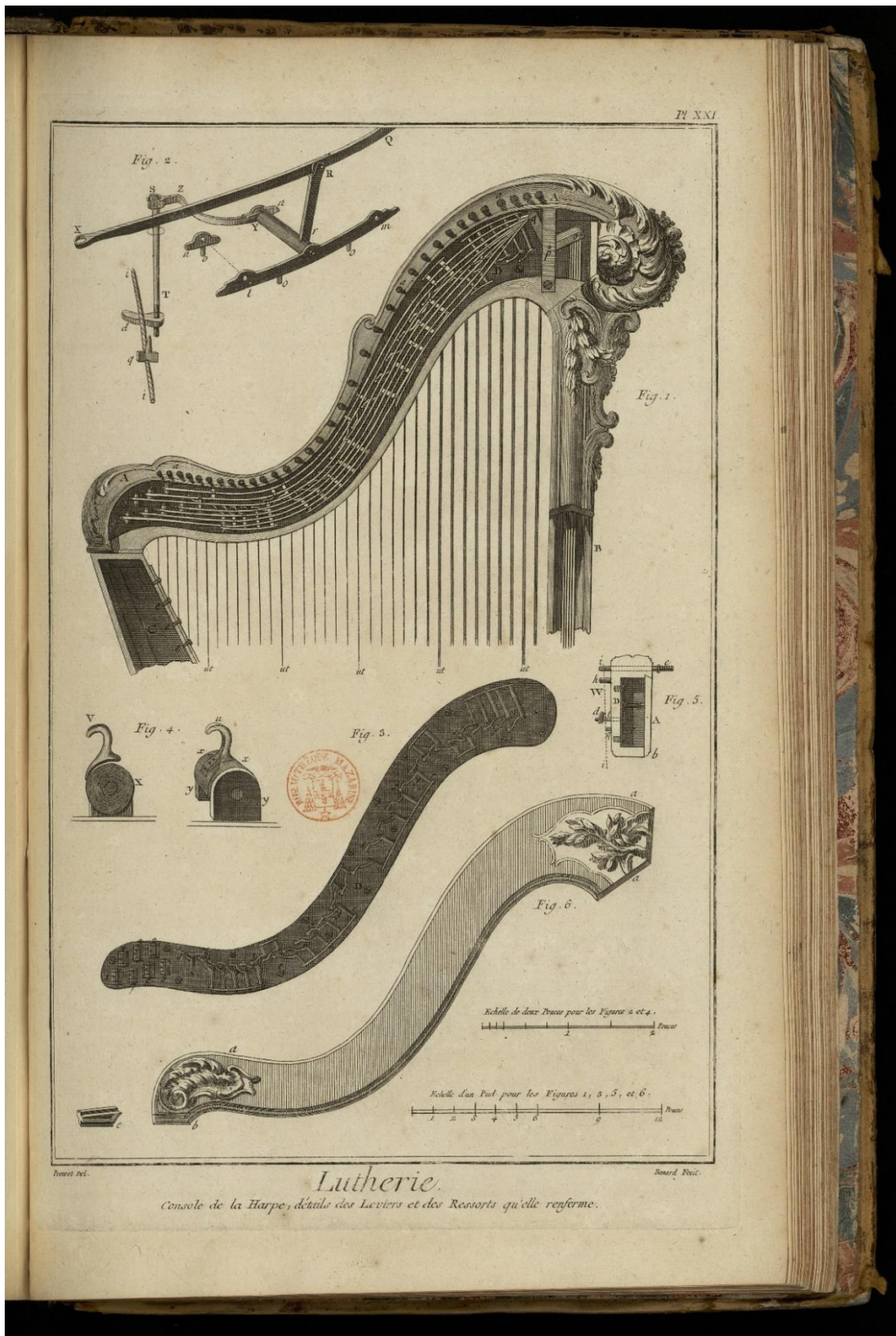


Figure 1-11 - Plate XXI, Diderot and D'Alembert, *Recueil De Planches, Sur Les Sciences, Les Arts Libéraux, Et Les Arts Mécaniques*, vol. Quatrième (1767) © Bibliothèque Mazarine, Licence Creative Commons, [CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 FR](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/fr/).

The harp depicted in the plates of the *Encyclopédie* bears some characteristics that can be used to identify the instrument more precisely. In the eighteenth century, French pedal harps were not fully standardised in the details of their constructions. The observation of harps from a variety of makers demonstrates that while they all built harps with the *crochets* mechanism and a scroll top, they personalised a number of characteristics that differentiated them from other makers. Through these characteristics, a harp can be more clearly attributed to a maker. Thus, the *Encyclopédie* harp's traits can help towards a potential attribution. In particular, this harp carries thirty-four strings and has a set of three sound holes on each side of the soundboard, each comprised of a central hole and six others symmetrically disposed around it. Throughout the eighteenth century, makers built harps with between thirty-four and thirty-nine strings. Therefore, knowing the numbers of strings can point towards a maker. As with the number of strings, the number and shape of sound holes were not yet standardised. The most common forms for them were three sound holes on each side of the soundboard with either seven holes each, or the top one with one hole and the lower two with six holes.

Another element to consider are the bulges on top of the neck, as shown in Figure 1-12. As was observed for this study, some makers consistently placed these bulges in the same place, which makes them a potential differentiator between makers.



Figure 1-12 – Bulges under the yellow arrows, harp by Godefroy Holtzman, GCL, I/36/123. Photo by the author.

On the plates presented, the bulges are located above the 13th and the 32th string – counting from the bass. The number of pedal harps surveyed for this research has led to the construction of a dedicated database, presented in the introductory chapter. It includes all the information found on the instrument, mostly the physical description, such as measurements, number of strings, shape of the structure, or decorations. This database is helpful to determine characteristics of certain makers and identify the makers of anonymous harps.

Based on the systematic research undertaken for this work, it has been possible to identify details in the construction of the harp represented in the plate, that lead to a potential attribution of the maker of this instrument. The details about strings, sound holes and bulges were entered in the database, along with a production date before 1767 – the year of the plates’ publication.¹³⁹ Two other harps came up as a result, with close characteristics and both built by Jean Louvet as seen in Figure 1-13.

Maker	Collection	Date	Bumps	Strings	Soundhole shape	Soundhole number
Louvet, Jean	Musée de la Musique	1766	14, 32	34	7 - 7 - 7	2x3
Louvet, Jean	Private Collection	1765-1770	14, 34	34	7 - 7 - 7	2x3

Figure 1-13 – Extract from the database query: 34 strings, sound holes of 7 holes, 3 on each side of the soundboard.

While no harps studied for this research exactly corresponds to the one depicted in the *Encyclopédie* – none of them have a bulge above the 13th string - Jean Louvet seems like a fitting maker for it. A third plate published in the *Encyclopédie* can also help to further identify who built the harp drawn here, shown in Figure 1-15. Below, the plate is compared to two other harps built by Louvet, one from the Palais Lascaris (Nice) and one from the Petit Palais (Paris) presented in Figure 1-14. These two examples of surviving Louvet harps show how the construction of the harp from the plate is like that of the harps from the Louvet workshop.

¹³⁹ As of September 2023, this database comprises of over 240 entries of pedal harps.

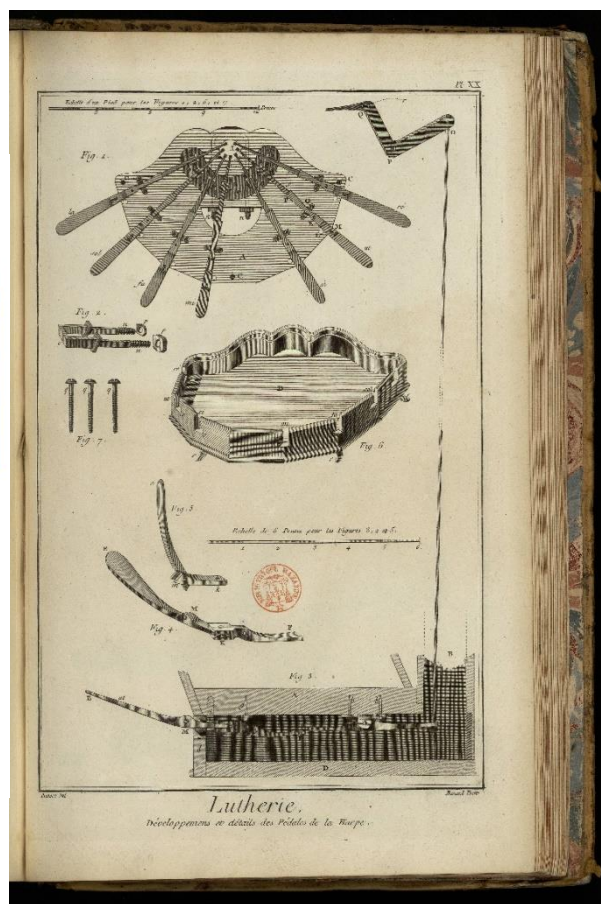


Figure 1-14 – Top: Harp by Jean Louvet, 1772, F.NI.pl, D.2019.1.4. Bottom: Harp by Jean Louvet, 1777, PPP, OTUCK62. Photos by the author.

Figure 1-15 – Plate XX, Diderot and D’Alembert, *Recueil De Planches, Sur Les Sciences, Les Arts Libéraux, Et Les Arts Mécaniques*, vol. *Quatrième* (1767) © Bibliothèque Mazarine, Licence Creative Commons, [CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 FR](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/fr/).

By including the pedal harp in the immense work of the *Encyclopédie*, the philosophers consecrated the instrument. This demonstrated that by the time the eighth volume was published in 1765, the pedal harp had become so important that it was included in this enterprise, along with other major musical instruments of the time like the harpsichord. The harp gained popularity among amateurs, and professionals along. The same year the article was published, a dancer of the Académie Royale, Maximilien Gardel (1741-1787), was depicted by Nicolas Regnault in a beautiful pastel, playing the pedal harp. The pastel depicts the harp so precisely that we can see the mechanism in the neck, which is a *crochet* action with the hooks facing left. This shows that by 1765, the French pedal harp with *crochets* had been adopted by the higher classes of society.

1.3 The French pedal harp in practice: sociability, performance, and dissemination

1.3.1 Performances and repertoire

While the press reported generous applause for Georg Adam Goepffert's concert, audiences waited for more than ten years before another harpist graced the Château des Tuileries. In April 1760, Mr. Hochbrucker, likely Jean-Baptiste appeared at the Concert Spirituel:

*Mr. Hochbrucker, a German, has played the harp several times and has performed pieces of his own composition. He was recognised as a great practitioner of this instrument; his playing first prompted surprise and admiration.*¹⁴⁰

Mr Hochbrucker was also potentially the 'German harp player' described in the *Avant-Coureur* of April 14 that year, who performed at the Concert Spirituel.¹⁴¹ Hochbrucker is among the fifteen harpists that played in Paris in the 1760s and 1770s. During this period, more than fifty concerts on the pedal harp were recorded in the French press, as presented in Figure 1-16. While another Hochbrucker has first performed in London in 1743, the first pedal harp concerts advertised during the period of this study dates from 1769. Pedal harp concerts in London interestingly reached a first height in the years 1774-1776, when no concerts were advertised in Paris, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁰ « M. Hochbrucker, Allemand, a joué plusieurs fois de la harpe, & a exécuté des pièces de sa composition. L'on a reconnu en lui un grand Praticien de cet instrument ; son jeu a d'abord excité la surprise & l'admiration. » - *Mercur de France, dédié au Roi*, April 1760, 207.

¹⁴¹ *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, 14 April 1760.

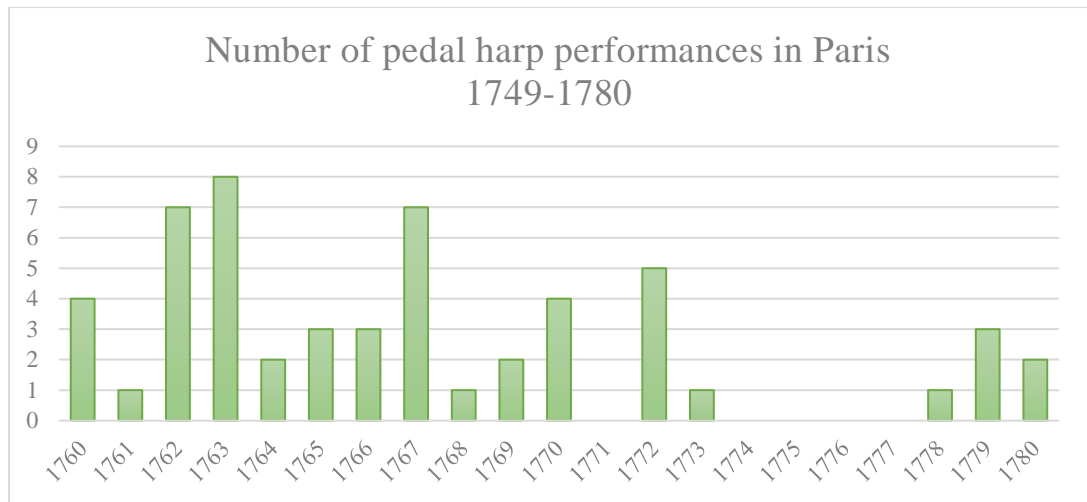


Figure 1-16 - Public performances on the pedal harp in Paris, reported in the press between 1760 and 1780.

Hochbrucker himself played a dozen times on the Parisian stages. Along with Philippe Jacob Mayer, he was among the most celebrated harpists in Paris, as *L'Avant-Coureur* stated in January 1764:

*Two famous men in this genre (MM. Mayer & Hochbrucker) compete for the French audience's approval. Both appeared at the Concert Spirituel with the greatest success.*¹⁴²

The preceding year, Philip Jacob Mayer (c.1750-after 1793)¹⁴³ had performed eight times at the Concert Spirituel, making him the most prolific performing harpist in Paris at that time. Coincidentally, both Mayer and Hochbrucker pioneered publications for the pedal harp in the early 1760s. Hochbrucker was the first composer to release pieces solely for the pedal harp, in 1762¹⁴⁴, while Mayer published the earliest treatise for the pedal harp published in France, *Essay on the true way of playing the harp*.¹⁴⁵ At the time most of the harp music published remained accompaniment or transcription, such as Jean Baur's *Varied airs, ariettes, minuets and gavottes arranged in harp pieces* published in 1763.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² « Deux hommes célèbres dans ce genre (MM. Mayer & Hochbrucker) se disputent les suffrages du Public François. Tous deux ont paru avec le plus grand succès au *Concert Spirituel*. » *ibid.* 16 January 1764, 38–39.

¹⁴³ Other spellings include *Meyer* or *Mayer*; and *Philippe Jacques* for his first names.

¹⁴⁴ His *Six sonates pour la harpe* has been wrongly attributed to his cousin Christian, but it was more likely that Johann Baptist penned this first opus. Hochbrucker, *Six sonates pour la harpe avec une gamme & des pièces doigtées... mise au jour par Huberty... oeuvre I*.

¹⁴⁵ Philippe-Jacques Meyer, *Essai sur la vraie manière de jouer de la harpe, avec une méthode de l'accorder* (Paris 1763).

¹⁴⁶ Jean Baur, *Premier recueil d'airs, ariettes, menuets et gavottes variées et arrangées en pièces de harpe, avec plusieurs caprices* (Paris: Bordet, 1763).

Harpists found other sources of revenue other than performances and publications. Several of them were also introduced to the greater public as harp masters, offering their teaching to potential Parisian pupils. Because as advertised in the *Tableau de Paris* in 1759:

*Audiences know that almost all of the musicians of the opera and the Concert Spirituel teach music.*¹⁴⁷

Keipher, likely to be Goepffert as discussed in 1.1.3, remains the only harp teacher advertised in the press during the 1760s, presented in the *Tableau de Paris* and the *Essai sur l'Almanach Général*.¹⁴⁸ Sources remain scarce on other harp teachers in the press, until the first publication of the *Almanach Musical* in 1775.¹⁴⁹ That first year, the journal listed eleven harp masters. Among them, three had performed at the Concert Spirituel: Hochbrucker, Mayer, and Mademoiselle Lafond, who had played in 1767 and 'gave the greatest pleasure by the way she sang while accompanying herself on the harp'.¹⁵⁰

As soon as musicians on the pedal harp performed in London, they also offered lessons. Hochbrucker's presence in the city in 1743 was discussed, but others, like Francis Warner, who performed in London from 1769 onwards, placed several notices of his availability to 'any ladies or gentlemen who please to honour him with their commands'.¹⁵¹

Several harp teachers listed in the Parisian *Almanach* also published their compositions. Jean Baur and Jean Georges Burckhoffer (c.1735-1801) published several Sonatas and *Ariettes* for the harp in the 1760s and early 1770s, while G. Moreau published one *Recueil d'airs* in 1769. Jean Georges Sieber (1738-1822), listed here as a teacher, wrote and published pieces for the harp in 1771, but audiences also knew him for his performances. While he first was a brass instrument player, he gained recognition as a harp maker in the 1770s and became the master of Jacques Georges Cousineau, harpist and son of the harp maker.

¹⁴⁷ « Le public sçait que Presque tous les musiciens de l'opera & du *Concert Spirituel* enseignent la musique. » *Tableau de Paris pour l'année mil sept cent cinquante-neuf, Formé d'après les antiquités, l'histoire, la description de cette ville, &c.*, (Paris: C. Herissant, 1759), 205.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ; *Etat ou Tableau de la ville de Paris, Nouvelle Edition*, (Paris). 1763, 1764, and 1765 ; *Essai sur l'Almanach Général d'Indication d'adresse personnelle et domicile fixe des six corps, arts et métiers*, (Paris, 1769).

¹⁴⁹ *Almanach Musical*, 1775.

¹⁵⁰ *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, 28 December 1767.

¹⁵¹ More advertisements were placed in the 1780s, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection. 14th December 1769.

As interest in the harp grew further, the number of masters for the instrument advertised in the *Almanach Musical* rose to forty-one by 1783, including eight of the eleven first harp teachers advertised in 1775.¹⁵²

1.3.2 Luxury and semi-luxury

*Without an abundance of luxuries, men of all ranks believe themselves to be poor.*¹⁵³

New production techniques derived from import substitutions in the eighteenth century led to the manufacture of more diverse items. Produced in larger numbers, these objects were now available for a wider part of the population. As the lower classes had access to more new goods than ever, the aristocracy in France and England responded with an increased interest in luxury goods, a growing demand that manufacturers had to follow.

Luxury was not only about excess for the higher classes of European societies: it served a purpose. Since at least the Renaissance, nobles had acquired objects to display in their houses to convey both their taste and financial capacities. Luxury represented an expression of one's social and cultural status. In the eighteenth century, this remained the case, leading nobles into a perpetual competition among themselves to purchase the most discernible items.¹⁵⁴ On one hand, this separated the wheat from the chaff within the aristocracy, as the acquisition of the most expensive and ostentatious items distinguished their owner. On the other hand, this was also a way for nobles to assert their power over the lower classes. Historians have characterised this phenomenon as a *theatre of power*, where aristocrats used the consumption of otherwise unattainable goods to assert their higher position to the masses.¹⁵⁵

As harp concerts and lessons became more frequent in the 1760s and 1770s, the pedal harp gained momentum in the leisure practises of the higher classes. The pedal harp thus entered aristocratic interiors; places governed by codes to which the instrument had to conform. As luxury consumption intensified in the eighteenth century, it required the redefinition of upper-class

¹⁵² *Almanach Musical*, 1783.

¹⁵³ « Sans un immense superflu chaque condition se croit misérable. » – Saint-Lambert, Article « Luxe » in Diderot and Le Rond D'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Volume IX, 767. Accessed 19/01/2022.

¹⁵⁴ Berg, "New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England", 65.. And Natacha Coquery, "Hôtel, luxe et société de cour : le marché aristocratique parisien au XVIIIe siècle," *Histoire & Mesure* (1995): 360-61.

¹⁵⁵ John Shovlin details the implications of the *theatre of power*. See Shovlin, "The Cultural Politics of Luxury in Eighteenth-Century France", 580.

interiors. Each room became dedicated to an activity, and the furniture in it had to reflect this designation. In practice, rooms were organised in a specific order: first, the *meubles meublants* (furnishing furniture) such as consoles, commodes, and upholstered seats, remained fixed in the perimeter of the room. Second, the *meubles volants* (moving furniture) like small chairs, ottomans, and pedestal tables were placed at the centre, where they could easily be moved.¹⁵⁶ Nobles sought such furniture from qualified craftsmen, who competed in decorations to fit the new trends for aristocratic interiors. This furniture dichotomy was mirrored in the space given to musical instruments in interiors. On one hand, smaller instruments – such as flutes or violins – could be moved and put away after practice, while, on the other hand, heavier instruments – like harpsichords and pedal harps – had to remain in place in the room. The possession of musical instruments played a part in this *theatre of power*. The presence of a musical instrument in one's interior demonstrated their affinity with music, a quality sought after by the aristocracy, and therefore their cultural power. The dimensions of pedal harps, on average 1.6 metres high and 75 centimetres deep in the last third of the eighteenth century, characterised them as an instrument that had to remain in place, a noticeable piece in any room.

As the pedal harps had become fixtures of aristocratic interiors in the 1770s, their ornaments followed the general decorative trends of their time. Harps built in Paris from the 1760 were sculpted, particularly the scroll at the top of the pillar, usually ornate with acanthus leaves and other floral motifs as discussed, with some examples of birds sculpted under it. Like other parts of the harps, sculpted decors could be painted and gilded, reflecting the fashion of their time. In the 1770s, harp soundboards were often painted with landscapes and gallant scenes; later followed by *chinoiserie* patterns usually made in lacquer when orientalist fashion was in full swing in the 1780s. These paintings were often filled with details, which leads one to believe the maker called in outside help for the decorations. While no pedal harp decorations have yet been found with a signature, historical documents help to fill the gap. The earliest trace of subcontracting ornaments uncovered for this study dates from 1760. That year, harp maker Wolters produced a pedal harp for the princess Madame Louise, daughter of King Louis XV, declaring he was 'committed to providing the perfect instrument'.¹⁵⁷ In the bill supplied by Wolters, he detailed that his price included 60 *livres* for the sculptor, 50 for the gilder, and 50 for the painter, for a total of 160 *livres* for external decorations on one harp. The list of debts established upon the passing of Jean Henry Naderman's wife in 1776, contains another example of payments for adornments. The maker owed money to two decorators external to his workshop.

¹⁵⁶ Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 419-20.

¹⁵⁷ « Je me suis engagé [sic] de fournir L'instrument par fait .» Mémoire pour une harpe pour Madame Louise, 1759, O¹ 3003, Maison du Roi, F-Pan.

¹⁵⁸ Sieur Boucault, a gilder, was owed 2,638 *livres*, while Sieur Deschamps, a painter, 16 *livres* and 10 *sols*.¹⁵⁹ These examples show that ornaments represented a significant, but necessary expense for the harp maker. While these documents only concerned painters, sculptors and gilders, other quality materials could ornate pedal harps. For example, a Naderman harp investigated at the Château de Versailles for this study presented an intricate ornament of mother-of-pearl inserts, as seen in Figure 1-17.



Figure 1-17 – Harp, Jean Henry Naderman, F.V.m, Vmb 14931. Photo by the author.

While nobles upheld social and cultural power over the working classes through their luxury purchases, in return the lower classes sought to copy the aristocratic taste. People desired these goods as symbols of an aristocratic lifestyle, rather than for their usefulness.¹⁶⁰ Enticed by the emergence of new materials and techniques, craftsmen designed and produced objects that resembled those used by the nobles in their *theatre of power*, but at a lower cost. Imitations –

¹⁵⁸ Inventaire après le décès de Marie Elisabeth Maheux, épouse du Sr Naderman, 30 January 1776, MC ET XXVII 380, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

¹⁵⁹ The common occurrence of these two names has not permitted them to be identified in this study.

¹⁶⁰ Fairchilds, "The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris", 230.

such as earthenware for porcelain, or strass for gemstones – or by a mixed version of these materials – mixed silk or plated silver for example – replaced luxury materials.¹⁶¹ With lower production costs, manufacturers made these objects in larger numbers, and thus offered them at a lower price to a wider range of the population. Historians have characterised this phenomenon as *populuxe*¹⁶² – directly referencing the consumers as a contraction of *popular* and *luxury* – or as *semi-luxury*¹⁶³. With a lower intrinsic value, their symbolic value, to demonstrate the owner's interest in the latest trends, made them desirable. The luxury and semi-luxury market evolved alongside each other, mainly as the latter followed the transformations of the former. Semi-luxury allowed more people to attain the distinction that resembled that of the aristocrats. Louis-Sébastien Mercier in his Parisian chronicle *Le Tableau de Paris* described:

*The Parisian who does not have ten thousand livres of income ordinarily has no bedsheets, no towels, no undershirts; but he has a repeater watch, mirrors, silk stockings, laces...*¹⁶⁴

Mercier's depiction of the Parisian population demonstrates that luxury had become crucial for the lower classes in the eighteenth century, as it had become integral part of one's status.

The duality of luxury and semi-luxury can also be reflected in the pedal harp market. As the number of harp makers in Paris rose in the 1770s and 1780s, they offered a variety of quality standards. Some makers were recognised as the best of their trade, particularly Jean Henry Naderman and Georges Cousineau, also renowned as Queen Marie-Antoinette (1755-1793) had appointed them to her service.¹⁶⁵ Both Naderman and Cousineau produced lavishly decorated harps, as seen with the ornament expenses of the former. As decorations became an important selling point, harps were fitted with ornaments characteristic of semi-luxury such as bronze paint instead of gilding, and strass instead of diamonds. Even with the use of lower-quality materials,

¹⁶¹ Coquery, "Mode, commerce, innovation: la boutique parisienne au XVIIIe siècle. Aperçu sur les stratégies de séduction des marchands parisiens de luxe et de demi-luxe", 4-5.

¹⁶² "The penchant of the lower classes for what I term 'populuxe', that is, cheap copies of aristocratic luxury items" - Fairchild, "The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris", 228.

¹⁶³ For the remainder of this study, the term 'semi-luxury' will be preferred, as even the cheaper versions of the pedal harp were not attainable for popular classes. See Berg, "New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England", 66-67.

¹⁶⁴ « Le Parisien qui n'a pas dix mille livres de rente n'a ordinairement ni draps de lit, ni serviettes, ni chemises ; mais il a une montre à répétition, des glaces, des bas de soie, des dentelles... » Louis Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris. Tome 5. Nouvelle édition corrigée et augmentée* (Amsterdam, 1783), 105.

¹⁶⁵ « Le sieur Naderman, Luthier ordinaire des Commandemens de la Raine, passe avec raison pour un des meilleurs Facteurs de Harpe de Paris » François Vincent Corbelin, *Méthode de harpe, pour apprendre, seul en peu de temps, à jouer de cet instrument; avec un principe très simple pour l'accorder* (Paris 1778), I.

the pedal harp remained an expensive item, that was likely not as spread out as other semi-luxury items.

1.3.3 Dissemination in London

As a luxury object mainly available to the aristocracy, the pedal harp market changed during the French Revolution. Through the emigration of nobles and craftsmen threatened by the political upheavals in the 1790s, London became the new centre for pedal harp making towards the end of the eighteenth century, although the instrument existed in England beforehand.

As part of their European tours to disseminate Jacob Hochbrucker's pedal harp, the Hochbrucker sons and nephews travelled to London. Simon Hochbrucker's 1743 visit to the city was previously discussed, a visit that came at a time when harp playing in London was bound to Welsh folklore of the triple harp. Welsh harps bore three staggered rows of strings and therefore did not require pedals to produce chromaticism.¹⁶⁶ Hochbrucker's sojourn in London did not seem to produce any ripple effect, as it took over twenty years for concertgoers to witness another public pedal harp performance. During the 1750s and 1760s, performance announcements that featured a harp usually specified whether it was 'Welsh', 'Triple', or 'Pedal'.¹⁶⁷ During this time, many Welsh harpists appeared on these stages, such as John Parry for example played more than forty public concerts between 1750 and 1777.¹⁶⁸

At Hodge's Long Room in Sunning Hill, on 7 August 1769, during a ball, a certain Mr Warner played 'several pieces on the Pedal Harp'.¹⁶⁹ This was the first mention of a pedal harp in the British press since 1743. The following year, the advertisement of a concert given by François Hippolyte Barthélémon (1741-1808) specified that he would be accompanying the singer 'upon the German pedal harp'.¹⁷⁰ Although Barthélémon played a harp described as German, he was originally from France. In reality, out of the thirty-six harpists that played the pedal harp in London between 1769 and 1800, seventeen were either French or had previously gained fame in

¹⁶⁶ Stephen Rees, lecturer at Bangor University, conversation with the author, 8 July 2021. See Kathryn Hockenbury and Stephen Rees, "The Triple Harps of Bassett Jones (1809–1869): An Iconic Welsh Instrument and Its Revivals," in *American Musical Instrument Society Annual Conference* (Online 2021).

¹⁶⁷ Simon McVeigh, "Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800," (2014).

¹⁶⁸ See also Owain Edwards and Phyllis Kinney, "Parry, John (i)," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁶⁹ *Public Advertiser*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (London: H. S. Woodfall). 29 July 1769, Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Newspapers Collection, GB-Lbl. Quoted in McVeigh, "Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800."

¹⁷⁰ *Public Advertiser*, 20 September 1770, Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Newspapers Collection, GB-Lbl.

France, such as Moreau, Legard, or Philipp Joseph Hinner (1755-1784). The latter had built a reputation for himself as a talented harpist at the Concert Spirituel in Paris, so much so that he became the harp teacher to the Queen of France Marie-Antoinette.¹⁷¹ He performed at twenty of the Bach-Abel concerts in London, between January and May of 1781.¹⁷²

The correlation of the pedal harp with France was subsequently furthered as from 1785, British newspapers no longer heralded for concerts on German pedal harps, but on French ones. Seeing as several of the performers before that date were French, they might have been playing on French pedal harps, but adverts and reports of concerts did not specify it as such. The presence of French harps in England is also evident in the iconography. For example, in George Romney's portrait of the Spencer sisters, Caroline is drawing on the left, while Elizabeth is playing a pedal harp on the right, as seen in Figure 1-18. Although the top of the instrument's scroll is not visible, the mechanism is discernible on the neck, as well as the construction of the sound box with staves.



Figure 1-18 - Lady Caroline Spencer, later Viscountess Clifden, and her sister, Lady Elizabeth Spencer, by George Romney. 11.44, Huntington Art Museum. Courtesy of the Huntington Art Museum, San Marino, California.

¹⁷¹ Hans J. Zingel, "Hinner, Philipp Joseph," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁷² McVeigh, "Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800."

George Romney painted a similar harp in his portrait of Lady Louisa Theodosia Hervey, now hung at Ickworth House in Suffolk¹⁷³. The harps in each painting were probably the same model from Romney's studio. It resembles the harps built by Cousineau Père et Fils in Paris in the late 1780s, with red mahogany wood, and sculptures of small leaves underneath the scroll. Both Elizabeth Spencer and Louisa Hervey were prominent members of the British aristocracy; therefore, their portrait can serve as testimonials that those who played the pedal harp were doing so on French models.

Even with a growing demand for pedal harps among the British high society, London musical instrument makers did not engage with the instrument. The imports of French pedal harps, produced in large numbers by the late 1780s, could explain their disinterest. Most of the harps played in London were imported from France, as few musical instrument makers had shown interest in the instrument.¹⁷⁴ The press of the time is lined with notices from music warehouses selling imported French pedal harp. For example, throughout the 1780s and 1790s for example, the firm Longman & Broderip marketed for French harps:

*HARPS, Just Imported from FRANCE [...] These Harps are from the Manufactories of
Naderman, Cousineau and Son, and other eminent makers.*¹⁷⁵

While the *émigration* of French nobles during the revolution led to the establishment in London of many musicians, it also brought to London at least one musical instrument maker, Sébastien Erard (1752-1831); whose harp manufacture opened in London in the early 1790s, leading more musical instrument makers to produce pedal harps.

¹⁷³ Lady Louisa Theodosia Hervey, Countess of Liverpool (1767-1821), by George Romney, NT 851766, Ickworth Collection.

¹⁷⁴ To this day, only one harp maker is known in London at the time: pianoforte maker George Fröschle, who built harps towards the late 1780s, all built in a clear French style. His harps can be seen today at the Nydahl Collection (Sweden), Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and the Vizcaya Museum (U.S.A.).

¹⁷⁵ *Argus*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (London). 2 January 1790, Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Newspapers Collection, GB-Lbl.

1.4 Royalty, aristocracy, and the pedal harp

1.4.1 Versailles and Paris

Mesdames

Soon after the introduction of the pedal harp to Paris in the mid-eighteenth century, members of French high society made it their own. Ten years after Goepfert's performance at the Concert Spirituel, and as new harpists appeared on that stage, the Menus Plaisirs acquired a harp specifically made for Madame Louise, daughter of King Louis XV.¹⁷⁶ Gabriel Louis Besson (1733-1785), then harp instructor to the princesses, helped to facilitate the purchase. The son of a violinist who had also served the crown, he had first entered the royal office in the same post, and later as a flautist and a musette player for the service of the king.¹⁷⁷ In the 1750s, he began to teach the harp to the daughters of Louis XV. This position placed him in the good graces of the royal family, as he obtained the title of Madame Victoire's usher, which included a lifelong allowance.¹⁷⁸ Besson intermediated the acquisition of Madame Louise's harp in August 1760, as he described the maker Wolters as 'my luthier'.¹⁷⁹ His conciliatory role was perhaps both due to his ability to choose an instrument and to his acquaintance with the manufacturer. In the letter confirming he received the harp, Besson highlighted that Madame Louise was 'very pleased' with the harp in question.¹⁸⁰ While this is the earliest trace found of an official purchase through the Menus Plaisirs, Mesdames already possessed at least one pedal harp. In May 1760, Besson had bought for them twenty-four harp strings bundles of different calibres.¹⁸¹ The Menus Plaisirs made similar purchases regularly, suggesting Mesdames' ongoing practice of the instrument. Indeed, Madame Louise was not the only one to play the harp amongst the daughters of Louis XV. In 1767, Madame Victoire had requested that her harp be put in order: the instrument was entirely re-strung, and the tuning pins and *crochets* were repaired. Her sister Adélaïde commissioned a pedal harp from Godefroy Holtzman (1724-1792) in 1772, while Victoire

¹⁷⁶ Mémoire de l'instrument fait pour Madame, 1759. O¹ 3003, Argenterie, Menus, Plaisirs Et Affaires De La Chambre, Maison du roi sous l'Ancien Régime, F-Pan.

¹⁷⁷ "BESSON, Gabriel Louis (1733-1785) in MUSEFREM - Base de données prosopographique des musiciens d'Église en 1790," accessed 29/05/2022, <https://philidor.cmbv.fr/ark:/13681/1hdkx5xyrvgnzebqi6j6/not-610464>.

¹⁷⁸ Although it has been said that Pierre Auguste Caron de Beaumarchais would have taught Mesdames the harp, Gabriel Louis Besson is the only harp master to the princesses found in the *Menus Plaisirs* archives.

¹⁷⁹ The maker might have been Jean Conrad Walster, established in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. However, Walster was only received into the guild in 1771 after a royal decree, perhaps pertaining to his supply of a harp to the crown.

¹⁸⁰ « Madame Louise en est très contente » *Mémoire de l'instrument fait pour Madame...*, O¹ 3003, F-Pan.

¹⁸¹ « No 11, Du 10 may 1760 », S. Bouin, 1760. O¹ 3004, Argenterie, Menus, Plaisirs Et Affaires De La Chambre, Maison du roi sous l'Ancien Régime, F-Pan.

received one from Jean Henry Naderman. The former one cost six hundred *livres* to the Menus Plaisirs, they spent a similar price similar for an English pianoforte a couple of years prior. However, the latter by Naderman had was worth seven hundred and fifty *livres*, which was surely due to its description as ‘painted in bouquets on the soundboard, sculpted, varnished, polished, with white inlays, and a golden lock’.¹⁸² These expenses were of new harps alongside with the purchase of strings and maintenance for the instruments demonstrated Mesdames’ regular practice of the harp. They were the first to adopt the instrument at Versailles, launching a trend amongst the courtiers.

Marie Antoinette

When Marie Antoinette came to Versailles in 1770, the court was already infatuated with Parisian pedal harps, led by the practice of Mesdames. While the first iteration of the mechanism had been introduced in Vienna almost fifty years prior, the young princess had probably not played on a French model with *crochets* before arriving to France.¹⁸³ As part of her education in Vienna, she had learned music, and had more likely received lessons on the pianoforte.¹⁸⁴ By the early 1770s, the pedal harp was so entrenched within French high society that it seemed appropriate for her to take an interest in the French instrument. After her marriage to the future Louis XVI (1754-1793), then *Dauphin*, in 1770, she appointed several officers to her household during the following years. In December of 1772, she chose Jean Henry Naderman as harp maker to her service.¹⁸⁵ At the same time, she elected Maximilien Gardel, also an avid harpist, as her dancing master. In those years, she was not yet queen, and without stately duties, music remained one of her daily activities. In 1773, her mother sent her pieces for her to play on the harp, specifying, ‘You will tell me whether you could execute it or not’.¹⁸⁶ While it appears that her mother condoned her musical practice in the early months, music rapidly gained too big a space for her taste. Empress Maria Theresa (1717-1780) maintained a correspondence with the Count Mercy d’Argenteau (1727-1794), ambassador of the Empire at the French court. In November 1774, when the princess had only recently become queen, the diplomat complained to the empress that Marie

¹⁸² « Laditte harpe peinte en Bouquets sur la table, sculptée, vernissée, poly, les filets en blanc et la Serrure dorée » *Mémoire de la harpe pour Madame Victoire...*, No 84, 1772. O¹ 3035, Argenterie, Menus, Plaisirs Et Affaires De La Chambre, Maison du roi sous l’Ancien Régime, F-Pan.

¹⁸³ It has been claimed that she was the one who brought the pedal harp to Versailles and to France, but this study shows that it was not the case, as presented with Mesdames. No sources have yet been uncovered that would ascertain that she played the pedal harp before leaving the Empire.

¹⁸⁴ Jean-Paul Bled, "Une enfance viennoise" in *Marie-Antoinette, dans les pas de la reine*, ed. Jean-Christian Petitfils (Paris: Perrin, 2020), 30.

¹⁸⁵ Personnel, expéditions de brevets, Maison de la Dauphine, 1770-1773. O¹ 3790, AN, 102.

¹⁸⁶ *Correspondance secrète entre Marie-Thérèse et le cte de Mercy-Argenteau*, (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, fils et Cie, 1874), Vol. 1, 427.

Antoinette took harp lessons every morning for one and a half to two hours. While he highlighted her progress on the instrument, he continued:

*The result is the loss of a lot of time that could be employed in a more useful way.*¹⁸⁷

Her mother's concerns did not deter Marie Antoinette from practising. The year of her crowning, Philippe Joseph Hinner obtained the position of harp master in her household, while Georges Cousineau was added as harp maker in addition to Naderman.¹⁸⁸ A student of Francesco Petri (1744-1819), Hinner gained a good reputation as a harpist, playing at the Concert Spirituel from 1769. Aged just fifteen, he had impressed audiences with his talents, and continued to play at the Concert yearly, which certainly caught the attention of Versailles. With his title came a financial stability, as he was awarded an annual fee of 2,000 *livres* per year and introduced himself with this title when travelling abroad like in London in 1781.¹⁸⁹ It seemed that the queen was content of his services, as upon his passing in 1784, the crown paid an allowance to his widow and children.¹⁹⁰

Having two harp makers to her household might have indicated that Marie Antoinette purchased several harps and required constant regulation for them. Both manufacturers used their position in their marketing strategy, as they added the mention 'harp maker to the Queen' on labels – for Naderman – and on the instruments' ornaments – for Cousineau, as shown in Figure 1-19.

¹⁸⁷ « Il en résulte la perte de beaucoup de temps qui pourrait être employé d'une façon plus utile. » *ibid.*, Vol. 2, 256.

¹⁸⁸ *Charges de la Maison*, 1774. O¹ 285, Maison du Roi, F-Pan.

¹⁸⁹ Youri Carbonnier, "Documents - Philippe Joseph Hinner, maître de harpe de Marie-Antoinette, 1755-1784," *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 29 (1998): 223.

¹⁹⁰ Hinner, numéro 15. O¹ 678, Pensions de la Maison du Roi, Maison du Roi, F-Pan.



Figure 1-19 – Detail of a harp by Cousineau showing his affiliation to the queen. F.P.cm, E.985.2.1. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Claude Germain. Reproduced with permission of the Musée de la Musique.

Although the makers' association with the crown did not necessarily entail a financial allowance, it would imply that if the Queen required a pedal harp, she would primarily source it from one of them.¹⁹¹ Marie Antoinette's practice of the harp tied the instrument to her for centuries. Because of the myth that still surrounds her figure today, several collectors and museums in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have claimed to possess a harp that was once in royal ownership. The harps in question are often very heavily adorned and include motifs that could be linked to the Queen: sculpture of birds like the rooster symbolising the French Kingdom, or the eagle of the Austrian Empire. These examples are presented in Figure 1-20 with two fighting roosters on the base of a Cousineau harp, held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, claimed to have belonged to the Queen when the museum acquired it. The second harp shows the sculpture –

¹⁹¹ Florence Gétreau, "Les faiseurs d'instruments du roi" in *Le prince et la Musique: les passions musicales de Louis XIV*, ed. Jean Duron (Wavre: Mardaga, 2007), 195-98.

although severed – of a gilded eagle at the front of the instrument, built by Naderman in 1776, believed in the nineteenth century to have been in the Queen’s ownership.



Figure 1-20 – Details from a harp by Georges Cousineau, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv.8531-1863 (left). Reproduced with the permission of the Victoria & Albert Museum.; and a harp by Jean Henry Naderman, 1776, F.P.cm, E.482, photo by the author (right).

However, no document can tie the two harps presented here with certainty to Marie Antoinette. The few archives regarding acquisitions made for the Queen have yet to be linked to surviving harps. For example, in 1776, the *Menus Plaisirs* bought a pedal harp ‘painted in blue, the sculpture gilded and flowers painted, delivered for the Queen’ built by Jean Baptiste Deshayes dit Salomon and purchased from musical instrument maker Walster.¹⁹² This example shows that the Queen did not in fact only source her harps from the harp makers of her service.¹⁹³ Although the archives of the royal household do not mention any direct purchases of a harp from Naderman or Cousineau from Marie Antoinette, she is referenced in records of Naderman. Upon the passing of his wife in 1776, the estate inventory listed people who owed money to the maker, primarily as payments for instruments he had built.¹⁹⁴ The document stated that the Queen herself owed him one 1,050 *livres*. As a comparison, the Salomon harp bought through Walster was 750 *livres*. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether this sum regarded one highly ornamented instrument, or the back payments for several harps. Amongst the instruments claimed to have belonged to the

¹⁹² « Une harpe a pedalles de Salomon le bras peint en bleu la Sculpture dorée et les fleurs peintes livrée pour la Reine aux *Menus Plaisirs* du Roy par Walster » N° 48, 1776. O¹ 3047, *Argenterie, Menus, Plaisirs Et Affaires De La Chambre*, Maison du roi sous l’Ancien Régime, F-Pan.

¹⁹³ This particular harp has yet to be uncovered. As mentioned previously, only one harp made by Salomon has been retrieved so far, leaving very few chances to find the harp purchased for Marie Antoinette.

¹⁹⁴ Inventaire après décès de Marie Elisabeth Maheux, 30 January 1776. MC ET XXVII 380, *Minutier Central*, F-Pan.

Queen, many display hefty adornments, with gilding, mother-of-pearl, ebony, or strass, that would have driven the prices upwards.

Albeit one harp is still said to have allegedly belonged to Queen Marie-Antoinette. It was built by Jean Henry Naderman and is today exhibited in the Musée de Vendôme in the Loir-et-Cher French department.¹⁹⁵ Evidently, this harp is more ornate than other more traditional Naderman models. The pillar bears heavy decorations, sculpted with a bundle of lilies, symbols of the French monarchy. Towards the top, a cherub is holding above his head two coats of arms, unfortunately faded, surmounted with a crown. While the coats of arms motifs are no longer visible, the background colours remain: the left one is blue, the right one is red. The colours corresponded with the French blue, and the Austrian imperial red. The combination of all these details in the decoration point to an attribution to a royal figure, that could have been Marie Antoinette, although still without certainty. The link of this harp to another member of the royal family seems more substantiated.

Madame Elisabeth (1764-1794) was the sister of King Louis XVI. She played the harp regularly, possibly influenced by either her aunts, Mesdames Victoire and Adélaïde, or by Marie Antoinette. She had received a musical education in her youth with her sister Clotilde. In adulthood, Elizabeth chose a harp teacher for her service, Jean François Boëly (1732-1814, also spelt Boilly), and owned several collections of harp music.¹⁹⁶ Boëly was an abbot, beneficiary of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, and had begun to release compositions for the harp at the end of the 1760s. In the 1770s, he became the harp master to the Comtesse d'Artois (1756-1805), sister-in-law of the King, and of Madame Elisabeth, although the circumstances of his employment remain unknown. However, Boëly published most of his music with Georges Cousineau, who was harp maker to the service of the Comtesse d'Artois, and who had supplied harps to Madame Elisabeth. Boëly also edited a regular publication of music for the harp, the *Abeille Lyrique*, along with Cousineau. Perhaps his relationship with the maker helped him to get his position.

In the portrait painted of Madame Elisabeth in 1783 by Charles Leclercq, the harp depicted shares several similarities with the Naderman one in Vendôme: notably the pillar, with the cherub, coats of arms and crown are identical.¹⁹⁷ Another harp, built by Cousineau around 1782, had belonged to Madame Elisabeth, who gifted it to her friend the Marquise de Bombelles, and is still held by

¹⁹⁵ Dated 1774, inv.2266, MVV. It should be noted that while this harp was observed for this study, although it was not possible to open, touch or manipulate it, restricting the amount of information gathered.

¹⁹⁶ *Madame Élisabeth : une princesse au destin tragique, 1764-1794*, (Versailles: Établissement public du château, du musée et du domaine national de Versailles, 2013), 146.

¹⁹⁷ Madame Elisabeth, by Charles Leclercq, 1783. F.V.m, MV8965.

her descendants today.¹⁹⁸ Madame Elisabeth had already gifted harps to Madame de Bombelles at least twice before, who wrote in 1779 to her husband:

*Madame Elisabeth had given me a harp that is excellent. I took my first lesson today.*¹⁹⁹

In the same letter, the Marquise de Bombelles (1762-1800) mentioned a harp that was presented to Madame Elisabeth by the Queen. When Elisabeth offered the harp to her friend, she apologised that it was not as ornate as the one she had received from Marie Antoinette. These details show that perhaps the harp Elisabeth owned in 1779, as discussed in her friend's correspondence, and the one she was painted with in 1783, was a gift from Marie Antoinette. The harp in the Musée de Vendôme was gifted from Madame Elisabeth to one of her goddaughters, Mademoiselle de Cambis, whose niece endowed it to the museum upon her passing in 1904.²⁰⁰ An evident connection exists between Madame Elisabeth and this harp but remains unsubstantiated for Marie Antoinette.

As one of the most influential court figures, many nobles sought to imitate the Queen's taste. Although the pedal harp had been present within Versailles, Marie Antoinette's role in strengthening the fashion for the instrument is undeniable. As early as 1775, she was depicted alongside a harp in several paintings, forging her image with the instrument. Her first portrait as Queen of France, was done by Jean Gautier d'Agoty (1740-1786) in 1775, and featured her in full regalia, standing next to a harp on the left, of which only the scroll and pillar are seen²⁰¹. Around that same time, Gautier d'Agoty also painted her playing her pedal harp in her chambers, surrounded by courtiers.²⁰² This portrait depicted the concerts that she performed for her close circle during the afternoons, after having received her lessons from Hinner in the morning. The distribution of the images of the Queen with a pedal harp further reinforced the perception of the instrument as one for the aristocracy.

Following the Queen, several members of the royal family and courtiers were playing the harp and purchasing instruments from the Parisian makers. Cousineau, besides being at the service of the Queen, was also appointed for the service of Marie-Thérèse de Savoie, the Comtesse d'Artois, wife of Louis XVI's brother. The maker thus advertised his activity as a 'luthier *breveté de*

¹⁹⁸ The author wishes to thank Cécile Coutin for this information.

¹⁹⁹ Letter from the Marquise de Bombelles to the Marquis de Bombelles, 7 January 1779. In De Bombelles and De Bombelles, *"Que je suis heureuse d'être ta femme", Lettres Intimes, 1778-1782*, 187-88.

²⁰⁰ "Musée," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, Scientifique et Littéraire du Vendomois* XLIII (1904): 172-73.

²⁰¹ Marie Antoinette, Reine de France by Jean-Baptiste André Gautier d'Agoty, 1775. MV 8061, Château de Versailles.

²⁰² Marie Antoinette playing the harp in her chambers, by Jean-Baptiste André Gautier d'Agoty, c. 1775. F.V.m, MV 6278.

la Reine et de la Comtesse d'Artois', presenting both coats of arms on his publication, as in Figure 1-21.



Figure 1-21 - Frontispiece showing the coats of arms of the French Kingdom and the County of Artois, from Cardon's *L'Art de Jouer de la Harpe*, 1784, published by Cousineau père et fils. © Public domain, International Harp Archives at Brigham Young University. Reproduced with permission of Brigham Young University.

Several members of the court at Versailles played the harp, including some of Marie Antoinette's closest friends, like the Princesse de Lamballe. Upon her death in 1793, the estate inventory established of her residence showed that she possessed at least one harp.²⁰³ Naderman's list of debtors previously mentioned also contained the names of many aristocrats who had purchased instruments from him. Of the fifty customers listed, at least thirty belonged to the nobility, either because they bore a title like *Comte*, *Marquis*, or *Chevalier*, or because they had a name with a particle, such as Madame de Boulainvilliers.

Once the revolution had begun, the aristocracy's preoccupations seem to have steered away from leisure and music. This was true specifically for the highest-ranking figures like Marie Antoinette or Madame Elisabeth, imprisoned in Paris. However, the pedal harp market continued to exist, with continued purchases, and concerts throughout Paris.

The Bonapartes

In the aftermaths of the revolution, arose a new political regime for France, that of Napoléon Bonaparte's (1769-1821) Empire. As most of the Old Regime's important aristocratic figures had either fled France or had been executed during the Revolution, Bonaparte launched the creation of several noble titles, distributed mostly to his companions of military campaigns. This new aristocracy, although different from the previous one, still wished to imitate the customs of the old regime, partly as a lot of them had grown up close to nobles. Many of the women, specifically,

²⁰³ Inventaire après le décès de Madame de Lamballe, 17 January 1793. MC ET LVIII 585, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

had received a musical education, that had included the teaching of the pedal harp, beginning with Joséphine de Beauharnais (1763-1814), wife of the Napoléon Bonaparte. Perhaps stemming from Joséphine and the consensus of the pedal harp as a token of nobility, several members of the Bonaparte family and their court made many acquisitions of pedal harps. By the time Napoléon crowned himself Emperor in 1804, the Erard firm was very well established in the musical world, and their records listed the various purchases made by the emperor, his family and his friends. A couple of years before, Joséphine had procured her first Erard harp in 1799. The ledger described the instrument as ‘with a new action’, certainly the *fourchettes* action patented just a year prior by the firm. That same year, she had acquired the Palace of Malmaison, outside Paris, which became one of the places of power once her husband acceded to the throne. Joséphine de Beauharnais possessed a great interest for music, using her social position to protect music and composers, like Gaspare Spontini (1774-1851). In Malmaison, she held weekly performances from musicians under her patronage, such as the duo harp and horn formed by Martin Pierre d’Alvimare (1772-1839) and Frédéric Duvernoy (1765-1838).²⁰⁴ Shortly after the Bonaparte couple came to power, Joséphine appointed Jacques Georges Cousineau (1760-1836) as luthier to her service.²⁰⁵ Although she purchased no less than two pedal harps from Erard, she also bought at least one harp from Jacques Georges Cousineau, with the *chevilles tournantes* mechanism. Cousineau did not leave archives of the sales like Erard, however, the harp in question is still owned by the palace of Malmaison today. The harp bears decorations filled with symbols of the Bonaparte, including a sculpture of an eagle on top of the capital, and a frieze of bees on the neck.²⁰⁶

Napoléon’s brothers Lucien (1774-1840) and Jérôme (1784-1860) also purchased pedal harps from Erard respectively in 1802 and 1810. Joséphine’s daughter from her previous marriage, Hortense (1783-1837), who had married another Bonaparte brother Louis (1778-1846), was, furthermore, a regular client of the Erards, both for pianofortes and for pedal harps. The ties between the company and the imperial family culminated in 1810, when they received the title of ‘piano and harp makers to the service of their Imperial and Royal Majesties’. The support of the Bonaparte was integral in the notoriety of the Erard firm, notably as the sale ledgers contain

²⁰⁴ Following the Revolution and the suspicion towards noble last names, D’Alvimare also chose to spell his name as Dalvimare.

²⁰⁵ Although the date and conditions of this appointment have yet to be uncovered, Jacques Georges was described as early as 1805 as ‘luthier *de Sa Majesté l’Impératrice*’.

Quittance de vente immobilière, Charlotte Rosalie Pithereau à Madame Cousineau et son fils Jacques Georges, 13 April 1805. 6 AZ 678, F-Pap.

²⁰⁶ Harp, Jacques Georges Cousineau, c.1805-1810, M.M.40.47.127, Musée des châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau.

the names of many members of the imperial court. Courtiers could choose between Erard and Cousineau, the two firms the imperial couple supported.

Even after the French Revolution, music remained an important part of the aristocratic lifestyle. The pedal harp was still perceived as an instrument of that class, and fashionable figures continued to set the trends related to the instrument.

1.4.2 London

British aristocracy and the pedal harp

In late eighteenth-century London, everything French was fashionable: from clothes to literature to music. British nobility sought to consume luxury French products, which also included leisure practices such as playing and listening to music.²⁰⁷ At a time when Italian music had dominated London musical life for years, French music began to entice the capital, at the same time as the French pedal harp gained popularity amongst the elite. From the late 1770s, the pedal harp appeared more and more often on the London stages, and a growing number of aristocratic



Figure 1-22 – Lady Frances Seymour Conway, Countess of Lincoln by William Hoare. Image Credit: The University of Nottingham, UON. 043.

²⁰⁷ Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 93.

women were depicted in portraits playing or featuring the pedal harp. For example, Lady Frances Seymour Conway, Countess of Lincoln painted by William Hoare in the 1780s (Figure 1-22).

The harp had become a symbol of status for women in the aristocracy, demonstrating a taste for French music that was fashionable at the time. Information is scarce regarding the harp-playing of British Aristocracy in the eighteenth century. Traces of nobles' involvement with the harp are found in the dedication of pieces printed in London. For example, in 1780, when Johann Baptist Hochbrucker published his *Six Divertiments for the Harp*, he dedicated it to the Duchess of Devonshire. It is unclear exactly how the musician met the Duchess, although they were both fashionable figures in London at the time and probably crossed paths on many occasions. Nevertheless, several indications showed that the Duchess of indeed played the harp. In 1786, the *Morning Post* reported:

*The Duchess of Devonshire's improvement on the harp, leaves very few, out of the profession, who are able to dispute the palm for excellence on that instrument.*²⁰⁸

She might have received lessons on the harp as part of her education, but the nature of her playing is unknown. The Duchess probably only performed for her close circle, and not in public, while newspapers noted her attendance for several harp concerts in London.

Erard's aristocratic clientele

The influence of French fashion led many British aristocrats to purchase the pedal harps shipped from France offered by London music merchants. However, the vogue for the pedal harp with the elite appeared even more significant once Sébastien Erard had started to manufacture in London. From then on, it was easier than before to obtain a pedal harp, without expecting someone to import the instruments from France. For example, when looking at the collections held in the properties today managed by the National Trust, all the thirteen harps are in the style of Erard's Grecian and later designs. While some estates in the United Kingdom possess eighteenth century French pedal harps, they are much rarer than the Erard models. His implantation in London remains a good illustration of the pedal harp market, because of the detailed ledgers that have survived the firm.²⁰⁹ In London between the opening of the London

²⁰⁸ *The Morning Post*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (London). 1 September 1786.

²⁰⁹ While Erard is the only harp maker of this study for whom the ledgers are so consistent, other later harp-making firms like Erat benefit from surviving records. See Baldwin, "The harp in early nineteenth-century Britain: innovation, business, and making in Jacob Erat's manufactory."

branch and 1811, the company made one 1426 pedal harp sales. These regarded a clientele of 1138 people. Close to twenty-six percent of these clients were described in the books with a title, either military or aristocratic. The prices for the Erard pedal harps averaged around more than 80 pounds, at a time when the average wage for a labourer in London was just over 27 pounds for a full year.²¹⁰ Most often, the customers were either called Lady or Esquire, therefore not by any particular noble title, but designated as people of a certain social ranking.²¹¹ The title of Lady was the most common amongst the customers, with over one hundred and eleven occurrences, demonstrating the feminisation of harp-playing. Indeed, while the majority of professional harp players were male, the pedal harp was played in the amateur sphere mainly by girls and women. While nobles populated the Erard ledgers, some important figures of the time might have further influenced the nobility, such as with Caroline of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales (1768-1821). After her separation from her husband the Prince of Wales, heir to the throne, in 1797, she maintained a social place in British high society, organising gatherings and parties at her house in Blackheath.²¹² On 11 November 1800, Princess Caroline purchased a black harp with figures sculpted from the Erard company, as presented in Figure 1-23.

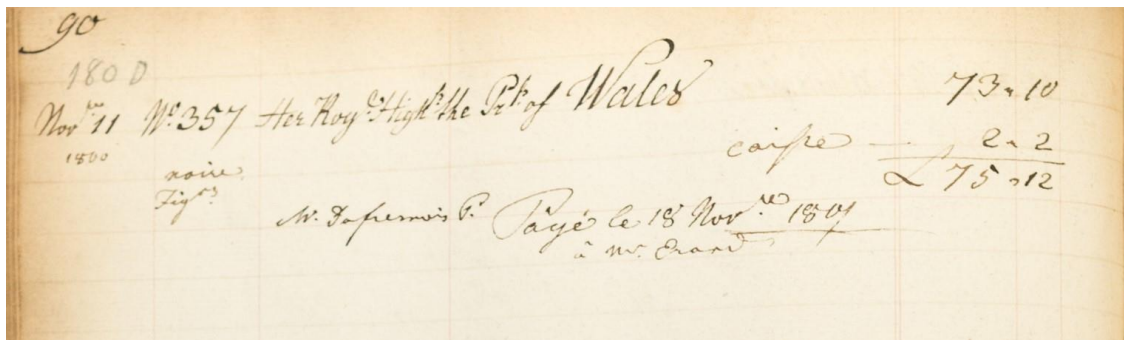


Figure 1-23 – Extract from the Erard ledgers showing the sale of the harp number 357 to the Princess of Wales in 1800 © Erard Ledger volume 1, RCM Library MS10110. Reproduced with permission the Royal College of Music, London.

The sale showed that a case was also purchased for two pounds two shillings, as the harp, that cost seventy-three pounds and ten shillings. As was customary at the time, members of the aristocracy were often the slowest to pay for their purchase.²¹³ Here, the harp for the Princess

²¹⁰ Nex, "The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London," 221.

²¹¹ Roland Marx and Philippe Chassigne, *Histoire de la Grande-Bretagne*, Tempus (Paris: Perrin, 2004), 245.

²¹² Her status and parties launched many speculations about her character. See Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, 3rd ed. (London, New York: Routledge, 2019), 150.

²¹³ Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 169.

was paid for on 18 November 1801, more than a year after the original purchase. While the whereabouts of this harp today are unknown, the Princess of Wales was painted in 1801 in a portrait playing a pedal harp that likely fits the description and characteristics of other Erard harps from that time. Painted by Thomas Lawrence in 1801, the painting, presented in Figure 1-24, shows the Princess tuning a pedal harp, that appeared to have a black soundboard and sculptures of figures on the capital, like what was described in the Erard ledger.



Figure 1-24 – Caroline, Princess of Wales, and Princess Charlotte by Sir Thomas Lawrence, 1801. RCIN 407292, Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2023. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Collection Trust.

The Princess was perhaps made aware of the harp within British higher society, also as the Prince of Wales appointed a harpist to his service, usually a Welsh harper. In the early 1800, Edward Jones (1752-1824) received this title. Jones performed on both the Welsh and the pedal harp, and in 1806, he dedicated his *Selection of the Most admired and original German waltzes adapted for the Harp or Piano Forte* to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.²¹⁴ He had previously dedicated other pieces to her husband the Prince of Wales, particularly his collections of Welsh tunes for the harp.

Having such an influential character amongst their customers helped the Erard firm in accessing all ranks of British society. In 1802, in the following months after Princess Caroline's purchase, Erard sold pedal harps to more and more members of the aristocracy.

1.4.3 Patrons and musicians: dedications

Dedications of musical work were an important tool for musicians in their exchanges with their patrons. Sponsorships from moneyed individuals or institutions were important for composers, who received material support, along with commissions.²¹⁵ The relationship between the musician and his patron often implied that the former owed his career and protection to the latter. The dedication served as the materialisation of their gratitude, which they often expressed in a preliminary paragraph, printed following the frontispiece. For example, Johann Baptist Hochbrucker, who had been hired as a harpist in the Prince Louis de Rohan's orchestra, dedicated his *Six Sonates pour la Harpe* to the Prince in 1763. The composer wrote to his patron:

*If I can pride myself on having brought my art to some degree of perfection, I owe it to the desire I have always had to please Your Serene Majesty and to satisfy His delicate taste.*²¹⁶

Francesco Petrini also dedicated a set of Sonatas to the Prince de Rohan in 1769. In that case, as there is no evidence of Petrini's involvement with Rohan, the composer might have been seeking the support of the musical patron.²¹⁷ It was perhaps a similar quest for patronage that led Hébert

²¹⁴ *Oracle*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection. 13 May 1806

²¹⁵ Emily H. Green, *Dedicating Music, 1785–1850*, Eastman Studies in Music (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 44.

²¹⁶ « Si je puis me flatter d'avoir porté mon Art à quelque perfection, je Le dois au désir que j'ai toujours eu de plaire à Votre Majesté Serenissime, et de satisfaire à la délicatesse de son gout. » Hochbrucker, *Six sonates pour la harpe avec une gamme & des pièces doigtées... mise au jour par Huberty... oeuvre I*.

²¹⁷ The edition of the Sonatas used for this study, published around 1784, does not contain a dedicatory epistle that would have made Petrini's intentions clearer. Francesco Petrini, *Six Sonates pour la Harpe avec accompagnement de violon ad libitum* (Paris: Cousineau, 1769).

Leemans to dedicate his harp piece *Le Songe*, an *ariette*, to Madame Victoire in 1769. The dedicatory epistle explained that he had played the piece for the Princess, who had found it amusing, and worthy of praise. Members of the Royal family often received dedications of musical pieces, particularly those written by musicians in their service. Philippe Joseph Hinner, who had been appointed the harp master to Queen Marie Antoinette, dedicated several of his compositions to her. In the epistle of his 1774 *Recueil de différents airs avec accompagnement de harpe*, he wrote:

*The protection that Your Majesty provides to talents is the most constant insurance of the progress they need to do under the influence of taste and benevolence.*²¹⁸

Hinner exemplified the protection given by royal patrons to musicians. His involvement with Marie Antoinette led him to pursue his career across Europe, performing as ‘harp master to the Queen of France’.

Similar practices were at play in London. As mentioned earlier, Johann Baptist Hochbrucker dedicated his *Six divertiments for the Harp* to the Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806). In 1770, when Philip Jacob Meyer published his *Four Original Lessons for the Harp*, he chose to dedicate it to the Countess of Oxford. While none of the examples contained dedicatory epistle, dedicating a piece to a wealthy and high society patron might have had the same purpose. In the two examples mentioned here, the composers had received patronage in France, but they had to pursue new ways of supporting their career in London. Dedicating a piece to a potential patron was a way to flatter them.

Patrons of music, particularly those from the aristocracy, only practised music in a private environment, through a concert held for their close circle – like the ones discussed for Queen Marie Antoinette.²¹⁹ Composers thus commonly dedicated to their patrons the pieces that they knew they might play themselves. Pieces aimed at larger venues or ensemble were often dedicated to the composer’s teacher or pupil, who wished to either thank or encourage through the dedication.

²¹⁸ « La protection que Votre Majesté accorde aux talens est l’assurance la plus constante des progrès qu’ils doivent faire sous l’empire du gout et de la bienfaisance. » Philippe Joseph Hinner, *Recueil des differens airs avec accompagnement de harpe* (Paris: Cousineau, 1776).

²¹⁹ Green, *Dedicating Music, 1785–1850*, 61.

Concluding remarks

The pedal harp rapidly gained a musical, social, and economic definition upon its arrival in Paris. However, this instrument was the result of the previous harp traditions, notably in the German regions. In Bavaria, Jacob Hocbrucker was amongst the first to add a mechanism to the harp, creating new possibilities for musicians. His sons and nephews aided him in the dissemination of his instrument across Europe, with varying success. In the following years, a number of musicians of German extraction played the pedal harp in Paris, giving even more momentum to the instrument. The pedal harp came to be characterised in the city of Paris, where the absence of the harp in the repertoire left a vacant space for a new instrument. The middle of the eighteenth century was also a time when inventions and discoveries were very much sought after by audiences, who thus enjoyed novel musical instruments. The skills of Parisian musical instrument makers were put to use, as a group of them began to manufacture their own pedal harp. This new wave of construction brought a new shape and mechanism to the instrument: the French pedal harp was born.

The economic and social context of Europe at the time was a crucial element in the definition of the pedal harp. In Paris and London, as in music, consumers sought out novelties, and a new curiosity like the pedal harp was the perfect item. Harp makers produced pedal harps rapidly, to respond to the growing demand. The consecration of the instrument came with its inclusion in the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and D'Alembert. While it demonstrates the newfound importance of the pedal harp within society, the article details what harps were exactly like in 1765 when it was published. Several harpists helped the dissemination of the French pedal harp first within Parisian musical circles, then in other cities such as London. In the British capital, the attraction for *frenchness* helped popularise the instrument, particularly as the most celebrated musicians from Paris played it in London. In both cities the instrument remained a symbol of status and luxury. Coinciding with a thriving Parisian luxury market, the pedal harp rapidly was inserted in the same mechanism, making it a fashionable item, whether it was for music or decoration. The attraction from royalty helped to reinforce this image. In Versailles, Paris, and London, members of the royal families and of the court became enthused by this novel instrument. Along with the luxury debate, a link to royal family sealed the fate of the pedal harp, which has been, and still is to this day, perceived as an instrument of a certain economic and cultural elite.

Chapter 2 Makers of the Pedal Harp

The makers of pedal harps played an important part in the instrument's success. This chapter details the harp makers' lives and business, starting with their training, and how they came to produce harps. It discusses the workings of the Parisian musical instrument makers guild and highlights the harp makers' influence within the organisation. Many harp makers born in a family that manufactured musical instruments, as it was common for eighteenth century craftsmen to be born into their trade. Beyond the family, makers also established relations with their apprentices and labourers, who went on to build harps for themselves.

After beginning their practice, harp makers opened their workshop, either within city bounds or outside, depending on their status. The makers' location also followed a number of commercial and social logics, including a proximity to other musical trades and potential customers, as demonstrated in the second section.

For their business to succeed, makers had to activate a network of artisans across various industries. Furthermore, most of makers took part in social groups related to their nationality or religion, which might also have helped their business.

Finally, this chapter discusses how harp makers presented their business, particularly through the press of the times. It concludes with the characterisation each maker chose for their instrument, to differentiate themselves from their peers.

2.1 Training

2.1.1 Entering a profession: the guild

Guilds in Paris

Under the Old Regime, guilds, or *communautés d'arts et métiers*, dominated craft and trade in the city of Paris. A set of rules, established upon its creation, organised each *communauté*, regarding the nature of the trade and the conditions to enter. From their inception, guilds also cultivated a devotional aspect. All were protected by a patron saint, whose feast was a time of celebration for the members. On a specific day, the *communauté* held a religious service, reinforcing a spiritual link among the masters.²²⁰ The guilds were an important community factor in the urban landscape. Eighteenth-century Paris counted more than a hundred guilds, ranging from highly skilled crafts to lowly everyday occupations. Their role was to ensure the standards of craft by regulating the training and the admission of masters.

The guilds were under scrutiny by the second half of the eighteenth century. As French society was more and more separating the sacred and the profane, the idea of a guild closely tied to religion made less sense. However, the most powerful attacks were from an economic perspective. Critics perceived the guilds as antiquated, and a hindrance on economic freedom and progress. The quality of the work done in the *faubourg*, outside any guild's scope, showed that trade could thrive just as well without such an organisation.²²¹ The lack of trust towards the guilds culminated in February 1776, when Anne Robert Jacques de Turgot (1727-1781), then controller general of the finances of the kingdom, issued an edict abolishing the *communautés*. A companion of the physiocrats, Turgot believed in freedom of trade, which the guilds had prevented.²²² Nonetheless, Turgot's ideal for the liberalisation of the French society attracted many criticisms, which led to his own demise in May 1776, when Louis XVI dismissed him. Some months later, the King acted on the restoration of the guild system, which was streamlined, notably by grouping similar trades. When the French Revolution broke out the guilds were dismantled *de facto* along with all privileges on the 4th of August 1789, as the National Assembly vowed to abolish 'all privileges of class, of provinces, of cities and of guilds'.²²³

²²⁰ Garrioch, "Confréries de métier et corporations à Paris (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)", 101-02.

²²¹ Kaplan, "Les corporations, les « faux ouvriers » et le faubourg Saint-Antoine au XVIIIe siècle", 369.

²²² *La Fin des Corporations*, 128-29. *ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*, 614.

Musical Instrument Makers' Guild

The Paris musical instrument makers' guild was created in 1599, by patents of King Henri IV, and placed under the protection of Saint Cecilia. Makers were previously grouped together with musicians, who also formed their own guild around that time. Two jurors were elected as leaders by the masters for a two-year mandate, like most guilds in that era. The jurors handled the finances of the *communauté* and were often called upon as experts in the valuation of workshops, such as in the estate inventories established after a master's passing.²²⁴ As part of their industry, musical instrument makers were also allowed to produce cases for their instrument. This allowed them to use materials like gold, silver, ivory, or marquetry, without encroaching on other guilds. Case-building was the craft of the *layetiers* and would have normally been prohibited to other trades. However, since cases were considered an integral component of the instrument, and were therefore accepted among the makers' art.

In the 1776 guild re-establishing of the *communautés* grouped the musical instrument makers with fan makers and *tabletiers*, who mostly manufactured game boards, and were recognised for working with ebony and ivory. Fan makers used ivory proficiently, therefore their coupling with the *tabletiers* made sense. As for musical instrument makers, they had also been using both materials in their production, most often as decorations on instruments. Establishing a corporation with all three of those crafts would have prevented conflict when it came to the usage of certain materials and techniques. It could as well have provided musical instrument makers with skilful workmen to create their ornaments.

Entering the guild

The two jurors assessed the applications from aspiring masters, who could take several routes to becoming a master and entering the guild. The most common path was an apprenticeship, which concerned almost 40% of the members.²²⁵ The apprenticeship was to last at least six years, during which time the candidate would learn the trade and craft from one of the guild's masters. A contract defining the details of their placement was signed before a notary. This contract set out the conditions that the apprentice had to respect, and the commitment made by the master to pass on his knowledge. The document also summarised the apprentice's living conditions, for example if the master provided accommodation.

²²⁴ Hunt, "Jurors of the Guild of Musical Instruments Makers of Paris", 111.

²²⁵ Jeltsch and Watel, "Maîtrises et jurandes dans la communauté des maîtres faiseurs d'instruments de musique à Paris", 12.

For example, Georges Cousineau signed his apprenticeship contract on 27 January 1750, and began his training on 1 February in the workshop of luthier François Lejeune (c.1722-after 1790).²²⁶ Born in the small village of Mouchamps in the Vendée, Cousineau was seventeen years old at the time and living in Paris with his aunt Barbe Marguerite Deshayes (1705-1752), who was married to the musical instrument maker Jean-Baptiste Deshayes dit Salomon. The contract stated that Lejeune accepted him as his apprentice, whereby he vowed 'to show and teach during this time his trade of luthier'.²²⁷ Lejeune was also responsible for feeding and housing his apprentice, while the Deshayes looked after his clothes and linen. In return, Cousineau promised 'to learn all that will be shown to him and taught by his said Master, to obey him in all that he commands'.²²⁸

Cousineau's contract shows that an apprenticeship could prove expensive to the candidate, as it also required him to have family and means in the city to maintain his life during his. Partly for that reason, a 1768 royal decree established a new way of entering Parisian guilds, through the hospital of La Trinité. The institution housed orphans and invited craftsmen to train them in their trade. As a reward, the craftsmen received their masters' degree after training one apprentice from La Trinité, who would enter the *communauté* with the status of the son of a master.²²⁹ Several guilds were part of this decree, including the musical instrument makers' one. Only one maker is recorded to have joined the corporation as a *Trinitaire*, harp maker Pierre Krupp (c.1750-after 1791), who entered in 1777.

The jurors considered the applicant's good morals and probity along with their skills in their solicitation for joining the *communauté*. The candidate was asked to manufacture of a masterpiece – or *chef d'oeuvre*. This piece exhibited all that they had learned during their apprenticeship, and served as a demonstration that they were worthy to enter the guild and obtain the title of master. With their master's degree, the musical instrument maker was allowed to open one workshop in his name, within the city bounds, where he would practise his craft and trade his production.

²²⁶ This was the only apprenticeship contract found for this study. Brevet d'apprentissage de Georges Cousineau avec François Lejeune, 27 January 1750, MC ET XXIV 520, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

²²⁷ « Sieur François Lejeune (...) acceptant ledit Cousineau pour son apprenty auquel il promet montrer et enseigner pendant ledit temps sondit métier de Luthier... » *Ibid.*

²²⁸ « Ce fait en présence dudit apprenti (...) qui promet apprendre tout ce qui lui sera montré et enseigné par son dit Maire, lui obéir en tout ce qu'il lui commandera... » *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Jeltsch and Watel, "Maîtrises et jurandes dans la communauté des maîtres faiseurs d'instruments de musique à Paris", 17-18.

2.1.2 Family training

Although apprenticeships were the most common way to enter the musical instrument makers' guild, joining the corporation as the son of a master was frequent and easier for those who had access to it. Applicants were not required to have undergone an apprenticeship, or to present a *chef-d'oeuvre*. The applicants had to have worked in their father's workshop for at least four years and were supposed to be at least twenty years old when applying, a rule that was very often bent. Notwithstanding, jurors still assessed and decided if they were suitable for the position.²³⁰ Several sons of harp makers thus joined the *communauté*, as shown in the following examples.

Cousineau

Georges Cousineau, after his apprenticeship with luthier François Lejeune, received his master's degree in 1758.²³¹ At this time, Jean Louvet was one of the two jurors, and it is possible that his expertise of the instrument, although his earliest known harps date from the 1760s, could have helped in his decision to accept Cousineau in the guild. The following year, Cousineau married Madeleine Victoire Regnault.²³² The marriage contract presents the first mention of Cousineau as a 'Maître Luthier' and demonstrates his involvement in the musical world. The document includes the signature of his former master François Lejeune, and those of luthier François Fleury, and music-masters Benoît Joseph Blaise and Joseph Lévy. One year after their wedding, the couple welcomed their first child, Jacques Georges. He was received early in the musical instrument makers' guild as a master's son at only ten years old, in 1770. While entry to the guild was, in the guidelines, prescribed before twenty years, this rule rarely applied to sons of masters, of which a number accessed the guild quite young.²³³ Despite his master's degree, Jacques Georges Cousineau first impressed the Paris musical scene as a harpist, as will be discussed in chapter 4.

In 1782, when Georges Cousineau launched a new harp to the Académie Royale des Sciences, he did not mention his son in the business. However, almost all the harps produced with the *béquilles* mechanism, detailed in chapter 3, were signed 'Cousineau père et fils' (father and son). This indication was usually painted on the soundboard, either in a phylactery or in medallions, and often bore the mention of 'luthiers de la Reine' (luthiers to the Queen). The phrase

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

²³¹ Registres des jurandes et maîtrises des métiers de la ville de Paris, 1755-1766, Y 9328, Châtelet de P;

²³² Mariage de Georges Cousinot [sic] et Madeleine Victoire Regnault, 18 February 1759, MC ET CV 1267, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

²³³ Jeltsch and Watel, "Maîtrises et jurandes dans la communauté des maîtres faiseurs d'instruments de musique à Paris", 14.

'Cousineau père et fils' in a brass cut-out was also added to the back of the instrument's neck, placed behind a windowed cover, as can be seen in Figure 2-1.

D.AD.2593

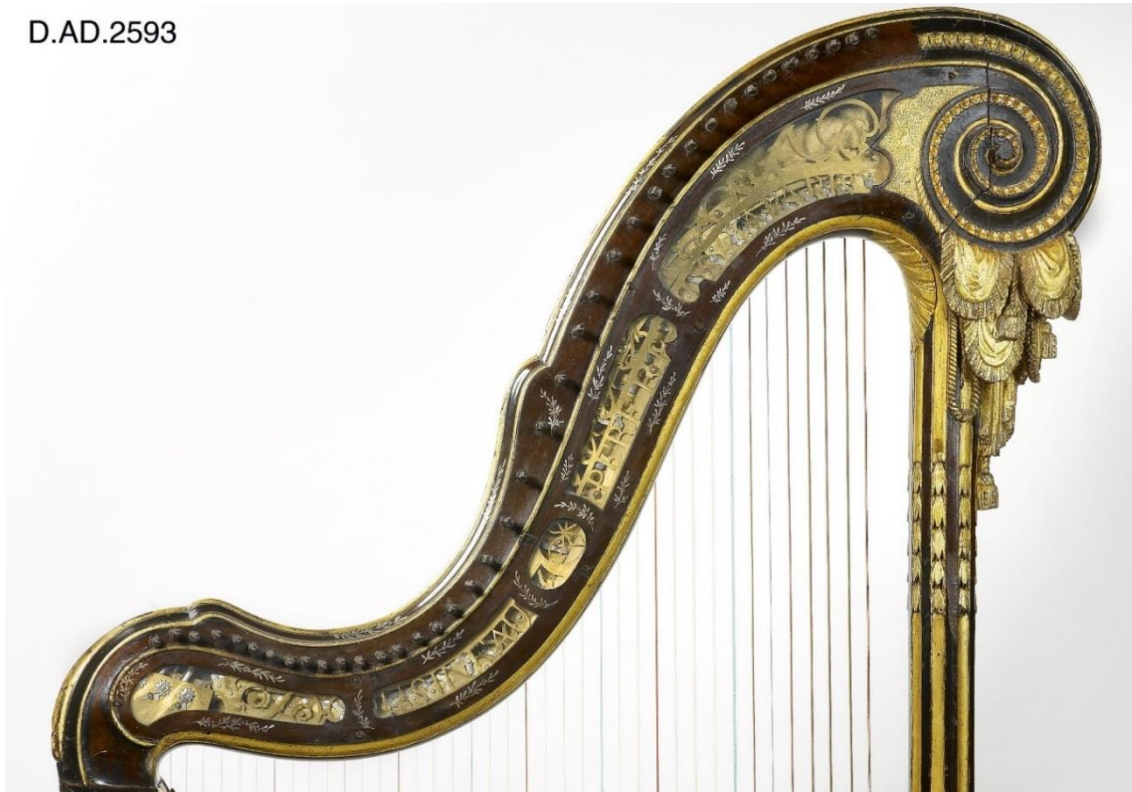


Figure 2-1 - Detail of the windowed-cover on a harp by Cousineau père et fils, F.P.cm, D.AD.2593. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Claude Germain. Reproduced with permission of the Musée de la Musique.

Jacques Georges Cousineau, as most performers on the harp at the time, also wrote for the instrument. For the publication of his compositions, he could count on Georges' publishing house. His first work, *Four Sonatas for the harp with violin accompaniment*, was published in 1781.²³⁴ The addition of Jacques Georges in his father's company further included the publishing house. They used the name 'Cousineau père et fils' for all their publications starting from circa 1784, with the third opus from Jacques Georges.²³⁵

While Georges might have had other apprentices throughout his career, having his son in the business meant it could survive after his passing. When Georges died in 1800, Jacques Georges continued to produce harps and publish music from the same shop, thus perpetuating the Cousineau name. The workshop produced harps until around the late 1820s, while the publishing

²³⁴ Jacques-Georges Cousineau, *Quatre Sonates pour la harpe, avec accompagnement de violon, dédiées à Madame de Choiseul d'Aillecourt. Oeuvre I* (Paris: Cousineau, 1781).

²³⁵ Jacques-Georges Cousineau, *Recueil des airs de l'Épreuve Villageoise, avec accompagnement de harpe. Oeuvre III* (Paris: Cousineau Père et Fils, 1784) listed in Michel and Lesure, *Répertoire de la Musique pour Harpe Publiée du XVIIe au Début du XIXe siècle*, 60.

house persisted longer. In 1822, Jacques Georges is cited only as a music publisher and former musician, not as a harp maker.²³⁶

The Naderman Family

The Nadermans were another important family for harp making in the eighteenth-century Paris. Born in Westphalia in 1734, Jean Henry Naderman arrived in Paris in the early 1760s. The first evidence of his presence in Paris can be found in his 1764 marriage contract to Marie Elisabeth Maheux. He is described as a *compagnon menuisier*, a woodworker, residing in the rue de Charenton, in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, an area of work outside guild regulations that welcomed many immigrants from the German regions in the eighteenth century.²³⁷ The Faubourg was also recognised as an important place for wood trades and crafts. Unfortunately, the circumstances under which Naderman began harp-making remain unclear. From January 1766, he advertised in the *Annonces, Affiches et Avis Divers* as a harp maker.

*Mr Nadermann, Harp Maker, informs that he makes HARPS of all sorts of calibres, to transport in the city and in the countryside.*²³⁸

A month after this advertisement, Naderman and his wife signed a lease on a shop with housing quarters in the same rue de Charenton.²³⁹ Although they still were in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, in November 1766, Naderman received his degree from the *communauté*, following a Royal Council decree signed in 1759.²⁴⁰ Crippled with debts, the musical instrument makers' guild had petitioned the King to allow them to accept masters 'without quality', meaning without apprenticeship. The Council agreed that the guild could welcome eight masters that way. Each had to pay six hundred *livres*, which was to serve in the guild's debt relief.²⁴¹ Jean Henry Naderman was amongst the last to be admitted in the guild with this policy. Furthermore, the corporation had also asked him to present a masterpiece to become a master – of which no

²³⁶ Certificat de vie de Jacques Georges Cousineau, 27 September 1822, MC ET LXVI 930, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

²³⁷ Mariage de Jean Henry Naderman et Marie Elisabeth Maheux, 25 November 1764, MC ET XXVIII 396, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

²³⁸ « Le sieur Nadermann, Facteur de Harpes, avertit qu'il fait des HARPES de toutes sortes de calibres, propres pour transporter en ville & à la campagne... » *Annonces, Affiches, et Avis Divers*. 30 January 1766, 74.

²³⁹ To this day, this notice evidence found of Naderman's address. The earliest lease found for the house dates from February of that same year. *Bail Jacques Carmantogne à Naderman et sa femme*, 15 February 1766, MC ET XXVIII 397, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

²⁴⁰ Registres des jurandes et maîtrises des métiers de la ville de Paris, 1766-1772, Y 9331, Châtelet de Paris, F-Pan.

²⁴¹ Jeltsch and Watel, "Maîtrises et jurandes dans la communauté des maîtres faiseurs d'instruments de musique à Paris", 16.

evidence was found. While Naderman began his legitimate business in the guild in 1766, most of the harps that survive date from the 1770s, which seemed to be an affluent period for him. On 6 December 1772, he received a certificate of luthier to the Dauphine Marie-Antoinette.²⁴² In the registry, the title luthier appears to have replaced *Maitre de harpe* (Harp master) that had been crossed out.

Marie Elisabeth Maheux, Naderman's wife, passed away in 1776, and the harp maker remarried to Barbe Rose Courtois in the town of Angerville, near Paris.²⁴³ The couple welcomed their first child a year later, François Joseph, and a second one in 1783, Henry Pascal. Upon Jean Henry Naderman's death in 1799, his widow and sons took over the business of musical instrument making. The family continued to produce pedal harps into the 1820s, while François Joseph became a harp teacher in the Paris Conservatoire.

The Holtzman Family

Godefroy Holtzman was another harp maker established in the area of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Born in the Palatinate, Holtzman had arrived to Paris in the early 1750s. Like Naderman, the first evidence of his presence in the city is from his marriage to Charlotte Duchesne, celebrated in September 1751.²⁴⁴ Holtzman was initially known as a woodworker, and as a *layetier* – a craftsman who built wooden boxes and cases. He was mentioned as such in the marriage contract of Jean Henri Naderman where he was presented as one of his friends. The common origin of Naderman and Holtzman and their move to the same could have brought them closer together. Holtzman appeared to have taken more time to come to the profession of harp maker than his friend, as he received his master's degree in 1772.²⁴⁵

Conversely to Naderman, who settled in a more central neighbourhood, Holtzman remained for his whole career in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. It is also where his children first practised and produced harps. Henri (c.1755-after 1800) was received in the guild in 1782, joined two years later by Jean-Baptiste (1757-after 1800). Both were in their late twenties, which was the age suggested for the sons of a master to enter the guild. The *Almanach Musical* featured Henri as

²⁴² The title 'Dauphin' was given to the heir to the throne, and 'Dauphine' to his wife. Personnel, expéditions de brevets, 1770-1773, O¹ 3790, Maison de la Dauphine, F-Pan.

²⁴³ Acte de mariage, 4 July 1780, Paroisse Saint-Pierre, Baptemes, Mariages, Sépulture (1779-1792), 4^E 14, F-CHad.

²⁴⁴ Mariage de Godefroy Holtzman et Charlotte Duchesne, 19 September 1751, MC ET XXVIII 323, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

²⁴⁵ Registres des jurandes et maîtrises des métiers de la ville de Paris, 1772-1777, Y 9332, Châtelet de Paris, F-Pan.

early as 1782 as a harp maker, established in the Grande rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine, in the same area as his father. In 1783, Henri's parents allowed him an advance of 2,000 *livres* on his inheritance, to be employed in his trade.²⁴⁶ The advance could have helped his move, as from at least 1786, Henri Holtzman was settled in the Rue du Four, in the neighbourhood of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. He signed his harps either as 'Holtzman fils, rue du Four', which helps to differentiate him from Jean-Baptiste, or as 'H. Holtzman'.

When Henri's father passed in 1792, he was still registered as a harp maker, this time residing in the Rue du Mail, the same where the Erard settled their firm.²⁴⁷ Henri's brother Jean-Baptiste has left fewer traces of his trade. First, while five harps have been identified as his brother's, none of his harps has been uncovered during this research. Jean-Baptiste was first established in the Rue Saint-Antoine, near the Faubourg where his father resided. Upon his father's death, he resided in the Rue Saint-Honoré, at the heart of the city. Godefroy Holtzman remained in the privileged neighbourhood of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine until his death. Conversely, both his sons succeeded in settling in bustling areas, where they could have been closer to their clientele.

2.1.3 Training with another maker

While having a son in the same trade to transmit their business was common, some harp makers chose to entrust their trade to one of their workers.

With two children in the industry, and a daughter, Marie Charlotte, who married luthier and harp maker Jean Bosch (c.1755-after 1800) in 1783, Godefroy Holtzman could have left his business to any of them. However, only days before his passing, Holtzman signed a deal with employee Jean Adam Camis (c.1744-1816). The contract drew that 'considering that his [Holtzman's] age prevents him from taking care, as he has done until now, of his work', he offered Camis to house him and pay him three *livres* ten *sols* a day to replace him.²⁴⁸ The agreement stated that after Holtzman's retirement or passing, Camis would receive his tools and materials to pursue the profession of harp maker. The document described Camis as a 'worker in harps', which could have implied that he was already working with Holtzman or another harp maker before 1792. He signed on some notarial documents from the Holtzman family in the 1780s, often cited as a luthier

²⁴⁶ Quittance, 14 April 1783, MC ET XXVIII 501, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

²⁴⁷ While it could be possible that Holtzman son worked for the Erard company, no other evidence than their common residence has been found to this day.

²⁴⁸ « Le d. Sr. Holtzman considérant que son age ne lui permet plus de s'occuper autant qu'il l'a fait jusqu'à présent de ses travaux... » Convention G. Holtzman et J. A. Camis, 16 April 1792, MC ET XXVIII 555, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

and friend. Four days after the signature of this agreement, Godefroy Holtzman passed away, thus leaving his trade to Jean Adam Camis, who continued to manufacture harps in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine.

London

The situation was quite different in London. Musical instrument making was not tied to any guild, as the trade had mostly been peripheral to corporations. With no formal training in place, and at a time when the pedal harp production had yet to bloom in London, several of London's harp makers came from other lines of work. Jacob Erat (1758-1821) for example had trained as a clockmaker, an education undoubtedly useful for the mechanical part of pedal harps.²⁴⁹

However, London craftsmen employed apprentices and trained them to learn their craft. Apprenticeships had been introduced in England in the sixteenth century, and by the eighteenth century, their organisation was declining, before being reformed in 1814.²⁵⁰ Still, several harp makers in London employed apprentices, usually for a period between six and seven years. As they did not comply with any guild regulations, it was common for makers to have several apprentices at the same time, who all had to pay their master for their training. Makers thus might have employed more apprentices in order to secure funds they needed, or because their production became too voluminous for the number of workers they had.²⁵¹ Once they had finished their apprentices, trainees commonly set off on their own to open their business, or they could be hired as permanent workers by their master.

Musical instrument makers often transmitted their trade to one of their workers or apprentices. Following the aftermaths of the French Revolution, and the abolition of the musical instrument makers' guild, the manufacture of pedal harp shifted from Paris to London. With the installation of Sébastien Erard's new manufactory in Soho in 1792, and his subsequent patents, the pedal harp production in London was thriving. By the early nineteenth century, pedal harp production had become so important that wood suppliers advertised specifically for harp making.²⁵² The growth otherwise led to larger numbers of labourers employed in the harp-making business. By 1808, the Erard manufactory in London employed around fifty workmen, from journeymen to

²⁴⁹ Baldwin, "The harp in early nineteenth-century Britain: innovation, business, and making in Jacob Erat's manufactory," 244.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 396.

²⁵¹ Nex, "The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London," 147-48.

²⁵² Baldwin quotes a Morning Advertiser's announcement of a wood supplier offering wood for 'coachmakers, wheelwright, trunk and harp makers'. Baldwin, *Harp making in Late-Georgian London*, 10.

highly skilled workers.²⁵³ At least five former employees went on to open their own firm as a harp maker, after having trained and learned from the Erard manufactory. Alexander Barry (1777-1837) for example began producing harps in his name from 1808 after working with Erard. Another example was Frederick Dizi (1780-1840), born François Joseph Dizi in Namur – nowadays Belgium – in a musician family, he had come to London in the early nineteenth century, in the hopes of becoming a harp player. Upon his arrival in London, Sébastien Erard welcomed him into his home and workshop, where he learned the practice of harp maker. He went on to have a career as a harpist, teacher, and composer for the harp. In the 1810s, he began thinking about a new pedal harp's conception with inventor Charles Gröll (1770-1857), which they patented in 1813 (patent number 3642), and that Thomas Dodd (c.1764-1837) produced for them.²⁵⁴ Dizi further registered other pedal harp 'improvements' in London before settling in Paris. There, he partnered with piano and harp maker Camille Pleyel (1788-1855) to patent a new harp with a curved soundboard in 1828.²⁵⁵

These examples show that a maker could consciously transfer their business to ensure the perpetuation of his firm, like with Holtzman and Camis. In the cases of Barry and Dizi, the transmission regarded the trade rather than the business, as it was the workers' decision to open their firm in an expanding market for the pedal harp.

²⁵³ Nex, "The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London," 223.

²⁵⁴ *Certain improvements on harps*, C 66 4132, Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Patent Rolls, GB-Lna.

²⁵⁵ *Brevet d'invention et de perfectionnement de 5 ans - Harpe nouvelle dont le mécanisme est simplifié*, by François Joseph Dizi, ceded to Camille Pleyel and co., 1828. INPI, 1BA3366.

2.2 Installation

2.2.1 Guild and work territories in Paris

There were several rules governing the opening of a workshop in Paris, which benefited both the maker and his potential customers. On joining the guild, makers were authorised to set up as master luthiers within the city limits. When they chose, for a number of reasons, to practise outside the guild's regulations, they had to set up in privileged areas, where the guild had no control over labour or trade. Finally, setting up in the heart of strategic districts meant they were closer to their customers. This is why a number of makers opened their workshops in areas of cultural importance, close to concert halls and other music shops, or in wealthy districts where aristocratic customers were to be found.

Guild territories in 18th century Paris

The Parisian musical instrument makers' guild granted a number of advantages to its members, particularly in terms of installation. To practise a trade within the city walls, you had to be a member of the corresponding guild. By joining the guild, musical instrument makers could open a shop in the town. The guild's guidelines specify that a master could only own one shop, but do not indicate which district should be favoured. Thus, after obtaining his master's degree in 1770, Pierre Krupp opened a boutique in the rue Saint Honoré, near the Palais Royal. Similarly, Renault & Chatelain opened their shop on rue de Braque after joining the guild in 1777, in the affluent Marais district.

Privileged areas: the Faubourg Saint Antoine

Entering any Parisian guild represented an important cost, both financial and temporal, which presented many labourers from joining. A number of areas, in and outside of Paris, allowed craftsmen to practise their trade outside of the control of any guild. Termed 'privileged areas', they were usually controlled by religious and charitable institutions, such as the Quinze-Vingt hospital, or the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.

The most important privileged area in the eighteenth century was the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Established in the east of Paris, beyond the Bastille prison, the Faubourg Saint-Antoine was under the protection of the abbey of Saint-Antoine-des-Champs.²⁵⁶ With this safety, workers of all trade were welcome to establish their workshop in the controlled area, without fearing the visits and

²⁵⁶ In French the term « faubourg » is the contraction of the words “faux” (false) and “bourg” (town). The name was used for a number of areas surrounding the city of Paris, still found in the current names of areas, such as the Faubourg Saint Honoré, Faubourg Saint Martin, Faubourg Saint Jacques.

sanctions from any guild's jurors. As an offset, the craftsmen of the Faubourg were not allowed to come into the city with the purpose of selling their production. The customers from the city had to come to their workshop to complete the transaction outside of corporations' jurisdiction.²⁵⁷ By the eighteenth century, the Faubourg Saint-Antoine concentrated most of the Parisian woodworking trades.²⁵⁸ With a thriving luxury market in Paris, the demand for quality goods soared, and the Parisian and guild workforces could not sustain it alone, opening the door to foreign workers. This opportunity attracted in particular craftsmen from German regions. The area was still suffering from the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, ended in 1648, which had drastically impoverished the populations.²⁵⁹ With a saturated job market, many people were led to exile, steering skilled craftsmen towards Paris, where the demand for quality craft was high. Many amongst them were wood workers, so they logically settled in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Furthermore, as they arrived without the necessary connections and finances to join corporations, the Faubourg was an apt idea in order to open their workshop without institutional control. For a number of them, the Faubourg served as the incubator of their activity. Once they had reached enough economic stability, they would join their corresponding guild, become masters of their craft, and move to the heart of the city.²⁶⁰

As woodworkers, several luthiers amongst these German craftsmen settled in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, including harp makers. For example, Godefroy Holtzman occupied a house in the Grande Rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine in the mid-1750s. Holtzman joined the guild as a harp maker in 1772, and from then on, he remained in the same street of the Faubourg, until his passing twenty years later. It is possible that the proximity with other craftsmen and woodworkers would have proven useful to his trade, for example for supplying materials or subcontracting part of his work. Jean Henry Naderman was born in the diocese of Paderborn in Westphalia, before settling in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine around the early 1760s, possibly in the rue de Charenton, where he resided in 1764.²⁶¹ Shortly after joining the musical instrument makers' guild, he left the Faubourg to establish a new workshop in the rue d'Argenteuil, at the centre of Paris and close to the Louvre.

²⁵⁷ Kaplan, "Les corporations, les « faux ouvriers » et le faubourg Saint-Antoine au XVIIIe siècle", 359.

²⁵⁸ Coquery, "La boutique parisienne au XVIIIe siècle et ses réseaux : clientèle, crédit, territoire", 1012.

²⁵⁹ Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy. A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin Group, 2009), 822-905.

²⁶⁰ Pallach, "Deutsche Handwerker im Frankreich des 18. Jahrhunderts", 94.

²⁶¹ Mariage de Jean Henry Naderman et Marie Elisabeth Maheux, 25 November 1764, MC ET XXVIII 396, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

2.2.2 The 'Artistic neighbourhoods' in Paris, and London

Once they had entered the corporation, harp makers could open their workshop in the city of Paris. When it came to settling into a neighbourhood, one of the important factors was the proximity with either suppliers – particularly for those who chose to stay in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine – or customers.

Artistic neighbourhood

The idea of the artistic neighbourhood in the eighteenth century was one that went beyond administrative boundaries. It revolved around a variety of key places that defined its topography: from publishers to musical instrument makers, to musician's lodgings and concert venues.²⁶² When it came to musical instruments, the Palais Royal and the rue Saint-Honoré in particular, were ideal as places for musical entertainment. The Palais Royal housed the Opera's performances at the time, in one of the Palace's wings. The area was also bordered on the south-west by the Palais des Tuileries, where the Concert Spirituel held its concerts. This part of Paris therefore attracted the settlement of various trades in relation with music and performances, including musical instrument makers. For example, in an announcement published in the *Journal Encyclopédique* in June 1777, harp maker Pierre Krupp is located in the 'rue Sainte Honoré, across from the opera', in the Palais Royal.²⁶³

An artistic neighbourhood also encompasses the residences of artists, in this case of musicians. With its proximity with the Royal palaces of the Tuileries, the Louvre and the Palais Royal, the neighbourhood also welcomed several aristocratic houses, notably of patrons of the arts. Alexandre Joseph Le Riche de La Pouplinière, financier and patron, who hired a number of musicians for his orchestra owned a mansion in the rue de Richelieu, which ran alongside the Palais Royal to the west.²⁶⁴ The presence of aristocratic patrons and of theatres entices musicians to settle in the area. For example, in the *Almanach Musical* published in 1783, at least eight harp masters are established in the area surrounding the Palais Royal and the rue Saint Honoré.²⁶⁵ The neighbourhood also housed four harp makers, listed in the same edition of the *Almanach*.²⁶⁶ As

²⁶² This definition derives from the work of music historian Mélanie Traversier. See Traversier, "Le Quartier Artistique, un objet pour l'histoire urbaine", 9.

²⁶³ *Journal Encyclopédique ou Universel*, (Bouillon). June 1777, 343.

²⁶⁴ Favier, "Nouvelles sociabilités, nouvelles pratiques: les concerts sous le règne de Louis XV", 130.

²⁶⁵ Mademoiselle La Fonds, rue des Fossés-Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois ; Petri the elder, rue de la Jussienne ; Sieber, rue Saint Honoré, Hotel d'Aligre ; Madame Le Duc, formerly Mademoiselle Henry, rue Traversière Saint Honoré ; Boutard, rue Saint-Honoré ; Petri the younger, rue du Jour ; Milchmayer, cloître Saint Honoré ; Krumpholtz, rue des Moineaux ; Cousineau, rue des Poulies across from the Colonnade du Louvre. See *Almanach Musical*,

²⁶⁶ Cousineau, Georges, rue des Poulies ; Louvet, Jean, rue Croix-des-petits-Champs ; Naderman, J.H., rue d'Argenteuil ; Krupp, Pierre, rue S. Honoré. See *ibid*.

is shown in Figure 2-2, the proximity between makers, harpists, and the performance spaces was evident.

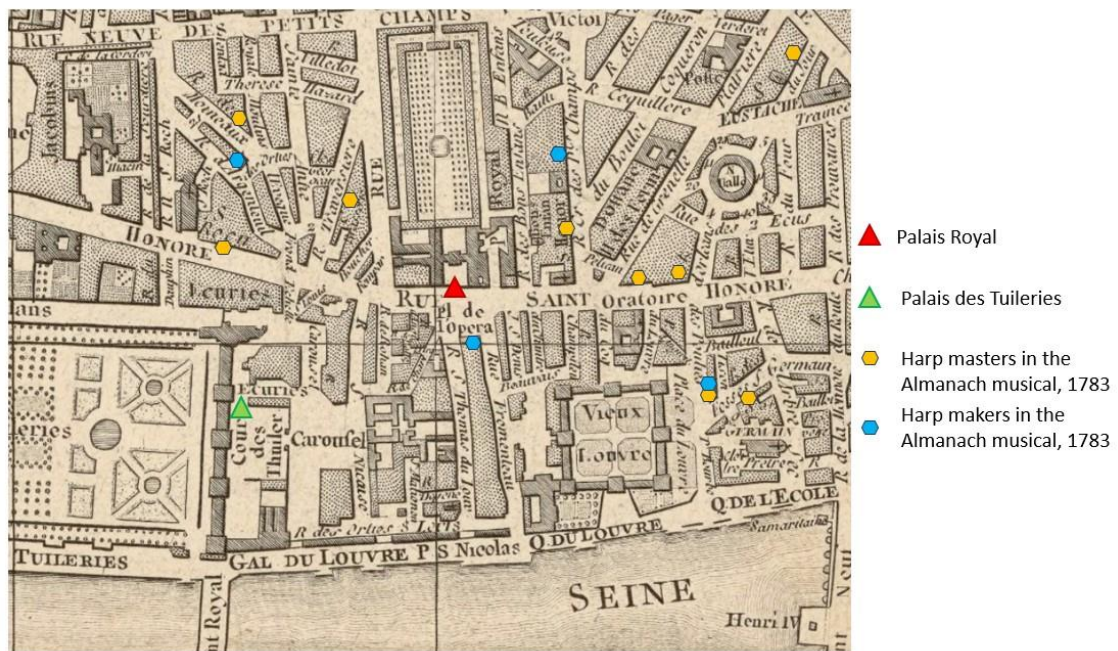


Figure 2-2 – Distribution of harp makers and masters around the Palais Royal. Map *Nouveau Plan Routier de la ville et faubourgs de Paris*, by Jacques Esnault and Michel Raspilly, 1785. Source [gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France](http://gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque Nationale de France). Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

While this synergy between music-related professions might have enticed artistic creation, it was mainly an economic factor in all of these businesses. Makers could sell instruments to musicians, who in return sent their students and patrons to purchase their instrument with the same maker. Most harpists at the time also composed music, that they could then publish with makers who also owned a publishing business, like Cousineau and Naderman. The proximity with concert venues also enticed the purchases of the music played in these spaces with the publishing houses in the area. On a more practical note, for harpists, this might have also been beneficial when playing, because the transportation of harps might have been easier if one lived closed to the venue.

London's musical neighbourhoods

The concept of the artistic neighbourhood was one that resonated across Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as London followed a similar pattern. There, when Sébastien Erard chose to open a new manufactory in the British city, it seemed logical to locate it in an area where he knew he would have a clientele. Erard established his shop on Great Marlborough Street, in the

neighbourhood of Soho, a favoured area of the emigrating French at the time.²⁶⁷ While the French presence in London grew bigger with the Revolution, settling amongst his compatriots might have been helpful in selling French pedal harps. Soho, Mayfair, and the West End of London in general had been places of musical entertainment for decades when Erard opened his shop. Conversely to Paris in the eighteenth century, London's musical life revolved around a hub of private venues, ventures of musically inclined persons of the nobility and gentry.²⁶⁸ In England at the time, press and businesses were not as controlled as in other European countries, which opened the way for private enterprises in all fields.²⁶⁹ In the eighteenth century, London counted around a hundred venues that housed musical performances.²⁷⁰ For harp performances, a mere twenty of these venues were listed in press advertisements of concerts. With the exception of the New London Tavern in Cheapside, and of Marylebone Gardens on the North, all harp venues were concentrated in the neighbourhoods of the West End. As a place of sociability for the nobility and gentry, these concert venues were thus settled in areas of aristocratic housings, which made economic sense to be located close to the targeted clientele.²⁷¹

As many musicians in eighteenth-century London were foreigners, they looked for housing close to the venues they performed in. At that point, the pedal harp was still a 'foreign' instrument in England, qualified either as German or French. This was further reinforced as most of the soloists present on London stages at the time arrived from overseas. The harpists usually performed several concert series in the city, it was therefore logical for them to find lodgings around the venues they performed at. With no directory of musicians on hand, the addresses of musicians, both foreign and domestic, can often be found in the press, particularly when they organised a concert for their benefit. The advertisement usually included directions on where to buy tickets, which would often be at the musician's housing. An address was found for thirteen out of the thirty-six harp performers in London listed in the press during the period of this study. With only the exception of Mr Kirchoff residing in the City of London in the East, the other twelve harpists inhabited the West End, around the aforementioned concert venues.

²⁶⁷ Carpenter, "The novelty of the French émigrés in London in the 1790s", 72.

²⁶⁸ Jerry White cited the example of Teresa Cornelys and the concert series she launched at Carlisle House on Soho Square. The venue housed two performances of Philip Joseph Hinner in 1781. See White, *A Great and Monstrous Thing, London in the Eighteenth Century*, 293-301.

²⁶⁹ Weber, "La Culture musicale d'une capitale: l'époque du beau monde a Londres, 1700-1870", 122.

²⁷⁰ Simon McVeigh in his database of concerts performed in London between 1750 and 1800 had counted a hundred and two venues cited in the press for musical performances. See McVeigh, "Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800."

²⁷¹ Weber, "La Culture musicale d'une capitale: l'époque du beau monde a Londres, 1700-1870", 128.

With the West End as a musical neighbourhood, housing concert venues and musicians alike, it seemed logical for Sébastien Erard to choose this area as the location of his London manufactory, as can be seen in Figure 2-3.



Figure 2-3 – Distribution of concert venues, musicians' addresses and Erard's workshop in the West End. Map Harris's Plan of London, Westminster and the borough of Southwark, 1797. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Concert entrepreneurs and music sellers continued to control the musical market in London for many years, even more so when they joined together within the Royal Philharmonic Society founded in 1813. From its inception, the Society entered into discussions with architect John Nash to design a new concert hall in the Argyll Rooms. The project included the preoccupation of preserving the area as a musical neighbourhood, as it had been previously.²⁷²

The installation in and around these artistic neighbourhoods, both in Paris and London, facilitated the creation of networks for the harp makers. They thus could build relationships with their clientele, with other music-related trades, and with concert venues and entrepreneurs.

²⁷² Langley, "A Place for Music: John Nash, Regent Street and the Philharmonic Society of London", 13-14.

Economy and shopping

Due to the nobles' mobility and willingness to seek out manufactured goods anywhere in town, aristocratic houses were not necessarily at the centre of commercial neighbourhoods. The Faubourg Saint-Antoine exemplified this divide eighteenth-century Paris, where craftsmen were mostly established in the east of the city, and aristocratic houses were in the west. As aristocratic consumptions reached new heights at that time, it was common for aristocrats to supply their lives with the production of craftsmen established all around town.²⁷³ Nevertheless, some areas were concentrated with a diverse array of shops, such as areas around the rue Saint-Honoré, the Palais Royal, or the rue du Four. These areas were also occupied by a number of aristocratic mansions, which brought prestige to the neighbourhood, and a sure clientele for the shops.²⁷⁴

The recognition from the Royal court, and the appointment as supplier to the court, was a force of attraction for aristocratic customers. As a place of aristocratic consumption, it also became appealing for the bourgeoisie who was seeking social recognition.²⁷⁵ The two harp makers to the Queen, Georges Cousineau and Jean Henry Naderman, were indeed established in the areas around the Palais Royal and the rue Saint-Honoré. Cousineau's shop was located in the rue des Poulies, across from the Louvre palace, while Naderman's was in the rue d'Argenteuil, just above the rue Saint Honoré. While a definitive list of every harp customer in Paris would prove impossible to make, some sources can help trace a pattern of customers location. Following the revolution, a number of aristocrats were condemned for their participation in the Old Regime. While some were executed, many went into exile, in both cases leaving substantial items behind them. In 1793, the powers in place under the Convention tasked composer Antonio Bruni, with inventorying the musical instruments left in the houses left vacant by the revolution.²⁷⁶ Each entry was made by family, with the date and location of the inventory, usually at the house in question. The edition made in 1890 also included, in many cases, a short biography of the previous owner. While details about the instruments varied, the maker was always noted when it was known by the examiner. In total, Bruni listed sixteen harps, from at least six makers, as two harps are unidentified. Knowing the maker and the address of the customer can demonstrate the difference in location between them, shown in Figure 2-4.

²⁷³ Historian Natacha Coquery has explored the consumption and location of suppliers of five aristocratic families, demonstrating how vast the area of consumption was. Coquery, "Hôtel, luxe et société de cour : le marché aristocratique parisien au XVIIIe siècle".

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 352-53.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 347.

²⁷⁶ Antonio Bartolomeo Bruni, *Un inventaire sous la terreur: état des instruments de musique relevé chez les émigrés et condamnés* (G. Chamerot, 1890).

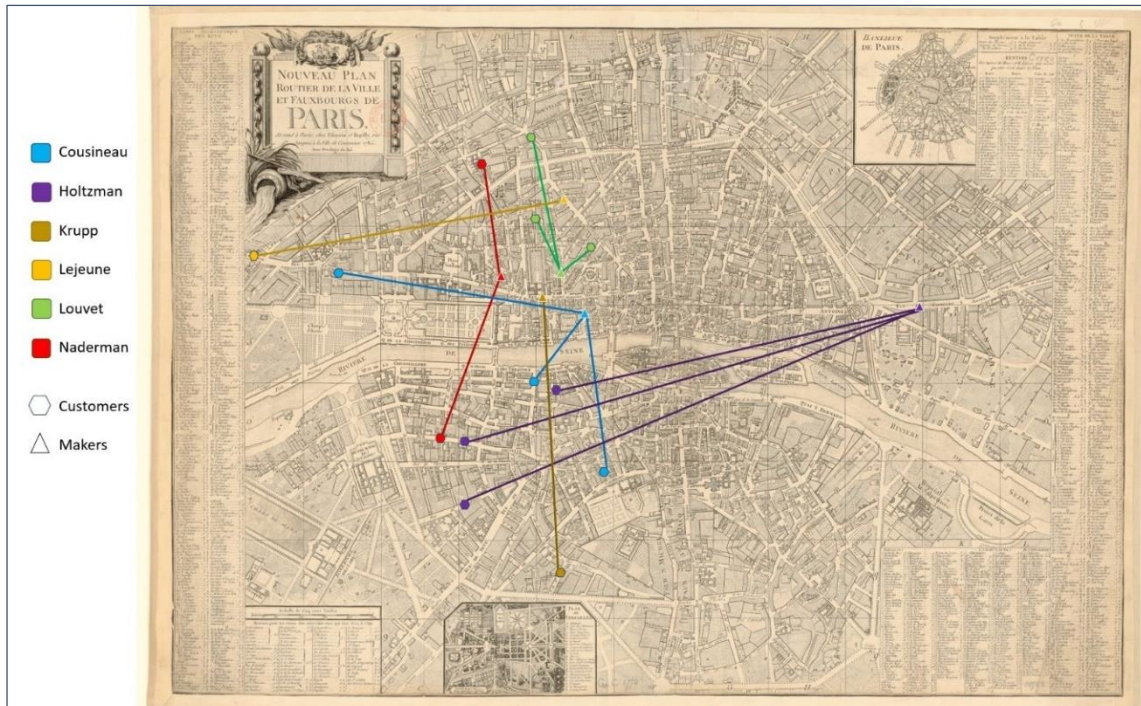


Figure 2-4 – Location of harp owners listed in Bruni’s inventory and of the relevant harp makers. Map Nouveau Plan Routier de la ville et faubourgs de Paris, by Jacques Esnault and Michel Raspilly, 1785. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Moreover, the majority of harp makers established in Paris were settled in the Western areas of the city, as shown in Figure 2-5. At least five of them were even located in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal (in red in Figure 2-5): Naderman, rue d’Argenteuil; Krupp, rue Saint Honoré; Lejeune, rue Montmartre; Louvet, rue des Petits Champs; Cousineau, rue des Poulies.

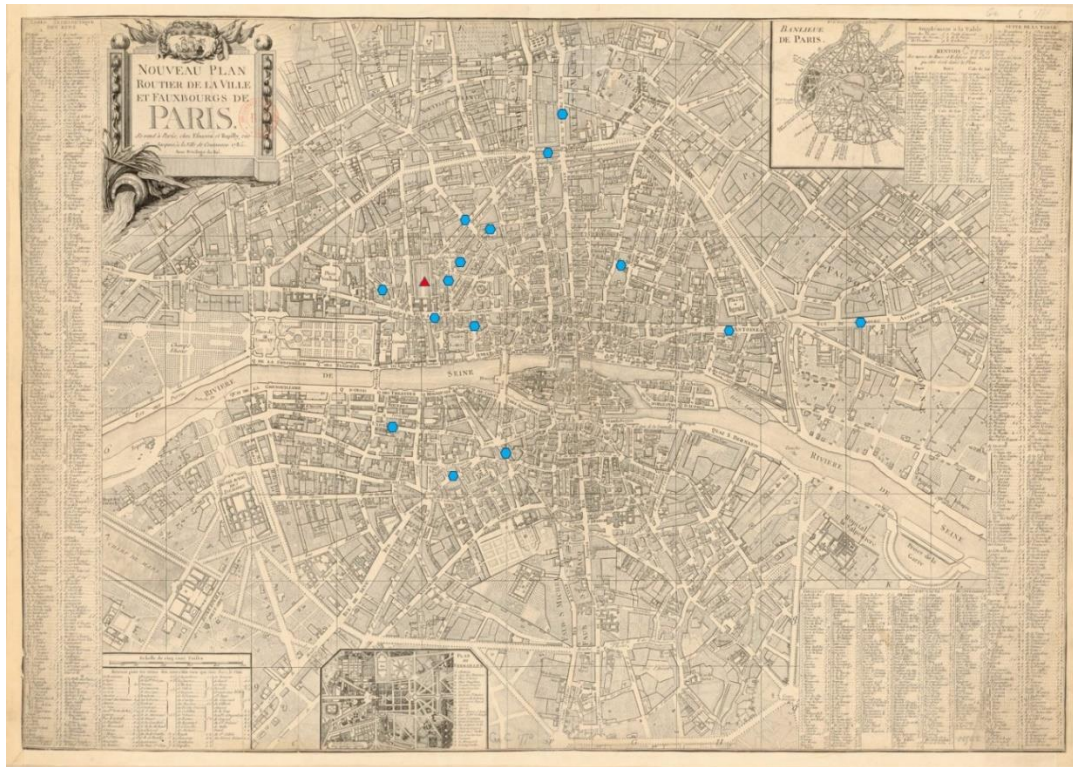


Figure 2-5 - Locations of harp makers listed in the Almanach Musical in 1783 in blue, the Palais Royal is in red. Map Nouveau Plan Routier de la ville et faubourgs de Paris, by Jacques Esnault and Michel Raspilly, 1785. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

It appears that while harp makers chose a central location for their shop, some of their aristocratic consumers lived outside of the city centre. Perhaps, the choice of opening their shop in the city might have been geared by a proximity to musical venues and other music-related businesses.

2.3 Networks

2.3.1 The workshop network

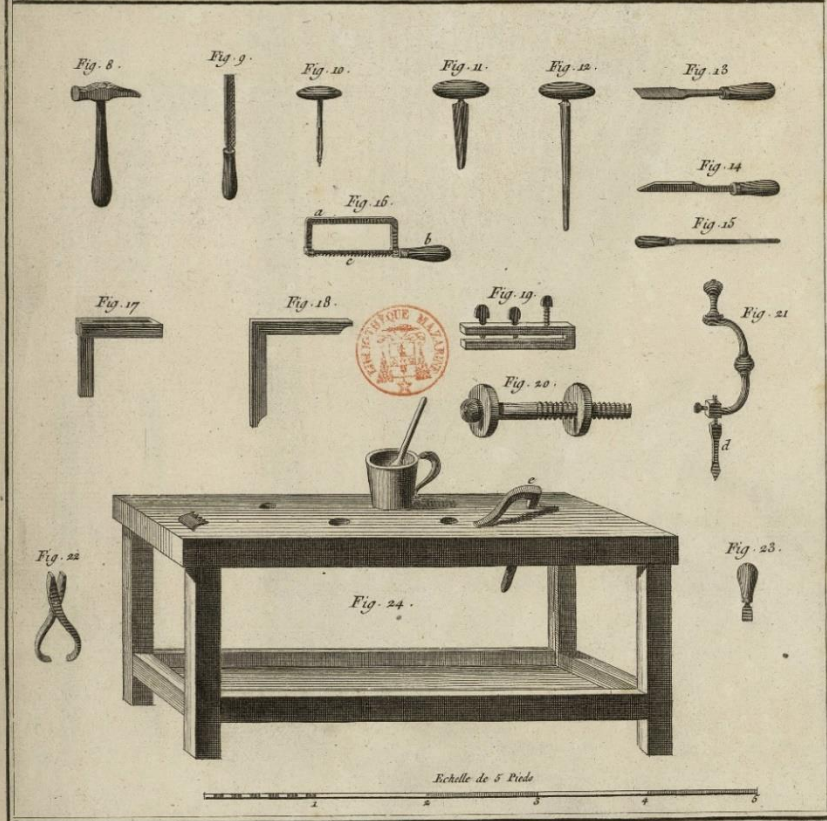
Workshop

The opening of a musical instrument making business implied various levels of networks, beginning with the maker's workshop. The building of mechanism and the handling of metal were not part of the prerogatives of the musical instrument makers' guild, pertaining rather to locksmiths or tinsmiths. In order to fit their pedal harp with the mechanism, harp makers thus had to have worked with members of these corporations. For example, in 1759, for the harp built by Wolters for Madame Louise, the maker billed the Menus Plaisirs for the expenses he has advanced to build the instrument. The bill thus included one hundred *livres* paid the 'machine operator', whom we can assume was the mechanician.²⁷⁷ Throughout the period of this study, the estate inventories of the makers almost never listed tools to work metals and construct a mechanism from scratch. Manufacturers in London later did not encounter the same limitation. Because of the absence of guild regulations, and the presence of qualified mechanical workers, it was easier to build all parts of the harp within the same premises, for example with the Erat manufactory, which housed a smith's shop to build metallic parts.²⁷⁸

While the depictions of eighteenth-century instrument-making workshops are very rare, the *Encyclopédie* published a drawing of musical instrument makers at work that helps to understand work organisation, presented here in Figure 2-6. In the engraving, we see craftsmen working on different benches. As for the harp, we see the instrument at various stages of construction in this depiction, with one worker seemingly painting the column on the left, and another creating the holes for the pins on the right. This is helpful to understand the process of harp making at the time.

²⁷⁷ « M. Wolters, 720 » 1759. O¹ 3003, *Argenterie, Menus, Plaisirs Et Affaires De La Chambre*, Maison du roi sous l'Ancien Régime, F-Pan.

²⁷⁸ Baldwin, "The harp in early nineteenth-century Britain: innovation, business, and making in Jacob Erat's manufactory," 311.



Broquet Del.

Bouard Sculp.

Lutherie, Ouvrages et Outils

Figure 2-6 – Luthier's workshop. Plate XVIII, Diderot and D'Alembert, Recueil De Planches, Sur Les Sciences, Les Arts Libéraux, Et Les Arts Mécaniques, vol. Quatrieme (1767) © Bibliothèque Mazarine, Licence Creative Commons, [CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 FR](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/fr/).

Indications of the harp-making process are also found in the estate inventories established after a maker's death. The workshop usually contained harps qualified as finished or not, the latter even referred to as 'harp's body', which might have designated a harp without mechanism or strings and only the wooden body. Harps were found at several stages or manufacturing: a complete body without strings put in, a soundbox already built, a finished neck and pillar, etc.

The intricacy of harp making centred around the use of a variation of materials and technique. The mechanism was very intricate, and required a know-how that was not involved in the traditional craft of luthiers. The body utilised woodworking skills, particularly pertaining to makers who had done an apprenticeship with a luthier. Makers usually bought strings, which could be often cello strings, painted in red for the C and in blue or black for the F.

Example of Jean Henry Naderman's Inventory

The estate inventory of the Naderman couple, established upon the passing of his wife Marie Elisabeth Maheux in 1776, contains a list of active debts owed by Naderman.²⁷⁹ Around twenty-five individuals are listed, eighteen of whom with their position described, which helps understand Naderman's expense. Aside from household expenses such as wine merchant or grocer, fifteen of these individuals had provided Naderman with goods and services relating to his craft of harp-making. Three of them were owed money for services provided: a Mr Humbert, described as a woodworker, for 'works by him made'²⁸⁰, and Sweers, a worker of Naderman, owed five hundred and eighty *livres* for days worked. An unnamed pit sawyer was also listed, for a little over two hundred and eleven *livres*. The remaining thirteen individuals, who provided goods and materials, can be placed in four categories: Wood; Mechanisms; Strings; and Decorations. For the Wood category, Naderman owed six hundred *livres* to one wood merchant, Mr Marsilly from Versailles, and a hundred and eighty-eight *livres* to Mr. Brunel, a woodworker. While his exact job was not described, he might have provided for the Naderman's household rather than the workshop. Regarding mechanisms, once again the exact reason of the expense is not known, but the profession of the individuals helps to discern what they might do. Mr Mincau, a tinsmith, was owed 56 *livres* and eight *sols*; Mr Cheyer, mechanic, was owed 1,778 *livres*; and Louis Scimaize, a locksmith, was owed a 174 *livres* and one *sol*. These three professions might have been involved with the metallic part of the harps, specifically the action and pedals. There is less confusion when it came to the Strings category, as all three are listed in the document as three are listed for 'furnishing strings' and the fourth is a silk string merchant. Finally, for decorations, three individuals are listed: Mr Deschamps, painter, Mr Boucault, gilder, and

²⁷⁹ Presented in Appendix IV.

²⁸⁰ « Ouvrages par luy faits »

François Bardu, a *tabletier*. He might have provided Naderman with mother-of-pearl ornaments, as some of his harps bear such decorations.

Example of Erard

From Sébastien Erard's London harp factory, one exhaustive list of expenses remains. The London Erard ledgers that survived span over more than a century of musical instrument manufacturing, from 1798 to 1917. However, the only section regarding workshop accounts begins in February 1807 and ends in June 1809.²⁸¹ Overall, the London Erard ledgers listed expenses made to more than seventy-five individuals, who provided goods and services to the Erard household and workshop. Similar to Naderman's case, many of the 2,000 or so expenses listed could have been either for the household or for the workshop. A substantial number of these expenses were however undoubtedly dedicated to the harp-making workshop, including the worker's wages.²⁸² Apart from the regular journeymen, mostly unnamed and unnumbered in the ledgers, several specialist trades were hired by Erard. They were primarily hired for the ornaments of the harp built in the workshop, for example with Mr Tillyer, a gilder, who received payments in January, February, April, May and June of 1808. While gilding was required on a regular basis in the workshop, compositions were only required once. Mr Thorp, composition maker, was thus paid a hundred pounds, nine shillings, and eight pence on 6 January 1808. His role was to carve out composition mould that would then have been used for relief decorations on the harps.²⁸³

2.3.2 Communities

Beyond their professional network of workmen, suppliers and competitors, harp makers were active in several other networks, relating to their personal identity.

German and Protestant communities

German craftsmen had long been present in Paris. Moreover, the expansion of the luxury market in France in the second half of the eighteenth century led to a growing influx of immigrants from the German regions. As a number of Germans worked in wood-related trades, they settled in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, on the eastern border of the city. Work in this area was easier, as the

²⁸¹ Erard harp ledgers, volume 1, MS 10110, GB-Lcm.

²⁸² Nex, "The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London," 219-23.

²⁸³ Mike Baldwin, "The Erard and Morley decorative moulds," *The Early Pedal Harp*, 9th March 2019, 2022, <https://www.theearlypedalharp.net/post/the-erard-and-morley-decorative-moulds>.

faubourg was exempted from guild control, as discussed earlier. Amongst them, several were musical instrument makers, including some harp makers as well. Some of the most recognized harp makers were born in regions of the Holy Roman Empire known today as Germany.

The concentration of German immigrants in the area also furthered their network and relationship with each other. The strength of the community was therefore evident in notary documents, particularly in marriage contracts. For example, in that of Jean Henry Naderman, who marries Marie Elisabeth Maheux in November of 1764.²⁸⁴ On the document, Naderman was born in Duisburg, in the diocese of Paderborn in Westphalia.²⁸⁵ On his marriage contract, two of his friends are present, both with seemingly German names: Godefroy Holtzman and Jean Hermes (c.1745-1813), both described as *layetiers*. Holtzman and Hermes went on to become harp makers, like Naderman, receiving their master's degree from the guild respectively in 1772 and 1769.

In addition to their Germanic origins, many harp makers shared the Protestant faith. In the eighteenth century, protestant faith had been made forbidden in France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes of 1685, that had allowed protestant to practise their faith within the French Catholic kingdom. Towards the end of the eighteenth-century, protestants were finally the right to live and practise their religion in France with the 1787 Tolerance Edict. Between 1685 and 1787, the embassies of protestant countries were then the only places where people of protestant faith could practise their religion. Among them, the Swedish, Danish, and Dutch embassies were the most active, and they kept records of their chapels.²⁸⁶ Originally established to welcome congregants from their respective countries, the chapels welcomed Huguenots – French protestants – after their faith had been made illegal in France. The Dutch Chapel in particular offered sermons in French, to accommodate the Huguenots. The Danish and Swedish chapel mostly delivered sermons in German, targeting a congregation mostly made up of migrants arriving from German regions.²⁸⁷ Amongst them, craftsmen made up more than the majority, representing around 56% of all parishioners.²⁸⁸ In the eighteenth century, France had welcomed a variety of immigrant workers, as the country needed more skilled labourers in a number of

²⁸⁴ Mariage Jean Henry Naderman avec Marie Elizabeth Maheux, 25 November 1764. MC ET XXVIII 396, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

²⁸⁵ He is often described as born in Fribourg, although this place of birth was not found in direct sources.

²⁸⁶ These records have been rediscovered in the 1970s by historian Janine Driancourt-Girod, who detailed the lives of members of these parishes in her work. Copies of part of these records are now held by the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français in Paris, where they are open to the public: Registres photocopiés de la chapelle de Suède, 1680-1806, Mss 1.610. See Driancourt-Girod, "Les Luthériens à Paris du début du XVIIe siècle au début du XIXe siècle (1626-1809)."

²⁸⁷ Garrioch, *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom, 1685-1789*, 144-46.

²⁸⁸ Driancourt-Girod, "Les Allemands luthériens à Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles", 270.

domains, including craft and luxury. A number of these German protestant immigrants were indeed craftsmen who specialised in luxury trade, such as renowned cabinetmakers Jean Henri Riesener (1734-1806) and Jean François Oeben (1721-1763).²⁸⁹ Apart from the cabinetmakers, the records of the chapel attest of the presence of a number of musical instrument makers, mostly specialised in pianoforte- or harp-building. For example, the Naderman and Holtzman families are both represented in the documents.²⁹⁰ The two friends who signed on Jean Henry Naderman's marriage contract in 1764, Holtzman and Hermes, both attended the chapels. On the Parisian stages of the eighteenth century, many of the harpists originated from German regions, and the documents from the protestant chapels contain many of their names, including those of Philip Jacob Meyer and Philip Joseph Hinner. The networks within these chapels were a crucial part in the survival of the Protestant faith. It is fair to say that the network also allowed parishioners to prosper, for example by introducing musicians to musical instrument makers.

The chapel was also the place to seek a potential match for the parishioners' children. It was common, as with any religious group, to try and ally with families of the same faith, to ensure the children would be raised in the Reformed Church. With protestants, it also extended to occupational endogamy. While the practice was also common with Catholics, it was a question of survival for Protestants. The Holtzman family illustrated this network of religion and occupation. Godefroy Holtzman had two daughters: Marie Madeleine Catherine and Marie Charlotte. The former married Jean-Baptiste Gallois, a chiseller, and the latter married Jean Busch, who later became a harpsichord maker. While the origin of Gallois is less certain, Busch was likely of German origin, and possibly of the same faith as the Holtzman.

French émigrés

Another type of migrant community formed in London, in the early days of the French Revolution. In the weeks following the fall of the Bastille, the National Assembly received proposal from deputies of the Third Estate – the lowest class of society behind the Nobility and the Clergy- regarding the abolition of all privileges. Privileges and feudal rights of the nobility and the clergy were abolished, along with all other privileges, in the night of the 4th of August 1789.²⁹¹ In large numbers, members of the aristocracy and the clergy fled to other European cities,

²⁸⁹ Pallach, "Deutsche Handwerker im Frankreich des 18. Jahrhunderts", 95-96.

²⁹⁰ Their names are present in the works of Janine Driancourt-Giroud, although the difficulties of tracing the primary documents in question has prevented the author from seeing them yet. Driancourt-Giroud, "Les Allemands luthériens à Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles", 271-72.

²⁹¹ William Doyle, *Aristocracy and its Enemies in the Age of Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2009), 211.

hoping for a short-termed exile while the situation settled down in France.²⁹² London was the most favoured destination for this exile, at least for those in Paris and the North of France, while people in the South rather chose Spain and the Northern Italian regions.²⁹³ While most were hoping to return to France soon, French *émigrés* took an important part in London society. They were joined by a number of writers, poets, artists, and tradesmen, who feared that their links with the nobility might give them a negative light in the new French society. The areas of Soho, Bloomsbury, and Marylebone, where most French *émigrés* first settled, became populated with French boutiques and bookshops. The commercial impact of the *émigrés* remained lower than that of the Huguenots who had come to London following the revocation of the edict of Nantes in the late 17th century.²⁹⁴ Huguenots had come to England with many artisans and artistic skills, and with the intent on staying. *Émigrés* of the Revolution were not perceived as refugees: in the first waves, they had come with their own means, and were welcomed as visitors to the city. From 1792, emigrating from France meant the confiscation of goods and properties, which signified the loss of the nobility's main income. The later waves of *émigrés* had to find means to continue their life abroad, as the situation in France was still not in their favour. Several put their artistic abilities to improve their living conditions, particularly with music. French musicians performed in large numbers on London stages in the 1790s, also offering teaching. The context was thus favourable when Sébastien Erard established his new workshop in the city in 1792. His firm was one of the most successful commercial ventures of the *émigré*.²⁹⁵ At the time, there were almost no harp makers established in London, and he arrived with an established name as a piano-forte maker. In London, he was part of Henri Pierre Danloux's (1753-1809) circle, one of the most influential artistic figures of the *émigrés*.²⁹⁶ It seemed that his involvement with the exiled was rather beneficial for him in settling his business. In 1801, Sébastien announced in the London Gazette the end of a partnership with one Paul Deneufville in the business of harp-making. While very few details remain about this character, his name betrays a French origin, potentially as part of the *émigrés* community.

The *émigrés* had also brought with them French taste and consumptions, which proved beneficial for Erard pedal harps, an instrument that was deemed as French at the time. As evidence of this, there were few French names in the workshop ledgers for Erard's first London-produced pedal

²⁹² Kirsty Carpenter, "Emigration in Politics and Imaginations" in *The Oxford Handbook of the French Revolution*, ed. David Andress (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 330.

²⁹³ Doyle, *Aristocracy and its Enemies in the Age of Revolution*, 249.

²⁹⁴ Carpenter, "The novelty of the French *émigrés* in London in the 1790s", 72.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁹⁶ Adelson *et al.*, *The history of the Erard piano and harp in letters and documents, 1785–1959*, 8.

harp. In the first a hundred and fifty sold, only three French-resembling names appeared: that of Mr Le Tourneur, of Miss Bouvire, and of Mrs Barbault.

While the majority of *émigrés* returned to France, first in 1802, and then after the end of Napoleonic wars in 1815, the Erard workshop remained in London, where his network had extended from French *émigrés* to London society.

Freemasonry

Another important part of sociability in the eighteenth century was freemasonry. Musicians, particularly those who sought to enhance their network, populated Parisian lodges in the eighteenth century. Indeed, music was an important part of masonic rituals, as many lodges had their own ensembles – usually only with wind instruments – or orchestra. By 1785, close 30% of the musicians of the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris were affiliated with a masonic lodge.²⁹⁷ Before beginning to perform with this orchestra in 1782, Jacques Georges Cousineau had already been affiliated with the lodge *La Céleste Amitié* in 1780.²⁹⁸ Along with his father Georges, he was one of the founders of the lodge *Les Amis de La Liberté*. Jacques Georges later also founded the lodge *Le Point Parfait*, becoming the honouring master in the 1810s. As he was a harpist and composer, he performed at several rituals and services of his lodges, for example, playing for a funeral service in 1802. François Joseph Naderman, the son of another harp maker, and harpist himself, was also active in the life of his masonic lodge, *Sainte-Caroline*. From 1806, he was appointed to lead the harmony of *Sainte-Caroline*, becoming the harmony conductor and manager the following years.

While it is difficult to establish with certainty the relationships that they might have built within the freemason lodges, it is certain that it was a way for musicians and musical instrument makers to enhance their social circle and meet potential new patrons and customers.

²⁹⁷ Youri Carbonnier, "Le personnel musical de l'Opéra de Paris sous le règne de Louis XVI," *Histoire Économie et Société* 22 (2003): 30.

²⁹⁸ The records of French lodges have been compiled by historian Jean Bossu, who bequeathed the integrity of his research to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

2.4 Developing the Business

2.4.1 Reaching out to customers: the press

Paris, general press

Harp makers used the newspapers of the time to attract potential customers. They often placed advertisements in general newspapers to present their products, especially when a new innovation was launched. In Paris, makers published in the *Mercure de France*, the *Avant-Coureur*, or the *Journal de Paris*. Placing notices could be expensive, therefore not all harp makers could afford it.²⁹⁹ The *Feuille Nécessaire* published in September 1759 the earliest mention of a pedal harp maker recorded in this study. *La Feuille Nécessaire, contenant divers détails sur les Sciences, les Lettres et les Arts* was a short-lived newspaper, published weekly only during the year 1759. The aim of its creators, Pierre Joseph Boudier de Villemert (1716-1809) and Jean Soret (1710-after 1780), was the attraction for novelty and curiosity:

*The Public will find in this tableau we will offer every week, all than can pique his curiosity in every genre.*³⁰⁰

In its thirty-third edition, the paper published a text about the pedal harps of Goepffert. As was discussed, Georg Adam Goepffert, who was one of the first musicians to play the instrument in Paris, is considered by some to be the inventor of the pedal mechanism. The text of the *Feuille Nécessaire* is one of those who claim that he created a mechanism..

*Mr. Goepffert, German musician, after a work of several years, succeeded to organise the Harp with a single row of strings. [...] He gave it all the perfection that seemed possible, with a mechanical work he invented, that is touched with the feet like pedals, and which is used to form the semitones.*³⁰¹

While Goepffert had advertised in the press his musical and teaching talents, this text also announced that he ‘makes and sells Harps of different sizes’.³⁰² Mentions of these harps in the

²⁹⁹ Gilles Feyel, "Presse et Publicité en France (XVIIIe et XIXe siècles)," *Revue Historique* 4, no. 628 (2003): 843.

³⁰⁰ « Nous voulons seulement dire que le Public trouvera dans le Tableau raccourci que nous lui présenterons chaque semaine, tout ce qui peut piquer sa curiosité dans chaque genre. » *La Feuille Nécessaire contenant divers détails sur les Sciences, les Lettres, et les Arts*, (Paris: Michel Lambert), 4.

³⁰¹ « Le Sieur Goepffert, Musicien Allemand, après un travail de plusieurs années est parvenu à organiser la Harpe à simple rang de cordes. [...] Il lui a donné toute la perfection dont il paroît susceptible, au moyen d'un Ouvrage mécanique qu'il a inventé, qui se touche avec les pieds comme les pédales, & dont on se sert pour former les semi-tons. » *ibid.* 24 September 1759.

³⁰² « fait et vend des Harpes de différentes grandeurs » *Ibid.*

press remain one of the only sources of his musical instrument building activity, as he was better known for his playing. Indeed, as of the conclusion of this study, no harps have been uncovered that can be directly traced back to Goepffert or his workshop.

The *Avant-Coureur* succeeded the short-lived *Feuille Nécessaire*, created by the latter's editors in 1760. The *Avant-Coureur* held the same ideal to present and announce all novelties in the fields of Science, Literature and Arts. The newspaper claimed to be 'useful to manufacturers, traders, and craftsmen whose industry and establishments it makes known'.³⁰³ While, like other newspapers of the period, it reported on musical publications and concerts, it also devoted considerable space to the manufacture of musical instruments, reporting a number of these throughout its publication.³⁰⁴ However, the *Avant-Coureur* ended its publication in 1773, before pedal harp innovations were marketed in the 1780s. The only mention made of a harp maker was in a text praising the harps made by Jean Louvet, rue des Petits Champs.

*Mr. Louvet has particularly focused on this instrument, he makes some very beautiful ones with pedal and very complete.*³⁰⁵

The text on Louvet further includes his address, suggesting this could have been an advertisement for the harps he built.

Newspapers proved useful for musical instrument makers when it came to advertising a new instrument. In the 1780s, when several pedal harp makers presented new additions, they placed advertisements in these newspapers. For some makers with a large production volume, such as Georges Cousineau, the advertisements can be studied alongside the corresponding instruments. For others, these newspaper articles are the only record of their innovations. In an article in the *Journal Encyclopédique* in June of 1777, harp maker Pierre Krupp introduced a new 'way to perfect the harp', that he had researched for a decade, according to the paper.³⁰⁶ This article is the only mention of his invention, as out of the few of his harps that survived, none of which have a mechanism that would distinguish them from others.

³⁰³ « Il est utile aux Manufacturiers, aux Négociants, aux Artisans dont il fait connaitre l'industrie et les établissements. » *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, Avis, 1767.

³⁰⁴ Thomas Vernet, "Approche du discours musical de l'avant-coureur 1760-1773," 43, no. 1 (2011): 44.

³⁰⁵ « le sieur Louvet s'est attaché particulièrement à cet instrument, il en fabrique de fort belles à pédales & très-complettes. » *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, 16 March 1761.

³⁰⁶ « le Sr. Krupp, facteur de harpes [...] a trouvé le moyen de perfectionner la harpe » *Journal Encyclopédique ou Universel*, June 1777. The harps surveyed of Krupp did not present any distinct characteristics, the specific harp introduced here as yet to be found.

London, general press

Like the *Avant-Coureur* or the *Mercure* in Paris, general newspapers in London advertised for concerts regularly, for example in the *Public Advertiser*. Newspapers also advertised for instruments, and as London in the late eighteenth century did not have many harp makers, it was usually for imported harps from France.

HARPS AND HARP MUSIC.

*Just imported from Paris, by Longman and Broderip, No. 26, Cheapside, several fine toned PEDAL HARPS, finished in the most superb taste, by Mons. COUSINEAU (...)*³⁰⁷

Harps by Cousineau and Naderman regularly featured in the advertisements of London music and warehouse dealers. In 1780, for example, Mr Smart's music shop on the corner of Chusyll Street advertised 'a very elegant harp, made by Naderman, the first manufacturer in Paris'.³⁰⁸ The most frequent advertisements, however, are for second-hand pedal harps, often at auctions. Although these advertisements provide information about the type of pedal harps in circulation in London, they were not communication tools for the manufacturers themselves.

After Erard moved to London, several other harp-making workshops opened in the city. In 1797, for example, Mr John Elouis (1758-1833) advertised his new pedal harp factory. He presented his models as harps derived from the one designed by Jean Henry Naderman and Johann Baptist Krumpholtz (1747-1790), which had been presented to the Paris Academy of Sciences ten years earlier. The announcement gave details of production, stating that his first workers were 'very far from what he imagined', but that after correcting all the defects, his harps were ready:

*[He] begs to assure the Public, that from this day, all Harps which shall bear his Name and Signature, will be such as not to fear the scrutiny of a real Connoisseur*³⁰⁹

Elouis had first made a name for himself as a harpist, notably in the service of the Duchess of York and the Duke of Gloucester, and as a teacher of the instrument. In this capacity, Elouis highlights his experience in his advertisement, particularly in what he considers to be "the extravagant price of harps". Elouis claims to have done all he could to reduce their price as much as possible, now selling his harps for thirty-five per cent less than others. For him, the press was a means of advertising his harps, which were of a model approved by the French Académie des

³⁰⁷ *The Morning Post*, 16 March 1781.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 3 April 1780.

³⁰⁹ *True Briton*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (London). 27th February 1797, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection GB-Lbl.

Sciences, at a lower price. Despite this comprehensive example, advertisements directly from harp makers were still rare in the general London press.

Musical press

In addition to general announcements, harp makers also published in the musical newspapers of the time. The *Almanach Musical* was among the most complete musical periodicals in eighteenth-century Paris. As other musical periodicals, its publication was not regular, with an average of one number per year.³¹⁰ The *Almanach* compiled all musical news from the previous year, for example with its the first issue, published in 1775, reported on information from 1774. It listed important new musical publications and advancements in musical instrument building. Furthermore, it provided lists of composers, music masters and music sellers established in Paris.

It also included a directory of luthiers and musical instrument makers, members of the guild, who were established in the city. In the first editions of the *Almanach*, only organ and harpsichord makers were listed in their own separate section, while all other string instrument makers were included in the 'Luthiers or Violin, Harp, Guitar etc. makers' category. The makers are not listed in alphabetical order, but by their position within the guild: the jurors and former jurors are listed first. As the specialisation of each maker is not specified, the *Almanach* must be studied in the light of other sources to determine which of them produced harps. Between 1775 and 1777, the *Almanach* lists between forty and forty-six luthiers, seven of whom were actually harp makers. In the 1778 edition, the list included luthiers who had joined after the guild reforms of 1776, thus adding four new harp makers. From 1782 onwards, harp makers were listed separately from other makers. In 1782 and 1783, the *Almanach* listed sixteen harp makers. Their presence in a music journal of this importance was crucial in attracting potential new customers. The repertoire does not, however, indicate the volume of production of the makers, since for several of them the editions from 1782 onwards are the only evidence of their involvement in harp making. For example, no harps by Laurent, Vanderlist, Guillaume or Godelard are known today.

2.4.2 Publishing music as a harp maker

From the mid-eighteenth century, Paris had joined London as one of the leading European cities in musical publishing, after years of monopoly of one family over the printing of music. In the

³¹⁰ Vernet, "Approche du discours musical de l'avant-coureur 1760-1773", 41.

1660s, the new process of engraving printing arrived in Paris, which allowed people to release music without infringing on the privilege. The method took almost a century for new publishers to adopt, and by 1762, Paris counted around twenty-three music publishing houses.³¹¹ Around the same time, several of them began to publish music for the pedal harp, like Antoine Huberty (c.1722-1791). First established in Paris around 1758, he played the viola d'amore at the Académie Royale de Musique, which would have helped him connecting with fellow musicians to publish their works with him. Amongst other pieces, he published the first work dedicated to the harp, the *Six Sonates pour la Harpe* by Johann Baptist Hochbrucker in 1762. At the time, most pieces were written for the harpsichord, with the mention that they could be played on the harp. For the first time, a piece was published explicitly solely for the harp. For several years, it remained the only one in Huberty's catalogue written for the harp. The publisher stayed active in Paris until the early 1770s, when he moved to Vienna. He ceded his stocks and premises in Paris to Jean Georges Sieber.

Huberty and Sieber had played at the same time at the Académie Royale de Musique, where the latter played the horn. Sieber also performed on the harp in at least one opera at the Académie, in 1774.³¹² From the following year, he was listed in the *Almanach Musical* both as a horn and harp master and taught the harp to pensioners of the Abbaye de Penthemont. He rapidly established a reputation for his publishing, especially as he privileged German and Austrian composers.³¹³ Throughout the 1770s and 1780s, Sieber published numerous pieces written for the harp, notably those composed by Johann Baptist Krumpholtz. Huberty and Sieber were examples of musicians who chose to publish music, not only their own, but that of other musicians as well. Composers commonly published their work, particularly for harp pieces, as the frontispiece regularly introduced the author as the publisher. Beyond musicians, the publishing trade proved a lucrative one for musical instrument makers who integrated publication to their business. This was in their best interest: they could sell an instrument, and the pieces one could play on it, which both Cousineau and Naderman chose to do.

Cousineau

Around 1765, Cousineau began publishing works for the harp and other instruments. During the course of this study, it was found that Cousineau published more harp pieces than any other music publisher over the course of the decade. He used engraved printing, and therefore regularly

³¹¹ Anik Devriès-Lesure, "Paris et la dissémination des éditions musicales entre 1700 et 1830," *Revue de Musicologie* 84, no. 2 (1998): 293.

³¹² Sieber's ties to the harp and the Académie are discussed in 4.2.3.

³¹³ Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, vol. 1 (Genève: Minkoff, 1979), 141-42.

collaborated with engravers such as Marie Charlotte Vendome (c.1740-after 1786), who took part in the publication of many musical works in the 1760s and 1770s. Women made up a large proportion of the music engravers in Paris at this time, such as the Vendôme sisters and Marie Oger (c.1730-1800). By the end of the eighteenth century, women had engraved between 30 and 50% of all the music published in Paris.³¹⁴

Most musical publications of the time included a catalogue of works published by the same firm. For Cousineau, the earliest of these catalogues can be found at the end of the *Premier Recueil d'ariettes choisies avec accompagnement de harpe* by Jean François Boëly, published in 1768. At the time, Cousineau's catalogue was smaller than that of other publishers, but the specialisation resulting from his activity as a musical instrument maker was visible. As well as harps, he also made guitars at the time, so most of the pieces he offered were written for the harp, guitar or harpsichord, which was still very much a part of the music of the time. He lists twenty-two pieces for the harp, divided into three categories: *Sonates pour la harpe*; *Recueil d'Ariettes avec accompagnement de harpe*; *Recueil d'Airs variés pour la harpe*. Francesco Petrini, Jean François Boëly and Patouart son are the most represented composers, with four, three and three pieces respectively published by Cousineau. Pieces for other instruments included treatises, sonatas and collections for the guitar, cistre and harpsichord. By 1779, Cousineau's catalogue had become even more specialised in the harp, containing over forty pieces for this instrument alone.

The 1780s was an important decade for the Cousineau firm. Georges Cousineau was harp maker to the queen and provided pedal harps for several members of the royal family and court, and he introduced a mechanism for the pedal harp in 1782.³¹⁵ Around 1784, his son Jacques Georges joined his business, both for harp making and publishing. From that year, musical publications are published by Cousineau Père et Fils, with a 1784 catalogue of over a hundred harp pieces, as seen in Figure 2-7.

³¹⁴ Mark Ledbury, "Marie-Charlotte Vendôme, François Moria and Music Engraving in the *Choix de Chansons* " in *Choix de Chansons: a digital critical edition*, ed. Christina Clarke, et al. (Camberra: The Australian National University, 2020).

³¹⁵ Discussed in Chapter 3.

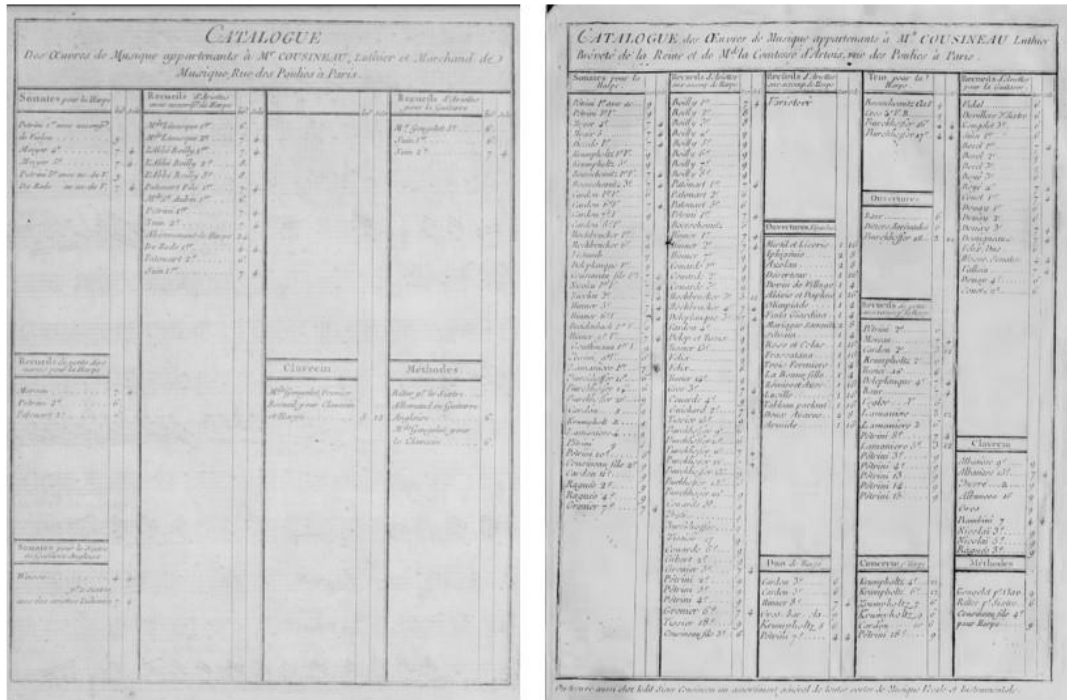


Figure 2-7 – Comparison of Cousineau’s music publishing catalogue between 1768 (left) and 1784 (right). Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

One of the first pieces published by the newly named firm was the harp treatise written by Jacques Georges previously mentioned. The method was Cousineau’s fourth opus, his three previous ones had been also published by his father. In 1784, the Cousineaus also began the weekly publication of the *Feuilles de Terpsichore*:

*Subscribe in all times at the Srs Cousineau Father and Son [...] for the Feuilles de Terpsichore, forming a Journal for the Harp and one for the Harpsichord, divided each in 52 numbers which are published every Monday and made of Overtures, arranged Airs, Airs and Ariettes with accompaniments, from Operas, Comic Opera and other novelties that are published in Paris. The price for subscription to each journal is of 30 livres.*³¹⁶

³¹⁶ « On s’abonne en tout tems chez les Srs Cousineau Père et fils [...] pour les Feuilles de Terpsichore formant un Journal de Harpe et un de Clavecin, divisés chacun en 52 Nos qui paroissent tous les Lundis et composés d’Overtures, d’Airs arrangés, et d’airs et Ariettes avec accompagnement tirés des Opéra, Opera-comiques et autres nouveautés qui paroissent à Paris. Le Prix de l’abonnement pour chaque Journal est de 30 lt » Jacques-Georges Cousineau, *Méthode de harpe suivie d’un recueil de petits airs de différens auteurs, et d’un instruction touchant la mécanique des harpes anciennes et nouvelles. Œuvre IV* (Paris: Cousineau Père et Fils, 1784), Frontispiece.

This weekly publication thus offered harpists the chance to play the latest fashionable airs that they might have heard in Parisian theatres. The pieces were often transposed for the harp by knowledgeable composers like Boëly or Cousineau fils. The *Feuilles* might have been Cousineau's response to Le Duc's publication from 1782 of a *Journal de Clavecin* and a *Journal de Harpe*. The *Feuilles* appeared to have encountered quite a success, as they were published weekly for fifteen years, until 1799.³¹⁷

Following the death of Georges Cousineau in 1800, his son Jacques Georges continued the family business, and his performances as a harpist. In 1822, he sold the business for 20,000 francs to François Lemoine (1782-1839). The sale counted few instruments and over 2,000 publishing pewter plates, which showed that the publishing business had surpassed instrument-making for the Cousineau name.³¹⁸

Naderman

Jean Henry Naderman also opened a publishing branch within his company, several years after Cousineau. His first publications date from around the beginning of the 1770s, in particular with the publication of the *Huit Divertissements* written for the harp by Meyer in 1771. Akin to Cousineau, Naderman worked regularly with women engravers for the printed music: Mesdames Annereau, Fleury or Oger regularly appeared on the frontispiece of his publications. He expanded his catalogue to the other instruments that he built, offering for example pieces for the guitar. His 1788 catalogue, attached to a harp concerto by Francesco Petrini, presented around ninety publications. By then, he had published pieces for the harp, guitar, cittern, harpsichord, pianoforte, and violin. Scores were cheaper to make and sell than musical instruments, it therefore made sense for him to choose to offer a greater variety, to attract even more customers.³¹⁹ Eight years later, Naderman purchased the stock of music publisher Jean Georges Boyer for 34,000 francs. The firm then occupied the latter's shop in the rue de la Loi, passage de l'Ancien café de Foy, a few hundred metres away from Naderman's original shop. He kept the two stores for a while, before merging them in the rue de la Loi in 1797, and keeping the rue d'Argenteuil as his home.³²⁰

³¹⁷ "Feuilles de Terpsichore," *Dictionnaire des Journaux, 1600-1789*, 2015-2021, accessed 03/05/2022, <https://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0477-feuilles-de-terpsichore>.

³¹⁸ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, 52.

³¹⁹ Pieces published by Naderman cost between 4 and 9 *livres*, when a harp he sold to Madame Victoire in 1772 was worth 750 *livres*.

³²⁰ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, 122-24.

When musicians and instrument makers began publishing music themselves, their wives often took part in the activity. When Jean Henry Naderman died in 1799, his widow, Barbe Rose Courtois, continued his publishing business, while her sons took over the manufacture of harps. It was common for the widows of craftsmen to take over their husbands' businesses; in Paris at the time, after the textile industries, it was the printing and publishing industries that had the most widows.³²¹ It was therefore common to see a widow who was a publisher continue to practise her trade alone for years after her husband's death. For example, Barbe Rose Courtois signed and printed music under her married name, 'Veuve Naderman'. For example, Figure 2-8 shows her signature as 'V^e [Veuve] Naderman' (Naderman widow) on the title page of a piece published in 1799.

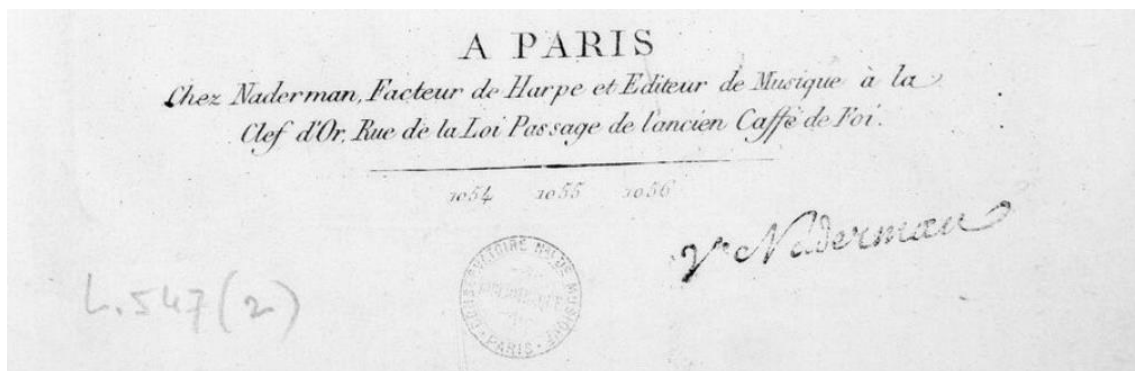


Figure 2-8 – Detail from *Trois Trios pour le forte piano ...* by Amédée Rasett, 1799, showing the signature of Barbe Rose Courtois, widow of Naderman. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

She bought out other publishing companies in order to expand its catalogue of musical works. A few years later, her sons François Joseph and Henri Pascal took over the publishing house. The former made a name for himself as a harpist and composer and began publishing his works with the family publishing house. A much later catalogue, published around 1820, is held by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and is unusual in that it is an isolated publication of several pages, not attached to a score.³²² By that year, the Naderman family had a consequential catalogue, after having purchased stocks from several other publishers. The catalogue consists of fourteen pages of music they published, for several instruments in various genres. From 1825,

³²¹ Janine Lanza, "Les veuves dans les corporations parisiennes au XVIIIe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne & Contemporaine* 56-3, no. 3 (2009): 102.

³²² « Supplément au Catalogue de Naderman, Breveté Facteur de Harpes, Editeur, Md. De Musique du ROI et de S. A. R. Madame Duchesse de Berry, Rue de Richelieu, N °46. À PARIS » VM CAT-334, F-Pn.

the Conservatoire appointed François Joseph as harp teacher, and the publishing business slowed drastically, as the Naderman firms published its final musical piece in 1828.³²³

Erard

Although Barbe Rose Courtois' role only became clear after the death of her husband Jean Henry Naderman, other manufacturers chose to entrust the publishing house to women from the family from the outset. Around 1799, Sébastien and Jean-Baptiste Erard (1749-1826), already recognised as pianoforte and harp makers, opened a branch for music publishing within their firm.³²⁴ The following year, they entrusted the publishing to two of their nieces: Marie Françoise (1777-1851) and Catherine Barbe Marcoux (1779-c. 1815), who from then on traded under the name 'Demoiselles Erard'. The use of Erard's name was part of a clause in the donation of the publishing house by Jean-Baptiste and Sébastien to their nieces.³²⁵ By making sure the publishing house would remain under the family name, even after the nieces' respective marriages, the Erard brothers ensured that a synergy existed within the business. The brothers could sell pianofortes and harps and advise their customers on buying their music from their nieces. Furthermore, the publishing house operated from the same building in the rue du Mail where their uncles had their harp and piano business, at number 37, today the number 13.

The Demoiselles Erard mostly published numerous pieces for the pianoforte and the harp, the two instruments that the Erard firm manufactured. The connections the company had established in the musical world were also reflected in the music they published. For example, the Demoiselles Erard published larger-scale orchestral pieces, such as the comic opera *Le Calife de Bagdad* (1800) by François Adrien Boieldieu (1775-1834), a client of Erard pianos. Like their competitors, the Demoiselles Erard regularly published announcements of new musical works in newspapers, to keep the public informed of their publications.

While the Erards had entrusted a music publishing house to their nieces in Paris, they did not create one in their London premises. The Demoiselles Erard still enjoyed the relationship with London composers that Sébastien had established, as they published many of them in Paris. They established contracts with London composers to publish and sell their music in France, such as the works of Johann Baptist Cramer.³²⁶ The Demoiselles Erard continued to trade for at least three decades, before Catherine Barbe's son, Jules Sébastien Delahante (c.1810-1840) inherited the publishing house around 1835. He passed away five years later, and the firm closed down.

³²³ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, 123.

³²⁴ Adelson *et al.*, *The history of the Erard piano and harp in letters and documents, 1785–1959*, 9.

³²⁵ Devriès and Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, 63.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

London

Although Erard did not create a publishing house in London, other musical instrument makers, published harp music through their business. The Longman & Broderip firm was amongst the most recognised and important of them at the time. Although they did not build pedal harps, as discussed previously, they did publish harp music. They had ties with several foreign publishing houses, allowing them to import or publish foreign music.³²⁷ They imported many pieces for the harp from France, such as the publications by Johann Baptist Krumpholtz. In 1797, Longman & Broderip published a *Selection of Music for the Pedal Harp* which included preludes and compositions from recognised composers over two volumes. The publication included Parisian harpists, like Krumpholtz, Petrini and Hinner, and those who had made a career in London, such as Elouis, and Adélaïde Suzanne Delaval (1763-after 1801).

In both cities, music publishers advertised for their new scores in the press. In 1793 for example, Longman & Broderip placed a notice in *The Times* regarding their new music, including harp sonatas and air with accompaniment for the harp. The firm appeared to have published new music monthly, and placing similar notices regularly, including for pieces published for the harp. The catalogues of music publishers in London began to include harp music from the 1780s, with more and more publishers in the 1790s and 1800s.³²⁸

2.4.3 Characterisation of instruments by the makers

In the early 1780s, there were more than fifteen harp makers in Paris. It was therefore necessary for each of them to differentiate his harps from the others in several ways.

Outside branding

Most harp makers made sure their name appeared on the exterior of the instrument. That way, people who would visit a harp owner, or listen to a chamber concert on a pedal harp would have been able to see where the harp came from. Three different types of exterior signatures are observed on the pedal harps, beginning with iron branding.

³²⁷ Nex, "The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London," 95.

³²⁸ Yu Lee An included in her thesis a Catalogue of Music for Sale between 1780 and 1837, which shows the growth of harp music within publication. The author wishes to thank Ingrid Pearson for sharing this reference. Yu Lee An, "Music Publishing in London from 1780 to 1837 as reflected in Music Publishers' Catalogues of Music for Sale: A Bibliography and Commentary" (University of Canterbury, 2008).

Iron branding

Several harp makers had begun their career either in cabinetmaking, or in lutherie, crafts that both used iron branding. Jean Henry Naderman and Godefroy Holtzman, who both began as cabinetmakers in the Faubourg Saint Antoine, applied their brands to their pedal harps as can be seen in Figure 2-9.



Figure 2-9 - Left: harp by Godefroy Holtzman, GCL, I/36/123. Right: Harp by Jean Henry Naderman, F.NI.pl, D.2019.1.10. Both photos by the author.

The branding was either just the name of the maker, like with Naderman in Figure 1, or it could include the name of the city as well. Georges Cousineau also branded his pedal harps, most often with 'A Paris' added with his name, like in Figure 2-10.



Figure 2-10 – Harp by Georges Cousineau, F.P.cm, E.275. Photo by the author.

Iron branding was the most common method used by harp makers to sign their production, present on more than 30% of the harps surveyed for this study.³²⁹ Brands were often placed in very visible areas, like the neck, or the top of the soundboard. They were found on pedal harps ranging from the early 1760s until the 1820s, from various makers. Out of the sixteen harp makers listed in the *Almanach*, pedal harps from twelve of them were studied here. Seven of them used iron branding on their harps: Georges Cousineau, François Chatelain, Godefroy Holtzman, Pierre Krupp, Jean Louvet, Jean Henry Naderman, and Sébastien Renault. Jean Hermes, who was not listed in the *Almanach* as he was active later, also branded his harps in a similar way.

Painted within the decor

Cousineau and Renault & Chatelain also signed their harps in the decorations. They are among at least four harp makers to have incorporated their names into the soundboard decorations, usually in a phylactery. A phylactery is a ribbon bearing a text, often found in religious representations in European painting. For harps, the phylactery was painted on the harp soundboard and generally contained the name and town.

Phylacteries appear to have been rarer than iron brands, as they were found on harps by at least five makers: Cousineau, Henri Holtzman, Renault & Chatelain, Jean-Baptiste Lejeune, and Jean François Simonin (c.1750-1814). Many harps by Cousineau are decorated with such a phylactery: out of the forty-nine Cousineau harps in the database, fifteen have the signature in a phylactery. Cousineau used this decoration both for himself, and when he partnered with his son, signing ‘Cousineau Père et Fils’. The phylactery also usually included the mention of their position with

³²⁹ Out of the two hundred and forty harps in this study, seventy-three were signed with an iron branding.

the queen as ‘luthiers de la Reine’, as presented in Figure 2-11. The phylactery was most of the time so well-integrated within the ornaments of the soundboard, that it could have been from the same hand that had painted the decorations.



Figure 2-11 - Harp by Cousineau Père et Fils, B.B.mim, inv.246. Photo by the author.

Painted

While the phylactery was a good way of displaying the maker’s name within the decorations, other makers chose to paint their signature more simply on the top of the soundboard, or on the neck. Like with the phylactery, this type of signature included the city, but often with the exact address of the maker, like with the harp by Jean Adam Camis in Figure 2-12. This appears to have been more common towards the end of the eighteenth century. From the 1780s and with the French Revolution, street numbers were generalised in Paris.³³⁰ Makers who added their exact address on their pedal harps were all active towards the end of the century: Jean Adam Camis, a former apprentice of Holtzman who entrusted him his business from 1792; Henry Holtzman, who had received his master’s degree from the guild in 1782; and Pierre Joseph Zimmermann (1749-1805), a harp maker from Westphalia, who was received into the guild in 1781.

³³⁰ Anne Varet Vitu, Mathieu Marraud, and Eric Mermet, "Spatialités sociales à Paris à la veille de la Revolution," *Histoire Urbaine* 58 (2002): 161-62; *ibid.*



Figure 2-12 - Detail of a harp by Jean Adam Camis, F.P.cm, D.AD.2592. Photo by the author.

Engraving

In the early nineteenth century, once the French pedal harp design slowly faded in favour of the Grecian models developed by Erard, makers had to find new ways of signing their instrument, as the phylactery did not fit the design as well.

When these harps were fitted with a *crochets* mechanism and the neck was still made entirely of wood, makers used similar techniques as the ones mentioned: iron branding on the neck or the top of the soundboard or painting on the top of the soundboard. However, when the harp had a fork mechanism, and thus a neck built with wood and copper plates, makers engraved their signature on one of the plates. As the first to use and patent this mechanism, most harps built by the Erard firm are signed this way. The copper plate bore the name, location, serial number. The time was no longer to place royal patronage on the instrument, instead Erard mentioned his patent, as in Figure 2-13.



Figure 2-13 - Detail of a harp by Sebastian Erard, London, 1801. I.M.ts. Photo by the author.

Some years after Erard's patent, once harp makers could fit their harp with his fork mechanism, they applied similar signature to their harp, like the Erard manufactory. In both Paris and London, Erard usually added the mention of his patent on the harp. This would have brought credibility on his mechanism. Like with Cousineau in the eighteenth century, Erard also later added his affiliation with the British royal family.

The inscriptions of the outside of the instrument made sure the harp would not go unnoticed. The visitors of the owner would immediately know who the maker was, and even in some cases his address. The mention of a royal patronage, or of a patent also brought credibility to the instrument, and to its owner. Possessing a harp by the maker if the queen or of the royal family might have been important social credit. On the other hand, the mention of the patent could be linked to the owner's interest in industry and manufacturing, or that they owned state of the art items.

Inside Branding

Labels

Makers, particularly those in eighteenth-century Paris, also placed labels on the inside of the instrument. The marketing is less obvious there, but the labels all give important information on the instrument and on its maker. At least four makers regularly placed labels inside of their pedal harps: Godefroy Holtzman; Jean Louvet; Jean Henry Naderman; and Renault & Chatelain. All four also signed their instrument on the outside as presented above. In most cases, the label offered more space for the maker to write his detailed address. As street numbers were not yet generalised in Paris before the late eighteenth century, addresses could be quite long, like for Holtzman for example:

*[...] resides on the grande rue du Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, at a Wine Merchant, at the Roi de Siam ; close to that of Saint Nicolas, second floor [...]*³³¹

The other three makers used their labels to write the date the instrument was built. As the labels were placed within the instrument, they would have only been seen by a luthier or mechanic that would overhaul the instrument. Knowing the date would have thus been useful to maybe be sure of how the mechanism functioned. In some instances, Naderman even specified the month the harp was built. In Figure 7, the label also has '17' printed, so that the workmen could just add the decade and the year.

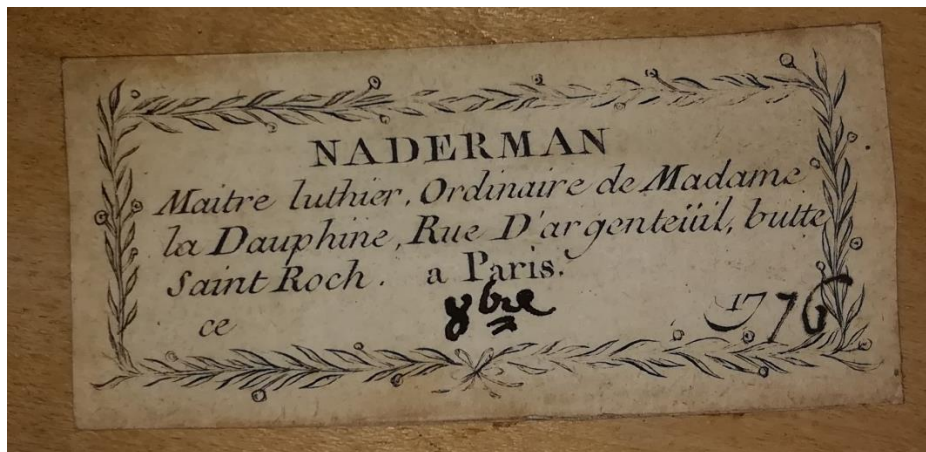


Figure 2-14 - Label of a harp by Jean Henry Naderman, 1776. F.P.cm. Photo by the author.

³³¹ « [...] demeure dans la grande rue du Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, chez un Marchand de Vin, au Roi de Siam, près celle de Saint Nicolas, au second [...] » Label found on at least six harps signed by Godefroy Holtzman between 1770 and 1785.

The label in Figure 2-14 also bears the mention of Naderman's position with Marie Antoinette: '*Ordinaire de Madame la Dauphine*', which was the title she wore before becoming queen in 1776. A number of harps dated from a couple of years after the crowning of Louis XVI in 1774 still had a label with the mention of the Dauphine. It is possible that Naderman had printed a number of them and used them even when the title was no longer relevant. All the Naderman harps studied for this research dating from the 1780s had updated labels, with the mention of '*ordinaire du service de la Reine*' as in Figure 2-15. The title of '*Ordinaire*' of the king or the queen meant that the sovereign might place their orders with them, but maybe not exclusively. The maker did not receive financial retribution for this, apart from invoices, and was in return allowed to boast his title on his production, which Naderman did.³³²



Figure 2-15 - Label of a harp by Jean Henry Naderman, 1784. PC. Photo by the author.

Signature inside of the instrument

Similar to labels, makers sometimes chose to add their signature inside of the instrument. The purpose remains unclear, it potentially would have helped with the maintenance of the instrument when the label or signature was placed in one of the mobile parts of the harp, like the mechanism cover or the base. However at least one maker, Godefroy Holtzman, signed his name, often with a date of production on the inside of the soundbox. Out of ten instruments studied in person, six had a signature on the staves inside the instrument. This signature is difficult to observe, as one need to place a lamp on one of the openings on the soundboard, while observing through another hole if the signature is present, an example is shown in Figure 2-16. In the case of at least two of these harps, an endoscope was used to have a better view of the writing.

³³² Gétreau, "Les faiseurs d'instruments du roi", 185-90.



Figure 2-16 – View of the signature on a harp by Godefroy Holtzman, B.B.mim, inv.3916. Photo by the author.

After discovering this practice, the following surveyed harps were all observed with this angle. In one instance, this has helped to identify a previously anonymous harp. For other harps, confirmation was found of the maker, either through the signature, or through a label placed inside the harp.

Harp makers used a number of ways to sign their instrument, and to make sure people who saw their harp knew who they were and where they sold harps. It was also an important vehicle for a maker's success, whether it be with the crown, or with receiving patents for their inventions. While labels and ornaments painting might have been an important expense that not all harp makers could afford, the majority of them used iron branding or simple painting to still sign their harps. The external engraving is the only that is concentrated towards the end of the period of this study, as it was only made possible on harps built with copper plates from the late 1790s. Apart from this, all makers used at least one of the aforementioned methods, without distinction of periods. It should be noted that a number of harps from the eighteenth century remain unsigned, representing about 10% of all harps studied for this research.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has highlighted the careers of several harp makers, as well as their common characteristics. Criteria like the origin or the religion were important factors in the makers' lives. Established harp makers often selected to stay in the neighbourhoods around concert venues, or close to aristocratic boroughs, where they knew their prospective customers resided. In their beginnings, particularly in Paris, as several of them arrived from abroad, they had to choose amongst the areas exempted from industry regulations, most of them landing in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. The Faubourg represented a hub of crafts at the time, and this chapter has shown how harp making intertwined with wood crafts and other artisanal trades of the neighbourhood. Harp makers were also members of several communities, whether it's German or Protestant in Paris, or French in London. Their affiliation led them to bond with other members of said communities, to create a secure clientele and support system for their business as well. Through their personal and professional networks, harp makers can manufacture instruments with qualified workers, and sell them to customers. For them to ensure visibility, some resorted to newspapers to place advertisements and make the public aware of their production. Furthermore, each maker chose defining characteristics for their harps, to remain unique, as the number of harp makers rose. Overall, between 1750 and 1810, this study has found evidence of about thirty harp makers established either in Paris or in London – around 13% of these in London, and the other 87% in Paris.

In Paris, harp makers had to comply with the regulations of the musical instrument makers' guild, that had been established for centuries when the pedal harp came to Paris. The system for entering the guild through an apprenticeship or as a son of master remained quite archaic, as revolutionary criticism pointed out. It also left out many parts of the population, like foreigners, who thus had to establish their own networks in order to sustain their business.

On the other hand, it seems that London was moving towards industrialisation. As we shall see in the next chapter, England had long had a system of invention that attracted musical instrument makers. Pedal harp production moved to London at a time of flourishing mechanical innovation, following the patenting of James Watt's steam engine and Richard Arkwright's spinning frame in 1769. With the growing importance of engineering in the city and the patent system, London was fertile ground for the renewal of the harp-making industry. The scale of production and the number of workers were far greater than in the workshops of Paris. All these factors led to the industrialisation of pedal harp making in nineteenth-century London.

Chapter 3 Seeking New Possibilities

The Parisian harp makers had adopted the idea of the Bavarian harp system: the pedals trigger a mechanism inside the instrument, which sets the action in motion and thus increases the tension of the strings. The French harps were now mounted with a *crochets* system, rather than the rotating crutches used in the harps designed by Hochbrucker. The *crochets* imitate the musician's finger on the neck of a lute or violin, pulling the strings against a fixed nut. This made it possible to shorten the vibrating length by increasing the pitch of the note played by a semitone. The seven pedals, one for each note of the scale, were placed at the bottom of the instrument with three on the left side: B, C, and D; and four on the right side: E, F, G, and A.

While the pedal mechanism expanded the range of notes a harp could play, it only raised the pitch by one semitone, restricting the number of keys available. Musicians had to decide on how to tune the harp in order to access certain notes. In the 1760s and 1770s, it was advised that the pedal harp should be tuned either in B-flat major or in E-flat major, depending on the music the instrument had to play.

		Tuned in B \flat major							Tuned in E \flat major						
		D	C	B	E	F	G	A	D	C	B	E	F	G	A
Pedal	Neutral	\natural	\natural	\flat	\flat	\natural	\natural	\natural	\natural	\natural	\flat	\flat	\natural	\natural	\flat
	pressed	\sharp	\sharp	\natural	\natural	\sharp	\sharp	\sharp	\sharp	\sharp	\natural	\natural	\sharp	\sharp	\natural

Figure 3-1 - Comparison of the tuning of single-action pedal harps in B \flat major or in E \flat major.

As can be seen in Figure 3-1, the main difference between the two is the tuning of the A strings. To avoid retuning the harp depending on the tone to be played, most treatises of the time suggested the enharmonic substitution of chromatic notes. For example, a B flat for an A sharp, or a C sharp instead of a D flat. However, the first methods published between the 1760s and mid-1770s advised on both tunings. At a time when music theory had seen a large amount of research carried out, the search for more tonalities to use was at the heart of the preoccupations of music theoreticians.³³³ The *crochets* action expanded the tonal possibilities of the harp. While chromatic modulations were made easier by the addition of the pedal mechanism, some

³³³ Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and musical thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 173.

were not fluent enough because of the action's limitations. These might have been frustrating for musicians, although this was not expressed in the press.

By the 1780s, the pedal harp had made its mark on concerts in Paris and London. The craze for this new instrument was accompanied by a number of questions and concerns on the part of musicians and harp makers. These questions concerned the instrument's tonal capabilities, as well as the efficiency of the mechanism. Harp makers began to look for solutions, some building different types of mechanism, others proposing new ways of modulating the sound. At the time, there was a growing demand for expressiveness in music, as demonstrated by the success of the pianoforte, an instrument characterised by its ability to produce nuances. Makers therefore sought to make existing instruments more expressive. Using their own networks and existing institutions, harp makers began to introduce new elements into the instrument.

The first section of this chapter discusses the institutions that governed inventions in London and Paris, which harp makers used to legitimise and disseminate their innovations. Parisian makers were the first to introduce innovations, as they had been manufacturing pedal harps for two decades at this point. The second section of this chapter discusses the first transformations introduced in Paris in the late eighteenth century. Centred around the figures of two makers, Cousineau and Naderman, this section looks at each of their innovations, how they were introduced, and their impact. The third section discusses the pedal harp innovations in London, where harp makers took advantage of the available institutional framework. Prior to producing their own instruments, many sold imported French pedal harps, that they sometimes imitated. The final section of this chapter examines the case of the Erard firm, established in both Paris and London, which led the way with harp-related patents in both cities. The numerous company archives are studied to highlight the profile of the clientele of the first patented pedal harps. The company patented the double-action pedal harp in 1810 in London and 1811 in Paris, which is still in use today. This chapter shows that this last form of the pedal harp is the result of all the transformations that happened prior.

3.1 Institutions for inventions

3.1.1 British Patents

By the time the pedal harp made its appearance in London concerts, England had a well-established system for protecting inventions: patents. Although in place in England since at least the mid-sixteenth century, this system remained haphazard and undemanding until 1852. Before that date, patent holders had to submit an application to the Crown, describing the nature of their innovation, including its social and economic benefits. The application then went through all the red tape before the Lord Chancellor registered the patent on a roll and sealed it, granting a fourteen-year monopoly on the invention. However, at no point during the procedure was the novelty and viability of the patent examined. It was proposed on several occasions that members of the Royal Society should examine potential patents, as the Académie des Sciences did in France, but none of these attempts succeeded. The novelty of the invention was based solely on the confidence of the patent holder, because it was thought that if he failed, he would be the only loser. This is why historians use patents with caution, since they do not accurately measure industrial innovation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³³⁴

Nevertheless, patents grew in importance in the eighteenth century. From the 1700s onwards, patent applicants had to produce specifications of their inventions within two to four months of the patent being sealed. In addition, patentees had to declare on oath that their invention was new and not yet in use in England. In fact, responsibility for checking the degree of novelty was left to the judiciary: if a patent was infringed, the patent holder could sue the opposing patent. Although requested, the specifications, drawings and technical descriptions, were only used in the affirmation of the patent and not in its attribution. Specifications thus became an instrument for courts in the case of disputes regarding a monopoly on an invention.³³⁵ Sometimes, inventors linked with the patent officers to be informed if anyone attempted to apply for a similar patent.³³⁶

³³⁴ Later in the nineteenth century, governments allowed for easier granting of patents and removing the state's responsibility. For example, the *Sans Garantie du Gouvernement* patents, granted by the French government from 1844, left the inventor as the sole responsible in case his invention breached any other patent. See Gabriel Galvez-Behar, "L'État et les brevets d'invention (1791-1922): une relation embarrassée," in *Concurrence et marchés: droit et institutions du Moyen Age à nos jours* (Paris, France: Comité d'histoire économique et financière de la France, 2009).

³³⁵ Christine MacLeod, *Inventing the Industrial Revolution: the English patent system, 1660-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 40-48.

³³⁶ Harp maker Pierre Erard used such methods in the 1810s. See Adelson *et al.*, *The history of the Erard piano and harp in letters and documents, 1785-1959*, 948-77.

When it was the case, they could either lobby the Patent Office, purchase the rights of the patent to the applicant, or oppose them in court, which was often the more expensive option.

Overall, patents were an expensive endeavour. For a monopoly just in England, the application cost a hundred pounds, and for England, Scotland and Ireland, the applicant had to pay three hundred and fifty pounds. As comparison, in the 1790s, a skilled labourer in a manufacture would have earned around forty pounds annually. In many cases, an inventor could ask a manufacturer to finance its application, even though that meant sharing the *secrecy* of his invention.³³⁷

3.1.2 Académie Royale des Sciences

During the Old Regime, the monarchical regime ended by the French Revolution, inventors could introduce their creation to the Académie des Sciences. Formed by an assembly of learned men, innovators sought the Académie's seal of approval, as it was favourable in the commercial success of any invention. Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), the finance minister of King Louis XIV (1638-1715), had founded the Académie in 1666 to protect and stimulate scientific research. The Académie advised the king on matters of industry, agriculture, and public health.³³⁸ Its members were respected, and the public requested their opinion and knowledge. Indirectly, gaining the assent of the Académie was likened to receiving the assent of the king. As it encouraged innovations and scientific development, it welcomed presentations of new objects or of new production processes. By the eighteenth century, the Académie funnelled relevant technological projects to wider society.³³⁹ The members deliberated on the novelty and the use of each creation showcased. Once they had endorsed it, they awarded the inventor a certificate, that allowed him to market his innovation with the support of the Académie.³⁴⁰

Over the course of its history, the Académie des Sciences received several innovations related to musical instruments, including two displays of pedal harp-related innovations in the 1780s, discussed in section 3.2. Georges Cousineau introduced the first harp innovation in 1782, and harpist Johann Baptist Krumpholtz presented the second in 1787, presenting a harp he built with Jean Henry Naderman.

³³⁷ Christine MacLeod, "The Paradoxes of Patenting: Invention and Its Diffusion in 18th- and 19th-Century Britain, France, and North America," *Technology and Culture* 32, no. 4 (1991): 893.

³³⁸ Christiane Demeulenaere-Douyère, "L'académie des sciences des origines au milieu du XXe siècle" in *Histoire des cinq académies* (Paris Perrin, 1995), 213.

³³⁹ Roger Hahn, *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution. The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666-1803* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), 66.

³⁴⁰ Pérez, "Invention, politique et société en France dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle", 53-55.

3.1.3 Brevets

As most royal institutions, the Académie des Sciences was disbanded during the French Revolution, leaving space for a new administration of inventions. Before its demise in 1793, the Académie continued to serve its purpose, notably in the establishment of the new metric system.³⁴¹ Even before the dissolution, its members and some political figures had begun to think about how to move the protection of inventions from a royal prerogative to a tool for industrial and capitalist competition.³⁴² In the summer of 1790, several *artistes-inventeurs*, as they called themselves, gathered to create the Société des Inventions et Découvertes, with the goal to defend their rights and ownership over their inventions.³⁴³ *Artistes-inventeurs* introduced their ideas to the newly elected Assemblée Nationale, who responded by asking Stanislas de Boufflers (1738-1815), former academician, and member of the agriculture and commerce committee, to write a report on the matter.

Borrowing a metaphor from the philosopher Denis Diderot, De Boufflers claimed that ‘if one true property exists for a man, it is that of his thought’.³⁴⁴ With this sentence, De Boufflers highlighted what protection meant for the inventors, and how important it was to give them their natural right to their invention. After a first vote in January of 1791, Boufflers’ proposal was enacted as a law on 25 May 1791, establishing a patent system. From 1792, the patent office was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministère de l’Intérieur, which included them in the promotion of national industry.³⁴⁵ Inventors could apply for a patent for five, ten, or fifteen years, during which they had the monopoly on his creation and its commercialisation.³⁴⁶ The report also suggested that examination of an invention’s novelty was arbitrary, as the public and the market were ultimately determining the value of an invention. Similarly with British patents, the responsibility of originality and novelty was left in the hands of judicial courts.³⁴⁷ Even so, applicants had to provide the patent office with drawings and technical description within their petition; as in Britain, these specifications could prove useful to courts in the case of litigation. Any technical specifications submitted remained under the secrecy of the office, until in 1798 it was decided that once the patent had reached its term, the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers

³⁴¹ Demeulenaere-Douyère, "L’académie des sciences des origines au milieu du XXe siècle", 214-15.

³⁴² MacLeod, "The Paradoxes of Patenting: Invention and Its Diffusion in 18th- and 19th-Century Britain, France, and North America", 888.

³⁴³ Christiane Demeulenaere-Douyère, "Inventeurs en Révolution: la Société des inventions et découvertes," *Documents pour l’histoire des techniques* 17 (2009): 19-20.

³⁴⁴ « s’il existe une véritable propriété pour un homme, c’est sa pensée. » Galvez-Behar, "L’État et les brevets d’invention (1791-1922): une relation embarrassée," 3.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁴⁶ Marchal, "Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles. Évolution des protections de propriété industrielle au XIXe siècle en France", 107.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.

would publish the specifications and the patent. In the early years of the *brevets*, the harp and the pianoforte, were very much fashionable and were the most patented musical instruments.³⁴⁸ Between the inception of the *brevets* system and 1811, seven harp-related patents were granted, either to Erard Frères, or to Cousineau Père et Fils.

³⁴⁸ For description of patents related to musical instruments between 1800 and 1830 see Ingrid J. Sykes, "Les produits de l'acoustique. Les brevets de musique (1800-1830)," *Les archives de l'invention: Écrits, objets et images de l'activité inventive* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 2006).

3.2 Pedal harp innovations in Paris

3.2.1 Reception of the pedal harp in Paris

As newspapers reported on Parisian concerts, harp performances were commented, either on the musician's talents or on the instrument itself. Publications announced performances in the days preceding the event and printed their reports on it in the following days.³⁴⁹ The latter was typically a short account of the performance, with most often only the mention of musicians. One of the qualities most often praised in harpists was their capacity to perform loud and full notes.

*M. Mayer made the harp sound louder and fuller than what this instrument usually does.*³⁵⁰

Reports in the press commonly remarked on how quiet the harp sounded during concerts. After a recital by Hochbrucker in April of 1760, for example, the *Mercure de France* claimed that the audience 'only wished to hear him on a louder instrument'.³⁵¹ However in 1770, following a concert by the young Philippe Joseph Hinner, the *Avant-Coureur* praised his skills for demonstrating how to 'vary the nuances of sound' on the harp.

The sound of the pedal harp was not very strong, and only a few virtuosos seem to have been noticed for their ability to draw full sounds from the instrument at the Concert Spirituel. The Concert Spirituel was performed in the Salle des Cent Suisses in the Tuileries Palace. Measuring eighteen by sixteen metres, with a stage set at a height of about one metre and eighty centimetres, it was a grandiose hall. Some people thought it was too big for softer instruments, not least because the space could drown out the high notes.³⁵² For example, a concert review in September 1779 lamented about the place of the harp in such a big venue:

*But the harp, chamber instrument, always moved to a vast enclosure, wrongly assisted the knowledge & good will of the one who had its part.*³⁵³

³⁴⁹ Vernet, "Approche du discours musical de l'avant-coureur 1760-1773", 47.

³⁵⁰ « M. Mayer a fait entendre sur la harpe des sons plus forts & plus pleins que n'en produit ordinairement cet instrument. » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, April 1762, 189.

³⁵¹ « On a désiré seulement l'entendre sur un instrument plus fort ». *Ibid*, April 1760, 207.

³⁵² Hertz, "The Concert Spirituel in the Tuileries Palace", 242-45.

³⁵³ « Mais la harpe, instrument de chambre, toujours déplacé dans une vaste enceinte, seconda mal le savoir & la bonne volonté de celui qui avoit cette partie. » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, September 1779, 118.

3.2.2 Cousineau Père et Fils

The Béquilles mechanism

Mechanism

Harp maker Georges Cousineau was the first to introduce a solution to the limitations of the *crochets* mechanism in 1782. To address this issue, he chose to develop a new action to alter the strings: the *béquilles*. For each string, two crutches, placed on each side of the string, rotated in opposite directions to pinch it in place when the musician pushed the pedal, as shown in Figure 3-2. This action derives from the earliest crutches used on Hochbrucker harps, and from the manual hooks previously employed on harps.

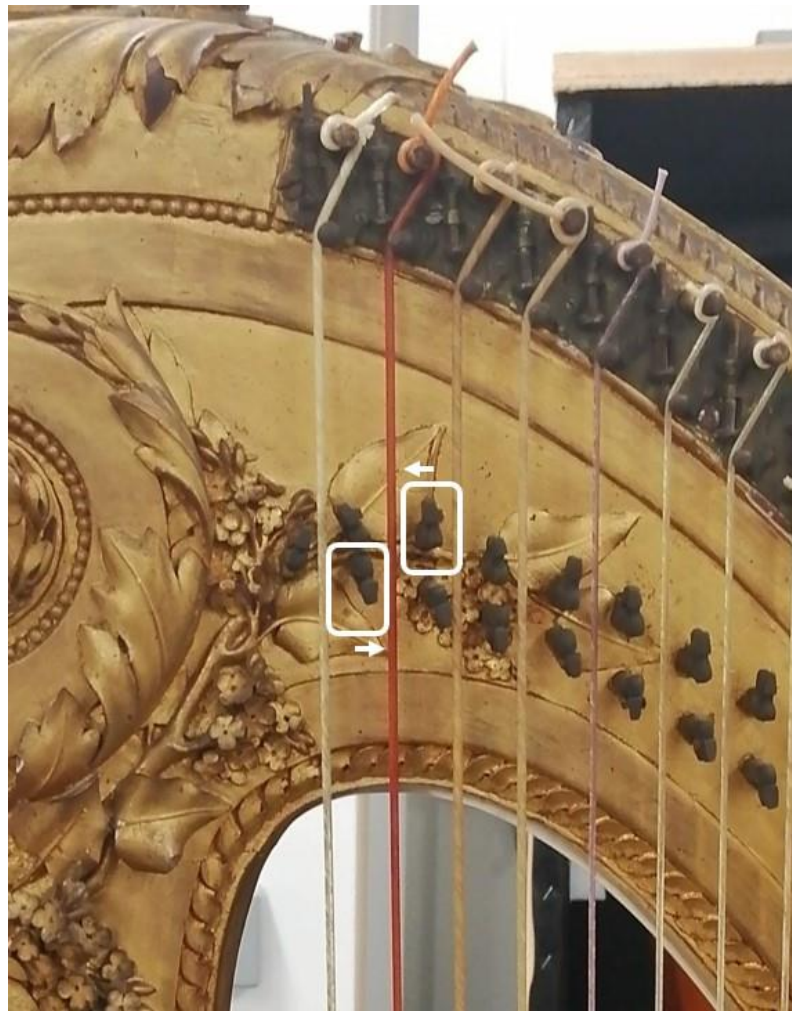


Figure 3-2 – Detail of the béquilles. Harp by Cousineau Père et Fils, GB.L.cm, RCM 199. Photo by the author.

Unlike the *crochets*, the *béquilles* locked the strings in place, rather than pressing them against a pin. With previous mechanism, the strings were no longer evenly aligned with the others, which the *béquilles* prevented. The Hochbrucker's crutches pushed the strings against a pin laterally and thus brought them closer to the neighbouring ones. With *crochets*, strings remained equally spaced, but as the action pulled them towards the neck, they were no longer on the same plan as the others. The tension of the strings also caused the misshaping of the neck over time, which rendered the use of *crochets* difficult in that case. Cousineau's *béquilles* presented a solution to these issues of misplacement.

Cousineau further chose to double the mechanism on the neck: each string had two pairs of *béquilles* to modulate it, therefore achieving to play more tonalities on the pedal harp. To set off this action, Cousineau added a second rank of pedals, totalling fourteen pedals on this harp, as can be seen in Figure 3-3.

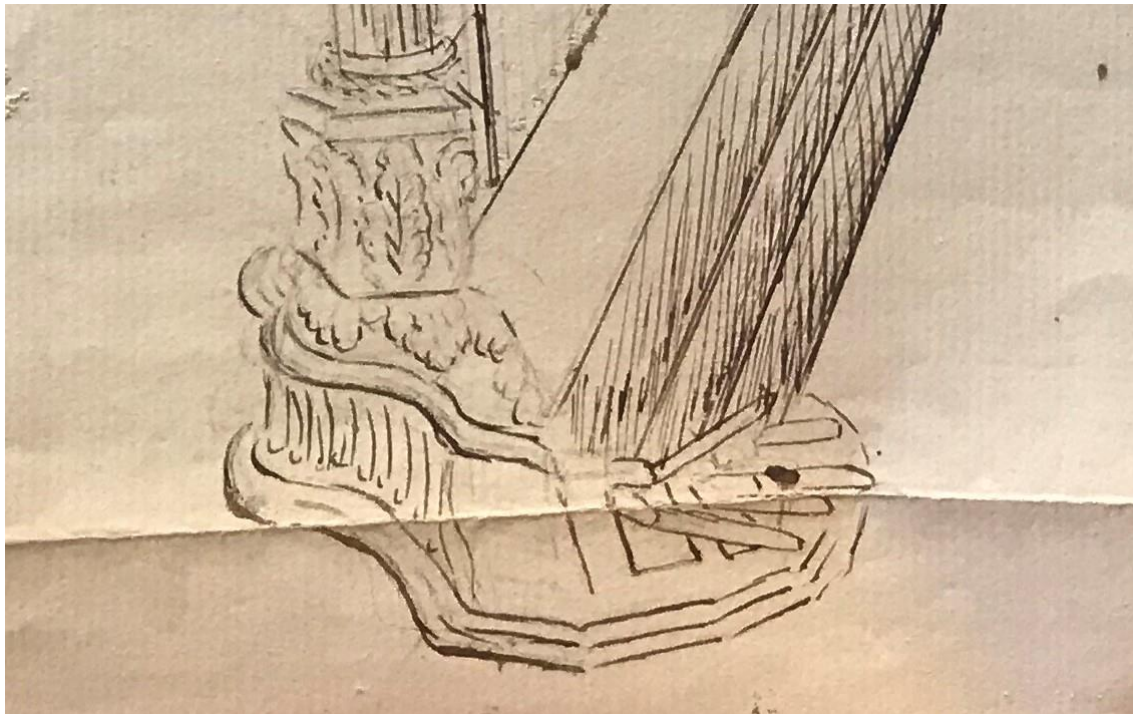


Figure 3-3 – Detail of the double pedals used in Cousineau's 1782 new harp mechanism. Drawing by Georges Cousineau, Pochette séance du 19 janvier 1782, ADS. Photo by the author.

The top row of pedals, designed shorter than the bottom ones for easier access to them, activated the top set of *béquilles*, thereby modulating the strings towards natural. The second row of pedals then set the second set of *béquilles* in motion, now shifting the strings to sharp. With this second row of mechanism, each string could now be raised by two consecutive semitones, thus allowing all modulations and tonalities to be played.

Cousineau's *béquilles* showed that other ways of producing semitones on a pedal harp were possible. However, to this day only one harp with fourteen pedals appears to have survived,³⁵⁴ while another surviving instrument by Cousineau with the same system has nine pedals, where only the D and A had a second pedal.³⁵⁵ In his treatise, Jacques Georges expressed that they had built harps with nine pedals like this one, ten pedals where the G was also double, and fourteen pedals. Conversely, Cousineau produced a great number of harps fitted with the *béquilles* action, as is evident by the number of surviving pedal harps with this mechanism³⁵⁶

In order to obtain validation of the value of his invention, Georges Cousineau presented his new pedal harp to the Académie des Sciences.

Presentation to the Académie

During the Académie des Sciences' session on Saturday 19 January 1782, Georges Cousineau presented a 'harp with several additions of his invention'.³⁵⁷ The assembly appointed two of its members as rapporteurs: mathematician Jean-Baptiste Bochart de Saron, the Académie's vice-president at the time, and mathematician and music theorist Alexandre Théophile Vandermonde (1735-1796).³⁵⁸ For his presentation, Cousineau submitted a set of drawings to the Académie, (Figure 3-4). For the Académie to assess the introduced invention, the institution demanded that the inventor provided a description of his creation, along with a drawing, and in some cases a scale model.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁴ See Adelson, Roudier, and Duvernay, "Rediscovering Cousineau's Fourteen-Pedal Harp".

³⁵⁵ This harp appears to have been owned by Madame Élisabeth, sister of King Louis XVI. The author thanks Mme Cécile Coutin pour les informations sur cette harpe. *Madame Élisabeth : une princesse au destin tragique, 1764-1794*, 174.

³⁵⁶ Out of forty-nine pedal harps by Cousineau in this study's database, twenty were fitted with the *béquilles*.

³⁵⁷ « M. Cousineau a présenté une harpe avec plusieurs additions de son invention » Procès-verbaux des séances de l'Académie des Sciences, Tome 101, 1782, Folio 7 verso, ADS.

³⁵⁸ Gilbert Faccarello, "Du conservatoire à l'École Normale: quelques notes sur AT Vandermonde (1735–1796)," *Cahiers d'Histoire du CNAM* 2, no. 3 (1993): 4.

³⁵⁹ Hahn, *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution. The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666-1803*, 67-68.

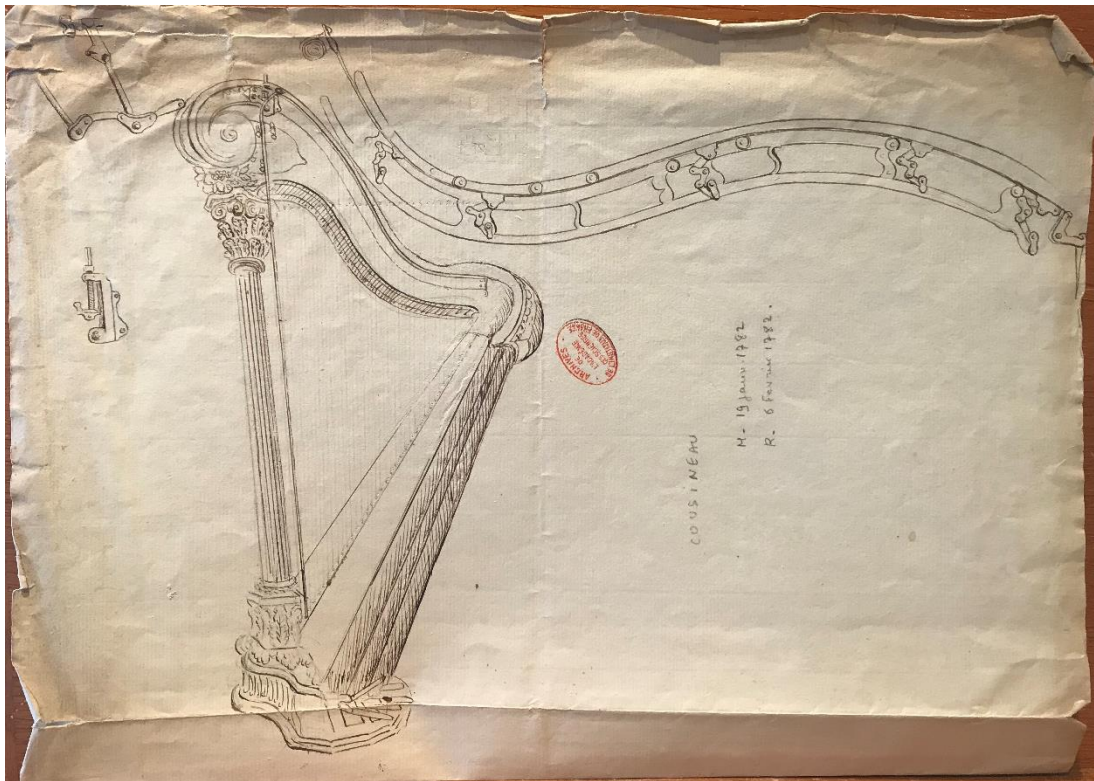


Figure 3-4 - Drawings of Cousineau's addition submitted to the Académie des Sciences. Pochette de la séance du 19 janvier 1782, ADS. Photo by the author.

The illustration detailed his additions to the harp, which included the *béquilles* mechanism, mobile action pins, and the doubling of the apparatus to play three tones on each string. Two weeks after Cousineau's presentation, the rapporteurs, helped by Academician Claude Louis Berthollet (1748-1822), submitted their extensive report to the institution. A couple of years before, Berthollet had married harpist Marie Marguerite Baur.³⁶⁰ His brother-in-law, Barthélémy Baur (1751-1823), had published pieces for the harp with Georges Cousineau. Berthollet's links with the Baur family might have informed him on the issues of harp-playing.

The rapporteurs recognised that Cousineau's advances demonstrated a musical theory deferring the minor and major semitones. However, they wanted to see in practice 'the readiness of masters to take advantage of it or not'. Teachers were indeed crucial in the adoption of any musical instrument innovation. Once the masters adopted it, they were able to teach it to students, who would then play it in public, thus teachers helped to legitimise inventions. The reference to the need to test the 'readiness' might have implied that the Académie acknowledged the difficulty musicians might have with the fourteen-pedal harp.

³⁶⁰ Mariage, 5 January 1779, MC ET XLVI 472, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

Although the particulars of how the presentation went, for example, if Cousineau performed pieces on the harp, remain unknown, the report informed on the conclusions of the Académie on Cousineau's harp:

*Based on this presentation, we believe that the means offered by Mr. Cousineau to perfect the Harp deserve the approval of the Académie.*³⁶¹

Cousineau subsequently used this approval as a way to market his harps in French newspapers.

Béquilles in the press

*Mr Cousineau, luthier by decree of the Queen and of Madame, Comtesse d'Artois, rue des Poulies, across from the Louvre's colonnade, has just perfected the harp with several actions of his inventions that he has adapted for it.*³⁶²

After approval from the Académie des Sciences, Cousineau had to make his new harp and its advantages known to the public. In the general and musical journals of the time, he published reviews of the instrument. A month after the presentation to the Académie, the *Journal de Paris* published a long article on Cousineau's new harp, describing all the advantages of the new mechanism over the one usually found on pedal harps.

Almost two months after the Académie, Cousineau also presented his harp to the literary society, the *Correspondance générale pour les Sciences et les Arts*. Learned societies offered at the time a counter-power to the Académie Royale des Sciences, and became more numerous as the Enlightenment swept over the country.³⁶³ Founded in 1777, this society was comprised of a weekly assembly of scholars, artists and amateurs, a weekly newspaper, the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts*, and of a central office for exchanges with scholars.³⁶⁴ All were welcome to introduce their creation at this salon, where attendants could observe books,

³⁶¹ « Nous croyons que les moyens proposés par M. Cousineau pour perfectionner la Harpe méritent l'approbation de l'Académie. » Rapport daté du 6 février 1782, Pochette de la séance du 19 janvier 1782, ADS.

³⁶² « Le Sr Cousineau, Luthier Breveté de la Reine & de Madame, Comtesse d'Artois, rue des Poulies, en face de la colonnade du Louvre, vient de perfectionner la Harpe au moyen de différentes mécaniques de son invention qu'il y a adaptées. » *Journal de Paris*, (Paris). 24th February 1782, 1.

³⁶³ Simone Mazauric, "Sciences et société au siècle des Lumières" in *Histoire des sciences à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2009), 250-56.

³⁶⁴ Charlotte Guichard, "Hors l'Académie, les amateurs et les expositions artistiques publiques à Paris : le Musée de Pahin de la Blancherie (1777-1788)," in *La Ville et l'Esprit de Société*, ed. Katia Béguin and Olivier Dautresme (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2004), 41.

paintings, mechanisms, natural history items, sculptures, etc.³⁶⁵ While this salon gained an important reputation for artistic exhibitions, it also regularly welcomed musical instruments in its exhibits. As a society of scholars, it particularly welcomed innovations in all fields, including musical instruments. During assembly on 7 March, Cousineau introduced his new harp to the members of the society and to the amateurs also present. The harp was not only exhibited, as Jacques Georges Cousineau also demonstrated music on the instrument. On the following assembly, on 14 March, Jacques Georges played again:

*We heard with great pleasure M. Cousineau the son, supporting [the harp's] charm with his talent.*³⁶⁶

The articles in the *Journal de Paris*, the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts* and the *Mercure de France* all praised the new invention, particularly because the Académie had 'honoured with its approbation the artist's work'.³⁶⁷

In Cousineau's submission to the Académie, he had handed an extract from an essay by Abbot Pierre Joseph Roussier (1716-1792). At the time, Roussier was a recognised expert in music theory and history, as he is characterised in the *Mercure* as 'the most skilful theoretician in Europe on matters of ancient and modern music'.³⁶⁸ Receiving the support of Roussier must have helped Cousineau's case with both the Académie and the cultural elite. The latter came to know this essay as the *Mercure de France* published an extract in March 1782.³⁶⁹ The *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts* also quoted Roussier as the inspiration for their article on Cousineau.³⁷⁰ This essay legitimised Cousineau's double-action mechanism as the only one to guarantee that the harp could play in all possible keys. According to Roussier, the main advantage of this new harp over the 'absurd system' of *crotchets* was the possibility of playing major and minor semitones, instead of the 'neutral' semitone accepted in the single-action system. Roussier's mention of 'neutral' semitones most likely refers to the assumed enharmonic equivalence of the single-action mechanism. In this system, it was assumed that, for example, a C sharp was the same pitch as a D flat. Cousineau's new fourteen-pedal harp was thus able to play sharps and flats separately, playing both major and minor semitones. With these new possibilities, the pedal harp

³⁶⁵ Patrick Michel, *Le Commerce du tableau à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2008), 155.

³⁶⁶ « On a entendu avec grand plaisir M. Cousineau le fils, en seconder le charme par son talent. » *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts*, (Paris). 20 March 1782.

³⁶⁷ « l'Académie a honoré de son approbation le travail de l'Artiste ». *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, March 1782, 42.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.* March 1782, 43.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.* March 1782, 42-47.

³⁷⁰ *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts*, 13 March 1782, 87.

became the only instrument, according to Roussier, to realise the principles of the 'Moderns', which the harpsichord and the single-action pedal harp could not.

While Roussier cites the advantages of this new instrument, there is no evidence that the temperament issue he mentions was Cousineau's main objective.³⁷¹ His fourteen-pedal harp was intended to provide a more fluid modulation, allowing for easier playing, without having to consider enharmonic equivalents as was the case on single-action pedal harps.³⁷²

The *Journal de Paris* article chose instead to focus on the approval by the Académie, citing the 'very extended report of Messrs the President de Saron, Bertholet & Vandermonde'.³⁷³ Both the *Journal de Paris* and the *Mercure de France* mentioned possible counterfeits of this harp:

*Efforts are already being made to imitate them, but the enlightened public will always prefer to obtain them from the Inventor.*³⁷⁴

The copying of their harps signified that there was a need for such an instrument on the Parisian market, while Cousineau's research interested other makers as well.³⁷⁵ Overall, all three articles stressed the long and strenuous research conducted by Georges Cousineau to achieve his new action. This was strengthened some two years later, when his son, Jacques Georges Cousineau, published his *Méthode de Harpe*, within which he discussed the advantages of the 'harps with new mechanism'. Jacques Georges wrote that his father perfected his *béquilles* action after 'fifteen years of labour and care'.³⁷⁶

Although Cousineau engaged in an extensive campaign to market his new harps, the approval of Roussier and the Académie did not seem to have convinced the public. Indeed, Cousineau did not produce the harp with fourteen pedals in large numbers. The pedal harp had free rein when it

³⁷¹ To this day, it remains unclear whether Roussier had access to Cousineau's research and intentions prior to the introduction to the public, or if he was only commenting on the achievements of the instrument.

³⁷² The search for easier and fluent modulation was at the heart of several musical instruments innovations at the time, evidenced in the early nineteenth century with Heinrich Stölzel's valves and Iwan Müller's clarinet keys.

³⁷³ « d'après un rapport très étendu de Mrs le Président de Saron, Bertholet & Vandermonde ». *Journal de Paris*, 24 February 1782, 217.

³⁷⁴ « On s'efforce déjà à les imiter, mais le public éclairé préférera toujours de se les procurer chez l'Inventeur. » *ibid.* 24 February 1782, 218.

³⁷⁵ These articles are the only mention found of imitations of the *béquilles* mechanism. To this day no surviving harps imitating Cousineau's mechanism has been found from that time.

³⁷⁶ There are no surviving archives from the Cousineau workshop known to the public today, therefore these mentions are the only ones of the work and research done for this mechanism.

« le Sieur Cousineau après quinze ans de peines et de soins jouit enfin du fruit de son travail... » Cousineau, *Méthode de harpe suivie d'un recueil de petits airs de différens auteurs, et d'un instruction touchant la mécanique des harpes anciennes et nouvelles. Œuvre IV.*

was introduced in France in 1749, as it filled a vacant space in music. By 1782, the pedal harp with *crochets* had already been in use for thirty or so years, and inventions on the instruments encroached on a pre-existing practice of the harp, making it difficult for them to succeed. As the pedal harp had become prominent on the 1780s French musical landscape, the competition became fiercer among harp makers and Cousineau was not the only maker attempting to stand out.

The Echo

Press

On 19 November 1787, the *Journal de Paris* published a notice about a new harp built by the Cousineaus:

*The Cousineaus, father and son [...] have just adapted to harps with new mechanism, a pedal whose effect is to double the sound, & with which one can make crescendos at will [...] It is with a harp of this construction that Mr Cousineau son plays at the Opera the Air des folies d'Espagne in Théodore à Venise.*³⁷⁷

At the time, Jacques Georges Cousineau played the harp with the orchestra of the Académie Royale de Musique. Following its premiere on 11 September 1787, the Académie performed the opera *Le Roi Théodore à Venise* through the autumn of that year.³⁷⁸ Jacques Georges' abilities, just like in 1782, were involved in the dissemination of the firm's new harp mechanism. In 1787, Georges Cousineau began to produce his echo mechanism, a novelty for which his son would later purchase a *brevet*. The application for the *brevets* informs on the nature of this new echo mechanism.

Mechanism

First developed by Cousineau in the late 1780s, the echo mechanism was reintroduced to the public in 1802, when Michel Joseph Ruelle (1757-1829), a Belgian merchant and politician, who applied for a *brevet* for it in 1802. Presented two years after Georges Cousineau had died, Jacques

³⁷⁷ « Les Sieurs Cousineau, père et fils [...] viennent d'adapter aux harpes à nouvelle mécanique, une pédale dont l'effet est de doubler le son, & au moyen de laquelle on peut faire les crescendo à volonté [...] C'est avec une harpe de cette construction que le Sr Cousineau fils exécute à l'Opéra l'Air des folies d'Espagne dans Théodore à Venise. » *Journal de Paris*, 19 November 1787, 3.

³⁷⁸ *Journal de l'Opéra*, (Paris: Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra). 1787.

Georges collaborated with Ruelle, who ceded him all the profit of the *brevet*.³⁷⁹ The device that could modulate the sound of the pedal harp via a mechanism placed inside the soundbox, the mechanism ‘with inclined and parabolic planes’, nicknamed echo.³⁸⁰ Two parallel iron plates, attached by slanted hinges, are placed inside the instrument. The plate closer to the soundboard was mounted with small hammers facing the string bridge. When the musician pressed the echo pedal, the hinges became parallel to the hammers, which were thus pressed against the bridge. This action modulated the sound, notably by extending or repeating, like an echo, a struck chord. If the harpist pressed the pedal, and released it once the string vibrated, the sound would be echoed. In another instance, the musicians could play the string, then press the pedal at will, creating an undulating effect. The echo allowed the musician to give more sentiment to his piece, ‘mainly in the pathetic and agitato’.³⁸¹

Ten days after Ruelle’s submission, he ceded his request for 3,000 *livres* to Jacques Georges Cousineau. Subsequently, Cousineau was granted a five-year patent for the echo mechanism on 20 July 1802. Cousineau might have seen this new mechanism as an opportunity, maybe even as a threat to his research, which would explain his purchase. Only a few Cousineau harps have been retrieved with an echo mechanism, possibly because of the excessive pressure that this system imposed on the structure of the soundboard and the damages that might have ensued.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ Brevet d’invention de 5 ans – mécanique de harpe, à plans inclinés, paraboliques, et à renforcements acoustiques, inventés par Ruelle, mais dont la jouissance a été cédée au sieur Cousineau, Jacques Georges Cousineau et Michel Joseph Ruelle, 1802. INPI, 1BA1977.

³⁸⁰ Brevet, Mécanique de harpe, à plans inclinés, paraboliques, et à renforcements acoustiques, inventés par Ruelle, mais dont la jouissance a été cédée au sieur Cousineau, 1BA1977, Brevets français au 19e siècle, INPI.

³⁸¹ « C’est principalement dans le Pathétique et l’agitato que cette machine occasionne de merveilleux effets » Brevet, Mécanique de harpe, à plans inclinés, paraboliques, et à renforcements acoustiques, Ruelle-Cousineau, 95.

³⁸² One was serviced by the Parisian luthier Alexandre Budin in 2011. Another one was studied by the author in the Museum Vleeshuis in Antwerp, however, it was not signed by Cousineau, although the mechanism is the same as the one described in the 1802 patent.

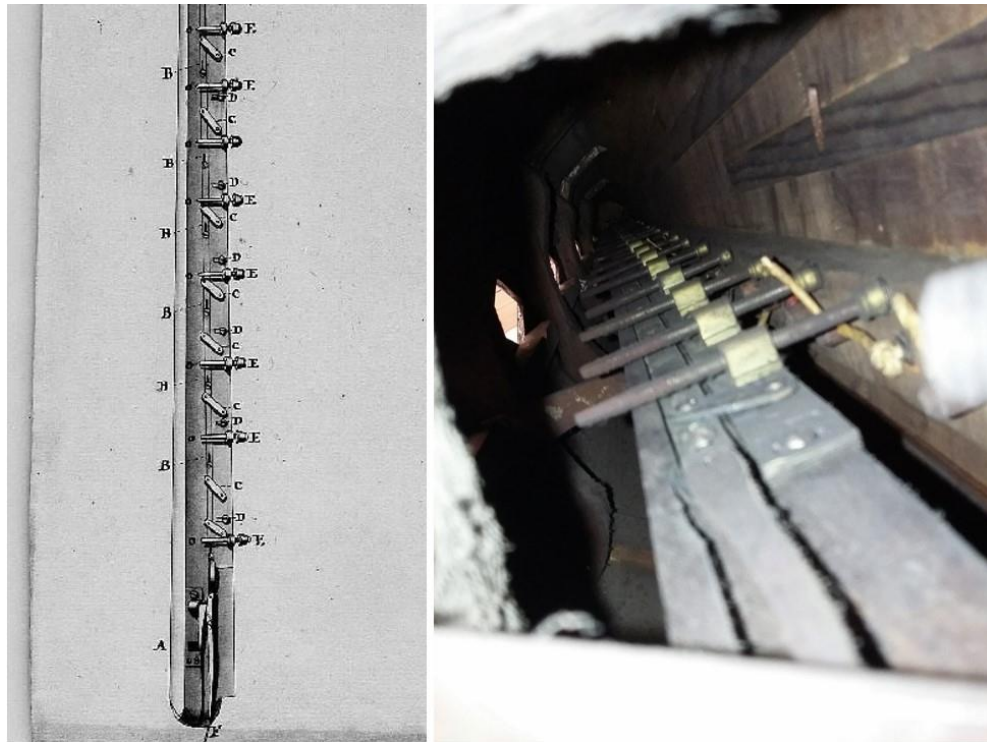


Figure 3-5 – Left: Details from the Ruelle-Cousineau patent, INPI, 1BA1977. Reproduced with permission of the French patent and trademark office. Right: Mechanism found in the harp held at B.A.mv, AV 3734 (photo by the author).

The Chevilles tournantes mechanism

Mechanism

Cousineau Père et Fils continued to experiment with new mechanisms for the pedal harp. The introduction of the patent system in France in 1791 and the protection it provided, might have incentivised makers to keep studying the pedal harp's mechanism. Many inventors were already interested in rendering the instrument able to play as many tonalities as possible, the Cousineaus led further research into a new way of producing semitones: the *chevilles tournantes* or rotating pins, presented in Figure 3-6.

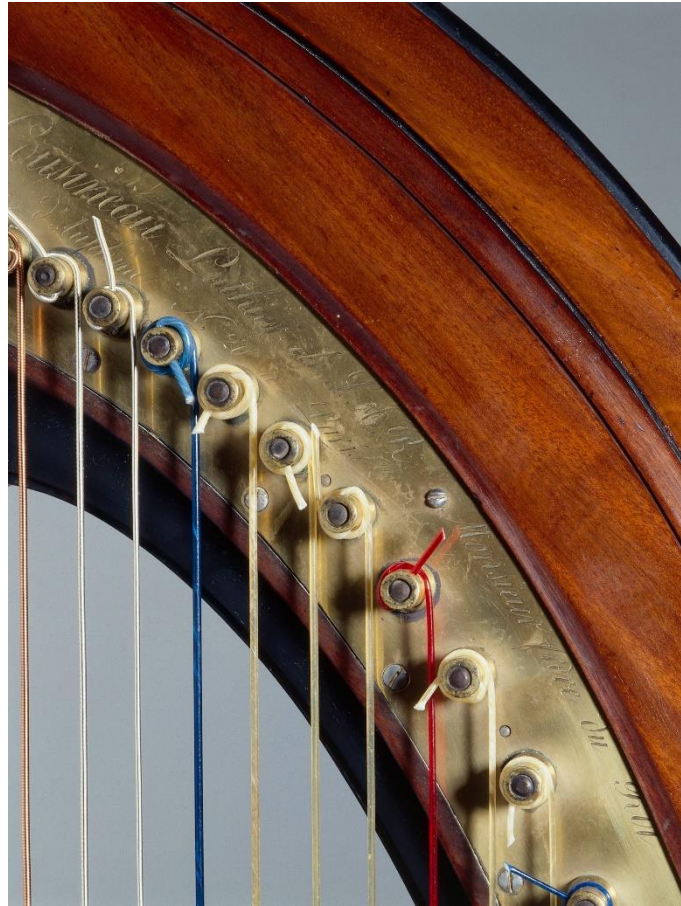


Figure 3-6 – Detail of a harp with rotating pins by Jacques-Georges Cousineau. F.P.cm, E.991.11.1. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Claude Germain. Reproduced with permission of the Musée de la Musique.

For this action, the Cousineaus benefitted from the help of Michel Joseph Ruelle, with whom they manufactured their idea. Ruelle, Georges and Jacques Georges Cousineau received a joint patent on 17 March 1799 for five years. They introduced two subsequent additions that refined the mechanism, the first in July of that year, and the second one in November 1800. The granting of a patent was usually advertised in newspapers, at least two of which published notices about the Ruelle-Cousineau one: *Le Courrier des Spectacles* and the *Gazette Nationale*. It is likely that the Cousineau drafted the announcements themselves, as they were the same in each journal that published it. The declaration began by noting the limitations of the *crochets* mechanism, quoted as the ‘means employed on old harps’, and which included three impediments.³⁸³ First are mentioned the ‘four types of different pressures’ exerted on the strings: on the tuning pin, the action, the fixed pin against which the string is pushed, and on the button on the soundboard

³⁸³ « des moyens employés dans les anciennes harpes » *Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel*, (Paris). 20 August 1799.

holding the string. The second disadvantage listed is that the strain and the friction put a strain on the strings.³⁸⁴ Thirdly, all the action on the strings from the mechanism, the fixed pin, etc. acts upon its tuning, which became difficult to keep steady.³⁸⁵ The *chevilles tournantes* made up for all three of those disadvantages. The strings were no longer submitted to four points of pressure, only the two at the top and bottom remained. Furthermore, the precision of the *chevilles* ensured consistent tuning even once the action was set in motion.

Brevet

The Cousineau family applied for several *brevets*, the first granted in 1799 for their turning pins mechanism. In 1799, Georges and his son Jacques Georges requested a patent, together with Michel Joseph Ruelle. Ruelle and the Cousineaus were awarded a five-year *brevet* on 17 March 1799, for 172 francs and 83 centimes.³⁸⁶ The Cousineaus would sell this harp in 1806 for an average price of 1,400 francs, the cost of the patent only representing close to 1/8th of the sale of just one harp.³⁸⁷ The Cousineaus built harps with the *chevilles tournantes* – turning pins – mechanism for at least twenty years. One of the turning pins harps surveyed for this study bears the inscription ‘Cousineau luthier de SAR Monsieur frère du Roi’. The mention of a king suggests these were still in production during the French Restoration, when the Bourbons returned to the throne of France after Napoleon in the mid-1810s.³⁸⁸

Similar to what had been done with the previous mechanism, the Cousineaus placed announcements of the new invention in the press. Specifically, adverts were placed in the *Courrier des Spectacles ou Journal des Théâtres*, a newspaper dedicated to theatre and music.³⁸⁹ The notice claimed that other mechanisms, mostly the *crochets*, applied too much pressure increasing the risk of the strings breaking. The turning pins prevented such issue, reducing the pressure applied to the strings. The article in the *Courrier des Spectacles*, mentioned a newly granted *brevet*, before detailing at length all the advantages of the turning pins patented by the Cousineaus. Finally, the Cousineaus offered the opportunity, three days a week, to come see and hear these new harps at their house, 1840 rue de Thionville.

³⁸⁴ Perronard in Paris in 1779, and Madame de Musigny in London in 1792.

³⁸⁵ This criticism was already formulated in Cousineau’s demonstration at the Académie des Sciences in 1782 for his *béquilles* mechanism.

³⁸⁶ Brevet d’invention de 5 ans – mécanisme particulier destiné à tendre les cordes de harpe, Georges et Jacques Georges Cousineau, Michel Joseph Ruelle, 1799. INPI, 1BA98.

³⁸⁷ The prices are detailed in an announcement to the press in 1806. See *Journal de Paris*, 20 February 1806

³⁸⁸ « Cousineau luthier de S. A. R. Monsieur frère du Roi ». Harpe à pédales, E.991.1.1, Musée de la Musique, Paris.

³⁸⁹ *Le Courrier des Spectacles ou Journal des Théâtres*, (Paris). 15 July 1799.

Less than ten of these harps fitted with turning pins have survived to this day. Unfortunately for the Cousineaus, they received their patent a year after another one for harps, which proved more practical than their own.

3.2.3 Jean Henry Naderman

A first innovation

*Some have been busy adorning it externally, others have tried to embellish the quality of its playing.*³⁹⁰

By the 1760s, shortcomings in the sound of the pedal harp had already been identified. The pedal harp was criticised for its weak tone, as mentioned above, especially as musicians who played it louder were applauded for their performance..

One maker thought that the weakness of the sound was due to the material used in the construction of the pedal harp. In 1766, after research and experimentation, Jean Henry Naderman marketed harps that he had built with a copper body rather than a wooden one. In his announcement in the *Annonces, Affiches et Avis Divers*, he claimed that these new harps ‘have more harmony than all those that were made until now’.³⁹¹ Just three years later, an advertisement in the same newspaper proclaimed that Naderman, galvanised by the success of the copper harp, had now applied his talent to building harps with a body of silver.³⁹² Naderman’s new instrument, according to the journal, produced the sharpest, smoothest, and brightest sounds; superior to any other harp. By this time, Naderman had built a reputation for the ‘perfection of his instruments, and above all the most beautiful sound of his harps’.³⁹³ While a harp with a body of copper or silver would be an interesting construction, no other mentions of those harps survive in the press or in the archives, nor any harps of this kind have yet been uncovered.

³⁹⁰ ‘Les uns se sont occupé à l’orner extérieurement, d’autres ont tâché d’embellir la qualité de son jeu » *Journal de Paris*, 22 May 1783, 1.

³⁹¹ « Ces Harpes, de l’avis des Amateurs, ont plus d’harmonie que toutes celles qui ont été faites jusqu’à présent. » *Annonces, Affiches, et Avis Divers*, 30 January 1766, 74.

³⁹² *Ibid.* 11 January 1769, 71.

³⁹³ « Cet artiste, déjà fort connu par la perfection de ses instruments & sur-tout par le beau son de ses harpes... » *ibid.* 11 January 1769, 71.

The 1783 mechanism

*The taste that the French have had for thirty years for the harp, one of the most beautiful instruments of harmony known to man, having been strengthened daily, has always excited the emulation of the Artists who build it.*³⁹⁴

As another important figure in the making of musical instruments in Paris at the time, Jean Henry Naderman also tried a new way to produce the semitones. The aim of his addition was to apply a damper to the harp's neck, which he first found could not be done without hindering the *crochets* mechanism. Consequently, he attempted to build harps with a new method for changing the strings' pitch in 1783. The goal of this new action shared the purpose of Cousineau's to avoid the misplacement of strings when the apparatus was triggered. The misalignment due to the *crochets* made the playing 'unequal, uncertain or more difficult', according to his announcement in the press.³⁹⁵ A couple of days after the announcement, Georges Cousineau published a letter in the *Journal de Paris*, denouncing reports that Naderman was the first to act upon this issue. Cousineau referenced the approval the Académie des Sciences granted him in 1782, as the proof that he 'undoubtedly [had] precedence', even though Naderman used different principles for it.³⁹⁶

The mechanism Naderman developed acted upon the string between the tuning pin on top and the pin at the bottom of the neck. The 'finger' – as Naderman called it – pressed the string against the pin at the bottom, thus raising the tension of the strings' vibrating length. This way, the string was no longer out of the others' plane and remained aligned. With this action, Naderman could fit the damper near the fixed pin, thus varying the sounds made by the strings.

The use of a damper was a novelty for the pedal harp, however similar systems were already in use on keyboard instruments at the time. Several piano stops were available to help modify the sound emitted by the instrument, such as the moderator. With a piece of fabric or leather placed between the hammer and the strings, the moderator helped dampening the sound played by the pianoforte. Although Naderman's damper appeared to be used to stop the vibration of the strings, it could also be used, like the moderator, as the string was played for a modified sound.

Like Cousineau, Naderman introduced this new harp to the Salon de la Correspondance during the summer of 1783, where masters on the instrument played it. This display is mentioned in

³⁹⁴ « Le gout que les Français ont pris depuis trente années pour la harpe, un des plus beaux instrumens d'harmonie que l'on connoisse, s'étant fortifié journellement, a toujours excité l'émulation des Artistes qui la construisent » *Journal de Paris*, 22 May 1783.

³⁹⁵ « Ce qui rend le jeu des doigts inégal, incertain ou plus difficile. » *Mercur de France, dédié au Roi*, April 1783, 179.

³⁹⁶ « Un genre de perfection, sur lequel j'ai incontestablement l'antériorité ... » *Journal de Paris*, 24 May 1783.

Johann Baptist Krumpholtz's Opus 10, with a depiction of the pedal harp on the frontispiece, see Figure 3-7.



Figure 3-7—Front cover of Krumpholtz's Opus 10. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Unfortunately, the commercialisation of this new pedal harp remains unclear. While, according to Krumpholtz, the presentation at the Salon de la Correspondance was a success as it pleased the audience, it is unclear how many were in fact produced. Out of the forty surviving pedal harps by Jean Henry Naderman examined for this dissertation and dating from before and after 1783, they all feature the same *crochets* mechanism.

The mentions of this mechanism in the press are the only remaining evidence of it, as no related drawings, descriptions, or harps survive. The information given in the newspapers is

unfortunately too scarce to understand exactly how this action worked on the strings. This appeared to be the first attempt of Naderman at a new action. Some years later, he reprised his idea of the damper with a new harp, collaborating this time with a harpist.

The Naderman – Krumpholtz harp

Mechanism

Some years later, Naderman introduced a harp with a new damper, along with another addition: swells placed at the back of the sound box to further alter the sound. The idea of adding swells to the soundbox was already used on harpsichords at the time. Harpsichord swells acted to project the sound as the keys were played. With Naderman's swells, these were used to control the projection of the sound, but also to produce undulating effects with the sound of the strings after they had been played. Presented from 1785 in his atelier, Naderman had worked alongside harpist Johann Baptist Krumpholtz for this harp. Born Jan Křtitel Krumpholtz in Prague in 1747, he joined Joseph Haydn's orchestra at the court of Count Esterhazy at twenty-five years old.³⁹⁷ In 1776, he launched a concert tour in Europe, where he displayed his talents on the pedal harp. After stops in Leipzig and Metz, Krumpholtz arrived in Paris in 1777, where he translated his name to Jean-Baptiste.³⁹⁸ There, he became acquainted with some harp makers, including Georges Cousineau, who published several of his compositions from 1778. That same year, Krumpholtz performed at Christmas at the Concert Spirituel, a concert that made critics wince as it seemed 'less made to move, but to astonish the small number of connoisseurs'.³⁹⁹ By the 1780s, Parisian audiences heard the works of the Czech harpist either played by him or by his wife Anne Marie Steckler.

Krumpholtz and Naderman collaborated to build a pedal harp with two new additions. First, an eighth pedal, installed between the B and the E pedals, activated the five shutters at the back of the soundbox that covered five rectangular openings (on the left in Figure 3-8). The swell mechanism gave the harp a louder and more expressive sound, and its movement could create oscillations resembling a vibrato, producing prolonged and undulated tones.⁴⁰⁰ Second, he added another smaller pedal, placed in the front at the bottom of the soundboard, that would activate the damping system (on the right in Figure 3-8). Formerly lodged in the neck, this time, the

³⁹⁷ Hans J. Zingel and Ludwig Wolf, "Hochbrucker family," (Oxford University Press, 2001).

³⁹⁸ Müller, *Jan Křtitel Krumpholtz: život a dílo harfového virtuóza a skladatele: studie-texty-analýzy: La vie et l'oeuvre du harpiste virtuose et compositeur: etudes-textes-analyses: The life and the work of harpist and composer: study-text-analyses*, 120.

³⁹⁹ « [Le concerto] de harpe par M. Krumpholts [sembloit] moins fait pour émouvoir, que pour étonner le petit nombre des connoisseurs. » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, January 1779, 46.

⁴⁰⁰ Dugot, "Sonorités inouïes : la nouvelle harpe de Messieurs Krumpholtz et Naderman", 91.

damper was placed inside the string's bridge. Once activated, the pedal pulled on a ribbon of woven fabric (silk for the high notes and leather for the low ones) and muffled the strings altogether.



Figure 3-8 – Details of the pedals added by Naderman. Pedal harp by Jean Henry Naderman, 1787, F.P.cm, E.2002.13.3. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Jean-Marc Anglès. Reproduced with permission of Jean-Marc Anglès and the Musée de la Musique.

In the 1780s, the Krumpholtzes inhabited the rue des Moineaux, a street parallel to that of d'Argenteuil, where Jean Henry Naderman had settled in the mid-1770s, in an area dedicated to musical trades.⁴⁰¹ While the circumstances of the collaboration between the harpist and the harp maker remain unknown today, their respective celebrity in the musical world of Paris, and their vicinity, can offer part of the explanation.

Introduction to the Académie

On 17 November 1787, Johann Baptist Krumpholtz introduced the harp at the Académie des Sciences. Vandermonde, who had penned the report on Cousineau's harp in 1782, was once again appointed rapporteur, particularly for his interests in music theory, assisted by René Just Haüy, their account communicated four days later, provided insights on how the presentation of the harp unfolded. Krumpholtz, who also composed for the harp, had written several pieces, 'with

⁴⁰¹ See 2.2.2.

the aim of demonstrating the benefits of these additions'.⁴⁰² As the Krumpholtz-Naderman harp was particularly innovative on the sound of the instrument, it was important to showcase their qualities with musical examples. Unlike Cousineau in 1782, Naderman and Krumpholtz did not submit a memorandum or drawings of their invention. Instead, they chose to let their invention speak for itself, as Madame Krumpholtz played several pieces specifically drafted by her husband for this harp. Born Anne Marie Steckler in the city of Metz, Mme Krumpholtz gained fame in the 1780s, as she performed on the Parisian stages, including at the Concert Spirituel.⁴⁰³ She became known for her 'superior talents [which] have assigned her first rank on the harp'.⁴⁰⁴ The Académie des Sciences recognised her abilities on the harp, while praising the possibilities on this new harp to produce emotions and pathos.

Conversely to Cousineau, Krumpholtz did not submit any drawings to the Académie. However, he published the details of his invention in his Opus XIV, published right after the presentation (Figure 3-9).

⁴⁰² « L'Académie a entendu le 17 de ce mois plusieurs morceaux composés par M. Krumpholtz dans le dessein de développer les avantages de ces additions. » Procès-verbaux des séances de l'Académie des Sciences, Tome 106, 1787, Folio 382-383, ADS.

⁴⁰³ Henri Tribout de Morembert, "Une virtuose de la harpe au XVIIIe siècle, Anne-Marie Steckler," *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale de Metz* 130 (1959): 133.

⁴⁰⁴ « Mme Krumpholtz, dont les talens [sic] supérieurs lui ont assigné le premier rang sur la harpe... » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, 10 April 1784, 82.

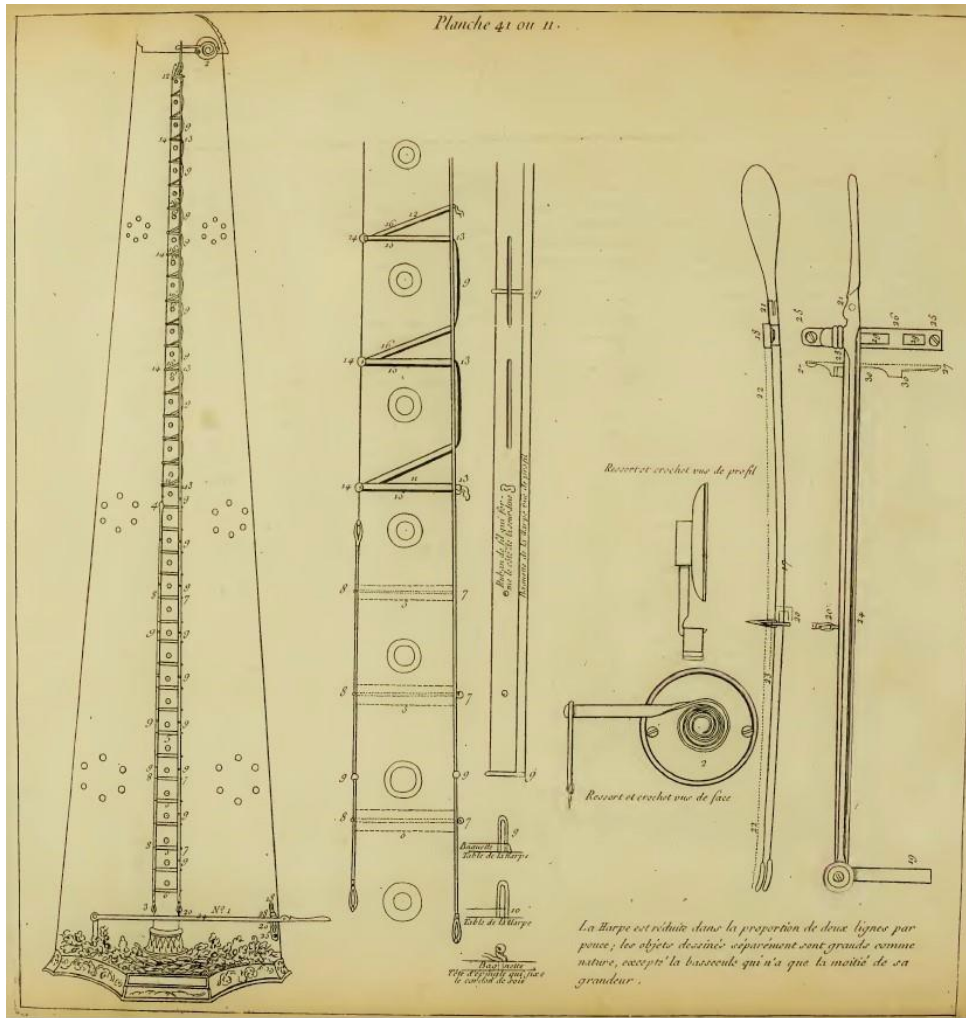


Figure 3-9 – Drawings of the Krumpholtz-Naderman harp, published in Johann Baptist Krumpholtz, *Collection de pièces de différens genres distribuées en six sonates... Oeuvre XIIIe & XIVe* (Paris, 1787), 41. © Public domain, International Harp Archives at Brigham Young University. Reproduced with permission of Brigham Young University. Reproduced with permission of Brigham Young University.

Published four days after the demonstration, the account conceded that, while Madame Krumpholtz's talents pleased the assembly, the effect of the harp's new additions was no less surprising. The report concluded that the presentation proved how successful Krumpholtz's research was. After this successful presentation, Krumpholtz included an insert that the harp had

been 'honoured, on the 22nd of the month of November 1787, of an approval by the Académie Royale des Sciences' to his Opus XIV.⁴⁰⁵

Endorsements and Dissemination

In 1785, French periodicals had already alluded to Naderman's new harp. In February, Philip Jacob Meyer published four new sonatas, 'written for the harp with seven pedals or those with damper and new mechanism developed by Mr Naderman'.⁴⁰⁶ That same month, Caroline Descarsins (1774-after 1802) played on Naderman's new harp at the Tuileries Palace. It was rare for newspapers to mention the instruments upon which the performers played, it was mostly done when the instrument was a curiosity, as in this case.

*Grand concert [...] in favour of Mlle Caroline Descarsin, aged 11, who will perform on the new harp with damper and new mechanism, invented by Mr H. Naderman, luthier ordinaire of the Queen, several chosen pieces.*⁴⁰⁷

For this new harp, Naderman benefitted from the endorsement of a recognised figure, not only famous for his musicianship, Pierre-Auguste Caron de Beaumarchais (1732-1799). An important figure of the Enlightenment in France, Beaumarchais was multifaceted. From a family of clockmakers, he had pursued his father's trade, which allowed him to enter the highest circles of society. An inventor, writer, playwright, and diplomat amongst other things, he had always shown interest in music.⁴⁰⁸ He played the harp, and as he had designed several mechanisms for watches, he was credited with the pedal harp mechanism – although no substantial evidence can support this claim today.⁴⁰⁹

Consequently, on 8 February 1786, the *Journal de Paris* published an anonymous open letter praising Naderman's new transformations of the pedal harp, it seemed logical Beaumarchais was amongst the potential authors, because of his interest in both mechanics and the harp.⁴¹⁰ Research

⁴⁰⁵ « Cette même harpe a été honorée, le 22 du mois de Novembre 1787, d'une Approbation de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, & d'un Certificat de ces Commissaires. » Johann Baptist Krumpholtz, *Collection de pièces de différens genres distribuées en six sonates d'une difficulté graduelle pour la harpe et le forte piano et dont les quatre premières sont avec accompagnement d'un violon ad libitum... Oeuvre XIIIe & XIVe* (Paris 1788).

⁴⁰⁶ *La Gazette*, 25 February 1785, 4.

⁴⁰⁷ « Grand concert [...] en faveur de Mlle Caroline Descarsin, âgée de 11 ans, qui y exécutera sur la nouvelle harpe à sourdine & à nouvelle mécanique, de l'invention du Sr H. Naderman, luthier ordinaire de la Reine, plusieurs Pièces choisies. » *Journal de Paris*, 23 February 1785.

⁴⁰⁸ Maurice Lever, "Beaumarchais et la musique," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 100, no. 4 (2000): 1093.

⁴⁰⁹ Francois Lesure, "A propos de Beaumarchais," *Revue de Musicologie*, no. 53 (1967): 175.

⁴¹⁰ *Journal de Paris*, 8 February 1786, 1.

in the 1990s established the link with the author, when a manuscript for that same letter was rediscovered in the Beaumarchais archives at the Comédie Française.⁴¹¹ The rough draft, by the hand of Beaumarchais, is the same as the published letter, including stroke through words and extra information in the margins.⁴¹² The article in the *Journal de Paris* applauded the creativity of Johann Baptist Krumpholtz, who added to ‘this beautiful instrument new perfections’.⁴¹³ Beaumarchais detailed the advantages of the muffler and the shutters placed at the back of the instrument, while also highlighting the execution of these ideas by the skills of Naderman. Although the piece was anonymised, it was written by an individual with proficient knowledge of mechanics and musical instrument making.

Following the introduction to the Académie des Sciences, Naderman also used the press to make sure his new harp encountered its audience. The *Mercure de France* published an extract from the presentation given at the Académie des Sciences by Krumpholtz for the harp he developed with Naderman.⁴¹⁴ While it must have helped academicians in their consideration of the Naderman-Krumpholtz harp, the mention of Madame Krumpholtz’s playing to the press would have appealed to those who already had heard her play on the Parisian stages. The publication of the report in a general newspaper, quoting the talents of Madame Krumpholtz might have helped to make audiences aware of this new harp's advantages.

⁴¹¹ The link was made by Beaumarchais researcher Donal Spinelli. See Donald Spinelli, "Beaumarchais, Krumpholtz, and the Harp: An Unidentified Letter" in *Pluralism and Critical Practice. Essays in Honour of Albert N. Mancini*, ed. P. A. Giordano and A. J. Tamburi (West Lafayette, Indiana: Bordighera Press, 1999).

⁴¹² Manuscrits Beaumarchais, volume 2, MSRED23, F-Pcf.

⁴¹³ « M. Krumpholtz, vient d’ajouter à ce bel instrument de nouvelles perfections qui ne laissent plus rien à désirer. » *Journal de Paris*, 8 February 1786, 1.

⁴¹⁴ *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, December 1787, 44.

3.3 Pedal harp innovations in London

3.3.1 Reception of the pedal harp in London

In the 1780s, once the pedal harp was being played regularly on London stages, newspapers began to comment on the instrument in concert reviews. At this time, audiences and critics seemed to be more interested in the performers than in the instrument. Unlike in Paris, very few reviews dealt with the harp itself and its limitations. It is the style, expression and general quality of the musician or the musical work that are discussed in these reports. The few mentions of the instrument's sound quality were negative, as some newspapers did not take the harp seriously. When describing the harp concerto played by Marie Elizabeth Cléry (1761-after 1795) at Mr. Cramer's Benefit on 2 April 1784, a columnist in the *Public Advertiser* recounted:

*The French Woman's harp was but la, la.*⁴¹⁵

In another review of the concert published in the *Morning Chronicle*, it was written that she had lost the effect of her instrument because she immediately followed the pianoforte sonata.⁴¹⁶ The harp, in comparison to the piano forte might have sounded very weak. Similar to what was described in Paris, performers on the pedal harp were thus praised when they pushed the instrument's sound further. For example, following a performance of Madame Krumpholtz at the Professional Concert in Hanover Square on the 14 April 1788, the *Morning Post* published this review:

*A Madame Krumpholtz performed a concert on the French harp with extraordinary execution, and with a force of expression of which the instrument could hardly have been supposed capable.*⁴¹⁷

The virtuoso of Madame Krumpholtz, who performed numerous times in London in the late 1780s and 1790s was almost always praised in the press. Reviews highlighted, as above, her capacity to play on the instruments sounds no other musician could, often described as 'enchanted, wonderful, or astonishing'. Madame Krumpholtz was lauded for the expression she gave, as well as her rapidity in execution; she even served as comparison for newcomers, as with Madame Delaval's first concert in London. She performed at the Professional Concert for the first time in May of 1791, and the concert review in the *Public Advertiser* claimed that she 'has not to boast either the charms or the accomplishments of Madame Krumpholtz – but she has

⁴¹⁵ *Public Advertiser*, 13 April 1784.

⁴¹⁶ *The Morning Chronicle*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (London). 3 April 1784.

⁴¹⁷ *The Morning Post*, 15 April 1788.

talents and is occasionally brilliant'.⁴¹⁸ That same reviewer was potentially biased against the instrument, as he concluded that the harp was 'an instrument that caprice has for a few years made fashionable, but which true taste will speedily dismiss'.⁴¹⁹ However, it seemed that their reflexions were only shared by a small portion of the population. Indeed, the pedal harp encountered quite a success in 1780s London, with an average of seven harp performances each year.

3.3.2 London Makers

Among the seventy-five reported concerts in London in the 1780s, the majority was performed by harpists from France. Because of the scarceness of harp makers in London at the time, they probably brought their instrument with them, or managed to find French instruments in the city.

Advertisement for French Harps

Several music warehouses and traders in London thus offered imported French pedal harps. They were usually marketed as such, including the name of the maker. For example with Mr Smart's 1780 advertisement for Naderman harp, discussed in section 2.4.1. The French provenance of pedal harps appeared to have been an important selling point for London music merchants at the end of the eighteenth century, as advertisements like this one populated the newspapers at the time. The most recurring one was that of the Longman & Broderip firm. In the first mention of their French imported harp, the harps were described as 'fine toned Pedal Harps finished in the most superb taste by Mons. Cousineau'.⁴²⁰ By the end of the decade, Longman & Broderip offered pedal harps from more French manufacturers including Naderman 'and other eminent makers'.⁴²¹ For Naderman's pedal harp, Longman & Broderip also provided their customers pedal harps with the swell mechanism he had introduced to the French Académie des Sciences in 1787.

Comparison With French Harps: London Manufacturers

However, importing pedal harps would prove costly for customers. As the instrument had become an essential part of London's musical life, it was necessary for musical instrument makers to produce pedal harps. By the end of the eighteenth century, London had only a handful of harp

⁴¹⁸ *Public Advertiser*, 8 March 1791.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁰ *The Morning Post*, 16 March 1781.

⁴²¹ *The World*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (London). 19 November 1789.

makers, who produced pedal harps derived from the French mechanism and decoration. Unfortunately, very few of these harps made by eighteenth-century London makers have survived, and sources for them are scarce.

It appears that makers began producing pedal harps in London in the 1770s, right as the pedal harp gained momentum in Britain. In a letter written in May 1775, Frances Burney (1752-1840), daughter of composer and music historian Charles Burney (1726-1814), wrote about a concert she attended in the city:

*Mr Jones, who played upon a Harp with new pedals constructed by Mr Merlin: it is a sweet instrument.*⁴²²

Edward Jones had first become known as a Welsh harper in London, before performing on pedal harps, with a first concert on that instrument that same year.⁴²³ He performed regularly, both on the Welsh and the pedal harp, and became a known figure of the instrument. The mention of Joseph Merlin by Frances Burney is significant here. Charles Burney was close to the inventor and musical instrument maker, with whom Frances might also have been acquainted. Merlin was known for his eccentric creations, specifically automats that he would present in his museum on Princes St.⁴²⁴ As an inventor, it seems logical for him to have taken an interest for the pedal harp. However, this is so far the only testimonial of his pedal harp production. In 1789 and 1790, he advertised for a harp played with keys that resembled the human voice.⁴²⁵ The advertisements placed by musical instrument makers in newspapers are often the only sources found on their activity.

In the late 1780s, harp-maker John Satchell gained a posting as appointed harp maker to the Prince of Wales in March 1789.⁴²⁶ The position of harpist and harp maker to the Prince of Wales was at the time often linked to the use of the Welsh triple harp. This appointment alone does not indicate the types of harps he produced. However, that same year, Satchell began to advertise for harps he compared to the French ones, which could imply he was building pedal harps. At the time, Satchell had partnered with George Fröschle (c.1776-1800) in the business, as they presented themselves as ‘Harp-makers to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales’. Fröschle had

⁴²² Burney, *Journals and Letters*, 65.

⁴²³ *Public Advertiser*, 26 April 1775.

⁴²⁴ Margaret Debenham, "Joseph Merlin in London, 1760–1803: the Man behind the Mask. New Documentary Sources," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 45 (2014): 130.

⁴²⁵ *Argus*, 2 February 1790.

⁴²⁶ *The London Chronicle*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection. 28 March 1789.

first become known as a harpsichord and pianoforte maker.⁴²⁷ In a notice they placed in the newspaper *Oracle* in 1789, the firm claimed to offer better harps than the French ones:

*SATCHELL and Co. assure the Nobility that their Harps are esteemed by the most distinguished Professors, superior to French, not only in brilliancy of tone and magnificence, but that they stand much better in tune; and to Concert pitch, which very few of the French Harps will do.*⁴²⁸

Unfortunately, the advertisements placed in London newspapers are the only evidence of the harp production by the Satchell company. Without further description of representation, it is difficult to assess if the Satchell pedal harps did actually hold tuning better than the French ones.

Fröschle is the only eighteenth-century London harp maker for whom at least one harp has survived to this day, dated from the 1790s.⁴²⁹ Fröschle fitted this harp with a mechanism that appears similar to the *crochets* used on French pedal harps and are decorated in similar styles as French harp.

Towards the end of the 1790s, the harpist and composer John Elouis published several notices regarding pedal harps he had made:

*Mr. J. Elouis respectfully informs the Public at Large, that ever since last year, he has caused to be made under his inspection, SWELL HARPS, upon the most excellent model, presented by Mr Krumpholtz to the Academy of Sciences in Paris, which met with great applause from that illustrious Body. [...]*⁴³⁰

Rather than producing pedal harps that were supposedly better than the French ones like the ones advertised by Satchell, Elouis chose to manufacture an already successful model. By this time, the swell mechanism introduced by Krumpholtz and Naderman had been adopted by several other makers. The selling argument of Elouis' harps was the price, as he claimed to sell 'elegant Harps 35 per cent cheaper than those with their precedent improvements are commonly sold for'.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ *Public Advertiser*, 27 April 1774. See Michael Cole, "The Twelve Apostles? An Inquiry into the Origins of the English Pianoforte," *Early Keyboard Journal* 18 (2000).

⁴²⁸ *Oracle*, 4 June 1789.

⁴²⁹ This harp is held in the USA, at Colonial Williamsburg, inv.1988-429. Two other harps are perhaps of Fröschle hand, but no definite proof has been found yet: one at the Vizcaya Museum and Gardens (USA), inv. D HO 092; and one at the Nydahl Collection (Sweden) inv. IKN016.

⁴³⁰ *True Briton*, 27 February 1797.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

Several London makers used the French pedal harp as a model for their production. However, the problems pointed out by the Parisian public remained the same on the English harps. So several makers also tried to find solutions to the above-mentioned problems, notably by taking advantage of the patent system available to them.

3.3.3 Patents

Patent related to the sound

By the 1800s, the quality of tone was a very desirable factor in musical instruments. Makers thus sought to produce instruments with the highest possible excellence of sound, such as sweetness or brilliancy.⁴³² Perhaps in the continuation of his collaboration with the Satchell company, musical instrument maker George Fröschle applied for a patent related to the sound quality of pedal harps. His patent – number 2397 – was granted on 3 May 1800. It offered a way to produce the semitone more precisely, as well as an apparatus to make the tone of the instrument soft – probably a muffler.⁴³³ While the swell mechanism had already been produced in France, pedal harps with this mechanism were not yet produced in London – Elouis had only replicated the swell, without mentioning the muffler. Unfortunately, the only harps known by Fröschle appear to have been produced before 1800 and are fitted with a regular *crochets* action. This example shows that patents did not always result in production and marketing of the invention.

Patents related to the mechanism

In 1801 and 1805 respectively, John Conrad Becker and Richard Jubb applied for patents attempting to change the mechanism of pedal harps. Becker's patent, number 2551, was granted on 7 November 1801. Possibly influenced by the revival of ancient Greek music, and the search for microtonality, he offered a new action that could produce quartertones – although it is unclear if it was actually produced.⁴³⁴ With his patent, number 1838, approved on 5 April 1805, Richard Jubb presented an action with the same ideal of making both semi- and quartertones. The sealed patent does not inform on the marketing of the invention, and no surviving harps can testify that these inventions were in fact produced. Indeed, it was common for inventors to patent an

⁴³² Jennifer Susan Nex, "Inventions and ideas on the peripheries of British piano design between 1752 and 1832" in *Muzio Clementi and British musical culture: sources, performance practice and style* ed. Luca Lévi Sala and Rohan H. Stewart-MacDonald (London; New York: Routledge, 2019), 20-21.

⁴³³ George Fröschle, Invention, 3 May 1800, C66/3971, Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Patent Rolls, GB-Lna.

⁴³⁴ Baldwin, *Harp making in Late-Georgian London*, 120-25.

invention solely to protect an idea, not necessarily to market it. Inventors also often patented an idea so that they could then sell their rights to a manufacturer.

Such was the case for the patent of Charles Gröll, received in July 1807 for Certain Improvements on Harps (no. 3642).⁴³⁵ Originally from Poland, Gröll arrived in England in 1804. Gröll was engaged in mechanical and chemical inventions, yet there is no evidence that he took an interest in musical instruments before his 1807 patent. Having learned about Erard's 1801 patent, potentially by consulting a copy from the patent office, Gröll became interested in the harp mechanism. He proposed a double-action system which, like Cousineau's, doubled the action in the neck. In Gröll's patent he specifically used Erard's forks but stating that his idea could be fitted with every mechanism; claiming so would have helped him sell his patent rights to any maker interested. Submitted thirteen years after Erard's 1794 patent, Gröll was infringing on the fork mechanism patent which gave Erard the monopoly of production until 1808. Sébastien Erard, thus, returned to London from Paris, and purchased the rights to Gröll's patent.⁴³⁶ This was a very common practice, which proved often cheaper than entering litigation between inventors.⁴³⁷ While Gröll's is technically the first patent for the pedal harp double row of forks, it owes a great deal to Erard's fork mechanism, and to Cousineau's idea of doubling the mechanism, two inventors he did not mention in his patent.

Erard probably purchased Gröll's patent to avoid legal action, but also because he had been working himself on a more practical version of his double-action pedal harp. A couple of years after this event, in 1810, he finally applied for a patent for further improvements on harps, with a doubled fork mechanism (number 3332).

3.4 Case Study: The Erard manufactories in Paris and London

⁴³⁵ In recent years, this patent has been resurfaced by organologists as the 'real' first patent for double-action pedal harp, a title usually granted to Erard's 1810 patent. See Robert Adelson, "Originality and Influence: Charles Gröll's Role in the Invention of the Double-action Harp," *Muzyka* 64 (2019).

⁴³⁶ In the correspondence between Pierre – in charge of the London manufacture – and Sébastien Erard, several mentions are made of the purchase of Gröll's patent. See Adelson *et al.*, *The history of the Erard piano and harp in letters and documents, 1785–1959*, 1024.

⁴³⁷ Adelson, "Originality and Influence: Charles Gröll's Role in the Invention of the Double-action Harp", 11.

In both Paris and London, the Erard company presented several pedal harp innovations. The firm was created by Sébastien Erard and produced pianoforte as well as pedal harps. Born in 1752 in Strasbourg, Erard settled in Paris in the late 1760s, to train as a harpsichord maker. Quickly, he received the patronage of the Jeanne-Louise Constance d'Aumont de Villequier, Duchesse de Villeroy (1731-1816), who helped him enter the highest circles of society. His brother Jean-Baptiste joined him in the capital in the 1770s, and the pair created their firm *Erard frères* in 1788.⁴³⁸ Sébastien's reputation was growing as a pianoforte maker, with his brother handling the business side of the firm. Prior to the establishment of the company, Sébastien had received a royal patent from King Louis XVI. The patent submitted by Sébastien was not for an invention, but it granted him the privilege of exercising his profession outside of the musical instrument makers guild's regulation. Erard earned this privilege as a pianoforte maker. As most of them were produced in England, the king wished to recognise a French maker, that people could thus chose over importing instruments. The two brothers were established in the rue du Mail, in the heart of Paris, where they lived and had built up their workshop.

During the 1780s, Sébastien began to research the issues related to the pedal harp mechanism. At the time, Erard was likely approached by Krumpholtz, who wanted to add something to the harp he designed with maker Jean Henry Naderman. Erard designed for him a *Contrebasse ou Clavicorde à Marteau*, to be placed under the instrument, for the musician to play low bass notes with the feet, thus extending the range of the instrument.⁴³⁹ This part of the new Krumpholtz harp, presented in Figure 3-10, was praised in particular by Beaumarchais in his letter to the *Journal de Paris* in February 1786, applauding the 'the gravity, the depth, the fullness [...] move the astonished listener, carry him away and throw him imperceptibly into a musical intoxication'.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ *Société entre Sr Seb. Erard et Sr J. B. Erard*, 18 July 1788, MC ET CVI/557, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

⁴³⁹ Similar devices were already used under pianofortes at the time, for example with a pianoforte by Johann Evangelist Schmidt in Salzburg (Germanisches National Museum, MIR1127). This device was also used by Mozart under his Walter pianoforte in the 1780s. See Richard Maunder and David Rowland, "Mozart's Pedal Piano," *Early Music* 23, no. 2 (1995).

⁴⁴⁰ « La gravité, la profondeur, la plénitude [...] remuent l'auditeur étonné, l'entraînent et le jettent insensiblement dans une ivresse musicale » *Journal de Paris*, 8 February 1786.

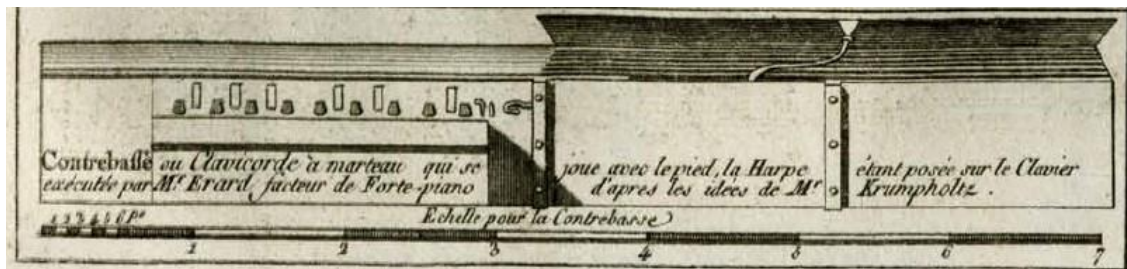


Figure 3-10 - Depiction of the *Contrebasse ou Clavicorde à Marteau* built by Erard and designed with Krumpholtz. Published in *L'Amante Abandonnée, Air parodié en français et en italien sur l'Adagio de l'Oeuvre XIV de Mr Krumpholtz*. © Public domain, International Harp Archives at Brigham Young University. Reproduced with permission of Brigham Young University.

With this first collaboration, Erard clearly demonstrated his knowledge in keyboard instrument making. The exchange with Krumpholtz and Naderman was likely to be his first foray into harp making. Several of his first harp prototypes survive today, which can be dated between 1785 and 1788, around the time he worked with Krumpholtz and Naderman⁴⁴¹. However, he chose to not market his harp right away. Erard first sold second-hand pedal harps between 1790 and 1792, from Cousineau, Holtzman, and Naderman. That final year, because of his involvement with the crown and international customers, pianoforte, and harp maker Sébastien Erard had to leave Paris in 1792. After three years of political unrest, the situation in France had become tense for anyone with ties to the court or foreign kingdoms. With a thriving number of pedal harp performances at the time, London was a safe bet for Erard, as few makers had begun to manufacture this instrument there. Erard's firm was then established both in Paris and London, where he would introduce his pedal harp innovations before marketing them.

3.4.1 The 1794-1798 patents

After two years in London, Erard filed his first patent, introducing the *fourchettes* action for pedal harps. He had been working on this mechanism for at least five to eight years, but it seems that he waited until he had access to patent protection before making it public.

Mechanism

Erard had always taken great precautions of his production, which explains why he did not introduce his innovation in France, which had yet to implement structural protections for

⁴⁴¹ Examples of this prototype include two harps held at the Musée de la Musique in Paris (E.2100 et E.2016.1.1), one at the Musée des Instruments de Musique in Brussels (inventory number JT0005), one at the Grassimuseum in Leipzig (inv.402), one at the Scenkonstmuseet in Stockholm (M.2235), and one in the collection of the Fonds Gaveau-Erard-Pleyel of the Groupe AXA (D.2009.1.5).

inventions. When moving to London, he had been working for at least four years on a new mechanism to make the semitones: the *fourchettes*, presented in Figure 3-11.



Figure 3-11 – Detail from harp number 7, Erard, Paris, 1799. F.P.cm, E.981.6.1. Collections Musée de la musique / Cliché Jean-Marc Anglès. Reproduced with permission of Jean-Marc Anglès and the Musée de la Musique.

Erard chose to replace the *crochets* with the *fourchettes*, pronged disks that would rotate upon pressing the pedal. With the rotation of the disk, the prongs pinched the string in place, raising its pitch by one semitone without moving the string. In principle, the *fourchettes* were close to the *béquilles* introduced by Cousineau in 1782, in that they pinched the string in place, rather than moving it against a pin. In the earliest prototypes of the instruments, mentioned earlier, the mechanism was fitted differently to the instrument. The disks of the *fourchettes* were lodged inside of the harp's arm, and only the prongs stood out to pinch the strings. Moving the disks outside of the arm certainly provided better access for maintenance of the mechanism.

London

Patent

In London, Erard was granted a patent for the fourchettes action on 17 October 1794.⁴⁴² This was in fact the first patent for an invention related to the pedal harp in London. His *New Improvements in the Construction of Harps and Piano Fortes* was registered under the patent number 2016.⁴⁴³ It ensured Erard the paternity of the mechanism in England, Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, like with most patents at the time.⁴⁴⁴ Indeed, patents for 100 livres covered these regions, and for 350 livres could also cover Scotland and Ireland.⁴⁴⁵

Conversely to other trades, musical instrument patents at the time mostly regarded product innovations rather than changes in production techniques.⁴⁴⁶ Such was the case for Erard's 1794 patent for a new action. Erard not only added a new mechanism to the instrument, but he also introduced a different way of fitting it to the instrument. With *crochets* pedal harps, the core of the mechanism was lodged inside the neck, which was carved out of wood. For the *fourchettes*, Erard designed two copper plates, placed on each side of the neck, to hold the apparatus, as depicted in Figure 3-12. With the *fourchettes*, Erard further added new strings to his harps, as they were fitted with thirty-nine to forty strings, against thirty-six to thirty-eight with the *crochets*. A higher number of strings meant a higher tension to the structure, hence the copper plates. These plates helped give additional strength to the mechanism and therefore to the instrument.⁴⁴⁷ This was a radical change for harp building, as their structure had always been of wood previously. The addition of the copper plates opened new possibilities in terms of the number of strings that could fit in a harp without damaging the neck.

⁴⁴² Sebastian Erard, Invention, 17 October 1794, C66/3907, Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Patent Rolls, GB-Lna.

⁴⁴³ Bennet Woodcoft and Great Britain Patent Office, *Titles of Patents of Invention, Chronologically Arranged* (London: G. E. Eyre & W. Spottiswoode, 1854), 371.

⁴⁴⁴ Following the Wales and Berwick act of 1746, all official documents referencing England also had to refer to Wales and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, which had been placed under English law in 1707 after years of oscillating between Scottish and English law.

⁴⁴⁵ MacLeod, "The Paradoxes of Patenting: Invention and Its Diffusion in 18th- and 19th-Century Britain, France, and North America", 891.

⁴⁴⁶ Nex, "Inventions and ideas on the peripheries of British piano design between 1752 and 1832 ", 15-16.

⁴⁴⁷ Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its present improved state compared with the original pedal harp* (London, 1821), 4.

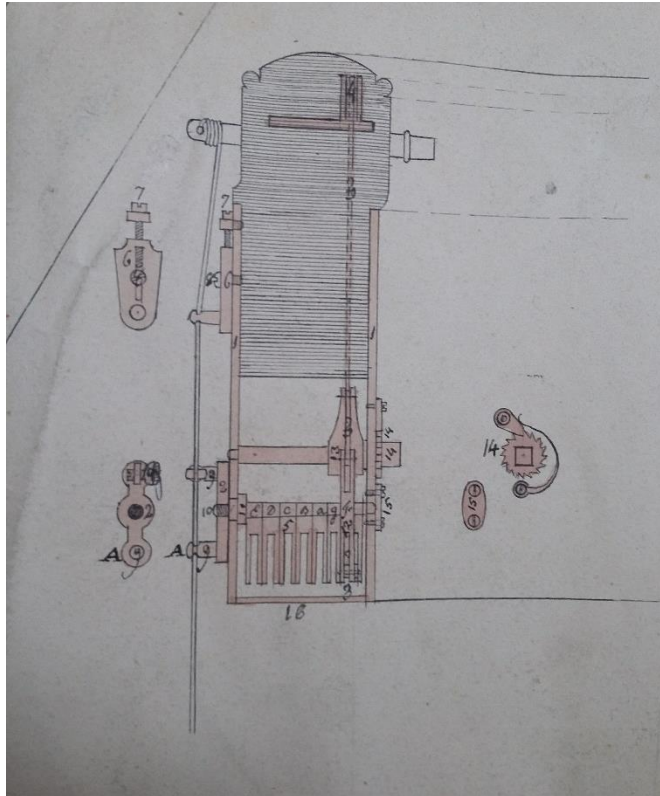


Figure 3-12 – Detail from the Specification of Erard's 1794 patent, C66/3907, Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Patent Rolls, GB-Lna. Photo by the author.

With the patent in hand, Erard could now introduce his pedal harps to the public without the fear of them getting copied.

Production

Archives concerning the organisation of production are rare in Erard's archives, which contain numerous sales and workshop output registers. For the period of this study in London, the only archives covering expenditure are those from 1807 to 1809. They do, however, provide an insight into the workshops and their organisation. Workers' wages were the largest item of expenditure. Paid weekly, they represented an average of between 37 and 51 pounds for the company, or almost a quarter of total expenditure. Indeed, the wages were not consistent because it was likely that Erard employed a number of people on a permanent basis and added seasonal workers depending on the demand. For example, during the season, approximately between February and July, more salaries were paid, usually peaking in March or April. In her work on musical

instrument makers in London, Jenny Nex estimated that Erard would have thus employed fifty to sixty people, with a core of forty permanent employees.⁴⁴⁸

Reception

While the patent was granted to Erard in 1794, it appears that he waited a few more years to advertise and sell them. The first mention of it in the press dates arrived in 1796, in the *Star and Evening Advertiser*:

*The new patent Pedal Harp, invented by SEBASTIAN ERARD, will now be introduced into all the most fashionable circles, especially as the celebrated Madam KRUMPHOLTZ, in her exquisite performances on that instrument, prefers those of his manufacture, to all others of the kind that have yet been made.*⁴⁴⁹

By the 1790s, Anne Marie Krumpoltz née Steckler was one of the most recurring harpists to play in the London, performing close to sixty times between 1788 and 1797.⁴⁵⁰ For the year 1789 alone, she played at twenty concerts, and was the only harpist performing on public stages that year. She might have seemed as the best choice for a maker to market a new invention, as audiences already knew her and her talents.

Gaining the approval of a figure as important as her in the musical landscape would have proved helpful in the commercialisation of his new pedal harp. Consequently, Madame Krumpoltz's name appears in the ledgers of the Erard harp manufacture in London. She purchased a first harp, serial number 269, in the late 1790s, although it is possible that Erard gifted an instrument to her.⁴⁵¹ As it was the case in Paris at the time, celebrated performers also taught on their instrument. Madame Krumpoltz appeared twelve times in the ledgers between 1801 and 1811 as a buyer for one of Erard's harps. This practice was common for the maker, both in Paris and London, where the masters often bought the instrument for their student, as they were trusted to know what was best. The books of the Erard firm are an important source to understand the history of his production. However, the sales of the pedal harps numbered between 1 and 365 are not precisely dated. Before 1801, the ledgers only registered the number of the harp and the name

⁴⁴⁸ Nex, "The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London," 221-22.

⁴⁴⁹ The *Star and Evening Advertiser*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (London). 10 August 1796.

⁴⁵⁰ McVeigh, "Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800."

⁴⁵¹ In the beginning, the ledgers were not precisely dated. Erard harp ledgers, volume 1, MS 10110, Royal College of Music Library, London.

of the buyer, while the first sales documented might date from around 1798.⁴⁵² Erard might have provided pedal harps to musicians before that, particularly as Mme Krumpholtz promoted his instruments in 1796. It could be that the numbering system was different before the one used in the ledgers. The first record of a pedal harp sale is that of the harp number 5, sold to Mr Mayer Sr.⁴⁵³ Philippe Jacob Meyer had first made a career in Paris, before settling in London in the mid-1780s, when he began performing at London concerts.⁴⁵⁴ From 1791, his sons also played the pedal harp on stages. The family appears to have been close to the Erard manufacture, buying at least thirteen harps from the maker between 1798 and 1806. Like Mme Krumpholtz, this might have been purchases made on behalf of other people, while still demonstrating the proximity of the two families.

Sales

Although the first mention of the new harp in the press did not appear until 1796, the first harps sold by Erard are not dated in the records. However, it can be estimated that the first harps were sold from the beginning of 1795. The first sale recorded in the registers concerns the harp bearing serial number 5, and was sold to Mr Mayer Senior. In all probability this was Philip Jacob Meyer, the famous harpist who made his name in Paris before moving to London at the end of the eighteenth century. As both the Meyers and the Erards were originally from Strasbourg and had settled in Paris, it is likely that the two families had close ties as *émigrés* in London.⁴⁵⁵ Meyer and his sons also acted as selling agents for Erard, receiving for each sale a commission of close to fifteen pounds. In both Paris and London, many harpists and teachers on the harp were utilised by the firm as intermediaries for sale. For the most part, it was because potential customers, who might have not known a lot about harps, wanted an expert to select the instrument. For Erard, this was useful as each had many students, who could potentially become customers. In London, the Meyers thus facilitated the sales of fifty-three pedal harps.

Between 1794 and 1811, the firm sold more than 1,400 single-action pedal harps with this action. The instruments produced before the serial number 357 were not precisely dated in the ledgers. The harp number 357 was sold in November of 1800. With more than 350 harps sold between 1795 and 1800, Erard would have sold on average 70 pedal harps each year. This number grew every year, reaching a peak of 117 harps sold in 1805. As seen in Figure 3-13, in 1811, one year

⁴⁵² Jennifer Susan Nex, "L'introduction de la harpe à double-mouvement à Londres à travers les registres de la maison Erard" in *Erard et l'Invention de la Harpe Moderne: 1811-2011*, ed. Robert Adelson (Nice: Palais Lascaris, 2011), 16.

⁴⁵³ Erard harp ledgers, volume 1, MS 10110, Royal College of Music Library, London.

⁴⁵⁴ John S. Sainsbury, *A Dictionary of Musicians: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Time*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1824), Vol. 2, 157-59.

⁴⁵⁵ See Chapter 4 for more information on Meyer.

after it was granted, the patent of the double-action pedal harp geared the company towards the production of this new model rather than the single action one.

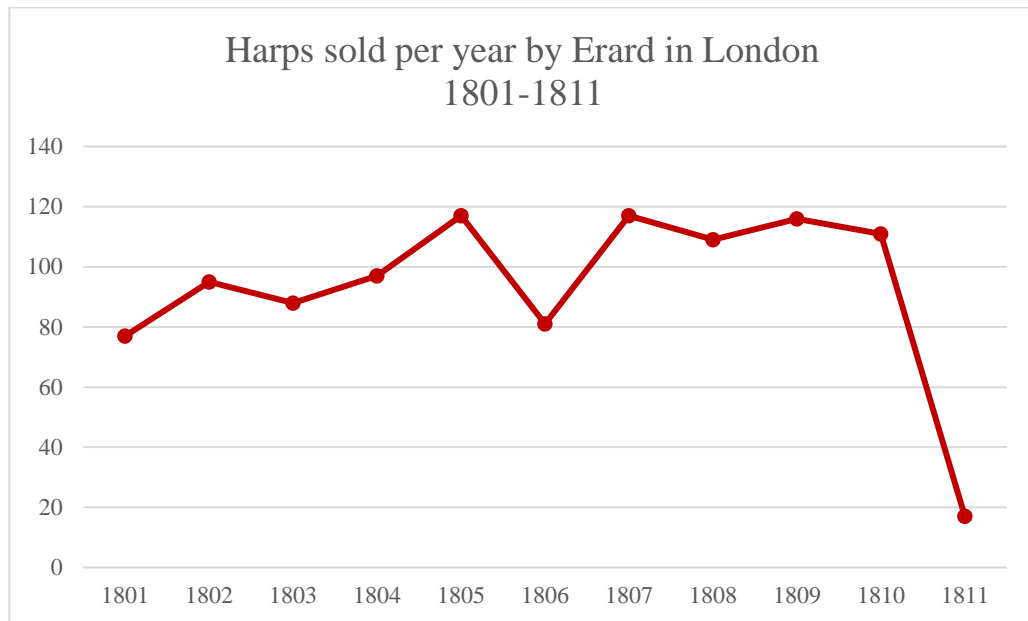


Figure 3-13 – Evolution of the number of harps sold every year by Erard in London between 1801 and 1811.

Between 1801 – the first full year of dated sales – and 1811, the London social calendar transpired in the sales of Erard harps. Between February and July, the aristocracy spent its time in London, enjoying the entertainments available. These months further show the highest number of sales on average for Erard. On average, ten harps were sold in February, against four in September, once the season had ended. Despite the end of the season, Erard sold harps all year round, although most of the sales were concluded during that time. The Erard harps still followed the path previously trailed by the French pedal harp as an object of luxury and aristocratic consumption. While, like the dates, the prices of the first pedal harps sold was not detailed in the ledgers, between 1801 and 1811, the average price for one Erard harp was of eighty pounds and ten shillings. In comparison at the time, pianos were often sold around fifty to sixty pounds, the single-action pedal harp was amongst the most expensive musical instruments sold in London at the time.⁴⁵⁶ In the ledgers, more than a quarter of all customers bore an aristocratic, military, or religious title. They usually purchased harps with more decorations, such as sculptures, gilding, or Etruscan motifs, raising the prices of the harps to a maximum of ninety-seven pounds. Etruscan and Grecian motifs were fashionable at the time in London, for example in architecture with the

⁴⁵⁶ Nex, "The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London," 104-07.

designs of Robert Adam.⁴⁵⁷ Similar to what had happened in eighteenth century France, the pedal harp's decorations were harmonised with that of the interior and design of aristocratic houses.

Apart from the fashionable design, Erard's action with the *fourchettes* mechanism was a success and his harps were adopted in London. With Erard's patent, the action was protected for fourteen years in London, giving the firm enough time to capitalize on the innovation. Erard, galvanized by the success of his patent in London, decided to use the newly implemented *brevets* in France to market his harps in Paris as well.

Paris

Protection

From the inception of the *brevets* in France, Sébastien Erard was the first to patent an innovation in relation of the pedal harp, with his 1798 *Harpe perfectionnée à pedals et à renforcement*.⁴⁵⁸ This was the same action Erard had presented for his 1794 British patent, described as the *fourchettes* mechanism. This patent allowed them to publish the mention *brevet d'invention* (patent) on their harp, which they began to do right away. The Erard firm was granted a fifteen-year patents, denoting the general economic prosperity of the business, as these were more expensive to apply for at 1,500 *livres*.⁴⁵⁹

The patent was publicised in the following days in the press, notably in the *Journal de Paris* and in the *Journal des Débats et des Décrets*. The latter was a newspaper dedicated to the political debates that took place in Parliament and aimed at publishing the decrees enacted.

Sales

Similar to London, many of the first pedal harps marketed by Erard were sold to musicians and commercial agents. Martin Pierre D'Alvimare purchased the harp serial number 5 from Paris. D'Alvimare was another recognised harpist, who came to the scene in the 1790s, performing as third harpist at the Académie de Musique, and who was in the circle of the Bonaparte family. In this position, he acted as intermediary for pedal harps purchased by Emperor Napoleon and his

⁴⁵⁷ Martha Blythe Gerson, "A Glossary of Robert Adam's Neo-Classical Ornament," *Architectural History* 24 (1981).

⁴⁵⁸ Perfected pedal harp with reinforcement. Brevet d'invention de 15 ans – harpe perfectionnée à pédales et à renforcement, Sébastien et Jean-Baptiste Erard, 1798. INPI, IBA859.

⁴⁵⁹ Marchal, "Brevets, marques, dessins et modèles. Évolution des protections de propriété industrielle au XIXe siècle en France", 109.

family on several occasions. Wattman, from Lisbon, and Garnier, from Lyons, were amongst the early customers of the Erard pedal harps. Both were music sellers and purchased substantial numbers of harps and pianofortes from Erard, in order to sell them in their shop. Wattman had also previously sold harps from the Cousineau manufactory.⁴⁶⁰ However, the number of harps produced and sold in Paris was much lower than in London, as testified in Figure 3-14.

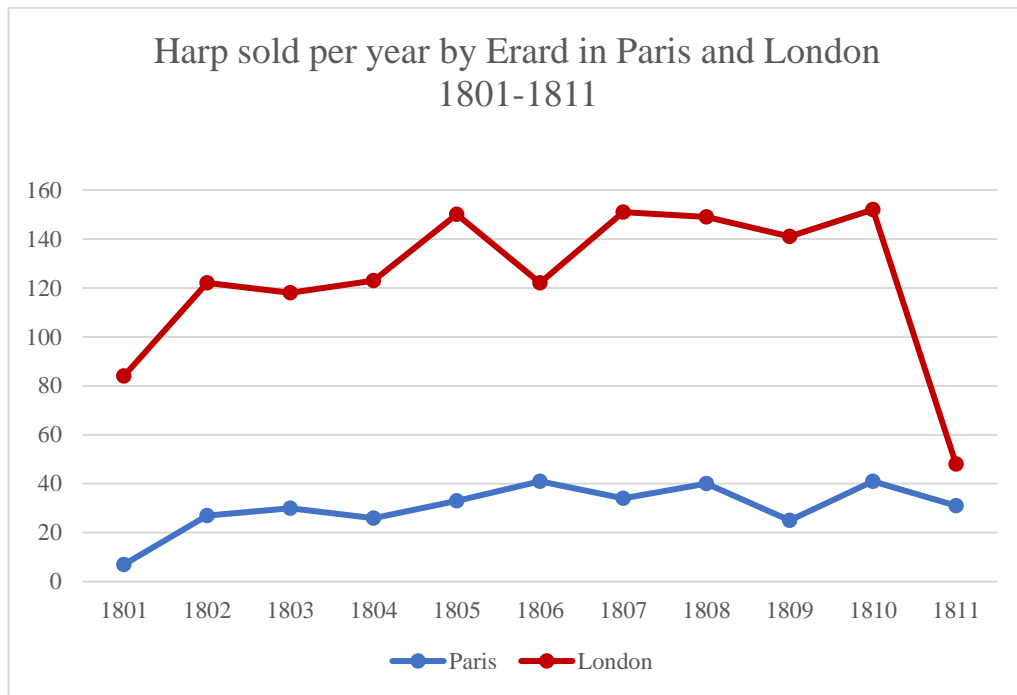


Figure 3-14 – Evolution of the number of harps sold every year by Erard in London and Paris between 1801 and 1811.

In London, as discussed here and in chapter 2, Erard was the first to manufacture pedal harps on this scale. The market was clear for Erard, and his 1794 patent offered him near monopoly on the pedal harp production until 1808. The situation was different in Paris, where pedal harps with *crochets* had been produced for the past forty years by the time Erard received his *brevets* in 1798. Cousineau and Naderman, the most prominent harp makers of the eighteenth century, were still producing instruments in large numbers, and their position at the Opera and with the Bonaparte family – as will be discussed in chapter 4 – ensured them a privileged position. Paris still counted a dozen of harp makers, who continued to use the *crochets* mechanism, as had been employed for so many years. Erard was likely aware of this, which would have explained the

⁴⁶⁰ Dépôt de lettres des Citoyens Cousineau père et fil, 21 April 1797, MC ET XXIV/1067, Minutier Central, F-Pan.

lower production numbers, as he knew his harp was fashionable in London, and he was perhaps not overly concerned about the Parisian sales numbers.

3.4.2 Further patents and developments

Seeking to pursue his exploration of musical possibilities on the harp, Sébastien Erard applied for a new patent in London in 1801 (number 2502).⁴⁶¹ Keeping the fork mechanism that he had patented in 1794, he introduced an action that would allow the strings to play three notes: flat, natural, and sharp. Without adding an extra row of apparatus, he incorporated rotating tuning pins that would heighten the string's tension, and therefore the pitch, which Cousineau had been using in Paris since 1799. With this first iteration of a 'double-action' system – where each string was altered twice – Erard presented the double-notched pedal box, more practical than Cousineau's fourteen pedals. The specification detailed this new pedal box in the drawing seen in Figure 3-15, and described as follows:

When these adjustments are made throughout the whole system of strings, (first) the natural series of notes or those of the principal key will be had throughout whenever the pedals are placed in the situation No3 (figure 5) and (secondly) all the chords or notes of one and the same name or letter will be raised one semitone whenever the pedal belonging to the particular note shall be pressed in the position No1 (figure 5) and (thirdly) all the chords or notes of one and the same name or letter will be depressed or lowered one semitone whenever the pedal belonging to that particular Note shall be raised to the position No5 (figure 5)

[...]⁴⁶²

⁴⁶¹ Sebastian Erard, Certain Improvements in the construction of harps and pianofortes, C66/3989, Chancery Court of Judicature: Patent Rolls, GB-Lna.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*

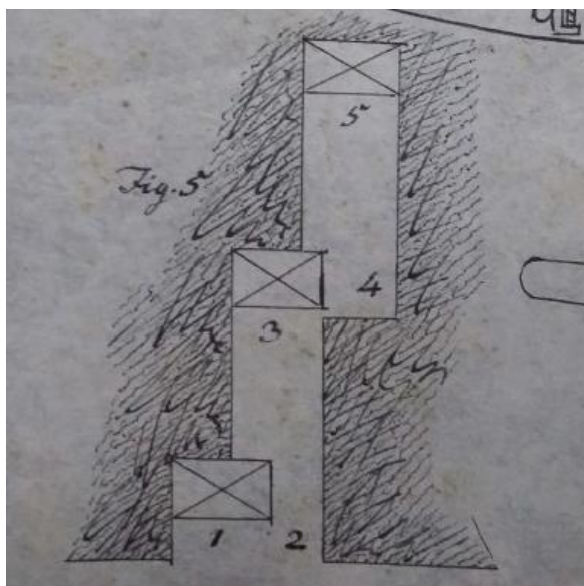


Figure 3-15 - Detail from the specifications for Erard's 1801 patent. C66/3989, Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Patent Rolls, GB-Lna. Photo by the author

While Erard potentially never marketed this harp – probably only building one prototype⁴⁶³ – other makers pursued this research.⁴⁶⁴ In July of 1800, Erard had applied for a patent for this apparatus in Paris, although the patent was only granted in July 1802, a year after the London patent.⁴⁶⁵

In both Paris and London, Erard applied for more patents, mostly presenting minor additions to his initial action. With the patents, he thus received protection of his work, even though he did not market all of these innovations as presented here. In 1810 in London and 1811 in Paris, the patents he received were for a more important advancement: the double-action pedal harp.

3.4.3 The double-action patents, 1810-1811

London

Behind Erard's purchase of Charles Gröll's patent, was his own research for doubling the *fourchettes* mechanism and allowing the harp to play in all tonalities. The presence of

⁴⁶³ Adelson, "Originality and Influence: Charles Gröll's Role in the Invention of the Double-action Harp", 8.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ This might have been because of the overlap on Cousineau's 1799 patent, although that is unsure. Several means offered to produce semitones on the harp by increasing the string's tension instead of shortening it. Brevet d'invention de 15 ans, Sébastien et Jean-Baptiste Erard, 1800. INPI, 1BA1684.

Cousineau's fourteen-pedal harp in his personal collections also indicates that Sébastien Erard he was researching a new action. Similar to Cousineau's and Gröll's principles, he introduced to his harps a mechanism that would render the harp playable in all tonalities. In 1810, he applied for a patent in London (number 3332), the specifications of which are depicted in Figure 3-16.

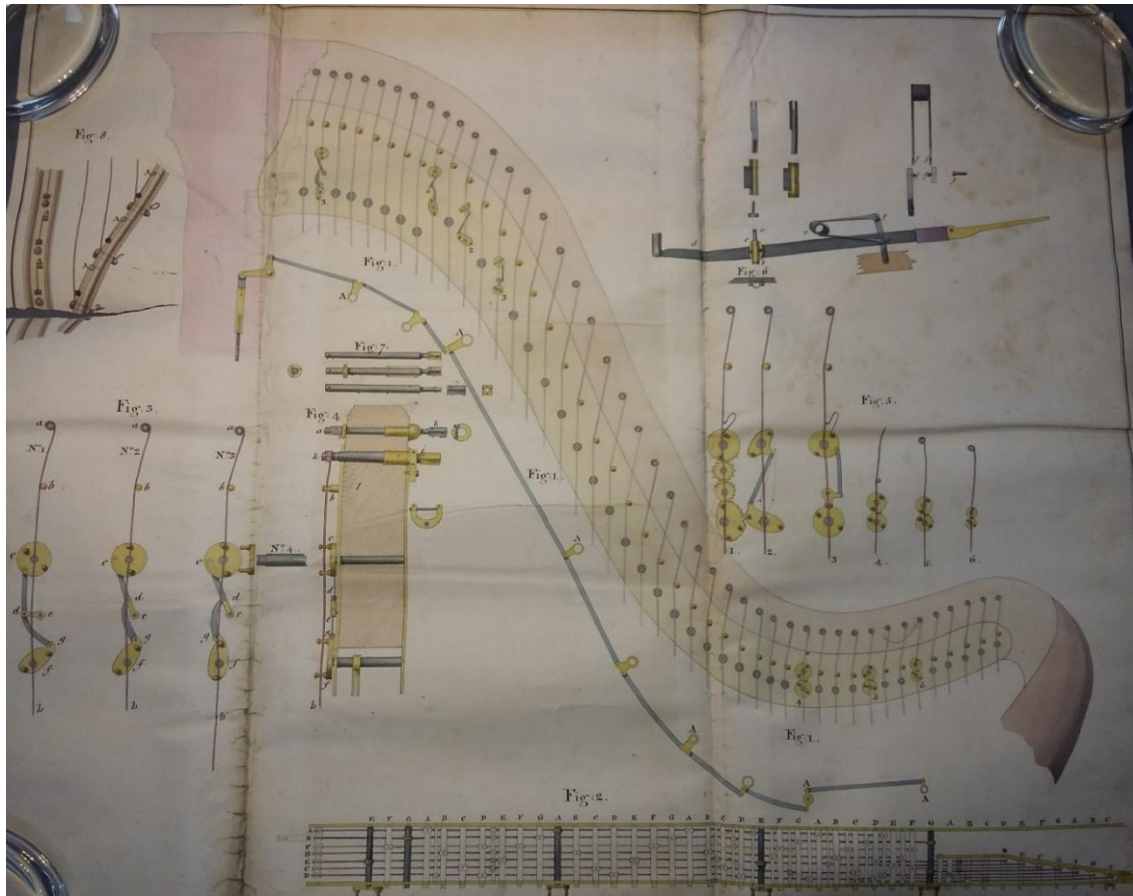


Figure 3-16 – Detail from the Specification of Erard's 1810 patent, C54/8711, Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Close Rolls, GB-Lna. Photo by the author.

Instead of one fork per string as it was in his 1794 patent, each string would be fitted with two forks, still activated by the pedal at the bottom of the instrument. When the pedal was neutral – in the top notch - the string played flat. In the middle notch, the pedal activated the first set of forks, and the string was now tuned in natural. By placing the pedal in the bottom notch, the player activated the second row of forks, rendering the tone of the string sharp.

By 1810, Erard remained the most important harp-maker in London, as no other maker produced harps in such great numbers. Erard therefore had a clear path to introduce novelties. Although he received his patent in October 1810, the first double-action pedal harp was sold in November of 1811. Some weeks before that, Erard had placed advertisements in the press about his invention. The notice highlighted the new possibilities of the harp:

*The strings producing three distinct tones instead of two, as on the old Harp; in consequence of which the performer, instead of being confined as heretofore to a very limited number of keys, can now play in every known key, and perform the most extensive and abstruse modulation with perfect facility.*⁴⁶⁶

Erard continued by saying that he also allowed for more room for the hands in the top of the instrument. The issue of keys seems, from that notice, to have been Erard's central concern, who had found a solution for it.

The first double-action pedal harp was sold on 24 October 1811 to Miss Dorothy Elizabeth Boehm. Similarly to Miss Boehm, the majority of the customers of the double-action pedal harp were women. Out of the first 100 double-action pedal harps produced, two thirds of them were sold to women.⁴⁶⁷ As was the case in the eighteenth century, the harp still appeared to be favoured amongst amateur female musicians. Similar to the first harps by Erard, the double-action was a very expensive instrument, costing more than one hundred pounds. The prohibitive cost indicated that most customers must have been quite well-off, and many of them bore an aristocratic title. Fashionable figures of London social life were found amongst the early customers, like the Marchioness of Downshire, or the Countess Spencer.⁴⁶⁸ Furthermore, several recognised harpist and teachers, like Mr Dizi, Mr de Marin, or Madame Krumpholtz purchased double-action pedal harps. They acted once again as selling agents for the firm, receiving around twelve guineas for each sale they facilitated. The Erard firm, by gaining the approval of musicians and of social figures, ensured its commercial stability, as both categories could play the role of ambassador of the new double-action pedal harp.

The instrument encountered a rapid success in Britain. In 1812, the first complete year of sale, the Erard company sold about a hundred of them. This set the London branch of the Erard firm afloat for many years, as the double-action pedal harp became the standard harp played in London.

Paris

Similar to his other patents, Erard then applied for a *brevet* in Paris, where his original manufactory remained. The Erard brothers received the *brevets* in August of 1811, protecting their invention for fifteen years, the longest protection possible. Like in 1798, several newspapers

⁴⁶⁶ *The Morning Chronicle*, 30 October 1811.

⁴⁶⁷ Nex, "The business of musical-instrument making in early industrial London," 109-10.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

printed notices on the patent. However, by the 1810s, several other harp makers had begun to apply Erard's *fourchettes* mechanism to their harp, the single-action movement remained the most used. The firm was still producing on average thirty single-action pedal harps every year, which, with its substantial piano production, ensured him safety when launching a new instrument, that might not encounter the same success it had in London. Because of the single-action model's prominence on the Parisian scene, the double action did not meet the same success it had in London. First, it appeared that the first double-action pedal harp was only sold in October of 1815, four years after the company had received its patent. Erard produced this harp in 1814, and Alexandre Dardel, from Neuchatel, purchased it, through the intermediary of a Mr Royné. The harp was priced at 2,100 francs, although it was reduced to 1,850. Erard regularly offered price reduction, particularly when the harp was purchased by one of his selling agents. In 1811, the double-action pedal harp was sold at a price that was almost double the price for a piano. Once again, several members of the aristocracy appeared amongst the early customers of this harp, such as the Duc de la Trémoille, or the Marquise de Frotté. The early customers also counted several musicians and teachers on the harp, that could have helped to disseminate the instrument, although they were not amongst the most renowned.

In 1811, Paris still counted many harp makers, who produced single-action pedal harps. For example, both the Cousineau and Naderman family were still producing harps. Erard had an ally at the Académie Impériale de Musique in Martin Pierre D'Alvimare, who was a regular customer, and now played first harpist in the orchestra. However, he retired in 1812, and the post was offered to François Joseph Naderman (1781-1835), son of Jean Henry. In his position, Naderman favoured the harp produced by his family over those of other makers. Perhaps, this difficulty of the double-action pedal harp to penetrate a saturated market for the harp caused the Paris branch to declare bankruptcy in 1813.⁴⁶⁹ It was also certainly this bankruptcy that postponed the production of double-action pedal harps until 1814. Through the commercial success of the London branch, the Erard firm continued to stay afloat.

Ten years later, the double-action pedal harp suffered another institutional blow, as François Joseph Naderman was appointed as the first ever harp professor at the Conservatoire in Paris. Those who controlled the teaching, controlled which instruments are played. Because of his ongoing family production, Naderman never taught on the double-action pedal harp, continuing to perpetuate the single-action tradition. He also criticised the tuning of Erard's double action, that he believed to be unstable because of the mechanism.⁴⁷⁰ He demonstrated in his concerts and

⁴⁶⁹ *Dossier de faillite, Erard, luthier*, February 1813. VD* 948-955-969, Tribunal de Commerce du Département de la Seine, F-Pap.

⁴⁷⁰ For the debates between Naderman and Erard about the mechanism through pamphlets, see Adelson, *Erard: l'Empire de la Harpe, Erard: Empire of the Harp*, 120-22.

with his students, the superiority of the single-action pedal harp. After a performance of him and three of his students, a journalist noted that the double-action harp ‘will have no chance of being adopted’.⁴⁷¹ Once he passed away in 1835, and was replaced by Antoine Prumier (1794-1868), the double-action pedal harp was finally being taught at the Conservatoire, thus legitimising its use in music.

⁴⁷¹ *L’Impartial*, 15 February 1835.

Concluding remarks

*Apart from a few imperfections, the harp is one of the most harmonious instruments in existence.*⁴⁷²

The pedal harp had already undergone several modifications to arrive at its French model with *hook* mechanism. Parisian instrument makers had replaced the Bavarian crutches with *hooks* and modified the shape and appearance of the instrument. The transformations of the instrument in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were thus a continuation of its history. However, they were exacerbated by a society that praised novelty and invention.

In Paris and London, institutions existed to frame inventions and inventors, and either grant them a privilege or offer them protection. In London, the patents had already been in place for a long time before the first patent was applied for an invention related to the pedal harp. While the Parisian makers introduced the first transformations of the harp discussed here, France had yet to offer inventors proper protection of their creations. The Académie Royale des Sciences, in links with the royal powers, offered a commercial guarantee, as those whose invention was approved could advertise it when marketing their creation. In an impulse for more liberal economy during the French Revolution, the Assemblée Nationale created a new set of protection for inventions, based on the British patents: the *brevets d'invention*.

Georges Cousineau first imagined a new way of producing the semitones on the pedal harp. The *crochets* in use since the 1750s, presented some disadvantages that the maker tried to solve with his *béquilles* action. He introduced a harp with *béquilles* action and a double row of pedal to the Académie Royale des Sciences in 1782. The academicians met him with enthusiasm and curiosity, although they left the decision on its posterity to the harp masters that populated the city. Cousineau, associated with his son Jacques Georges continued to research the mechanism and sound of the pedal harps. They presented a new pedal to modulate the sound, and later another way of producing the semitones, with the turning pins. Cousineau's most important competition was potentially Jean Henry Naderman. He also introduced an action in the early 1780s, although Cousineau accused him of utilising some of his invention. Naderman's crowning invention was the one he introduced to the Académie in 1787, one he had elaborated with harpist Jean Baptiste Krumpholtz. By adding a muffler and shutters to the instrument, Naderman offered new sounds to the pedal harp. Other makers adopted the shutters in the following years.

⁴⁷² « On peut regarder la harpe, à quelques imperfections près, comme un des instruments les plus harmonieux qui existent » *Journal de Paris*, 14 December 1778.

From the 1770s, the pedal harp had gained an important place in music in London. As more and more people played it, it became necessary for London music merchants to market them. Some then imported pedal harps from France, while some began to produce their own. Unfortunately, the sources presented here are the most trustworthy ones regarding their production, as few of their instruments remain. After Sébastien Erard's arrival in London and his first patent in 1794, several London harp makers applied for patents. Like in Paris, makers searched for new sounds and new actions for the instrument, with varying success.

This chapter closes with a study of the Erard company, its inventions, patents and production. It was of the rare companies at the time established in both Paris and London, cities at war for the most part of the Napoleonic Empire. In both cities, Sébastien Erard applied first for patents for inventions related to the pedal harp. Erard's *fourchettes* mechanism swept over London rapidly, becoming the standard instrument. The Parisian market was more difficult to penetrate, as the *crochets* had been in use for forty years at this point. The Erard company thrived through marketing techniques, using musicians as selling agents, and creating links with the social elite of the time. His addition of a second mechanism rank on the neck, created the double-action mechanism, which generated the action still in use on today's pedal harps. His success in London was immediate, with high sales numbers, while Paris took more time to adopt it completely.

With the adoption of the double-action pedal harp, the single-action model fell slowly into disgrace, as fewer makers took interest in it. The transformations that occurred in the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries all led to this final form of the pedal harp. They all had influenced Erard's vision, and each of them had advanced the instrument closer to the *perfection* it supposedly lacked in the newspaper quoted in the opening here.

Chapter 4 Playing the Pedal Harp

Throughout the period, musicians played the pedal harp in public concerts, as well as in private settings. From the 1760s onwards, there were an increasing number of performers in Paris. Harpists appeared in many concert venues in both cities. In Paris, the Concert Spirituel dominated the concert life, while London already had an extensive system of privately led venues. The first section examines the concert landscape in Paris and London, in order to understand the place of the pedal harp. The instrument was played by a variety of characters, some of whom are discussed in the second section. In the eighteenth century, at a time when London was playing an important role on the European music scene, several French harpists came to play in the city. With the French Revolution, others came to settle and play there, helping to reinforce the harp's definition as a French instrument. In both cities, the pedal harp, although mostly played by men in professional concerts, was played by a growing number of women. This section also discusses the developing place of harpists in orchestra, with the example of the Académie Royale de Musique, which opened a new professional perspective for the few harpists who played there. Along with their performances, many of these harpists offered lessons on their instrument, as will be presented here. The final section examines the printing of harp music, starting with the treatises. Then, it will present an overview of the repertoire and its transformations throughout the period.

4.1 Concert institutions

4.1.1 Paris

Concert Spirituel

Two main institutions dominated musical life in eighteenth-century Paris: the Académie royale de musique and the Concert Spirituel. The former, discussed below, regularly hosted operas, balls and concerts. Only the Concert Spirituel was authorised to give performances on days of religious celebration, when the Académie was in recess. The Concert Spirituel was the first institution devoted solely to music and serving no liturgical or political purpose. It was founded by the composer Anne-Danican Philidor (1681-1728), who in 1725 obtained permission from the crown to organise concerts on religious feast days. After a few years, the institution ran out of steam and had to adapt to the times in order to stay afloat. With the installation of new management in the 1740s, the Concert became the place to introduce new musical talents such as virtuosos, or innovations in musical instruments, such as the first Parisian appearance of Goepffert in 1749.⁴⁷³

The performances of the Concert Spirituel were housed in the Tuileries's Cent-Suisses room. As discussed earlier, this was detrimental to instruments that would be more fitting to smaller spaces, like for example the mandolin.⁴⁷⁴ The harp, whose feeble sound was often criticised, presented an exception, with growing numbers of performances at the Concert Spirituel from the 1760s. Between 1750 and 1790, when the series of the Concert Spirituel stopped in the aftermaths of the Revolution, around seventy performances had included the pedal harp. In the days preceding the concerts, announcements placed in the press often indicated the player's name and the programme. Over that period, twenty-seven different harpists played these for seventy performances. Interestingly, the genders were close to evenly distributed, with sixteen male and eleven female harpists. Meyer, as discussed previously, was amongst the most represented harpists at the Concert, with at least nine concerts, between 1761 and 1764. However it was during the 1770s and 1780s that the Concert presented more harpists and harp performances.

The advertisements and concert reports did not always feature the details of the concert programme. Evidently, the Concert and its audience valued the musicians and their character, more than the pieces that were played. When the piece played was referenced, it was most often because the composer was recognised on the harp, or that the composer was the one performing, like Krumpholtz or Petrini. The programme is known for forty-five of the harp performances, with details published in the announcement or the review. Once the piece was published, the

⁴⁷³ Favier, "Nouvelles sociabilités, nouvelles pratiques: les concerts sous le règne de Louis XV", 120.

⁴⁷⁴ Heartz, "The Concert Spirituel in the Tuileries Palace", 244.

edition often mentioned its performance by a specific harpist at the Concert Spirituel. For example, the 1779 publication of Krumpholtz's Fifth Concerto for the Harp, opus 7, stated that it was 'performed by the author on Christmas Day 1778 at the Concert Spirituel'.⁴⁷⁵

Mentions of the concerts' programmes did not always underline a specific piece or author; instead they usually described the type of music played, like sonatas and concertos. In fact, compositions with the harp and orchestra were the most often played, with at least twelve concerto performances and two with symphonies concertantes. The Concert Spirituel indeed had a resident orchestra, which would have made it easy to play pieces with the orchestra prominently featuring the harp. In 1781 for example, Jacques Georges Cousineau's and Renaudin's performance on the harp in *L'Arche d'Alliance* by François Joseph Gossec (1734-1829) was brought to attention as the highlight of the whole piece. Sonatas with the harp playing alone were common as well, performed in around ten concerts. Many harpists also debuted and performed their compositions.

Académie Royale de Musique

The advent of the harp in public concerts in both Paris and London was an essential factor in the dissemination of the instrument, along with the role given to the pedal harp in musical institutions, starting with the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris.⁴⁷⁶ The Académie Royale de Musique was founded by order of the king in 1669. Music was at the time a critical part of royal representation, so it was necessary to have the power to control it. The Académie's initial purpose was to lead musical culture, while offering regular concert series. It was introduced with a monopoly on musical performances, becoming a leading force in musical creation, particularly of operas, with one of the first major orchestras in Europe. After years under private management, the institution returning officially under royal agency in 1780. From then on, the Académie was placed under the Menus Plaisirs's tutelage, the royal household's administration of leisure and parties.⁴⁷⁷ This system remained in place until the revolution, when with the abolition of privileges, several musical venues opened in Paris, leaving the Académie with less power and modernity.

In the 1790s, the audience's interest turned to instrumental concerts, and less towards operas. As many new venues and concerts launched throughout Paris, the Académie was less frequented.

⁴⁷⁵ Johann Baptist Krumpholtz, *Cinquième Concerto pour la Harpe, Op. 7* (Paris: Mad^{me} Oger, 1779).

⁴⁷⁶ In this study, this will be referred to as Académie or Opéra, the terms used at the time to designate the institution.

⁴⁷⁷ In her thesis and subsequent research, musicologist Solveig Serre has explored the organisation of the *Académie Royale de Musique* through several angles. Solveig Serre, "L'académie royale de musique et les menus plaisirs dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle" in *Les Menus Plaisirs du roi*, ed. Jerome de la Gorce Pierre Jugie (Paris: Presses Universitaires Paris-Sorbonne, 2013).

This disinterest from the public was further evident with the lack of original pieces, as older works were performed more regularly during that decade. The period was also a troubled one among the administration of the Académie, with changing managements. In 1798, the Directoire considered its initial values to be unfitting with revolutionary ones, and subsequently renamed it the Théâtre de la République et des Arts.⁴⁷⁸ The following year, the Théâtre employed a wave of new musicians, particularly from the Conservatoire, which had been opened in 1795. Among the orchestra, the administration established new ranks, including the creation of a soloist status. The reorganisation of the institution and its orchestra led to higher quality in performances, that gave a more prominent space to instrumental music. This reorganisation launched the Theatre in a modern era, that continued well into the nineteenth century. What was formerly called the Académie Royale de Musique, became the Theatre de la République et des Arts, which evolved into the Theatre National de l'Opéra, and is today known as the Opéra National de Paris.

After the Revolution

Out of all the performers on the harp, less than a dozen of them only appeared once on the stage of the Concert. For some, like Mademoiselle Schencker, it was perhaps because they played at a young age, on a stage that privileged young virtuosi, and of which audiences might have lost interest once they had grown. In other cases, their short career at the Concert was only due to its closing. Francesco Petrini or Jean Aimé Vernier (1769-c.1838) for example had longer careers and continued to perform at many different locations that opened after the Revolution.

During the Revolution, several institutions with ties to the royal power were dismantled, like the Concert Spirituel. Part of the reforms brought forth by the Revolution included the abolition of privileges in 1789, including those granted to the Académie Royale de Musique. From 1790, performances were held in different venues than before, akin to social clubs. These clubs had become important hubs for ideas and sociability. They organised debates and conversations about social and political issues, while additionally offering entertainment, with dinners, games, and concerts. The Club des Étrangers for example housed the performances of several harpists, such as Francesco Petrini, and Mademoiselle Rose in 1790. These concerts continued to welcome harpists throughout the 1790s, notably at the Cercle des Bons Amis, or at the Cercle de l'Harmonie. In January 1791, the Assemblée Nationale passed a law allowing private individuals to hold music concerts, and from that point, concerts were held in more venues than ever, and concert announcements in the press were more frequent. For example, in its edition of the 2nd of February 1792, the *Mercure Universel* gathered reports and notices from nine theatres, with six

⁴⁷⁸ Alexandre Dratwicki, "La réorganisation de l'orchestre de l'Opéra de Paris en 1799: de nouvelles perspectives pour le répertoire de l'institution," *Revue de Musicologie* 88 (2002): 298.

performances that day, and three the following day. The theatres programmed concerts with already recognised harpists. For example, Marie Elizabeth Cléry performed at the Theatre of the Rue Feydeau in 1792, and Jacques Georges Cousineau played at the Maison Wenzel in 1796. With the multiplication of venues, a growing number of harpists also emerged on the public scene, as shown in Figure 4-1.⁴⁷⁹ That said, much of what happened in France after the revolution was already in place in London in the eighteenth century.

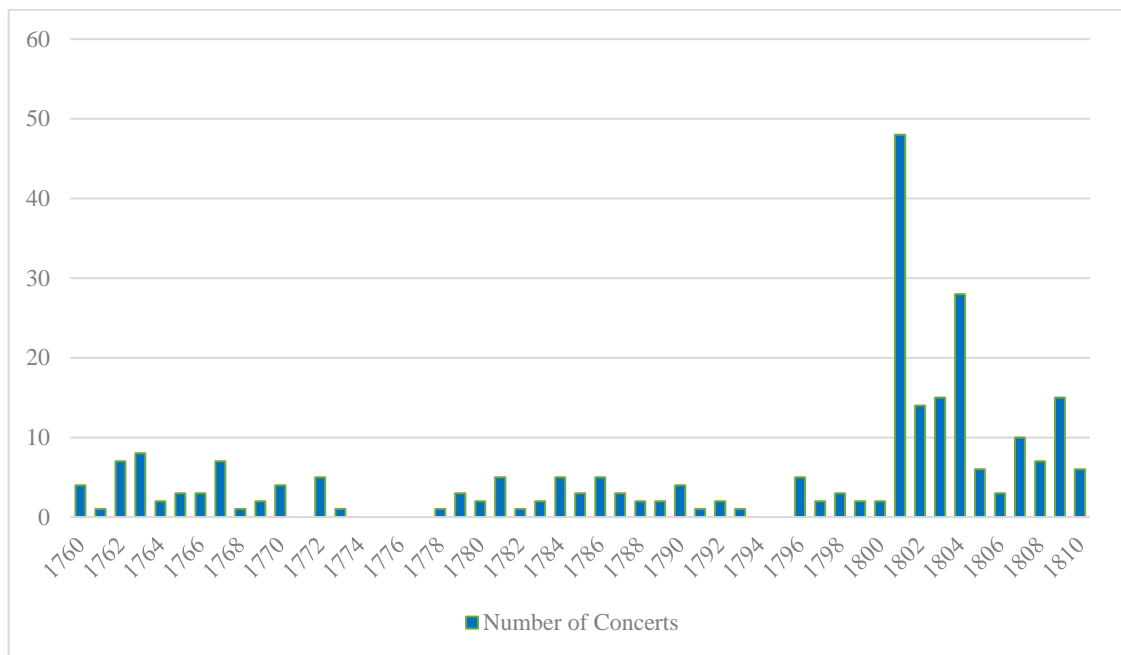


Figure 4-1 – Number of public concerts featuring a pedal harp in Paris, between 1760 and 1810.

4.1.2 London

In the eighteenth century, most public concerts in London were organised by private entrepreneurs, who benefited from the many locations available in the city. The situation was exacerbated in the 1770s specifically, as concerts were more frequent and diversified.⁴⁸⁰ They had become a crucial social consumption, linked with luxury, particularly as they were often performed only once, with some musicians only playing in London. Famous composers and

⁴⁷⁹ The numbers in this graph, as with the one about London, only regard public concerts. The pedal harp was played in private settings, however the lack of documentation on these has prevented the author from researching private concerts that featured the pedal harp. It was probably in this setting that the Duc de Guines and his daughter premiered Mozart's concerto for the flute and harp (KV299) in 1778 in Paris.

⁴⁸⁰ McVeigh, "Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music: Markets, Efficiency, Demand", 10-12.

soloists' appearances were thus limited, and the music that they played was not always printed.⁴⁸¹ These factors created a rarity for London concerts, and therefore a higher value and demand for them.

The variety of venues and concerts available allowed for more harpists to appear in London. Between 1750 and 1790, London offered close to a hundred public concerts featuring the pedal harp. Around forty of these performances were benefit concerts, put on by a musician. Benefits were often stand-alone events that musicians organised as a reward, either to a musical society or to their patrons.⁴⁸² Among these events held between 1750 and 1790, harpists themselves organised twenty of them. For example, Mr Edward Jones, a Welsh harpist, said to have turned to the pedal harp after a trip to Paris⁴⁸³, put on regular benefits in April and May 1775, and in April 1779. Several other recognised harpists put on benefits, like Hochbrucker in May 1779, Hinner in February 1781, or Marie Elizabeth Cléry in June of 1781. Many other concerts were put on as subscription events. The membership to a public concert series allowed audiences to share the cost of the performance, with all the money going to the promoters. This reinforced the concept of concerts as luxury consumption, with high prices and appearances of qualified performers, a rarity thus enticing value. Edward Jones for example organised subscription concerts at the Crown and Anchor tavern on the Strand in 1776.⁴⁸⁴

The series of Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) and Carl Friedrich Abel, (1723-1787), known as the Bach-Abel concerts, and those of Johan Peter Salomon were among the most fashionable in the second half of the eighteenth century. Audiences recognised these concert series as offering the latest music, often just imported from the Continent. When it came to the pedal harp, both the Bach-Abel and Salomon concerts almost exclusively welcomed performances from harpists arriving from France, like Krumpholtz, Hinner, Delaval or Meyer. In terms of venues, London offered a variety of spaces, and harp performances were thus heard across the city.

The venues ranged from public theatres that could be leased, to private houses, like Carlisle House. Rented by opera singer Teresa Cornelys (1723-1797) from the 1760s, Carlisle House rapidly became one of the unmissable venues for the London season.⁴⁸⁵ She organised, balls, masquerades, and concerts, hiring the most recognised musicians to attract the best crowds. In March 1776, she housed a benefit for Mrs Werner, the wife of harpist Francis Werner, who

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 20-25.

⁴⁸² Later seen as demeaning and deceptive, the practice was abandoned in the nineteenth century. *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 8.

⁴⁸³ *European Magazine and London Review*, (London: Isaac Reed). 1784, 363–364.

⁴⁸⁴ *Public Advertiser*, 1 May 1776.

⁴⁸⁵ White, *A Great and Monstrous Thing, London in the Eighteenth Century*, 294.

performed on the harp that evening.⁴⁸⁶ Five years later, Teresa Cornelys housed performances from Philip Joseph Hinner, then harp teacher to the queen of France, including a benefit he put on the 23rd of February 1781.⁴⁸⁷ Many of the concert venues like Carlisle House not only welcomed vocal or instrumental concerts. They regularly housed parties, debates, gambling, masquerades, etc. For that reason, in 1775, Bach and Abel had helped to open the Hanover Square Rooms, seeking a permanent concert hall after performing for a time at Carlisle House.⁴⁸⁸ The new venue was built specifically for concerts, big enough to welcome 500 people.⁴⁸⁹ They housed a plethora of harp performances during the period of this study, from some of the time's most celebrated harpists. Hinner played the remainder of his London tour in 1781 at the Bach-Abel concerts. In the 1790s, Anne Marie Krumpholtz performed most of her concerts at the Salomon subscription concerts in those same rooms. Concerts on the pedal harps continued to be put on in the 1790s, reaching a peak of twenty-five harp performances in 1793, which might have been in consequence of the influx of new harpists from France. In the early 1800s, amateur musicians had taken interest in the pedal harp, and it was less and less performed in public concerts, as shown in Figure 4-2.⁴⁹⁰

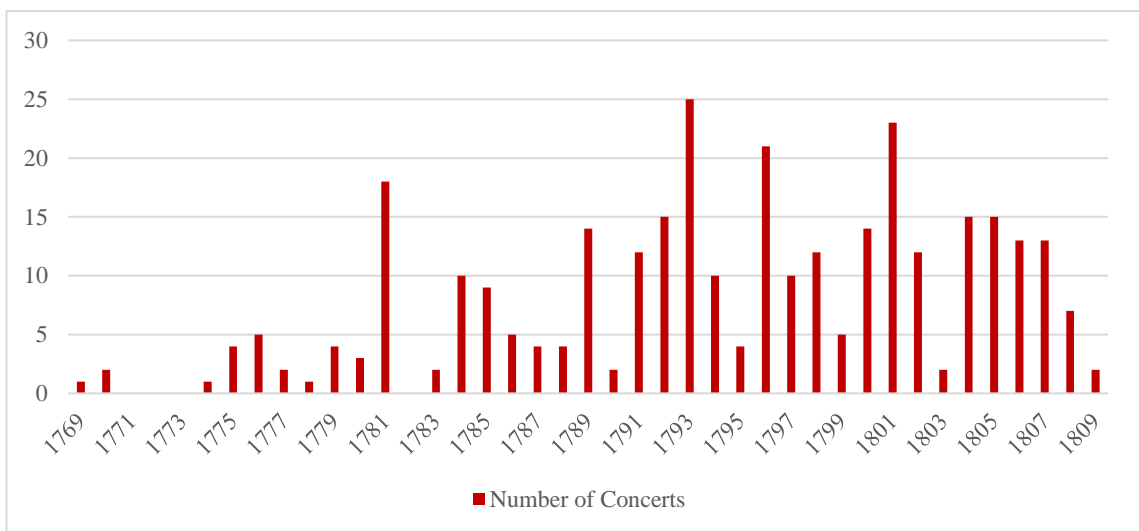


Figure 4-2 – Number of public concerts featuring a pedal harp London, between 1769 and 1809.

⁴⁸⁶ *Public Advertiser*, 22 March 1776.

⁴⁸⁷ *Morning Herald*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (London). 23 February 1781.

⁴⁸⁸ White, *A Great and Monstrous Thing, London in the Eighteenth Century*, 300.

⁴⁸⁹ *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 3.

⁴⁹⁰ The data used in this study for concerts can be considered complete for the period between 1750 and 1800, as based on Simon McVeigh's *Concerts in London* dataset. Between 1801 and 1810, the data is scarcer due to the high volume of press material, which would require a different study in itself.

4.2 Performers on the harp

4.2.1 Paris

Johann Baptist Hochbrucker

The emergence of the pedal harp on the Parisian scene brought several instrumentalists to the fore. While Goepffert only performed once at the Concert Spirituel, Johann Baptist Hochbrucker was amongst the most regular musicians to play at these concerts. Between 1760 and 1767, he performed eleven times, between one and three a year. Hochbrucker, born in Bavaria in the early 1730s, first played in France in the city of Strasbourg, after a position at the Radziwiłł court – discussed in 1.1.2. There, he caught the attention of the Prince Louis de Rohan, at the time coadjutor of the bishopric of Strasbourg, who hired him in 1760, and brought him to Paris.⁴⁹¹ He is known to be in the city at least from 1761, when a young Johann Baptist Krumpholtz met with him and received lessons from him.⁴⁹² There, he was amongst the first to publish music solely devoted to the pedal harp, with his *Six Sonates pour La Harpe* printed by Anton Huberty in 1762.⁴⁹³ While it was unclear which Hochbrucker had penned these compositions, the sonatas are dedicated to ‘His Majesty Monseigneur the Prince Louis de Rohan, coadjutor of the bishopric of Strasbroug’, who employed Johann Baptist during that period. From the beginning, Parisian audiences applauded Hochbrucker for his talents on the instrument, with the *Mercure de France* in June 1760 proclaiming, ‘the more we hear him, the more pleasure he gives.’⁴⁹⁴ His success at the Concert Spirituel, and the patronage of the prince de Rohan led him to perform in 1762 in front of the Dauphin Louis (1729-1765) and the Dauphine Marie Josèphe de Saxe (1731-1767). Marie Louise de Rohan, Comtesse de Marsan (1720-1803), had organised the concert, during a party she hosted at her house in Andresy on the outskirts of Paris. The Comtesse was the governess of the royal children, who raised notably the future Louis XVI.⁴⁹⁵ A member of the prominent Rohan family, the Countesse de Marsan was related to the Prince Louis de Rohan, which explains why she hired Hochbrucker to play the harp that day. During the festivities, Hochbrucker performed with two horns while the refreshments were served in the garden.⁴⁹⁶ After 1767, Hochbrucker no longer appeared in concerts, but he remained an active composer,

⁴⁹¹ Franková, "La Migration des musiciens dans l'Europe des Lumières : le cas de Joseph Kohaut (1734–1777)," Annexes, 96.

Hennebelle, *De Lully à Mozart. Aristocratie, Musique, et Musiciens à Paris (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, 327.

⁴⁹² Plane, *Principes pour la Harpe par J. B. Krumhpoltz...recueillis et mis au jour par Plane* (Paris, 1800), 1-2.

⁴⁹³ Hochbrucker, *Six sonates pour la harpe avec une gamme & des pièces doigtées... mise au jour par Huberty... oeuvre I*.

⁴⁹⁴ « Plus on l'entend, plus il fait de plaisir » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, June 1760, 236-237.

⁴⁹⁵ Alexandre Maral, *Femmes de Versailles*, Tempus (Paris: Perrin, 2019), 245.

⁴⁹⁶ *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, July 1762, 197-201.

publishing pieces for the harp throughout the 1770s. Like most musicians at the time, Hochbrucker further tutored on the instrument. For example, he first appeared in London as a teacher on the harp, when in December of 1778, he was presented as such, advertising for the sale 'the most elegant, the most melodious and harmonic Harps in Europe'. Residing at No. 13 Cavendish Street, he also marketed his musical works and tunes.⁴⁹⁷ The following month, his first London public performance was publicised in several newspapers:

*We hear, that amongst other capital Performers (...) the celebrated Mr. Hochbrucker will play a Solo on the Pedal Harp, being his first public Performance in this Kingdom.*⁴⁹⁸

Hochbrucker performed at least five times in London in 1779, appearing at concerts at Haymarket, Freemason's Hall, or the New Rooms on Tottenham Street. Hochbrucker's final appearance in London dates from 1780, when the *Morning Post* announced the publication of his *Six Divertiments for the Harp or Piano-Forte* in January of that year.⁴⁹⁹ Hochbrucker had dedicated the piece to the Duchess of Devonshire, Georgina Cavendish. (1757-1806). Hochbrucker might have taught the harp to the duchess, who had received harp lessons in her youth, and continued to play the instrument, as suggested by this notice in the *Morning Post* in 1786:

*The Duchess of Devonshire's improvement on the harp, leaves very few, out of the profession, who are able to dispute the palm for excellence on that instrument.*⁵⁰⁰

In both Paris and London, Johann Baptist Hochbrucker managed to gain protection from important members of society, which might have brought him more students and recognition. Hochbrucker appeared to travel through France in the 1780s, marrying his third wife in Douai on 7 October 1783.⁵⁰¹ In the late 1790s, he came back to Paris for a couple of concerts, before passing away in 1812 in the little town of Saint-Servan in Brittany.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁷ *The Morning Post*, 9 December 1778.

⁴⁹⁸ *Public Advertiser*, 23 January 1779.

⁴⁹⁹ *The Morning Post*, 25 January 1780.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 1 September 1786.

⁵⁰¹ Mariage Jean Baptiste Hochbrucker et Jeanne Augustine Deschryver, 7 October 1783, Mi 020 R 030, Douai, Paroisse Saint Pierre, Mariages (1772-1792), Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille.

⁵⁰² The circumstances of his presence in the town remain unknown. See Marc Douchet, "Un musicien Oublié: Jean-Baptiste Hochbrucker, 1732-1812," *Annales de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo* (1975): 58.

Philip Jacob Meyer

Along with Goepffert and Hochbrucker, Philip Jacob Mayer, another German-born harpist, placed the instrument at the centre of Parisian concerts.

*It is to Germans that we owe this happy addition to our concerts. They renewed the harp and perfected its playing. They are and will still be for a longtime our masters. Two famous men in this genre (MM. Mayer and Hochbrucker) compete for the French public's attention.*⁵⁰³

Meyer was born in Strasbourg in December 1737.⁵⁰⁴ He arrived in Paris in the 1760s, performing for the first time at the Concert Spirituel in 1761.⁵⁰⁵ In the following years, Meyer played numerous times at the Concert, including three times in 1762 and four times in 1763. That same year, he published the very first treatise for the pedal harp, *Essai sur la vraie manière de Jouer de la Harpe*. His presence at the Concert Spirituel enabled him to make his method known. The publication of his method also benefited from the fact that, at the time, Parisian newspapers advertised only one harp teacher. As the instrument gained in popularity with the public, Meyer noted the lack of harp teachers:

*The Public, after seeing all its [the harp's] merit, complained with reason that it was reduced in this respect to the simple lessons of a small number of Masters.*⁵⁰⁶

In the 1770s, Meyer appeared less at the Concert Spirituel, perhaps focusing on his compositions. In 1774, he published a new version of his method, the *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe*, after which he left Paris for London. There, Meyer printed several of his works, commencing in 1775 with this *Six Divertiments for the small harp*.⁵⁰⁷ His two sons, Philip and Charles, also began to appear on London concerts in the 1780s. Meyer's father performed along with one of his sons at the benefit concert of Mr. Abram, at the Ancient Concert Rooms on 15 March 1785.⁵⁰⁸ In the 1780s, he continued to compose for the harp, including an opera performed at the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris in 1782. The opera *Apollon et Daphnée, ou l'invention de la lyre* opened at the Académie on 24 September 1782. Like all orchestral material

⁵⁰³ « C'est aux Allemands à qui nous sommes redevables de cette heureuse addition à nos concerts. Ils ont renouvelé la harpe & perfectionné son jeu. Deux hommes célèbres dans ce genre (MM. Mayer & Hochbrucker) se disputent les suffrages du Public François. » *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, 16 January 1764.

⁵⁰⁴ Baptême, 1 December 1737. Baptêmes 1727-1754, Paroisse Saint-Thomas, Strasbourg. F-Sad.

⁵⁰⁵ *Mercur de France, dédié au Roi*, October 1761, 196.

⁵⁰⁶ « Le Public, après en avoir aperçu tout le mérite, se plaint avec raison d'être réduit à cet égard aux simples leçons d'un petit nombre de Maîtres » Meyer, *Essai sur la vraie manière de jouer de la harpe, avec une méthode de l'accorder*.

⁵⁰⁷ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 25 March 1775.

⁵⁰⁸ *Morning Herald*, 15 March 1785.

played by the Académie, the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra de Paris, a branch of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, holds the scores today, including the harp part presented in Figure 4-3.



Figure 4-3 – ‘Entrance. For Cupid holding a lyre, making a young nymph dance’ – First seven measures from the manuscript harp score of *Apollon et Daphnée*. Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, F-Pn, A-294 (B). Photo by the author.

Following the fashion of the antiquity of the time, the harp symbolised Apollo, or his lyre as it is written in this extract. However, the piece was only advertised as music written by ‘Mr. Meyer’ with no precision of a first name. Several elements lean towards an attribution to Philip Jacob Meyer, starting with including a detailed harp score. The parts written for the harp appear to have been played in interludes, with the harp playing solo or as an accompaniment for the dancing on stage. In both cases, they would have required a certain knowledge of the instrument, which Meyer possessed. More than a hundred years later his great-grandson Sebastian W. Meyer brought to light a second indication of Meyer’s authorship. In his correspondence with Charles Nutter (1828-1899), head of the Bibliothèque de l’Opéra in Paris, the pair discussed the possibility that Meyer was the composer of the opera. With photographs of the manuscript, Meyer’s descendant compared them to original letters his family had kept, and concluded in June of 1892 that the handwriting was identical. He concluded that he had ‘no further doubt about the authenticity of this work’.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁹ Lettre de Sebastian W. Meyer à Charles Nutter, 25 Juin 1892. IFN-8419831, Gallica, F-Pn.

Unfortunately, the piece was not a great success. The Académie performed it only twice after the premiere, on 27 September and 1 October of 1782. Following the debut, articles in the press were disappointed about the work, the *Mercure de France* specifically claiming:

*The Music of this Act did not have, by far, the effect one would expect from the talents of Mr. Mayer.*⁵¹⁰

Meyer's two sons, Philip and Charles continued to perform and teach on the pedal harp in London, as they also played a role in the *émigrés* community in the 1790s. They became close members of the Erard's circle, as both families originated from Strasbourg. As performers and instructors on the harp, the two Meyer brothers purchased eighteen instruments from Erard between the 1790s and 1806. They helped the firm in the marketing of its new pedal harp and thus perpetuated the Meyer name.

Mademoiselle Baur

During 1762, five musicians played the seven public concerts in Paris, including the first woman to perform publicly on the harp: Mademoiselle Baur. (1748-1822). That year, the Concert presented performances from Hochbrucker, Meyer, a Mr. Emming – which this study was unable to identify – and an unknown man only referred to as 'a harp player'. Marie Marguerite Baur was born in April 1748 in Paris, the daughter of musician Jean Baur (1719-1773).⁵¹¹ He had published his music in Paris from the 1750s, writing more specifically for the harp in the 1760s. For her initial performance at the Concert Spirituel, Marie Marguerite Baur played pieces written by her father, as evident in the report of the *Mercure de France*:

*The newcomers were Mlle Baur who, at age 13 and a half executed on the harp Pieces composed by Mr. her father, with a justness, a pleasantness and an easiness that deserved the applause she received. She is a great harpsichordist and possesses Music to a degree superior to her age.*⁵¹²

Her performance might have been a way for Baur's father to publicise his compositions. Although the *Mercure* in 1762 mentioned her talents on the harpsichord, Mademoiselle Baur solely appeared at the Concert Spirituel as a harpist. For a later concert, in 1770, it was said that

⁵¹⁰ « La Musique de cet Acte n'a pas, à beaucoup près, l'effet qu'on devoit attendre des talens de M. Mayer. » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, October 1782, 36.

⁵¹¹ Baptême Marie Marguerite Baur, 3 Avril 1748. 5 Mi1 22, Etat Civil reconstitué, F-Pap.

⁵¹² « Les nouveaux débutants ont été Mlle Baur, qui à l'âge de 13 ans & demi a exécuté sur la harpe des pièces de la composition de M. son père, avec une justesse, un agrément & une facilité qui méritoient les applaudissemens qu'elle a reçus. Elle est grande Claveciniste & possède la Musique à un degré supérieur à son âge. » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, April 1762, 189.

she was a student of her father on the pedal harp. When she performed that year, newspapers described her as ‘the famous virtuoso’ on the pedal harp. Her brother, Barthélémy, had also made a name for himself as a harp master, regularly posted in the *Almanach Musical* as such. Barthélémy Baur (1751-1823) published pieces for the harp as well, under the name ‘Baur fils’. He was for example amongst the only ones to have transcribed solely for the harp – and not for the ‘harp or pianoforte’ – overtures from Gluck’s operas.⁵¹³ The family became established in the Parisian musical world, which might have improved Marie Marguerite Baur’s prospects. In 1779, Marie Marguerite married Claude Louis Berthollet a chemist, and the Duke of Orléans’s first doctor. The duke was a witness at the nuptials and offered an annuity to Marie Marguerite in the case of her husband’s passing. While in a comfortable position, Mademoiselle Baur was much more well off than her husband-to-be. Berthollet brought 3,000 *livres* to the wedding in possessions, while she had 5,000 *livres* in furniture, linen, jewellery, etc.; and more than 7,000 *livres* in various annuities and notes. As it was common for women in the period, her musical career slowed down after her marriage. She played one final time at the Concert Spirituel in 1787, where she performed with her brother, and ‘encountered less success on that instrument’.⁵¹⁴ Marie Marguerite Baur passed away in 1828 in Montrouge in the South of Paris, six years after her husband.

Mademoiselle Schencker

A few years after Marie Marguerite Baur’s performance, two other women played the harp at the Concert Spirituel. They were Mademoiselle Lafond⁵¹⁵ and Mademoiselle Schencker, who both played in 1765. Like Marie Marguerite Baur, Mademoiselle Schencker’s father, musician Andreas Schencker, led her into the musical world. Originating from Șura Mică in the Transylvanian region, Schencker sojourned in Vienna with colleague Johann Ludwig. The pair then settled in Paris, and were hired in the orchestra of financier La Pouplinière.⁵¹⁶ On the 16th of May 1765, Schencker and his daughter performed on the harp at the Concert Spirituel. They were both mentioned as ‘from the music of His Serene Highness the Prince de Conti’.⁵¹⁷ Following the cooling of his relationship with King Louis XV in Versailles, Prince Louis François de Bourbon

⁵¹³ Constance Luzzati, "Du clavecin à la harpe, transcription du répertoire français du XVIIIe siècle" (Paris 4, 2014), 44-45.

⁵¹⁴ « MM et Mlle Baur ont eu moins de succès sur cet instrument » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, April 1787, 173

⁵¹⁵ Unfortunately, no more information has been found during this study about Mlle Lafond. She performed at the *Concert Spirituel* on 24 December 1767. *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, 28 December 1767.

⁵¹⁶ Vasile Tomescu, "Musiker aus Siebenbürgen im französischen Kunstleben der Aufklärung" in *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und osteuropa*, ed. Helmut Loos (Leipzig: Schroeder, 1998), 109-10.

⁵¹⁷ *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, 20 May 1765.

Prince de Conti withdrew to Paris. From his Palace of the Temple, he sponsored artists and musicians, regaining the power he had lost politically through arts and sociability.⁵¹⁸ After the passing of La Pouplinière in 1762, most of the musicians hired in his orchestra found a new engagement with the prince de Conti. Andreas Schencker had played the horn, oboe, and clarinet with the orchestra of the former, before continuing his practice with the latter. He had also taken interest in the harp, although it remains unclear whether he had picked it up before arriving in Paris; or if his proximity with Goepffert, employed by La Pouplinière' as well, led him to the instrument.⁵¹⁹ The financier's estate inventory listed Schencker as playing the harp and the horn, and was owed three hundred and thirty-three *livres* for the months of November and December 1762.⁵²⁰ Schencker also composed several pieces for orchestra, and for the harp, sold amongst others by Cousineau.⁵²¹ Mademoiselle Schencker, similarly to Marie Marguerite Baur, had probably received lessons from her father. She was around twelve years old when she performed at the Concert Spirituel in 1765, as the audience commonly enjoyed seeing and listening to young musical virtuosi at these concerts. Like her father, Marie was in employment with the orchestra of the prince de Conti, as the first harpist.⁵²²



Figure 4-4 – Cornelius Hoyer, *Concert with harp and full orchestra, c.1765* © KKS9822, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, Copenhagen, open.smk.dk, public domain. Reproduced with permission of the Statens Museum for Kunst.

⁵¹⁸ Hennebelle, "Nobles, musique et musiciens à Paris à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: Les transformations d'un patronage séculaire (1760-1780)", 404.

⁵¹⁹ Cucuel, *Études sur un orchestre au XVIIIe siècle*, 55.

⁵²⁰ « Etat des appointemens dus à Mrs les Musiciens de feu Monsieur De La Poupliniere, pour les Mois de Novembre et Décembre 1762. » Y 15647 B, Chatelet : Archives des Commissaires, F-Pan.

⁵²¹ *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, 16 June 1766, 3.

⁵²² Gaston Capon, *Vie privée du prince de Conty* (Paris: J. Schemit, 1907), 133.

While details about Mademoiselle Schencker's life and career remain a mystery due to the lack of sources, Danish artist Cornelius Hoyer immortalised her 1765 appearance. In a rare portrayal of a harpist playing with an orchestra, Mademoiselle Schencker seemed to be using a harp decorated with features corresponding to the Parisian pedal harps of the era.⁵²³ Most pedal harp iconography at the time illustrated harpists alone, posing seated at a harp. Hoyer's representation displayed the vivacity of the musicians' movements, and the position of the soloist at the Concert Spirituel.

Andreas Schenker was perhaps depicted in a painting by Olivier Michel Barthelemy, that depicted a dinner in 1766 at the Prince de Conti's Palace of the Temple in Paris. The picture shows a harpist playing at one end of the table.⁵²⁴ As in 1765, both Schenckers were described as ordinary of the Prince de Conti's music, the harpist in the picture might be Andreas Schenker, who was then employed by the prince as a harpist.

Mesdemoiselles Baur and Schenker led the way for other female harpist to perform in Parisian concerts. While in the 1760s the instrument was mostly played professionally by men, the 1770s and 1780s saw the rise of many prominent female harpists like Mademoiselle Duverger or Madame Krumpholtz.

Maximilien Gardel

Many of the harpists performing in Paris in the eighteenth century shared a German origin, which was also the case of Maximilien Joseph Gardel. Conversely to Hochburcker of Mayer, Gardel was not only known for his talents on the harp. Born in Mannheim, he had been a dancer with the Académie Royale de Musique since the mid-1750s. When he performed for the first time on the harp at the Concert Spirituel in 1767, audiences had already seen his talents at the Académie, as he was introduced as 'Mr. Gardel from the Académie Royale de Musique'. He played on the harp 'a trio of his own composition'.

⁵²³ While the identity of the harpist is not detailed on the drawing, Florence Gétreau had identified it as Mademoiselle Baur, one of the rare female harpist performing at the *Concert Spirituel* during Hoyer's Parisian stay. Gétreau, "Une harpiste au Concert Spirituel".

⁵²⁴ Souper du Prince Louis François de Conti au Palais du Temple by Olivier Michel Barthelemy, 1766. MV 3825, F.V.m.

*We had no reason to expect the evidence he has just given of his taste and application in this area. [...] A sure and precise execution added to the pleasure of the pieces that made up his trio, listened to with the greatest attention, and applauded several times afterwards.*⁵²⁵

Gardel performed three times at the Concert Spirituel between 1767 and 1768, each concert received with similar enthusiasm from the spectators. He is also the subject of a very detailed pedal harp depiction. The pastel, produced by Nicolas Regnault in 1765, shows him playing, surrounded by musical instruments, and music and dance scores.⁵²⁶

As several pedal harp players made a name for themselves on the instrument, others like Gardel took up the harp while they were already famous with audiences, giving even more importance to the instrument.

The harp at the Académie

The Académie Royale de Musique had a permanent orchestra to perform its shows. Depending on the needs of the piece, the Académie also hired *symphonistes extraordinaires*, artists employed only for a concert or a series and not permanently. They were recruited regularly, as the *extraordinaires* represented 15% of the personnel costs for the Académie.⁵²⁷

The pedal harp entered the Académie through the *extraordinaires*. The first attested performance on the harp at the Académie was for *Orphée et Eurydice*, by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787), in 1774. Jean Georges Sieber, then permanent horn player for the orchestra, received payment as an *extraordinaire* to play the harp in the opera. Sieber might have been interested in the instrument upon its arrival in Paris and added it to his repertoire. A document found in the archives of the Académie showed that the institution remunerated Sieber a hundred and fifty *livres* for renting and bringing the harp to the theatre. Sieber's fee included playing all rehearsals

⁵²⁵ « Nous n'avions pas lieu de s'attendre aux preuves qu'il vient de donner de son gout et de son application en ce genre. [...] Une execution sure et précise a ajouté à l'agrément des morceaux qui formaient son trio, écouté avec la plus grande attention, et applaudi ensuite à plusieurs reprises » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, July 1767, 199.

⁵²⁶ Maximilien Léopold Philippe Joseph Gardel, dit Garde l'ainé, by Nicolas François Regnault, Inv. Mi 1080, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

⁵²⁷ Solveig Serre, *L'Opéra de Paris (1749-1790): politique culturelle au temps des Lumières* (CNRS éditions, 2011), 84.

and the forty-seven performances of *Orphée et Eurydice* between 1 April 1774 and 31 March 1775.⁵²⁸ In the opera, the harp served as a continuo during several sections, with the score only written for one hand. Furthermore, key changes were minimal, and could have been performed on a hook harp, as highlighted in Figure 4-5, with an E natural in the first measure, shifted into an E flat at the third measure. On a hook harp for example, the D sharp could replace the E flat.



Figure 4-5 – Pedal changes in the first five measures of the aria ‘Laissez-vous toucher par mes pleurs’, Scene 1, Act II of *Orphée et Eurydice*, by Christoph Willibald Gluck (Paris: Lemarchand, 1774), 57 © Fondo Dunning, Collezioni Digitali, Unveristà di Pavia. Reproduced with permission of the Università di Pavia

The second mention of an *extraordinaire* for the harp was Jacques Georges Cousineau in 1782. Cousineau had already gained the public’s attention. He had appeared in 1780 at the Chateau des Tuileries, in a concert for Madame Todi’s benefit, where he played the harp. The announcement for the performance, published in the *Journal de Paris* on the 19th of February, introduced him as Mr Sieber’s student, who played with the Académie Royale de Musique at the time.⁵²⁹ When Cousineau first appeared at the Opéra, the archives refer to the piece only as *Apollon*. The opera in question was probably *Apollon et Daphnée, ou L’Invention de la lyre*, an opera by Philippe Jacques Meyer, performed a few times in 1782.⁵³⁰ This time, the part of the harp was written for a pedal harp, presenting more intricacies than the score for *Orphée et Eurydice*. The *Partie de Ballet*, held at the Bibliothèque-Musée de l’Opéra in Paris, contains the three-page harp part. It is composed in A major, and the first page appears to be a solo, with the mention, ‘For Cupid holding a lyre and making a young nymph dance’.⁵³¹ This is more complex than Gluck’s

⁵²⁸ *Symphonistes Extraordinaires, année 1775*. AJ¹³ 22, Comptabilité. Appointements du personnel, Archives du théâtre national de l’Opéra, F-Pan.

⁵²⁹ *Journal de Paris*, 19th April 1780.

⁵³⁰ The attribution to Philip Jacob Meyer was made clear during this study. See 4.1.

⁵³¹ « Pour l’amour tenant une Lyre et faisant danser une jeune nimphe » *Apollon et Daphné, Partie de Ballet*, A-294-b, Bibliothèque-Musée de l’Opéra, F-Pn.

continuo, and its construction makes it likely to have played with the harp as a lone standing instrument. The following two pages are for the *Gavotte*. The only allusion of the piece's place in the opera was a '*Rondeau Andante Independent*'. This might have suggested that once again the harp played solo, potentially accompanying the dancers on stage. The other instruments' scores or the conductor's were not found during this research. Without the rest of the scores, it is difficult to understand how the harp was integrated within the entire piece. As Philip Jacob Meyer was a celebrated harpist, it made sense for him to write a substantial and detailed part for the harp.

After *Apollon*, Jacques Georges Cousineau performed several times with the Académie as an *extraordinaire*. For the 1784–1785 season, he received sixty *livres* for five performances in *Diane et Endymion* by Niccolò Piccini (1728-1800), with six extra *livres* for one practice.⁵³² As this example shows, musicians hired as *extraordinaires* did not attend all rehearsals. In the 1789–1790 season, Jacques Georges gained two hundred and fifty-eight *livres* for 'having played the harp in different operas during the month of March 1790'.⁵³³ The document mentions the payment made to 'Cousineau fils', although at the time, Jacques Georges's son was only aged five. As his father Georges was still alive, this does refer to Jacques Georges. For his compositions in the 1780s, he had used the name Cousineau fils, confirming that it was him who played at the Académie for that season. The Académie later employed Jacques Georges's son in the 1799–1800 season. This was a dense season for Cousineau, who performed in at least four operas: *Anacréon chez Polycrate* by André Gretry (1741-1813); *Les Prétendus* by Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne (1751-1796); *Adrien* by Etienne Nicolas Méhul (1763-1817); and *La Caravane du Caire* by Gretry.⁵³⁴ The latter piece had premiered in 1784, although the score did not mention the participation of harpists to those early performances. In the 1799 version of the opera, the work demanded the performance of four harpists – a first at the Académie. Jacques Georges Cousineau was accompanied by his son – Georges Théodore, born July 1784 – as second harp, by Martin Pierre Dalvimare as third, and by Gelineck as fourth harp.⁵³⁵ The score for the harps is once again in the *Partie de Ballet* of the opera. It is substantial with eight pages of music, only for the first harp, as the manuscript for the other three parts was not found. The early printed version omitted the harp score, but it was in the late nineteenth century edition by Breitkopf and

⁵³² Personnel. Quittance et pouvoirs. 1777–1790. Dossier XI, AJ¹³ 18, Archives du théâtre national de l'Opéra, F-Pan.

⁵³³ « M. Cousineau fils pour avoir joué de la harpe dans différents Opéra pendant le mois de mars 1790. » Personnel. Quittance et pouvoirs. 1777–1790. N°53, dossier XI, AJ¹³ 18, Archives du théâtre national de l'Opéra, F-Pan.

⁵³⁴ Personnel. État des feux payés aux artistes, An VIII. Dossier VII, AJ¹³ 54, Archives du théâtre national de l'Opéra, F-Pan.

⁵³⁵ His exact identity remains unknown.

Hartel.⁵³⁶ The harps were prominently featured in a *Danse des Femmes*, performed during the second act of the opera, where the four harps, alone, accompany the dancers on stage. Listeners particularly enjoyed the piece, as the *Courrier des Spectacles* printed in April 1799 that it was this ‘very nice *pas de cinq*’ that ‘had done the opera great honour’ which audiences applauded.⁵³⁷ *La Caravane* was an apparent public success, performed around eighteen times that season only, with praises in the press after almost every performance.

Although the Opera employed Jacques Georges Cousineau on many occasions, he remained an *extraordinaires* and not yet as a permanent member of the orchestra. In 1801, the situation became delicate for Cousineau. After the employment of D’Alvimare and Gelineck for *La Caravanne du Caire*, D’Alvimare had attempted to plead to the Théâtre to be hired to play the harp in operas. This offended Cousineau, who sent a petition to the institution that same year to request that he would have the ‘sole right to execute the parts of that instrument in operas that required a harp’.⁵³⁸ The draft letter opened with the mention that Cousineau had been playing the harp with the Opera for twenty-seven years, beginning at age sixteen. The mention of his twenty-seven-year service does not correspond with the archives previously discussed, as his first employment was in 1782. In the letter, Jacques Georges also specified that he wished to choose which part to play when several harps were required, and that he would give the privilege to his son as the second harp. Cousineau’s comrades within the ranks of the orchestra wrote the letter in August 1801, with close to sixty signatures. In the correspondence exchanged between the government commissioner in charge of the Théâtre and the minister for interior – in charge of the theatre – the former highlighted the talents and reputation of Cousineau:

*Cousineau, employed with the orchestra for twenty-seven years, also had a great reputation as a harpist, he has always deserved the praises of his conductors and the applause of audiences, by his diligence and talents.*⁵³⁹

⁵³⁶ This edition was the one used for the 2014 recording of *La Caravane du Caire* by Les Agréments and the Choeur de Chambre de Namur, produced by the Palazetto Bru Zane. The recording includes the harps soli. The author wishes to thank Bruno Dratwicki and Etienne Jardin from the Palazetto Bru Zane for this information.

⁵³⁷ « Mais un morceau qui lui fait infiniment d’honneur, est un très joli pas de cinq dansé... que les citoyens Cousineau père et fils, Gelineck et d’Alvimare accompagnent chacun sur la harpe. Ce tableau a excité les plus vifs applaudissements. » *Le Courrier des Spectacles ou Journal des Théâtres*, 7 April 1799.

⁵³⁸ « Cousineau [...] a seul droit d’exécuter toutes les parties de cet instrument dans les operas où une seule harpe est obligée » Administration générale. Correspondance du Bureau des théâtres et dossiers du personnel, An IX-An XI. Cousineau, Dossier III, AJ¹³ 45, Archives du théâtre national de l’Opéra, F-Pan.

⁵³⁹ « Cousineau employé à l’Orchestre, depuis vingt-sept ans jouit aussi d’une grande réputation comme harpiste ; qu’il a constamment mérité les éloges de ses chefs, et les applaudissemens du public, par son assiduité et ses talens » *Ibid.*

It was thus suggested to the minister to appoint Jacques Georges Cousineau as first harpist of the Théâtre, and Martin Pierre Dalvimare as the second harpist, to assist Cousineau and replace him in case of indisposition. The report written from the commissioner further recommended to give them a fixed allowance, rather than just employing them as *extraordinaires*. Cousineau, as the first harp, would receive 1,200 francs a year, and Dalvimare 1,000 francs a year.⁵⁴⁰ The proposition was highlighted as a reward for the talents expressed by both musicians. This event and petition brought forth the creation of the first permanent posting for harpists at the orchestra of the Théâtre. Although the pedal harp had already been present in Paris for half a century by then, the opening of this post perpetuated the position of the pedal harp. The correspondence between the orchestra, Cousineau and the Opéra demonstrated the institutionalisation of the harpist position, thus beginning a new era of harp-playing, that would be reinforced with the advent of the double-action pedal harp. A month after this proposition was acted, Cousineau submitted one more petition to the administration of the theatre, to inquire a bigger fare of 2,400 francs. Cousineau argued that he needed to have at all times two harps in fully stringed condition in his dressing room, and that he had to pay someone to carry his harp from his dressing room to the orchestra.

Dalvimare, as the second harpist, had an advantage over all other musicians in the orchestra. By the early nineteenth century, pieces at the opera included progressively more harps, it was rare to need two harps daily. Dalvimare, was thus allowed to perform in other orchestras than that of the Theatre, a privilege that other musicians who were required to attend rehearsals more regularly could not obtain.⁵⁴¹

Shortly after these petitions, the Theatre dismissed Jacques Georges Cousineau from his post, perhaps after his final demand of wage increase. Once he left, Martin Pierre Dalvimare was promoted from second to first harpist. However, he did not remain in the post too long, as he chose to retire in 1812. Consequently, Louis Benoit Picard (1769-1828), then director of the Théâtre, offered the position of first harpist to François Joseph Naderman, for a salary of 1,500 francs.⁵⁴² Naderman declined the offer, choosing to focus on the family business, and his position as harpist of the chapel of the emperor Napoléon. Jean Aimé Vernier, who had performed regularly in Paris since the 1790s, succeeded to Dalvimare at the position.

⁵⁴⁰ In 1806, Cousineau advertised for his harps in the *Courrier des Spectacles*: one with crochets at 720 francs, and the one with swell and echo at 960 francs.

⁵⁴¹ Administration générale. Correspondance du Bureau des théâtres et dossiers du personnel, An IX-An XI. Dalvimare, Dossier III, AJ¹³ 45, Archives du théâtre national de l'Opéra, F-Pan.

⁵⁴² Lettre autographe signée de Louis-Benoit Picard, directeur de l'Opéra, à Naderman aîné, Paris, 10 avril 1812. LAS PICARD (LOUIS-BENOIT) 4, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, F-Pn.

Women

In the 1760s and 1770s, the Concert Spirituel welcomed performances on the harp from seven women, usually playing only one concert per year. As discussed, Mesdemoiselles Baur and Schencker were the first to perform professionally on the harp, and had in common a musician father, who gave them compositions to play, and potentially lent weight to their performances. As aristocratic education of young girls increasingly integrated the pedal, professional women harpists remained scarce in the 1760s and 1770s. Beside Baur, other female harpists only performed once at the Concert Spirituel, like Mesdemoiselles Schencker, Lafond and Fleuri. The exception was Mademoiselle Henri, who played three times in 1772. A newspaper recounting one of her performances attested that she was only sixteen years old, and a student of Philip Jacob Meyer.⁵⁴³ She interpreted one of his concertos on Easter that year at the Concert Spirituel.⁵⁴⁴ Commonly, women who performed on the harp were described as ‘Mademoiselle’, meaning that they had not married. Several of them were also young: Mademoiselle Baur was thirteen for her first performance, Mademoiselle Schencker was twelve, and Mesdemoiselles Henri and Fleuri were sixteen. Young virtuosi were common at the Concert Spirituel, as audiences had a taste for curiosities and novelties. Once married, it became more difficult for women to perform professionally in public concerts. The combination of the attraction for young musicians and the role of married women might explain why most women harpist were *demoiselles*. For example, after her wedding in 1779, Marie Marguerite Baur only returned one time to the Concert Spirituel, in 1787, interestingly still under her maiden name.

In the 1780s, nine women performed in more than twenty concerts in Paris. The Descarsin sisters, Caroline and Sophie, appeared the most often at the Concert. Caroline, the eldest, first appeared at the Concert on the 26th of February 1785. Only aged eleven, she performed on the ‘new harp with damper and a new mechanism invented by Mr H. Naderman’.⁵⁴⁵ Caroline also performed several times harp duets with her sister Sophie, but she seemed to garner more praises for her playing. A review of one of their performances in 1786 states that their ‘prodigious talents’ are due to the care of their father, painter Remy Fursy Descarsins (1747-1793).⁵⁴⁶ That same year, Caroline performed pieces of her composition.⁵⁴⁷ Galvanised by these first Parisian successes, Mr Descarsin organised concerts for the two girls in Rouen, Bordeaux and Nantes to perform on

⁵⁴³ *L'Avant-Coureur, feuille hebdomadaire*, 27 April 1772.

⁵⁴⁴ Unfortunately, her last name is too common to properly identify her.

⁵⁴⁵ *Journal de Paris*, 26 February 1785.

⁵⁴⁶ « Elles doivent ces talents prodigieux aux soins d'un père qui, distingué lui-même par un autre talent, celui de la Peinture » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, March 1786, 30.

⁵⁴⁷ While no traces of her work survive, she was the dedicatee of several pieces for the harp, like Francesco Petrini's *Premier Concert pour la harpe*, opus 25, published in 1786.

the harp, relying on the fashion for young virtuoso of the era.⁵⁴⁸ The sisters proceeded to perform yearly between 1785 and 1789 in Paris. Sophie married in Paris in 1811, while Caroline also married, and continued to perform in the early nineteenth century, under her marital name of Madame Prigent. Caroline Descarsin was the woman who performed the most on the harp in Paris, totalling eleven concerts.

It was also common for commentators of the concert to link the gender of the musician to the qualities of their playing. For example, after the Christmas concert of 1780 at the Concert Spirituel, Mademoiselle Duverger's talents on the harp were described as follows:

*A very beautiful concerto by Bach, that Mlle Duverger executed on the harp and in which she demonstrated the lightness, skills, and graces of her sex.*⁵⁴⁹

Such commentaries were frequent, while, on the other hand, newspapers often praised male players for the strength evidenced in their music.

While they played the harp at public concerts, institutional orchestras like the one of the Académie Royale de Musique did not hire women. The careers of female harpists in Paris were most of the times not long-lived, as discussed here, in part due to the societal obligations for women at the time.

Masters in Paris

From the 1770s onwards, more and more harp treatises were published in Paris and London, giving more people access to the harp. However, a harp master remains the most effective way of learning the instrument, even if it is undoubtedly more expensive. In most cases, the musicians who played in public concerts offered teaching as an alternative source of income.

The *Almanach Musical*, starting in 1775, presented directories for music masters, organised by discipline and instrument, including a dense section on harp masters. In the first edition in 1775, the list contained eleven harp teachers, nine of them in Paris and two of them abroad. The latter was Hochbrucker's uncle, listed in Germany, and Meyer, then listed in London. Their presence on a list of Paris harp masters show that they had reached such a level of recognition in the city, that even when moving overseas they were cited as available masters. Out of the remaining nine masters residing in Paris, six of them had already published works for the pedal harp in the years prior, like Jean Georges Burekhoffer, or Barthelemy Baur. Three of them had also performed at least once at the Concert Spirituel, such as Mademoiselle Lafond, who had played there in 1767.

⁵⁴⁸ Santana, "Les Femmes Instrumentistes au *Concert Spirituel* (1725-1790): Le Regard de la Presse," 76.

⁵⁴⁹ *Mercur de France, dédié au Roi*, January 1781, 39.

Sieber, who had performed on the harp in Gluck's *Orphée* at the Academie Royale de Musique, was also listed as a harp master in the *Almanach*. As women music teachers were a rare occurrence for other instruments, the harp remained an exception, as the list of masters contained more and more women as years went by. By 1779, women represented fifteen percent of all harp masters. Although at the time, a professional career in music was not entirely considered suitable for women, it seemed that they could pursue work with an instrument often described as 'feminine' at the time.⁵⁵⁰

The harp master section of the *Almanach* grew exponentially year after year, reaching forty-one harp masters in 1783. The list remained a mix of composers who had already published pieces for the harp, musicians who had performed in public concerts, and other musicians whose trace was not found elsewhere. The *Almanach* was a publication aimed at all interested in music, professional and amateurs. As the addresses of masters were listed with them, anyone could have sought out their teaching.

4.2.2 London

Coming on their own accord

Shortly after the beginnings of the pedal harp in London, French harpists came to perform in the city. Although France and Britain were frequently at war across the eighteenth century, London had proved a hub of attraction for people of talent, specifically with thriving aristocratic patronage.⁵⁵¹ Many French artisans of luxury settled in the British capital, or even only passed through the city, including musicians. At the time, acclaimed performers in London were in majority foreigners, mostly Italian.⁵⁵² For the pedal harp, between 1750 and 1810, around twenty-five of the musicians who performed in London had ties with France, representing more than sixty percent of all harpists.

François Hippolyte Barthélémon was the first French man to play the harp at a public performance in London. However, newspapers listed him as using a 'German pedal harp' which indicated he did not play the French model.⁵⁵³ Although born in France, he made most of his career in London, so much so that when he returned to Paris at the Concert Spirituel in 1770, he

⁵⁵⁰ Traditionally, string instruments were considered suitable for women, mostly because they did not distort their appearance, like wind instruments could. Robert Adelson and Jacqueline Letzter, "For a woman when she is young and beautiful, The Harp in Eighteenth-Century France" in *History, Herstory: Alternative Musikgeschichten* (Köln: Böhlau, 2009), 320.

⁵⁵¹ White, *A Great and Monstrous Thing, London in the Eighteenth Century*, 139.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 299.

⁵⁵³ *Public Advertiser*, 20 September 1770.

was introduced as the ‘first violin of London’s Opera’.⁵⁵⁴ In 1787, Barthélémon released his *Tutor for the Harp* with the publishing house of Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) in London, which included ‘Airs and Scotch Songs’. Barthélémon’s daughter Cecilia Maria (1769-1859) appeared on the pedal harp that same year, playing specifically ‘a Scotch air with variations on the Harp’, which could have been from Barthélémon’s recent tutor.⁵⁵⁵

As one of the leading European musical scenes, London was a crucial step for the career of musicians. Several of the French harpists only performed a handful of times, only passing through the city to get recognition there. For example, Renaudin played once in London, at Covent Garden, on the 6th of February 1777.⁵⁵⁶ He seemed to make a bigger impact in France in the 1780s, appearing at the Concert Spirituel with Jacques Georges Cousineau in *L’Arche d’Alliance*.⁵⁵⁷ He later published some of his compositions, while teaching the harp in Paris, without returning to London.

Beyond French harpists, musicians who had first become famous in France also came to perform in London. For example, Johann Baptist Hochbrucker played five times in 1779. Philippe Joseph Hinner, who was then harp master to the queen Marie Antoinette, visited London in 1781. That year alone, he performed at nineteen concerts between January and May. The announcements presented him as a ‘celebrated Performer on the Harp from the Court of France’.⁵⁵⁸ Some years after Hinner, Marie Elizabeth Cléry, who was also at the service of Marie Antoinette, played during five concerts in London. She sang while accompanying herself on the harp, with one newspaper claiming:

*Mademoiselle Clery is not so good a Singer as a Harper. For the credit of the Queen of France, she is to be mentioned as her Servant in the latter Function only.*⁵⁵⁹

An affiliation to the French court might have indicated the musician’s talents. Like Hinner or Cléry, Jean-Baptiste Cardon had also first gained a position at Versailles before visiting London. Cardon was the harpist to the Comtesse d’Artois, the wife of the king’s brother, to whom he also dedicated his first Opus *Quatres Sonates pour la Harpe* in 1780. The Maison d’Artois⁵⁶⁰ hired him from 1774, which meant that when he came to London ten years later, he was already an

⁵⁵⁴ *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, July 1767, 200.

⁵⁵⁵ *The Morning Chronicle*, 30 May 1787.

⁵⁵⁶ *Public Advertiser*, 6 February 1777.

⁵⁵⁷ *Journal de Paris*, 24 April 1781.

⁵⁵⁸ *Public Advertiser*, 31 January 1781.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 24 April 1784.

⁵⁶⁰ Jean-Baptiste Cardon, *Quatre Sonates pour la Harpe avec accompagnement de Violon, dédiées à Madame la Comtesse d’Artois, Oeuvre I* (Paris: Cousineau, 1780).

established musical figure in Paris.⁵⁶¹ For several of his performances in London, he was further introduced as a former musician to the Queen of France.⁵⁶² For Hinner, Madame Cléry and Cardon, their affiliation with the French court might have enticed audiences, particularly as their status was often explained on concert announcements.

Cardon's performances in 1784 were the first ones in London where the newspaper notices described the instrument as the French pedal harp. Between 1750 and Cardon's first appearance, around forty concerts featuring the pedal harp were performed in London. Harpists with ties to France played for thirty-two out of these forty concerts. As French harpists represented a majority, which would also account for the designation of the instrument as the French pedal harp from 1784.

Most of the harpists discussed here only visited London for a certain period of time, to perform in public concerts, and gain recognition on London's leading musical scene. However, musicians' motives evolved with the events of the French Revolution.

Fleeing France

The influx of French refugees during the French Revolution brought a new awareness for French music in London.⁵⁶³ Many of the *émigrés* were musicians, who thus performed publicly, and offered music lessons. From 1790, at least nine new French harpists appeared in London concerts. In 1792 and 1793 specifically, when the laws against anti-revolutionary behaviour were enforced in France, London heard more concerts by French harpists than ever. Over these two years, six French harpists performed for twenty-nine concerts. Amongst these, only Mme Krumpholtz, Meyer Jr and Jean Philippe Seibold had already appeared in London before. The three remaining playing were Mr Elouis, Mme Delaval and Mme Musigny. Of the nine new harpists coming to London in the 1790s and 1800s, Mr Elouis and Martin Marcel Vicomte de Marin (1769-after 1838) were the only male musicians, as the seven others were women. The pedal harp was one of the rare instruments with which female musicians could perform professionally at the time, both in Paris and London. As harp lessons were part of the aristocratic education for women in France, a lot of the women emigrants arriving in London may already have had knowledge of the instrument, whether they had played publicly or not. However, an exile from France often

⁵⁶¹ Hennebelle, *De Lully à Mozart. Aristocratie, Musique, et Musiciens à Paris (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, 114-16.

⁵⁶² *Public Advertiser*, 18 May 1785.

⁵⁶³ Carpenter, "The novelty of the French *émigrés* in London in the 1790s", 82.

signified the confiscation of their properties back home, which led to decreasing income for many.⁵⁶⁴ In that case, performances and teaching music became a new source of revenue.

As the situation settled in France, particularly with the advent of Napoléon Bonaparte to power in the early 1800s, it was safer for members of the aristocracy to come back to their country. A first wave of emigrants thus returned to France around 1802, including several harpists. Indeed, the 1800s saw fewer French performers on the harp, as performers who had gained fame in the 1790s reappeared in France. Most of those who remained in London had arrived before the Revolution and had chosen to reside there like Madame Krumpholtz.

Women

In London, the 1780s saw the dominance of women harpists, as they performed the majority of harp concerts. Amongst them, several prominent figures show the interesting path that women instrumentalists created for themselves at the time. Born in 1766 in the Vosges region of France, Anne Marie Steckler was the daughter of a harpsichord maker, and was thus steeped in music upon her birth. In Metz, where the family relocated, her father housed harpist Jean Baptiste Krumpholtz, who began to give harp lessons to the young girl. He then brought her with him to Paris, where the pair performed at the Concert Spirituel. Anne Marie married her teacher, becoming Madame Krumpholtz in 1783, probably at the Église Saint Roch where they lived. During her first pregnancy that same year, she performed at the Concert Spirituel. Visibly pregnant, reports from the press claim that she wished to illustrate that the advice given to pregnant women to keep away from playing the harp was indeed false.⁵⁶⁵ She also performed at the Académie des Sciences in 1787, demonstrating the musical abilities of the new harp developed by her husband and harp maker Jean Henry Naderman. However, the following year, she fled to London to join her lover, pianist and composer Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812). Consumed by grief, Johann Baptist Krumpholtz threw himself in the river Seine in 1790. In London, Anne Marie Krumpholtz began performing regularly at public concerts, culminating in 1789 with twenty performances that year alone. She became one of the most recognised figures on the instrument, who also helped Sébastien Erard when he patented his new mechanism, by advertising that she was playing his harps.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵⁶⁵ *Mercur de France, dédié au Roi*, November 1783, 132.

Masters in London

At the time in London, no similar publications would have listed available music masters. However, some of them chose to advertise for their services directly in the press. When Simon Hochbrucker first came to London in 1743, he offered to perform on the newly invented pedal harp, but also to teach it to ‘young gentlemen or ladies’.⁵⁶⁶ More than twenty years later, when the pedal harp was brought back to London public concerts, Francis Werner, who played it during several performances, offered to teach the instrument. Werner’s notices directly cited his public performances as proof of his talents, and usually included the mentions of his teachings, after he had offered to perform for public or private assemblies. Like in Paris, it was becoming common for recognised performers to offer harp tuition. Marie Elizabeth Cléry in the 1780s for example offered public lessons in Hanover Square. Once again, the influence of French performers was visible in teaching, as Moreau in 1777 advertised for his lessons by detailing that he had previously taught the harp to ‘ladies of the first distinction at the French Court’.⁵⁶⁷ Moreau and Cléry both advertised for their links to France and their connections to the court. At the same time, several adverts were published for harp masters whose name remained unknown.

*The Pedal harp and harpsichord taught by a young lady...*⁵⁶⁸

*The Pedal harp and Piano forte taught by a Lady, at home or abroad...*⁵⁶⁹

Notices for harp lessons became more numerous, and almost exclusively advertised towards young ladies. When Werner taught the pedal harp in the late 1760s, his announcement targeted both male and female performers. However, from the 1770s, most of the advertisement for harp teachings targeted Ladies.

Both in Paris and London, performers and composers on the harp advertised their skills as a teacher. In both cities, hiring a recognised musician as a teacher might have been expensive, although no records help to ascertain so.

The employment of a harp teacher might have been an important expense for the prospective pupil, although the rates remain unknown. For the ones who could not afford a masters, more and more composers printed treatises for learning to play the harp.

⁵⁶⁶ It should be noted that the mention of teaching it to male musicians disappeared once the French harp arrived in London. *The Daily Advertiser*, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (London). 19 January 1743.

⁵⁶⁷ *The Morning Post*, 26 December 1777.

⁵⁶⁸ *Morning Herald*, 17 February 1783.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 7 March 1793.

4.3 Printing Harp Music

4.3.1 Learning the Pedal Harp – Treatises

As the pedal harp gained popularity, printed treatises and methods proved the most useful to learn how to play the instruments, as in-person lessons were certainly more expensive.

Philip Jacob Meyer

Harpist Philip Jacob Meyer penned the first treatise in 1763: *Essai sur la vraie manière de jouer de la harpe*.⁵⁷⁰ At the moment of printing, Meyer was at the height of his fame, notably having played several times at the Concert Spirituel, performing each season for the previous three years. From the introduction of his method for the harp, it appears that the lack of teachers for the instrument led him to write his treatise.

*The Public [...] complained with reason to be reduced in that regards to simple lessons of a small number of Masters, without any of them having seen fit to publish true principles.*⁵⁷¹

Meyer's purpose was to explain how to play the harp for beginners, easily, as his text expressed several times. After this introduction, which also included a rapid overview of the history of the harp until then, Meyer offered a thorough description of the instrument, and of its mechanism for the apprentice to learn with it. Several pages of short exercises followed the description, all demonstrating the precepts previously exposed: how to place the fingers to play, harmonic principles, pedal changes within playing, etc. The treatise concluded with an air with variations and a sonata, that would have allowed the learner to put Meyer's principles in practice. As the treatise was intended for beginners, the pieces written contained few pedal changes. Meyer published a new version of his method ten years later in 1774, which included more diverse musical examples.

Michel Corrette

In 1774, composer Michel Corrette (1707-1795) published the second method for the pedal harp.⁵⁷² He had previously compiled treatises for several instruments, including the flute, the

⁵⁷⁰ 'Essay on the true way of playing the harp'. Meyer, *Essai sur la vraie manière de jouer de la harpe, avec une méthode de l'accorder*.

⁵⁷¹ « Le Public [...] se plaint avec raison d'être réduit à cet égard aux simples leçons d'un petit nombre de Maîtres, sans qu'aucun d'entre eux ait jugé à propos de publier des principes sûrs... » *ibid*.

⁵⁷² The method, previously only known from descriptions, was rediscovered in 2017 when it was acquired by the University of Melbourne. The author wishes to thank Maria Christina Cleary for kindly sharing excerpts from this publication.

violin, or the harpsichord. Like Meyer, Corrette began by linking the harp back to antiquity, and concluded his introduction with the invention of pedals. He was amongst those claiming that Georg Adam Goepffert had developed the mechanism ‘around fifteen years ago’, which coincided with the moment when Goepffert was teaching the pedal harp in Paris.⁵⁷³ The insights Corrette presented on harps appeared as the ones of an external observer; as he was the only author of a harp treatise who was not considered a specialist on the instrument at the time (Meyer for example).⁵⁷⁴ The distinctiveness of his method was that he wrote it for both pedal harps and manual hook harps. He explained that non-pedal harps are a good way to begin the instrument, and either instrument could play several of the musical illustrations. This indicated that harps without pedals were probably still in circulation at the time in Paris, although they are described here as an instrument to learn on before playing on the pedal harp.

François Vincent Corbelin

François Vincent Corbelin published a new harp method in 1778, claiming that his goal was to ‘smooth out the difficulties that seem to be attached to the study of the harp’.⁵⁷⁵ Corbelin was a composer, who had published pieces for the guitar and for the harp. On this latter instrument, he had studied with Louis François Joseph Patouart (1719-1793), a musician and harp composer who had published pieces in the 1760s. Corbelin had previously penned a treatise for the guitar, the success of which helped him when to publish his harp method, as cited in the *Mercure de France*:

*The success of the method for guitar, that Mr. Corbelin published two years ago, created a desire for him to work on other instruments.*⁵⁷⁶

The article in the *Mercure* further cited the apparent difficulty of studying the harp as a force for Corbelin’s work. The notice also described the pedal harp as ‘expensive, and had yet against him the high cost of Masters’.⁵⁷⁷ Corbelin had designed his treatise to ‘learn alone and in a short time

⁵⁷³ Michel Corrette, *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la Harpe* (Paris 1774), 3.

About Goepffert and the attribution of the invention of the pedals, see Chapter 1.

⁵⁷⁴ Maria Christina Cleary, "The Rediscovery of the Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe by Michel Corrette," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 19, no. 1 (2022): 89.

⁵⁷⁵ « En composant cet Ouvrage, je n’ai eu pour but que d’aplanir les difficultés qui paroissent attachées à l’étude de la Harpe. » Corbelin, *Méthode de harpe, pour apprendre, seul en peu de temps, a jouer de cet instrument; avec un principe très simple pour l’accorder*.

⁵⁷⁶ « Le succès de la methode de Guitarre, qu’a publiée M. Corbelin il y a deux ans, avoit fait désirer qu’il s’occupat à travailler pour d’autres instruments » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, January 1779.

⁵⁷⁷ « Cet instrument, cher par lui-même, avoit encore contre lui la cherté des Maitres » *Ibid*.

to play this instrument'.⁵⁷⁸ The *Journal de Paris* criticised Meyer's treatise in 1763 as 'perhaps too complicated for beginners'.⁵⁷⁹ Corbelin's wish was to offer conciseness in the teaching of the harp, as he wrote in his introduction that his intention was to 'make the principles of the harp simpler and clearer'.⁵⁸⁰

Conversely to the others, however, Corbelin's treatise was also the first to provide recommendations on how to select a harp. In his section entitled 'Choosing a harp', he first advised musicians to be careful about the quality of the instrument's sound, and to look particularly for the sound's strength and sharpness. Beyond the sound, by the late 1770s, pedal harps had gained attractiveness as objects of decorations. Corbelin thus then stressed the importance of the harp's ornaments, citing notably 'its beauty, its shape, its richness'.⁵⁸¹ He considered visual and sound aspects as equally key in choosing a harp. Another point he introduced was the construction of the pedal harp. Corbelin argued that on low-quality harps, the strings would break too often, which the choice of a well-constructed harp could avoid. In that regard, he designated Jean Henry Naderman's as the best pedal harps. Corbelin claimed his instruments 'never suffer' from string breakage 'and are very sturdy', making them the most reliable instruments.

Jacques Georges Cousineau

A couple of years after Georges Cousineau had introduced the harp with *béquilles* mechanism to the Académie des Sciences in Paris, his son Jacques Georges published his first method for the harp in 1784. A harp treatise was also useful when trying to disseminate an invention. The title stated that the method included 'an instruction regarding the mechanism of harps old and new', referring to the *crochets* and the *béquilles*. Jacques Georges had already gained fame playing harp at the Concert Spirituel from 1780 and had begun to publish his harp compositions. By 1784, he was also playing with the Académie Royale de Musique orchestra, which he advertised on his method, asserting even further his legitimacy. The first part of the method was like the ones previously discussed, showing general principles, then musical examples. In his seventh chapter, he discussed the interior mechanism of pedal harps. Serving as a guide to any problem the harp might encounter, Cousineau here explained how to fix the mechanism with precision. He opened

⁵⁷⁸ « Pour apprendre seul est en peu de temps, a jouer de cette instrument » Corbelin, *Méthode de harpe, pour apprendre, seul en peu de temps, a jouer de cet instrument; avec un principe très simple pour l'accorder*. Frontispiece.

⁵⁷⁹ « Cet ouvrage estimable est peut-etre trop complique pour les commencans. » *Journal de Paris*, 14 December 1778.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸¹ « Sa beauté, sa forme, sa richesse » Corbelin, *Méthode de harpe, pour apprendre, seul en peu de temps, a jouer de cet instrument; avec un principe très simple pour l'accorder*.

the chapter stating that ‘ordinarily in the countryside one does not encounter luthier for repairs’ and advised for the harpist to do it themselves.⁵⁸² At the time, he was also participating in his father’s harp-making business, as Cousineau Father and Son. As Cousineau’s was the only method written by a harp maker, his knowledge both as a harpist and as a maker was informative for harpists to take care of their instrument for themselves. This chapter was an added value compared to the other treatises, which rarely offered such detailed advice on repairing the harp. In his eighth and final treatise, Cousineau described at length the ‘Harps with new mechanism’ that his father had introduced a couple of years prior. As discussed, the Académie des Sciences had approved this creation, although questioning its difficulty and the readiness of masters to pick it up. Jacques Georges’s aim was thus to explain how the *béquilles* mechanism worked and how to use it efficiently. As recognised musicians wrote most of the harp treatises, Cousineau, at the height of his public success as a harpist chose to publish his own, coinciding with his father’s innovation. His publication would have thereby reassured the public on the new action by illustrating how to use it.

François Hippolyte Barthélémon

While many treatises were issued in Paris for the pedal harp, these were scarcer in London at the time. One of them was written by François Hippolyte Barthélémon and published by Muzio Clementi in 1787. He had performed at least once as a harpist, and regularly appeared at London concerts, more frequently as a violinist. Barthélémon’s treatise was more concise than the ones discussed previously, it notably does not trace a complete history of the instrument. As a composer and violinist, he elaborated more about music theory, detailing for example the various lengths of the notes, the description of tempo, etc. His instructions are presented as ‘introductory to the following examples, Sonatas, Airs, &c’ that followed.⁵⁸³ After seven pages of principles, several short exercises and six sonatas followed. The final section presented several songs, including Scotch Song as stated in the title. The same year this tutor for the harp was published, Barthélémon’s daughter, Maria Cecilia, performed at Hanover Square for a benefit for her father. The announcement placed in the Morning Chronicle detailed in the programme that she would play ‘a Scotch air, with variations on the harp’.⁵⁸⁴ With the publication of her father’s tutor for

⁵⁸² « Ordinairement à la campagne l’on ne trouve pas de luthiers pour y retoucher » Cousineau, *Méthode de harpe suivie d’un recueil de petits airs de différens auteurs, et d’une instruction touchant la mécanique des harpes anciennes et nouvelles. Œuvre IV.*

⁵⁸³ François Hippolyte Barthelemon, *Tutor for the Harp in which are introduced Progressive Examples of Arpeggios & Sonata with favorite Airs & Scotch Songs with an Accompaniment for that Instrument and also an easy method for Tuning* (London: Muzio Clementi and Company, 1787), 2.

⁵⁸⁴ *The Morning Chronicle*, 30 May 1787.

the harp at the same time, she might have performed one of the songs inserted at the end of the publication.

The publication of treatises sometimes coincided with the interests of a composer, wishing to sell his work, or with those of a harp maker, who wanted to advertise his instruments. As both Paris and London had a thriving musical life at the time, the number of music publishers kept growing, and several musical instrument makers joined in. Harp makers also had every interest in creating their music publishing house.

4.3.2 Repertoire – overview and transformations

*It is a collection of the best chosen and most agreeable airs, which will probably be all the better received by the public, as there is as yet no printed music for the harp.*⁵⁸⁵

In 1760, this was how a collection of airs with guitar or harp accompaniment was introduced to the public. As the pedal harp was a relatively new instrument at the time, the repertoire was not immediately available. At first, most of the music performed on the harp was transcribed from music written for other instruments.⁵⁸⁶ From the 1760s, as more harp players came to be known, they also published their compositions, dedicated solely to the harp. In the 1780s, the mechanical innovations brought forth by the makers were translated into the repertoire, often by those close to the maker in question. This section explores the different variations of the pedal harp repertoire during the period. The author's own experience with the practice of the pedal harp was put to use in determining whether the pieces studied were composed with the pedal harp in mind. The alterations within a piece help to discern whether it was written with the possibilities of the pedal harp in mind, usually with a note sharp, natural or flat for a few bars. For example, in 1763, Jean Baur published a Collection of Airs arranged for the harp, some of which were introduced as 'which can be performed without pedal'.⁵⁸⁷ At the time, it seemed that non-pedal harps were being played. Perhaps, and as the pieces in question appear simple, the non-pedal harps were used by beginners to train their hands, before moving on to pedal harps, and more complex music.

⁵⁸⁵ « C'est un recueil d'Airs les mieux choisis & les plus agréables ; & qui, probablement, sera d'autant mieux reçu du Public, qu'il n'y a point encore de Musique imprimée pour la harpe » *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, May 1760, 170.

⁵⁸⁶ This practice was explored in detail by harpist Constance Luzzatti in her 2014 thesis. See Luzzatti, "Du clavecin à la harpe, transcription du répertoire français du XVIIIe siècle."

⁵⁸⁷ « Qui peut être jouée sans pédale » Baur, *Premier recueil d'airs, ariettes, menuets et gavottes variées et arrangées en pièces de harpe, avec plusieurs caprices*.

Accompaniment and Transcriptions

*My passion for the harp, and a study of eight to nine hours a day, allowed me, to Gaiffre's astonishment, to play after one year all the most difficult harpsichord pieces.*⁵⁸⁸

Madame de Genlis wrote about her harp training in the second edition of her treatise for the instrument. She was fourteen years old in the scene described here, which places it around 1760. Before that year, only one piece had been published with the mention of the harp, a collection of light airs that could be sung with harp, guitar, harpsichord, or alone, by Ferdinando Pelligrini, printed in 1759.⁵⁸⁹ From the 1760s, many compositions were released for several polyphonic instruments at once, for example with Christoph Schaffarath's *IV Sonates pour le Clavecin ou harpe accompagnées d'un violon* published by Huberty in 1762. As a polyphonic instrument, the harp could more readily than others play pieces originally for the harpsichord. The transcription had to consider the pedal changes that would be necessary to produce the chromatics that are more easily played on a keyboard. As Genlis described in her treatise, harpists themselves usually transcribed the music, which was not necessarily published. With pieces written for several instruments at once, like with Schaffarath's example, it was assumed that the text could evolve depending on the instrument that played it.⁵⁹⁰

In the 1760s, most music printed for the harp included it as part of the accompaniment of a singing role. The harp was even used on stage in 1761, during Charles Favart's *Les Trois Sultanes* at the Comédie Italienne. In the play, Favart's wife, Justine, held the first role, and sang while accompanying herself on the harp during one scene. The piece for voice and harp was published the following year, within a collection of music from the play.⁵⁹¹ The harp score featured alterations that could only be done with a pedal harp: for example, the piece was written in B-flat major, with the B and E flat, several sections included pedal changes like with an E natural during one bar, or an F sharp during two bars. Petilliot's Collection of airs, amongst the first to be published for the harp, contained similar alterations, leaving no doubt that it was specifically composed for the pedal harp. In London, the pedal harp had an analogous role in its early phase. In the 1760s, it is played as an accompaniment to singing and dances.

⁵⁸⁸ « Ma passion pour la Harpe, et une étude de huit ou neuf heures par jour me mirent en état, au grand étonnement de Gaiffre, de jouer au bout d'un an toutes les pièces de clavecin les plus difficiles. » de Genlis, *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la Harpe en moins de Six Mois de Leçons... Seconde édition revue et corrigée* (Paris: Mme Duhan et Compagnie, 1807 ca.), 2.

⁵⁸⁹ Ferdinando Pellegrini, *Chansons italiennes pour chanter à table et pour les plaisirs champêtres. Elles se peuvent chanter avec la harpe, guitare, clavecin et seules.* (Paris: Melle Vendome, ca. 1759).

⁵⁹⁰ Luzzati, "Du clavecin à la harpe, transcription du répertoire français du XVIIIe siècle," 39.

⁵⁹¹ Gibert (music) and Favart (lyrics), *Soliman Second, ou les Trois Sultanes* (Paris: Le Menu, 1762).

Dedicated Repertoire

As more recognised harpists graced concerts, several of them began to write and publish specifically for their instrument, like Johann Baptist Hochbrucker, Francesco Petrini, and Philip Jacob Meyer. Out of the thirty or so pieces printed for the harp in the 1760s, just seven were for solo harp or for harp with accompaniment. The harp shifted from being the accompaniment, often playing the rhythmic part of the piece, to playing the melodic sections, supported by other instruments. For example, in 1762, when Johann Baptist Hochbrucker performed for the Dauphin and the Dauphine, he played the lead, while two horns were accompanying him.⁵⁹² The emergence of recognisable figures on the harp certainly helped to give the instrument more space to perform. Hochbrucker, Petrini and Meyer all performed their compositions at the Concert Spirituel, and then published them for audiences to play them. The harpist composers brought forth a change that can be observed in the music published in the 1770s: now the majority of works for the harp included the instrument as the soloist. More harpists, like Boëly and Krumpholtz, appeared on public stages and printed their compositions for the instrument. Meyer and others also travelled to London, where their compositions for the solo harp were published, as the instrument gained momentum in the city.

The 1770s also saw the first concertos specifically written for the harp being performed and printed, including what remains today one of the most played pieces for the harp, Mozart's flute and harp concerto (KV299). Following the composer's arrival in Paris in March 1778, he was introduced to several members of the aristocracy, amongst whom was the Duc de Guines (1735-1806). The Duc was an amateur flautist, and his daughter, Mademoiselle de Guines (1759-1795) played the pedal harp. She had previously attended the Abbaye de Penthémont in Paris, where Jean Georges Sieber taught pedal harp, and presumably introduced her to the instrument.⁵⁹³ Eager to play with his daughter, the Duc de Guines commissioned Mozart for a concerto for the flute and the harp. He also requested composition lessons for his daughter, making her the first composition student of Mozart.⁵⁹⁴ This study found no mention of the concerto's performance in the press, which means it was probably conducted privately, perhaps at the de Guines residence. In his letters to his family, Mozart complained about the Duc de Guines' lack of payment for the concerto and the composition lessons, and it is unclear whether he was compensated at all.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹² *Mercur de France, dédié au Roi*, July 1762, 200.

⁵⁹³ Anik Devriès, "Les éditions musicales Sieber," *Revue de Musicologie* 55, no. 1 (1969): 26.

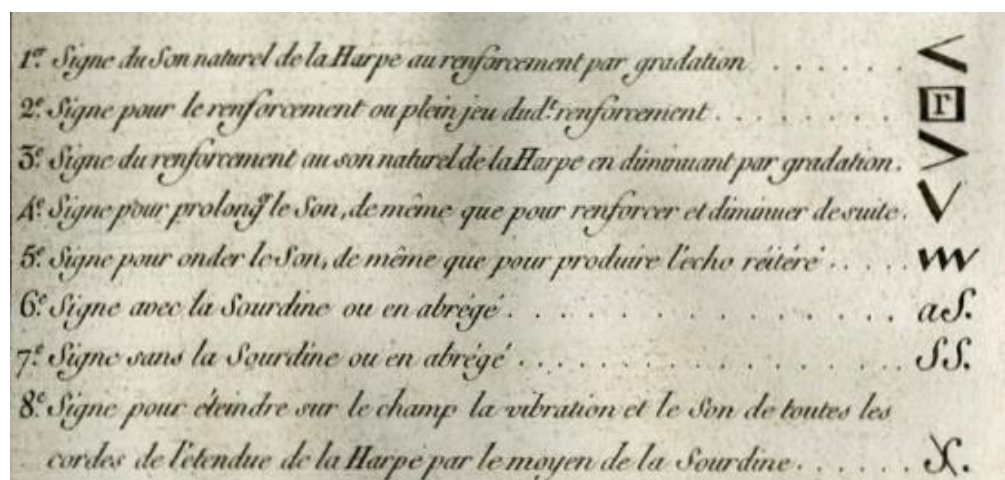
⁵⁹⁴ See Robert Adelson, "Mozart's first composition student: Mlle de Guines (1759-95)," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (2002).

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

Harpists themselves also published concertos for their instrument, like Johann Baptist Krumpholtz. In total, the harpist published six concerts for the harp and orchestra, offering a new genre to harpist, and a new privileged space to the instrument.

Mechanical innovations in repertoire

The repertoire of an instrument played a role in its adoption within society, particularly when it came to introducing an innovation. Chapter 3 discussed the transformations brought forth by Georges Cousineau of the fourteen-pedal harp. His son Jacques Georges had published a treatise two years after, in which he referenced the advantages of the new harp, although it did not require specific writing for it. Conversely, the shutter and damping mechanism added by Jean Henry Naderman and Johann Baptist Krumpholtz to the pedal harp needed further justification to the public. Krumpholtz printed his opus thirteen and fourteen in 1788, a year after the harp was introduced at the Académie Royale des Sciences.⁵⁹⁶ The volume consisted of six sonatas of gradual difficulty. At the end of the fifth sonata, the publication featured three pages of explanations and drawings of the Naderman-Krumpholtz harp, and its advantages. The description also included a list of signs employed in the final sonata, written for the harp in question. The symbols presented by Krumpholtz – seen in Figure 4-6 - were designed to let the musician know when and how to use the two new pedals: for example, to produce an undulating sound, to open or close the shutters gradually, etc.



⁵⁹⁶ Krumpholtz, *Collection de pièces de différens genres distribuées en six sonates d'une difficulté graduelle pour la harpe et le forte piano et dont les quatre premières sont avec accompagnement d'un violon ad libitum... Oeuvre XIIIe & XIVe*.

The use of recognised musicians to promote and introduce an innovation was discussed in the third chapter of this study. The publications by said musicians were, furthermore, a way to disseminate the invention. After the patenting of the double-action pedal harp by Erard, John Baptist Mayer, son of Philip Jacob, and a member of the close circle of the Erards, published a treatise for the instrument. His *Complete Demonstration of the Advantages Afforded by Mr Sebastian Erard's New Invented Harp with double Action in the Pedals*⁵⁹⁷ was completed the same year by *The New Invented Harp by Sebastian Erard* which detailed more rapidly the advantages of the new instrument.

⁵⁹⁷ John Baptist Mayer, *A Complete demonstration of the Advantages afforded by Mr Sebastian Erard's New Invented Harp, with double Action in the Pedals* (London: I. Willis & Co., 1811).

Concluding remarks

Performers played a key role in the dissemination and institutionalisation of the pedal harp. From the 1750s, the instrument penetrated all concert institutions in both Paris and London. From the pedal harp's first appearance on the Parisian stage, it took around ten years for a first group of harpists to perform in the city. Through their performances, teachings, and publications, they asserted the musical possibilities of the instrument. By the 1780s, the action of the instrument was more well-known, encouraging a growing number of new performers. A second wave of harpists brought the instrument into a new territory, that of orchestral and operatic music. These developments in the way in which the pedal harp was played resulted from the decades of performances at the Concert Spirituel and the various London venues. Satisfied with their success in France, a number of performers chose to relocate to London, at least for some months, to play a part in the city's vibrant musical life. In the wake of the French revolution, the fashion for French pedal harps boomed in the British capital, as more French harpists settled in the city. In both Paris and London, the pedal harp became associated with women, as several of them played it professionally and even more performed on it in private.

As more harpists came to be known in Paris and London, they also published more pieces. They played a role in the creation of a new repertoire for this relatively new instrument, after years of transcribing pieces for other instruments. The repertoire for the pedal harp still remains to this day relatively small compared to other instruments, and harpists are perpetuating the tradition of transcription, derived from the early ages of the pedal harp. The technical transformations of the instrument had to be included in the music played, and as Erard's double-action pedal harp became the most used, music for the pedal harp was more written for the double action rather than only single action.

As with many of the things discussed previously, the performances, musicians, and repertoire of the single-action pedal harp created the frame within which the double-action pedal harp later fitted. The creation of a dedicated repertoire, as well as the inclusion of the pedal harp in the Opéra, made for a fertile ground for the adoption of this new harp, that offered new musical possibilities.

Conclusions

'We don't know what David's harp was, or who invented our own. (...)

*Most of our inventions are the work, not of one man, but of men.*⁵⁹⁸

In 1765, the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, published by Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, which included an article on the pedal harp. This inclusion in such an important work from the Age of Enlightenment confirms the importance of the pedal harp in French music and society at the time. The opening paragraph of the article introduces the above quote, which, highlighting the myths about the origins of the instrument. The article, written by Ogiński, points out that, like most inventions, the pedal harp resulted from the contributions of several people.

Many harpists today consider Sébastien Erard as the father of the pedal harp. While his legacy on the instrument is undeniable, this thesis went beyond his fame, to understand what the pedal harp was before his patents for the double action mechanism. Focusing on the single-action pedal harp, this research has highlighted the intricacies of the transformations made to the instrument and how they related to each other, through the networks of the harp makers, the musicians, and the clientele.

Among all the harp makers and players discussed here, the Cousineau family stands out as the one that covers all the aspects of the pedal harp presented in this study. Jean-Baptiste Deshayes dit Salomon, Georges Cousineau's uncle, was amongst the first French luthiers who built pedal harps in Paris. Salomon's work demonstrates the adoption of the pedal harp by makers already specialised in building string instruments, such as guitars or viols. Using their skills and knowledge, they constructed a different instrument than that coming from Bavaria and had a crucial role in creating the French pedal harp. To this day, Salomon's harp held by the Musée de la Musique in Paris, built in 1753, is the oldest known example of a pedal harp made in France.

With Salomon's experience and reputation, he placed his nephew Georges Cousineau in apprenticeship with a fellow luthier. Cousineau's professional trajectory was a common one for musical instrument makers in Paris at the time: coming from a luthier family, learning from a master of the guild, before entering the guild himself in 1758. Cousineau instituted his workshop in the Rue des Poulies, an area popular amongst the aristocracy, a few streets away from the Louvre, the Palais Royal, and the Royal Opera. His presence in the neighbourhood demonstrated

⁵⁹⁸ Diderot and Le Rond D'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Volume 8, 56-58.

the practice highlighted of shopkeepers settling where their customers resided. He made several types of musical instruments, while focusing the majority of his production on pedal harps. After almost fifteen years in business, he obtained the title of harp maker to the Queen, while he was also appointed as the purveyor of harps for the Comtesse d'Artois, the King's sister-in-law. He thus secured an aristocratic clientele, perpetuating the ties of the pedal harp to the nobility, as he marketed his harps with his royal nominations, for example in the decorations of his instruments.

Moreover, the Deshayes and Cousineau families were Protestant, and consequently fostered links with other members of that community. After the large influx of immigrants from the German regions, many Protestants lived in Paris at a time when their faith was not fully sanctioned by the King. The Cousineaus thus might have had exchanges with the people of German origin that played and built pedal harps in Paris in the 1770s and 1780s.

In the 1780s, Georges was joined by his son, Jacques Georges, in the business, now announced as *Cousineau Père et Fils* – Cousineau father and son. Jacques Georges had already made a name for himself as a harp player by then, performing in several Parisian concerts. The Cousineaus' were among the first ones to introduce mechanical innovations to the pedal harp: the *béquilles* and the fourteen-pedal harp. They presented the instrument to the Académie Royale des Sciences, which helped to disseminate knowledge of the instrument beyond the musical sphere. While the presentation was significant in a technical perspective, it further highlighted Cousineau's network and strategies. He had ties with the rapporteur for his invention, who was married to a harpist, which likely helped in the assent of his invention by the Académie. The Cousineaus' used the press extensively to distribute information about their new harp, including the approval of the Abbé Roussier, whose authority was perhaps instrumental in the acceptance of the new harp. Although it appears that the model with fourteen pedals did not encounter commercial success, this harp would be part of Erard's inspiration and research towards the double-action pedal harp.⁵⁹⁹ Cousineau Père et Fils produced the harps with the *béquilles* mechanism in substantial numbers, which made them easy to study for this research.⁶⁰⁰

The Cousineau family was also active in disseminating the knowledge about the pedal harp, by printing music for the instrument. They published music from some of the most recognised harpists of the time, including Philip Jacob Meyer, Francesco Petrini or Johann Baptist Krumpholtz. Jacques Georges additionally released his treatise and compositions with the family business. He further contributed to the popularisation of the instrument through his performances in public concerts. Before joining his father's business, Jacques Georges had made a name for

⁵⁹⁹ Robert Adelson et al., *Erard et l'invention de la harpe moderne : 1811-2011* (Nice: Palais Lascaris, 2011), 12-14.

⁶⁰⁰ Out of the nineteen Cousineau pedal harps studied, six of them bore a *béquilles* mechanism.

himself by performing in Parisian concerts. He was an easy ambassador for his father's various innovations, playing them at the Concert Spirituel, then at the Académie Royale de Musique. From the 1780s onwards, Jacques Georges was the first harpist to be employed in the Académie's orchestra. As the Opéra's repertoire increasingly incorporated the harp, he was joined by others, notably in the productions of Grétry's *La Caravane du Caire* in the mid-1790s. At his instigation, and with the support of his fellow orchestra members, he petitioned to create a permanent harpist position, which he obtained in 1802, and thus became the first official harpist of the orchestra of the Opéra.

The technological advances of Georges Cousineau were already recognised within the history of music. This study has further demonstrated the part that he and his son played in the evolution of the pedal harp between the mid-eighteenth century and the 1810s. Through their respective and common activities, they have actively transformed the instrument, its repertoire, and its place within society and music. The example of the Cousineau family highlights the different aspects of the harp's history, discussed in this thesis. Many other makers had a role in the definition of the pedal harp and its market at the time, of whom very little was known previously, such as Godefroy Holtzman. A German immigrant, Holtzman remained in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine all of his life, linking the pedal harp production to the woodworking community of the area. His place among the Protestant community has helped him create links with other harp makers, including his friend Jean Henry Naderman. Holtzman did not take part in the mechanical transformations of the instrument, which in fact only involved a handful of makers, but his trajectory helped to define the careers of harp makers in this era. While the transformations made to the harp's mechanism are at the centre of this research, it was crucial to highlight the lives and work of other harp makers of the period. Their production, lives and networks all helped to define the single-action pedal harp at the time, even if they did not impact on the mechanism in the way Cousineau, Naderman or Erard did. It was therefore important to study and highlight these lesser-known factors, and to place them in the overall context of the history of the harp.

Previous scholarship had studied some aspects of the transformations discussed in this work like the *béquilles* of Cousineau or Erard's *fourchettes* mechanism. However, the novelty of this thesis is to provide a global view of these transformations, and how they built upon one another. It identifies some patterns in the processes of invention, that help bring a new understanding to the production of harp makers at the time. More generally, the pedal harp is introduced here as a multi-dimensional object, that carried social, economic, and cultural meanings, beyond its musical role. All the aspects discussed here show that the harp is a product of the European Enlightenment. This approach further showcases the pedal harp as an object of study for global history, rather than only music history. One example discussed here – and explored through papers and lectures presented during this research, – is that of the pedal harp as part of the luxury

market. The social and economic history of luxury rarely considers musical instruments as part of these mechanisms, yet the similarities were striking between the luxury market and the pedal harp market. This expands the view of the pedal harp and can also broaden the perspectives of social and economic history to regard musical instruments as part of the dynamics of the time.

Because of the approach chosen for this research, several aspects of the harp's history could not be covered comprehensively here. This study focused on a specific part of the pedal harp's history, and does not aim to offer a comprehensive view of it, which would prove impossible within the time frame of a doctorate. Several aspects of this history are discussed briefly in this thesis, but would benefit from further research in the future, starting with the first iteration of the pedal harp mechanism. While the figure of Jacob Hochbrucker is accepted as the first pedal harp maker, the circumstances of the mechanism's creation remain unclear. A study on this part of the harp's history would require a deep knowledge of musical instrument making in eighteenth-century Bavaria and of the German language, for which the present research was unequipped. The subject has not yet been the subject of exhaustive research, but perhaps the identification made here of the German actors of the French pedal harp could offer an entry point for tracing the roots of the instrument.

This thesis has studied the transformations made to the pedal harp that emerged concurrently. Such an angle demonstrates the interweaving of professional networks, with harpists appearing to have influenced each other. As they responded to the criticism of the pedal harp's limitations, makers produced new mechanisms and attempted to enhance the musical possibilities of the instrument, while making modulation more convenient. The introduction of the innovations to a government body such as the Académie des Sciences or the British patent office, left a trace of their work and allows researchers to study them in detail, as done here. The study of these inventions was reinforced by the observation of the corresponding pedal harps. However, several of the innovations discussed here either were not presented in front of an institution, like Naderman's 1783 damper, or none of the instruments appear to have survived, like with Charles Groll's 1813 patent. Indeed, the introduction to government bodies was an expensive endeavour, which meant that perhaps more harp makers were considering innovations but were lacking the funds to do so. More research should be carried out on these mechanisms and makers, in parallel with the corresponding repertoire, to understand how they effectively functioned. Because it is rooted in history and organology, this study has not been able to provide a detailed analysis of the repertoire of the pedal harp. The aim of all the mechanical transformations was to ease modulation and make playing more practical, it would be compelling to see how that affected the

music played. Further studies conducted by musicologists should provide a deeper understanding of the impact of the transformations on the repertoire played.

The perspectives and findings of this study can be used to develop further research on the double-action pedal harp. While the mechanism went through less transformations than those discussed here, the structure and place of the instrument had evolved greatly since the 1810s. While the adoption of the double action as the standard instrument was evoked here, the two models co-existed for a period, particularly in Paris. Further research might provide understanding on how the two models compared with musicians at the time, and the steps towards the standardisation of the double-action model. There is, therefore, a definite need for deeper research on this mechanism, conducted in parallel with the evolution of the repertoire

The main weakness in this research is the imbalance between the Paris and London sources. On one hand, this imbalance reflects the influence of the Parisian scene on the transformations of the pedal harp. When discussing London's pedal harp production, it is here angled through the 'Frenchness' of the pedal harp, its makers, and musicians. However, on the other hand, circumstances have prevented such research from being conducted, as the initial project wished to explore further pedal harp making and playing in London. The Covid-19 pandemic prevented most of the in-person study of pedal harps initially planned. Several observations and archival research were planned for the months of March and April of 2020, which were cancelled, and the restrictions on travel imposed in the following months made it not possible to study these instruments within the research's time frame. The role of London makers from the 1810s is undeniable in the harp's history, it would be interesting to understand better the production of pedal harps in Britain.

As of the end of this thesis, I have gathered data for more than eighty pedal harps. While this represents substantial information, the categories I chose for my studies resulted from the perspectives of my research. Another scholar might find different angles and criteria that I missed in my observations to find different information. With a different approach, other researchers might also choose a different list of harps to study, for example harps in UK collections. I hope that the publication of my observation sheet and my datasets will serve as a template for other harp researchers, or for private and public collections to document their harps as much as possible.

The patents granted to Erard in 1810 and 1811 offered harpists a new instrument, that allowed for easier modulation, and thus expanded the repertoire from the single action. The double-action

model became a rapid success with the London branch of the Erard company, while it did not take off as quickly in Paris. At the time, François Joseph Naderman led the harp class at the Conservatoire, as the Naderman family was still producing single-action pedal harps. He therefore found no interest in the advent of this recent mechanism. After the appointment of a new harp teacher in 1835, the Conservatoire purchased double action models from Erard in the following months, catching up with a growing repertoire for this instrument. Hector Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* is the best of example of the new harp's repertoire, as one of the first orchestral works to utilise every aspect of the double-action model. The second movement, *Un Bal*, included two substantial harp parts at the creation of the piece in 1830, which Berlioz doubled in the 1840s, demonstrating the interest for the mechanism.⁶⁰¹ The adoption by the Conservatoire and by leading composers of the time resulted in growing numbers of harpists, and of sales of the double-action pedal harp. The single-action model faded, as the other was made more available.

Today, the double-action pedal harp is considered the standard instrument for harpists, who are rarely aware of the deep-rooted heritage of their instrument. With the historically informed performance movement of the second half of the twentieth century, the single-action pedal harp has benefitted from more recognition. A few conservatoires across the world today offer classes dedicated to the single action, as several harpists became specialised in it, while often researching its history. Scarce examples of the single-action pedal harp used to play contemporary pieces exist, but the instrument remains mostly played for eighteenth and early nineteenth century music.

The double-action pedal harp was not a separate instrument from the single-action model. Its evolution was the culmination of years of research and transformation by instrument makers of the single-action model. This process was facilitated by the makers' professional and personal networks, as well as their production and marketing strategies, making the period discussed in this thesis crucial in the development of the modern harp. The detailed study of the history of the single-action model is essential to understand the next era in the history of the pedal harp. The advent of the double-action model in the nineteenth century ensured the longevity of the pedal harp, enabling it to be played well into the twenty-first century.

⁶⁰¹ Nicholas (ed.) Temperley, *Symphonie Fantastique*, vol. 16, New Berlioz Edition (Cassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), XV and 220.

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F-LRYa

F-MBa

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Appendices

Appendix I – Transcription and translation from the estate inventory of Marie Elisabeth Maheux, wife of Jean Henry Naderman. 30 January 1776, MC ET XXVII 380, Archives Nationales, Paris - Debtors

Plus what is owed to his community after the titles from the ledgers hereby inventoried knowing

By Melle Adam, residing rue Phetipeaux, seventeen livres four sols

By the S^r Breidenbach two hundred livres

By the Marquis de Bourbon Busset two hundred and seven livres

By the D^e Barul five sols

By Madame de Boulainvilliers one hundred and ninety-nine livres ten sols

By Mad^{me} de Crussol nineteen livres fourteen sols

By Mad^{me} de Cheminot ten livres neuf sols

By the D^e Dufresne and her son seventy-three livres sept sols

By the D^e Comtesse de Duras seven hundred and twenty livres

By Mad^{me} de Darfon sixty-two livres eighteen sols

By the Chevalier de Dourlion three hundred livres

By the Sr Dufeuille de Cadix

By Mad^{me} d'Arcambal one hundred and forty-three livres eighteen sols

By the D^e Felix twelve livres nine sols

By the Marquise de Florenge nine livres nine sols

By M^{me} Gambault thirty-seven sols

By M^{me} de Saint Germain eight hundred pounds five sols

By M. the Comte Jules de Polignac one hundred and sixteen livres fourteen sols

By M^{me} de Langeac eleven livres nineteen sols

By the Comte de Laval eight livres nineteen sols

By Mr de Larare eighteen livres fourteen sols

By Dame Lecoq forty-seven livres twelve sols

By M^{me} de Marbeuf nineteen livres five sols

By M. Mayer four hundred livres

By the Marquise de Montalembert forty-five livres twelve sols

By Mad^{me} de Macon ninety-nine livres

By M. de Montchevreuil forty livres four sols

By Marquise de Montholon thirteen livres ten sols

By Mad^{me} de Megrant forty four livres twelve sols

By M. Malthuin sixty livres

By S^r Hiner six hundred livres

By M^{me} Pradelle two hundred and five livres nine sols

By the Vicomte de Polignac one hundred and sixty-four livres eighteen sols

By S^r Labouin one hundred and fifty livres

By Mad^{me} de Sequeaux twenty livres sixteen sols

By S^r Savary four hundred and forty-four livres two sols

By S^r Seibold, musician in Angoulême two hundred and sixty-five livres

By the Abbé de Tresson two hundred and ninety-nine livres

By the Marq^{ise} de Tombeuf fifty-one livres twelve sols

By the Duchesse de Tremoille five hundred and five livres fifteen sols

Plus that he is owed By The Queen one thousand and fifty livres

By Mad^{me} Victoire de France eight hundred livres

By the S^r Jussoi the rent of a harp hereby inventoried, since the 30 October last, for seven livres per month

By Mad^{me} d'Egville the rent of another harp hereby inventoried, since the six of December last, for twelve livres per month

Declare that regarding the harp in the hands of S^r De Jouvancourt and hereby inventoried, nothing is due as rent, as the said S^r De Jouvancourt has it while waiting that he builds him a new one.

And has signed

Naderman

[...]

Moreover that the Sr Naderman declares that he has received down payments hereafter detailed from the cited persons on the prices of harps he has undertaken to supply knowing

From the Sr Delatourette, officer, two hundred and forty livres

From Mad^{me} de St Germain, same sum of two hundred and forty livres

From Mr Corsin, musician, one hundred and eighty-four livres

From Sr Sené, painter, two hundred and sixteen livres

From Sr Treforest, artillery officer, two hundred livres

*From a Lady whose name he does not know, residing in Paris, hotel de Grammont, rue des
Jardins, three hundred livres*

And the said Sr Naderman signed

Naderman

Appendix II – Transcription and translation from the estate inventory of Marie Elisabeth Maheux, wife of Jean Henry Naderman. 30th January 1776, MC ET XXVII 380, Archives Nationales, Paris - Creditors

Finally, said Sr Naderman declares that it is owed by his community knowing

To the Dlle Boutens, the sum of seven hundred and fifty livres, according to a bill made by him to the Demoiselle in payment of six months of rent in advance for a house, in Paris rue Neuve Saint Roch, of which the Dem^{elle} made him a lease beginning on the following 1st of April

To M Frideler, of two bills made by Sr Naderman, the sum of two thousand livres

To Mme de Prébois by bill the sum of four hundred livres

To M Vialel again by bill two hundred and forty livres

To M Flaxneger again by bill on thousand livres

To Mad^{me} Hausen dit Humbert again by bill two hundred and fifty livres

To M Marsilly, wood merchant in Versailles, six hundred livres, including five hundred livres by bill and one hundred livres without bill

To M Le Brun et Compagnie for strings the sum of four thousands four hundred and forty nine livres

To Srs Bailly et Bigot again for strings, eighty four livres

To Sr Pailleux again for strings, the sum of three hundred and forty-four livres, ten sols

To Sr Richard, tapestry merchant, for furnishings supplied to Sr Naderman, one thousand and fifty-six livres five sols,

To Sr Humbert, woodworker for works by him made two hundred and sixty-five livres sixteen sols

To Sr Cardec, grocer, the sum of ninety-five livres sixteen sols and six deniers

To Sr Mincau, tinsmith, fifty-six livres eight sols

To Sr Scheyer, mechanician seventeen hundred and seventy-eight livres

To Sr Louis Scimaize, locksmith, one hundred and seventy-four livres one sol

To Sr François Bardu, tabletier, six hundred and thirty-two livres fifteen sols

To Sr Keller, merchant, two thousand three hundred and thirty two livres fifteen sols

To Sr Deschamps, painter, sixteen livres and ten sols

To Sr Boucault, gilder, two thousand three hundred and sixty-eight livres

To Sr Stouldré, taylor, one thousand and forty livres

To Sr Carlier, another taylor, one hundred and thirty one livres nine sols

To the seamstress for clothing for the mourning of the child and the maid, forty-three livres two sols

To Sr Brunel, woodworker, one hundred and eighty-eight livres

To the pitsawyer, two hundred and eleven livres seventeen sols six deniers

To Sr Michelot, silk strings merchant, twenty five livres eight sols six deniers

To the named Sweers, one of Sr Naderman's workers, for daily wages, five hundred and eighty livres

To Eleonore, his maid, for wages, one hundred and fifty livres

To Sr François, wine merchant, one hundred and forty-four livres

To Sr Gafinot, luthier for rent of instruments, one hundred and eighty-two livres

To Sr Blouen, surgeon, for bandages and treatments, seven hundred and twelve livres eighteen sols

**Appendix III – Observation form used in the observation pedal harps
(Fanny Guillaume-Castel, 2023)**

General	Museum	Inventory number	Maker		Place of production	Date
Inscriptions	Signature	Iron branding		Branding size	Serial number	
	Mechanism cover					
	Neck					
	Soundboard					
	Base					
	Other					
Dimensions (mm)	Weight (kg)	Height	Depth	Base	Base with pedals	
Strings	Number of strings	Without mechanism	First note at the bass	Range	Original range	Well strung?
Construction	Wood	Number of Staves	Openings	<i>Crochets pins</i>	Tuning pins	Nuts soundboard
	Decorations		Opening size	Distance opening sides	Bridge	Bumps
			mm	mm		
Mechanism	Type	Well mounted?	Axis in the neck	Stave joints	Pedals	Swell?
Other						

Appendix IV – Structure of the observation database

HARPS			
Maker (joined to the table below)		Height (mm)	
Collection (joined to the table below)		Depth (mm)	
Inventory Number		Width_Base (mm)	
Lot Number_Sale		Width_Base and Pedals (mm)	
Date_Sale		Staves_Number	
Observed (Y/N)		Openings_Placement	
Date		Openings_Shape	
Serial number		Openings_Number	
Strings_Nb		Bumps_Placement	
Non mechanised Strings_Bass		Mechanism_Axis	
Non mechanised Strings_Treble		Staves_Joint	
Mechanism_Type		Decoration_Bride rail	
Mechanism_Pedals		Decoration_Style	
Swells (Y/N)		Decoration_Neck	
Range		Decoration_Soundboard	
Inscription_Signature		Decoration_Pillar	
Inscription_Branding		Decoration_Pillar Section	
Inscription_Label		Decoration_Scroll/Capitol	
Inscription_Ink		Decoration_Base	
Inscription_Pencil		Decoration_Front of Base	
Inscription_Engraving		Other	
Inscription_Other			

MAKER	
Name	
City	
Country	
Years of activity	

COLLECTION	
Name	
Type	Museum / Private Collection / Business / Auction House
City	
Country	
Contact	

Appendix V – Dataset 1: Pedal harps studied in person

The dataset presented in Appendices V and VI are lighter versions of the database used in the thesis. Because of the potential sensitive nature of some of the data, related the collection's history for example, I have chosen to present the essential information for each pedal harp.

The range for each harp was determined based on the functioning of the mechanism, avoiding issues of hazardous re-stringing. When the cell is left blank, the mechanism did not function well enough to determine the range.

When a cell is left intentionally blank in the measurements, the conditions of the observation, in auction houses for example, did not allow me to take all the measurements.

Collection	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Range	Height (mm)	Depth (mm)	Width base (mm)	Width base pedals (mm)
A	Challiot, Etienne		1815-1825	42	Forks, single action	8	Yes	FF - e4	1790			
A	Challiot, Etienne		1800 ca.	42	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	FF - e4				
A	Holtzman, Godefroy		1778	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - b3	1485			
A	Naderman, Jean Henry		1784	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	BB - c4	1626	820	410	576
A	Naderman, Jean Henry		1775	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	BB - g3	1535			
A	Holtzman, Henri		1790-1800	39	<i>Crochets</i>	8	No	GG - c4				
A	Naderman, Jean Henry		1775-1785	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - g3	1610	640		
A	Cousineau, Père et Fils		1785 ca.	38	<i>Béquilles</i>	8	Yes		1650	760		
ADM	Naderman, Jean Henry	36	1789	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - b3	1586	764	410	570
B.A.mv	Challiot, Antoine	AV.1967.001.037	1790-1810	41	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	FF - d4	1656	816	414	659

Collection	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Range	Height (mm)	Depth (mm)	Width base (mm)	Width base pedals (mm)
B.A.mv	Lejeune, Jean Baptiste	AV.1967.001.038	1775-1780	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1676	698	400	620
B.A.mv	Anonyme	AV.3734	1795-1805	38	<i>Crochets</i>	8	No		1714	743	532	690
B.B.mim	Cousineau, Père et Fils	CORD0017	1790-1792	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - c4	1640	780	450	
B.B.mim	Erard, London	3952	1820-1825	43	Forks, double action	8	No	EE - e4	1680	860	420	
B.B.mim	Hurtz, Jean Guillaume	4200	1800-1810	39	<i>Crochets</i>	8	Yes	DD - g3	1700	750	420	604
B.B.mim	Holtzman, Godefroy	3916	1784	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - a3	1625	790	390	650
B.B.mim	Cousineau, Père et Fils	246	1785-1795	38	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No		1648	798	431	
CHM	Cousineau, Georges	E.2016.10.1	1772	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - a3	1655	765	524	574
CMH	Erard, London	2003.22.1	1801 ca.	41	Forks, single action	8	Yes	GG - e4	1760	820	430	580
F.NI.pl	Beckers	D.2019.1.12	1805-1810	43	<i>Crochets</i>	8	Yes	CC - c4	1680			
F.NI.pl	Naderman, Jean Henry	PL.2007.9.1	1788	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	FF - Fa5	1610	700	372	650
F.NI.pl	Hermès	D.2019.1.15	1790-1800	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - c4	1640	791	426	616
F.NI.pl	Cousineau, Père et Fils	D.2019.1.6	1785-1790	38	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	AA - c4	1635	794	438	681
F.NI.pl	Anonyme	D.2019.1.8		36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - a3	1645	720	405	546
F.NI.pl	Louvet, Jean	D.2019.1.4	1772	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - g3	1570	741	392	567
F.NI.pl	Pollet, Benoit	D.2019.1.9	1800-1805	39	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG-c4	1670	793	422	524
F.NI.pl	Anonyme	D.2019.1.3	1770-1780	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1510	655	325	496

Collection	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Range	Height (mm)	Depth (mm)	Width base (mm)	Width base pedals (mm)
F.NI.pl	Holtzman, Godefroy	D.2019.1.5	1770-1775	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1600	780	379	424
F.NI.pl	Naderman, Jean Henry	D.2019.1.10	1775-1785	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1595	756	420	584
F.P.ad	Renault & Chatelain	Inv. 22359	1786	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	C - e4	1625	780	423	568
F.P.ad	Louvet, Jean	Inv. 13018	1775	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - Fa5	1563	657	620	325
F.P.cm	Cousineau, Jacques-Georges	E.991.11.1	1820 ca.	40	Turning Pins	7	No	FF - c4	1670	824	391	635
F.P.cm	Wolters, Jean Matthias Bachmann	E.990.8.1	1795-1805	40	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	FF - c4	1685	753	424	
F.P.cm	Cousineau, Georges	D.AD.40297	1770-1780	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	FF - Fa5	1614	670	445	635
F.P.cm	Erard Paris	E.981.6.1	1799	41	Forks, single action	8	Yes	FF - d4	1710	927	462	635
F.P.cm	Erard Paris	E.2016.1.1	1785-1788	39	Forks, single action	7	No	FF - b3	1684	790	430	620
F.P.cm	Zimmerman, Pierre Joseph	E.549	1800-1805	39	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	FF - b3	1664	824	411	653
F.P.cm	Naderman, Jean Henry	E.482	1776	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - a3	1604	786	381	575
F.P.cm	Renault & Chatelain	E.1511	1784	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - a3	1622	768	415	585
F.P.cm	Saunier, Edmond	E.17	1760-1765	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - a3	1580	740	430	520
F.P.cm	Cousineau, Père et Fils	D.AD.2593	1785-1790	39	<i>Béquilles</i>	8	Yes	AA - d4	1630	754	425	650
F.P.cm	Cousineau, Père et Fils	E.970.3.1	1790 ca.	37	<i>Crochets</i>	8	Yes	AA - b3	1631	795	440	615
F.P.cm	Erard, London	E.2003.5.8	1826	43	Forks, double action	8	Yes	EE - e4	1710	900	300	560
F.P.cm	Cousineau, Georges	E.275	1770 ca.	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	BB - g3	1528	675	330	540

Collection	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Range	Height (mm)	Depth (mm)	Width base (mm)	Width base pedals (mm)
F.P.cm	Louvet, Jean	E.982.7.1	1766	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	BB - g3	1617	750	360	540
F.P.cm	Erard Paris	E.2100	1788 ca.	39	Forks, single action	7	No	GG - c4	1669	794	430	
F.P.cm	Holtzman, Godefroy	D.AD.2591	1779	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - a3	1593	790	383	
F.P.cm	Challiot, Antoine	E.0996	1800-1815	41	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - e4	1635	852	418	
F.P.cm	Camis, Jean Adam	D.AD.2592	1795-1800	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - b3	1637	820	445	590
F.P.cm	Holtzman, Godefroy	E.929	1778	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - g3	1640	780	374	575
F.P.cm	Naderman, Freres	E.1646	1825	43	Forks, single action	7	No		1715	857	415	595
F.P.cm	Naderman, Freres	E.980.6.2	1820-1825	43	Forks, single action	8	No		1628	840	375	580
F.P.cm	Erard, London	E.991.14.1	1820	43	Forks, double action	8	Yes		1691	905	431	
F.P.cm	Cousineau, Georges	E.2000.26.1	1775 ca.	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1550	742	430	590
F.P.cm	Holtzman, Godefroy	E.18	1760 ca.	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1623	720	377	545
F.P.cm	Holtzman, Godefroy	E.19	1773	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1456	688	325	536
F.P.cm	Renault & Chatelain	D.E.Cl.3486	1775-1785	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1630	760	410	565
F.P.cm	Salomon, Deshayes, Jean baptiste dit	E.2022.2.1	1755-1760	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1555	751	380	527
F.P.cm	Challiot, Antoine	E.2101	1795-1815	41			No		1645	850	410	625
F.P.cm	Erard Londres	E.0997	1821	43	Forks, double action	8	No	EE - e4	1695	885	425	
F.V.m	Naderman, Jean Henry	Vmb 14932	1775-1784?	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - a3	1600	925	395	580

Collection	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Range	Height (mm)	Depth (mm)	Width base (mm)	Width base pedals (mm)
F.V.m	Anonyme	V 4859	1795-1805	40	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	EE - b3	1604	845	385	630
GB.L.cm	Cousineau, Georges	RCM0114	1765-1775	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	C - a3	1625	700	338	493
GB.L.cm	Cousineau, Père et Fils	RCM199	1782-1789	35	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	BB - a3	1634	761	409	530
GCL	Holtzman, Godefroy	I / 36 / 123	1760-1770	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - b3	1560	780	370	416
GMB	Challiot, Etienne		1836-1850	44	Forks, single action	8	Yes	EE - Fa6	1705	870		
MGL	Hurtz, Jean Guillaume		1790-1800	40	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1676	808	446	584
MHC	Krupp, Pierre	2002.0.55	1777-1785 ca.	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1585	720	347	584
MJA	Holtzman, Godefroy	OA 1178-1	1785 ca	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1660			
MJA	Cousineau, Père et Fils	OA 479-1	1782-1790	37	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No		1690	740		
MMI	Cousineau, Georges		1780-1785	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - g3	1674	773	560	635
MRAH	Naderman, Freres		1825-1830	42	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	EE - d4	1698	775	472	750
MVV	Cousineau, Père et Fils		1799-1805	37	Turning Pins	8	Yes		1710	784	41	624
MVV	Naderman, Jean Henry	2266	1774	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No			674	342	557
NL.A.rm	Cousineau, Père et Fils	BK-2016-98-5	1780-1790	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1658	764	446	663
PC	Hurtz, Jean Guillaume		1800-1810	38	<i>Crochets</i>	8	Yes	FF - a3	1675	780	400	
PC	Cousineau, Georges		1770-1775	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	AA - a3				
PC	Naderman, Jean Henry		1770	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	BB - g3	1535	730	365	550

Collection	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Range	Height (mm)	Depth (mm)	Width base (mm)	Width base pedals (mm)
PC	Cousineau, Georges		1755-1765	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - e3	1570	673	320	545
PC	Anonyme		1790-1800	39	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1680		421	590
PC	Holtzman, Godefroy		1755-1765	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No		1610	680	380	550
PPP	Louvet, Jean	OTUCK62	1777	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	GG - a3	1600	760		600

Appendix VI – Dataset 2: Pedal harps that were not studied in person

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Auction		Anonymous		1780-1790	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1660
Auction		Anonymous		1780-1790	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1778
Auction		Anonymous		1795-1806	41	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Anonymous		1765-1775	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1620
Auction		Anonymous		1785-1795	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1650
Auction		Anonymous		1775-1785	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1595
Auction		Anonymous		1775-1785	36			No	0
Auction		Anonymous		1785-1795	36	<i>Crochets</i>		No	1680
Auction		Anonymous		1780-1790	39			No	1650
Auction		Challiot, Antoine		1790-1800	39	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Challiot, Antoine		1792-1799	39	<i>Crochets</i>		No	0
Auction		Challiot, Antoine		1790-1800	38	<i>Crochets</i>		No	0
Auction		Cousineau, Georges			36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1715
Auction		Cousineau, Georges		1775-1785	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Auction		Cousineau, Père et Fils		1785 ca.	37	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	1650
Auction		Cousineau, Père et Fils		1785-1790	38	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	1680
Auction		Cousineau, Père et Fils		1770-1780	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1700
Auction		Cousineau, Père et Fils			36	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Erard Londres		1821-1825	43	Forks, double action	8	Yes	0
Auction		Erard Londres		1845-1850	45	Forks, double action	7	No	0
Auction		Erard Londres		1825-1830	43	Forks, double action	7	No	1700
Auction		Erard Londres		1812	41	Forks, double action	8	No	0
Auction		Erard Londres		1819	43	Forks, double action	8	Yes	1710
Auction		Erard Londres		1834	43	Forks, double action	8	Yes	1720
Auction		Erard Londres		1801		Forks, single action	8	Yes	0
Auction		Erard Londres		1800	40	Forks, single action	8	Yes	1720
Auction		Erard Londres			43	Forks, double action		No	0
Auction		Erard Londres		1800		Forks, single action		No	0
Auction		Erard Paris		1800	41	Forks, single action	8	Yes	1710

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Auction		Erard Paris		1802	41	Forks, single action	8	Yes	1710
Auction		Hermès				<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1690
Auction		Holtzman, Godefroy		1775	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1590
Auction		Holtzman, Godefroy		1765-1775	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1590
Auction		Holtzman, Godefroy			37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Holtzman, Godefroy		1770-1780	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Holtzman, Godefroy		1770-1780	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1640
Auction		Holtzman, Godefroy		1770-1780	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1655
Auction		Holtzman, Henri			38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1600
Auction		Holtzman, Henri		1785-1795	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1670
Auction		Holtzman, Henri		1780-1785	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Holtzman, Henri		1785-1795	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1676
Auction		Krupp, Pierre		1770-1785	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Krupp, Pierre		1770-1780	36	<i>Crochets</i>		No	0
Auction		Lepine		1790-1805	40	<i>Crochets</i>	8	Yes	1740

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Auction		Louvet, Jean		1770-1780	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1573
Auction		Louvet, Jean		1765-1775	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1570
Auction		Naderman, Freres		1819	42			No	1720
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1780-1790	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1600
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1785-1795	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1638
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1780-1785	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1670
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1770-1775	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1585
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1775-1785	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1650
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1775-1785	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1610
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1780-1785	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1780-1790	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1780-1790	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1620
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1780-1790	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1600
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1785-1795	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1778-1780	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1447

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Auction		Naderman, Jean Henry		1786	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Renault & Chatelain		1791 ca.	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1630
Auction		Renault & Chatelain		1780-1785	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1620
Auction		Renault & Chatelain		1790-1800	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Renault & Chatelain			37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1650
Auction		Renault & Chatelain		1785-1790	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1620
Auction		Renault & Chatelain		1780-1785	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1590
Auction		Renault & Chatelain		1787	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Renault, Sébastien		1790-1810		<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1650
Auction		Renault, Sébastien		1790-1810	40	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Auction		Renault, Sébastien		1800-1810	41	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1680
Auction		Renault, Sébastien		1790-1800	39	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1710

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Auction		Renault, Sébastien		1785-1790	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1660
Auction		Simonin		1785-1795	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1640
Auction		Simonin			38	<i>Crochets</i>		No	1640
Auction		Tiphanon, Jean Francois		1775-1785	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1630
Bayerisches National Museum, Munich	Germany	Wolters, Jean Matthias Bachmann	66/21	1785-1795	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Castello Sforzesco, Milan	Italy	Cousineau, Père et Fils	299	1785-1795	38	<i>Béquilles</i>	8	Yes	1665
Château de Malmaison	France	Cousineau, Père et Fils	MM40.47.127	1805-1810	39	Turning Pins	9	Yes	1920
Château de Seneffe	Belgium	Cousineau, Père et Fils	sda787	1785-1790	37	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	1670
Detroit Institute of Arts	U.S.A.	Renault & Chatelain	F71.71	1793	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1635
Deutsches Museum, Munich	Germany	Erard Londres	16147	1818				No	0

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Galleria dell'Academia, Florence	Italy	Challiot, Antoine	1988/093 Cherubini	1790-1800	41	<i>Crochets</i>		No	0
Grassi Museum, Leipzig	Germany	Renault & Chatelain	398	1790	39	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1600
Grassi Museum, Leipzig	Germany	Renault, Sébastien	399	1800-1805	38	<i>Crochets</i>	8	Yes	1670
Herschel Museum of Astronomy, Bath	U.K.	Cousineau, Père et Fils		1790-1800	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Holburne Museum, Bath	U.K.	Erard Londres	F140	1802	41	Forks, single action	7	No	0
Hotel de Caumont, Aix-en-Provence	France	Naderman, Jean Henry		1785-1795	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Maison de George Sand, Nohant	France	Naderman, Jean Henry		1773	32	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1620
Minneapolis Institute of Art	U.S.A.	Cousineau, Père et Fils	32.5	1785-1790	37	<i>Béquilles</i>	8	Yes	1734
Munchner Stadtmuseum, Munich	Germany	Cousineau, Père et Fils	Inv-Nr 51-1	1780-1790	37	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	0
Munchner Stadtmuseum, Munich	Germany	Krupp, Pierre	49-6	1770-1780	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Munchner Stadtmuseum, Munich	Germany	Naderman, Freres	53-22	1820-1830	43	Forks, single action	7	No	0
Munchner Stadtmuseum, Munich	Germany	Naderman, Freres	53-13	1820-1380	42	<i>Crochets</i>		No	0
Munchner Stadtmuseum, Munich	Germany	Naderman, Jean Henry		1770-1780		<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Munchner Stadtmuseum, Munich	Germany	Naderman, Jean Henry	40-317	1775-1785		<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Musée de la Révolution Française, Vizille	France	Cousineau, Georges	E.985.2.1	1780-1785	37	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	1630
Musée de l'Hospice Comtesse, Lille	France	Krupp, Pierre	2002.0.55	1780 ca	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1558
Musée de l'Hospice Saint Roch, Issoudun	France	Challiot, Pierre	2000.05.352/51	1820	42	<i>Crochets</i>	8	Yes	1700
Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Bordeaux	France	Challiot, Antoine	2005.6.1	1780-1790	39	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1630
Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon	France	Anonymous	MAD 1505	1780-1790	40	Forks, single action	7	No	1667
Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon	France	Naderman, Jean Henry	MAD X 3 bis	1785-1790	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1620

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Musée des Arts et Métiers, Paris	France	Cousineau, Georges	3690-0002		36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Musée des Arts et Métiers, Paris	France	Zimmerman, Guillaume	03690-0003	1780-1785	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1630
Musée des Beaux Arts, Rennes	France	Anonymous	1837.4.13	1775-1785	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1380
Musée du Louvre	France	Naderman, Jean Henry	E.2002.13.3	1787	40	<i>Crochets</i>	9	Yes	1740
Museo Casa de los Tiros, Granada	Spain	Challiot, Etienne	CE00479	1820-1830	42	Forks, single action	7	No	1680
Museu de la Musica, Barcelona	Spain	Challiot, Antoine	MDMB 593	1792-1799	39	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	0
Museu de la Musica, Barcelona	Spain	Cousineau, Père et Fils	MDMB 10	1780-1790	37	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	1630
Museum of Fine Arts Boston	U.S.A.	Holtzman, Godefroy	18.30	1770-1780	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1568
Museum of Fine Arts Boston	U.S.A.	Naderman, Jean Henry	18.30	1780-1785	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1568
Museum of Fine Arts Boston	U.S.A.	Naderman, Jean Henry	1974.57	1788	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1607

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg	Germany	Holtzman, Godefroy	1924.167	1770-1775	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1560
Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo	Norway	Anonymous	OK-13381	1770	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1590
Nydahl Collection, Stockholm	Sweden	Cousineau, Père et Fils	IKN015	1770-1780	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	
Nydahl Collection, Stockholm	Sweden	Cousineau, Père et Fils	IKN015	1775-1780	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1600
Nydahl Collection, Stockholm	Sweden	Cousineau, Père et Fils	IKN014	1790 ca.	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1685
Private Collection		Cousineau, Père et Fils		1785-1790	36	<i>Béquilles</i>		No	
Private Collection		Cousineau, Père et Fils				Turning Pins		Yes	
Private Collection		Holtzman, Godefroy		1775 ca.	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	
Private Collection		Hurtz, Jean Guillaume		1785-1800	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	
Private Collection		Krupp, Pierre		1770-1780	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Private Collection		Louvet, Jean		1765-1770	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	
Private Collection		Louvet, Jean		1765-1775	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	
Private Collection		Louvet, Jean		1765-1770	34	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1550
Private Collection		Naderman, Jean Henry		1775	37			No	
Private Collection		Naderman, Jean Henry		1786	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	
Private Collection		Naderman, Jean Henry		1791	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	
Private Collection		Naderman, Jean Henry		1790-1800	39	<i>Crochets</i>		No	
Private Collection		Zimmerman, Pierre Joseph		1785-1790	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	
Ringve Musikkmuseum, Trondheim	Norway	Anonymous	RMT 342	1770-1775	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1670

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Ringve Musikkmuseum, Trondheim	Norway	Cousineau, Georges	RMT 039	1770-1780	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1660
Ringve Musikkmuseum, Trondheim	Norway	Naderman, Freres	RMT 215	1825-1830	43	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1710
Saarland Museum, Sarrebruck	Germany	Cousineau, Georges	SMW0294	1770-1780	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1690
Scenkonstmuseet, Stockholm	Sweden	Cousineau, Père et Fils	M51	1780-1785	37	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	1620
Scenkonstmuseet, Stockholm	Sweden	Cousineau, Père et Fils	M315	1785-1790	37	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	1600
Scenkonstmuseet, Stockholm	Sweden	Cousineau, Père et Fils	M2214	1795-1805	40	Turning Pins		No	1740
Scenkonstmuseet, Stockholm	Sweden	Holtzman, Godefroy	F471			<i>Crochets</i>		No	1620
Scenkonstmuseet, Stockholm	Sweden	Krupp, Pierre	N86852	1780-1790	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1530
Scenkonstmuseet, Stockholm	Sweden	Krupp, Pierre	N101847	1770-1780	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1555

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Scenkonstmuseet, Stockholm	Sweden	Naderman, Jean Henry	F474	1795	38	<i>Crochets</i>		No	1630
Scenkonstmuseet, Stockholm	Sweden	Renault, Sébastien	M218		38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1610
Scenkonstmuseet, Stockholm	Sweden	Saunier, Edmond	N234546	1778		<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1590
Stadtmuseum, Wadern	Germany	Cousineau, Père et Fils	SMW0294	1775-1785	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1690
The Metropolitan Museum, New York	U.S.A.	Cousineau, Père et Fils	52.105	1780-1790	39	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	1630
The Metropolitan Museum, New York	U.S.A.	Holtzman, Godefroy	64.101.1234	1775-1785	35	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1507
The Metropolitan Museum, New York	U.S.A.	Naderman, Freres	89.4.2320	1819	42	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1615
The Metropolitan Museum, New York	U.S.A.	Naderman, Jean Henry	44.157.7	1785-1795	39	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1670
The Metropolitan Museum, New York	U.S.A.	Renault & Chatelain	07.225.68	1780-1790	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1565

Collection	Country	Maker	Inventory Number	Date	Number of strings	Mechanism	Pedals	Swells	Height (mm)
Victoria & Albert Museum, London	U.K.	Anonymous	16-1871	1785-1795	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1600
Victoria & Albert Museum, London	U.K.	Cousineau, Georges	8531-1863	1785 ca.	35	<i>Béquilles</i>	7	No	1680
Victoria & Albert Museum, London	U.K.	Cousineau, Père et Fils	969-1883	1785-1790	34		7	No	1320
Victoria & Albert Museum, London	U.K.	Naderman, Jean Henry	425-1884	1787	39		9	Yes	1680
Victoria & Albert Museum, London	U.K.	Naderman, Jean Henry	4087-1857	1785 ca	38	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	
Victoria & Albert Museum, London	U.K.	Naderman, Jean Henry	4449&A-1858	1780 ca.	36	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1600
Victoria & Albert Museum, London	U.K.	Wolters, Jean Matthias Bachmann	W.46-1911	1780-1790	37	<i>Crochets</i>	7	No	1680