JEAN-BAPTISTE LULLY AND HIS SUCCESSORS:
MUSIC AND DRAMA IN THE TRAGÉDIE EN MUSIQUE,
1673-1715

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

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by

Caroline Wood, B.Mus. (Birmingham)

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PREFACE

The recent revival of interest in French music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is long overdue. After a period earlier in the century when French scholars, the most prominent of whom were Henry Prunières and Lionel de la Laurencie, did valuable biographical and some analytical work, and a Complete Edition of Lully's music was begun, the early history of French opera remained a largely neglected field of research and, more importantly, performance. The name of Lully was well known to students and musicologists, probably through the bizarre nature of his death, possibly as the originator of the French overture, but as for knowing the actual music... Recently, however, the picture has changed, and while we may still be some way from seeing Lully's tragédies en musique in the major opera houses of the world, that must surely soon come about for his more illustrious successor, Rameau, the revival and performance of whose music is progressing apace.

The original intention of this thesis was to study the early tragédie en musique, in effect, the work of one man, Lully. After work had been in progress to this end for some time, I realized that the period immediately following Lully's death was an even greater lacuna in musical scholarship. Even musically informed people tend to mention Lully and Rameau in the same breath, and yet nearly fifty years separate Lully's last opera, Armide (1686) from Rameau's first, Hippolyte et Aricie (1733). Donald Jay Grout's otherwise comprehensive study, A Short History of Opera, covers this gap in the space of a single page, mentioning by name just five operas (in a footnote) and discussing only the opéra-ballet and the influence of Italy, and Grout is far from being alone in this respect. Rameau's operas are not fully comprehensible without reference to Lully, with whose revered masterpieces his own were constantly compared, and to Lully's successors, who initiated developments which help to account for the differences between, say, Armide and Hippolyte et Aricie. Although lying outside the scope of this thesis, the influence of the French music of this period abroad, notably in Germany and England, and on composers as diverse as Purcell, Telemann and Gluck is of major importance.

This study, then, combines an assessment of Lully's stature as a dramatist in music with a survey of the attempts of his successors to assume his mantle. The cut-off date of 1715 is not musically determined,
being the death of Louis XIV, but since the early history of the French opera is so intricately bound up with the monarchy, the choice may not be inappropriate. By this time, it is possible to see the changes in this ultra-conservative genre which were to pave the way for Rameau. It should be stressed, however, that the outlook of this survey is not intended to be préramiste, since to set Rameau's operas in context requires more study of works outside the genre of the tragédie en musique than time or space permit. The standpoint is firmly postlulliste, since it was the shadow of Lully which was to hang over French opera for a century.

The organization may be briefly explained as follows. My aim is comparative rather than chronological, and there is no attempt to treat all the composers equally. To make sense of the tragédie en musique between Lully's death and 1715, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the model which composers were attempting to emulate. Lully's operas, therefore, occupy something approaching half of the discussion, and his is the only biography outlined. This leaves some seventeen composers and forty-three operas to occupy the remaining space. I have omitted from detailed consideration works more closely related to ballet than to opera (such as Lully's Acis et Galatée), operas in fewer than five acts (such as Zephyr et Flore by Lully's sons) and operas in which scenes from earlier works by different composers were cobbled together (such as the Téléméque assembled by Danchet and Campra in 1704, not to be confused with Destouches' opera of the same name). The operas discussed are listed in Appendix One, and the composers and librettists in Appendix Two.

The thesis is divided into four parts. Part One sets the emergence of the tragédie en musique and the career of Lully into their historical and cultural context. Part Two surveys the musical forces available to the composer - solo and ensemble voices, the chorus and the orchestra - assessing Lully's contribution to each genre and then studying similarities and differences in the operas of his successors. Part Three takes the dramatic conventions of the form and looks at the way in which the musical resources described in Part Two were handled in soliloquy, dialogue and divertissement scenes, and at the dramatic aspects of the use of chorus and orchestra. Here, there is no formal division between the work of Lully and that of his successors, although the assessment is to some extent chronological, and it can be assumed that examples cited together are in chronological order. Part Four looks at large-scale organization embracing scenes, acts and whole operas. To avoid
excessive duplication of the names of composers, librettists and dates, a summarized version of Appendix One is supplied in a pocket in the inside back cover to which reference may be made.

* * * *

My thanks are due to Graham Sadler of the Department of Music in the University of Hull for much practical advice and encouragement; to the staff of the Brynmor Jones library, University of Hull; to my mother, for her care in typing this thesis, and to my father, for his help in proof-reading and collating.
ABBREVIATIONS

bc  basse continue
facs facsimile reprint
GMB Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen
JAMS Journal of the American Musicological Society
M & L Music and Letters
MQ The Musical Quarterly
PG Partition générale (full score)
PR Partition réduite (reduced format score)
PMA Proceedings of the Musical Association
PRMA Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association
R de M Revue de musicologie
RISM Répertoire international des sources musicales
RM La Revue musicale
RMI Rivista musicale italiana
SIMG Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft

NOTE

This symbol ♩ is used to denote a musical example which has been taken from a score in reduced format, i.e. with the five-part orchestra and four-part chorus normally reduced to dessus and bass only.
GENERAL NOTE

In the spelling and accentuation of titles, I have followed RISM. Because of the numerous inconsistencies of spelling between the printed score, manuscript score and libretto of an opera (each is not always within itself consistent), I have preferred to modernize. Where score and libretto are at variance over the numbering of scenes, I have usually followed that of the score, with the exception only of one or two obvious misprints, for example in Thésée, II, which, in the Ballard score, has two 'Scene VII's' and no 'Scene VIII'.

Technical terms and names present a problem. The most commonly used terms relating to opera are almost invariably Italian, and they are used in this form by some writers on French opera. However, discussion of 'aria', 'ritornello' and so on brings to mind a totally different operatic tradition. The function and style of an air in a French opera is not that of an aria in an Italian one, and I have preferred the French form of such words. While not altogether eschewing the use of the word 'opera', I have tended to favour 'tragédie en musique' because it conveys exactly the French conception of opera; 'tragédie' is used in the sense of the main action of the story, i.e. everything but the prologue and divertissements. For similar reasons, I have retained the French names of the characters: while it would require little effort to recognize Dido, Medea and Creste in Didon, Médée and Creste, and only fractionally more to match Egiste with Aegisthus and Enée with Aeneas, a character like Alcide, more familiarly Hercules but more correctly Heracles, is not so easy to deal with. The names of characters in plots derived from Italian sources can also appear disconcerting if rendered in their original forms: Orlando (Roland) and Rinaldo (Renaud) suggest Handel and, again, a completely un-French medium. I have made an exception only for the well-known deities (Venus rather than Vénus, Pluto, not Pluton, and so on).

Many of the scores issued in the period after Lully's death are in a reduced format with, for the most part, only the outer orchestral and chorus parts given - hence the skeletal appearance of some of the examples. No missing parts have been reconstructed, nor have inner parts where existing been omitted (with one stated exception). The figuring in the scores ranges from almost (sometimes even completely) non-existent to
very full, and no attempt at standardization has been made. Modern conventions regarding repeats, ties and redundant accidentals have been followed; key and time signatures and the notation of rhythm are as in the originals.

In quoting library sources in the text and notes, the RISM sigla have been adopted, and the system of pitch notation used is as described in the preface to *The New Grove*. In general matters of style and presentation, I have been guided by the style-book of the Modern Humanities Research Association.
PART ONE

THE BEGINNINGS OF OPERA IN FRANCE
CHAPTER ONE

THE ANCEPDENTS OF 'CADMUS ET HERMIONE'

1) Opera in France

Opera was late in establishing itself in France, but its impact when it did was enormous. Lionel de la Laurencie is not overstating the case when he rates opera as the dominating force in French musical life from then on. Writing about the conflict between literary and musical elements in 'musical drama', he says:

A partir du dix-septième siècle, cette question tend à dominer l'art musical en France; on juge de la musique littérairement, en raison de ce qu'elle signifie, et on accorde la prépondérance aux choses du théâtre et à la musique d'opéra, qui convient si bien aux tendances intellectuelles de notre esthétique.1

To see the truth of this claim, one has only to look at the long series of disputes over matters operatic which raged in the following century: the partisans of Lully v those of Rameau, and the Piccinites v the Gluckistes in the Guerre des Bouffons, between them producing a constant stream of printed material as the arguments raged. In the nineteenth century, too, we have Berlioz in a constant state of war with the forces of conservatism in both the Opéra and the Conservatoire, regarding the necessity to succeed above all as an opera composer as paramount; together with furious controversy over Bizet's Carmen later in the century.

There are several accounts from travellers to France of the interest and knowledgeability of the opera-going public in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. People were accustomed to buying a 'season ticket' and going to the same opera many times in the course of a season, making themselves familiar with the music not only in the theatre but through domestic music-making, and even joining in during popular numbers. In the preface to Albion and Albanius, 1685, its librettist, Dryden, comments:

In France the oldest man is always young, Sees operas daily, learns the tunes so long, Till foot, hand, head, keep time with every song: Each sings his part echoing from pit and box, With his hoarse voice, half harmony, half pcox. 2

This practice is referred to again by Addison, writing in The Spectator of 3 April 1711, no doubt with some exaggeration:

The chorus, in which that opera abounds, gives the parterre frequent opportunities of joining in concert with the stage. This
inclination of the audience to sing along with the actors, so prevails with them, that I have sometimes known the performer on the stage do no more in a celebrated song, then the clerk of a parish church, who serves only to raise the psalm, and is afterwards drowned in the music of the congregation.

In another context, a French writer Bachelier refers in the preface to his Recueil des Cantates (1728) to the parterre 'who judge the beauty of a piece only by the simperings of those who execute it and who give it the seal of their approval by singing through the same air in chorus'.

The extent to which this intimate knowledge of Lully's operas persisted is reflected in the following, taken from a correspondence between Telemann and Graun dating from 1751-52, sixty-five years after Lully's death. 3

Telemann champions the French cause:

I have met Germans, Englishmen, Russians, Poles and even a couple of Jews who could sing by heart whole scenes of Atys, Bellerophon, etc. On the other hand, I have not seen one single man who has said anything but this of the Italians: 'It is wonderful, it is matchless, but I couldn't remember anything of it'.

Not all comment on the hold of Lully's operas on the public is serious in tone, however: Saint-Evremond wrote an amusing comedy Les Opéra, published posthumously in 1705,4 in which the heroine, besotted by opera, quotes from them incessantly and imagines herself in the roles of such characters as Hermione:

O douce Mère!
Rigoureux Père!
Cadmus! pauvre Cadmus!
Je ne vous verrai plus. (I 4)

A doctor friend of the girl's father, M. Guillaut, describes the extent to which this obsession rules:

Je vous dirai bien que les femmes et les jeunes gens savent les opéra par cœur; et il n'y a presque pas une maison où l'on n'en chante des scènes entières. On ne parlait d'autre chose que de Cadmus, d'Alceste. de Thésée, d'Atys. (II 3)

Crisotine's father himself despairs of her condition:

Les opéra, Monsieur Guillaut, lui ont tourné la cervelle. Ce chant, ces danses, ces machines, ces dragons, ces héros, ces dieux, ces démons, l'ont démêlée; sa pauvre tête n'a pas résister à tant de chimères à la fois. (II 3)

The tone is satirical, but the kernel of realism within the exaggerations is clear.

As well as attending an opera frequently, it was usual for members of the audience to purchase a copy of the livret with which to follow the action (and a candle to facilitate this). The literary merits of a work were often as much discussed as its musical qualities, librettists being criticized for ungrateful verse, badly-constructed plots, and maladroit
divertissements. Literary figures of the period took an active part in the debates which opera generated: Anthony refers, for example, to 'the professional opera haters, Boileau and Bossuet'. Rather earlier, no less a figure than La Fontaine published a bitter attack on Lully, his poem Le Florentin (1674). The attack here is personal, however, no doubt prompted by a fit of pique: Lully had turned down his proffered libretto.

Not all were critical, however: there are several references in the letters of Mme de Sevigné to her visits to the opera, testifying to the impression made on many of the literary intelligentsia by Lully and Quinault. The way in which Lecerf de la Viéville, our most important contemporary source of information on Lully and his immediate successors, couches his Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française is significant. The major part of the Comparaison is a series of conversations between the Chevalier (Lecerf himself) and aristocratic friends, in which they range over the whole output of Lully, from pre-operatic days onwards, as well as works by his successors up to the turn of the century. The dialogues are, of course, imaginary, but suggest that the ability to quote freely from this corpus of work in the course of ordinary conversation was a not untoward accomplishment in such a circle.

Opera, then, held an important position in French cultural life, its successes and failures generating interest, its artistic merits controversy and polemic. It was undoubtedly aided in the immediacy of its impact by the close association of its founding father, Lully, with the centre of power and the focus of all cultural and social aspirations, the supreme monarch Louis XIV. It is through the evolution of relationships, personal and abstract, that we see the emergence of the tragédie en musique in a form which was to dominate the scene for over a century. At a personal level, we have the associations of Lully with the King and with Quinault, and in the abstract, the complex questions of the interweaving of drama, music and spectacle, leading to the endless discussions on taste, balance and form with which commentators preoccupied themselves.

ii) The ballet de cour and related forms

To appreciate the context in which the tragédie en musique surfaced in the 1670s, it is necessary to look back to the Renaissance, and to the increasing importance of secular music. Courtly occasions of all kinds were incomplete without music as part of the celebrations, and, in France in particular, ballet and dance music predominated. The scale of the pageantry on major occasions in sixteenth-century Italy could be vast. Three weddings in the Medici family, for example, between Cosimo I and Eleonora of Toledo in 1539, Francesco de'Medici and Joan of Austria in 1565 and, most famous of all, Ferdinand de'Medici and Christine of Lorraine
in 1589 were all the occasion for elaborate *intermedii* combining the
talents of many of the most famous literary, musical and artistic figures
of the day. Such *intermedii*, ostensibly conceived as supplementing an
acted play, came to dominate the dramatic form from which they sprang, and
hence their direct connections with the problem of reconciling music and
drama are limited. Large-scale forms of this type developed in Italy,
France and England, evolving in that order, with the English masque reaching
its high point in the early years of the seventeenth century. The life
of the French equivalent, the ballet de cour, was to be rather longer.

The most significant date for the evolution of the ballet de cour in
France is 1581, when the *Ballet comique de la reine* was staged at the
palace of the Petit-Bourbon in Paris on October 15, for the marriage of the
King's sister to the Duc de Joyeuse. The spectacle was lavish: Grout puts
a figure of half a million dollars on it, and he was writing in 1947. 8
As Grout points out, the unification of the balletic elements of the spectacle
by means of a plot (this is the significance of 'comique' in the title)
could have led directly to opera, had French tastes and interests not lain
in other directions.

The years between 1581 and 1620 marked the transition from Renaissance
to Baroque in the courtly ballet. Massed ensembles of singers and instru-
ments (mostly lute and strings) gave way to a standard five-part string
ensemble. Stylized *récit*, chorus, *air de cour* and instrumental dance
destroyed the equivalence of spoken word and music. The presence of
Caccini at the court of Henri IV in 1604-5 may well have helped to give
this new importance to the musical element in the ballets. Pierre Guédron,
master of the Queen's music from 1609 and composer of numerous ballets, was
particularly impressed by Caccini's dramatic manner of singing.9

The dramatic ballet, Guédron's speciality, reached a climax in the
melodrama of, for example, the *Ballet de la délivrance de Renaud*, 1617,
co-ordinated by the poet Etienne Durand and composed by Guédron (before
Lully, all ballets were the combined efforts of several musicians, poets,
choreographers and designers). The plot is crammed with dramatic moments,
exploited to the full by Guédron's music. The ballet begins with a grand
concert for accompanied chorus and contains in addition ensembles calling
for more than a hundred performers. From a musical point of view, this is
a conservative work, showing Guédron's reluctance to adopt Italian
recitative. The *Ballet de Tancredé*, 1619, exploited the dramatic possi-
bilities of large-scale effects: complicated cloud machines, angels in
the heavens singing the praises of Louis XIII, and 'éclairs, feux, flammes,
monstres'.

The ballet *masquade* had a strong grotesque element, achieved by
extraordinary combinations of instruments ('vielles, trompes marines, lanternes, grils, jambons et pie's de pourceaux') in the Ballet du serieux et du grotesque, 1627, or by the use of a burlesque theme as a pretext for all kinds of weird dances, miming and acrobatics as in the Ballet de la Douairière de Billebaudet, 1626. The classical ballet de cour was the fruit of a liaison between the ballet mélo-dramatique (Prunières' term) and the ballet mascarade. More and more emphasis was laid on the choreographic and scenic elements of the ballet, and it was not until Lully began to dominate the musical scene that the balance between choreographer, composer and poet began to even out.

Details of form remained highly variable, but the typical ballet de cour usually conformed to some extent to a five section pattern:

1. A dedicatory chorus to the King and the court ladies
2. A series of entrées, often grotesque
3. An entry of masked musicians to play instrumental interludes and accompany récits and airs
4. The climax: the entry of the King and nobles, masked
5. A general dance and chorus.

Experimentation within the pattern largely consisted of lengthening, shortening or rearranging sections without radically altering the underlying scheme. Novelty would be provided by changes of décor and costume, and the result was a hodge-podge of colourful scenes in various styles, with little in the way of theme or plot to hold them together.

Two other forms were an important influence on the ballet de cour and hence on the tragédie en musique: the pastorale and the tragédie à machines. The French pastorale was primarily a literary genre, the Italian pastoral cult of the late Renaissance combining with native elements. It manifests itself in ballets in numerous scenes with shepherds, satyrs and the like. A few early seventeenth century ballets were set wholly in a pastoral atmosphere, with the addition of allegorical characters (e.g. the Ballet des Quatre Saisons, 1603), but pastoral entrées in larger structures were more common. Musically, this love of things pastoral is shown in the airs de cour, the most significant musical components of the ballet. Such airs, deemed unseemly for flesh-and-blood characters, were mostly allocated to pastoral ones. La Laurencie distinguishes three main types:

i) 'airs de bergères' e.g. Guédron's 'Aux plaisirs, aux délices bergères', whose lively refrain alternates with more meditative couplets;

ii) 'airs de bergers' e.g. Boesset's 'Un berger soupirait ses peines', tender and languid;

iii) 'airs de satyres', mainly syllabic, and comic in effect.
That the prevailing taste for pastoral themes and scenes was not always appreciated may be seen in this exchange from Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, I 2, (1670):

**MAITRE DE MUSIQUE**

Il faut vous figurer qu'ils [the singers] sont habillés en bergers.

**M. JOURDAIN**

Pourquoi toujours des bergers? On ne voit que cela partout.

**MAITRE A DANSER**

Lorsqu'on a des personnes à faire parler en musique, il faut bien que, pour la vraisemblance, on donne dans la bergerie. Le chant a été de tout temps affecté aux bergers; et il n'est guère naturel en dialogue, que des princes ou des bourgeois chéntent leurs passions.

Such reservations about the types of character who should express themselves in song colour criticism of the *tragédie en musique* for many years to come.

The grip of the *pastorale* on the ballet de cour is similarly long-lasting.

The use of stage machinery in performances of all kinds developed considerably during the seventeenth century, with strong Italian influences coming in to improve techniques. The *tragédie* was generally considered more suitable for this purpose than the faster-moving comedy, but machinery was also used in the ballet de cour, particularly in association with divinities and allegorical characters. The first major success of the *tragédie à machines* was Chapoton's *La Descente d'Orphée aux enfers*, 1640, which remained in the repertoire of the Théâtre du Marais (with which this genre was particularly associated) for several years, and was revived with new effects as *La Grande Journée des machines*, ou le mariage d'Orphée et d'Eurydice after the arrival of the greatest machiniste of them all, Torelli, had made its impact.

The most important product of this association of tragedy, machinery and music was Corneille's *Andromède*, 1650. The great dramatist justified music as a modification which had to be made in order to accommodate the other elements:

... un concert de musique, que je n'ai employée qu'à satisfaire les oreilles des spectateurs tandis que leurs yeux sont arrêtés à voir descendre ou monter une machine, ou s'attachent à quelque chose qui leur empêche de prêter attention à ce que pourraient dire les acteurs.

It is interesting in the light of future developments that Molière was one of the first to take up the new play, despite the difficulties of running a touring company. He did not have Torelli's equipment, and the musical element was almost certainly drastically reduced, but the value of a close study of this type of drama must have been enormous when it came to devising new musico-dramatic entertainments.
At a time when Italian opera had established itself in Vienna, Hamburg, Dresden, St Petersburg and Prague, it was only an interesting novelty in Paris. For political reasons, there were liaisons between France and Italy at the time of Louis XIV's minority (he succeeded to the throne in 1643 at the age of four and effective power was in the hands of the Regent, Anne of Austria, and her chief adviser, the Italian-born successor to Cardinal Richelieu, Mazarin). At Mazarin's invitation, Italian composers were invited to Paris to stage their operas. Italian princes of the period had found the encouragement of lavish operatic productions an excellent method of diverting the people's attention from public affairs, and Mazarin no doubt hoped to engineer support for himself against his many enemies.

With the first major production by the Italians, La finta pazza, given at the Petit-Bourbon on 14 December 1645, came the full impact of the Italian order. As regards the stage, the Italians' chief contribution was the proscenium arch, which facilitated the exploitation of perspective in scene design. Local colour figured prominently in the designs for this production, the Ile de la Cité and Seine with the Pont Neuf in the background representing the port of Scyros. The success of this production was largely due to the collaboration of 'le grand seigneur Torel', Giacomo Torelli, who had arrived in Paris a few months earlier. His machines and incorporated ballets drew more comment than the work itself, whose music was by Sacrat. Without such a lavish production, Cavalli's Egisto, 1646, was not a success, but a new opera by Rossi, Orfeo, given at the Palais Royal on 2 March 1647 fared better. Political troubles were rumbling, however, and while Mazarin was preoccupied with the events of the Fronde (a rather confused and complicated attempt to depose him), there was a gap of eight years in Italian opera productions. When the troubles had settled, Le nozze di Peleo e di Teti of Carlo Caproli was given on 14 April 1654; Anthony describes it as 'a strange and unconvincing attempt to graft French ballet de cour on to Italian opera. Many French composers were involved in the ballet entrées, including Lully, and the young King himself took part.

The much-heralded visit of Cavalli to Paris in 1660 proved an anti-climax. A somewhat hacked-about version of his opera Serse attracted praise for Lully's ballet entrées and the staging, but little for Cavalli's music. Much the same fate befell Ercole amante by the same composer, during the preparations for which Mazarin died. The distractions of a brand new theatre, the Salle des Machines in the Tuileries, plus the large number of new ballet entrées composed by Lully left the opera way behind as far as public interest went.
With the death of Mazarin and the decline in influence of Anne of Austria (Louis XIV having assumed power on Mazarin's death), there was no immediate future for Italian opera in France, and the Italian companies departed, leaving behind their most tangible legacy, their stage machines (the next production in the Salle des Machines, Lully's *Psyche*, 1671, took over much of the décor of *Ercole amante*). However, their music had left a strong impression on Lully, who was sufficiently sensitive and astute a musician to realize that the introduction of Italian elements into French music could enrich it and make a French operatic style possible.

After the production of *Ercole amante* all Lully's ballets show an expansion of the traditional French technique (which he had helped to formulate with his *Ballet de la Nuit* of 1653) by means of the sense of harmonic proportion he had learned from the Italians, and from Cavalli in particular. The debt remains, even though Lully, having thrown in his lot with the French cause, came bitterly to resent any Italian interference.15

iv) **Lully's early career**

While facts about Lully's early life are few, speculation has been rife, even within his own lifetime. His enemies ridiculed his pretensions to noble birth in styling himself 'Jean-Baptiste de Lully, esquire' and claiming that his father was a 'gentilhomme Florentin'.16 They dubbed him 'fils du meunier' which seems to have been nearer the mark. Even closer to the present day, there seems to be ambivalence over permitting Lully the gallicized version of his name which he took on becoming naturalized.17

Briefly, he was born in Florence and baptized Giovanni Battista Lulli on 29 November 1632.18 No further details of his childhood are known, but he entered the service of Mlle de Montpensier at the age of fourteen. It is likely that he was recruited at her request by the Duc de Guise, and may already have been attached to a Florentine court. Mlle de Montpensier's purpose was to practise Italian conversation, but no doubt Lully's musical talents were an added recommendation. It is possible that his long association with the singer and composer Michel Lambert began here: Newman sees evidence for this in the extraordinary rapidity with which Lully established himself in an influential position at court when, on Mlle de Montpensier's removal to the country in 1652, Lully left her service. Lambert, an important figure in court musical life, took the young man under his wing, and he soon came to the attention of Louis XIV as a dancer, for example in the *Ballet de la Nuit*, 1653, within a month of which he became *Compositeur de la Musique Instrumentale de la Chambre*.

When Lully arrived on the French musical scene, all interest was centred on the ballet, an eminently aristocratic genre, satisfying the needs of a 'galant' society. The Renaissance art of polyphony was slow to die in
France, however, and something of a musical revolution was taking place as younger composers attempted to create a truly French monodic style. The efforts of older musicians to keep alive the moribund tradition impeded the natural evolution of music towards monody, and efforts to overcome this frequently led to pedantry or préciosité. Prunières likens this musical struggle against the forces of anarchy and conservatism to the Fronde, during which the working classes and the nobility formed an unholy alliance against the rise to power of the bourgeoisie. 20

From the time when his balletic and musical contributions to the ballet de cour began to point the direction of his career, Lully never looked back. He assimilated and used all the forms and styles around him. It would be difficult to trace direct influences on his style from his formal tutors, Metru, Gigault and Roberday, who were organists of the old school; undoubtedly, his connections with Lambert and other singers, instrumentalists and composers in the course of his court activities were of greater significance. And although his activities with regard to the Italian opera productions were concerned with their French aspects, the ballets, exposure to the music of Rossi and Cavalli was, as already stated, of great importance in his subsequent musical development.

The basis of Lully's approach to instrumental composition is illustrated by his relations with that most prestigious musical institution, the Vingt-Quatre Violons du Roi, or Grande Bande. 21 On taking over his new position in 1653, Lully assumed its direction, in itself a cause of friction, as promotion was usually made from within the ranks, and the players resented the young upstart. The main bone of contention, however, was a fundamental disagreement over performance style. The broderies or elaborate ornaments which were the hallmark of the orchestra's playing were anathema to Lully's Italian-rooted preference for uncluttered lines ornamented only at specified points. Probably despairing of teaching the old dog new tricks and of overcoming the players' hostility, Lully eventually persuaded the King to create a new band, the Petits Violons, and drilled them in the precise style of playing he favoured. Since the duties of the new band included playing at 'souper' and 'coucher' as well as at court balls, its director was of necessity in close daily contact with the King, whereas the Grande Bande was reserved for solemn functions. The Petits Violons made their debut in the mascarade La Galanterie du temps, 14 February 1656.

Those fragments of vocal music which Lully submitted for inclusion in ballets during his early years at court show him writing in the Italian style which was in vogue at the time, while his dances are thoroughly French. The first major such inclusion was a 'récit grotesque italien' in the Ballet des Bienveneus, 1655. An extended Italian scene in the Ballet de Psyché, 1656,
set in a cavern with Pluto surrounded by demons, caused considerable amazement. Loret, chronicler of court events, noted on 29 January that the final dance was:

La plus admirable de toutes
Par la posture des démons
Qui s'élevaient hauts comme des monts.

Largely as a result of this success, Mazarin commissioned a ballet of which Lully was to take charge: this was the above-mentioned mascarade La Galanterie du temps, in which the King had an important role.

With the production of the Ballet d'Alcidiene, 1658, Lully made his big bid for control, eliminating almost entirely the tradition of collaboration between artists in such productions. Boesset, the Surintendant de la Musique du Roi, was permitted only two récits. In this ballet, music plays a vital role in heightening and developing the action, re-establishing a parity with dancing and spectacle which the court's taste for the former and the impact of Torelli's genius in the latter had threatened.

All these ballets contain both French and Italian elements, kept distinct from one another. The often-cited dialogue between representatives of Italian and French vocal music in the Ballet de la Baillerie, 1659, culminates in an agreement that

Le coeur qui chante et celui qui soupire
Peuvent s'accorder aisément.

Such a happy state of affairs was not really practicable, however, as was soon to be demonstrated in the reception accorded to Cavalli's operas (see above), in Lully's contributions to which he stressed the air de cour and courtly dance, refined and 'galant', to offset the emotionalism of the Italian operatic vein, so mistrusted by the Paris public. However, in another 'home-grown' spectacle, the Ballet de l'Impatience, 1661, whose title is possibly a reference to the still-unfinished state of the Salle des Tuileries, Italian and French forces combined felicitously:

Cette oeuvre franco-italienne permettra aux chanteurs ultramontains de briller dans le prologue et l'épilogue écrit par l'abbé Buti, tandis que les danseurs français en particulier Beauchamps et Dolivet, le poète Benserade et enfin Lully déployeront leurs talents divers dans les entrées.... Une fois de plus, le grand triomphateur est Lully car il a su satisfaire le goût français rebelle aux hardiesse d'un Cavalli.

The ballets which follow the Ballet de l'Impatience are wholly French. This was the time at which Lully applied for naturalization, taking the style described above. By the time of the Ballet des Arts, 1663, he was in complete command. His all-round abilities as actor, dancer and composer of both instrumental and vocal music enabled him to establish himself as an independent figure. By breaking down the cramping conditions of the system
whereby the collaboration of different composers created fragmented and uneven entertainment pieces, Lully made at least as significant a contribution to the advent of French opera as he did through his purely musical advances. 'Le Florentin ne se posait ni en novateur, ni en réformateur',25 but by sheer force of personality and technical skill, brought considerable influence to bear on the progress of French music towards opera, while not for a long time conceding that the French language was suited to musical declamation. The availability of a high-quality text as the basis for a balletic entertainment was to be the next stage in the development of Lully's art.

v) The 'comédie-ballet'

With the start of a collaboration between Lully and Molière, the possibility of using music in the service of a first-rate play became reality. The eleven productions which were the fruit of this partnership form an important link between on the one hand the ballet de cour and tragédie à machines and on the other the full tragédie en musique which was to follow, though it can be argued that there is still a major gulf between the comédie-ballet and the tragédie en musique in the former's adherence to spoken dialogue. The comédie-ballet's function as a link lies not in the subject-matter of the plot, since the comic element in the tragédie en musique was short-lived, but in the closer integration of music into the fabric of the plot and the development of large-scale musico-dramatic forms.

Molière's wide theatrical experience touring the provinces with his troupe, performing tragedies, pastorales, comedies and farces, stood him in good stead for the type of productions the court demanded. He was first made known to Louis XIV as an actor, in Corneille's Nicomède, later as a writer of comedies and farces. He was authorized to present plays at the Petit-Bourbon and later at the Palais Royal. His first essay in the realms of the ballet de cour was Les Fâcheux, written in collaboration with Beauchamp for the fêtes at Vaux-le-Vicomte in 1661, designed by Fouquet, Louis XIV's first minister, to impress the King, but arousing his jealousy instead. The piece is interesting, not so much in itself, although it contains a courante by Lully, but for Molière's description of how ballet and comedy came to be joined:

Le dessein était de donner un ballet aussi; et comme il n'y avait qu'un petit nombre choisi de danseurs excellents, on fut contraint de séparer les entrées de ce ballet, et l'avis fut de les jeter dans les entr'actes de la comédie, afin que ces intervalles donnasent temps aux mêmes baladins de revenir sous d'autres habits; de sorte que, pour ne point rompre aussi le fil de la pièce par ces manières d'intermèdes, on s'visa de les coudre au sujet du mieux que l'on put, et de ne faire
While the process Kolière describes was indeed new as far as comedy is concerned, ballets had of course been interpolated in opera productions before, notably by Lully. That the two men were already friends is apparent both from Lully's musical contribution and from a reference to him in the dialogue (as Baptiste):

Adieu, Baptiste le très cher
N'a pas vu ma courante et je le vais chercher.
Nous avons, pour les airs, de grandes sympathies,
Et je vais le prier d'y faire les parties. (I 3)

Just how Lully and Molière came to devise similar pieces for the court is not clear, but it seems likely that it was at the request of the King, anxious to erase the memory of Fouquet's triumph.

Whatever posterity may have decided about the imbalance inherent in the partnership, the two were equal in the eyes of their contemporaries, who called them 'les deux grands Baptistes'. Indeed, the scales were, if anything, tipped in Lully's favour: his greater experience at court and his more secure position there equalled or even outweighed Kolière's seniority in age and in general theatrical experience. Lully seems to have been responsible for both words and music of scenes in Italian in several comédies-ballets (e.g. in comic vein, the 'médecine crottesques' in Konsieur de Pourceaugnac, I, 2e intermède and at the other end of the emotional spectrum, the 'plainte italienne' in Psyché, l'intermède). He may also have been responsible for scenes in various forms of gobbledegook, the most famous of which is the 'turquerie' in Le Bourgeois gentilhomme, IV 5, in which Lully himself played the Kurfürst. He seems to have inspired the type of scene in which comic apothecaries, demons and the like present themselves as if in the entrées de ballet of half a century earlier, a tradition with which Lully was rather more familiar than Molière. The effects on Molière's work of this diversification into gentle social satire and burlesque can be seen in such non-musical plays as Le Médecin malgré lui, 1666, Amphitryon, 1668, and Les Fourberies de Scapin, 1671.

The term comédie-ballet is somewhat loosely applied to the eleven works written between 1664 and 1671, whose form and content is highly individual. They can be classified into two groups: those which follow in the tragédie à machines tradition of Andromède and La Toison d'or, which point to the future tragédie en musique and serious opera-ballet, and those in which a truly French style of comedy begins to emerge, not to be realized fully until
Ex. 1 (a) Lament from Egisto (Cavalli)

Pian-gene - re ca - chi do-len-té e al fle - bil

pian-to mi-o, pian - . .

Ex. 1 (b) Lament from George Dandain

i) opening of ritournelle

Ah! mor-tel-lès dou-leurs! Quai - je plus à pré - ten - dre? Cou - lez - cou - lez mes pleurs
the opéra-comique, much later in French operatic history. The distinction between the groups is not as clear-cut as between 'serious' and 'comic', however, because of the mixture of traditions that both inherit from their common ancestors.

The least successful of these marriages between comedy and music is *George Dandin*, 1668, (Vol. II). Kolière and Lully were clearly under pressure of time, and decided to slot together two previously-written items and attempt to justify the juxtaposition by pointing out tenuous thematic relationships. There are musical features of interest, however: it is worth comparing the lament of Cloris from the intermède following Act I, Example 1(1) with that of Climene in Cavalli's *Egisto*, Example 1(2). Lully rejects the strictures of the ground bass in favour of a freer style, but with some feeling of 'pull' between voice and bass, and some use of dissonance. Without the Italian's technical resources, Lully creates a viable alternative to the Italian style. The double chorus at the end of the work shows another French feature which was to be increasingly developed, while economic factors and a preference for the solo voice caused it to go into an almost total decline in Italy.

In the category of plays falling between *Andromède* and *Cadmus et Hermione* (though rather closer to the former) there are three examples: *La Princesse d'Elide*, 1664, *Les Amants magnifiques*, 1670, (Vol.III) and *Psyché*, 1671. Though these are by no means devoid of comic interest, their central themes are on a more elevated plane than those of the others, and, from descriptions of their performances and the evidence of set designs, relied heavily on the spectacular for their effect. *Le Princesse d'Elide* was given on the second day of a vast fête, *Les Plaisirs de l'île enchantée*, held in celebration of the completion of the first stage in the transformation of Versailles. The lofty subject of *Les Amants magnifiques* was suggested by Louis XIV; the piece includes a monumental set-piece, the Pythian Games, performing a grand ballet function similar to that of the *Ballet des Nations* in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*. The closeness of *Psyché*, styled a tragédie-ballet, to the *tragédie en musique* is shown by the speed with which Lully was able to transform it into an opera seven years later.

Those works which were descended from the burlesque tradition of the ballet de cour and the purely literary comedy of Kolière and his predecessors remained as series of intermèdes framing the acts of the play. There is a continuous development through the three full-length comedies of this type, *Le Mariage forcé*, 1664, (Vol.I), *L'Amour médecin*, 1665, (Vol.I), and *Monsieur de Pourcaugnan*, 1669, (Vol.III), with regard to the skill with which the links between the comedy and the intermèdes are forged, and with
which music and dancing are brought in naturally to set a scene or prolong a mood. Melicerte and the *Pastorale comique* (Vol. II) are small-scale versions of the same idea. *Le Sicilien*, 1667, (Vol. II) and *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, 1670, (Vol. III) represent a slightly different approach: the music and dancing are brought within the framework of the play itself to a considerable extent. *Le Sicilien* is a miniature, with only three musical interpolations in the play, but they are indispensable in performance. Even the obligatory ballet for the King and nobility at the end is scaled down to two dances. *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, the most durable of all, can be said to sum up both forms of *comédie-ballet*. Music is incorporated into the plot of the main action as deftly as in *Le Sicilien*: the music master composes a song, the dancing master gives a lesson, M. Jourdain is entertained, there are drinking songs at a feast, and finally there is the Turkish ceremony 'pour ennobrir le bourgeois', the climax of the play. On the other hand, there are other musical contributions in the form of *inter-mèdes*: a series of popular dances demonstrated by the dancing master and his pupils, a gavotte for the tailor's apprentices, and a dance for the cooks (for which the music does not survive). Closest of all to the ballet de cour tradition is the *Ballet des Nations* which follows the play while having no connection whatever with it.

Both Lully and Molière have suffered at the hands of critics who insist on treating them as individuals and wonder how one of the great figures of French literary history could have brought himself to tolerate a second-rate baladin, far less have gained anything by the association. *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* has been patronized as entertaining, but far below Molière's best work, and critics sometimes discuss the play as if Lully and the music had never existed. *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* cannot rank with *Tartuffe* and *l'Avare* as great comedy, but it was not intended to do so: Molière was writing in a totally different tradition, while bringing to it all the experience of developing situation and character which his theatrical career had given him. Just as consideration of Lully's music without reference to its dramatic context is meaningless, so the dismissal of the music in discussing Molière's *comédies-ballets* gives a distorted and restricted view of their merits.

vi) The Académie d'Opéra

There has been some argument as to what was the first French opera. Writers such as Pougin and Kennedy suggest that two somewhat obscure figures, Pierre Perrin and Robert Cambert, deserve to be named as the first in the field. 29 Certainly, they had a part to play, and their works are
important precursors of Lully's early works, but their chief function was as the final spur to Lully to recognise the potential for 'tragedy in music', i.e. continuous declamation through recitative. Girdlestone neatly dismisses the claims made for Cambert and Perrin's _Pomone_ and for Cambert and Gilbert's _Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'amour_: 'Ils ont bien la structure de l'opéra, mais leurs textes ne peuvent passer pour littérature; ce ne sont d'ailleurs nullement des tragédies'.

Perrin had made a considerable study of verse written with music in mind, and had had his words set by composers such as Cambert and Lambert, before the idea of collaboration with Cambert came up. In an 'avis au lecteur' before his _Pomone_, Cambert had shown that he, too, had ideas about setting words to music. The first joint venture was a pastorale, the _Pastorale d'Issy_, named after the place of its first performance in April, 1659. In a letter to the Archbishop of Turin offering him the work, Perrin sets out clearly his objections to Italian opera and how he had tried to counter them in the _Pastorale_. After a successful performance at the Château de Vincennes before the King, Perrin and Cambert went on to compose _Ariane_, the production of which was prevented by Mazarin's death.

Louis XIV granted to Perrin a privilege to establish an Académie d'Opéra with letters patent of 28 June 1669. Prunières suggests that this aroused the jealousy even of Molière, demonstrating this by reference to a song in _Le Bourgeois gentilhomme_, I 2, 'Je croyais Jeanneton'. With this banal ditty, M. Jourdain demonstrates where his musical preferences lie. The words are by none other than Perrin, who was no poet beside Molière. Prunières has shown that the words were written to a pre-existing melody, and that Molière wished to show not only the banality of the words but also the violence done to them. Stress is laid on all the wrong syllables, the rhythm is constricting, the vocal range limited and the tessitura so high that in the mouth of M. Jourdain the 'hélas!' would sound like the bleating of the sheep referred to in the previous line. Placing the song after Lully's exquisitely polished 'Je languis nuit et jour' was no doubt intended to show the public what it could expect in future, and to establish the superiority of any subsequent claim to the privilege by Molière and Lully.

Whatever Molière's aspirations may have been, the ball was for the time being in Perrin's court. The first production under the new regime was _Pomone_, 3 March 1671. Cambert's music, together with the dancing and staging, seems to have been responsible for the success of the production; Perrin's verse was condemned. Little of the music survives, however. Subsequent events show Perrin imprisoned for debt, a situation to which he was apparently no stranger. Cambert then collaborated with Gabriel Gilbert on _Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'Amour_. Quarrels and financial problems beset
the Académie, however. At this point Lully stepped in, buying the rights to the privilege from Perrin, who was no doubt only too glad to be discharged from his debts, and despite representations from other académiciens, Louis XIV transferred the privilege to Lully. This established Lully in a position of power which he was to exploit with complete success until his death. 34

With a change of premises from the Jeu de Paume de la Bouteille to the Jeu de Paume de Bel-Air, Lully embarked on a piece using fragments cannibalised from his comédies-ballets, Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus, first performed 15 November 1672. The new words required were not, however, by Molière; a rift had developed which sent Molière to Marc-Antoine Charpentier for music for his last play, Le Malade imaginaire, in the first run of performances of which Molière died, on 17 February 1673. It is difficult to know just how disappointed Molière was by the break with Lully, or how seriously he sought after the privilege, but it should be remembered that Molière received more acclaim and financial success for Psyche than for Le Misanthrope, and being no less astute a man of the theatre than Lully, he could see the way the public taste was going. In the event, however, he was out-maneuvered by Lully, who enlisted the aid of Philippe Quinault, with whom he had already collaborated in a similar venture, La Grotte de Versailles in 1668. This marked the foundation of one of the most fruitful partnerships in the history of opera.
NOTES


4 Quotations are taken from the edition of 1705, edited by Robert Finch and Eugène Joliat (Geneva, 1979).


7 (Brussels, 1704-06). This was reprinted as vols. II-IV of Pierre Bourdelot and Pierre Bonnet, Histoire de la musique et de ses effets (Amsterdam, 1725, reprinted Graz, 1966). Hereafter, the title is abbreviated to Comparaison and page numbers are given using the original volume numbers; I 93, therefore, will refer to page 93 in volume I of the Comparaison, not of the Histoire.


14 French Baroque Music, p. 49.


17 'Lulli' is used, for example, by Prunières, L'Opéra italien en France avant Lulli (Paris, 1913) and La Laurencie, Le Goût musical, but the same authors entitle their biographies of the composer Lully.

18 For fuller accounts, see Prunières, Lully; Lionel de la Laurencie, Lully, second edition (Paris, 1919); Joyce Newman, Jean-Baptiste de Lully and his Tragédies-Lyriques ([Ann Arbor, Michigan], 1979).

19 Jean-Baptiste de Lully, p. 41.

20 Lully, p. 80.

21 For details of this and the other musical institutions of the period, see Anthony, French Baroque Music, Chapter One.

22 Christout, Le Ballet de Cour, p. 81.

23 Printed in the appendice musicale to Prunières, L'Opéra italien, pp. 16-19.

24 Christout, Le Ballet de Cour, pp. 103-04.

25 Prunières, Lully, p. 79.


27 The evidence that Lully composed both words and music is discussed in Henry Prunières, preface to Lully, Oeuvres complètes, Les Comédies-ballets, Volume I.

28 This and subsequent references are to the three volumes of Comédies-ballets in the Oeuvres complètes.


30 Cuthbert Girdlestone, La Tragédie en musique (1673-1750) considérée comme genre littéraire (Geneva, 1972), p. 6 (n).

31 Reprinted in the preface to Pomone, edited by J.B. Weckerlin, Chefs-d'œuvre classiques de l'opéra français, 3, pp. 4-6. This series, edited by Weckerlin, Th. de Lajarte et al, was published in 38 volumes in Paris and Leipzig, 1880-1902. Hereafter, these volumes are referred to as the Chefs-d'œuvre series.

32 Reprinted in part in the preface to Pomone, pp. 4-6.

33 'Une chanson de Molière', RM (February, 1921), 151-54.

34 For an analysis of the events which led up to the acquisition of the privilege, see Newman, Jean-Baptiste de Lully, pp. 46-50. The text of the privilege is reproduced in Norman Demuth, French Opera (Sussex, 1963), Appendix Thirty-Two, pp. 282-83.
CHAPTER TWO

THE ACADÉMIE ROYALE DE MUSIQUE

i) The Lully epoch

The course of Lully's life from the time at which he secured the privilege was assured. He obtained in addition an injunction forbidding the use outside the opera of more than two singers or six string players in any theatrical performance, thus establishing for himself a musical monopoly. This had the effect not only of protecting Lully's own interests, but also of preventing other composers from experimenting with musico-dramatic forms, which most would argue was an undesirable state of affairs with this new form of music in its infancy. Marc-Antoine Charpentier, for example, would surely not have waited until Lully's death to turn to writing operas had it been possible for him to have access to facilities to stage them.

Lully was not exactly free from trouble, however, and his life was surrounded by rumours, scandals and lawsuits, mostly related to sexual and financial affairs, the details of which have been related elsewhere and need not concern us. Only where temporary difficulties affected his output is it necessary to take account of them. The first storm to be weathered was the hostile reception afforded in some quarters to his second opera, Alceste, 1674. This appears to have been organized by a cabal of enemies of Lully and Quinault, no doubt jealous of their success. Charles Perrault sums up the burden of their criticisms:

Ils font voir que l'auteur a tout gâté, en ne mettant pas dans sa pièce ce qu'il y a de plus beau dans Euripide, et en y ajoutant des épisodes ridicules, mal liés et mal assortis au sujet. The verse was criticized for the overuse of hackneyed rhymes, such as 'jeunesse/tendresse' and 'saison/raison' - a sort of seventeenth century 'moon and June'. The alleged over-employment of the deus ex machina is refuted by Perrault, who contends that restrictions on its use should apply only to comedy and tragedy and not to opera or the machine play. Perrault puts the blame for the initial failure of the piece on the willingness of the public to make up its own mind and the ease with which the cabal could sway opinion. Alceste did not long remain a failure, however, and the King's approbation no doubt helped to turn the tide. Those who hoped to persuade Lully to ditch Quinault were disappointed.

A more significant setback came with the pair's fifth opera, Isis, 1677, which portrays the goddess Juno jealous of Jupiter's amorous advances to the nymph Io (later Isis). Mme de Montespan, the King's mistress, was popularly
cast in the role of Juno, with the King's new favourite, Mme de Ludres, as Io. Not surprisingly, Mme de Montespan was outraged, and demanded Quinault's dismissal (she had also been a supporter of one of Quinault's rivals, La Fontaine, at the time of the Alceste controversy). The upshot was the dismissal of Quinault, protesting his innocence; Lully apparently managed to keep his hands clean of the affair. This interrupted the routine of an annual production from the pen of Lully and Quinault, which had begun in 1673 with Cadmus et Hermione and continued with Alceste, Thésée and Atys to Isis.

To continue the succession, Lully had to look elsewhere. For 1678, he turned to the tragédie-ballet of seven years earlier, Psyché, and remodelled it with the help of Thomas Corneille, nephew of the more illustrious Pierre. A largely new libretto was prepared and set to music (the Psyché of 1671 had, of course, spoken dialogue), but Lully was able to retain the dance music of the original and the set piece 'plainte italienne' which forms the divertissement to act I. The surviving comédie-ballet and ballet de cour characteristics of the piece are seen clearly in the celebrations which conclude the opera. This is a long ballet à entrées in which Apollo, Bacchus, Momus and Mars usher in their followers to join in the general revelry, and the characters from the tragédie itself take no further part. This is taken from the comédie-ballet, both words and music. By the use of such short-cuts, Lully was able, so it is reported, to prepare the new Psyché in three weeks. It is undoubtedly the weakest of the tragédies en musique and enjoyed fewer revivals than the others, but it was produced, published and criticized just as they were, and the refusal of Howard to admit it into the canon of Lully's œuvre seems perverse. 3 One writer goes even further: 'Deprived of Quinault's services and suffering from illness, Lully did not provide his royal benefactor with an opera in 1678' 4

Mention should also be made here of a seemingly much more trivial incident. Lully had working under him secrétaires, his aides and pupils, who were responsible for much of the donkey work of preparing the operas. One of these, Jean-François Lalouette, put it about that he and not Lully had composed the best music in Isis. Lully dismissed him, and the story might well have been supposed to end there, but it is interesting to see that in Lecerf de la Viéville's Comparaison, a similar claim is still being aired, though in connection with a later opera, Phaéton, 1683, and specifically concerning the duet 'Hélas, une chaîne si belle', V 3 (I 53-54). There is a debate as to whether Lully's reported preference for another of his duets 'Que mon sort serait doux' stemmed from the popular attribution of the former to Lalouette. In the second volume of the Comparaison, the subject is returned to, the Chevalier dismissing the rumour out of hand,
and pointing out that Lalouette, whom Lully thought was becoming 'un peu trop de maître', had been dismissed more than four years before Phaéton was written (II 116-117). Still, Lecerf is writing some twenty-five years after the event, and this shows how much any scandal surrounding Lully was seized on, discussed and remembered; this kind of mud certainly stuck.

For Bellérophon, 1679, Lully used Thomas Corneille and Fontenelle for the livret. Lully seems to have given Corneille a hard time by his insistence on modifications: 'Pour cinq ou six cents vers que contient cette pièce, M. de Lile [Corneille] fut contraint d'en faire deux mille'. 5 Nevertheless, the production was a great success. Bellérophon is notable also as the first of Lully's operas to be printed in full score by Christophe Ballard. Subsequent operas appeared in print in the year of their production, no doubt under Lully's supervision, and are the nearest thing to autographs that we possess. The operas written before 1679 appeared after Lully's death (with the exception of Alceste): Thésée (1688), Atya (1689) Cadmus et Hermione and Isis (1719), Psyché (1720).

After 1679, the collaboration with Quinault was resumed with Proserpine, 1680. The year 1681 marked a slight departure, in that the offering was a sumptuous ballet, Le Triomphe de l'Amour, rather than a tragédie en musique. At the end of the same year, Lully bought himself into an even more elevated court position, that of secrétaire du roi. 6 The annual series of tragédies en musique continued with Persée, 1682, Phaéton, Amadis, Roland and finally Armide, 1686, after which Quinault turned away from writing for the theatre, dying in 1688. The partnership was at an end. Lully's Acis et Galatée, a three-act pastorale produced in 1686, was to a livret by Jean-Calbert Campistron. The same librettist provided Lully with Achille et Polixène, the setting of only the prologue and act I of which Lully completed before his death, on 22 March 1687.

Why was the partnership between Lully and Quinault such a success? An analysis of their relationship may best begin with a look at their method of working, as described by Lecerf de la Viéville. While Lecerf's critical judgements have to be assessed in the knowledge that he was writing to champion Lully, whom he sometimes overpraises to the point of idolatry, in pure description a reasonable level of objectivity can be assumed, and in the absence of any writings from the pen of Lully or Quinault themselves, these accounts are invaluable. The way in which they set about their task illuminates much about the character of both. This account is condensed from Lecerf's description, the full text of which is to be found in the Comparaison, II 195-202.

Quinault used to devise a selection of subjects for the livret, and
offered them to the King to make his choice. A draft was then made, from which Lully could begin to plan the acts and divertissements. Quinault showed his livret to the members of the Académie Française, but Lully reckoned little on their authority, and subjected the text to his own scrutiny: 'il examinait mot à mot cette poésie déjà revue et corrigée, dont il corrigeait encore, ou retranchait la moitié, lorsqu'il le jugeait à propos'. There follows a description of the many revisions Lully insisted on in Phaéton and Bellerophon. When he was satisfied with a scene:

Lully la lisait, jusqu'à le savoir presque par cœur: il s'établissait à son clavecin, chantait et rechantait les paroles, battait son clavecin, et faisait une basse continue... Lalouette ou Colasse venaient, auxquels il le dictait. Le lendemain, il ne s'en souvenait guère. Il faisait de même les symphonies, liées aux paroles; et dans les jours où Quinault ne lui avait rien donné, c'était aux airs de violon qu'il travaillait.

Lecerf goes on to describe Lully's application to his work, spending three months in the year on his next opera, during which time his mind was completely occupied with it. He would not consult anyone else, nor brook advice or criticism, which even Lecerf puts down to obstinacy. After discussion of this flaw in Lully's character, the description continues by discussing the divertissements which, unlike the tragédie, had Lully as prime mover:

Lully faisait les airs d'abord, à sa commodité et en son particulier. Il y fallait des paroles. Afin qu'elles fussent justes, Lully faisait un canevas de vers, et il en faisait aussi pour quelques airs de mouvement. Il appliquait lui-même à ces airs de mouvement et à ces divertissements, des vers, dont le mérite principal était de cadrer en perfection à la musique, et il envoyait cette brochure à Quinault, qui ajustait les siens dessus.

Lecerf concludes by analysing their interrelationship, and the complementary nature of their talents.

It is precisely this interrelationship and the indefinite nature of the line dividing librettist and composer (if such a line can even be said to exist in this particular partnership) wherein the secret of success lies. Lully had already acquired immensely varied theatrical experience, as actor, dancer, director and composer before embarking on the tragédie en musique, and he was able to exploit all these talents in his own way: 'le musicien avait le soin et le talent de mener le poète par la main'.

It is one of Quinault's great strengths that he was willing to be led. As La Laurencie puts it, 'Lully trouva en Philippe Quinault l'auxiliaire rêvé pour mener son oeuvre à bien. Souple, d'une docilité à toute épreuve, Quinault, selon l'expression de Voltaire, "possédait l'art de plaire"'.

Patrick Smith regards Quinault as having two great attributes:

First was his ability to work with the strong-willed Lully and
to accept the secondary position that Lully demanded of all who worked for him. Next, and more important in the finished product, was Quinault's ability to write singable verse and to produce logical stories while still making use of all the elements that constituted the Louis XIV 'glorie' aura. 9

In Quinault's verse, Lecerf de la Viéville found 'une douceur infinie, souvent une tendresse fort touchante, quelquefois du sublime et du grand' (I.19). Xavier de Courville stresses Quinault's ability to cope with the varying demands of the medium: 'les éléments dont Lully devait former le genre nouveau étaient divers et souvent incompatibles avec l'esprit de notre race; Quinault était un poète assez adroit pour fondre ces éléments en un ouvrage harmonieux, et il avait un goût assez français pour les adapter à notre génie'. 10 Mellers sums him up perfectly: 'Though Quinault was not a genius like Molière and Lully, he was a man of real talent and excellent taste'. 11

Moderation, balance, restrained emotion, good taste: these are the qualities which were admired in Quinault's verse, in Lully's music, and in the tragédie en musique as a whole. The livret did not and could not concern itself with the grandes passions of the classical tragedy; it had other priorities. 'La tragédie classique ne s'adressait qu'à l'esprit et au coeur; la tragédie lyrique s'adresse au coeur, à l'esprit et aux yeux'. 12 Lully's contribution was to take Quinault's supple, well-modulated verse and heighten it while retaining the supremacy of the word: 'Avant tout, le chant sera une déclamation notée qui habillera le vers sans le déformer'. 13 Saint-Evremond admits Lully's particular qualities, justifying his exemption from the usual 'rules'. He offers this advice concerning plays set to music:

C'est de laisser l'autorité principale au poète pour la direction de la pièce. Il faut que la musique soit faite pour les vers, bien plus que les vers pour la musique; c'est au musicien à suivre l'ordre du poète, dont Baptiste seul doit être exempt, pour connaître mieux les passions, et aller plus avant le coeur de l'homme que les auteurs. 15

After all his criticisms of opera's defects, Saint-Evremond concludes that la constitution de nos opéra ne saurait être guère plus défectueuse. Mais il faut avouer en même temps que personne ne travaillera si bien que Lully sur un sujet mal conqu, et qu'il n'est pas aisé de faire mieux que Quinault, en ce qu'on exige de lui. (p.164)

The merits of the tragédie en musique as provided by Lully and Quinault lay in the encapsulation of the spirit of the age in theatrical terms. They provided something which suited public and court taste to perfection, and were able to go on supplying it. Court favour and a privileged position were undoubtedly factors which suited public taste to some extent, but Louis XIV patronized opera and the public followed suit because they enjoyed
it, rather than through any sense of obligation. J.-B. Durey de Noinville defines the French conception of opera, and sums up its wide appeal:

Un opéra est une pièce de théâtre en vers mise en musique et en chants, accompagnée de danses, de machines, et de décorations. C'est un spectacle universel, où chacun trouve à s'amuser, dans le genre qui lui convient davantage. 15

ii) After Lully

Quel pitié pour l'Opéra
Depuis qu'on a perdu Baptiste. 16

Quinault et Lully, poète et musicien qui semblaient avoir été faits l'un pour l'autre, et que l'on a tant de peine à remplacer. 17

Whatever shortcomings Lully and Quinault may have had in the eyes of critics during their lifetime, their demise was a severe blow to the Académie and its fortunes. The ways in which their successors attempted to come to terms with their literary and musical inheritance are discussed in the remainder of this thesis. There are, however, factors beside the talents and skills of those concerned which help to explain the trough into which opera apparently fell during the ensuing decade or so, and to account for the string of total and partial failures experienced by works which, superficially at least, resemble their Lullian models so closely.

Commentators are agreed that one of Lully's great strengths lay outside his competence as composer, musical dramatist or businessman: he was an effective disciplinarian. Lecerf describes how Lully personally taught his actors and actresses their parts in private session before general rehearsals began: Beaupui learned the role of Protée in Phaéton, for example, 'geste pour geste' (II 208). Lully would then watch the actors in rehearsal: 'il leur venait regarder sous le nez, la main haute sur les yeux, afin d'aider sa vue courte, et ne leur passait quoi que ce soit de mauvais'. Lecerf attributes a general decline in the standard of acting after Lully's death to the absence of his detailed coaching: clearly Lully was concerned for, and competent to deal with, matters beyond the purely musical aspects of opera production. The orchestra was firmly controlled. Lully took great care in selecting his players, auditioning violinists with the 'entrée des songes funestes' from Atys, III 4. 'C'était la mesure de la légereté de main qu'il leur demande. Vous voyez que ce terme de vitesse est raisonnable et borné' (II 209). This typifies the qualities that Lully and the French style required: lightness, dexterity and moderation rather than flashy technique. Above all, there must be no broderies or embellishments outside those specified. This tightly supervised band was drilled to produce exactly the style Lully wanted, the most celebrated manifestation
of which was the 'premier coup d'archet', famed throughout Europe.

Once again, it is Lecerf who best sums up the nature of Lully's relationship with his performers. He says that they could not help respecting and fearing Lully, struck as they were daily by his sheer talent. Outside this natural authority, he lived by two maxims: 'Lully payait à merveilles, et point de familiarité'. Lecerf goes on to explain that he does not mean by this that Lully was not on good terms with his performers, on the contrary; but 'il n'aurait pas entendu raiillerie avec les hommes... et il n'avait jamais de maîtresse parmi les femmes'. He persuaded the actresses 'qu'elles ne fussent pas aussi libérales de leurs faveurs, qu'on en a vu depuis quelques-unes l'être' (II 212). While Lecerf does not pretend that the Académie was a convent, he regards the willingness to keep up appearances and 'n'être pitoyable que rarement et à la dérobée' as quite an achievement and a tribute to the actresses' respect for Lully. Another measure of this is the general standard of conduct within the Académie; Lecerf bemoans the lack of self-discipline prevalent some twenty years later:

Sous l'empire de Lully, les chanteuses n'auraient pas été enrhumées six mois l'année, et les chanteurs ivres quatre jours par semaine. Ils étaient accoutumés à marcher d'un autre train, et il ne serait pas alors arrivé que la querelle de deux actrices se disputant une entrée brillante, eussent retardé d'un mois la représentation d'un opéra. Il les avait tous mis sur le pied de recevoir sans contestation le personnage qu'il leur distribuait. (II 212)

The fortunes of the Académie after Lully's death depended on more than the conduct of the performers, however. Louis XIV, whose active interest had been such an important factor in Lully's success, withdrew somewhat from the scene. Lully's death in 1687 coincided with a decline in fortunes in the monarchy, with political and financial setbacks. The King confined his interest in music more and more to private, small-scale performances in the private apartments at Versailles of Madame de Maintenon rather than to the lavish public spectacles of the previous decade. She was a religious woman, who disliked festivity and frivolity, and she brought her influence to bear on Louis. This was the signal for the critics to move in and condemn the opera, Boileau and Bossuet being the most vocal.

Financial troubles beset the Académie, too, and coupled with the increasingly bad reputation which the institution was acquiring for itself, called for urgent reform. Louis XIV seemed reluctant to act, apart from ordering guards to be stationed at the Académie, forbidding entry without payment and requiring that nobody should disrupt performances; even these measures were not taken until 1699. A more serious attempt to regularize matters was taken in 1713, however, with the issue of a set of strict rules governing the conduct of members of the Académie. Fines were instituted
for disorderly conduct of various kinds, such as lateness, absence or disruptive conduct, and actors could be dismissed for refusing to accept the roles given to them. It is against the background of the state of affairs which brought about the necessity for this type of action that we must assess the achievements of Lully's immediate successors and the criticisms levelled at them.

iii) Opera-going at the Académie

With the granting of the privilege, performances of a type hitherto open only to the nobility became accessible to a paying public. The price of admission ranged from seven livres, ten sous down to thirty sous; alternatively, for a sum of thirty or forty pistoles, patrons had the right of admission to all performances. It was not normally the custom to vary the operas in a repertory system, so holders of these 'season tickets' could, and did, see the same production many times before it was replaced. The wide range of ticket prices attracted many social groups. The Dauphin and the young nobles paid twice the highest price for a seat on the side of the stage, the better to be admired by the remainder of the audience and to flirt with the actresses. At the other end of the spectrum, the upper gallery was filled with 'military officers, clerks, shopkeepers, artisans and other bourgeois elements', and acquired a reputation for the licentious behaviour which went on there. While some of the audience may not have been at the opera purely because of their love of music, the enthusiasm of the public for opera was genuine and its appetite, in Lully's day at any rate, seemingly insatiable.

The seasonal arrangement at the Académie was somewhat different from its theatrical counterpart, in which important premières and serious plays were given during the winter respite from war, the summer seeing theatres closed, troupes going on provincial tours or revivals of plays, mostly light. In Lully's day, however, operas were mostly given their first performances before the Court, not being presented to the Paris public until after Easter. While stressing the flexible nature of the arrangement, Ducrot identifies a pattern in performances at this time:

First Paris performance : after Easter break  
Important reprise : November  
Another important reprise : Carnival [period from Epiphany to Ash Wednesday]  
 or a new production  
Possible further reprises : in between.  

The importance of the reprises increases as the period goes on, Lully's operas being kept before the audience who compared them with the new operas they were being given, usually to the detriment of the latter. Reprises
were not, however, merely an expedient of the financially troubled closing years of the century, but were an essential part of Lully's period in control. In the year of his second opera, Alceste, his first, Cadmus et Hermione was revived, and such revivals continued alongside the annual new production. Sometimes, these were necessitated by a flagging of interest: Lully's least successful opera, Psyché, first produced in April 1678, was replaced by Atys in August. The reprise might involve some refurbishing of décor or costume or rechoreographing of the divertissements, probably to help to attract the audience to what was usually a very familiar production. Lully's business acumen in running the Académie played almost as important a role as his musical talents in establishing public demand and satisfying it.

After his death, things were different. The link between the Académie and the Court became much less close. Whereas Lully had presented the same repertoire to both King and public, to an increasing extent the Court's music was confined to specially-devised divertissements and concert performances of operas: the Mercure galant of February 1689 drew attention to the fact that a performance of Colasse's Thétis et Pélée had been given in costume at Versailles, a rare event. Royal interest had been very much centred on Lully, and declined sharply on his death. Ducrot defines the changing nature of operatic entertainment: 'à l'origine, spectacle de cour dont le monarque faisait bénéficier la ville, il devint spectacle de ville dont la cour pouvait bénéficier'. (p.32) Lully's successors in the management of the Académie were soon in serious financial difficulties, and many operas failed.

The pattern of the season changed somewhat. The November part of the season grew in importance as Carnival declined as a significant date. The year divided into two, one part stretching from the end of October to Lent, the other beginning after Easter, with a three week closure in between. Other closures fell, as in Lully's day, on solemn church feast days or in periods of court mourning. Operas continued to be staged on Tuesdays, Fridays and Sundays together with occasional Thursdays, with a rather later starting time, Louis XIV fixing a time of 5.15 p.m. in 1714.

The table of first performances and reprises assembled by Ducrot presents a much more haphazard arrangement at this period, with many different composers involved. Reprises were increasingly necessary to fill the lacunae left by the inability of composers to supply operas with the staying power of those of Lully. Nothing could compare, for example, with the success of Bélérophon, mounted in January 1679 and not replaced until the end of October. Ducrot, however, (p.36-37), points out that shorter production runs were a feature of the straight theatre at this time, and
for example, that the twelve performances of Desmarets' Vénus et Adonis in 1697, reckoned an 'insuccès', should be seen in proportion, thirty performances of a tragédie constituting a resounding success: tragédie, too, was past its heyday.

The picture of Lully's successors struggling against a background of constant revivals of his operas is, in the immediate post-Lully period at least, somewhat distorted. Looking at Ducrot's 'Tableau de spectacles', we see the void that Lully's death left. Presumably, Achille et Polixène, only the first act of which he completed, was to have been his new production for the spring of 1687. Instead, revivals of Amadis and Persée filled that slot, allowing Colasse time to complete the opera and mount it in November. Colasse seems to have been the only composer ready to step into the breach with full-length operas (Lully's sons coming up with two three-act offerings, Zéphire et Flore, 1688 and Orphée, 1690) and reprises of Lully were presumably the only way to keep the Académie running in between Colasse's productions (Achille et Polixène, Thétis et Pélée, January 1689, and Enée et Lavinie, December, 1690). This is not to suggest that revivals of Thésée, Acis et Galatée, Aytis and Roland in the intervening months were a last resort or unpopular, but they did not apparently crowd out the work of other composers. Indeed, when other composers did come on the scene, there was a period when Lully opera revivals were thin on the ground. Ducrot is correct in saying that in the period up to 1715, only 1693 and 1694 seem to have been without a Lully revival of any kind. However, other revivals around those dates are not of his tragédies en musique, but of Acis et Galatée in 1695 and of Le Triomphe de l'Amour and Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus in 1696. With the possible exception of a production of Persée in March 1695, which Ducrot enters with a question mark, it would seem that none of Lully's tragédies en musique was revived between Phaéton in November 1692 and Armide in June 1697, a surprisingly long gap.

Thereafter, however, reprises became much more frequent, as indeed did new productions, as more composers started to produce their own tragédies. The crowding together of the entries on the second page of Ducrot's table tells its own story - as one production failed, a new one or a revival had to take its place. In 1703, for example, there were revivals of no fewer than four of Lully's tragédies en musique, Persée, Psyché, Cadmus et Hermione and Armide. To be fair, there were also reprises of other composers' works, notably of Thétis et Pélée, but with a few exceptions, it was the more ballet-orientated productions which enjoyed the greatest success and the most revivals: the Ballet des Saisons of Lully fils and Colasse, Destouches' Issé, pastorale héroïque, and Campra's L'Europe galante.
No doubt the reprises of Lully's operas played a large part in the survival of the tragédie en musique as a genre. Without the continuing success of and popular demand for his operas after his death, his successors would quite possibly have given up the attempt to emulate him and devoted more of their creative energies into forms which suited them better. It is possible to argue that this would have been a somewhat healthier state of affairs, and that the development of music in France had been for too long determined by the personality, musical and otherwise, of one man. Nevertheless, French opera might have taken a very different course had the tragédie en musique not been kept afloat until the arrival on the scene of Lully's true successor, Rameau.
NOTES

1 For example, in Henry Prunières' other biography, La vie illustre et libertine de Jean-Baptiste Lully (Paris, 1929).

2 Critique de l'Opéra (Paris, 1675).


5 Lecerf, Comparaison, II 198.

6 For details of the transaction, see Newman, Jean-Baptiste de Lully, p. 54-55.

7 Lecerf, Comparaison, II 201.

8 Lully, p. 137.


10 'Quinault, poète d'opéra', Numéro spécial de la RM (January, 1925), 74-88.


13 Prunières, Lully, p. 95.


16 Quoted by, among others, Henry Prunières, 'L'Académie Royale de Musique et de Danse', Numéro spécial de la RM (January, 1925), 3-25 (p. 20).

17 Duray de Noinville, Histoire, p. 5.

18 For a full account of these, see Isherwood, Music, pp. 310-20.

19 Isherwood, Music, p. 318.

20 The Règlement concernant l'Opéra of 11 January 1713, the Ordonnance of 28 November 1713 and the further Règlement of 19 November 1714 appear in Duray de Noinville, Histoire, pp. 108-46.
21 Isherwood, *Music*, p. 197

22 Ariane Ducrot, 'Les Représentations de l'Académie Royale de Musique à Paris au temps de Louis XIV (1671-1715)', *Recherches*, 10 (1970), 19-55 (p. 21). The Règlement of 1714 specified that there were to be four productions in a year, two each for the winter and summer seasons, with a third held in reserve. The winter season was to begin with a new tragédie, to be given not later than 24 October. If receipts for two consecutive weeks were not sufficiently high, an opera of Lully's, kept in readiness, was to be substituted. If, on the other hand, the first opera could be 'poussé jusqu'au Carême', the Lully revival was not to be wasted, but the third (reserve) production was to be given instead. After Easter, a new tragédie or Lully opera was to be given, followed by a ballet. Each forthcoming production was to go into rehearsal from the first day of the current one, in case of a 'chute inopinée'. The presence of specific instructions concerning Lully revivals shows the predominance of their position in the repertoire, their continued popular success giving some measure of financial stability to an enterprise in which the 'chute inopinée' was an all-too-frequent occurrence.

PART TWO

MUSICAL RESOURCES
Solo vocal music of one kind or another constitutes, not surprisingly, the bulk of any tragédie en musique. While Italian opera increasingly focussed attention on the singer and the aria, the French concentrated much more on the actor and the recitative, that is to say that ideally, the music was never allowed to dominate the drama. Francophile commentators stressed the 'naturalness' of French opera, its delicacy and good taste, reflected in declamation akin to that of the actors in classical tragedy, and airs which are for the most part simple and tuneful, but not ornamental. More hostile critics bemoaned the monotony of what seemed to them to be almost continuous recitative. Anthony quotes the puzzled comments to this effect of Goldoni and Quantz 1; the singer Faustina is said to have asked 'when are we to hear an aria?' after listening to a French opera for half an hour. The anonymous translator of Raguenet's Parallèle des italiens et des français en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéras adds a footnote disagreeing with the author's praise of 'our' (i.e.French) recitative: "Tis a fault insufferable in the French operas that there is so little difference between their recitative (if it may be called by that name) and their arias which can hardly be distinguished one from the other'. 2

With comments like that, and with the more neutral assessments of later writers (such as Prunières' 'Les airs ne sont que des récits plus chantants') 3) we come up against a serious problem in discussing the solo vocal music: how is it to be categorized? Much of the music of Lully's early operas is straightforward: simple recitative and light binary form airs, all accompanied only by the basse continue. There is a grey area, however, in which the recitative contains occasional metrical phrases or in which the repetition of a melodic phrase imparts a formal structure to what would otherwise be considered recitative. This blurring of the distinction between recitative and air, which continues after the introduction of orchestral accompaniments, is further complicated by the introduction of much longer stretches of metrical dialogue in Lully's later operas and in those of his successors. While attempting to point out the dangers of categorizing too rigidly, I have, for the sake of manageability, separated recitative and air, and further divided basse continue from orchestrally accompanied examples.
The problems of setting the French language to music preoccupied composers and critics of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Eighteenth century critics were particularly exercised over the matter, and the substance of their doubts and deliberations has been well quoted elsewhere. In the most famous of these discourses, Jean-Jacques Rousseau complained that the French language 'si uni, si simple, si modeste, si peu chantant' was distorted by 'les bruyants et criardes intonations de ce récitatif'. After a detailed analysis and stinging attack on Lully's most famous recitative monologue, 'Enfin il est en ma puissance' (Armide, II 5), almost a sacred cow even among Lully's severest critics, and the subject of equally closely-argued praise from Rameau, Rousseau concludes that the French language is inherently unsuitable for music. Few critics go as far as that, contenting themselves with censoring the results of composers trying to get to grips with the problem.

Even the opera-haters or the champions of Italian opera against French can usually find something good to say about French recitative. Raguenet, comparing Italian and French opera, predominantly in the former's favour, has to concede this point:

It must be confessed that our recitative is much better than that of the Italians, which is too close and simple; it's the same throughout, and can't properly be called singing. Their recitative is little better than downright speaking, without any inflection or modulation of the voice.

Grimarest is rather more positive in his claim that 'il n'y a pas de nation qui récite avec plus de grâce, avec plus de délicatesse, que nous le faisons aujourd'hui'. Rémond de Saint-Mard hankers after the purity of style achieved by Lully: 'Vous savez que ce n'est plus ce récitatif uni, ce récitatif simple, semblable à la déclamation des grecs dans leurs tragédies: semblable ... à celle de Lully'. Lecerf was making similar comments many years earlier.

Of what, then, does Lullian recitative consist, and why was the question of following him so problematical? The period leading up to the first operas saw a gradual relaxation of what might be termed the stranglehold of the alexandrine on French classical tragedy. Molière was one of the first to see the value of varying the metre in writing words for music (although irregular lines had already been used in ballet livrets), and in one of the later comédies-ballets, Les Amants magnifiques, it is possible to see outlines of Lully's mature recitative style. Rhythmic variety and flexibility in recitative depend in the first place on the contribution of the librettist.
L'opéra devant recevoir un revêtement complet de musique, il importe
d'imprimer aux vers assez de plasticité pour qu'ils entrent aisément
dans la mélodie... Quinault rejette les longues tirades régulières,
met en valeur les accents rhythmiques sur lesquels insistera la
musique, distribue différemment ces accents et mélange les vers de
longueurs inégales. 10

In setting this verse, the composer had to take into account the variable
stress and irregular patterns of long and short syllables which the French
language provided. 11 Poets and musicians of a hundred years previously had
sought to quantify these relationships in their musique mesurée à l'antique.
Lully approached the problem theatrically, through studying the declamation
of tragedy by the actors of the day. The position of the resulting recita-
tive in relation to song and speech is summed up by Mellers: "[Racinian
declamation] was closer to song than are our notions of declamation, whereas
Lully's recitative was closer to speech than our, or at least nineteenth
century, recitative'. 12

Perhaps the most coherent discussion of the connections between the
style of the Comédie Française and the recitative of Lully is by Romain
Rolland, who quotes from and analyses Louis Racine's account of his father's
methods in rehearsing his most celebrated leading lady, Marie Desmares
Champmeslé. 13 To summarize, it seems that Racine coached her in the intona-
tion of the words, which he noted down. In a certain passage from Mithridate,
for example, she was taught to drop her voice at a certain point in order to
be able to exclaim the next words an octave higher. Changes of register,
exaggerated emphasis and gesture were all used to produce the powerful effect
which Champmeslé had on her audiences. The Abbé Du Bos says that the 'more
elevated, graver and more sustained' tone of voice invested the actor with
dignity, and that even someone who did not understand French could deduce
what the actor was trying to convey, simply by listening to the declamation
through Lully's music. 14

The first consideration in realizing this declamatory style in musical
terms was rhythmic, taking into account both the inherent qualities of metre
and rhyme scheme and the implications of hearing this verse 'spoken' in the
exaggerated style of the tragic actors. Lully's care in notating exactly
what he wanted in this respect leads to the most instantly recognizable
feature of French recitative: the frequent changes of time signature.
Fluctuations in accent and speed are built in, leaving no scope for rubato
in performance. Grout cautions against exaggerating the importance of this
factor when comparing the actual sound of French and Italian recitative,
pointing out that differences of accent and tempo in the two languages
determine the characteristics of their recitative. 15 Nevertheless, the care
with which French recitative was notated is indicative both of the importance
which was attached to this component of opera and of the literary aspect of its appeal.

These changing time signatures present problems of performance, since it is necessary to establish the relationship between them. This is a complex question, probably best dealt with by Wolf,16 although it is worth entering a caveat here that Wolf is extrapolating from a rather late source, Rameau's Les Paladins (1760). He reviews contemporary theoretical writings by Saint-Lambert and Loulié, together with the work of modern scholars like Grout and Donington, and also looks at the evidence of the scores themselves. There are contradictions in the evidence, but it seems clear that Grout and Donington are mistaken in equating the quarter note (crotchet) in bars with a time signature of C, Ė and 2, and that the correct equation is between beats:

\[ C \uparrow \downarrow = Ė \quad \text{or} \quad 2 \uparrow \downarrow \]

Following on from this:

\[ C \uparrow \downarrow = 3 \uparrow \downarrow \]
\[ 3 \uparrow \downarrow = \frac{3}{2} \uparrow \downarrow \]

There remains some doubt about the interchangeability of the Ė and 2 metres as early as Lully; this seems to be likely, albeit unproven.

Many apparently pointless changes of metre, from C to Ė, for example, arise from what seems to have been the necessity of placing the last strong syllable of a line on the first beat of a bar. These two brief examples (2(a) and (b)) from Phaéton, V 3 show this process, the insertion of bars with the 2 time signature facilitating the arrival of 'pou-voir' and 'ton-ner-re' at the beginning of the following bar.

2(a)

\[ \text{Εφανός} \quad \text{Vous n'êtes point en-} \quad \text{cor en son pou-} \quad \text{voir.} \]

2(b)

\[ \text{Εφανός} \quad \text{Plus son œil l'ap-} \quad \text{pro-} \quad \text{che du bon-} \quad \text{ner-re.} \]

The pitfalls in applying these relationships should be mentioned. As Wolf points out, on some Ballard scores (still printed from movable type) the downstroke on the Ė may be apparent only from a slight gap in the stave lines. There are also misprints in the Ballard editions. For example, Phinée's air 'Heureux qui peut goûter' (Persée, V 2) is a recitative organized into a ternary structure by the repetition of the opening section at the end. The first three bars apparently present the
problem of how to move from $\phi$ to 2 if they are indeed interchangeable (Example 3 (a)). However, on the reprise, the existence of an error becomes clear (Example 3(b)). There are two possible mistakes: either the $\phi$ has been missed out, or else C was intended all along.

The Chefs-d'oeuvre vocal scores are sometimes unreliable in these matters, too: in Pernée, II 7 (p.142), for example, the editor has without warning substituted 2 for Ballard's C in bars 3, 5 and 10, making the metrical relationships completely unworkable.

Within the bar, the time values of the notes mostly lie within the range of one full beat and a quarter of a beat (e.g. in 2 or $\phi$, from a minim to a quaver; in C, from a crotchet to a semiquaver). Notes of duration longer than one beat, together with rests, are mostly confined to the cadence, though they are occasionally used to single out an important word: 'pouvoir' in Psyché, III 1, 'jaloux' in Isis, I 3 and 'règne' in this example from Cadmus et Hermione, I 1 (Example 4).

A typical rhythmic feature, and one for which Lully is often criticized, is the proliferation of anapastic rhythms, to the extent where they become obsessive and monotonous. They are particularly prevalent in the early operas and with secondary characters, but are by no means confined to either category. The sort of line which is usually quoted to illustrate this aspect of Lully's recitative is this:

$$C \quad \frac{\text{Un grand cœur qui se sent a-ri-mé par l'a- mour}}{\text{Thésée, I 8}}$$

Such lines are quite easy to find. Quoting a similar passage in context, however, can sometimes show a different picture. In Psyché, III 3, the anapests extend over two whole lines of verse, but are surely calculated to throw into relief the irregularity of Psyché's surprised comments as the identity of her unknown lover is revealed:

$$C \quad \frac{A \text{ la fin je vais voir mon des-tin é-clair. ci, Je vais voir cet a-mant dont mon âme est c-}}{\text{...}}$$
The above also illustrates another typical rhythmic feature - the displacement of the accent for an exclamation (here, 'Dieux!' in bar 4).

'Ah', 'mais', 'non' and 'quoi' are frequent candidates for this treatment, either within one speech, as above, or when, in the course of conversation, one character breaks in on another:

**Climène**

Je vois que j'ouï trop en- tre - pris.

Phaëton

Quoi? magnante n'est

pas vo - tre plus chère en - vi - e?

Phaëton, II !

Variety in pace is often used to reflect the meaning of the words. In recitative exchanges between Alphée and Aréthuse in Proserpine, I 5, in which quaver and semiquaver patterns are the norm, two references by Alphée to his 'cœur amoureux' and 'cœur trop tendre et trop fidèle' slow down and smooth out the movement:

3 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ #

N'en doulez point, cru-e-le Je le re-prends ce coeur trop tendre et trop fi-dèle.

Another feature is the expressive use of rests, usually to convey agitation or despair, as here in Atys, V 3:

Tous mes sens sont trou-bles, je pré-mis, je fris-som-ne, je trem-ble:

The second of these examples prefigures the much more celebrated passage in Armide, II 5, in which the rests denote Armide's hesitation at the
moment when she should murder the sleeping Renaud, a scene which, when acted by the celebrated Rochois made the greatest possible impression on the audience:

\[ \text{Quel trouble me saisir?} \quad \text{qui me fait hésiter?} \quad \text{Qu'est-ce qu'en sa fa-} \]

\[ \text{veur la pitié me veut dire?} \quad \text{Frappons...} \quad \text{Ciel! qui peut m'arrê-} \]

\[ \text{ter?} \quad \text{Achez-vous... je frémis,} \quad \text{vengeons-nous... je sou- pi-re!} \]

This illustrates the rhythmic flexibility of Lully's recitative at its very best. Romain Rolland is more critical than most twentieth-century writers of those occasions when standards fall short of this, describing 'des steppes de récitatifs et d'airs' as being 'd'une monotonie accablante', and believing that we would yawn hearing Champsèsle declaiming Racine if recitative is, as he believes, a true representation of the theatrical style of the period. Even he concedes that Lully is capable of breaking free of this dullness, however, citing the 'Adieux' of Cadmus et Hermione, II 4 as a prime example. Most commentators are more generous, regarding the plasticity of the recitative established by Lully and Quinault as one of its most significant strengths.

Melodically, much of the recitative exhibits a relatively restricted vocal compass, with monotone or stepwise movement predominant. This serves for neutral conversational exchanges, allowing a wider vocal range and less stepwise movement to denote stronger emotions. The direction of the vocal line can contribute: upward movement heightening tension, questioning; downward movement relaxing, answering. At the most simple level, words which have some association with height or depth will usually have a high or low note, as these brief examples show:

Ex. 5 (a)

Je le vois chaque jour es- cen-dre dans ces lieux

Ce ne sont qu'abri-mes ou-vres.

Mil-le fleu-vons pro-fonds, cent mon-tagnes de glace.

(b) Pouc à

(c) Proserpina, Prologue
Lecerf even describes the necessity for this as one of the 'little rules' of composition and criticizes Lully for setting the word 'comble' (height, summit) to a relatively low note in Acis et Galatée, I 8. This demonstrates the scrutiny to which Lully's every line was subjected.

Where the vocal line moves away from stepwise movement, it is often to outline the underlying harmony. These triadic melodic fragments, culled almost at random, are typical of hundreds of others:

Ex. 6 (a) Alys, I 6

Ex. 6 (b) Thésée, III 6

The association with monarchy and the gods is common. Longer examples show that these triadic formulae could be strung together almost indefinitely:

Ex. 7 Roland, III 1

Many lines end conventionally with the drop of a fifth or third, paralleling the fall of the voice in speech. This exchange comes from Amadis, IV 1, but almost any page of dialogue could furnish a similar example:

Ex. 8 Amadis, IV 1
Ooasionally, Lully uses sequential movement. This is an incidental rather than a calculated effect, a short fragment being repeated at a higher pitch, possibly with a slight variation in rhythm, usually in a context of agitation. Example 9(a) is the most often quoted, perhaps because Lully repeats it and hence seems to give it more significance. Example 9(b), (c) and (d) show that it is not unique, but arises from numerous shorter, freer passages:

The use of a wide or imperfect interval is often calculated to produce a particular effect, underlining a word or bringing out the idea behind it. Of course, many ascending perfect fourths arise from an anacrusis or triadic melody, but there may also be an association with the gods, monarchy or valour: l'honneur' (Atys, I 6), 'la couronne' (Phaéton, III 1), and 'puissante' (Isis, I 2, Example 10). The ascending perfect fifth has similar connotations: 'la gloire' (Thésée II 1) and 'mon orgueil'.
(Persée, I 1), for example.

More striking are the minor or imperfect intervals, reflecting such emotions as horror and grief. The descending minor sixth is usually associated with the former: 'le Styx' (Psyché, IV 2), 'accablement' (Bélérophon, III 6), 'terrible' (Persée, III 2), 'affreux' (Roland, I 6, Example 11).

The ascending minor sixth is rarer, but not, as Anthony states, non-existent in Lully's operas. It is used for the exclamation 'O ciel!' in Amadis, III 4, and by Cassiope in Persée, IV 4 (Example 12).

The descending diminished fifth is used for 'un monstre' in Persée, IV 4, but usually expresses suffering: 'la mort' (Isis, V 3), 'blessé' (Psyché, III 3), 'vous souffrez' (Persée, II 6), 'succombe' (Roland, I 2). The descending diminished fourth nearly always has some association with suffering, but of the 'affairs of the heart' variety: 'hélas!' (Thésée, IV 5 and elsewhere), 'vous allez périr' (Cadmus et Hermione, II 4), 'elle était tremblante' (Atys, II 1). Two remarkably similar examples occur in consecutive operas, Psyché and Bélérophon (Example 13 (a) and (b)):

Wide ascending leaps are rarely found within a line, but they are quite common between lines or at the caesura. In Example 14(a), from Proserpine III 5, the octave leap between the lines expresses Ceres' anguish at the loss of her daughter. Example 14(b) emphasizes the repetition of the word 'jugez' (Atys, V 4):
Such leaps are often associated with the displaced accent described above, where they help to dramatize the exclamation, as in Example 15, from Armide, II 5:

All this is part and parcel of the highly refined nature of Lully's recitativo, but as Mellers points out, 'The use of melodic intervals is carefully graded according to the intensity of the emotion being expressed; but the fact that the idiom is stylized, as are the values of Lully's civilization, does not mean that it is insincere'.

In the midst of passages of récitatif simple there are sometimes short passages of what is termed récitatif mesuré, characterized by a regular pulse and a more melodic vocal line. These often occur at the end of a 'speech' and hence emphasize the cadence. Example 16 is from Cadmus et Hermione, I I, and there are many others, particularly in the early operas.
Perhaps the longer passages in the style of continuous air already described should be seen as a development of this feature rather than as successions of petits airs deprived of their binary structure (see pp. 94-96).

However one analyses metrical relationships, versification, rhyme, caesura and the rest, the totality of Lully's recitative remains almost beyond description. Nowhere is the gulf between French and Italian opera in this period better illustrated. While musical declamation had been a starting point for the development of Italian opera, it had by this time lost ground in favour of the all-important aria. For Lully, recitative was the heart of the opera, and it was the most admired, discussed and written-about feature of his work. Yet the sheer quantity of récitatif simple is perhaps the greatest single barrier to modern understanding and performance of Lully's operas. We are accustomed to recitative leading to something more important rather than as an end in itself. Not having been steeped in the theatrical tragédie in its golden age, we are unable to listen to recitative as poetry and to appreciate it as literature as did Lully's audience. With the removal of the dimension added to Lullian recitative by comprehension of the art of the librettist, we are left with the music, seemingly monotonous and uneventful. It is difficult for us to come to terms with the fact that what might be termed the 'greatest hit' of Lully's fourth opera Atys was the dialogue scene beginning 'Sangaride, ce jour est un grand jour pour vous' (I 6). The editor of this opera in the Chefs-d'oeuvre series, Lajarte, confesses in his preface to finding this scene 'd'une longueur interminable et sans aucun relief'. Writing twenty-five years after the first production, however, Lecerf refers to the scene as being almost too fine, placed as it is so early in the opera: 'l'attention se refroidit, parce qu'on retourn-erait toujours volontiers à cette scène' (II 12).

Romain Rolland sees Lully's recitative as the encapsulation of the spirit of the age:

C'est que la déclamation de Lully correspondait exactement à la vérité théâtrale d'alors, c'est-à-dire à l'idée qu'on se faisait alors de la vérité, au théâtre. (Car il se peut que la vérité soit une et immuable; mais l'idée que nous en avons change perpétuellement.) Par l'ensemble de ses qualités et ses défauts, le récitatif de Lully fut, très probablement, la traduction fidèle de l'idéal tragique de son temps. 22

This is behind one of the elements in our lack of understanding of Lully's recitative: the impossibility of listening with seventeenth or eighteenth century ears and bringing the right mind, education and cultural background to the performance. The other missing link must be the actors (choosing that word in preference to 'singers'). Lecerf's description of Lully's working methods was quoted in the previous chapter; Lully clearly taught
his performers not only music but also gesture and movement. He was not the theatrical producer, reading the given text, deciding on his interpretation of it and moving his actors accordingly. Lully had in mind what the finished production would look like even as he composed the music. Newman puts this essential point well: 'Through a subtle use of musical elements, Lully actually sets diction in such a way that it is not words which are put into music, but rather the actor's interpretation of the words'.

It is only thus that we can understand the vivid impression made on the eyes and ears of the audience, not only by La Rochois in the great set-piece monologues of Armide, but by the many other scenes which can look so humdrum on the page.

* * * * * *

Lully's uniquely wide experience in the theatre equipped him for composing and supervising the production of his operas; his monopolistic position and force of personality gave him complete control over performers and any potential rivals. Such a powerful combination of talent and business sense was not vouchsafed to any of his successors, who had much more of a struggle to achieve recognition. The period between Lully's death and the end of the century was a grim one for the Académie and its composers, with a string of partial or total failures, only Thétis et Pélée, Alcide and Amadis de Grèce registering any real success. The years from 1700 to 1715 saw the emergence of Campra and Destouches among the composers and Danchet and Houdar de la Motte among the librettists, bringing some improvement in the general standard, but there were also revivals of Lully's operas with which contemporary products were constantly compared.

It is clear that much of the blame for the hostile or indifferent reception of so many operas must be laid at the door of sloppy standards of performance, the recitative in particular suffering from slow and heavy delivery. While this may go some way towards explaining the difficulties composers experienced in making a success of their tragédies en musique, it is not the whole story. The music itself is criticized and compared unfavourably with that of Lully (though the tendency among his supporters to overpraise him as the model of perfection must be taken into account). This satirical comment, quoted by Méhöse, concerns Achille et Polixène, completed by Colasse on Lully's death. The recitative is singled out from an otherwise favourable 'review';
The vital role of the librettist in the finished product meant that Quinault's absence from the scene was felt as keenly as Lully's. Rémond de Saint Mard understood the problem well, and realized that librettists were often underrated:

Il est vrai que la musique dépend en pareil cas des paroles: mais on ne sait pas assez combien il est difficile de faire ce qu'on appelle de belles paroles. On croit peut-être qu'il est nécessaire, pour y réussir, d'avoir de l'esprit. Point du tout... Il faudrait, pour bien faire, n'avoir que du sentiment, l'avoir tendre et délicat, s'y livrer comme Quinault sans réserve, et cela est... si difficile, que je suis presque tenté d'accuser l'homme du monde... et moi aussi d'y avoir un peu manqué. 27

Girdlestone sees part of the problem as stemming from a desire by those librettists who had come up through the classical theatre to approximate the tragédie en musique more closely to the tragédie. Campistron (and, by implication, others like him) 'écrit des vers destinés à être lus et déclamés alors que ceux de Quinault étaient faits pour être mis en musique et chantés et cependant, chose admirable, ne perdaient rien à être lus'. 28 Others gave up the unequal struggle and leaned just as heavily towards the light-hearted and the balletic elements of the opera, favouring the type of verse found in the petit air and divertissement.

While the verse may have lacked Quinault's sensitivity and refinement, it also lacked the involvement of the composer. There is no evidence that stable partnerships in the Quinault/Lully mould evolved in this period, composers tending to set the works of various librettists. 29 With Quinault, 'la main du musicien est visible dans tous les poèmes... aux yeux de Lully, le poète n'est que le secrétaire de ses idées'. 30 Lully's successors were not powerful enough musical personalities for such a relationship, and no doubt those of Quinault were not sufficiently submissive.

The composers whose recitative was criticized could not have been unaware of their shortcomings: it is a measure of the prestige attached to the tragédie en musique that they battled on despite their lack of success. Leoerf was of the opinion that, realizing they did not have Lully's knack with recitative, composers modified their writing accordingly:

Nos maîtres d'aujourd'hui ne sauraient du tout attraper une certaine manière de réciter, vive sans être bizarre, que Lully donnait à un
While there is still a large quantity of dialogue accompanied only by the basse continue in the operas written up to 1715, it is true that a significantly higher proportion of it is in the metrical style used by Lully in, for example, the dialogue between Florestan and Corisande in Amadis, III 2 (see Example 58, Chapter Four). The effect is of continuous air, lacking only the repetitions of words or music which give the simple air its customary binary structure. There are, however, striking differences between the principal composers in their use of this device. An admittedly rather crude survey was made, based on counting the number of lines of verse set in récitatif simple, petit air, ensemble and so on (omitting for this purpose the prologue). Looking at the continuo-accompanied solo vocal music reveals that while Destouches' Amadis de Grèce (1699) and Omphale (1701) have approximately twenty per cent of their lines set in this through-composed air style, the quantity in Campra's Hésione (1700) and Tancredé (1702) is negligible, barely one per cent. However, the figure for continuo-accompanied airs remains fairly constant at between twenty three and thirty per cent for all four operas. Campra was certainly the most gifted composer of his time, and perhaps came nearest to emulating the style of Lully in his recitative, while allowing more innovation in his handling of the orchestra and in accompanied airs.

With the exception mentioned above of Campra, therefore, the initiative in recitative style moves to metrical recitative for comparatively routine dialogue and to accompanied recitative for more dramatic events. Much of the remaining récitatif simple looks very much like Lully's, and it would be easy, though rather pointless, to compile a collection of examples of anapestic rhythms, stressed exclamations, the use of rests for indecision and anxiety, 'high' and 'low' words, affective intervals and the rest, but by and large they would represent no departure from or development of Lully's style. It is possible that analysis of the type outlined by Robert Fajon might yield measurable differences both between Lully and his successors and among his successors themselves. 31 He devises a 'débit' (rate of delivery) by dividing the number of crotchet or crotchet-equivalent beats by the number of syllables set. However, the labour involved in counting every note and syllable in nearly sixty operas will have to await further sophistications of the microchip revolution. This is also true of his indices of 'harmonic mobility' and of the 'coefficient of modulation', both of which depend on specifying exactly what constitutes a
modulation, which in Lully's constantly shifting tonality is very difficult. In fairness, it must be said that Fajon does not ignore these problems; whether or not he has solved them is more open to question.

There are undoubtedly 'some small differences' in vocal style between the recitative of Lully and that of his successors, as Anthony points out (French Baroque Music, pp. 120-21), though some of his statements seem ambiguous. What, for example, is meant by the phrase 'freer use of the anapestic formula': 'lavish, profuse, unstinted, copious' (Concise Oxford Dictionary) use of anapestic rhythms, or some relaxation of their rigidity? Certainly, anapestic lines are to be found. Example 17(a) from the prologue to Thétis et Pélée resembles many passages in Lully, and Example 17(b) from Omphale V 4 seems to be the same old anapests fitted into the triple metre of récitatif mesure.

Ex. 17 (a) Thétis et Pélée, Prologue

Ex. 17 (b) Omphale V 4

I have already pointed out that the ascending minor sixth which Anthony quotes as new is to be found in Lully, and the value of his other two brief quotations (reproduced here as Example 18(a) and (b) is also questionable, at least to the point for which he seems to use them.

Ex. 18 (a)

The first is another example of Lully's practice of emphasizing an exclamation by a high note and a displaced accent; later composers do, however, use the leap of a diminished seventh within the phrase. This interval appears in Lully's recitative only in a filled-out version, usually descending (see the examples quoted by Anthony, p.80). The second example is indeed of an unusual interval, the diminished octave,
but Lully, too, often switches register between two lines of verse. If Anthony is suggesting this as an 'affective' interval, its use to emphasize such a word as 'que' would be strange. Harmonic rather than intervallic considerations dictate here.

What Example 18(b) does demonstrate well is firstly another of Anthony's points, the wide melodic range employed, and secondly something he does not make explicit, the angularity of many recitative lines in this period. It is not so much the intervals used which change, although the melody may reflect the richer harmonic vocabulary which underlines it; rather it is the way in which these intervals, used relatively sparingly by Lully, are packed together, tending to take the vocal line more rapidly over a wider compass. Quotation in support of this assertion is difficult, since it is the sheer quantity of examples of this type of line rather than their nature which tells. Parallels with Examples 19(a), (b) and (c) are to be found in Lully's recitative, the bass voice in particular being prone to this sort of writing, but they are harder to find.

Example 19 (a)

![Example 19(a)](image1)

JUPITER Ma grandeur disparaîtra, tout son éclat s'évanouira. Faudra-t-il songeancer et renoncer dans mes fers?

(Ex. 19(b))

ALCIDE Les rebelles soumis gémissent dans mes fers.

(a) Théâtre et Bâtis, 3
(b) Orphée, 12
(c) Amphitryon, 7

Example 20, from Tancrede, II 2, is a longer section, which may convey some idea of both the vocal line and the harmony of post-Lully recitative. Angular vocal lines are, of course, to be found in Lully's
operas: Armide's monologues are prime examples. Lully reserves this style for moments of the greatest tension and drama, and does not conduct long sections of dialogue thus. Within Tancredé, scenes between Tancredé and Herminie (IV 2, V 2) exhibit many of the features of Example 20.

Ex. 20. Tancredé, II 2

Quel est ma gloire, hélas! Vous ignorez mon sort, Je ne dois chercher que la mort. Quel est-rien? Je vous cache un funeste mystère... Mais non, je dois le découvrir. N'est-ce pas assez de mourir? Faut-il encore me contraindre à me faire?

Bel le Clorinde... hélas! Qu'aurait vuens je faire? Je vais vous offens ne vous en plaiger pas. Bien-tôt, mon malheureux frère pas désarme-ra votre coeur.

Clorinde

Qu'en-tends-je? Il est trop vrai, j'ado-ore vos appas: Prête à tomber dans l'escar-ge, Vous cher-chiez dans sa rage vous faire un pas-sage, Vos efforts éton-

Rocher nos plus vaillants sol-dats; A-ter-é par leurs cris, Hon-neux de leurs a-larmes, j'ab-lais ren-

Not all basse continu-accompanied recitative ranges up and down in this way, of course - there is still plenty of stepwise and monotone writing - but whereas Lully relied on his audience to listen to the words to convey emotion, his successors seem to find it necessary to emphasize the feelings expressed by a more exaggerated use of the sort of rhythmic and melodic devices which Lully had used sparingly. The increasing involvement of the orchestra in recitative is all part of this approach to the drama.
ii) Orchestrally accompanied recitative

The most significant development in recitative style within Lully's output is the emergence of accompanied recitative, a medium which was taken up enthusiastically by his successors. That Lully himself may not have been wholly convinced of the efficacy of this step may be surmised from his retention of _récitatif simple_ for certain key speeches for which later composers would certainly have recruited the support of the orchestra. The most notable examples of this are Andromède's 'Dieux! qui me destinez une mort si cruelle' (Persée, IV 5) as, chained to a rock, she confronts death, a passage which Lully marks out by a ritournelle and the key of F minor; and Armide's 'Enfin il est en ma puissance' (Armide, II 5) as, poised to kill Renaud, she finds she is unable to do so.

Accompanied recitative is generally maintained to have made its first appearance in Lully's seventh opera, _Bellerophon_ (1679). It is true that if one takes a narrow view of the definition of accompanied recitative as simply a vocal line indistinguishable from that of _récitatif simple_ with the support of the strings of the orchestra, Amisodar's 'Que ce jardin se change' (_Bellerophon_, II 6) has a good claim to marking the beginning of the new genre. However, in her discussion of accompanied recitative, Patricia Howard cites _Bellerophon_, IV 6 as an example of a solution to the problem of texture raised by the addition of the orchestra to a vocal line. Here, the recitative 'Heureuse mort' is introduced, punctuated and followed by short instrumental sections, probably played by two solo violins and _basse continue_. If as seems necessary from subsequent developments this type of movement must be embraced by the term 'accompanied recitative', it can reasonably be claimed that accompanied recitative began not in _Bellerophon_ but in Lully's fifth opera, _Isis_ (1677). In _Isis_, III 6 Syrinx, fleeing from Pan, is changed into reeds. As the wind blows through these reeds, it makes a beautiful sound, illustrated by _flûtes_ playing mostly in thirds which punctuate Pan's recitative (Example 21).

Ex. 21 _Isis_, III 6

[Music notation image]
Early examples of accompanied recitative show a rather tentative approach. As Howard points out (p.176) 'Que ce jardin se change en un désert affreux' (Bellérophon, II 6) is the equivalent of a stage direction and like Arcalaus' 'Esprits infernaux il est temps' (Amadis, II 6), which occurs in the tenth bar of a lively orchestral gigue, is dispensable. More significant for future developments are examples in Persée and Phaëton. Méduse's lament for her lost beauty in Persée, III 1 exemplifies the first type of accompanied recitative described above, one in which the inclusion of the orchestra has no effect on the relationship between the words and the vocal line, which lies at the heart of Lully's recitative style (Example 22). This is true also of Méduse's other two sections of accompanied recitative in her dialogue with Mercury (III 2). Here it is the fact rather than the nature of the accompaniment which is important, since it separates Méduse from Mercury, whose line has only a basse continue accompaniment.

Protée's recitative 'Le sort de Phaëton' (Phaëton, I 8) is the first in a long line of highly dramatic scenes. These usually arise out of some manifestation of the supernatural - in this case an oracular pronouncement on Phaëton's untimely end. A prélude with the strings playing in a low
register and featuring a strong rhythmic motif

sets the mood. Most phrases uttered are followed by a short flurry in the basse continue part. After the first section of irregular phrases and metre changes, there is a more lyrical section with a recurrent illustrative motif (Example 23). The recitative concludes with a phrase from the end of the first section.

This was clearly the prototype for the more extended ombre scene in Amadis, III 2-3 (discussed in Chapter Fourteen) involving two characters. Again, the string scoring is low. A string prélude introduces the enchantress Arcabonne, who makes a telling entry anticipating the resolution of the perfect cadence. Arcabonne offers the blood of her enemies at the tomb of her brother Arden Canile, and is answered by a continuation of the prélude with the rhythmic motif prominent, representing groans emanating from the tomb. The key changes to C minor and a slow-moving, rather sinister introduction featuring a plodding crotchet bass line ushers in the ombre himself rising from the tomb. This raises some problems of definition in the accompanied recitative, encountered in the classification of all Lully's vocal music. The regular rhythm, the slower melodic line and the recurrence of certain phrases in the ombre's contribution give it a feeling of a continuous air, while Arcabonne's agitated responses, moving in effect at twice the speed, are more clearly recitative (Example 24).
There is a marked increase in the quantity of accompanied recitative in Lully's next opera, Roland, and it is assigned for the first time to human rather than supernatural or sinister characters. Angélique's first contribution is the soliloquy which opens the tragédie, a form to which librettists and composers were to return many times. The orchestral prélude opens with the first vocal phrases, continuing independently, then supporting and accompanying in the manner observed in Persée, III l (see Example 22 above). Both musically and dramatically effective, this type of opening to an act or to the whole opera (excluding the prologue) became popular, plunging the spectator into the heart of the action and providing striking music from the outset instead of explaining gently by means of a dialogue scene. Angélique's other accompanied recitative, 'Je ne verrai plus ce que j'aime', I 5, shows her emotion as she parts from Médor, her lover. After a metrical first phrase (also prefigured in the string...
prélude) she continues in more orthodox-looking recitative, the melodic line of which exhibits the expressive qualities of the flexible vocal line, (Example 25). This, too, is close to the air, resembling, for example, Stenobée's 'Espoir qui séduisent les amants malheureux' (Bellérophon, I 1; see Example 43 in Chapter Four), which is classified as an air because the opening phrases return at the end, that is for formal rather than stylistic reasons.

**Ex. 25 Roland, I 5**

Roland's accompanied recitatives in act IV are more substantial. The one in scene 2 is especially moving. Almost for the first time, as Patricia Howard points out (p.176), Roland's line is not tied to the instrumental bass. The prélude, marked 'doux', features the smooth crotchet movement of, for example, the sommeil in Atys, III 4. The first long section of recitative proceeds entirely without changes of metre, Lully reserving these to illustrate Roland's transition from happy contemplation of Angélique's imminent arrival to increasing agitation as, when reading inscriptions on the wall of the grotto, he begins to suspect the truth. Here, the sentences he reads are made to stand out by being metrical (see Example 208, Chapter Nine). Altogether, this recitative is a continuous movement of 193 bars in length, a long paragraph indeed. Mention should also be made, since it recurs in the work of later composers, of the manner of the accompaniment of Roland's mad scene (IV 6). This, too, falls comfortably into none of
the conventional categories, being accompanied not by the orchestral strings but by a basse continue line marked 'tous' (from which it can be deduced that the basses de violon played also to reinforce the line). Clearly the nature of the part derives from an extra-musical source, the representation of the turmoil in Roland's mind once he has learned the truth about Médor and Angélique, so its inclusion in discussion of the accompanied recitative may not be out of place (Example 26).

Ex. 26 Roland, IV 6

The scene continues as Roland 'arrache les inscriptions, et même les arbres et des morceaux des rochers'. This unleashes an energetic prélude of semiquavers which leads in turn into Roland's final accompanied recitative in this act, 'Ah, je suis descendu dans la nuit du tombeau'. This exemplifies another type of accompanied recitative, mentioned above, in which the orchestra illustrates and punctuates the singer's words, playing 'doux' while he sings and 'fort' in the interpolations. (Example 27)
The reliance on accompanied recitative for the moments of high drama and personal dilemma certainly becomes the norm for composers after Lully, but whether he himself thought he had gone too far in Roland is a matter for conjecture. Certainly, there is much less in Armide, but it is perhaps not fair to draw too many conclusions from this. No two livrets, even by the same author, offer precisely the same situations or suggest the same solutions. Perhaps a comparison with Achille et Polixène would have been more realistic, both dealing as they do with a 'real' hero as opposed to an enchantress heroine, but the first act of Achille et Polixène, which was all Lully completed before his death, affords little insight into what Lully's final solution to the problems might have been. We are, therefore, left with Armide as Lully's last word on the subject.

Having highlighted two human characters through their accompanied recitative in Roland, Lully switches back to the realms of magic in Armide, the human main character, Renaud, being accompanied only by basse continue in his recitative. Lully shows discretion and subtlety in his use of the orchestra. In what would otherwise be a routine unfolding of 'the story so far' in I 1, the orchestra makes a telling entry in the middle of one of Armide's speeches, as she describes what we realize to be her ambivalent feelings towards her supposed enemy, Renaud. As Example 28, reproduced from the first edition of the score, shows, Lully precedes the entry of the orchestra by active movement in the basse continue to suggest his heroine's disturbed state of mind.
This rhythmic motif, already noted in Phaéton and Amadis, makes two other appearances: indeed, it is already in danger of becoming a cliché. Its presence in the prélude to a dialogue in accompanied recitative (the first of its kind) between Armide and Hidraot in II 2 is intended to suggest the 'lieu fatal' where it takes place. It occurs also in La Haine's answer to Armide's summons in III 4. A further dialogue, between Armide and La Haine later in the same scene leads into some 22 bars of accompanied recitative for La Haine, clearly associating this type of writing with evil and witchcraft, a source of many a later scene in the work of the next generation. The opera's closing scene, a soliloquy for the deserted heroine, sets another kind of precedent. Here, the music moves freely between accompanied recitative and accompanied air, with the orchestra contributing a prélude related to her first air 'Le perfide Renaud me fuit' and two préludes which are related to each other before and after 'Trairel attend'.

Within Lully's operas, then, can be seen all the forms of accompanied recitative which subsequent composers built on. Musically, we have two main types, one in which the orchestra supports the singer with the vocal line remaining paramount, and a second in which the orchestra enters more into a partnership with the singer and has more freedom to make its own contribution. Dramatically, we see the emergence of the soliloquy in accompanied recitative or in a mixture of air and recitative, placed often at the beginning of an act or at the end of the entire opera. The accompanied recitative here serves to underline the moments of extreme personal emotion, and is usually of the first musical type, while the second type shows the character concerned battling against external manifestations or internal delusions, which the orchestra tries to represent musically. Both types are to be found in the operas of the next generation, where accompanied recitative takes a much greater share.

* * * * * * *

From its beginnings in Lully's middle operas, accompanied recitative developed rapidly, assuming an important role in every opera written after his death. While the quantity of recitative in which a string accompaniment is added to what is essentially a récitatif simple vocal line never diminishes, it is the more dramatic and spectacular kinds, in which the orchestra contributes to the action, where the most obvious developments occur.

Naturally, accompanied recitative tends to take over at moments of high drama, with which librettists after Quinault pepper their tragédies liberally. One of the strongholds of accompanied recitative is the
soliloquy, in the course of which one character expresses a state of mind usually troubled with uncertainties (see Chapter Nine). Within ordinary dialogue, the use of accompanied recitative can highlight the main event, perhaps the moment at which something critical to the unfolding of the plot is revealed for the first time. In a scene with her sister, Anne, in Didon, I 2, Didon relates the events of the hunting party during which, when sheltering from a storm, she and Enée promised each other 'une éternelle ardeur'. The orchestra enters under 'Ce fut le jour de ce fatal orage'. At another important moment in Vénus et Adonis, I 5, Venus can conceal her love for Adonis no longer and confesses it to Cydipe, the orchestra entering as she begins to relate the circumstances in which she came to earth and fell in love ('Il te souvient un jour'). This mode of underlining such moments recurs throughout this period.

Another scene from Didon (III 1) is a dialogue scene, but is accompanied throughout. Didon has turned to magic in order to learn Enée's whereabouts and what the future may be. The orchestra has a dual role here, underlining the switch from the mortal world to that of the supernatural, and investing the scene with the solemnity needed to lead up to the disclosure of the prophecy by one of the Furies in the next scene. Elsewhere, it can be a dramatic arrival on the scene which is highlighted by the orchestra, in this case that of Philomèle in Philomèle, IV 2. In this, the real horror story out of all the operas, Philomèle has been driven half out of her mind first by her brother-in-law's treachery in wishing to get rid of his wife and take Philomèle instead, then in being faced with having to marry Terée in order to save the life of her lover, Athamas, whom Terée decides to kill anyway. Philomèle bursts in on the scene, distraught with grief, the orchestra contributing to the mood of terror.

It is in the evocation or relation of such private or public horrors that composers conceived their most elaborate accompanied recitatives, with the orchestral contribution strongly reminiscent of its portrayal of sinister groups of characters (see Chapter Thirteen) or supernatural events such as the appearance of ombres (see Chapter Fourteen). The situation in Céphale et Procris, IV 2 is a common one: Jealousy is being invoked to cause trouble in the heart of Procris to make her believe Céphale unfaithful. L'Aurore is preceded by an orchestral prélude in C minor, creating a sinister atmosphere which punctuates the ensuing recitative (the livret at one point referring to a 'symphonie lugubre'). A 'montagne d'eau' which confronts Persée and Ismenie in Méduse, III 3 is represented by a dramatic prélude of a different kind, which re-emerges
periodically through the recitative that follows (Example 29).

Elsewhere, the unpleasant manifestations are more personal. The final scene of Marthésie, deriving clearly from that of Armide and the mad scene of Roland, shows the heroine driven to insanity by the loss of Argapise. A slow, serious accompanied recitative is interrupted by the orchestra ('Quels bruits! quels éclats de tonnerre!'), which punctuates her exalma-
tions. The normal accompanied recitative resumes as she relates her vision of the ombre of Talestris. The accompaniment temporarily drops out as she describes other delusions, returning for the closing passage. Something very similar happens to Anchise in Hésione, V 4, with the strings directed to play alternately 'fort' and 'doux', as in the quoted passage from Roland (Example 27). Their rushing scales represent Anchise's delusion that he is being dragged into Hell. In Idoménée, V 5, Idoménée has to face the consequences of his defiance of Neptune. The active prélude settles into a repetitive although irregular rhythm, then punctuates Idoménée's recitative as he describes visions of chaos and the approaching Eumenides. After a single récitatif simple phrase for an onlooker, Idamante, the accompaniment resumes and continues through the dialogue to the end. The falseness of the words 'Mon trouble est dissipé' just before Idoménée murders his son is betrayed by their F minor tonality: this is a key reserved by Lully and others for extremes of horror or personal distress. Lacoste even manages to make a dramatic point by the cessation of such an accompaniment, in Bradamante, II 1. Roger is relating the nature of his indebtedness to the Prince de Grèce, who once rescued him from prison. The usual orchestral interpo-
lations accompany the narration of his imprisonment, but at the word 'brisé' in 'Votre main favorable Brisa mes fers', this style of accompaniment ceases abruptly.

The repertoire of orchestral effects which these composers have at their command is a limited one, but occasionally they come up with some-
thing a little different. These rests in Céphale et Procris, V 8 punctuate the recitative of the dying Procris and extend right down to
the *basse continue* (they are marked 'silence' in the score):

```
\[ \text{\textfootnotesize don-ne} \quad \text{\textfootnotesize Touret\ men} \quad \text{\textfootnotesize hor. reurs} \quad \text{\textfootnotesize \`a mes yeux} \]
```

Clitumnestre's first entry in *Cassandre*, I 2 is an accompanied recitative in which she describes the 'spectre pâle et sanglant' which haunts her. The accompaniment chords again have rests between them:

```
\[ 2 \quad J \quad J \]
```

A motif

```
\[ 2 \quad J \quad J \quad \text{\`a mes yeux} \]
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deriving from the words 'un songe affreux' turns into a dialogue between voice and orchestra. In *Hippodamie*, I 2 Hippodamie relates the havoc wrought by the vengeful gods. An insistent

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\[ \text{\`a mes yeux} \]
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in the accompaniment manages to underline the horrors without recourse to histrionics. A tremolando effect of semiquavers in *Télémâque*, V 1 suggests Calypso's illusion of an earthquake and storm: a sort of embryo *tempête*.

In the case of the accompanied recitative, it is perhaps revealing to look in depth at its employment throughout one or two entire operas. I have selected Charpentier's *Médée* and Campra's *Tancredède* for detailed study, for different reasons. *Médée* shows the use of accompanied recitative in the service of characterization, *Tancredède* the range of expressive and dramatic possibilities in the medium.

Charpentier reserves most of the accompanied recitative in *Médée* for the central character, but there are just two other passages, both of which deserve comment. They occur at two of the most important moments in the action. In IV 9 Creon, who has defied Médée's insistence that his daughter Créuse should marry Oronte and not Médée's lover, Jason, is the victim of Médée's anger in the shape of demons and furies. They reduce him to a state of anger and depression which results in Oronte's murder and his own suicide. The scoring of this passage, marked as below in the Ballard score, is exceptionally dark.
Créuse’s brief speech as she dies, V 6, is worth quoting in full for its economy and richness of harmony (Example 30).

Ex. 30 Médee, V 6

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Toutes les Hautes-Contres et Tailles

Toutes les Quintes

2. BASSES

2. BASSES

BASSE CONTINUE

---

"...leurs me saisissent, Je pends la voix, Mes forces s’est-fer-..."
The remaining recitative belongs to Médée, and makes a major contribution to her emergence as a rounded personality. Here is a particularly powerful portrait, firstly through the dominance which she exerts over the other characters by force of emotion or by magical powers, and secondly because she is shown to be vulnerable. This is not brought about, as it was in the case of Armide, by feelings of love she is unable to suppress; it is clear from the start that she does not really believe that Jason is going to come back to her. Her weakness is the conflict of hatred and pity for her children, and this constant presence and influence of an outside agency which is not, for once, supernatural is one of the most striking features of Thomas Corneille's livret.

After the opening conversation with a confidant, Médée makes an early assertion of her pride and power. This is introduced by one of the many energetic semiquaver passages commonly associated with supernatural events or characters. Her words are accompanied by throbbing muted string quavers, which give way to the semiquaver movement as she finishes (I 1, Example 31).

Ex. 31 Médée, I 1

On her next appearance (II 2) we see her in a different light as, about to be exiled, she commits the care of her children to Créuse. This is
an unusual piece, having almost the appearance of an instrumental composition with the vocal line superimposed. Sections for strings alternate with sections for two flûtes allemandes and basse continue, the two coming together only in the orchestral postlude where the flutes double the dessus and haute-contre parts. There are no changes of metre, but the character of the vocal line identifies it as recitative (there is also no word repetition). The inclusion of flutes in this number helps to point out a soft side to Médée's otherwise ruthless character.

Charpentier's accompanied recitatives tend to reflect individual details of the words or situation more closely than do comparable passages by Lully. Detail in Lully's music is always subordinate to the overall conception of a section or scene. Some of Charpentier's longer vocal movements, on the other hand, are broken up into several sections, illustrating a line or two at a time. Médée's set pieces in III 3, IV 5 and V 1 demonstrate this feature. Each line of the recitative part of III 3 (from 'j'ai forcé devant lui') has a different idea: a halving of the speed at 'dans mon coeur où regnait une tranquille paix' by moving from 3 to $\frac{3}{2}$; a livelier orchestral movement for 'les mouvements du sang'; the strings dropping out altogether at 'et l'oubli des serments' and re-entering 'un peu plus vite' at 'l'engagement nouveau'; and a chain of suspensions for 'les tristes effets', marked 'lentement'. A more selective use of this sectional style is particularly effective in IV 5. After all her doubts about her children, Médée has resolved to kill them. Vigorous metrical movement is interrupted by a more recitative-like phrase 'Je prends une vengeance épouvantable, horrible' before the energy and fury breaks out again: it is like a catch of the breath.

Other accompanied recitatives are in styles observed elsewhere, for example, the basse continue recitative which is punctuated by orchestral interpolations. In III 4, these come closer together as Médée becomes more excited (Example 32).

\[\text{Ex. 32 Médée, III 4}\]
The scene in which Médée invokes the 'noires divinités du Styx' (III 5) features low orchestral scoring a) in the prelude and b) in the recitative itself.

(a)

(b)

MEDÉE

Sourdines

Sourdines

Sourdines

Bassons et Basse Continue

By a variety of means, therefore, Charpentier presents Médée through the medium of accompanied recitative as a powerful and passionate, yet at times sad, figure. He shows the diversity of resources of scoring, vocal line and balance between voice and instruments which could be achieved within this fairly restricted medium.

The greater quantity of accompanied recitative in Tanorède, composed almost a decade later than Médée, reflects the continuing growth in
importance of the orchestra in the *tragédie en musique*. There is plenty of variety, too. Clorinde's soliloquy 'Suis je Clorinde?' (II 1) exemplifies a normal recitative line supported by strings. As well as reinforcing the customary invocation scene (I 4) and call for the instruments of vengeance (IV 3), accompanied recitative can point up a significant moment in a dialogue (as in *Armide* I 1, Example 28). In I 1, the orchestra accompanies Hermine's confession of how she fell in love with Tancredé, even as he was devastating her country. In V 4, the dying Argant says that he has dreadful news for Tancredé. As he begins to reveal that Clorinde has died by Tancredé's own hand, the orchestra enters to reinforce the atmosphere of horror (Example 33).

Clorinde's accompanied recitative 'Que je suis faible enco!' (IV 7) follows on from her own air - instead of moving from debate to resolution, the usual Italian recitative/aria progression, she moves from confidence in her submission to duty to a realization that she has not succeeded in subjugating her love for Tancredé.

Campra makes a particular feature of accompanied recitatives in which the orchestra is at least an equal partner. 'Sous l'empire d'un roi toujours victorieux' in the Prologue is of the type first observed in *Roland*, with accompanying strings marked 'doux' and interpolations by the strings marked 'fort'. In this case, the interpolations merely reinforce what is being said. The trumpet and string passages which feature
prominently in V 1, however, have an important extra-musical function, as
they represent the combat between the armies of Tancrede and Argant.
Following the conventions of the French classical theatre, such a combat
had to take place offstage and be reported upon. The recitative phrases
of the onstage character, Herminie, are almost irrelevant (Example 34).

In Tancrede's two monologues, a fine balance is struck between soloist and
orchestra. The final scene falls into three sections. Tancrede has just
received the news that he has inadvertently been responsible for Clorinde's
death. After the first line, there is a short flurry in the orchestra,
which corresponds to the stage direction in the livret 'ses soldats le
désarment'. The middle section is fast, with a running quaver bass
(compare this with Roland's mad scene, Roland, IV 6) as Tancrede
desperately tries to summon lightning or an earthquake. Powerless, he
sinks back into lethargy (Example 35).
The centrepiece of the whole opera is Tancrede's scene in the enchanted forest (III 3). An extended prelude with a walking crotchet bass leads into Tancrede's first phrase, quoting the opening of the prelude. This is interrupted by rushing scales as 'des flâmes ne répandent sur le théâtre' (Example 36).
Tancred sets off again, but his progress is halted by demons flying through the air (the usual rushing semiquavers). He brushes these aside, only to hear 'des gémissements et des plaintes qui sortent des arbres' (Example 37). (Compare this with the scene from Isis quoted above (Example 21)).

When Tancred tries to enter the forest 'il paraît des arbres de toutes parts', and he is finally halted by a 'symphonie agréable' of flutes and strings played by nymphs, dryads, shepherdesses, shepherds and fauns who, not surprisingly, usher in the divertissement.

This very close response to every image and nuance of the text is a reflection of the move towards spectacle and theatricality noted in the livrets written after Quinault's death. In such a scene, the recitative is subordinated firstly to the orchestral comments on the action and secondly to spectacular scenic effects. This is a long way from Lully.
NOTES

1 French Baroque Music, p. 82.
3 L'Opéra italien, p. 367.
4 See, for example, Girdlestone, Jean-Philippe Rameau, pp. 111-14.
5 Lettre sur la musique française (Paris, 1753).
7 See note 2 above; this is the passage to which the dissenting translator added the quoted annotation.
10 La Laurencie, Lully, p. 141.
12 François Couperin, p. 72.
15 A Short History of Opera, pp. 119-20.
18 Musiciens d'autrefois, pp.152-53.
19 Comparaison, II 276-77.
20 French Baroque Music, p.120.
21 François Couperin, p.73.
22 Musiciens d'autrefois, p.168.
23 Jean-Baptiste de Lully, p.99.
24 See Lecerf, Comparaison, I 83 and II 302-03 and Titon du Tillet, Le Parnasse français (Paris, 1732, with supplement to 1743), pp.790-93.
25 See, for example, Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, 'De la liberté de la musique' in Œuvres complètes, 5 vols (Paris, 1821-22), I, pp.515-46, (pp.531-32).
27 Réflexions, pp.63-64.
28 La Tragédie en musique, p.139.
29 Destouches, for example, wrote three operas to livrets by Houdar de la Motte in 1699-1701, but in the period up to 1715, he also set livrets by Roy and Pellegrin; other livrets by La Motte were set by Colasse and Marais.
30 La Laurencie, Lully, p.141.
31 'Propositions pour une analyse rationalisée du récitatif de l'opéra lullyste', R de M, 64 (1978), 55-75.
33 An additional scene which appears in the livret 'for the sake of completeness' was not set.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOLO VOCAL MUSIC: AIR

i) Lully

The role of the air in the tragédie en musique differs considerably from that of its Italian counterpart, the aria. In Lully's early operas, airs are brief and confined almost exclusively to the prologue and divertissements and to secondary characters within the tragédie. There are only two airs for Hermione in Cadmus et Hermione, with one for Cadmus, and the three main characters in Alceste have only five airs between them. Even when airs become a more natural medium of expression for such characters, they tend to arise naturally from the dialogue and are given no special emphasis. Only in the soliloquy is attention focussed on the soloist, and even here there is no scope for histrionics or vocal display, nor for the convention of the dramatic exit. In no sense, musically or dramatically, is the air conceived as the climax of a scene or act.

The characteristics of the binary form or petit air are lighthearted words and a melody largely free of the rhythmic and melodic constraints of word setting which dominate recitative. Its common theme is a generalization on the eternal theme of the pains and pleasures of love. This air is sung to divert Hermione, faced with the prospect of being forced to marry the 'giant', Draco: its flippancy seems most inappropriate:

La peine d'aimer est charmante,
Il n'est point de cœur qui s'exempte
De payer ce tribut fatal:
Si l'amour épouvante
Il fait plus de peur que de mal.

_Cadmus et Hermione_, I 3

Even when the words express sentiments in more personal terms, the opportunity of drawing a general conclusion is seldom missed:

Je sens un plaisir extrême
À revenir en ces lieux;
Où peut-on jamais être mieux
Qu'aux lieux où l'on voit ce qu'on aime?

_Atyse_, II 3

The frivolous tone and the large quantity of these glib pronouncements were chiefly responsible for the constant accusations against opera that it condoned licentiousness and infidelity. The amoral sentiments of the following, from _Isis_, II 4 and 5, did much to get Lully and Quinault into trouble: it is hard to imagine that they expected to get away with putting
the second of these verses into the mouth of Juno/Madame de Montespan, and equally difficult to believe that the connection had never occurred to them:

Pourquoi craignez-vous tant
Que mon coeur se dégage?
Je vous permets d'être inconstant
Sitôt que je serai volage.

L'amour, cet amour infidèle,
Qui du plus haut des cieux l'appelle,
Fait que tout lui rit ici-bas.
Près d'une maîtresse nouvelle
Dans le fond des déserts on trouve des appas;
Et le Ciel même ne plaît pas
Avec une épouse immortelle.

The proportions of the binary air can vary somewhat. Some, like their orchestral dance counterparts, have roughly equal halves each repeated. More often, the words of the second half are repeated, but with a different or altered melody. There may or may not be a repeat of the first section. Nor is there any consistent key scheme; some first halves stay in the tonic key, others modulate to the dominant or relative major. The only common characteristic is a second half touching on a rapid succession of keys, with a cadence before the varied repeat of the words. Three complete examples will serve to demonstrate the elasticity of form and modulation.

The first (Example 38) is taken from the prologue to Proserpine. This is a dance air, preceded and followed by an instrumental menuet. There is no melodic relationship between the two, but similarities of rhythm and phrasing unify dance and air. This example also shows how the imposition of a dance metre on the words interferes with their normal stress (e.g. 'un jeune coeur', bars 7-8). The whole air is in D minor, but flirts with other keys at the beginning of the B section.
The next (Example 39), from *Isis*, I 5, shows the typical pattern of the varied B section repeat after a cadence in a related key.

The last example, from *Cadmus et Hermione*, I 3, (Example 40) is in a more serious vein. It is our first introduction to Hermione, and is prefaced by a ritournelle to cover the departure of Cadmus and Arbas and the arrival of Hermione and her entourage. The more complex rhythms imply a slower tempo than Example 38; this air owes nothing to the dance. The use of the binary form air for characters to express their most serious feelings
is unusual, and new forms emerge to cope with such situations.

Ex. 40, Cadmus et Hermione, I3

The early assumption that main characters would express themselves chiefly through recitative relaxes somewhat, and there is an overall increase in the proportion of air to recitative. Comparisons based on the process of counting lines of text (described above) show this clearly. Each figure is expressed as a percentage of the total bassa continue accompanied solo vocal music.
Cadmus et Hermione 1673 80 20
Alicest 1674 70 28 *
Atys 1676 71 25 *
Proserpine 1680 67 33

* Totals of less than 100 are accounted for by a small percentage of recitative which is in the style of through-composed air (see p. 49).

Figures for later operas show the air percentage as remaining constant, but an increasing use of recitative in the style of air.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% recitative</th>
<th>% recit/air</th>
<th>% air</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phaéton 1683</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amadis 1684</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Armide 1686</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>32</td>
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Ternary and rondeau form airs, almost exclusively the province of the main characters, do much to account for this trend, though they remain vastly outnumbered by their binary counterparts. Although the ternary structure of an air would normally be built in to the verse supplied, one can sometimes see Lully’s hand in the repetition of a particularly striking line. Looking at the livret of Amadis, II 2, for example, it is clear that these two 'speeches', with their identical rhyme schemes, are intended to balance each other. The first four lines are set as a binary form air, but Arcabonne’s line 'Non, je ne connais plus mon coeur' has been singled out for repetition, thus bringing a ternary structure to the air:

**ARGALOUS**

L'amour n'est qu'une vaine erreur,  
On n'en est point surpris, quand on veut s'en défendre.  
Est-ce à vous d'avoir un cœur tendre?  
Votre cœur tout entier n'est dû qu'à la fureur.

**ARCABONNE**

Non, je ne connais plus mon cœur.  
L'amour qu'il a bravé le reduit à se rendre;  
Tout barbarie qu'il est, il se laisse surprendre  
D'une douce langueur.  
Non, je ne connais plus mon cœur.

The first ternary air in a tragédie en musique is 'Deux repos' in Thésée, II 1, placed at the very beginning of an act and marking Médée's first appearance. The striking A section motif shows some affinity of the new form with the recitative it began to supersed (Example 41).
Atys' short soliloquy 'Que servent les faveurs' (Atys, III 1) is metrical throughout, with A and B sections of approximately equal length. More typical, however, is 'Vaine fierté, faible rigueur' (Proserpine, I 4), in which the A section is metrical and the B section is recitative. Even the A section, however, resembles recitative in the leaps of the melodic line and the displacement of the accent for 'Ah!' (Example 42).

The problems of classifying air and recitative in this context are apparent. Example 43 from Bellérophon, I 1 has an A section which begins metrically, but there is an acceleration at 'pourquoi suspendre ma vengeance', Lully unusually taking it upon himself to emphasize 'pourquoi' by repetition, which is not in the livret. The B section is recitative, twice as long as the A section. Such disproportion can be even greater:
between the two statements of the opening five-bar idea 'O trop funeste sort! Ciel, ô Ciel, Amadis est mort' (Amadis, IV 4) come twenty-four bars of recitative.

Ex. 43, Bellérophon, I 1.

The airs described above demonstrate that the key scheme of the ternary air largely depends on whether it approximates more closely to air or to recitative. The air 'Non, je ne connais plus mon coeur' (Amadis, II 2) has a straightforward F major - D minor - F major plan. 'Que servent les faveurs' (Atys, III 1) has a B section which moves through C minor and B flat major before returning to the tonic, G minor, for the repeat of the A section. The A section of 'Vaine fierté, faible rigueur' (see Example 42) is straightforward, but the B section exhibits the shifting tonality which is typical of Lully's recitative style. Even the A section of 'Espoir qui séduisez' (Bellérophon, I 1, Example 43) is tonally ambiguous.

Airs in a rondeau form demonstrate a similar range of styles: there are just under a third as many of them. Triton's air 'Que Prothèse avec nous partage' (Phaéton, I 7) is, as might be expected in a divertissement, lively and uncomplicated. Both episodes cadence on the dominant, having moved through other keys. The metrical air is not necessarily light-hearted, however. By slowing down the pace of the episodes and moving into the minor mode, Lully can, in this air from Amadis, I 3, convey the vacillations of his heroine, Oriane, energetically trying to free herself from her entanglement with Amadis and ruefully admitting that she is unsuccessful (Example 44).

Ex. 44, Amadis, I 3
As in the ternary examples described above, a short theme can be used to shape a section of recitative. When these result in a loose rondeau structure, they seem to be reserved for heroines at the end of their tether. The air 'Ah! quelle injustice cruelle' in Proserpine, III 7 is Ceres' despairing outcry as she realises that her daughter has been abducted. Io's 'Terminez mes tourments' (Isis, V 1) shows her exhausted and dispirited by all the trials she has undergone. This air is in F minor, the most 'extreme' key that Lully ever uses, and the 'motto theme' shows a rare example of chromatic movement in the voice part (Example 45).
Two further rondeau airs have the heroine, spurned by the man she loves, left alone at the end of the act. Cybele's wistful 'Espoir si cher et si doux' (Atys, III 8) contrasts with Kédée's vigorous 'Dépit mortel, transport jaloux' (Thésée, II 9, Example 46). The kinship of rondeau air and recitative means that the episodes tend to pass through several keys. The Proserpine example cited is in A minor, but the first episode moves rapidly through C major, E minor, D minor and back to E minor before the return of the rondeau. The second episode begins in G major but moves to C major and E minor. The Isis example is rather more definite: the scheme is F minor/A flat major/F minor/E flat major → C minor/F minor.

Ex. 46, Thésée, II 9
The earliest type of instrumentally-accompanied air features two upper instrumental parts and a bass voice doubled by the basse continue. Here, as in so many cases concerning Lully's exact instrumental specifications, there is a doubt: how many instruments are required to play the upper parts? Usually no instruments are mentioned by name; elsewhere each part may be labelled 'violon' or 'violons' or the word 'violons' may appear once only. Lecerf (I 65) describes these airs thus: 'Ce sont nos airs de mouvement, avec l'accompagnement de deux violons', and it seems likely that solo violins are intended for the vast majority of these airs. However, 'flûtes' or 'hautbois' are sometimes specified, the latter being particularly ambiguous because the single and plural forms of the word are identical. Where instruments other than violins are mentioned, they tend to be associated with the prevailing instrumentation in a divertissement, such as the flûtes in the sommeil in Atys, III 4 and in the pastorale in Alceste, V 5. The association of flutes with the story of Pan and Syrinx in Isis, III 6 is an obvious one, and Pan's air in the prologue to Cadmus et Hermione could appropriately have been accompanied in this way.

The usual relationship between instrumental and vocal parts in the air de basse is illustrated by Example 47 from Armide, I 2, quoting the openings of the A and B sections. The upper instrumental parts move mostly in thirds or sixths, and all are tied closely to the rhythm of the voice part (see particularly the opening of the B section).
In other examples, the upper parts achieve more independence, in Example 48 resulting from the ubiquitous long notes on such words as 'repos' (Phaéton, Prologue). The other convention, of roulades, figures in Example 49, taken from 'Jupiter vient sur la terre' in Isis, I 6. The irresistible combination of a bass voice and the word 'tonnerre' produces a grotesque effect.
Patricia Howard points out that this type of accompanied air (which she calls by the most confusing name of 'continuo aria') is associated with the unsuccessful lover.\(^1\) Her claim that this is 'invariably' the case is rather overstated; neither Céphée, father of Andromède in Persée, nor the faithful Florestan in Amadis fulfills this role, and there are several airs de basse assigned to prologue and divertissement characters. There were certain conventions attached to the assignation of roles which dictated that, for the want of a more refined way of putting it, the bass never got the girl. 'Nos basses chantent d'ordinaire les rois, les amants en second et méprisés, les magiciens, les héros graves et un peu vieux, etc., et nos tailles et nos hautes-contres... font les héros jeunes, galants et qui doivent être aimés; les dieux amoureux et gais, etc.'\(^2\) The fact that the bass Thévenard gets to play 'first lover' parts and has then written for him is a matter for comment (but this is some time after Lully's death, involving parts like Amadis in Amadis de Grèce and Tancred in Tancred). Roland is Lully's most important bass part: he is, of course, the unsuccessful lover of Angélique and perhaps the audience did, as Howard suggests, read a special meaning into his soliloquy 'Ah, j'attendrai longtemps', Roland, IV 2, when he is given a vocal line free of the instrumental bass (in a full string accompaniment) when believing Angélique is in love with him.

However, the number and importance of airs de basse in an opera does to some extent reflect the presence or otherwise of a character in the 'unsuccessful lover' category (but equally, the character may be comic or simply elderly). Alcestes includes a lot of airs de basse, for Licomède,
who unsuccessfully woos and then abducts Alceste, and Straton, a secondary/comic character. Even some of Charon's celebrated scene (IV 1) is in this mould. By contrast, most of the action in Atys takes place between the three main characters, Atys, Cybele and Sangaride, and the unsuccessful suitor, Celoenus, has an insignificant role, singing only one air, which is not, for some reason, an air de basse. Only Phobétor, in the sommeil (III 4) and the confidant, Idas (I 2) have airs de basse.

The association of the air de basse with particular types of character, by implication comic if not overtly so, dictates a light-hearted musical style. However, the air of Pan in Isis, III 6 has nothing of the usual connotation of buffoonery. His melodic line, at the beginning at least, appears to be conceived vocally rather than instrumentally, and the changes of time signature suggest a connection with the serious recitative style seen in other airs (Example 50).

Ex. 50, Isis. III 6

In Phaéton, I 5 it is the sheer dimensions of the air de basse writing which impress. The scene is a series of no fewer than three airs de basse, preceded and divided by instrumental sections. The first two airs share a common refrain

Plaignons les malheureux amants,
Evitons leurs cruels tourments.

The third, in the minor mode, illustrates the 'murmure des flots' in both voice and instruments. Example 51 is the closing passage. Such expressive use of the air de basse is unusual, however, and it is to the fully accompanied air that we have to look for the most interesting musical structures.
As the expressive and illustrative use of the orchestra began to penetrate the tragédie, the association with the solo voice became inevitable; hence the development of accompanied recitative and air. The air 'L'amour ne veut point qu'on diffère' from Psyché, II 2 is on the threshold of this development, bearing a relationship to the accompanied air similar to that of the 'récit de Pan' in Isis, III 6 to the accompanied recitative (see above, Example 21). In both, the instrumental and vocal components are closely interwoven without actually sounding simultaneously. Example 52 begins at bar 23 of the Psyché air: Vulcan is urging his forgerons to greater efforts, and the instrumental interpolations represent their response.
The first fully accompanied air comes in the next opera, Bellérophon
II 6, as Amisodar summons magicians. With the bass voice doubled by the
basse continue and basse de violon, this is really an orchestrated
version of the air de basse (Example 53).

Ex. 53 Bellérophon, II 6

There are similar examples in Lully's last two operas, Roland ('Triomphez,
charmante reine', I 6 and 'J'entends un bruit', IV 2) and Armide ('Armide
est encore plus aimable', I 3). Often, the association of the accom-
panied air is, as in the Bellérophon example, with a supernatural
character. The plodding rhythm and monotonous melody, as well as the
low scoring, are repeated in Amadis, III 3 for the ombre of Ardan Canilo
(see Example 24, and p. 395 below). There are other examples involving
supernatural or sinister characters in *Persée*, III 1 and 2 (Méduse), Amadis, II 3 (Arcalaus) and Armide, III 4 (La Haine), and two further airs for Armide herself summon La Haine (III 3) and demons (II 2).

Most of the accompanied airs are in a serious style, and, like their basse continue accompanied counterparts, are more like an intensified form of recitative than a true air. They, too, usually arise from situations of despair or abandonment: Proserpine captive in the underworld ('Ma chère liberté; Proserpine, IV 2), Mêdor forced to conceal his love for Angélique ('Ah! quel tourment', Roland, I 3), Oriane believing Amadis dead ('Fermez vous pour jamais, mes yeux', Amadis, V 2). There are two typical accompanied airs in successive scenes in Phaéton: Epaphos' 'Dieu, qui vous déclarez mon père', V 2 (Example 54), and Lybie's 'O, rigoureux martyr', V 3. Both are in a style close to that of recitative, depending on a striking opening phrase for their effect.

The A section of the former shows the usual careful response to the words: the prominent 'maître des dieux', the falling 'M'abandonnerez-vous au désespoir fatal' and the high 'triompher'. Both airs are preceded by an orchestral prelude; that to 'O rigoureux martyr' is, as in many cases elsewhere, an instrumental version of the A section of the air, while the prelude to 'Dieu qui vous déclarez mon père' seems designed to produce an overall effect of solemnity, with its gradual descent and chromatic harmony. Once the voice enters, the instrumental parts play very much a supporting role; it was left to later composers to give the orchestra independent life.
Lully's last three tragédies en musique contain the bulk of his accompanied airs. Each features a major set-piece for the leading haute-contre singer in act II, in which the character is put into a situation of solitude in nature; whether this is by accident or design is impossible to tell. In Amadis, this set-piece is the only item in Lully's entire output which could remotely be described as well-known, the air 'Bois épaiss', II 4. It is unusual to find a solemn soliloquy in a binary form, with two equal sections both repeated exactly, and perfectly metrical, and having an extended orchestral prelude. Demuth's comment that 'the well-known Air Bois épaiss, from Armide [sic] is fully representative of a host of beautiful tunes illustrating the truth of Lully's principle that emotion lies solely in melody' is misleading. 3 Howard quotes the opening of an air de cour by Lully's father-in-law, Lambert, and speculates that Lully borrowed this, consciously or unconsciously. 4 This may explain the 'unoperatic' feel of the piece, but must remain in the realm of conjecture.

In the next opera, Roland, II 4, Méder is attempting to conceal his love for Angélique, believing her to be committed to Roland. He, too, is in the middle of a forest, though unknowingly overheard by Angélique and Temire. The instrumental introduction is an orchestral version of Méder's first air. A short passage of recitative dialogue between the still-concealed Angélique and Temire follows, then Méder has another air-like section. The way the lines are laid out in the livret suggests that Quinault had here two distinct sections in mind, an air in which Méder reflects that the fountain of love is powerless to alleviate his suffering (up to 'mortelles douleurs'), and a recitative as he draws his sword to kill himself; Lully, however, runs them together into one metrical but through-composed movement, of which Example 55 is the opening. Even in an air which has no relationship with recitative, Lully is unable to free the accompaniment from the rhythm of the words; see, for example, the hiatus at 'votre charmant murmure'.
Only in his last opera, *Armide*, does Lully exploit the natural background to the soliloquy. Lured to Armide's 'ile enchantée', Renaud is captivated by its beauty. His air 'Plus j'observe ces lieux' is based on flowing quaver movement representing the river. This is one of the rare occasions where the orchestra and voice meet on equal terms. To find a comparable example, it is necessary to go back to before the era of accompanied vocal music, to the sommeil in *Atys*, III 4, in which the crotchet movement of the orchestral prélude binds the whole section together (see Chapter Fourteen, Example 281). In *Armide*, II 3, the instruments are even the determinants of the form of the air, since the patterns of word-repetition within the vocal sections are irregular or non-existent. The ritournelles which divide the vocal paragraphs are identical but transposed (though the voice's entry on differing beats of the bar makes some appear shorter). The orchestra even takes the lead thematically. Apart from the continuous quavers, the prélude is independent of the first vocal section, but the next instrumental passage introduces a new idea (Example 56(a)), which returns in C minor after the ensuing vocal section. At 'un son harmonieux' in the third vocal section, the voice picks up the monotone crotchets of the orchestra, which it has at successively lower pitches (a', f' sharp and d') in the last three sections, suggesting that Renaud is being overcome by sleep. The
exquisite prélude, played 'avec les sourdines', is repeated to conclude the movement. Example 56(b) is the closing passage of the air, leading into the reprise of the prélude.

Ex. 56(a) Armide, I, 3

These extended examples, focussing attention on the solo singer and the orchestra, are among the most attractive passages in all Lully's operas. They were highly influential in establishing a model for the
partnership between singer and instruments and the action they serve, which was to achieve its greatest expression well after Lully's immediate successors, in the work of Rameau.

* * * * * *

ii) Composers after Lully

Since the subjects and characters of the tragédie en musique remain much the same after Lully's death, it is not surprising that the sentiments expressed and the musical means by which this is done bear apparently strong resemblances throughout the whole thirty year period under review. Closer examination reveals some differences in both words and music which account for something of a decline in the status of the petit air in certain situations, though with the large number of composers and librettists involved after Lully's death, it is not easy to see a consistent pattern.

One factor is the decline of one type of secondary character, the confidant. The musical repercussions of this largely concern the light-hearted airs in which confidants express themselves, usually to deliver a moral or maxim. While these airs never disappear, they become far less numerous. Another feature of the post-Lully opera is cultivation of the soliloquy and its attendant musical form, the air de monologue, a vehicle for serious expression. There is, too, the rise of sinister and magical characters who utter threats or wreak havoc rather than point morals. Neither soliloquy nor supernatural scenes concern themselves much with the petit air, developing their own forms, often in association with the orchestra.

Where the petit air does hold its own, however, is in dialogue scenes. Several of Lully's operas include scenes which are more or less a string of petits airs. Because of the musical style of these airs and the usual sentiments expressed, such scenes are confined to secondary characters and to main characters in their lighter moments. Atys, I 2, is such a scene, between Atys and a confidant. The following scene and a later one, I 6, both between Atys and Sangaride, illustrate the difference in status between the air and recitative. In the first, both characters are making strenuous efforts to appear fancy-free, and they sing in petits airs. In the second, they reveal their true feelings, and converse in recitative.

Within these scenes can also be seen the beginnings of
a type of dialogue writing which was to go some way towards usurping both *récitâtif simple* and the *petit air* (though not within Lully's lifetime). Example 57, from *Atys*, I 3, is an exchange which is, unlike recitative, metrical, but has a somewhat undistinguished melodic line, resembling recitative stretched out and fitted into a rhythmic pattern.

Example 58 from *Amadis*, III 2 shows a more refined version of the same thing, in which the melody is more clearly predominant. The repetition at the end of this of a preceding duet makes a small musical set-piece within the scene.

However, in operas written after Lully's death, perfectly ordinary dialogue can be set in this style. Lully would not have dreamed of setting this piece of dialogue from Destouches' *Omphale*, V 3 (Example 59) in anything other than *récitâtif simple*. Dramatically
speaking, the words convey to the two characters involved important information about each other. Musically, the prevailing triple metre necessarily slows down the pace of the exchanges and weakens the expression of Iphis' agitation.

The increasing involvement of the orchestra in solo vocal music is as marked in the air as it is in the recitative. There is no shortage of binary form accompanied airs in which an orchestral accompaniment is grafted onto the petit air, but it is the ternary and rondeau forms which generally produce the more interesting and individual contributions to the development of the form, conveying as they had with Lully the stronger emotions of the characters, but also tending to exhibit new stylistic features.

The rondeau form initially seems to have gone into a sharp decline after Lully's death as far as the air is concerned, although it is extensively used in dances and for multi-section divertissement structures. The soliloquy 'Tristes honneurs, gloire cruelle' (Thétis et Pélée, II 4), written within two years of Lully's death, is a rare survival of the old basse continue serious air, written in a style closely akin to recitative. The instrumental prelude opens with the singer's first phrase, and the air continues with only the basse continue. Thereafter the rondeau form seems to be rediscovered only at the end of the century, now with the support of the orchestral strings. 'Faible fierté, gloire impuissante' in Destouches' Marthésie, I 1 (1699) is another soliloquy; in fact so often does the serious type of accompanied air appear in this context that it is sometimes referred to as the air de monologue. Example 60 shows the beginning of the 28 bar ritournelle and the singer's opening phrase.
Following *Marthésie*, we find examples of accompanied airs in *rondeau* form in four out of the succeeding six operas. Without detailed knowledge of the composers' working methods, we cannot be sure whether the form of these numbers was suggested by composer or librettist, but it may be significant that their re-emergence coincides with the arrival on the scene of two major figures among the librettists, Houdar de la Motte and Danchet, who between them are responsible for *Marthésie* and the other four operas. While these *rondeau* airs conform to the same structural pattern, they exhibit styles which largely arise from the situations in which they are used.

The first type has its roots in Lully's early operas, and echoes the sentiments and style of 'Dépit mortel, transport jaloux', *Thésée*, II 9, Example 46 above. Colasse's *Canente*, I 4 has 'Venez transports cruels' for Ciroé, and a later opera by Campra, *Idoménée*, I 6 includes 'Fureur, je m'abandonne à vous', both in this mould. An example from Destouches, Argine's 'O rage, ô désespoir', *Omphale*, II 5, conveys much of the spirit of the Lully original. It opens with a short orchestral prelude, with bassoons indicated to reinforce the bass line and continuing through the singer's first section. The B section is in the style of the first, minus the bassoons. After the return of the A section, there is the innovation of a condensed version of the original orchestral prelude leading into the C section and return of the *rondeau*, at the close of which a short orchestral section, marked 'vite', concludes the act. This shows Destouches breathing new life into the *rondeau* through the use of the orchestra. The close connection with recitative style is maintained, the B and C sections showing not only the metre changes of recitative but also the shifting tonality. The air is in A major; the B section settles
on E major, but only after passing through D major and A major (in the space of three bars). After the return of the A section and the orchestral interpolation, the C section suggests B minor, then B major through a tierce de Picardie, this chord becoming the dominant of E major onto which it resolves. We are then back into the tonic, A major, at 'Je veux pénétrer dans son coeur', but the music again moves into E major before the return of the A section.

The second category of rondeau accompanied air is serious and reflective rather than angry, and may be compared with 'Terminez mes tourments', Isis, V 1, Example 45 above. The examples from Thétis et Pélée and Marthésie already described are of this type, as is Venus' soliloquy 'Mes yeux' in Campra's Hésione, V 1, a long accompanied recitative unified into a loose rondeau structure by the 'Mes yeux' motif. Clorinde's 'Êtes-vous satisfaits' in another of Campra's operas, Tancrede, IV 7, shows the influence of newer ideas about instrumentation. The prelude and accompaniment mix sections for strings only with others for strings and independent flûtes. The melody here falls clearly into the air category, with stepwise movement predominant and only one bar in a different metre. Tonally, too, the plan is more clear-cut: B minor/ F sharp minor/ B minor/ D major/ B minor. Further rondeau form accompanied airs are: 'Mouvements inconnus', Diomède, IV 2, 'Espoir qui me flattez', Callirhoé, II 1 and 'Aimable espérance', Idoménée, III 6, 5 the last named showing the motto opening and more flamboyant style of the later airs, particularly those of Campra. Here, too, the tonality is quite definite, with a plan of A minor/ C major/ A minor/ E minor (via sequences)/ A minor.

Ternary form airs retain their numerical superiority over the rondeaux, and it is within this form that the most striking developments in the air take place. In the period immediately after Lully's death, the musical style and dramatic content remain very much as they had been in his lifetime. The character involved is usually a main one and the situation serious; like the rondeau, a ternary air often forms part or the whole of a soliloquy scene. Neptune's 'Gédez pour quelque temps', Thétis et Pélée, III 7, is like many of its predecessors, closely related to recitative. Example 61 shows the orchestra beginning to conduct a dialogue with the voice rather than merely supporting it. Charpentier's exquisite air 'Quel prix de mon amour', Médée, III 3, which is accompanied by muted strings, has metrical outer sections with a more recitative-like middle section. The air for Jason 'Trop cruel souvenir' in
Jason, I 1, shows the disparity in length which often exists between the brief A section and the more discursive B section, in the course of which the character analyses his problems.

This type of ternary air, serious in mood and often related to recitative in style, does not disappear, but tends to become less common from around the turn of the century. There are two examples in Marthésie (1699) in which Destouches rather overdoes Lully's technique of using affective intervals in the construction of a memorable opening (Example 62(a) and (b)).
Other composers who retain this form are Marais ('Dieux cruels', Alcione, II 2; '0 mer', Alcione, III 1; 'Suspend pour m'écouter', Semelé, IV 3), Campra ('Mânes de mes aieux', Idoménée, III 2), Stuck ('Espoir viens régner', Mélée, II 3) and Salomon ('Pour ma princesse', Médée et Jason, III 1). The last-named of these, dating from as late as 1713, even reverts to récitatif simple for the middle section.

With ternary form airs, there is an increasing tendency for the third section to be a da capo, indicated as such. These airs often belong to divertissement and prologue characters. While vestiges of older forms remain, new developments in the accompanied air begin to produce results which sound very little like Lully. There is no clear-cut sequence of events, but rather a series of interrelated developments happening concurrently and producing a series of changing attitudes to the handling of the forces involved. From these processes of change emerges a new style, manifested in various forms. It is not possible, as it was when looking at Lully, to pin down the accompanied airs of the first two decades of the eighteenth century and consider them as a single entity, but they illustrate between them the struggle to reconcile the popularity of the new secular forms, the cantata and opera-ballet, with the noble traditions of the tragédie en musique.

There is no room for detailed discussion of the opera-ballet and cantata genres here, and the reader is referred to the studies by James R. Anthony and David Tunley respectively. Briefly, the opera-ballet arrived on the scene with Campra's L'Europe galante in 1697, though Anthony points out Colasse's Ballet des Saisons, 1695, as an important precursor of the new form. In L'Europe galante, tragic heroines, mythological characters and gods are replaced by contemporary characters from real countries, France, Spain, Italy and Turkey. Self-contained plots within each act, related loosely by the theme of love, were preferred to the continuous action of the tragédie en musique. Thus emphasis shifted from the unfolding of the tragédie to the music, singing and dancing, and this freed the composer to some extent from the rigid constraints of the tragédie formula. At the turn of the century, the cantata was an almost exclusively Italian medium, French composers adopting the form during the next decade. Nevertheless, the popular vogue for the Italian cantata with its more ornate vocal style undoubtedly influenced composers, whether they were writing tragédies en musique or, later, their own opera-ballets or cantatas.

The most striking manifestation of the influx of Italian ideas was the inappropriately named ariette, whose diminutive title is belied by
its scope and brilliance. Ariettes represent a much more substantial component of the opera-ballet than of the tragédie en musique: 'A le bien prendre, arrêts les danses, le ballet n'est fait que pour elles [the ariettes]'\(^1\).\(^b\) Certainly, their attractive and decorative nature was eminently suited to the more light-hearted genre, but this did not prevent them from making an impact on the tragédie. Their small numbers in the period up to 1715 and the fact that they are 'relegated to the dramatically impotent divertissement',\(^7\) means that they are, as far as the tragédie is concerned, relatively unimportant in themselves. Their significance lies firstly in what they represent and secondly in their influence on the musical style of the 'home-grown' air.

The Italian da capo aria arrived under the name of air italien or later ariette via the cantata, towards the end of the century. There are several examples in Campra's opera-ballet L'Europe galante, 1697, though the label ariette does not appear in the opera-ballet until Les Fêtes vénitiennes, 1710, and in the tragédie en musique until Télèphe, 1713. The absence of the label is not significant, Italianate airs figuring in prologues and divertissements from the early years of the century. Their novelty lies partly in the attention they focus on the performer and his or her vocal technique, relegating the words to a lowly position, and thus bringing about a relationship between performer, words and music which Lully would not have countenanced. Although the ariette does not encroach directly on the tragédie, it is more than simply a development of the decorative dance airs and petits airs of Lully's divertissements, and traces of its style are to be found in the dramatically more important airs of the tragédie proper.

The setting of Italian words was not a new phenomenon in French music. Lully incorporated several Italian scenes in his early ballets, sometimes in comic vein, like the 'Dialogue between Italian and French Music' in the Ballet de la Raillerie and the 'Coro di Scolari' singing in praise of tobacco in the Ballet de l'Impatience, and sometimes spectacular, like the underworld scene in the Ballet de Psyché. In the comédie-ballets, Lully enjoyed considerable success playing in a comedy scene involving 'médecins crotesques' in Monsieur de Pourcelle, a scene for which he probably wrote the words as well as the music, since it is in Italian. In a more serious vein, the 'plainte italienne', an extended scene of mourning in Psyché survives the reworking into the opera Psyché in 1678. In addition to Italian numbers and scenes in ballets and comédie-ballets, Lully composed Italian airs for the King. Lecerf de la Viéville refers to some of these: 'Non vi è più bel piacer' and 'Scocca pure tutti i tuoi strali',
for example, the latter an 'air fameux d'un do ses divertissements du petit coucher' (Comparaison, II 184). Like many others, such airs occur in numerous collections of airs italiens published by Ballard over several years. Lecerf uses these as an illustration of Lully's good taste in shunning Italianate agréments and roulades, and states that the doubles for airs in Psyché and Le Malade imaginaire (actually Le Carnaval) were composed not by Lully but by his father-in-law, Lambert.

More significantly for the style of air which was later to figure in the early eighteenth century opera, there is an interesting Italian section in the divertissement which concludes the second act of Charpentier's Médée (predating L'Europe galante by some three years). An Italian woman, one of the 'Captifs d'Amour de diverses nations', sings an air 'Chi te me d'amore'. This is a ternary form air, of which the A section is quoted (Example 63). The motto opening, the elaboration of the word 'ha' and the vitality of the rapid rate of chord change, are all featured in much later examples, although the instruments are used here only for two short interpolations. After the B section, which moves via F sharp minor to E major, the opening section is repeated minus the motto opening, leading into an accompanied petit choeur.
This shows that while the development of the air italien and ariette took off from the popularity of the cantata and opera-ballet, it was not a complete novelty. The effects of the Italian order are to be seen in many of the accompanied airs of the early eighteenth century operas, and the combination of 'traditional' and 'modern' features makes this medium perhaps more than any other the most interesting to study from the point of view of departures from Lully's model. The interrelationship of vocal style, use of the orchestra, and form in the accompanied air, make separate discussion of these stylistic features difficult. Many airs demonstrate more than one aspect of these developments, and the discussion of an air under one heading does not mean that it may not equally serve another.

Mention has already been made of a more elaborate and ornamental vocal style in French music and of Lully's attitude to it: 'Lully était l'ennemi des doubles, des passages, des roulements et de toutes ces précieuses gentillesses dont les Italiens sont infatués.' Lecerf, as usual, overstates his case: even the modest selection of items which Prunières appends to L'Opéra italien en France is sufficient to demonstrate that Italian opera heard in France in the middle of the seventeenth century was far from being the endless succession of ornaments satirized in the Ballet de la Raillerie. Although Lully himself championed austerity and a syllabic style, vocal melismas are found in his operas, particularly the early ones: Examples 64(a) and (b) represent many others.

More importantly, ornamentation of the disciplined kind favoured by Lully plays a considerable part in the performance of his vocal lines. Most ornaments are indicated by '⁺', '⁹' or '⁺' above or just before the note or
by a 't' above the note, although a grace note may appear before a note indicating an appoggiatura or port de voix. Ornaments help to pinpoint key words or add a 'sigh' to a cadence, but for Lully at least, ornamentation existed only to serve the drama, not to draw attention to itself. An ornament on the word 'puissance' in the first line of Armide's monologue in Armide, II 5 drew this comment from Rameau:

Le tril fait beauté dans notre musique surtout dans le cas présent, où il ajoute de la force au mot 'puissance' sur lequel porte tout le sens du vers... Armide s'applaudit ici d'avoir Renaud en sa puissance, et pour y exprimer son triomphe, rien n'est mieux imaginé que le tril qu'elle y emploie; tril justement semblable à celui des trompettes dans les chants de victoire.

Quite soon after Lully's death, evidence of some relaxation in his simple syllabic vocal style begins to appear. The three phrases from Enée et Lavinie (1690) quoted as Example 65 (a) (b) and (c) show Colasse making freer use of ornamented lines, in the first two cases in maxim airs, in the third, in an accompanied air heralding the arrival of Venus.

Ex. 65, Enée et Lavinie (a) II 4 (b) III 3 (c) IV 4

La for-tune est tou-jou- ra-lage, Sa hain-e n'est pas sans re-tour.

Les in-can-s. shants, Les in-fi-del-les,

Un nou-veau char-mem-bel-lit la na-tu-re et pa-re l'I-u-ni-vers

It is only at the turn of the century that there is any real development towards the vocal line of the new-style accompanied air. Example 66 from the prologue to Amadis de Grèce (1699) shows Destouches giving a new look to the customary roulades on 'vole'. There is no sign here of the active bass line of the Italian aria; the basse continue rhythm remains obstinately tied to that of the vocal line.
With a full-blown 'air italien avec la symphonie' in Scylla, II 4, dating from 1701 and written by an Italian, Theobaldo di Gatti, the new order can be said to have arrived. Example 67(a) shows the motto opening, echoed by the orchestra; 67(b) is a sample of the highly ornamental vocal line.
Another slightly less exaggerated form of display is shown in Example 68 from the prologue to Lacoste's Philomèle; its style and its assignation to an allegorical figure in the prologue are typical.

The Italian air 'Su la bella navicella' sung by 'une suivante d'Italie' in the prologue to Stuck's Méléagre is a true display piece, written in the style of a gigue and following an equally elaborate instrumental gigue. Examples in this style (not necessarily with Italian words) become more frequent. 'Triomphe Amour' from Bertin's Diomède, V 7; 'Trompettes annoncez la Gloire' from Campra's Idoménée, V 3 and 'Eclatez, trompette bruyante' from Destouches' Callirhoé, Prologue may be taken as typical, both musically and in the sentiments expressed: they are ariettes in all but name. By the time we reach Campra's Téléphé (1713) we are fully into the ariette mould, with 'Que l'Amour vole' in the prologue and 'Mortels, volez à la victoire' in V 6. The vocal lines themselves, the partnership with the instruments and the vigorous basses all proclaim a new order, a line of development which owed virtually nothing to Lully.

The continuing history of the accompanied air is not all tied up with vocal display, however, and there are significant changes in the use of instruments and in the parts written for them. Lully's conception of the
accompaniment was, almost without exception, the normal five-part string ensemble, supporting the vocal line but completely subservient to it, dominated by the phrase structure and rhythm of the voice. Example 69 from Médée, II 1 shows Charpentier beginning to free the instruments from this rhythm to some extent, the opening of the vocal section anticipated rhythmically by the orchestra, which in turn answers the phrase 'ne sont pas légitimes'.

Gradually, composers became less tentative, until fully imitative textures, at least for the opening, became normal, though not obligatory. Example 70 is from Campra's Hippodamie, I 1 beginning at the entry of the voice.

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Ex. 69, Médée, II 1

Ex. 70 Hippodamie, I 1
In two airs from *Amédée de Grèce*, a lively bass line is used to inject some movement into the accompaniment. Example 71 is the opening section of an air in IV 2, in which references to 'flots impétueux' are no doubt felt to justify the motion of the bass line. Interestingly, Destouches incorporates into the air a line which the librettist seems to have intended as an introduction: the air proper begins at the eleventh bar, and the return of the A section begins with this phrase.

Ex. 71, *Amédée de Grèce*, IV 2

In another air, 'Goutez malgré les vents', IV 4, the continuous quavers of the bass line are an elaboration of the soloist's melody. The
quavers in another Destouches air 'Dépit cruel, jalouse rage' from the prologue to Omphale reflect the emotional state of the singer, Juno, and may be compared with Roland’s mad scene, Roland, IV 6 (see Example 26).

The instruments chosen are varied. As well as using a small group, often a trio, which will be dealt with below, composers often add wind instruments to the normal full string accompaniment. Hippodamie’s air 'N'offrez plus à nos yeux', Hippodamie, I 1 - see above, Example 70 - adds an independent part for flûtes when the voice enters after the string prelude. Elsewhere, the scoring is more complex: Marais' Semelé written in the following year has an extended air 'Goûtons ici' in the prologue for a priestess, in which the vocal line is intricately woven with an orchestra which includes at different times trumpets, oboes and flûtes allemandes.

Quite often, a single part for flûte, flûte allemande or oboe forms an obbligato to an air, which may be fully accompanied or else have only a basse continue. This is a fashion which seems to begin around 1700, two fine examples from this year being 'Cédez, cruels' from Colasse's Canente, III 4, and 'Ah, que mon cœur va payer chèrement' from Campra's Hésione, III 2, where, in both cases, the obbligato instrument is a flûte allemande. The prologue to another Campra opera, Hippodamie, has an air 'Amour, fais sur la terre' with an oboe obbligato plus basse continue; 'Ce héros' in the same opera, I 3, has strings with flûte allemande. 'Amour, viens régner' in Arion, I 3 is unusual in that the obbligato instrument is a solo violin.

The air de basse seen in Lully's operas, with an accompaniment of two equal, and probably solo, instrumental parts and the bass voice doubled by the basse continue, continues to appear throughout the period. There is rather more variety in the specification for the upper instrumental parts, woodwind instruments being used more frequently, and quite a high proportion of scores use the plural form of the name of the instrument on each line (e.g. flûtes/flûtes for Mars 'Vous trouverez de doux asiles' in the prologue to Didon). Between the two instrumental parts in the air 'Que d'exploits éclatants' (Amadis de Grèce, Prologue, Scene 2) is printed 'Tous les violons'. It would be hard to ascribe all such indications to careless printing or proof reading, and it is possible that composers wanted a rather more substantial sound.

The instruments required may vary even within the same number: in Achille et Polixène, III 4, for example, Colasse writes an air in two sections, the first of which uses violins, the second flûtes. The air
'Habitant redoutable' in Enée et Lavinie, II 2 asks for 'une flûte allemande et une à bec' on each upper part. It is Colasse yet again who varies his accompaniments in Polixène et Pirrhus, which contains several airs de basse: oboes for Neptune and flutes for Jupiter in the prologue; flûtes allemandes for Pirrhus, I 3; two lines marked 'violon seul', again for Pirrhus, II 2; and flûtes allemandes again for Calchas, V 4. Use of this form and of varied accompaniments is by no means confined to Colasse, however, and it is possible to open almost any score and find an example of the genre. Among later examples might be mentioned 'Que les mortels et les dieux applaudissent' (Callirhoé, III 4), in which Destouches asks for petites flûtes (see p. 226) in the accompaniment (there is an association with Pan in this scene).

The texture of the air de basse remains a simple one, with the vocal rhythm predominant. The type of bass movement noted above in the accompanied air can also occur in the air de basse. The association is usually with strong emotion or with supernatural forces: in Tancredé IV 4 the singer, Ismenor, has just conjured up the suites of Hatred and Vengeance. The quaver bass line here is a decorated version of the vocal part; it is noticeable that the upper parts make no individual contribution (Example 72).

Ex. 72 Tancredé, IV 4
One line of development is the addition of a full string accompaniment to the air de basse, that is, retaining the link between bass voice and basse continu but putting four instrumental parts above it instead of two. For once, it seems that it was Desmarets rather than Colasse who began to exploit the possibilities of the genre, which Lully had used occasionally in his later operas (see above, page 89). In the prologue to Didon there are two such airs for Mars, 'Publions les exploits nouveaux' and 'Qu'on entende le bruit'. The prologue is in the usual bombastic style, with plenty of trumpets about, and perhaps the composer wanted a stronger sound than the normal air de basse could give him in order to balance this. It certainly affords a contrast with the air in the second scene of the prologue in which Mars refers to 'doux asiles'. This is a normal air de basse accompanied by flûtes. The prologue to Desmarets' next opera, Circe, furnishes three examples of the type, and there are more in Théagène et Chariclée, of which 'En vain pour faire aimer mon règne' for 'Le Roy' (Hidaspe) falls into the tragédie rather than the prologue. This is the case in Vénus et Adonis also, where Mars (yet again) plays an important role in the tragédie and has several airs de basse, two of which, in III 4 and V 1, are fully accompanied.

Again, this form is not restricted to one composer, and there are examples by, among others, Colasse (La Naissance de Vénus), Destouches (Marthésie, Amadis de Grèce and Callirhoé) and Lacoste (Bradamante). Campra, as might be expected, manages to inject more life into the form through imaginative use of the orchestra. Isménor's 'Mânes des Rois' in Tancredé, I 4 is an extended piece (68 bars in length). Formally, it is of the serious ternary type described above, in style and in purpose akin to recitative (though with only a single deviation from the duple metre, and that for only one bar). The strings are directed to play 'doux' with the voice and 'fort' in interpolated answering phrases. (This is too long to quote in full, but may be found in the vocal score of the Chefs-d'œuvre series, pp 101-104).

With the exception of the air de basse, the accompanied air for Lully almost invariably involved the full five-part orchestral texture. While they never abandoned this form, his successors increasingly explored instrumental and vocal groupings which set aside this solid, homogeneous sound in favour of a three- or four-part texture involving reduced forces, often lying above the bass register altogether. There are just two precedents in Lully's operas, exemplifying the two lines of development which such airs were to follow. One is Corisande's air 'O fortune cruelle' (Amadis, II 5), indistinguishable from any other air with introductory
ritournelle were it not for the fact that the upper instruments (violins, presumably) continue through the air, lying for the most part just below the voice. The other example is related to the air de basse in that a three-part texture comes about through the use of two equal instrumental parts and a voice doubled by basse continue, but here a voice other than the bass. In Persée, III 2, the voice is a haute-contre, Mercury, with the upper parts each marked 'une flûte et un violon'. Here the intention is presumably to distinguish Mercury's contributions to the scene from those of Méduse, who is accompanied by the full strings.

Colasse uses the first type described above for three accompanied airs for Venus in Enée et Lavinie, IV 5. In each case, the upper parts are both marked 'une flûte allemande'. Example 73 is the opening of the first of the three, showing voice and instruments closely tied, as they had been with Lully.

Ex. 73, Enée et Lavinie, IV 5

However, once the voice is freed from the bass line, it tends to assume the character of the upper instrumental lines, creating a quite different texture from that of the air de basse and opening up a range of expressive possibilities. These aspects of style are well illustrated in the two airs which Charpentier writes for Jason in Médée, I 2 and I 3. In the first (Example 74(a)) we see all four parts participating in imitation on an equal footing. The second (Example 74(b)) relegates the basse continue to being a harmonic support, but to a richly chromatic harmony. This section returns after one in récitatif simple, forming an unusual hybrid of instrumentally and continuo-accompanied constituents.
This type of voice and instrument combination became popular from around the turn of the century, and the variety of layout is considerable. The air 'Faites retentir ce séjour' (Omphale, V 2) has a high overall tessitura, with soprano and flûtes and a continuo part which does not go below middle C and is at times an octave higher than that. In Tancredé III 2, Campra writes a beautiful air for Herminie 'Cessez mes yeux', again in a high register, with an upper instrumental part marked 'flûte allemande' and a lower marked 'violons' (the opening is quoted: Example 75). A ritournelle separating the first two sections adds a third instrumental part below the other two, unlabelled but notated in the clef normally used for the taille or middle string part in the five-part string ensemble. That this may be intended is supported by an air later in the same act (III 4) 'Ce n'est point le printemps', which has two accompanying lines marked 'flûtes' and 'tailles de violons et flûtes.
allemandes'. Yet another in the same scene, 'Règne, Amour' requires flûtes and violons, the flûtes part later dividing.

Ex. 75, Tancrede, III 2

Céphalie's air 'Écoutez de ces eaux' in Rebel's Ulysse, I 5 has an upper part marked 'violons et flûtes' and a lower marked 'violons', in the alto clef. It is left to the instrumental parts to illustrate the rippling water in slurred pairs of quavers, while the vocal part remains comparatively plain.

Lacoste seems to take special care in Bradamante to achieve the effects he wants. Mélanie's air 'Tout parle ici', I 5, has three accompanying instrumental parts, two for flûtes allemandes et à bec and one violons; her air 'Reçois ces armes' (III 4) has one part for flûtes allemandes and one for flûte à bec; 'L'aimable jeunesse' (III 4) for 'un guerrier' (en haute-contre) has three separate parts in the 'French violin clef', all marked 'violons', plus basse continue. The second part of the air 'Mortels, que vous sort-il' from Campra's Hippodamie is a very good illustration of the genre.

The second type of air accompanied by a reduced combination of instruments (identified first in Persée) also exploits combinations of voice and instruments in the middle and upper ranges, with the voice, as mentioned before, doubled by the continuo. Colasse takes up the idea
first. The air 'Suivons tous' for 'un Plaisir' in Enée et Lavinie, IV 5 has two accompanying upper parts each marked 'Une flûte allemande, une flûte douce, un violon', and the basse continue in the alto clef, mostly doubling the haute-contre voice (Example 76).

Ex. 76, Enée et Lavinie, IV 5

The air 'Un roi que le Ciel a fait naître' sung by Peace in the prologue to Jason has upper parts which are presumably violins; the voice and basse continue are in the French violin clef. In Colasse's next opera, La Naissance de Vénus, the idea is taken almost to the point of absurdity. There is scarcely a normal accompanied air in the whole opera, the principal characters all being given airs of this type according to their voices: Vulcan a bass, Mercury and Neptune haute-contre and Juno sopranos—perhaps he felt he had to treat all the gods alike.

Other composers soon adopted the style, again selecting a variety of instruments for the upper parts. In the air 'Rien n'est si charmant' (Méduse, II 1) we have two parts marked 'violons' with an haute-contre voice. Flûtes are specified for two airs in Marthésie, Prologue and I 5 and one in Scylla, II 3. Each upper part in the air 'Fortunés habitants' in the prologue to Polixène et Pirrhus is marked 'flûte allemande' and this is also the case in the air 'Jouissez d'un bonheur durable' in the prologue to Médée et Jason, although here the plural form of the words is used.

The problem of the lowest part, touched on above, is also present in these airs. The air 'Ministres furieux' in Méduse, III 2 has the upper parts marked 'violons' with a voice part in the soprano clef also marked 'les parties du milieu'. The violons part in the air from Ulysse, I 5 cited above is also unfigured. In Manto la Fée, Prologue, an air of this type has the vocal line also marked 'les quintes', and in the prologue to Médée et Jason, the air 'Jouissez d'un bonheur durable' cited above, has the vocal line marked 'violons'. This is only a selection of examples which seem to share this characteristic. Perhaps the composers merely sought to strengthen the bass line, which often lies high.
The new air, then, was likely to look and sound very different from any composed by Lully. For him, the fact of an orchestral accompaniment was normally all that was required to make an air stand out. The declamation of the text was scarcely less important in the air than in the recitative. For subsequent composers, influenced by new ideas from Italy, the focus was increasingly on the singer, resulting in a cultivation of vocal display (which stopped somewhat short of its model's excesses), and on the instruments, resulting in explorations of sonority and texture. All the expressive and colouristic possibilities of the text were exploited, and librettists furnished ample opportunities for this with their many references to birdsong, winds and waves, as well as re-using the old standbys, 'vole', 'chafne', 'tromphe' and the like. The delicate, high-lying airs for female voices and hautes-contres no doubt helped to offset the ever deepening and darkening sounds of the orchestra when dealing with supernatural manifestations and natural catastrophes. Formally, the da capo air italien, later the ariette, developed from the lighter styles of air assigned to prologue or divertissement characters, its influence, however, being felt also in the more serious airs de monologue of the main characters. In this field at least, Lully's successors made significant changes in the tragédie en musique.

iii) Airs with ground bass

The use of a ground bass occurs in several of the categories into which the music and drama are divided for the purposes of this thesis. The large chaconne movements, often continued vocally and chorally, could be considered under orchestral music or divertissement headings; vocal ground bass numbers occur as petits airs or accompanied airs, in soliloquy and dialogue scenes. While significant examples will be referred to under all these headings, the large chaconne movements will be considered in the divertissement section (Chapter Eleven) and solo vocal numbers, whether or not orchestrally accompanied, are dealt with here.

By the time he came to opera, Lully had already had experience in handling the ground bass. The Cavalli lament in Chapter One (Example 1) shows the serious use of the chromatic descending tetrachord which the Italians favoured for such moments. Lully's basses are not usually so strict or so chromatic, but the triple metre and falling line are typical. His instrumental chaconnes appear as early as the Ballet d'Alcide, 1658, and appear regularly in ballets, comédie-ballets and operas from then on. A vocal example is the first air in the third entrée
of the Ballet des Nations which concludes Le Bourgeois gentilhomme. This, the Spanish entrée, is Italianate in style. The structure of the air, which is based on two versions of the ground, Example 77, is as follows:

The use of slightly differing forms of the bass, which may temporarily drop out, is typical of the approach which Lully and his successors adopt. The basses themselves, however, remain stereotyped, the vast majority having the four-bar, triple metre, descending line of the orchestral chaconne.

In the operas, the ground bass does not emerge as the basis for a vocal number until Atys, Lully's fourth opera, but it is possible to find passages both earlier and later than this in which its presence is hinted at. Lully's basses are normally so static and his harmonic language so bland that two passages from Thésée, for example, stand out. The first, Example 78(a) is an instrumental passage in one of the Prologue choruses, 'Mélons au chants de victoire'. Example 78(b) is a short ritournelle which effects a transformation scene in IV 3. Brief chromatic descending bass lines are found also in recitative, but they are not accorded any special prominence.
Where Lully employs the metrical, comparatively strict ground bass, he seems at times almost to conceal its presence. In a dialogue scene in **Atys**, I 3, there is a petit air 'Je me défends' over a ground bass, but its arrival is camouflaged by beginning the bass under the previous exchange (Example 79).

Ex. 79, **Atys**, I 3

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Ex. 78 (a) **Thésée**, Prologue

Ex. 78 (b) **Thésée**, IV 3

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There is a similar link into Mérope's air 'Mon vainqueur' in Persée, I 2.

On the other hand, Sangaride's ground bass air 'Atys est trop heureux' in Atys, I 4 is given more prominence by being prefigured at the beginning of the scene by its opening phrase. Lully's use of the ground bass for structural ends is shown in two dialogue scenes (described more fully in Chapter Ten), the first in Persée, II 5, in which airs over the same bass for the two characters concerned, lead into the moving duet which is the climax of the scene. The second, Roland, III 4 features a ground bass in major and minor versions which comes and goes, also managing to make its presence felt by some triple time chromatic movement in the intervening dialogue.

More individual uses of the ground bass are uncommon, but significant. Roland contains one large chaconne-based divertissement, III 6, but in V 3, it appears that another is about to begin when the usual four-bar pattern begins under Logistille's 'Modérez la tristesse' and short choral and instrumental sections continue the same movement. This is the point at which Roland is turned from the despair which has succeeded his madness of the previous act. Lully seems to be using this quasi-chaconne to establish a feeling of regularity and normality.

The second 'special' example is the air 'Consolez-vous dans vos tourments' in Amadis, III 2, with an unusually active bass (Example 80).
This is totally unlike any other in Lully's operas, and even Lully's champion, LeCerf, is forced to admit that it is 'badin et peu digne de Lully' (Comparaison, I 42). Howard speculates that the bass came from a pre-existing instrumental piece. Its presence remains a mystery, and it had virtually no successors.

The soliloquy 'Il me fuit, l'inconstant' in Phaéton, II 2 is more influential, though its bass line is unusual in being a five bar ascending pattern. A ritournelle over four statements of the bass is succeeded by the air, accompanied only by the basso continuo. At the end of the air, the latter part of the ritournelle is repeated, leading into the continuation of the soliloquy. Although the ground bass drops out here, Lully eases the transition by writing the first four bars (from 'Sur la foi des serments') over an inverted version of the previous bass.

Lully does not seem to have made much conscious effort to cultivate the ground bass, perhaps because of the strong association with the Italian style which he was ostensibly suppressing. With the curious exception of the Amadis example, his basses are in triple time, with strong chaconne connections, and therefore the airs they generate are unlikely to be vehicles for the deeper emotions of his main characters. Most important, perhaps, is the predominance of the melodic line which is at the heart of French operatic vocal music, from which the listener's attention was not to be distracted by an insistent bass or the chromatic harmony that bass might imply.

Lully's successors seem to 'discover' the ground bass in fits and starts. There are four vocal examples in Colasse's Achille et Polixène (1687) and Enée et Lavinie (1690) and seven in Desmarets' Circe (1694), Théagène et Chariclée (1695) and Vénus et Adonis (1697). Destouches writes five in Marthesie (1699) and Omphale (1701), together with a later single example in Callirhoe (1712). Campra's examples are spread, like his composing career, over a wide period, 1700 to 1712. The minor composers use the ground bass infrequently, and there is no sign of any increase in its use over the period in question. Differences in the ground bass airs after Lully's death are largely accounted for by the changes in the solo air already examined.

With a few exceptions, ground bass airs in this period are simple and chaconne-based in style. Many in the dialogue scenes remain, like Lully's, basso continuo accompanied. Enée et Lavinie, I 2 is a dialogue scene which uses the recurring bass freely, on and off. The first air 'Il est vrai', whose bass is quoted (Example 81) shows typical slight
modification to the bass line, the chaconne being conceived more as a chord progression than a rigid bass-dominated structure.

Ex. 81, Enée et Lavinie, I 2

Here, no two statements are identical. With short recitative interpolations, the dialogue proceeds over major and minor versions of the bass, which becomes more ornamented as it goes along. There are three ground bass airs in another dialogue scene, II 4, in the same opera, and other examples in Alcide, I 2, Marthénie, IV 3 and even as late as Idoménée, V 2. In this scene, Campra balances a conventional ground bass air for Ilione 'C'est vous seul' by answering it with Idamante's 'Je vais être élevé' over an ascending bass, possibly suggested by the words.

A scene in Achille et Polixène, the first opera completed after Lully's death, shows another departure for the ground bass air, the addition of the orchestra. It is perhaps another measure of Lully's lack of interest in this medium that he never added an orchestral accompaniment. Colassee is more adventurous. Briseis begins her dialogue scene with Achille, III 5, in ordinary recitative, but at 'Qu'est devenu l'amour' a ground bass begins and the strings enter, contributing a striking dessus line (Example 82).

Ex. 82 Achille et Polixène, III 5
Achille's interjected "hêlas!" is incorporated into the same movement. His own contribution to the dialogue again begins as recitative, but at 'Que ne suis-je' the strings re-enter and the ground bass resumes. In Enée et Lavinie, IV 4, 'on entend une harmonie très douce', and an attractive movement for 'un hautbois et une flûte allemande' and 'un violon et une flûte allemande', later flutes and strings, precedes Enée's reactions and air. The ground bass which underpins the movement is at its most regular when the voice enters, relaxing somewhat in the instrumental sections and dropping out eventually as the instruments round off the scene.

This example is a soliloquy of sorts, although it is the anticipated events of the next scene, the arrival of Venus, which predominate rather than the state of mind of the character on stage. The soliloquy, placed more and more frequently at the beginning of the act, becomes an important form in the post-Lully opera, and several such scenes feature a ground bass. In Circe, III 1, Desmarets begins the soliloquy 'Désirs, transports' with an accompanied air over twenty-seven statements of a ground bass, sixteen in A major, eleven in A minor. The opening of the orchestral prélude is quoted (Example 83).
Théagène et Chariclée, IV 1 and Vénus et Adonis, IV 2 are other examples. The same composer writes a basse continue—accompanied soliloquy in Théagène et Chariclée, V 1, with an unusual ascending five-bar bass in E flat minor, and some freedom in the relationship of the phrase-lengths of voice and bass. Example 84(a) is the beginning of this number; Example 84(b) shows the modification of this idea by an additional '6 dieux' on its final appearance.

Ex. 84 Théagène et Chariclée, V 1

Destouches uses the accompanied air ground bass soliloquy once in his first opera, Marthésie, II 1, but in Omphale, no fewer than three out of the five acts begin with an accompanied soliloquy over a ground bass. The first, 'Calme heureux', I 1, features a decorated version of the standard descending bass from the outset of the prélude (Example 85).

Ex. 85 Omphale, I 1

The influence of the chaconne bass is present throughout the A sections of the ternary form air. Iphîs' 'Quoi! je vis', IV 1, is a succession of three accompanied airs in chaconne style, two in the major, the third in the minor. The most striking of the three soliloquies is the one which opens the third act, Omphale's 'Digne objet'. It has an unusually long ground bass, eight bars, which shuns the triple metre of the chaconne.
Four whole statements of this bass underlie the opening orchestral
ritournelle in which two violins alternate with two flûtes and then 'toutes
les flûtes et violons'; fragments of this punctuate the air, these interpo-
lations usually occupying about half of one statement of the bass, but not
always the same half.

Sometimes, composers attempt to make an effect with the nature of the
base itself, the unusual rhythm of 'Digne objet' being one example. The
ground to the air 'Ahl que le sommeil est charmant' in the sommeil of
Circe, III 3 is carefully notated, not only with the rests, but also with
the added instruction 'il faut couper le son de la note':

\[
\frac{3}{2} - 0 - \frac{3}{2}
\]

This bass alternates between the basse de violon (when the muted strings
are playing) and the three inner string parts playing in unison (when the
flûtes take over). Destouches uses similar rests nearly twenty years
later in 'O nuit, témoin', Callirhoe, I 1, though here in a duple metre.
Both the bass lines, however, are conventional descending tetrachords.

Few composers escape the all-pervading influence of the chaconne in
such numbers. In his one opera, Médée, Charpentier, however, always
regarded as one of the most Italianate composers, shows that he can write
individual and vigorous examples of the form. Both these ground basses
(Example 86(a) and (b)) occur in basse continue airs, and produce a quite
different effect from Lully's basses, with the exception of the Amadis
example discussed above.

Ex. 86(a) Médée, IV II

Ex. 86(b) Médée, IV 2
One example from a later opera, the bass to the air 'Démon soumis' in Rebel's *Ulysse*, IV 2, is worth quoting in this context (the time signature is as printed in the Ballard score of 1703) (Example 87).

Ground bass airs, accompanied or otherwise, remain a small fraction of the solo vocal music in the tragédie en musique of the whole period, while the orchestral and choral chaconne and passacaille flourish. Although in the hands of Destouches in particular the possibilities of developing the form by means of an orchestral accompaniment and a loosening of the four-bar rhythmical straitjacket of voice and bass are hinted at, French composers at this time lacked the imagination of, say, Purcell in creating a form which could be rhythmically alive or profoundly moving, or both.
NOTES

1 'The Operas of J.-B. Lully', p.190. The unwitting source of the confusion seems to be Manfred Bukofzer, who in Music in the Baroque Era (London, 1948) includes the following: 'Lully was partial to arias with doubled continuo which gave a curious lopsided effect because the bass voice served here in two functions: as melody and as support of the instrumental accompaniment' (p.158). In 'The Opera-Ballets of André Campra', p.145, Anthony misquotes this slightly to fashion the title 'double continuo air'.

2 Lecerf, Comparaison, I 121.

3 French Opera, p.155.


5 'The Opera-Ballets of André Campra'; The Eighteenth Century French Cantata (London, 1974).

6 Rémont de Saint-Mard, Réflexions, p.85.


8 See Maurice Barthélemy, André Campra, sa vie et son oeuvre (1660-1744) (Paris, 1957) pp.88-93. 'Scocca pure tutti' illustrates the dissemination of Lully's popular numbers: referred to by Lecerf (II 184), it appears (with the title variously spelt) in such collections as the Recueil des meilleurs airs italiens, II (1699-1701) published by Ballard, and in arrangements of various kinds in manuscripts in GB L (Add.19759, 22100, 33234 and 33235). The last number in a group of 'Trio [sic] de Mf. de Lully' in a Recueil des Ballets et simphonies de Mf. de Lully (F Fm Vm⁶ 4), in which the numbers are identified by dance types or by the opening words of the vocal number from which they are arranged, is entitled 'Ritournelle de Scoccapur'.

9 Comparaison, II 183.

10 Observations, p.70.

11 Campra, Operatic Airs, pp.49-60.


13 The numbering of the scenes in the Ballard scores is badly out at this point.

14 A g clef on the first line (Harvard Dictionary of Music).

15 Campra, Operatic Airs, pp. 19-21.

16 'The Operas of J.-B.Lully', p. 194.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE ENSEMBLE

1) Lully

Ensembles play a considerable role in Lully's conception of the tragédie en musique. In the prologue or divertissement they are decorative, bridging the gap between solo and choral or solo and orchestral textures. In dialogue scenes, they arise naturally from the debates, quarrels and reconciliations of principal and secondary characters, and are on occasion developed into longer set-pieces to balance the more serious forms of air and recitative. The use of an ensemble to round off a scene or a group of scenes is both musically and dramatically satisfying.

In the prologue and divertissement, the role of ensemble does not vary significantly. Within the tragédie itself, the short, spontaneous ensembles prevail in Lully's earlier operas; comments on events, maxims and incidental phrases within dialogue are plentiful. Lully's fourth opera, Atys, demonstrates the integration of these short ensembles with longer and more idiomatic examples. In III 2 and IV 1 the confidants, Doris and Idas, have a dialogue scene with Atys and Sangaride respectively. In each case, the pair of confidants speak in tandem virtually throughout, questioning and commenting in recitative, making generalised pronouncements in metrical duets and finally joining the main character for a trio. A trio of voices is prominently featured in the sommeil, III 4. The love scene between Atys and Sangaride, IV 4, has a backbone of duets, from a single line to a more formal conclusion.

The use of ensemble as a structural device is very pronounced in the operas from Atys to Persée. The opening of Atys is a cumulative structure adding voice to voice until the quartet is reached, building towards the climax later in the act, of the arrival of Cybele. There is a section within Proserpine, IV 3, unfortunately almost completely omitted from the Chefs d'oeuvre edition, which shows a similar build-up on a smaller scale. Three secondary characters, Alphée, Aréthuse and Asclaphe, are attempting to convince Proserpine that Pluto is not such an ogre after all. After some recitative dialogue, Aréthuse begins with an air 'Rien n'est impossible À l'amour constant'. Alphée has a short air after which the two sing 'Rien n'est impossible' as a duet. Finally,
Aeclaphc has a solo contribution, after which all three return to 'Rien n'est impossible' as a trio. In Persée, IV 4, the whole scene is unified by three statements of a short duet. Cassiope and Céphée, the parents of Andromède, are pleading for her life. Between the statements of the duet, each parent has a solo récit; the effect is of a rondeau structure. In these cases, where the placing of ensemble sections has such an effect on the musical structure, one is tempted to wonder how much of the idea came from Quinault and how much Lully reshaped the libretto to his own ends.

While ensembles of all the kinds described still figure in Lully's later operas, he seems to put greater emphasis on the musical aspects of the ensemble form. There are fewer short incidental duets and more self-contained numbers. Out of the later operas, Amadis is particularly rich in duets, having, with the inclusion of the sorcerers Arcalaus and Arcabonne, three distinct pairs of characters. The relationship of Corisande and Florestan, the secondary pair of lovers, is refreshingly free of the usual quarrels, and their petit air dialogues and ensembles emphasize their unity. Arcalaus and Arcabonne have duets of great vigour, on which many later composers modelled examples. So fond of the duet form is Lully becoming that he has Corisande and Amadis singing a fine example before they have even recognized each other (II 5). Clearly, the appeal of such words as 'hélâs!' and 'soupirs' was irresistible.

Although the duet holds its own in the later operas, with the proviso mentioned above, the trio goes into a decline. After Persée, which is stuffed with trios (as indeed it is with duets), there are suddenly none at all in the next opera Phaéton, not even in the prologue or divertissements. Amadis manages a short dance trio, a recitative phrase, two sections in the vocal and choral chaconne and a maxim, but Roland has only a single admittedly excellent example, brought about by adding two suivants solely for the purpose, and Lully's last opera, Armide, has no trios at all. Quite why this should have come about is difficult to tell; the trio was by no means finished, as the operas after Lully testify. Of course, the move from mythological to chivalric subjects for the last three operas rules out obvious combinations like the Fates, and maybe Lully simply felt that combining his main characters in trios which were at least partly imitative, was interfering with the all-important words and bordering on the 'savant' or Italianate.
a) Duets

The texture of the typical Lully duet is simple, usually note-against-note, sometimes with an opening or midway point of imitation reverting immediately to the note-against-note style. Parallel thirds and sixths prevail when voices other than the bass are involved: Example 88 is the duet for tritons (hautes-contre) from Alceste, I 7.

Example 88, Alceste, I 7

Where a bass voice is involved, it is normally tied to the basse continue. Example 89 is from Cadmus et Hermione, II 1.

Example 89, Cadmus et Hermione, II 1

Example 90, from Psyché, II 6, demonstrates typical pseudo-imitation.

Example 90, Psyché, II 6

Although the result of this method of construction is to make large numbers of duets sound uniformly routine (at a slow tempo) or inconsequential (at a faster speed) Lully can occasionally inject sufficient musical interest into this basic formula to produce a more powerful
effect. In Bellerophon, II 2 (Example 91) a slight relaxation of the
tight bond between the voices in a very long duet emphasizes the words
'Je vous aime'.

Elsewhere, it is the reuniting of the voices after a brief point of
imitation which is calculated to make its effect. In Persée, IV 2,
Persée's rejected lover, Mérope, and his rival, Phinée, join forces to
express their distress. The imitation of 'D'une plainte commune' is
followed by a note-against-note 'Déplorons nos communs malheurs'—this
sequence is immediately repeated, before a syllabic final section.
Example 92 is from Proserpine, III 2, in which the voices split to sing
different words, then exchange, and unite for the cadence 'Ne nous
quittons jamais'. Another brief imitative section allows Lully to repeat
this effect, reiterating the sentiments to conclude the scene.
Alongside the large body of duets in the simple style described are found a number of more individual examples featuring decorative or imitative textures. Some of these arise from the expected roulades on such words as 'volez' and 'courez'. As Mérope and Phinée comment on the storm in Persée, IV 2, their simultaneous roulades on 'soulevant' pick up the quaver movement of the instrumental bass. The voices in Alceste, V 2 (Example 93) are rather more independent; Lychas has just freed his prisoner, Stratton, from the chains in which he has been held since the siege in the second act.

Certain words demand a held note rather than a roulade; in the duet 'C'est à lui d'enseigner' in the prologue to Amadis, the word is 'régner', placed carefully in each voice in turn. The duet for Lybie and Epaphos
in Phaéton, V 3 combines both conventions rather neatly (Example 94).

Although imitative duets occasionally figure in the light-hearted context of the prologue or divertissement, Lully more often uses them in the tragédie, where they help to define the relationship between characters. Serious duets underline moments of particular joy or distress; more vigorous ones usually mean a quarrel or a desire for revenge.

The serious type of duet, as lovers make vows or bid farewell, usually contains at least one imitative passage, helping to convey the urgency of what is being said. The duet for Alphée and Aréthuse quoted above (Example 92) is of this kind. Example 95 is the middle section of an extended duet for Persée and Andromède, preceding Persée's departure on his mission to kill Méduse (Persée, II 6).
Example 96 is the closing duet of a long scene between Oriane and Amadis, Amadis V 2, a happy reunion. Although the voices have an independent life, the pull of the note-against-note parallel movement of the simple duet is strong, and the voices revert to it briefly at points throughout the music.

Several opportunities for duets, usually but not necessarily imitative, arise from the device used by Quinault and later librettists of having characters state opposing points of view in similar language. In Roland, I 5, Temire, a confidant, maintains that separation can be a comfort to those who are fleeing from unhappy love; Angélique, who has just sent Médor away, disagrees:
Le secours de l'absence

Est un (puissant secours.

The effect is put to good use in a less serious context in Thésée, III 5. Dorine, confidant of Médée, has been discarded by Arcas in favour of Cleone. Threatened by the horrors summoned by Médée, Arcas and Cleone implore Dorine to help them, flattering her with references to her beauty and each vehemently denying the other. A duet in Persée, I 4 deftly combines Phinée's accusations of infidelity and Andromède's protestations of sincerity:

A Croyez-moi, cessez de craindre
P (Je veux vous aimer, je le dois.
A (Vous ne m'aimez pas, je le vois.

In Phaéton, III 3, Epaphos and Phaéton vaunt the claims of their fathers, Jupiter and the Sun respectively, to supreme power; the imitative texture emphasizes their rivalry. Perhaps the most moving duet of opposites occurs between Proserpine and Pluto in Proserpine, IV 4 (Example 97). Circumstances have decreed that the two characters on stage are separated emotionally. Pluto has fallen in love with his captive, Proserpine, but she is too distressed by her separation from her mother to return his affection. The duet is preceded by an extended exchange of balanced recitative phrases, for example

PROSERPINE
Voulez-vous me causer d'éternelles alarmes?

PLUTO
Voulez-vous me causer d'éternels déplaisirs?

PROSERPINE
Laissez moi suivre en paix mes innocents désirs.

PLUTO
Laissez moi la douceur de voir toujours vos charmes.

These become more metrical, with the voices eventually coming together (this is where the quotation begins). The underlying feeling of the note-against-note style is absent in this duet, the voices remaining almost entirely independent until a somewhat abrupt final cadence.
A particularly lively group of imitative duets is associated with evil or supernatural characters. Something approaching this style can be seen in *Atys*, V 2, in a duet between Cybèle and Cелоенус urging revenge. The two surviving Gorgons thrash about vigorously as monsters spring up after the killing of Méduse in *Persée*, III 4. Lully realizes the potential of this style most fully in the characterization of the brother and sister enchanters Arcalauς and Arcabonne in *Amadis*. After Arcabonne confesses that she has fallen in love, it is up to Arcalauς to combat this weakness and remind his sister of the need for revenge on Amadis. His success is demonstrated when she joins him in the duet 'Irritons notre barbarie', II 2, in which the independence of the voices contributes to the energy of the pair. Lively duet interpolations in 3/8 time in IV 5 contrast with the lifeless phrases sung in the following scene when the pair are overcome by a touch from Urgande’s magic wand.
Restored to their former powers, they have a last evil fling with the duet 'Démon soumis', of which the opening of the orchestral prelude and of the duet itself are quoted (Example 98). The addition of the extended prelude and the opportunity for plenty of stage action seems to give this duet the status of a self-contained 'number', rarely vouchsafed to it. The fast imitative style reappears in Lully's last opera, Armide, characterizing Armide and Hidraut in 'Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas', I 4, and 'Esprits de haine', II 2.

Ex. 98 (a) Amadis, IV 6

Ex. 98 (b)
The vast majority of Lully's duets are accompanied by the barre continue only, but the orchestra does begin to be involved in the ensemble at about the same time as it does with the solo voice. A particularly attractive divertissement in Bellérophon, IV 3-4 combines instrumental, duet and dialogue sections. The openings of the instrumental movement and of the first statement of the duet are quoted (Example 99(a) and (b)).

The inclusion of the orchestra in the reunion of the lovers in Bellérophon, V 3 underlines the happy outcome of the story and serves as a link into the public celebrations which conclude the opera. There is a dialogue between voices and instruments, of a type noted in some solo passages (Example 100).
Instrumental and duet sections are closely dovetailed in *Persée*, III 4, the Gorgons' duet referred to above, in which orchestral interpolations keep up the excitement of the preceding 'entrée des fantômes'. Sometimes it falls to two people to provide a commentary on a dramatic event, such as the storm in *Persée*, IV 2 referred to above. The fourth act of *Armide* opens with a scene in which two new characters, Ubalde and the Chevalier Danois, describe scenes of horror evoked by the orchestra in energetic semiquavers, which surge again between duet sections.

The fully accompanied duet is rarely found. An exception is an example in *Amadis*, whose prologue opens with a long instrumental movement upon which are superimposed a duet 'Ah, j'entends un bruit' and a choral version of part of that duet. It is the orchestra which predominates here, creating an atmosphere with smooth crotchet movement reminiscent of, for example, the sommeil in *Atys*, even if the words here relate to waking up! The duet 'Esprits de haine', *Armide*, II 2, is the only other accompanied duet in Lully's operas.

In their function within the *tragédie en musique*, duets represent the various roles which a pair of voices or characters can fulfil. The first uses them as adjuncts to the chorus, dramatically as chorus leaders, musically as a link with or contrast to the massed weight of the chorus. The two may be anonymous *coryphées* (*Thésée*, Prologue), allegorical figures such as Peace and Victory (*Proserpine*, Prologue), secondary characters (*Alceste*, III 3) or on occasion main characters, like Atys and Sangaride (*Atys*, I 7). Usually the chorus is punctuated with duet sections, but sometimes a longer duet is succeeded by an unbroken chorus. *Proserpine* and Pluto's duet 'En faveur d'une ombre si belle' in *Alceste*, IV 3 is followed by a choral version of the same
music, with the voices arranged two and two in the imitative second section.

A second category of duets associates duet and dance, with duets related to instrumental dances. Sometimes, the duet is a vocal version of a previous instrumental number, like the duet for Tritons in Isis, Prologue, or is related to it in style without repeating its melodic line, like 'Vivez en paix' in Roland, IV 3. A particularly attractive example is 'Que nos prairies' in Thésée, IV 7, a duet version of a rondeau for flûtes, which leads directly into another, 'Aimons, aimons', the two forming an extended movement. Dance duets and duets associated with the chorus are most often found in the prologue or divertissements.

Duets in a third category assume the role of recitative, interjecting anything from a single 'O Ciel!' in Roland, IV 5 to a sustained dialogue with a third party. Some short recitative passages arise incidentally in dialogue scenes, Epaphos and Lybie coming together for 'O sort trop malheureux d'amour si fidèle!' and 'Faut-il que le devoir barbare Pour jamais nous sépare?' in their long scene, Phaéton, II 4. When Ceres enquires who has dared to abduct her daughter (Proserpine, III 5), two nymphs answer her in tandem. The news that Armide's prisoners have been freed is greeted by Armide and Hidraot simultaneously (Armide, I 4, Example 101).

In the last category, the duet replaces the petit air in function. Two people can, after all, pronounce a maxim as easily as one: 'Le moindre artifice offence l'amour' (Isis, II 4) is typical. Many of these duets are just like airs with an added part (see Examples 88 and 89 above). Others are, as we have seen, more extended or develop a more idiomatic style. Like recitative duets, duets of the air type usually relate to the action, and hence are most likely to fall into the tragédie.
b) Trios

Like duets, trios are dispersed through all the constituent parts of the tragédie en musique, though in much smaller numbers. They are not confined to characters of one type or status, this being dependent on the placing of the trio: a divertissement or prologue trio is likely to consist of allegorical figures or anonymous sailors, shepherds and so on, while a trio in the tragédie itself will comprise main or secondary characters or a mixture of both.

Most trios are, like their duet counterparts, simple in style and related to the dance air or petit air. The trio 'Gardons-nous bien d'avoir envie D'être jamais amoureux' between Arbas, a comic character, and two princes in Cadmus et Hermione, III 1, is typical both in its note-against-note style and the triviality of the sentiments expressed. The combination of this simple style and rather more solemn circumstances can yield very four-square results. Example 102, Proserpine, IV 3, is an attempt by three secondary characters to persuade Proserpine that she may come to like the underworld.

The end-product is not necessarily so stodgy, however. In Alceste, III 1 Céphise, Alceste and Phèdre deplore the fact that nobody has come forward to save the life of Admète. Example 103 begins at the fifth bar of their trio.
Following this, Céphise and Phérès make their excuses and Alceste realizes that only her love can save her husband, and the simple but affecting trio is repeated to close the scene. The trio for secondary characters which introduces mourning for Psyché's expected fate (Psyché, I 2) is in a similar style. In the second half of the trio, a slight relaxation in the texture briefly sets one voice, the bass, against the two others. The combination of this device and more interesting harmony underlines the solemnity of this prayer by Cassiopée, Mérope and Céphée in Persée, I 1 (Example 104).
Variety in the texture is usually brought about by a more extended use of the device of setting one voice against the other two, often for a middle or closing section of a trio. An example is the brief dialogue 'Rien ne plait' 'Rien n'enchante' and point of imitation at 'Rien ne contente' in the middle of the trio 'Il n'est point de grandeur' in Thésée, III 2. 'Le fils de Jupiter' from Persée, II 3 manages to use, albeit briefly, all three possible pairings of voices. While in the above example the voice pairings change freely, in 'Pour être heureux' (Prosépine, II 5) Lully chooses the texture to reflect the sympathies of the characters: Aréthuse has chosen Alphée and rejected Asclépie. This is a rare example of a dispute within a trio:

Aré, Al. Pour être heureux il faut (qu'on aime bien
Asc. (qu'on n'aime rien

In a few examples, the part-writing is conceived more freely. Example 105 is the conclusion of a scene between comic characters, Thésée, III 5; the music figures earlier in the scene in a duet version.

Ex. 105, Thésée, III 5

The context of the imitative trio is more often, however, a serious one. In Roland, II 1 'un suivant et une suivante d'Angélique' step out of the crowd to join Temire, her confidant, in an unusually extended trio. The words are a typical maxim on the pains of love, but their handling is
anything but typical. The first two lines are set mostly note-against-
note in a duple metre. The second section, whose opening is quoted
(Example 106) is in triple time, using the effect of displacing the
natural accent by 'Ah!', found also in recitative. A third section,
introduced by a solo voice, returns to the style of the opening. To
conclude, the first two sections are repeated.

Ex. 106 Roland, II

TEMIRE
Ah! — ah! — quel tourment, quel tourment d'aimer, Ah!

UNE SUIVANTE
Ah! — quel tourment d'aimer, Ah! ah! quel tourment, quel tourment d'aimer, Ah!

UN SUIVANT (with be?) Ah! ah! quel tourment d'aimer! Ah! ah! quel tourment d'aimer! Ah!

Perhaps the finest of all Lully's ensembles is the trio which forms part
of the sommeil in Atys, III 4. After the opening phrase, the voices
come together only once, at a climactic point about two-thirds of the
way through, after which there is a gradual fall to the cadence. Example
107(a) is the opening, Example 107(b) is from bar 26 to the end.

Ex. 107 Atys, III 4 (a)

Méphée Dor-mons, dor-mons tous, ah! — Que le re-pos — est doux! que le re-pos

PHANTASIE Dor-mons, dor-mons — dor-mons tous ah! — que le re-pos que le re-pos est doux

PHOBÉTE Dor-mons — — tous ah! — que le re-pos est doux

Que le re-pos, que le re-pos Ah! que le re-pos ah! — que le re-

Dor-mons dor-mons, dor-mons — — tous Ah! que le re-pos est
The functions of the trio within the opera correspond to those of the duet. Lully does not often use the trio of soloists within a chorus structure, probably because the juxtaposition of grand and petit choeur gives him a ready-made three-part texture contrasting with the massed forces of the full chorus. In the prologue to Persée, however, Fortune, Virtue and "une suivante" replace the petit choeur in interjecting phrases into the chorus 'Les dieux ne l'ont donné', but their contribution is minimal. In the tragédie itself, however, the roles are reversed, Idas and two Ethiopians leading the way in deploring the plight of Andromède, IV 3, the chorus entering in support. In V 8, the prayers of Andromède, Cassiope and Céphée are thrown into relief against Phinée's warring chorus (Example 108).

Dance-related trios, too, are somewhat less common than their duet counterparts. A trio in Cadmus et Hermione, I 4, 'Suivons, suivons, l'Amour', forms a rondeau section within a vocal and choral chaconne, and there are trio sections within another chaconne movement in Amadis, V 5. The use of three-part recitative is confined to the odd exclamation.
Example 109(a), from Thésée III 4, is a confused babble as the three characters react to the transformation of the scene to a 'désert épouvantable', while Example 109(b) from Persée, II 2 is a single gasp of horror.
By far the largest number of trios replace the air in function; most of the examples cited in the earlier part of this section fall into this category. Some are maxims, but the best trios deal in more serious sentiments. They are used much less frequently than duets to serve action or characterization, but there are two instances in Alceste in which a trio initiates action: the first, II 7, as Céphise, Alceste and Phèrès say 'Cherchons Admete promptement' after the siege, the second, III 7, which urges on Alcide with 'Allez, allez ne tardez pas'.

The trio really comes into its own for characters not enjoying a single existence: the Fates (Isis, IV 7), the Furies (Psyché, IV 2-3 and Proserpine, V 1) and the Gorgons (Persée III, 1-2). The Fates are introduced by a ritournelle from which a twisting motif is taken and used to illustrate the thread of human life controlled by the Fates. Example 110(a) is the opening of the ritournelle, Example 110(b) begins in the tenth bar of the trio.

Ex. 110, Isis, IV 7 (a)
The Fates take an active part in the scene later on, uniting firmly to advise Io to appease Juno, and warning 'C'est l'arrêt du Destin, Il est irrévocable'. The Furies in Psyché, IV 2 are less helpful, confronting Psyché with 'Où portes-tu tes pas, Téméraire mortelle?' and telling her to expect no pity from the underworld. The trio is sung three times in all, with recitative passages for Psyché in between. The scene concludes with a more lively $\frac{3}{8}$ trio. In the following scene, the Furies call on the nymphs of Acheron; the second part of this trio, too, is in $\frac{3}{8}$.

The most interesting and evil threesome are undoubtedly the Gorgons, who dominate the third act of Persée. Their grotesque nature is emphasized by their being cast as haute-contre, tenor (Méduse) and bass. They differ from the other special groups in that one of their number, Méduse, has a considerable individual part to play, and her surviving sisters continue to defy her killer, Persée, until finally overcome by Mercury. We are introduced to the Gorgons by an accompanied monologue in which Méduse describes the circumstances which have brought her to this terrible state. Two vigorous trio sections celebrate the havoc the three love to cause. Mercury's arrival is preceded by an instrumental movement for 'deux flûtes douces et deux violons' upon which the Gorgons' comments are superimposed. Example III(a) is the opening of the ritournelle; III(b) the Gorgons' reaction.
There is another long trio in the following scene, III 2, during which the Gorgons defy the power of Mercury to overcome them with sleep. The middle section has some measure of independence for the voices, but the closing passage has them chanting syllabically (Example 112). A change to triple time and to Mercury's key, D minor, however, marks their surrender.

c) Quartets

Lully writes quartets only rarely; when he does, he builds up gradually to the full four parts, adding to the texture voice by voice. As the great scene of prayer to Minerva is unfolded against the background of a combat (Thésée, I 6-7), the sentiments expressed by the Priestess are seconded by Eglé and Cléone. There is another interruption as the combat resumes, after which the build up begins, the Priestess first alone, then Eglé and Cléone, then all three together (Example 113). With the arrival on the scene of Egée to announce victory, the trio becomes a quartet for the single phrase, subsequently repeated, 'Rendons grâce aux Dieux'.
The arrival of Urgande in Amadis, V 3 begins another such chain of events. First, the lovers Oriane and Amadis thank her for her assistance, then they join Corisande to persuade Florestan not to undertake the mission of courage which only Amadis can perform, and finally Urgande, Oriane, Corisande and Florestan unite as Amadis departs. "Un choeur de personnes invisibles" repeat their words.

The most systematic and large-scale build-up of this kind is that which occurs at the beginning of Atys. The expectation of the arrival of the goddess Cybele is constructed into a formal scheme in which the words

*Allons, allons, accourez tous,*
*Cybèle va descendre,*

unify the first three scenes of the opera. In the first scene, Atys is alone on stage; he is joined by his friend and confidant Idas in scene 2, their scene opening with a duet version of Atys' opening air.

Sangaride and her confidant, Doris, open scene 3 with their own duet version of this, and finally all four voices join together, stiffly at first, then more freely as the 'accourez' motif is taken up (Example 114).
The only quartet which comes into the divertissement rather than the tragédie is that for a napée, a dryade and two dieux des bois in Bellerophon, IV 4. The quartet, which follows on the scene quoted above (Example 99) is preceded by exchanges between the upper and lower pair of voices deploiring the ravages of the monster. Taking their cue from the words 'Joignons nos soupirs et nos larmes' they have three quartet sections separated by flûtes. This scene is interesting for its sustained use of ensemble and the inclusion of the orchestra, even though the quartet's music itself is rather pedestrian.

ii) Composers after Lully

The ensemble remains a significant element in the post-Lully era and one of French opera's distinctive characteristics. While ensembles figure in the work of all subsequent librettists and composers, there seems to be a slight decrease in the proportion of ensemble in the tragédie. Using the method of counting lines of text referred to in
Chapter Three, a survey of an unselected group of nine operas by Lully shows an average of eight per cent of the livret allocated to ensembles, while a group of nine operas by later composers over the period 1687 to 1712 yields a figure of just under five per cent. Individual totals in Lully operas range from five per cent (Bellérophon, Phaéton) to fourteen per cent (Amadis, whose line-up of characters includes three stable pairings); the later operas vary from two per cent (Alcide, Idoménée) to eight per cent (Thétis et Félée, Hésione). The number of librettists and composers makes identifying trends in the post-Lully operas difficult, and there is a danger of reading too much into an overall difference of three per cent, using a method which does not take into account the quantity of music these lines of text generate. However, a lessening of interest in the ensemble in at least some of the post-Lully generation is suggested.

The types of ensemble remain similar to those of Lully. In some operas, there is a return to the short, incidental duets which he used most frequently in his early operas, but generally speaking, it is the ‘set-pieces’ which make the most impression, now frequently reinforced by the use of an orchestral accompaniment. The characters involved are more likely to be spectacular or threatening, following Arcalaus and Arcabonne in Amadis or the Gorgons in Persée, a trend which is also to be found in the use of the chorus (see Chapter Twelve). This does not, however, preclude the dance duet in a divertissement, the use of chorus leaders or the duet of parting lovers, types which are part of the stock-in-trade of any librettist or composer.

a) Duets

It is possible to find throughout the period under review duets which could be mistaken for those of Lully, sung by similar characters and reproducing their words and situations. A few examples will suffice to show these similarities. Compare this duet for tritons in Jason, II 8 (Example 115) with the one from Lully’s Alceste quoted above (Example 88). The choice of voices, the words and even the melody must surely have recalled the earlier model: no wonder Colasse was often accused of plagiarism.

Ex. 115, Jason, II 8
This simple parallel movement remains the norm for voice pairings not involving a bass, particularly in the dance duets of the prologue and divertissement and in the more light-hearted moments of the *tragédie* itself. Where the bass voice is involved, it is as before doubled by the instrumental bass. Many such duets feature the token point of imitation at the beginning or in the middle favoured by Lully. Example 116 is taken from *Amadis de Grèce*, V.2, starting at bar 11 after a note-against-note opening.

Ex. 116, *Amadis de Grèce*, V.2

Other devices for breaking the monotony of texture are also borrowed from earlier sources. Decorative roulades retain their popularity, for example for 'enchaîné' in *Achille et Polixène*, IV 5, a rare instance of imitation within a chaconne movement. Right at the other end of the period, 'Qu'il jouisse, à son gré' in the prologue to *Théonè* combines roulades on 'régner' with held notes on 'longtemps'. Destouches varies
the texture of 'Répétez cent fois', Omphale, V 3, Example 117, by the
use of the word 'Ah' entering on an unaccented beat in alternating
voices.

Ex. 117, Omphale, V 3

Duets in which the texture is less perfunctorily imitative occur,
as with Lully, primarily when the characters concerned are expressing
sorrow, tension or anger. This excerpt from Colasse's Jason, I 2, where
the characters are on the point of separation, is typical (Example 118).

Ex. 118, Jason, I 2
The note-against-note conclusion of an otherwise imitative duet tends to give emphasis to the closing words, a device used in several duets in Charpentier's Médée; Example 119 is taken from II 5.

Solo phrases occur rather more frequently within the duet than they had with Lully: the duet 'Dieux crusels' in Callirhoë, II 2 includes both imitative and solo writing, concluding note-against-note. Longer scenes containing more than one duet enable the composer to make a dramatic point over a longer time-scale. In Thétis et Péleé, I 6, Thétis and Péleé are threatened with separation because of Jupiter's amorous intentions towards Thétis. Their first duet 'Faut-il que tout s'unisse Contre de si beaux feux?' is imitative, expressing distress, but their second, 'Aimons, aimons' is more positive and defiant, and is
appropriately note-against-note in style. In Leostle's Bradamante, II 6, the situation is somewhat unusual in that Bradamante is expressing her intention of fighting the Prince de Grèce in order to be able to marry Roger; Roger himself is urging her not to risk death. Their duet uses the device of having them express themselves in similar language with opposite meanings, but here for once not in the spirit of a quarrel. The duet is imitative almost throughout: Example 120 begins some two-thirds of the way through.

Not all imitative duets are so serious, however. The climax of Marais' Semele is the revelation of Jupiter in his true nature, as a god. The last act builds up gradually to this, the people congregate, and Cadmus and Semele sing an extended imitative duet 'Descendez, Dieu puissant' (Example 121) helping to generate more excitement towards the climax.

It is in the type of fast imitative duet noted in two of Lully's last operas, Amadis and Armide, that his successors make their major
A pair of magicians, Arsace and Méroébe, in Desmarets' Théagône et Chariclée (1695) seem to pave the way, even though it is only the final section of their duet 'De nos fureurs suivons la violence' (III 1) which is imitative (Example 122).

The associations of both magic and the desire for revenge recall the original Arcalaus and Arcabonne duets in Amadis. Two operas produced in 1697 illustrate the two sets of circumstances in which these duets are chiefly used. In Méduse, IV 5, Neptune and Méduse express opposite feelings, Méduse of hatred, Neptune of love. The words of Mars and Cydipe in Desmarets' Vénus et Adonis, III 6 are paraphrased or quoted in nearly all subsequent duets of this type:

Courons à la vengeance,
Unissons-nous dans nos transports,
Vengeons par de communs efforts
Notre amour qu'on offense.

The next three examples of this type of duet all involve a god or gods as participants: Mars and Talestris in Karthésie, III 6, Le Tibre and Circe in Canente, II 6 (see Example 124 below), and Venus and Neptune in Hésione, IV 4 (see Example 136 below), all produced within little
more than twelve months of one another in 1699-1700.

There is something of a decline in the role of the gods in the tragédie en musique around this time, and they are not often found expressing the strong sentiments of the revenge duet. The characters involved in subsequent examples are much more likely to be connected with sorcery and magic, like Arcalaus and Arcabonne from Lully's Amedis, revived at the Académie in May, 1701. In Destouches' Omphale III 6, the sorceress Argine joins one of the main characters, Alcide in a duet in which they express their anger at each other, rather than uniting for revenge on a third party. Example 123(a) shows the unusual way in which Argine breaks in over the end of the preceding recitative. The voices eventually slip into note-against-note movement, but manage to maintain the momentum of the opening (Example 123(b)).

Ex. 123, Omphale, III 6

Magicians or gods continue to be involved in lively duets throughout the remainder of the period under discussion: Circe and Uricals in Ulysse, II 4, Athlant and Alcine in Alcine, II 4 and IV 5, Adraste end Juno in Semelé, III 2 and Adraste and Calypso in Télémaque, III 3 being representative of the type. A number of the duets, however, involve main characters without divine or magical associations. Strength is given to the character portrayals of Clitemnestre and Egiste in Cassandre, II 6 by the vigour with which they express themselves as
ready to kill anyone standing in the way of their licison. The limitations of this form, however, mean that they are still expressing the same emotion in very similar words and music two acts later. In Médée et Jason, III 4, the two main characters use this medium for a furious quarrel (see Example 135 below).

Since one of the voices involved in these duets is almost invariably a bass, the basse continue accompaniment normally simply doubles the base line, the rhythmic impetus of the duet stemming entirely from the interchanges between the voices (see Example 122 above). Sometimes the composer manages to boost this by giving the basse continue a little more freedom. As this duet from Canente, II 6 (Example 124) progresses, the basse continue and bass voice become more independent of each other, with the basse continue even contributing to the imitation: the quotation begins from bar 11.

Ex. 124 Canente, II 6

Except for...
The duet 'Vengeons-nous, eimons-nou's in Cassandre, II 6 shows a different kind of independence, in which the basse continue maintains semiquavers against the voices' quavers (in $\frac{3}{8}$ time); they fill out the vocal bass rather than departing from it, however.

The layout, texture and sound of the duet, therefore, did not vary much from the pattern established by Lully, with one or two notable exceptions. On very rare occasions the elaborately ornamental vocal lines of the air italien (later the ariette) spill over into the duet. Example 125 is an excerpt from 'Amour, c'est trop troublier' (Canente, IV 4). Notice that the elaboration is still based on the old key-word formula, in this case, the word 'vole'. Perhaps composers found a two-part texture featuring such complex lines difficult to handle, or the singers had difficulty in performance; hence the conservatism of the majority of the ensemble writing after Lully's death.

A new sound which did appear, again infrequently, was the combination of two bass voices. Theobaldo di Gatti, himself a basse de violon player in the opera orchestra, seems to have had a lot to do with the intensification of the bass sound around this time, and in Scylla, I 5 he writes a duet for the two basses, Nisus and Minos (Example 126). Barthélemy suggests that this among other features in the opera inspired Campra, whose Tancred was to be produced in the following year, 1702. In this opera, all three principal male characters are cast as basses, relegating the haute-contre singers to minor roles such as 'un sage enchanteur' in the prologue and Vengeance in the tragédie. Two of the basses, Argant and Ismenor, have an energetic 'revenge' duet (see below and Example 138).
As so often with these seemingly novel effects, however, Lullly did it first. The two basses Licomède and Straton unite briefly in Alcest, I 7 to lure Alcest onto Licomède's ship, the sinister effect of the low sound being neatly balanced by the blandness of what is sung. (Example 127).

'ex. 127 Alcest, I 7

'L'amour comblé de gloire' comes from Proserpine, II 7, and concludes a scene between Asclaphe and Pluto, the latter confessing that he has fallen in love with Proserpine. The duet is much simpler than the Campra example, being mostly note-against-note with roulades on the word 'triomphe'. The comments of Lecerf de la Viéville about the Proserpine and Tancredé bass duets are interesting here (Comparaison, I 115-16). Being the ardent Lulliste that he is, he not surprisingly comes down in favour of Proserpine, but not without conceding some merit in Tancredé.

He says that Campra went too far in using three bass soloists for his principal roles: 'c'est imiter l'exces des Italiens en prenant le contrepiè'. However, he regards the Tancredé duet as 'plus expressif et... plus juste' than the Proserpine one. Since anger and fire are the
province of basses, he says, it is more natural that two basses should sing an angry and fiery duet. The duet from Proserpine, on the other hand, is described as 'plus singulier et plus beau', 'tendre et gracieux'. Is it pure coincidence that Proserpine had had one of its periodic revivals at the Académie in July 1699?

In their function within the later tragédies en musique, duets perform rather the same roles that they had for Lully, although the importance of certain types tends to diminish. Pairs of characters are used to lead the chorus, normally in the prologue or divertissements. They may be anonymous, like the warriors who singly and together lead the choruses in a complex rondeau structure in Tancredé, II 3, or the shepherd and shepherdess in Achille et Polixène, III 9 who are directed to sing two of the chorus sections as a duet first. Named characters may also be involved: the two confidants Camille and Ilionée in the final celebrations in Enée et Lavinie, V 5, Jealousy and Vengeance who are summoned by Médée in Médée, III 6 and lead a chorus of demons, or Clio and la France whose duet in the prologue to Théoné is repeated by the chorus. Not all the singers so involved are secondary or divertissement characters, however. Omphale herself is involved in two divertissements, singing with a Lydian Prince in Omphale, I 4 and with Alcide in a large-scale chaconne movement in Omphale, II 3. A scene in Alcione, I 2 reverses the usual leader/chorus relationship, the chorus taking the imperative 'Aimez, aimez-vous sans allarmes' and Alcione and Ceix the first person 'Aimons, aimons-nous sans allarmes'. In a more serious context, Idas and Erectée lead invocations of the oracle in Créuse, II 3 and are seconded by the chorus. Despite these examples, however, it would seem that the relationship between duet and chorus is not as close after about 1700. Perhaps the increasing use of the petit choeur provided, from the musical point of view, a sufficient textural foil to the massed weight of the chorus.

The dance-related forms of air, ensemble and chorus retain their popularity. These too, of course, are found in the prologue and divertissements. Sometimes the duet is a vocal version of an earlier instrumental dance: for example, the duet 'Venez tous, à l'envi' for 'deux capitaines grecs' in Achille et Polixène, II 2 which follows a three-part dance marked 'haubois'. There are similar examples in the prologue to Hippodamie and in Idoménée, IV 7. Just as with the solo air, the duet may adopt the metre of the dance without taking the actual melody. The duet 'Quel bonheur suit la tendresse' in Médée, I 5, in a sarabande rhythm, is followed by an orchestral sarabande and then by a
second verse of the duet. A duet for two shepherds in *Amadis de Grèce*, I 3 has a different instrumental minuet on either side. The structure of duet and dance is usually related, with the majority being in binary form, but a dance in *rondeau* form will generate a *rondeau* duet, for example the 'Second Air' in *Alcine*, II 2 and the duet 'Un coeur sincère' which follows it.

Where duets fall in the *tragédie* proper, they fulfil the function of recitative or air. Recitative duets remain for the most part fragmentary and very simple in style. Incidental duet phrases crop up in dialogues between lovers, or scenes in which two characters confront a third. In *Omphale*, II 1, Omphale discloses to her confidants that she does not love Alcidé, but someone else. The confidants' recitative questions contrast with Omphale's melodic and metrical replies (Example 128).

*Ex. 128, Omphale, II 1*

In *Ariane et Bacchus*, I 3, a scene in which Dirèée has accused Adraste of unfaithfulness, an incidental duet phrase manages to have them singing completely different words in parallel thirds (Example 129).

*Ex. 129, Ariane et Bacchus, I 3*
In a more serious context, Alcione and Ceix (Alcione, I 3) are invited by the High Priest to make their wedding vows, and begin to do so in duet recitative, until interrupted by thunder and lightning. In another temple scene, in Téléphe, II 3, the unhappy lovers Téléphe and Ismenie plead in recitative with La Pythonisse to intercede on their behalf with Apollo.

The largest number of duets, and the majority of those described and illustrated in this chapter, relate to the air in form and structure. They can be as inconsequential as their petit air solo counterparts, expressing trivial sentiments in simple textures, providing a little variety but nothing much else. They can equally well be serious, emphasizing a particular situation or relationship, often exhibiting a more imitative texture. At their most distinctive, and least closely related to the solo air, they are lively expressions of strong emotion, injecting vigour and pace into the unfolding of the drama.

b) Trios

Composers after Lully use the trio proportionally somewhat less frequently than he had, and handle it conservatively. As with the duets, simple note-against-note examples closely resemble their models, but they are not on the whole balanced by the more serious and musically interesting examples found in Lully's operas. The function of the trio in the trégédie en musique tends to be in the definition of character and dramatic structure rather than in inherent musical qualities (with one or two notable exceptions), and no independent form emerges to equal the fast imitative duet in its contribution to the development of the ensemble in this period.

The trios in Enée et Lavinie, II 3 and Alcine, III 3 (Example 130) occur as part of large-scale divertissement structures, based in the former case on the rondeau and in the latter on the passacaille. Their simplicity and light-weight character are typical of many trios having
a more self-contained form.

Relaxations in this texture occur, as in the duet, when a key word is singled out. In Alcione, I 2, the word is 'jamais' in the line 'Qu'elle dure à jamais', which enables one voice to sustain a long note while the others move. In Médée et Jason, IV 8, the word is 'règne' in the line 'Règne longtemps sur les ondes', which has roulades.

Divisions of the trio into two voices against one are mainly short-lived, one voice or a pair of voices introducing a phrase before the note-against-note texture resumes. This procedure is demonstrated in 'Quels malheurs' from Hippodamie, V 4, and in a more serious context, in Example 286 in Chapter Fourteen, taken from the sommeil in Ciroé, III 3.

Really free imitation sustained for any length of time is virtually non-existent in the trio. This very brief trio (Example 131), quoted in full, is from Hésione, I 4, at a solemn moment initiating a sacrifice scene. Campra makes no attempt to develop the possibilities of such an opening, but does repeat the trio after a short recitative dialogue.
As has been noted in the discussion of the role of the duet in the musical structure of the tragédie en musique, the ensemble tends to play a less important role when associated with the chorus after Lully's death. Whereas Lully uses both ensemble and petit choeur freely to balance the full chorus in large-scale movements, later composers tend to prefer the petit choeur or some other reduced, but still choral, grouping of voices. Examples where the trio still functions in this way are the passacaille in Alcine, III 3 (see above, Example 130) and three separate scenes in Charpentier's Médée (in the prologue, I 6 and II 7) where he, at least, seems to prefer the solo trio medium. Dance-related trios continue to appear, albeit in smaller numbers. The trio 'L'Amour prend pour une offense', Enée et Lavinie, II 3, is part of a mixture of instrumental, trio and choral versions of a menuet. The use of a trio as a rondeau with solo episodes is dance-related: see, for example, Achille et Polixène, Prologue, and Ariane et Bacchus, V 6. Opportunities for three-part recitative remain few. This short example from Thétis et Pélée, V 3 (Example 132) begins a passage of solo and duet pleas for Jupiter's mercy. Lully would probably have chosen to lead up to, rather than away from, the trio.
Another brief example in *Achille et Polixène*, II 4 (Example 133) performs a recitative function, as Friam invites Andromaque and Polixène to join him in expressing the hope that Achille will be merciful to the Trojans.

The use of the trio to make a dramatic point or as the musical climax of a scene (the two being related) is not common, but can approach the effectiveness of the Quinault/Lully employment of such a technique. Sometimes, it is the collective expression of happiness at a successful conclusion to events, like the *Hippodamie*, V 4 example cited above, and like another which rounds off *Iphigénie en Tauride*, II 3, and is the conclusion of the whole act (even if here the 'happy outcome' subsequently proves to be anything but). At the opening of act IV of *Didon*, there are four characters on stage, Didon with her sister Anne, who acts as confidant, and Enée with Acate, his loyal friend. This is the scene in
which Enée tells Didon that he is about to leave Carthage and her, but wavers from his determination to go in the face of her reaction. When he finally says he will stay, he is joined by Anne for a duet 'Vous triomphez, charmante Reine', rejoicing in Didon's success. The duet then becomes a trio expressing the hope that Didon and Enée may never be separated. This is the climax of the scene, after which Didon and Anne leave to initiate celebrations. Conspicuous by his non-participation in the scene, however, is Acate, whose disapproval at this turn of events is expressed forcibly after they have left. By keeping a silent spectator on the scene (one whose role is more than that of a confidant, that is) and emphasizing that he is apart from the others by not continuing the conversion of solo into duet into trio into yet another stage, the quartet, Desmarets and his librettist, Mme de Saintonge, make a dramatic and musical point.

One trend in the Lullian use of the trio is seized upon with enthusiasm by subsequent librettists and composers: this is the use of special groups of three (like the Fates in Isis). The most popular such group is the Eumenides, who appear (always as haute-contre, tenor and bass) in Thétis et Péléé, IV 7 and Circe, IV 4; and in Canente, V 2 and Médée et Jason, V 2 under their other guise, the Furies. Two other trios, also haute-contre, tenor and bass are Rage, Jealousy and Despair in Céphale et Procris, IV 5 and the sacrificateurs in Télèphe, IV 6. The only really unusual grouping is the Fates who make two appearances in Stuck's Méléeagre, IV 8 and V 3, as a trio of basses.

c) Quartets

The quartet becomes an extreme rarity in the tragédie en musique after Lully, with only a handful of examples in a period of thirty years. The gods Flora, Palês, Bacchus and Pan who, together with their entourages, form the rather old-fashioned ballet à entrées which concludes Thétis et Péléé have a short quartet section within the final chorus. In the prologue to Marthézée, Cybele summons Jupiter, Neptune and Juno to assist her in the customary praises of the King. Destouches gives each deity an individual contribution, then has one pair of voices answering the other 'Que tout réponde à ses désirs' until the four voices come together for the final phrase. This is rather like Lully's technique of building up the four-part texture gradually, even if the end result here is so brief as to be almost accidental. There is
something similar in the last scene of Colasse's Canente. The lovers Canente and Picus defy Circe together, until Canente is poisoned, and Picus and Le Tibre react in duet phrases, joining Canente for 'Inhumaine Circe, Furie impitoyable'. Finally Circe completes the quartet for the line 'Ah, quel désespoir! quelle horreur!'. A quartet exclamation 'Apollon paraît dans les airs' in Créuse, V 3 by Créuse, Iasmenide, Idas and Le Roy is even more perfunctory. In Kédée et Jason, V 2, the quartet texture arises from a main character, Kédée, adding her voice to a trio of Furies in a brisk $\frac{3}{8}$ passage in which short note-against-note phrases for the quartet (which is, incidentally, accompanied) are separated by solo phrases for Kédée. Again, this is so brief as to seem accidental.

The only example in which the quartet forms the structure of the movement rather than arising from it comes in Iphigénie en Tauride, V 4. A section for the full quartet is followed by short sections for different pairings of voices within the group, and then by a da capo of the opening quartet section:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iphigénie</th>
<th>Electre</th>
<th>Pilade</th>
<th>Oreste</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electre</td>
<td>Pilade</td>
<td>Oreste</td>
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<td>Pilade</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oreste</td>
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Even this, though, is short when compared with other ensemble set-pieces.

d) The role of the orchestra

As in other areas of the tragédie en musique, it is in the use of the orchestra in the ensemble that some of the most striking changes take place in the thirty years after Lully's death. The accompanied ensemble, a comparative rarity in Lully's operas, becomes much more common. However, it must be remembered that just as the development of the accompanied air does not eliminate the basse continue air, the increasing inclusion of the orchestra in the ensemble by no means excludes the other forms of ensemble already cited.

The instruments involved in the accompaniment vary. The printing of a reduced score rather than a full score for many of the operas of this period makes the actual instrumentation not always wholly clear, but it can normally be assumed that a single instrumental line above the two voice parts and a basse continue often doubling the lower voice implies the use of the full five-part strings. Act IV of Desmarets'
Didon supplies two examples of this type of arrangement: the duets 'Votre triomphez, charmante Reine' for Anne and Enée (IV 1) and 'Il faut mourir' for Acate and Enée (IV 6). This straightforward type of accompaniment crops up throughout the period, a late example occurring in the trio for sacrificateurs in Campra's Téléphé, IV 6. However, in Circé, IV 4 the Eumenides (haute-contre, tenor and bass) are apparently accompanied by four-part strings, the missing part being for the quintes, who probably played with the taille (see p. 221).

Other instrumental colours are also used. The two priestesses in Hésione, I 4 sing their duet 'Qu'ici chacun chante' to the accompaniment of strings and oboes, with interpolations for a trio of two oboes and bassoon. The duet for basses in Tancrède, I 2 (see Example 138) has strings and oboes used separately and together. A dance duet, 'Jeunes beautés' in the prologue to another Campra opera Idoménée has oboes indicated for its accompaniment, presumably doubling the two voice parts. Flûtes à bec or allemandes, too, may be included. A trio for the Graces in La Naissance de Vénus (Prologue, Scene 1) is introduced by a symphonie of muted violins and flûtes. The trio itself has two instrumental lines, each marked 'violons et flûtes', accompanying and answering the vocal phrases. A pastoral divertissement in Bradamante, IV 4 includes a 'trio des bergers', two treble clef voice parts each doubled by flûtes and one in the soprano clef doubled by violins. Two duets in Diomède, V 4 and Créuse, III 3 have a rather similar accompaniment layout, the two female voices doubled by violins with an independent line above marked, in the first example, flûtes and in the second flûtes allemandes.

Where the orchestra is involved in the ensemble, it may play a purely supporting role, filling out the texture rather in the way it often does in the solo accompanied air, having little melodic or rhythmic independence. Elsewhere, its contribution may be more individual. An extended duet for Penelope and Ulysse, 'Que la Paix règne sur la Terre' in Ulysse, V 6 begins conventionally enough in triple time with the basse continue doubling the lower voice. Midway through, however, they switch to a duple metre, marked 'vite', and the basse continue line, now marked 'toutes les basses' (i.e. with the basses de violon) provides its own rhythmic motif (Example 134).
In Tancredé, III 1, Herminie and Argant sing 'Ah! quels funestes coups' punctuated by strings which pick up the rhythm

\[ \frac{2}{\text{\textbf{J}} \text{\textbf{J}} \text{\textbf{J}} |} \text{\textbf{J}} \]

from the voices. The alternations of this rhythm between voices and instruments are developed into a movement of some 39 bars: unusually long when it is considered that only two lines of text are concerned.

The type of fast imitative duet described earlier may be accompanied conventionally, with the dessus taking the rhythm and possibly melody of the upper voice and the basse continue and basse de violon that of the lower, with the other parts filling in. Example 135 from Médée et Jason, III 4 is somewhat unusual, in that the lower voice is an haute-contre and therefore the instrumental bass is independent, though as can be seen from the quotation, the freedom of movement of both dessus and bass is limited.

Sometimes composers add to the rhythmic impetus and interest of the duet by giving the orchestra a more positive role. A typical example, 'Suivons la fureur et la rage' from Cassandre, IV 6 has a vigorous independent accompaniment (this score, unusually for the time, was
printed in full). Example 136 from Hésione, IV 4 shows Campra allowing the violins to take a share in the imitation, with an active bassa continue whipping up the excitement.

Ex. 136, Hésione, IV 4

There is a very similar movement, written some thirteen years later, in the same composer's Téléphe, III 1: this comes near the beginning of the scene, and is repeated towards the end. Example 137 is the closing passage.

Ex. 137, Téléphe, III 1
Perhaps the most interesting duet and orchestra combination is the duet for two basses in *Tancrède*, I 2, a movement of some 92 bars in continuous quavers in $\frac{3}{8}$ time. Apart from the energy generated by the voices, the interest lies in the free use of oboes and strings, separately and together, in a mixture of long and short phrases: the effect is of the instruments being pitted against one another, as well as against the voices, with the coincidence of the two being spontaneous rather than calculated. Example 138 begins at bar 51:
Where the orchestra plays the dominant role is in the situation of an unexpected turn of events, usually some kind of natural or unnatural disaster, upon which two or three characters comment (see also Chapter Thirteen). Three characters react to the arrival of Saturn in Canente, I 2 'Mais quel éclat soudain... D'où viennent ces sons harmonieux?', the vocal phrases punctuated by the orchestra. Diana's arrival in Iphigénie en Tauride, II 2 is preceded by 'une douce harmonie' featuring flutes. Electre and Pilade respond to this with a duet with flute accompaniment, punctuated by flutes and strings. There is a similar treatment of the arrival of Venus in Hésione, I 2. The prologue to Cassandre has 'une symphonie douce et agréable' upon which the comments of the trio Scamandre, Xanthe and Simoys are superimposed: this heralds the arrival
of Apollo. When one of the main characters in *Alceste* makes an arrival (in II 1) riding on a conch shell, oboes are appropriately enough included in the attendant 'symphonie vive'. Sections marked 'violons seuls' and 'haubois et bassons seuls' alternate, and then accompany and punctuate the reactions of the spectators, Athlant and Crisalde.

* * * * * * *

In the ensemble as in other areas of the tragédie en musique we see the profound influence of Lully both in style and in usage, but with modifications brought about both through outside influences on vocal writing and use of the orchestra, and through internal factors largely deriving from the livret. The influence of Lully is most pronounced in scenes involving the main characters, whose handling is usually conservative and whose duets (and to a lesser extent, trios) resemble early models closely, both in style and in the sentiments expressed. Where later composers have something more original to contribute is in their handling of supernatural characters and violent emotions, and while the source of many of their ideas is traceable in Lully's operas, they expand and develop them well beyond anything he would have considered to be in good taste. This is brought about partly through the vocal style itself, but more strikingly with the development of the orchestra as a partner with the voices and a source of colour and contrast. This is to feature prominently in the handling of larger vocal forces.
NOTES

1 For example, in the scoring of oracle and tempête scenes (see Chapter Fourteen) and in the cultivation of male voice choruses (see Chapter Six). See also Sylvette Milliot, 'Réflexions et recherches sur la viole de gambe et le violoncelle en France', Recherches, 4 (1964), 179-238 (p.223).

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHORUS

The liberal employment of choruses and their musical and dramatic importance are distinctive features of the tragédie en musique; the chorus had little significance in contemporary Italian opera. Lecerf de la Viéville is scathing on the matter:

On sait que les choeurs sont hors d'usage en Italie et même hors de la portée des Opera ordinaires... Il est difficile et peu agréable qu'on y en ménage... Ces merveilleux Opera de Venise, de Naples, de Rome, consistent en 7 ou 8 voix. Jugez si 7 ou 8 acteurs, dont chacun fait un personnage, peuvent former des choeurs. Lorsque le compositeur d'un opéra veut avoir la gloire d'y mettre un choeur pour la rareté: ce sont les 7 ou 8 personnages ramassés, le Roi, le Bouffon, la Reine et la Vieille, qui le font, en chantant tous ensemble. M. le Comte aura la bonté de considérer si cela n'est pas bien noble et bien joli.¹

The ladies and gentlemen of the chorus were ranged at either side of the stage; that a practical problem was thus presented can be deduced from the requirement that the Maître de Musique was deputed to stand in the wings, 'le papier à la main, pour mettre les choeurs en mouvement, et leur faire observer la mesure'.² The participation of the chorus in the events of the drama, which is dealt with in detail in Chapter Twelve, was therefore figurative rather than literal. Their exact numbers are hard to determine, and seem to have fluctuated, at least after Lully's death. The livret is sometimes of assistance here: the Suite des Dieux in Thésée, V 8, for example, includes in addition to flûtes, basses de violon, theorbo and trumpets, 'cinq déesses chantantes' and 'quatre dieux chantants' (a petit choeur, though from the music apparently soprano, haute-contre and tenor rather than the usual first and second soprano and haute-contre) and '26 musiciens de la Suite des Dieux'. Whether these last are, as Howard states,³ the grand choeur seems open to some doubt: from the score, it appears that the Suite des Dieux is the three-part chorus already described, and that the grand choeur with which it is contrasted is cast in the role of Athenians. It seems likely that the varying conditions in which Lully's performances were given in Paris and at Versailles gave rise to some differences in the forces used, with supplementary singers imported for grand occasions.⁴

Differences in the number of choristes listed in the livrets of the
early eighteenth century may well reflect economies necessary because of financial problems. A chorus of thirty-seven for Marthésie in 1699 becomes a mere twenty-two for a reprise of Didon in 1704, although numbers revive almost immediately to thirty-two for Alcione two years later. The list of salaried performers in 1713 includes twenty-two men and twelve women in the chorus. The Règlement of the following year, however, includes the following article:

XXI

Tous les acteurs et actrices, à l'exception de ceux et de celles qui occuperont les huit premiers rôles, seront obligés de servir dans les choeurs et d'y chanter, lors même qu'ils seront chargés de quelques petits rôles: après l'exécution duquel ils reprendront leur place ordinaire.

This practice of recruiting these 'petits rôles' (the shepherds, allegorical figures and suivants who exist only for the duration of the divertissement in which they appear) from among the chorus members probably dates back as far as Lully's day. La Gorce's recent discovery of details of the employment of orchestral musicians, singers and other Académie personnel at a significantly earlier date (1704) than was hitherto known presents supporting evidence. He supplements the bare list of names and sums due to them from the evidence of contemporary livrets. Eleven men and three women are listed as choristes, but in addition four men and five women are described as playing 'second rôle et choriste'.

The chorus functions on different levels, and it is in its fulfilment of various roles that we perceive the multi-faceted appeal of the tragédie en musique: if recitative lies at the heart of Lully's conception of musical drama, the chorus is its backbone. Musically, it contributes grandeur, solemnity and sometimes excitement, or the nearest the French classical mind could get to excitement. Structurally, it can be a binding agent, holding together whole scenes and groups of scenes. Dramatically, the chorus can emerge as a participant in the action. Outside these musical and theatrical considerations, however, lies the extra-musical purpose of opera, the glorification of the monarchy, and no agent contributes more to this than the chorus, whose every tribute to a hero, god or king is, by extension, a celebration of Louis XIV, not only in the prologue, but throughout the entire opera.

The role of the chorus in another field of composition designed to promote the same end, the grand motet, has parallels with its tragédie en musique functions and style. Several of the opera composers were
also producing sacred compositions, and the performers at the high masses and at the Académie were often the same. This was the cause of some criticism, notably by Lecerf de la Viéville (III, 158-63). He accuses the actors of not knowing the music or being able to sing in Latin. Their behaviour in church left much to be desired: 'habillées de diverse façon et véritablement comme des comédiens... riant, causent et grimaçant'. Besides, the musicians were excommunicated in France, 'indigènes d'entrer dans l'église pendant leur vie, comme d'y être enterrés après leur mort'. Their presence in church provoked equally unseemly behaviour in the congregation: 'on reconnaît Urgande et Arca-bonne [characters in Lully's Amédis], on bat des mains'. When the opera performers were due to appear at a certain convent, an admission charge equal to that at the Opera was made.

As in the tragédie en musique, the grand motet exploited the contrast between grand and petit choeur, but in this case, it is the forces used rather than their disposition which affords the contrast. The petit choeur consisted of solo voices rather than a semi-chorus (the names of solo performers from the Académie appear against individual lines in the petit choeur in some manuscripts of Lully motets). The voices involved are usually first and second soprano, haute-contre, tenor and bass, but may be, like the grand choeur, soprano, haute-contre, first and second tenor and bass. Lully's orchestra doubles the voice parts slavishly, although his predecessor, Du Mont, had assigned a small measure of independence to the instrumental parts. The impressive, static quality of the choral writing and the use of trumpets and drums in, for example, Lully's early grand motet, the Miserere, 1664, is a clear precursor of the grand ceremonial choruses of his tragédies en musique.

Marc-Antoine Charpentier was a more prolific composer of sacred music than Lully, possibly because of Lully's monopoly in the field of opera. Charpentier breaks away from the prevailing five-part texture, favouring a four-part petit and grand choeur: ironically, his opera Médée includes a rare five-part chorus, in the divertissement to the second act (II 7). A trio of captives introduces and alternates with the chorus 'D'un amant qui veut plaire'. Later in the scene the same chorus arrangement (first and second sopranos, haute-contre, tenor and bass) appears in 'Ton triomphe est certain'. Within the prevailing block texture, Charpentier varies the voice groupings for brief phrases, with the corresponding instrumental part dropping out also. Example 139
It is in the work of Desmarets that we see the influence working the other way round, with the three-part petit choeur arrangement (first and second soprano and haute-contre) which had prevailed in the tragédie from its inception, being adopted in the grand motet. The most important composer of sacred music at this time, La Lande had already begun to free the orchestra and chorus from their rigid bonds, and Desmarets continued this process, greater independence being given both within and between the orchestral and choral groups. The motets of Campra, like
his accompanied airs, show the influence of and fusion with the style of the Italian cantata (though the four books of motets he published within the period under review contain petits motets; his grands motets are later works, dating from 1720–38).

The chronology of some of these events is difficult to establish, much of the sacred music of the period remaining unpublished. While the process of greater freedom within and between the orchestral and choral groups is exhibited also in the tragédie en musique, the interests of the opera composers lay by and large in the opposition of contrasting blocks of sonority, and in bringing into play various 'male' and 'female' groupings for musical and dramatic ends, rather than in true polyphony.

1) Lully

a) The Grand Chœur

The basic chorus formation is four vocal parts, dessus, haute-contre, taille and basse. This table shows the usual clefs and typical vocal ranges of the four parts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dessus</th>
<th>Haute-contre</th>
<th>Taille</th>
<th>Basse</th>
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The fact that the three lower parts are all assigned to male voices gives some unusual spacings in Lully's choruses. Even though the most-used range of the haute-contre is its upper half, the dessus and haute-contre parts can sometimes be separated by as much as a twelfth (see bars 18–19 of Example 141 below, where the part-crossing leaves the dessus between an octave and an eleventh above the nearest part, the taille). The full chorus is usually accompanied by the strings of the orchestra, the top instrumental line doubling the dessus and the lowest the basse; in the full score, the basse continue is printed on a separate line below the instrumental bass. The chorus does on occasion sing accompanied by the basse continue only, usually when taking part in the action rather than performing a celebratory function.

The texture of Lully's choruses is homophonic to the point of stodginess, setting words syllabically, having a restricted vocal compass and carrying little melodic interest. There may be, as in some ensembles, a quasi-imitative opening or middle section, reverting
almost immediately to note-against-note writing, but this is comparatively rare, and where the texture is varied, it is more likely to come about through pairing the voices or allowing one voice to lead the others, as in Example 140, taken from the chorus 'Sans le Dieu qui nous éclaire', Phaéton, IV 1.

Example 141 is taken from Amadis, III 4; while the parts in the first section look more than usually independent, the effect is more apparent than real because of the rhythmic monotony of the insistent crotchet pulse. The rhythm at 'Profitons' is more interesting, but it too becomes obsessive simply because it figures identically in every part from the vocal dessus to the basse de violon and basse continue.
The usual roulades on such words as 'courez' and 'chaîne' already noted in the airs and ensembles, really come into their own in the choruses, where they can become quite involved. The usual pattern is for the homophonic texture of the opening to break up as the key word features more and more. Example 142 is from *Phaéton*, IV 2, the first part (a) illustrating the straightforward opening, the second (b), which begins at bar 14, the use of the roulade.
The example above also seems to bear out accounts that Lully habitually composed only the outer parts of his choruses, leaving the middle parts to be filled in by his secrétaires. There is a distinctly 'top and bottom' look to the texture with the inner parts able to contribute only fitfully to the elaboration of 'répandre'. This can be compared with the more open texture of a chorus which Lully is reported to have composed in toto, 'Jupiter lancez le tonnerre' (Prosperpine, I 8).

Roulades can have a more than simply decorative function. At the end of the prologue to Alceste, the use of the word 'volez' disperses the Plaisirs through the music as well as visually. Lully creates a similar effect in dismissing the Amours and Jeux at the end of the prologue to Amadis, again through his treatment of the word 'volez'.

The use of the roulade as an integral part of the make-up of a chorus, rather than as leavening to a heavy texture, could produce an over-elaborate effect, with the only device left to the composer being longer and longer chains of notes. When Lully builds contrast into such a chorus, he avoids this danger. This is the case in one of his best choruses, 'Roland courez aux armes', from Roland V 3, (Example 143)

This chorus is preceded by an orchestral prélude (played again after the first choral section) and by a solo version of the chorus's music for its leader, Logistille (accompained by basse continue), the chorus and orchestra entering under her final cadence. The alternation of the quaver movement generated by 'courez' and the syllabic answering section 'Que la gloire a des charmes' continues after the quoted passage, with the orchestra taking its full share. The buoyancy and vitality of this chorus gives it a Purcellian feel, and shows that the Lully chorus does not have to be monolithic or turgid.

Ex. 143 Roland, V 3
Ex. 143 (continued)

"Aux armes, aux armes! Que la gloire a des charmes! Que la gloire a des charmes! Que la gloire a des charmes! Que la gloire a des charmes! Que la gloire a des charmes!

Chorus (Rosland etc.)
It is, indeed, a mistake to think of all Lully's choruses as large-scale. The types of situation described in Chapter Twelve in which the chorus is conceived as part of the drama as much as of the music, generate numerous short, unstructured numbers: excited comments, pleas for mercy, expressions of sympathy. For Anthony, 'they illustrate the dramatist in Lully dominating the musician'. Although the musical function of the chorus here corresponds to recitative - the interjection might as well in most cases have come from a single person - Lully tends to keep the choral section mostly or entirely metrical, probably for the sake of safety. Example 144, from Atys, IV 6, one of a number of short choral contributions to this dialogue, shows how brief such interjections can be.

A later scene, Atys, V 3 shows the attempts of the chorus to prevent Atys murdering Sangaride in error. Lully switches tellingly to the minor key as they express sadness at their failure (see Example 221 Chapter Twelve).

Another substantial category of choruses is related to dance metres, sometimes as part of large structures involving solo and ensemble forces, elsewhere self-contained. Often, the chorus is a straightforward copy of the instrumental original, like the chorus 'Quand on vient dans ce bocage' (Roland, IV 3), which reproduces the preceding instrumental triple-time marche, reduced sections for oboes in the original being replaced by the petit choeur in the chorus. In the prologue to Cadmus et Hermione, the process is reversed, the final instrumental menuet being anticipated by the vocal version 'Peut-on mieux faire' for soloist and chorus in alternation. Elsewhere, it is
the style of the dance rather than its music which is replicated in the chorus. Example 145 from Bellérophon, I 5 shows the openings of the orchestral 'Second Air' and of the chorus which follows it.

Ex. 145, Bellérophon, I 5

The structures built out of these components can be large. A typical arrangement is a rondeau form. The chorus 'Que n'aimez-vous' in Persée, IV 6 is first played orchestrally and then performed by 'un Ethiopian' and the chorus alternately, the chorus forming the rondeau section. The whole structure is then repeated for a second verse.

One special effect which is occasionally used is the echo chorus, employed only sparingly by Lully. In the prologue to Alceste, the chorus 'Que tout retentisse' alternates sections with timbales with echo responses in which they drop out. In the following orchestral section, trumpets are added to the full sections. The pattern of responses, though not the orchestration, resembles those of the 'Echo Dance of Furies' in Purcell's Dido and Aeneas. In 'Echos retentissez', Isis, I 5, the echo responses are completely unaccompanied. The most significant use of the echo device is in Proserpine, III 1: the placing of this at the opening of the act gives it special prominence. The chorus is ostensibly functional rather than decorative, the purpose being to search for Proserpine on the slopes of Mount Etna; the echo responses replace the hoped-for ones of Proserpine herself. After the opening section for full chorus, a three-part chorus attempts to make contact, then the full chorus is repeated.
Some of Lully's liveliest choral movements involve the use of a double chorus. In situations involving celebration or agreement, one of these groups is usually a petit choeur (see below). Disagreements or out-and-out wars usually pit equal choruses against one another. A long scene is built out of the opposition of the besiegers and the besieged in Alceste, II 4, initially evenly balanced (Example 146(a)), but finally resolving into victors and vanquished (Example 146(b)).

Ex. 146(a) Alceste, II 4

Ex. 146(b) Alceste, II 4

The thrilling contest between 'Pérsée en l'air' and the monster threatening Andromède (Pérsée, IV 6) is reflected in the cries of the respective supporters, the Ethiopians ('Combattez') and the Tritons ('Arrêtez'). The first two scenes of Amadis, III are punctuated by
the choruses of prisoners and jailers. Unlike the opposing forces in Persée, the two groups here have different musical material reflecting their situations. Example 147 is their first exchange.10

The prologue to Proserpine even manages three separate choral groups, the first two, the Suite de la Paix and the Suite de la Discorde in the roles of prisoners and jailers, the third, the Suite de la Victoire, bringing release to the Suite de la Paix ('Ah, quel bonheur charmant!') and overcoming the Suite de la Discorde ('Ah, quel affreux tourment!').
b) The Petit Choeur

While the four part vocal formation described above is the foundation of the choral style of Lully and his successors, considerable importance is also assigned to a three part chorus of higher voices, known as the petit choeur. The clefs used for the three parts are usually those in (i) below; two variants (ii) and (iii) are also shown.

(i)  
(ii)  
(iii)  

Three part choruses in Lully's operas are almost invariably accompanied by the basse continue only, usually doubling the haute-contre line and notated in the alto clef. Exceptions to this are the chorus of priestesses in Thésée, I 8, who are accompanied by flûtes, and the chorus of nymphs whose cries of 'liberté' punctuate Isis, III 3-5 and who are completely unaccompanied.

This type of chorus is used in two different ways. The first, and more common, uses it as a foil to the grand choeur, sections of the two choruses alternating. Usually, the two choruses are given separate identities, such as the Suite de la Sagesse (petit choeur) and the Suite de la Gloire (grand choeur) in the prologue to Armide, who sing respectively 'Chantons la douceur de ses loix' and 'Chantons ses glorieux exploits'. The juxtaposition and combination of the Choeur des Heures du Jour and the Suite des Quatre Saisons is the foundation of the long and attractive divertissement which opens Phaéton, IV (Example 148).

Ex.148 Phaéton, IV 1

Les Heures du Jour

Choeur des Quatre Saisons

Sans le Dieu qui nous éclaire, Sans le Dieu qui nous éclaire Tout l'auguste, rien ne peut plaire.

Sans le Dieu, qui nous éclaire.
Not all such choruses unite to express themselves, however, and there are scenes in which they are pitted against one another, though usually in a light-hearted way, like the exchanges 'Aimons sans cesse' and 'N'aimons jamais' between the Nymphes on one hand and the Sylvains, Satyres and Bergers on the other in *Isis*, III 6.

Other three-part choruses emerge with and largely maintain a separate identity, and since this usually involves them in some degree of participation in the tragédie, they are discussed more fully in Chapter Eleven. Typical groups identified in this way are nymphs, Pleasures, zephyrs (*Isis*, *Proserpine*, *Roland*), priestesses (*Thésée*, *Phaéton*), shades (*Alceste*, *Proserpine*) and demons disguised at nymphs (*Amadis* and *Armide*).

c) The four-part male chorus

Lully employs this chorus formation on five occasions. The voices involved, together with their clefs, are as follows:

In each case, there is an association with evil or supernatural forces. The groups are the ombres summoned by Médée in *Thésée*, III 6, the songes funestes in *Atys*, III 4, the magicians summoned by Amisodar in *Bellérophon*, II 7, the divinités infernales in *Proserpine*, V 1 and V 3, and the Suite de la Haine in *Armide*, III 4.

The music of these choruses is remarkably similar. The sinister and threatening nature of their utterances is paramount, and they chant syllabically, with even more monotone writing than in the normal chorus, and a very compressed vocal range. These opening phrases (Example 149(a) and (b)) are from *Atys* III 4, and *Bellérophon*, II 7.
The Suite de la Haine have rather more rhythmic life: Example 150 begins at the sixth bar of their second chorus 'Amour sors pour jamais' (Armide, III 4).

Ex. 149 (a) Atys, III 4 (b) Bélierophon, II 7

Ex. 150 Armide, III 4

Tu fais trop souffrir sous ta loi. Non, non, non, non, l'Enfer n'a rien de si cruel que toi. Non, non, non, non, l'Enfer n'a rien de si cruel que toi.
d) The three-part male chorus

This type of chorus, **haute-contre, taille and basse**, makes only one appearance in Lully's operas: it is the celebrated 'choeur des peuples des climats glaciaux' which opens *Isis IV*, and which seems to have inspired the Frost Scene in Purcell's *King Arthur*. Example 151 is the opening section. It is unusual to find Lully attempting such a literal portrayal of his text.

![Example 151, Isis IV](image)


e) The two-part chorus

The two-part female chorus features in two of Lully's operas. The prologue to *Phaéton* opens with the 'troupe de compagnons d'Astrée' dancing and singing to entertain her. The music of their two choruses in each case takes up the metre and style, though not the actual melodic line, of the preceding dance. The voices move note-against-note throughout, almost entirely in thirds. However, when the troupe sings again towards the end of the prologue, it re-emerges as the standard three-part formation, with the addition of the **haute-contre**. Choruses of fairies make two appearances in *Roland*. In the prologue, their role is like that of the troupe in *Phaéton* and their music is in a similar dance style. The *fées* who accompany Logistille in *V 2* echo the last two lines of both verses of their leader's accompanied air, again note-against-note, though with the **basse continue** (in the alto register) contributing some interest (Example 152). All the above examples are accompanied by the **basse continue** only.
ii) Composers after Lully

a) The grand choeur

The layout and vocal range of the standard four-part chorus remains much the same in the period after Lully's death. Many choruses in the operas of Colasse, Destouches and the others look very similar to those of Lully, preserving the same musical style and performing similar functions. To take just three examples, 'Chantons Bacchus' from Colasse's Enée et Levinie, III 4, 'Louis est triomphant' from Charpentier's Médée, Prologue, and the final chorus section 'Chantons le digne fils' from Destouches' Omphale, I 4 could have been lifted straight from Lully. In such choruses are preserved the restricted vocal compass, the syllabic, note-against-note choral writing and the supporting accompaniment filling out the texture.

Not all choruses are so conservative, however. Composers were beginning to experiment a little more freely with imitative textures and more individual orchestral accompaniments. These experiments are parallel with those in other fields such as the ensemble and accompanied air. Imitation still frequently appears, as it had with Lully, about two-thirds to three-quarters of the way through an otherwise homophonic chorus, and may still consist simply of one voice or a pair of voices leading the others. Example 153 is taken from Cassandre, II 8.
However, the point of imitation has a tendency to become less of a token gesture, and takes longer to revert to the prevailing homophony. The nine bars of relative independence for the voices in the opening chorus of the prologue to Enée et Lavinie (Example 154) are some advance on Lullian models.
The effect of giving the voice parts more freedom may at times be more apparent than real, perhaps; while the separate parts in this excerpt from Polixène et Pirrhus, V 2 (Example 155) have independent life, the overall effect is still rhythmic and syllabic.
Colasse sometimes permits a little more air into the texture. In this chorus from Thétis et Pélias, I 5, (Example 156) the imitation is placed at the beginning, resuming in a condensed form two-thirds of the way through. The delay in the entry of the basses is particularly striking.

Ex. 156, Thétis et Pélias, I 5.

A later passage from the same scene also shows a rather less stereotyped chorus formation, and the second idea 'cédez lui la victoire' is introduced in the taille against the two upper voices (bars 4-6). This freedom is not maintained throughout the chorus, however. Example 157 from Iphigénie en Tauride, V 4 shows Campra developing Lully's rather stereotyped vocal melismas on a word like 'vole' into a free, open texture, with the instrumental bass making its own contribution.
The roulades which continue to feature in choruses are usually somewhat less ornate and rhythmically free than their counterparts in solo vocal music. This can be seen in comparing this chorus from *Amadis de Grèce*, Prologue (Example 158) with the solo vocal section which immediately precedes it (Example 66 above).
Campra is generally more successful at avoiding the routine solutions. The vocal lines of Example 159, the closing section of the chorus 'Quittons nos fers' (Tancrède, II 3), show a greater rhythmic variety than those of Lully, who tends to set up chains of unremitting quavers.

Ex. 159, Tancrède, II 3.
Most of the above examples are still very much variations on a basically Lullian theme; dance choruses in particular, governed by set rhythmic patterns and phrase structures, remain very conservative. It is, however, possible to find more fully imitative choruses in operas after Lully, even if the imitation looks at times somewhat academic. Examples 160(a) and (b) are from two of Destouches' later operas, Callirhoë, III 3 and Télémaque, I 6.

Ex. 160(a) Callirhoë, III 3

Ex. 160(b) Télémaque, I 6
An attempt at a longer point of imitation seems to give the composer more trouble, as in Example 161 from the prologue to Télémaque.

While formal imitation of this complexity remains untypical, briefer imitative sections are much more common than in Lully, and there may be two or three sub-sections within a chorus each introducing a new imitative idea. The fact of imitation at a particular point may be significant: Example 162 is part of the chorus's terrified reaction to the cataclysmic ending of Semblé, V 3. Such disruptions are normally the province of the orchestra, composers using throbbing tremolando and rampaging semiquavers and reducing the chorus to syllabic exclamations. Here, however, Marais allows the chorus its full share in the excitement, the unusually high tessitura (particularly of the dessus and taille) helping no doubt to convey the intended panic.
Experimentation and imagination in the handling of the chorus focus increasingly on the use of the orchestra and on the selection and deployment of contrasting groups of voices rather than on the musical material of the grand choeur itself. The full chorus is now almost invariably accompanied by (at least) the five-part string orchestra, exceptions to this occurring usually where the chorus participates in the action by means of exclamations or brief dialogues (see Chapter Twelve). Other instruments are often specified to play along with the chorus or, more importantly, to punctuate it with instrumental sections. Lully, of course, made use of such interpolations in his larger scale choruses, but they tend to be of regular proportions and have the appearance more of a breathing space for the voices than a structural or textural device (perhaps the most important exception being those choruses in which trumpets feature, reinforcing the ceremonial nature of the event). For some later composers, the inclusion of instrumental interpolations, often extremely brief ones, becomes almost obligatory, even in relatively unimportant choruses. There is some variation between composers in this respect: Colasse and Campra use instrumental sections more freely than Destouches, for example. The choice of instruments is, as before, often dictated by the type of situation or group involved: flûtes for pastoral scenes and the suivants of goddesses; oboes and bassoons for marine or occasionally underworld characters; trumpets and drums for gods, heroes and celebrations.

There is rather more freedom in the nature of the accompaniment, too, with the parts not always so closely tied to the vocal lines. With the majority of opera scores in this period being published in
reduced format, it is not always possible to assess the extent to which this freedom penetrated the orchestral texture, but even the grafting-on of an independent instrumental part above the vocal *dessus* adds variety. In *Enée et Lavinie*, III 4, Colasse writes a line above the string parts for oboes which move freely between an independent line and one which doubles the *dessus*. The chorus 'Pour célébrer sa gloire', *Jason*, I 5 has an independent top instrumental line marked 'trompettes' and a part marked 'timballes' actually playing with the chorus rather than simply between phrases. Example 163 comes from the prologue to *Amadis de Grèce* and shows a typical syllabic chorus with a free upper part (marked 'violons' in the 1712 edition of the score, unlabelled in the first edition) apparently imitating trumpet fanfares at one point: the quotation begins at bar 12.

Ex. 163, *Amadis de Grèce*, Prologue

Further examples on similar lines are 'Chantons, célébrons' in *Idoménée*, I 3 and 'C'est dans ces charmantes retraites' in *Médée et Jason*, III 2.

Other composers employ different effects. In the chorus 'Secondez nous, oiseaux de ces bocages', *Semelé*, III 3, Marais includes two instrumental parts 'flûtes *premier* dessus' and 'flûtes *second* dessus' which play along with the chorus and interject 'birdsong'. Another chorus which mentions birds, 'Dans cette ile charmante', *Manto la Fée*, II 4, has two parts for *petites flûtes*. In *Méléagre*, III 6, the device of the echo chorus is used, but with the echo supplied instrumentally. Example 164 from *Amadis de Grèce*, I 3 shows this happening in a small way: this is part of a long chorus blending grand choeur, petit choeur and instrumental *ritournelles*. 
Two examples will serve to show just how complex such multi-section choruses can be — they are by no means exceptional. The first is the chorus 'Que d'épais bataillons', Médée, I 6, which is some 188 bars long, and is only one of three choruses in the same scene. It is repeated after a substantial 'rondeau pour les Corinthiens', a 'second air pour les Argiens', a dance duet, a sarabande and a second verse of the duet. An outline of the chorus is given: it falls into two parts, each with three major subdivisions. The prominent role of trumpets and drums confines the tonality of a greater part of the number to D major. The instrumental groupings have been abbreviated as follows:

I (Eight staves) Trompettes, violons et hautbois, [haute-contre], [taille], [quinte], basse de violon, timbales, basse continue. The trumpets mostly double the upper string part.

II (Six staves) As I, minus trumpets and drums.

IIIa (Three staves) Hautbois et violons, hautbois et violons, basse continue.

IIIb (Three staves) 1. violon et hautbois, 2. violon et hautbois, bassons seuls.

BC Basse continue only.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>Orchestral introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-25 Que d'épais bataillons</td>
<td>II/I A</td>
<td>II with chorus, I between phrases, I with final phrase.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-31 Unissons-nous</td>
<td>BC B</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>Solo vocal trio (haute-contre, tenor, bass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-49 La gloire }</td>
<td></td>
<td>B minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49-64</td>
<td>IIIa E minor</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>Instrumental section</td>
</tr>
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The second example, 'Venez, fille du ciel' from the prologue to Tancredé has a rather less coherent formal design: the musical material, based on three main ideas ('Venez', 'Rassemblez' and 'Descendez') is constantly reworked in short sections in a sort of musical patchwork. This is not to say that Campra produces a bitty or disjointed effect; the musical ideas are not sharply differentiated. The accompaniment is for flutes (douces) and strings, separately and together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>64-70 Unissons-nous</th>
<th>BC</th>
<th>B₂</th>
<th>D major</th>
<th>Trio (as above)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70-76 Nous fersons triompher</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Instrumental section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76-91 Que de épais bataillons</td>
<td>II/I</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>Exact repeat of A above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108-13 Unissons-nous La gloire</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>→ B minor</td>
<td></td>
<td>Choral version of B with added dessus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113-31 Nous ferassemblez triompher</td>
<td>II/IIIb</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>Based on 49-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131-46</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>→ A major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146-52 Unissons-nous</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>B₂</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>Choral version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152-58 Nous fersontriompher</td>
<td>I/II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173-88 Nous fersontriompher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trumpets now independent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The musical ideas are not sharply differentiated. The accompaniment is for flutes (douces) and strings, separately and together.

| 1-7 Venez Descendez | Flutes & strings | A minor | Based on 'descendez' |
| 7-18 | | | |
| 18-29 | Flutes, answered 'tous' | |
| 29-38 Rassemblez | Strings | → C major | 2 upper voices, doubled flutes |
| 38-47 Descendez | Flutes | A minor | |
| 47-56 Rassemblez | Strings | E minor | Includes one reduced section accompanied by flutes |
| 56-78 Descendez | Strings | G major | |
| 78-85 Venez Descendez | Flutes, 'tous' | C major | Petit choeur, includes one short orchestral tutti. |
| 85-98 | | A minor | |
| 97-102 Venez | Strings | A minor | Recapitulation of 18-29 |
| 102-13 | Fls/Strings | A minor | Includes 'venez' in bass. |
| 113-25 Descendez | | | |
b) The Petit Choeur

The importance of the petit choeur formation as a foil to the grand choeur in massive choral structures, remains undiminished in the period after Lully's death. As before, the petit and grand choeur may represent two different groups of people (for example, the suivants of two gods or leaders), or they may simply be subdivisions of one large group, contributing contrasts of colour and imparting a type of formal organisation through their use in alternation. The characters identified through the use of the three-part chorus tend to resemble those in Lully's operas: nymphs, zephyrs and sirens (Thétis et Pélée, Enée et Lavinie, Alcide, Jason), the Graces, the Pleasures and cupids (Enée et Lavinie, Canente, Manto la Fée), the suites of La Volupté (Céphale et Procris), Hymen (Marthésie) and Venus (Polixène et Pirrhue), together with Amazons (Marthésie), phantoms (Médée) and demons disguised as nymphs (Circe).

The layout of clefs for the three voice parts is sometimes treble, soprano and alto (as with Lully), but a treble, treble, alto arrangement is rather more common. Soprano, soprano, alto is also found (for example, in Médée, IV 7). These variations seem to have little or no effect on the voice parts, however.

The use of an instrumental accompaniment in addition to the basse continue becomes more common. The score of Colasse's Enée et Lavinie has unusually detailed specifications for the use of instruments, in choruses and elsewhere. There are three numbers for petit choeur in IV 5. In the first, 'Que tes dons sont charmants!', two flûtes allemandes and four violons are instructed to play with the chorus; in the second, 'A peine Jupiter', this direction is clarified by the use of the words 'dessus de violon'. From instrumental interludes in these choruses, it would seem that the two upper lines are each doubled by one flute and two violins, with the haute-contre line left to the basse continue. In the third chorus, 'Suivons tous', the voice parts are joined by an independent instrumental line above the dessus (Example 165). It is possible that Colasse, writing within three years of Lully's death, is, in the first two cases at least, simply being more particular in naming the instrumental forces required, and that similar choruses in Lully's operas may have had such instrumental doubling intended. The extra information about the scoring contained in the livrets may well be of assistance here.
There are many instances of written-out instrumental accompaniments for the petit choeur, often with interesting effects. The chorus 'Après des mortelles alarmes' in Médée, IV 7 is sung by phantoms. Its accompanying lines are marked '1. flûte et hautbois', '2. flûte et hautbois', 'basse de flûte' and 'basse continue'; the basse de flûte mainly doubles the haute-contre vocal part and is in turn doubled by the basse continue. Elsewhere, 'violons' are indicated, presumably violins rather than strings in general. This is the case in 'Venez prendre part à nos jeux', Circe, IV 8 and 'Le coeur de Philomèle', Philomèle, I 4 among others. The chorus 'Loin d'ici' in Colasse's Jason, IV 1 is exceptional in apparently requiring an accompaniment of full strings: there is even a divided dessus part. Flûtes (douces) are occasionally associated with strings in the accompaniment. All three instrumental parts in Campra's 'Chantons dans ces belles retraites', Tancredè, III 4 are marked 'flûtes et violons', although in the 1738 edition of the score, the marking of the lowest part is 'haute-contre et taille'. 'Rendez heureux les coeurs fidèles', Kanto la Fée, IV 2 has the three vocal parts doubled respectively by flûtes, flûtes and quintes.

The music of the petit choeur when acting independently is usually simple in style, often related to dance numbers. 'Chantons dans ces belles retraites', Tancredè, III 4 (Example 166) may be taken as typical of this style. Its assignation to a 'choeur des bergères' consisting of three voice parts all notated in the treble clef gives it, however, an unusually high tessitura.
When the petit choeur is used in conjunction with other choral and instrumental forces, it may simply share in the musical material of the whole chorus, or it may add a more distinctive contribution. Destouches' Amadis de Grèce furnishes examples of both types. In 'Que les Ris, que les Jeux', V 7, grand choeur and petit choeur sections are freely mixed with string, flûte or trumpet interpolations, sometimes answering one another bar by bar, but the contrast in the musical material is between voices and instruments rather than between choirs. In 'Goûtez malgré les vents', IV 2, on the other hand, the contrasting idea 'Vivez heureux' is specifically reserved for the petit choeur.

c) The four-part male chorus

This formation continues to appear in the period after Lully's death, though never becoming frequent. The clefs are usually as follows, although the bass clef is occasionally used for the seconde taille:

These groups are usually involved in supernatural or sacrifice scenes, although they are sometimes simply warriors. In Achille et Polixène, II 2 they are Greek soldiers. Colasse makes use of such a group no fewer than four times in Thétis et Pélée. In the prologue, they form the suite of Victory, their syllabic patter combining with the orchestra to dispel the sombre atmosphere of the opening scene (Example 167).
In I 5, they are tritons and rivers, with an imitative opening and an exciting conclusion based on roulades on the word 'règnent'. In II 7, Colasse separates the Ethiopians and Scythians on one hand from the Greeks and Persians on the other by using the male four-part chorus formation for the former and the grand choeur for the latter. The final appearance of the formation is as the 'ministres du Destin' (III 1) adding weight and dignity to the temple scene. The warriors in the prologue to Alcide open proceedings with a form of choral recitative. Later examples tend to set the chorus against an independent accompanying part. This is often appropriate to the nature of the group
represented, for example the demons in Céphale et Procris, IV 6. The accompaniment to the suite of Borée in La Naissance de Vénus, IV 1, represents, not surprisingly, winds. In the accompaniment to the sacrificateurs in Callirhoé, II 5 are seen the irregular flurries of activity seen elsewhere in character airs associated with such groups (see Chapter Thirteen). The scoring of the accompaniment may reinforce and even exaggerate the effect of four male voice parts; the demons and furies in Semélé, III 5 are accompanied not, apparently, by the strings, but by basse continue and a separate part marked 'contrebasse et bassons'. The string accompaniment to the demons in Télémaque, I 6 has the low scoring noted first in the accompaniment to the ombre in Amadis, with the dessus de violon notated in the soprano clef instead of its normal one.

d) The three-part male chorus

This formation (haute-contre, taille and basse), which made only one appearance in Lully's operas (the chorus of the frozen people in Isis) is used twice by Charpentier in Médée, but thereafter does not reappear until the turn of the century, after which it enjoys some popularity. The choice of groups for this treatment corresponds closely to that for the four-part male chorus, a typical selection being warriors (Tancrede), demons and furies (Médée, Canente, Philomèle and Semélé) and esprits or conjurés (Cassandre, Manto la Fée and Créuse).

This chorus, too, can be used as a foil to another, for example in Canente, III 4, where the demons (elsewhere the 'ministres de Circé') confront the petit choeur of graces. In Polixène et Pirrohus, I 5, the chorus of Greeks is distinguished from the normal grand choeur of Greeks and Thracians in this way. Three examples specify a highly unusual combination of solo and choral forces. The chorus of the Argiens (Médée, I 6) has a separate printed line doubling the bass chorus part for their leader, Oronte. Argant in Tanorède, I 3 joins his chorus of warriors, but with an independent part. There is also a direction 'Isménor avec le choeur' in Tanorède, IV 3 though there is no separate part here: probably he, too, doubled the bass part.

The choice and nature of the accompanying parts vary considerably. The 'ministres de Circé' in Canente, III 3 are accompanied by the full strings (although in the following scene, where they encounter the graces,
they are accompanied only by basse continue). The full string accompaniment is used also for the Greeks in Polixène et Pirrhus, I 5, the furies in Philomèle, IV 3 and the conjurées in Cassandre, IV 6. In the last two of these, the orchestra contributes a lively independent part. In Philomèle, this is a continuation of the style of the previous prélude which ushers in Jealousy; in Cassandre both chorus and orchestra maintain the momentum of the energetic duet 'Suivons la fureur et la rage'. Both combine in this excerpt from Arion, III 4, part of a long scene in which subterranean winds are conjured up, make their presence felt, and finally whip up a storm (see Chapter Fourteen). Example 168 is the opening of their chorus.

Ex. 168, Arion, III 4

The esprits infernaux in Créuse, IV 3, are characterized in a very different way, chanting their eagerness to carry out their master's evil bidding:

\[ \begin{align*}
4 & | | | | | | J J J J J J J J J J J J J J \\
& \text{Que les sou-pies, que les cris, les al-ar-} & \text{mes Pour nous ont de charmses}
\end{align*} \]

Not all the three-part male choruses are accompanied by full strings, however. 'Ce dieu peut tout' ( Médée, I 6) has two accompanying instrumental parts each marked 'violons et hautbois' plus basse continue. The choruses 'Brillant soleil' in Ulysse, IV 7 and 'Qu'un affreux ravage' in Semélé, III 5 each condense the strings into three
parts. In the former, which is labelled 'PLAINTE', the three are:

- \( \text{Violons} \)
- La Haute-Contre, la Taille et la Quinte doivent jouer la même partie
- \( \text{Basse continue} \)

They contribute brief, elaborate interpolations between chorus phrases.

In the latter, the parts are as follows:

- \( \text{Violons, marked 'tous'} \)
- Haute-contre, Taille et Quinte
- \( \text{Basse de violon} \)

Their contribution, or at least that of the outer parts, is vigorous and independent.

e) Chorus of basses

This is one development which appears to have no precedent in Lully's music. This chorus consists of a single bass line, usually marked 'toutes les basses'. The first appearance of this may be in Desmarets' Didon, III 3, for the chorus of furies. However, the two manuscript copies of the partition général to be found in FPn show a discrepancy here: in one, the chorus appears to be a single bass line with four-part string accompaniment, but in the other, on other counts less reliable, the formation seems to be a four-part chorus with four-part accompaniment. The situation is clearer in the composer's next opera, Circe, where there are two choruses for 'toutes les basses' in the sommeil scene (III 3).

Like the three-part and four-part male choruses, the type of group represented is usually supernatural or sinister: furies and demons...
(Didon, Céphale et Procris, Marthésie, Ulysse), magicians and enchanters (Amadis de Grèce, Omphale, Alcine), the suites of Jealousy (Vénus et Adonis, Idoménée).

The accompaniment is normally strings, sometimes playing with the voice part and maintaining its rhythm, but elsewhere more independent. In the chorus of the songes affreux in Circé, III 3, 'Tous les moments', there is quaver movement in the orchestra, principally in the dessus. A particularly lively example occurs in Amadis de Grèce, III 3. The first section 'Nous sommes prêts' (Example 169(a)) has almost unbroken semiquaver movement throughout in the instrumental part (the dessus de violon); in the second, Example 169(b), an equally relentless dotted figure is set up.

The suite of Eole in the prologue to Idoménée is depicted as chained up, attempting to burst out and being calmed by Eole. Example 170 is taken from the middle of this chorus, 'Laissez nous sortir'. There is an equally vigorous semiquaver accompaniment to the chorus 'Signalons notre barbarie' for the suite of Jealousy (Idoménée, II 8).
As in all the other special formations described, these choruses are often shown in opposition to other groups, affording contrasts of timbre. In *Marthésie*, II 3, the basses chorus of Scythes contrasts with the petit choeur of the Amazons. In *Ulysse*, V 2, there is a combat between the 'partie d'Ulysse' and the 'partie contraire', the former group in four parts with trumpets featured in their accompaniment, the latter unison basses with strings only.

f) The two-part female chorus

This type of chorus, infrequently used by Lully, is again rare in the ten years or so after his death, but enjoys something of a revival later. The characters involved are, predictably, nymphs, dryads, Pleasures (*Didon*, *Philomèle*, *Callirhoé*), priestesses (*Marthésie*, *Télèphe*), Trojan women (*Cassandre*, *Polixène* et *Pirrhus*). The two clefs involved are either treble and treble or treble and soprano. Desmarets' two groups in *Didon*, Prologue and II 4, are accompanied only by the basse continue, as are the priestesses in *Marthésie*, I 5 and the 'génies et plaisirs' in the prologue to *Philomèle*, in the latter case with a basse continue part in the alto clef.

Other instruments may also be involved in the accompaniment. The
chorus 'Préparons à Bacchus' (Philomèle, IV 5) has the upper part doubled by 'les flûtes' while the lower part is written out again and marked 'violon'. In Tancrede, III 4, the upper and lower voice parts of the chorus 'Règne Amour' are doubled respectively by flûtes and violons, but with interpolations for full strings. In Polixène et Pirrhus, III 3, both instrumental accompanying parts are marked 'flûtes et violons', with a basse continue part in the alto clef. The priestesses of the Pythonisse in Téléphe, II 3, like their leader, are characterized by flutes. The layout of the chorus '0 puissant Apollon' in Cassandre, V 1 is quite complex:

The role of the two-part chorus is usually to second its leader, often repeating her words and sometimes singing a two-part version of her music. After the priestess's air 'Poursui, Soleil' (Marthesie, I 5) there is a direction 'les prêtresses chantent ce récit en chœur'. The chorus of shepherdesses in Tancrede, III 4 is dovetailed with solo sections for its leader, and the suivants of Venus in the prologue to Idoménée alternate with the goddess in 'Chantez le dieu charmant'. The priestesses in the prologue to Callirhoé form a contrasting block of sound to that of the warriors, a four-part male chorus, the former pleading for peace, the latter pressing for more victories.

The chorus retains its important role in French opera throughout this period and beyond. In terms of sheer quantity, there appears to
be some decline, the chorus accounting for roughly twelve per cent of the livret in Lully's operas and seven per cent subsequently, using the samples taken earlier. The proliferation of short lines in the typical dance chorus and the considerable use of word repetition in other choruses makes comparisons difficult, however. The chorus's functions of praising and celebrating to order, adding weight to temple scenes, occasionally reacting to events or confronting one of the main characters are combined with their structural and colouristic possibilities, the latter being the area in which Lully's successors make most impression. While large-scale movements in the divertissements still involve the chorus, later examples are likely to include more subdivisions combining solo, ensemble and choral forces, with instrumental interpolations becoming almost obligatory and somewhat more extensive than in Lully. Looking at the structural function of the chorus over a wider field, we see a diminished role for the chorus outside the divertissement; the choral background to such scenes as the first acts of Alceste and Thésée and its prominent role in, for example, the pompes funèbres in Alceste and the final scenes of Phaéton is not often paralleled later. The interest of later choruses is more often in the groups they represent, often identified by a special combination of voices, and in the contrasts of sound which they and their accompaniment can produce.
NOTES

1 **Comparaison, I 75.**


3 'The Operas of J.-B. Lully', p.122.

4 For discussion of this pertaining to Court performance of *Alceste*, see the preface to *Oeuvres complètes, Les Opéras*, II, pp.x-xiii.

5 Durey de Noinville, *Histoire*, p.120.

6 ibid., p.133-34.

7 'L'Académie Royale de Musique', pp.174-75.

8 French Baroque Music, p.86.

9 The petit choeur section and chorus reprise are omitted in the Chefs-d'oeuvre edition of the score.

10 As Jurgen Eppelsheim points out, in *Das Orchester in den Werken Jean-Baptiste Lullys* (Tutzing, 1961), pp.192-93, the four-part string accompaniment to the prisoners' chorus sections is one of a very small number of such accompaniments in Lully's works.

11 The 'ombres heureuses' in *Proserpine*, IV 1, also featuring a four-part string texture in the orchestral interpolations (see above, note 10).

12 The Amazons in *Bélérophon*, I 5.


14 In those scores which were published only in reduced format, the disposition of the chorus has to be deduced from the parts printed. The three-part male chorus is, like the three-part instrumental ritournelle and the petit choeur, printed in full. A chorus with only haute-contre and bass parts printed can be assumed to be in four parts.

15 *Vm* 120 and *Vm* 121.

16 The Bacchantes in *Philomèle*, IV 5 begin as treble and soprano, with the upper line doubled by 'les flûtes' and the lower written out again underneath (using the same clef) and marked 'violon'. When the same group appears without this accompaniment later in the scene, both vocal parts are written in the soprano clef.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ORCHESTRA

When one discounts speculation and scandalmongering, and the endless accusations that the opera perpetrated corrupt moral values, the chief topics for debate and dispute over the early tragédie en musique were such questions as the suitability of the French language for musical declamation, the invasion of dance and spectacle into the tragédie, and the 'corruption' of French purity and simplicity of style by Italianate elements. While the vocal music of Lully and his successors may have continued to fuel these controversies for decades, it is in the orchestral sphere that we find Lully's most significant legacies to music beyond the narrow confines of French opera. The tangible form of this legacy is the French overture and the elevation of dance music into an art form, but equally or even more important is the organization of the orchestra and the standard of discipline in performance for which Lully was responsible, and which was so influential abroad.

The picture of the role of the orchestra which emerges when comparing Lully's early operas with those of the early eighteenth century is one of considerable expansion. From playing an overture, a few dances and ritournelles and the occasional chorus accompaniment, the orchestra becomes more and more a part of the fabric of the opera, introducing and supporting the voices, characterizing single people and whole groups, describing natural and supernatural phenomena and, in a limited way, providing individual colour and texture. The development of accompanied recitative and air has been dealt with in Chapters Three and Four and the use of the orchestra for descriptive purposes features in Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen. This chapter is mainly concerned with the make-up of the Académie orchestra, its personnel and instruments, and with the music it plays on its own.

There are many problems inherent in studying the orchestra and its music in Lully's operas. We do not know how many players were involved; information about scoring is often incomplete or inconsistent; autographs and contemporary performance materials have not survived. Lully's orchestra was famous, the 'premier coup d'archet' a legend and yet accounts tantalizingly omit detailed specifications of the players and instruments involved. Even Georg Muffat's valuable information about the style of performance of airs de ballet stops short of helping us to
reconstruct the orchestra necessary. There are few pages in a Lully score where one can list with absolute certainty which instruments play and how many: perhaps there are no such pages. The sparse information conveyed by the full scores must be supplemented by reference to such sources as the livrets, which often list performers involved as participants in divertissements. Anthony quotes an example from Atys, II 4, an entrée of zephyrs, in which a passage for five-part strings with a separate line marked 'hautbois' doubling the dessus is followed by a section with three 'hautbois' lines plus bass: on the face of it, a reasonably precise specification of the forces needed. As Anthony comments, 'it is ... disconcerting to consult the livret of 1676 and learn that the a 4 episode was performed by five oboes and three cromornes'. Eppelsheim's thorough investigation of these problems gives detailed information on the instruments available to Lully, the sources for a study of his requirements, and the evidence which the sources provide. No attempt is made here to reproduce in detail the examples and inconsistencies he points out, nor the arguments involved, and I shall deal mostly with the general overall picture which emerges.

i) The players

Evidence about the exact composition of the orchestra at the Académie has until recently relied on the assumption that the earliest available lists of specifications and salaried personnel, contained in the Privilège of 1712-13 and the État of 1713, reflect an establishment broadly similar to that of the orchestra in Lully's day. Given the conservative nature of an institution such as the Académie and of the music written for it, the assumption would not seem an unreasonable one. The documents recently published by La Gorce, already referred to in connection with the chorus, take us almost a decade nearer to Lully's time. The table below lists the breakdown of players in 1704, 1712-13 and 1719, the last falling just outside the period of this thesis, but helping to confirm certain trends which can be detected in comparing the two earlier lists. (See overleaf)

The grand choeur is, of course, the foundation of the orchestra. Its distinctive features are firstly its five parts and secondly the distribution of players within those five parts. There is a strong polarity between the outer parts, gradually becoming more exaggerated (it is worth noting that the disposition of the Vingt-Quatre Violons du
The orchestral personnel, 1704 – 1719

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Batteur de mesure</th>
<th>1704 Campra</th>
<th>1712-13 Lacoste</th>
<th>1719 Rebel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Petit chœur:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clavecin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dessus de violon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basses de violon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Théorbes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basses de viole</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwind</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2 flûtes</td>
<td>2 flûtes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>allemandes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Grand chœur:      |             |                 |           |
| Dessus de violon  | 10          | 12              | 14        |
| Hautes-contre     | 3           | 3               | 2         |
| Tailles           | 3           | 2               | 2         |
| Quintes           | 2           | 2               | 2         |
| Basses de violon  | 8           | 8               | 8         |
| Woodwind:         | 8 flûtes    | 8 hautbois, flûtes | 5 bassons |
|                   |             |                 | ou bassons|

Roi was 6, 4, 4, 4, 6). Muffat implies a criticism of this tendency as far as the dessus is concerned, hinting at professional jealousy among the players:

On doit distribuer, et selon le nombre des musiciens doubler les parties avec tel jugement, qu'on les entende toutes distinctement, agréablement, et avec les ornements ordinaires. Il ne faut pas mettre tant et de si bons violons au dessus seul, que les parties du milieu et la basse, entre lesquelles un des plus grands ornements de l'harmonie est caché, se trouvent destituées de gens suffisants en nombre, et en capacité, ce que nous sommes fâchés de voir souvent arriver, par la sotte ambition de précédence, dont aucuns sont entraînés. 5

The petit chœur was a group of the best players who were paid a higher salary than the rank and file (600 as against 400 livres on average). It can be seen that two woodwind players (flûtes allemandes in 1712-13, flûtes in 1719) become regular members of the petit chœur, but it should also be noted that the list of salaried personnel in 1704 shows that the first two woodwind players were also paid 600 livres and that in terms of status if not actually in name, they ranked with the petit chœur. The musicians of the petit chœur provided the three-part ritournelles and increasingly the solo air accompaniments in which obbligato parts are featured. Within the petit chœur is contained the
continuo group of clavécin and bowed and plucked string instruments, who played for the vocal and choral numbers. Sadler has recently pointed out that the continuo instruments appear to have been silent during the overture and dance movements, taking the evidence of figuring and the appearance of the words 'basse continue' under each system in the Ballard scores: in the scores printed during Lully's lifetime, both are absent in the self-contained orchestral movements. One of the part-books for Isis printed in 1677 is designated 'Basse continue. Qui comprend toute la Piece, excepté les Airs de Danse qui sont dans la Basse de Violon'.

The woodwind players do not seem to have been referred to under a single generic name, and appear arbitrarily under the names of single instruments or as an assortment of 'hautbois, flûtes ou bassons'. In 1704, for example, eight names are listed as 'M's Les Fluttes', but the appearance of these names on orchestral parts, in livrets and in other sources enables La Gorce to ascribe at least one and often two instruments to each player (e.g. Julien Bernier, flûte allemande and oboe). Taking his ascriptions, we see that the players between them could muster as required four flûtes, two flûtes allemandes, three oboes and four bassoons. Woodwind players, therefore, were not specialists, but could switch from one instrument to another: that this switch was often between one or other type of flûte and a reed instrument is perhaps surprising. Even when the instruments are specified (for example, the two flûtes allemandes in the petit choeur in 1712-13) we can assume that these players, too, switched instruments, and that the appearance of the name flûtes allemandes simply reflects their increasing use at this time.

Even when we put these lists together, however, we are still a long way from reconstructing the Académie orchestra: there are some significant omissions. One can be rectified: one of the dessus de violon was deputed to double as timbalier. A certain Claude Caraffe fulfilled this role in 1704, and although the timbalier is listed separately in the stipulated establishment in 1713, M. Caraffe was still playing his dual function in that year and was paid 400 livres as violoniste, 150 livres as timbalier. Since 150 livres is well under half the salary of any other instrumentalist, it was presumably always envisaged that the part would be taken by one of the other players, and the appearance of the timbalier on the establishment list did not imply an increase in personnel.

Of the trumpets which feature prominently in so many scores, there is no mention, and we must conclude that they were hired separately and
paid on a different basis (Anthony's suggestion that the trumpets 'were probably played by two of the wind players' seems an unlikely solution 7). The source of these extra players may well have been the Grande Écurie, Louis XIV's own ceremonial musicians. Among these were also players of the cromorne and musette, and references to these instruments in the livrets suggest that these, too, were drafted in. It should also be noted that wind players (and less often strings) were sometimes required to appear on the stage. The cast list for the prologue to Isis, for example, includes five trumpets, six tritons playing the flûte, Erato and Euterpe playing the dessus de flûte and Terpsichore and Polyomnie, dessus de violon. The instrument-playing gods in the final scene of Proserpine are described as accompanying Jupiter 'dans la Gloire', i.e. in the machines by which the assembly of gods is effected.

Are we entitled to deduce anything about the Lully orchestra from the lists of personnel of the early eighteenth century? Clearly, the framework is there: the association of grand and petit choeur, the approximate proportions of the string parts in the grand choeur and so on. As a guide to the number of players involved, however, it is probably safe to take the 1704 list only as a minimum: in 1704, the fortunes of the Académie were at a low ebb and if we deduce that the number of choristes was somewhat lower than usual, it is not unreasonable to assume that the orchestra, too, was feeling the pinch. In an earlier period, during which the Académie enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the King and was in the charge of another powerful autocrat, Lully, no doubt greater resources were at its disposal. Performances at Court, too, were probably on a more lavish scale. Lecerf complained that the Italians played 'vingt instruments éclatants et rudes' in their orchestras, while the French played fifty or sixty 'doux et délicats'.

ii) The instruments

The foundation of Lully's orchestral music is the five-part string orchestra, formed from members of the violin family. The parts and the clefs in which they are normally written are as follows:

\[ \text{Dessus de violon, or violin. This part sometimes divides, in which case both parts retain the same clef. The range of this part lies entirely within the first position, c' being reached by the extension of the little finger on the E string. 'Lully's first [sic] violins were far and away the aristocracy of his orchestra.'} \]
The parties de remplissage, all played on instruments corresponding to the modern viola in tuning, but varying in size (the quinte being the largest). Lully left the composition of the inner parts to his secrétaires: they are characterized by a dullness so absolute and a technique so undemanding that we are led to wonder what manner of player would consent to spend years in performing such material. Of course, the extreme imbalance of the strings of the orchestra would render interesting or idiomatic inner parts inaudible anyway: their functions are purely harmonic.

This instrument, larger than a cello and tuned to E'flat, F, c and g (i.e. a tone below the cello) was eventually replaced by the cello, probably around 1720. There was no instrument at 16' pitch in Lully's orchestra. Lully appears to have been the first to use mutes in his orchestra; the 'Prélude pour la nuit' in Le Triomphe de l'Amour and three orchestral items in the sommeil in Armide, II 3-4 require them.

The petit choeur includes the other bass stringed instrument employed, the basse de viole, having a quieter tone than the basse de violon but with the advantages of greater flexibility and upward range (the chanterelle being a fifth higher than that of the basse de violon). It is notated in the bass clef and tuned as follows (the extra bottom string being a feature of the French bass viol):

For Lully, this term almost always implies members of the recorder family (flûtes douces or flûtes à bec). Lully is not normally more specific about the exact instrument intended: Eppelsheim deduces, from the range of the parts written, that the taille de flûte, an instrument in f', corresponding to the modern treble, is usually intended, but that the quinte de flûte, in c' is sometimes needed for a lower-lying part. He also mentions a reference to the dessus de flûte being used in the prologue to Isis, this information being gleaned from the livret. Lully's most notable
use of the *flûte* family occurs in his ballet *Le Triomphe de l'Amour*, 1681, the 'Prélude pour l'Amour', written in four parts:

- Tailles ou Flûtes d'Allemagne
- Quinte de Flûtes
- Petite Basse de Flûtes
- Grande Basse de Flûtes et Basse-Continue.

The *flûte d'Allemagne* or transverse flute is specified by Lully only in *Le Triomphe de l'Amour*, in the prélude mentioned above and in the 'Ritournelle pour Diane', a three-part piece with each of the upper parts marked 'flûte d'Allemagne'. The recorder family continued to enjoy a separate existence, and like other woodwind instruments, went through a process of improvement through the use of a jointed construction and finer workmanship.

**Oboes**

The function of the oboes was firstly to double the dessus part of the grand choeur, and secondly to play many three-part ritournelles and dances which have two oboe parts plus bassoon and basse continue. The modern oboe originated in seventeenth-century France in the hands of the Chédéville, Philidor and Hotteterre families. Construction in three sections permitted more accurate and delicate workmanship, and gave the oboe advantages over the older shawm in respect of intonation and compass.

**Bassoons**

These usually play in conjunction with the oboes, either in three-part dances or episodes, or doubling the basses de violon. Eppelsheim (pp.110-12) cites various examples of this combination, with the inclusion of bassoons specified or clearly intended. The first bassoons to be constructed in jointed sections were made in France at this period, but it is probably fair to say that the process of refinement seen in other woodwind instruments reached only a comparatively early stage in the case of the bassoon.

**Trumpets**

Trumpet parts in Lully's operas and in those of his successors are always written in D or C. The trumpets are sometimes used to double the dessus de violon: their part may be written out separately, or simply be indicated by 'trompettes' against the dessus line. Elsewhere, they divide as 'premier dessus' and 'second dessus de trompettes', doubling the violins or playing
independently. The parts are somewhat rudimentary when compared with those in Germany or Italy, with no use of clarino technique. The effect of the trumpet sound is brought about through the rhythmic energy of the music and the use of more than one player to a part, not done elsewhere. In Proserpine, V 6 there is an unusual movement, the prélude which ushers in Jupiter and many other divinities for the final scene. Above the five string parts appear five other staves, the lowest labelled 'tymballes', the uppermost 'trompettes' (this implies also trumpets for all four remaining parts). In the piece itself, sections for 'trompettes et violons' alternate with ones for 'violons'. It should be noted that trumpets are not obligatory in Lully's orchestra: Atys, Persée, Phaéton, Roland and Armide have no trumpet parts.

Timbales (timpani) Naturally, these go hand in hand with the trumpets, and are tuned to tonic and dominant. This example of a characteristic part is taken from Thésée, I 6:

These instruments, together with the theorboes and harpsichord of the continuo group, are the basic opera orchestra. Lully's selection of instruments for his operas is somewhat more conservative than that for his ballets, in which can be found references to sacquebutes, trompette marine, guitar (an instrument which Lully played), castanets and other instruments (see Eppelsheim for details). Three other instruments should be mentioned in connection with the operas, however. The tambour, or untuned drum, appears on stage in connection with trumpets and timbales in Psyché, V 4, according to the score (no separate part is written for it). Eppelsheim suggests that in the title 'bruit des trompettes et des tambours' in Thésée, Prologue (livret of 1675), 'tambours' is used loosely for timpani (p.169). There are also references in the livrets of Thésée and Atys to cromornes. Two players of the cromorne are mentioned in Thésée, IV 7, playing in conjunction with flûtes and oboes as 'instruments champêtres'; the presence of three cromornes in the 'Entrée des Zéphirs' in Atys, II 4 has been referred to above. Musettes are mentioned in one score, in a march in Isis, III 5 ('violons, musettes et hautbois') and a player, Buchot, is mentioned by name as one of the 'acteurs du prologue' in Alceste (livret of 1678), playing in an oboe trio in an air for full strings in C major. Musettes (see below, p. 227) have
strong pastoral connections, and might well be intended to play the bass line in similar trios in pastoral divertissements. Example 171 is the opening of a trio which breaks in on Roland's long soliloquy in Roland, IV 2. At this point in the livret is marked 'On entend un bruit de musettes'. Roland reacts to this with 'J'entends un bruit de musique champêtre', and refers to the shepherds dancing 'au son des chalumeaux'. 'Chalumeaux' is probably being used here loosely as a pastoral term, conveniently rhymed with 'hameaux', but one of its more specific meanings is the chanter of the musette.

Ex. 171, Roland, IV 2

One further aspect of the history of Lully's orchestra at the Académie should be mentioned: its importance as a training ground for future composers. Many of the significant figures in French musical life in the early eighteenth century served at some time in the orchestra, under Lully or one of his successors, among them Marais (*basse de viole*), di Gatti and Montéclair (*basses de violon*), Jean-Féry Rebel (*clavecin, later batteur de mesure*), Campra and Lacoste (*batteurs de mesure*), La Barre (*flûte allemande*) and several members of the Hotteterre family. Their compositions (and in some cases treatises) extended well beyond the field of opera into church music, secular vocal music and instrumental music.

The basis of the French opera orchestra after Lully's death remains the opposition and combination of the *petit* and *grand chœur*, and the actual instruments selected do not vary much from those of Lully. It is in the handling of these instruments that the main differences between the orchestras of, say, 1680 and 1710 appear.

The principal modifications and additions are as follows:

**Haute-contre, taille and quinte:** Comparison between the orchestra lists of 1704, 1712-13 and 1719 shows a decline in the already small numbers involved in playing the *parties* (*de remplissage*). These were shortly to be combined into two parts: even during this period, there are increasing numbers of passages in which the *parties* combine. To take
one example, a manuscript full score of Lacoste's Créuse (produced in 1712 and not revived) shows the overture written in four parts, the second marked 'haute-contre et taille', and in later passages with the orchestra laid out in five parts, two of the parties often double one another.13 This is also the case with operas which were revived later in the century, for example, Tancredè; a manuscript score issued with a Ballard title page and dated 1738 has the strings in four parts throughout.14

Contrebasse: There was no instrument with this range in Lully's orchestra. Its introduction into the Académie orchestra is credited by Michel Corrette to Michel de Montéclair and Guiseppe Fedeli (otherwise Sagioni), around the turn of the century. It is first mentioned in a score in 1706 (Marais' Alcione); Milliot's 'evidence' for its use in Campra's Tancredè four years earlier, to which Anthony, Barthélemy and La Gore refer, hinges on a manuscript insertion into a score 'qui a servi aux représentations'.15 Tancredè, however, was much revived, and this addition seems much more likely to belong to one of these revivals; cuts, insertions and directions abound in performance scores in F Po and V. Barthélemy's suggestion that a 'concert de basses' in Scylla, 1701 (see Example 189 below) may well have featured the double bass, relies on stylistic evidence:16 the low monotone Ds of the lowest part could well have been taken by the double bass, and certainly the composer, di Gatti (known as Théobalde), who played the basse de violon in the Académie orchestra, could be supposed to be particularly sensitive to innovations in this department. In Le Parnasse françois (1732), pp.696-97, Titon du Tillet says that the contrebasse was initially used only in the Friday night performances, customarily rather special affairs; no precise date is given, and composers do not seem to have been in a hurry to specify the use of the instrument in the years between Scylla and Alcione, whereas following the appearance of Alcione in 1706, the contrebasse is used in Polixène et Pirrhus, II 3 (as 'la grosse basse') in the same year and is soon an established part of the orchestra. Its special role was to reinforce the popular tempêtes, invocations and underworld scenes.

Flûte allemande (flûte d'Allemagne, flûte traversière): The side-blown flute, used by Lully only in Le Triomphe de l'Amour, really comes into its own after his death. The one-keyed conical flute of the Hotteterres and others was constructed in three sections, allowing improvements in tuning. The first treatise for this instrument was Jacques Hotteterre's Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte
d'Allemagne, de la flûte à bec, ou flûte douce, et du hautbois (Paris, 1707). Colasse seems to have been attracted to the possibilities of the flûte allemande in about 1690, since it appears several times in his third opera, Enée et Lavinie, produced in the November of that year. Each of the upper parts of an air de basse in II 2 is marked 'une flûte allemande et une à bec'; the 'harmonie très douce' which opens IV 4 begins in three parts, for 'un hautbois et une flûte allemande', 'un violon et une flûte allemande' and basse continue. An air for Venus is accompanied by two separate flûte allemande parts, another has two instrumental parts each marked 'une flûte allemande, une flûte douce, un violon' and the legend 'deux flûtes allemandes et quatre violons joueront pendant ce chœur' prefaces a chorus for petit choeur in IV 5; finally, 'violons et flûtes allemandes' feature in the prélude which opens V 1. Further examples of the use of the flûte allemande throughout the period are cited in the chapters on the air, the ensemble and the chorus. While the flûte allemande gained in popularity, it by no means supplanted the flûte douce, and the two instruments are, as in some of the examples from Enée et Lavinie listed above, used in combination as well as separately. The overall impression of the use of flutes of all types in this period is of a considerable increase in quantity and of greater attention to the colouristic potential of these instruments.

Petite flûte: Eppelsheim deduces that the two players of the dessus de flûte mentioned in the livret of the prologue to Isis played an instrument pitched in f⁴ an octave above the regular flûte, corresponding to the sopranino recorder. He also mentions the term 'petit dessus de flûte' as used by Montéclair in Les Fêtes de l'été, 1716 and Jephthé, 1732, equating this with both the dessus de flûte and the petite flûte (mentioned in a collection of Fragments de Monsieur de Lully, 1702). Petite flûtes feature elsewhere; for example in an unusual menuet in Campra's Tancrede, III 4, whose two lines are marked 'petites flûtes' and 'tailles de flûtes'. Not surprisingly, they appear again in Callirhoé, III 3, associated with the god Pan. There are petites flûtes in a chorus in Stuck's Manto la Fée, and a tambourin in Télémaque, V 6 is scored for petites flûtes and bassoons. To the excitement of a tempête in Bertin's Diomède is added the shrill short scales of a 'petite flûte à l'octave en haut'.

Trumpets: Trumpets continue to be an optional part of the orchestra; they feature in about two-thirds of the operas in this period. The keys of C and D predominate, with the latter being used most often.
Tambour: The untuned drum plays a significant role in some of the orchestral set-pieces. In Colasse's *Thétis et Félique*, II 7 occurs the first of many *tempêtes*. This one is prefaced by these instructions:

> On se sert d'un tambour pour imiter le bruit des vents et des flots, en frappant doucement quand le dessus est bas et fort quand il est haut.

There is no part written for the instrument; this is conceived purely as a sound-effect. In his *Énée et Lavinie* produced in the following year, Colasse again makes use of the tambour, in the second scene of the prologue. The accompaniment to the chorus of Titans (basses in unison) has an independent line above the *dessus de violon* marked 'trompettes et tambour'. Possibly, this is another example of the term being used loosely to imply timpani (the key, D major, would not preclude this). However, at the end of the following scene, there is a direction 'On entend un grand bruit de tonnerre qui continue par redoublements jusqu'à la fin du prologue' and the words 'batterie de tambour' are written beneath the upper part of the brief descriptive orchestral piece which ensues. Anthony quotes Titon du Tillet's description of the effect of 'loosely strung drums which were rolled continually' during the *tempête* of Marais' *Alcione*.

Musette: This appeared in two forms in the seventeenth century, firstly as a small bagpipe with one and later two chanters, often extremely elegantly made and decorated, cultivated by amateurs, and having courtly or pastoral connotations; secondly in a simpler form, played in association with the *hautbois de Poitou*, a bagless chanter. Jean Hotteterre (I) was one of the 'musettes et hautbois de Poitou', part of the establishment of the Grande Écurie. There is some evidence for the use of the musette in Lully's operas, but no part specifically labelled to this effect (see above, p. 223). There was, however, an apparent flowering of interest in the instrument towards the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, judging by a rash of pastoral divertissements and prologues in which it is named. It is not always possible to determine whether the name is used to specify the use of the instrument, to denote a piece written in imitation of the sound of the musette, or as the title of a dance also imitating this style. In the prologue to Campra's *Hippodamie* (1708), a 'marche des bergers' in *rondeau* form has both episodes marked 'musettes', featuring a drone bass, but the second of a pair of rigaudons simply has both upper parts marked
'hautbois et flûtes' and the drone sustained in a third part in the French violin clef marked 'violons'. In act IV of Marais' Semelé (1709) the 'marche pour les bergers' has (in the reduced format score) three parts marked 'violons et deux musettes', 'basse continue' ('tous') and 'basses imittans la cornemuse', the last-named sustaining a G. Four other dances or orchestral numbers in the same scene are written in a similar style. In Diomède, III 6 (1710), musettes are referred to in the livret, but they seem to be imitated by the drone of oboes and violins.

rather than scored for. Thereafter, the musette appears literally or figuratively in Manto la Fée (1711), Créuse (1712), Callirhoé (1712), Arion (1714) and Téléphe (1714). Clearly, the vogue for the instrument or its sound was considerable, and it continued well beyond the end-point of this survey.

iii) The orchestral music

a) The overture

The French overture is Lully's most significant tangible legacy to music, its influence reaching across national boundaries to later composers and surfacing in instrumental forms far removed from the operatic stage. Its well-known characteristic features are identifiable in embryo form in pairs of dances in early seventeenth century ballets: Howard quotes examples to show the evolution of the dotted rhythms of the first section of the overture from ballets from 1601 onwards. Lully seems to have been responsible for distinguishing the two instrumental movements of which ballet overtures were composed by a change of time signature, e.g. from C to 3 in L'Amour malade (1657). In the next year comes the Ballet d'Alcidiane, the first in which the dotted rhythms of the first section are coupled with an imitative second half. As in other aspects of the opera, the young Lully, Italian born, introduces an Italian stylistic trait (in this case, the fugato) which is ingested into the native form and becomes an inseparable part of it. Printing the overture to the Ballet d'Alcidiane in full (pp. 575-77), Prunières comments 'C'est, en somme, moins une invention qu'un emploi nouveau de formes anciennes que révèle l'examen de ce morceau'. He also quotes the description of Alcidiane by the chronicler Loret, who refers to a concert of eighty or eighty-four instruments forming the overture. Baptiste (Lully) is praised as

... un des célèbres garçons
Pour la rare et grande harmonie
Qu'ait jamais produit l'Auzonie.
Even allowing for Loret's usual hyperbole and his distortion to contrive a rhyme (which is where 'eighty or eighty-four' comes in: Loret was the William McGonagall of his time) we can discern that a large body of instruments was involved and that the piece made some impact. In the overture to the Ballet de la Raillerie (1659), comes the slower closing passage to the second part of the overture often, though not always, found subsequently. This is usually related in style to the opening, but not thematically linked with it. Prunières points out that this part of the overture, often thought of as a third movement, must be seen as an integral part of the second section of the overture, just as in definitions such as that in Rousseau's Dictionnaire de Musique, 1768.

With perhaps a somewhat stereotyped image of the French overture in mind (slow dotted first movement, fast fugato second), it is instructive to look at the overtures to Lully's thirteen operas and see just how varied they are. Their keys and time signatures are listed below (R indicates that the second half is repeated: the first half is repeated in all cases).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overture</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Time Signature</th>
<th>Repeated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cadmus et Hermione</td>
<td>G major</td>
<td>2 3 R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alceste</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>4 6 : 4</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thésée</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>2 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atys</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>2 6 : 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isis</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>2 3 R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psyché</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>6 4 (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellérophon</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>6 4</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proserpine</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>4 6 : C</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persée</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaéton</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>2 2 R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amadis</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>2 2 R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roland</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>6 4 : 2</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armide</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>6 4 : 2</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achille et Polixène</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>6 4 : C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, neither a change of metre between the movements nor the return to the style of the opening for a closing passage is obligatory. The keys are those of the open strings of members of the violin family, and were presumably chosen to exploit this sound: later examples also stick to these keys.

Looking at the music of the overtures reveals some surprising features. Example 172(a), the opening of the overture to Atys,
demonstrates all the expected components: slow-moving harmonies, block chords, dotted rhythms, a 'pompous' style. However, Example 172(b) is another opening, this time to Armide, in which the prevailing movement is undermined by the quaver activity of the bass (which persists to the end of the first section).

Ex 172(c) Armide

The fugato opening of the second part of the overture to Roland, unfolding from the dessus downwards and settling into a more solid texture is typical, but a livelier and more open style persists in some examples e.g. Armide and Phaeton. Coming across this passage (Example 173) from Isis out of context, would one immediately assign it to the overture? It resembles a sort of chaconne in reverse; the whole of the second movement is based on an irregular ascending bass, the bass part moving by step through anything from a fourth to a twelfth.
Looking at those overtures with a slower closing passage, we have Phaéton returning briefly to the style of the first movement (Example 174); however, the last part of the overture to Proserpine is another fugato, and twelve elaborate bars in length.

Lully does not simply write to a formula in his overtures, and he does not seem to have been responsible for the ossification of the overture into the pattern adopted later.

A selection of the overtures written after Lully's death shows a similar range of keys and metres, with again no rigid formula for the second half, which may or may not have a change of metre from the first half, a concluding section in another metre, or a reprise. Where there is a concluding section, however, this is now almost invariably marked 'lentement' (as in some of Lully's later operas): the opening of the second section may be marked 'gai' or 'vite'.

Some stylistic features in the overtures are worth noting. With the attack on the first chord of the overture, the 'premier coup d'archet', achieving almost the status of a cult, it is surprising to find examples in which this effect is not present or in which its impact seems to be lessened by its anticipation. In fact, an anticipation of the attack is present in two of Lully's overtures, to Armide and Achille et Polixène. In Armide, it is the dessus which anticipates the first downbeat (see Example 172(b) above), while in Achille et Polixène the basses enter on the first beat of the bar and the remaining parts on the last semiquaver of that beat. As these brief samples show, the anticipation of the first chord may simply be a flourish, or it may be a brief point of imitation. (Example 175 (a), (b) and (c)).
The faster tempo (stated or implied) of the second section and its fugato opening are features which persist. In some overtures, there are passages scored in three parts: Didon, Jason, Canente and Omphale, among others, share this feature which, despite his predilection for alternating five- and three-part textures elsewhere, Lully does not apply to his overtures.

The change of time signature, tempo or style for the closing bars of the overture remains optional, but usual. While this passage customarily returns to the pompous, dotted rhythm, chordal style of the opening, it is sometimes more individual. Destouches seems to use the closing passage as a link into the opening of the prologue: there is no direction for a reprise in the second half of the overtures to Amadis de Grèce or Omphale. The closing section of the former opens with a three-part texture (marked 'doux') and a bar of quavers in the bass part is directed to be performed as 'notes égales'. In Omphale, the closing passage is based on smooth descending scales in crotchets used imitatively. The final section of the overture to Bradamante, by Lacoste, is in triple time, not returning to the style of the opening; by and large, however, the practice of concluding the French overture with a dance movement is not found in opera overtures at this time.

b) Préludes and ritournelles

Most acts and many scenes open with a prélude or ritournelle. Those which open an act are most often three-part ritournelles, serving as miniature overtures; where an act opens with a five-part piece, it is often the introduction to a vocal number and related to its music. Most of these pieces are neutral, but some are calculated to evoke a mood, set the scene or define the personality of the character arriving on the scene. Instrumental links between scenes serve similar ends, changing the mood from lighthearted to serious or tranquil to angry, or covering the mechanics of the transformation scene.

The term ritournelle rarely implies a piece which returns; it is
normally a three-part movement, scored

and involving the two dessus de violon of the petit choeur on the upper parts.\textsuperscript{23} This is suggested not by specific indications to this effect, but conversely by the label 'tous' or 'pour tous les violons' in a few examples in the later operas of Lully. Many ritournelles are very brief, perhaps only four to eight bars, and these short examples are usually simple in style, like this one which opens \textit{Cadmus et Hermione}, II 1 (Example 176).

\textit{Cadmus et Hermione}, II 1 Ex. 176

Equally simple in style is Example 177 from \textit{Amadis}, II 5, but here the ritournelle is an instrumental version of the A section of the succeeding air 'O fortune cruelle', the instruments, unusually, continuing to play during the air.

\textit{Ex. 177 Amadis}, II 5

\textit{Corisande}

\textit{O fortune cruelle!}
A rather longer example is the *ritournelle* which precedes the scene of farewell in *Cadmus et Hermione*, II 4, discussed in Chapter Ten below. This has the function not only of allowing the exit of Charite and the Nurse and the arrival of the lovers, but also of preparing the solemn mood of the scene and introducing its key, C minor.

From a quick perusal of Lully's scores, it might seem that all Lully's *ritournelles* are in triple time, with a preponderance of thirds and sixths between the upper parts, and the bass part largely relegated to a harmonic support. There are, indeed, many such pieces, but there are others in which Lully writes more idiomatic and intricately woven parts for his players. The imitation is often short-lived, reverting to predominantly note-against-note writing, as in this example from *Roland*, IV 1 (Example 178) and, of course, in Lully's vocal ensemble writing.

Two of the *ritournelles* which open acts in *Isis* are rather more enterprising, however. The first, II 1, Example 179(a) is pictorial as well as functional: 'le théâtre devient obscurci par des nuages épais qui l'environnent de tous côtés', suggested by the flowing quavers in all three parts. The second, III 1, Example 179(b) maintains rhythmic vitality through the reiteration of the opening motif in the bass part. These may be taken as typical of the more extended *ritournelles* in Lully's operas.
The term *ritournelle* is on rare occasions applied to a five-part piece, like the one which opens *Roland*, II 1 and which is an orchestral version of the succeeding air 'Un charme dangereux'. Five-part pieces are usually, however, designated *préludes*, though there are confusingly a few three-part *préludes*. The five-part *préludes* are usually more substantial structures than the *ritournelles*. Their appearance in mid-act often covers the arrival of a deity or similar figure or the assembly of a large number of people. An example is a *prélude* given the additional title 'Le Sacrifice' in *Thésée*, I 8. Five-part *préludes* to open acts are found particularly in Lully's later operas. The *prélude* to *Amadis*, III 1, suggests by its length, 26 bars, its key, C minor, and its
chromatic harmony the seriousness of the situation of the prisoners whose pleas for mercy open the scene. Perhaps Lully also has the intention of implanting a suggestion of both the solemnity and the fantastic nature of the events of the third scene in the act in which the ombre of Ardan Canile emerges to confront Arcabonne (see Example 24 above and Chapter Fourteen).

Préludes, like ritournelles are not necessarily self-contained numbers, but can be related to the vocal numbers they introduce. Arcabonne's rondeau form air 'Amour, que veux-tu de moi?' (Amadis, II 1) is played in full by the orchestra beforehand. The prélude to Isis, V 1 also relates to a rondeau form air, 'Terminez mes tourments' (whose opening is quoted as Example 45 above), but while the prélude retains the rondeau structure and the A sections of the air, it has its own episodes replacing the recitative-style ones of the air. Often, the prélude is related to a vocal number simply by its opening phrase, for example 'Venez, Haine impalable' in Armide, III 3. Two examples in Roland show Lully giving this opening motif more importance. In the first, I 1, he manages to incorporate a suggestion of the rhythm and melodic contour of the phrase 'Ah, que mon coeur est agité' three times in eight bars (Example 180).

Ex. 180, Roland, I 1
The second, $V_1$, is a much longer movement in which the opening motif is used as a point of imitation between all five parts and continues to feature throughout the prélude.

Lully does not always link his scenes with orchestral préludes or ritournelles (following French classical theatrical practice, a change of scene, as has already been stated, often means no more than the departure or arrival of a single character). Many simple dialogue scenes, particularly in the early operas, proceed virtually or completely uninterrupted: Example 181 is the transition between Atys, IV 2 and IV 3, the arriving character, Atys, entering merely as a listener and not uttering until the following scene.

A key change within or between scenes is usually succinctly accomplished by a stepwise link between the old and new tonics in the basse continue: Examples 182(a), (b) and (c) come from Bellérophon, Prologue (C major to F major), II 5 (B flat major to G minor) and V 2 (G minor to C major).

Some of these links are a little less perfunctory, lasting perhaps four bars or so. The story at such a point usually requires a little more movement. A link following a dance in Alceste, I 7 presumably allows the dancers to retire and Licomède and Straton to come forward. The link between Isis, II 3 and II 4 allows Jupiter to depart and Iris to arrive and be intercepted by Mercury.

Elsewhere, these links cover other types of action, such as a god arriving on a machine: six bars of bass writing in Psyché, IV 3 are marked 'Mercure descend ici en volant', and there are similar passages in Cadmus et Hermione, V 1 for the arrival of Pallas on a cloud; in Isis, III 7 as Mercury rescues Io from Argus, and in Amadis, IV 6
as Urgande touches Arcalcaus and Arcabonne with her magic wand. The 'colère des dieux' referred to by Mercury in *Isis*, III 7, is illustrated by the bass part's semiquavers (Example 183).

The players involved in these links, some of which are given the title prélude, must have been the basses de violon of the petit chœur; as Eppelsheim points out, there has to be some reason for assigning two players to the petit chœur and these passages are the obvious candidates for assignment to these players, whose instruments would provide greater power than the basses de viole. The link between Roland, III 1 and III 2 is printed on a stave which does not have the words BASSE CONTINUE written underneath it: the line also contains no figures. The indication appears on the systems above and below this single stave, however, the basse continue therefore resuming where the voice enters.

A related use of the bass instruments of the orchestra is the long passage of continuous quavers which underlies part of *Persée*, IV 2, in which a storm is described. The passage begins with a five-part orchestral section marked 'violons', with the bass part all in quavers and marked 'basse continue, et de violon' - this indication appears under all the systems, even when the other strings drop out and a solo voice or pair of voices is singing. The first time the remaining strings drop out, there is the additional direction 'tous' on the bass line; it seems unlikely that the omission of this word on subsequent occasions implies any change of scoring, but that the 'tous' is simply a reinforcement of the directions printed under each system and draws attention to the fact that this is not a printer's error. The basses de violon are clearly added here to give extra weight to the descriptive intentions of the
music. Whether Lully intended all his basses de violon, perhaps ten players, to play throughout is uncertain. Possibly the 'tous' refers to all the bass instruments of the petit choeur, the basses de violon of the grand choeur playing only in the orchestral introduction and interpolations. In terms of manageability and audibility (the soloist, Phinée, is a bass) this would appear to be a reasonable hypothesis. Similarly, the bass quavers which precede and are the only accompaniment to the first part of Roland's mad scene (Roland, IV 6, quoted as Example 26) are also labelled 'tous' (and Roland is also a bass).

The placing and function of préludes and ritournelles in the operas written after Lully's death is broadly similar to that in Lully's later operas, and many examples closely resemble his models. Others are written more imaginatively, and the style of writing found exceptionally in Lully (e.g. in the sommeils in Atys and Armide) is more often encountered. Marais, for example, writes attractive, idiomatic pieces, like this prélude from Alcide, I 1 (1693, Example 184) and ritournelle from Ariane et Bacchus, IV 1 (1696, Example 185), the latter typical of the style of ritournelle increasingly favoured by composers.
It is the short, all-purpose kind of ritournelle which declines sharply in this period. There is no shortage of acts and scenes opening with three-part instrumental movements (still usually called ritournelles, but sometimes labelled as préludes), but composers take more care to fit them into their surroundings and develop their role of suggesting scene and mood. Taking the five instrumental numbers with which Charpentier opens the acts of Médée, for example, we see that the first two, both ritournelles, are tied in with the recitative which follows them. In I 1, a motif derived from Médée's opening words, 'Pour flatter mes ennuis' is developed (rhythmically altered) in a trio sonata style for 11 bars. Example 186(a) is the opening of the ritournelle, (b) that of the voice.

The link in II 1 is more tenuous, in that the melodic contours of the voice are not followed, but the anaplectic rhythms of both ritournelle and first vocal phrase suggest a connection (especially if one accepts the equation of the minim in ℶ with the crotchet in ℶ)
The eleven bars of lively semiquaver rhythms which open III 1 are followed by Oronte's recitative 'L'orage est violent' (which includes a semiquaver melisma on 'gronder' answered by a bar of semiquavers in the basse continue): clearly, the ritournelle is as near as Charpentier comes to naturalistic description. The prélude to IV 1 is rather different. It is in five parts, first and second flute, first and second dessus de violon, and 'basse de flûte et continue', though in only eight bars do all the instruments play together. For the remainder of its twenty-seven bars, flutes and violins play alternately. The opening words of the scene relate to the appearance of the heroine Créuse in the poisoned gown given her by Médée, 'Jamais on ne l'a vit si belle', as described by her confidant Cleone - Créuse does not actually come on stage until the next scene, preceded by a short ritournelle. With V 1, we return to the style of the first two ritournelles (this one, though in three parts, is actually called a prélude, perhaps because of its greater length, twenty-four bars). This takes both the melody and the anapestic rhythms of the recitative which follows (Example 187(a) and (b)).
The specification of different instruments is a feature of many of these instrumental numbers. This is often for their association with particular types of scene or character, for example, flutes for goddesses or heroines. The 'symphonie des graces' in La Naissance de Vénus, Prologue, features a similar line-up to the Médée example described above (Example 188).

Contrasts of instrumentation within the prélude or ritournelle is also a feature not found in Lully's operas: this may be, as in the examples from Médée and La Naissance de Vénus, the combination of two three-part groupings, or the introduction of a reduced section into a five-part number.

The area in which there is the most striking change over this period is the development of the scene links for bass instruments only. These become both more numerous and more significant, and are part of a general cultivation of the bass sounds of the orchestra, found particularly in the tempêtes and oracle and ombre scenes (see Chapter Fourteen below). This is often an exit or entrance, for example the brief flourish in the bass at the end of Jason, II 3 as the king sweeps out in a rage, or another between scenes 6 and 7 in Ariane et Bacchus, I which dramatizes Juno's exit after she has made threats against the king, or a prélude.
as Alcide arrives in Omphale, IV 2 (greeted by Iphis with 'où courrez-vous, Alcide?'). Sinister characters or events are often suggested by such préludes, for example, the arrival of Jealousy in Vénus et Adonis, II 5; the basses' quavers underpin his subsequent air.

Many such links or introductions suggest the involvement of more than the two basses de violon of the petit chœur, being labelled, for example 'basses et basses de violon' or 'toutes les basses'. Alcide's mad scene in Omphale, V 4 is introduced and underpinned by 'bassons et basses de violon' (whether this is implied by the word 'tous' against the bass line in this scene's model, Roland, IV 6 is debatable). Campra uses the same prélude (for 'toutes les basses') twice in the same scene as firstly 'Anchise s'en va' and then 'L'Amour s'envole' (Hésione, II 5).

Rather more individual examples are found in Scylla and Ulysse. In Scylla, IV 1 di Gatti introduces a scene of evil and magic with a three-part 'concert de basses' whose opening is quoted (Example 189). This introduces and accompanies in a similar style the bass Artemidor.

Ex. 189, Scylla, IV 1

Rebel writes a lively two-part prélude in Ulysse, IV 4 in which both parts are marked 'toutes les basses' (Example 190); it is perhaps surprising in view of the predilection for bass sonorities that there are not more of these numbers.

Ex. 190, Ulysse, IV 4
c) Dances

Dance and its associated music is one of the most significant elements in French opera. Lully had first come to the notice of the Court as a dancer, Louis XIV was passionately fond of dancing as a young man, and dance occupied a central position in society life. Throughout the seventeenth century, old dances and dances from other countries were being refined into courtly form, sometimes retaining little more than the old name from the original dance. As in so many artistic and literary fields, the spirit of the age manifests itself in codification, in this case in the realms of choreography:

La pensée du Grand Siècle, uniforme et impérative, s'autorise de la perfection, présumée définitive, des résultats acquis; non seulement elle fixe les genres littéraires, mais elle recueille, sélectionne (avec un déchet immense) et classe l'expérience artistique dans tous les domaines; elle inventorie et passe au crible de ses juges en matière théâtrale ou autre apparait dogmatique par excellence. 27

Lully's career at the Académie corresponds to that of his choreographer, Pierre Beauchamp, 28 who prior to his appointment to the Académie had been surintendant of the King's ballets. It seems likely that he was the originator of the notational system later published by Feuillet; certainly, it was the dances of Beauchamp's disciple, Pécor, which Feuillet notated. 29 Beauchamp retired from the Académie when Lully died; Lecerf described him thus: 'Quoi que ce ne fût pas un danseur de très-bon air, il était plein de vigueur et de feu, personne n'a mieux dansé en tourbillon, et personne n'a mieux su que lui faire danser'. 30

Some trends in the selection of dances can be detected even within Lully's lifetime. 31 Some early dances such as the galliarde and courante which figure in Lully's ballets and comédiens-ballets are not found in the operas, while others appear for the first time in the operas (the passacaille) or in those of Lully's successors (rigaudon, musette, contredanse). Lully's dance types are as follows:

Bourrée: a duple metre dance using a 2 or 6 time signature. Phrase
lengths are usually a regular four bars, and there is a crotchet upbeat. A characteristic syncopation puts a slight emphasis on the third or seventh beat. The bourrée is already somewhat in decline by the time of Lully's operas. Example 191 is the opening of a bourrée from Phaéton, V 3, showing the simple rhythms and texture of so many Lully dances.

Ex. 191, Phaéton, V 3

Canarie(s): most examples of this lively dance in Lully's ballets are in 3 time, but later ones are in $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{6}{8}$ or $\frac{4}{4}$. Its chief distinguishing characteristic is a relentless dotted rhythm, which is present in one or more parts in every beat of Example 192 (from Armide, IV 2), ceasing only on the final cadence chord.

Ex. 192, Armide, IV 2

Chaconne: like the passacaille, a triple time dance in regular four-bar phrases, based on a simple ground, often a descending tetra-chord, and more importantly on its chord pattern and phrase structure. Most chaconnes include passages in which the prevailing five-part texture is reduced to three parts, implying (though not specifying) the use of flutes or oboes or the strings of the petit choeur. These sections correspond to those points in the courtly form of the dance at which one couple becomes briefly the centre of attention. The chaconnes and passacailles are the largest-scale dances in Lully's operas, and
become the musical basis for even larger-scale structures in divertissements (see pp. 333-35).

Gavotte: Arbeau described this as a variant of the earlier popular dance, the branle, involving a line or circle of dancers, but the courtly gavotte seems to have little connection with its earlier form. The time signature is $\frac{2}{4}$ or 2 (after 1679, all Lully's gavottes have the latter marking), with the characteristic upbeat pattern of two crotchets or sometimes dotted crotchet and quaver. The four-bar phrases move towards a point of arrival at the beginning of the fourth bar. The relationship of the dance steps to the musical phrase structure is a complex one: 'in practice, dance and music form counter-rhythms'. Musically, however, the gavotte is simple and its rhythms clearly marked. It is often found in a pastoral context: Example 193 is from Roland, II 5, a divertissement featuring nymphs, sirens and other spirits of nature.

Gigue: a lively dance in $\frac{6}{4}$ or $\frac{6}{8}$ time, often with an upbeat pattern resembling that of some canaries. The gigue's characteristic features are its imitative opening, sometimes involving all five parts, sometimes simply the dessus answered by the other four parts. Example 194(a) is the imitative opening of a gigue from the prologue to Amadis. Example 194(b) shows the use of a syncopated crotchet-minim pattern in the second half of the dance; this or its $\frac{8}{4}$ equivalent, is present in, for example, Phaéton, V 1.
A gigue (labelled 'air' in the score and identified as a gigue only in a secondary source) in Roland, III 6 shows a more extensive use of cross-rhythms, including hemiola, but this is, perhaps surprisingly, untypical.

Loure: this resembles the gigue in many respects (indeed, some secondary sources confuse the two 33). Like the gigue, the loure features the dotted rhythm \( \frac{1}{4} \) \( \frac{3}{4} \) and the syncopation \( \frac{1}{2} \) \( \frac{1}{2} \); the upbeat is usually \( \frac{1}{2} \) \( \frac{1}{2} \) or \( \frac{1}{2} \) \( \frac{1}{2} \). The tempo is slower than that of the gigue, and, for Lully at least, invites more use of cross-rhythm and irregular phrase lengths. The two loures in Lully's operas are both in Alceste: Example 195 is the 'Loure pour les pêcheurs', I 7, which has a 4 + 5 bar structure in the second half. The other loure, in the prologue, is based entirely on the rhythmic pattern seen in bars 4 - 6 in Example 195.

Marches: this is sometimes omitted in lists of theatre dances, but it occupies an important place in Lully's work. It is difficult to categorize because of the variety of metres it employs: \( \frac{4}{4}, \frac{2}{2}, \frac{3}{2} \) and 3 are all to be found. Many marches were composed for Louis XIV's bands, indeed the march as a form of musical composition originated here. In opera, it is usually an arrival piece (e.g. the 'Marche pour l'entrée de Bacchus et de Pan', Bellérophon, Prologue). The incipits quoted below (Example 196(a) to (j)) show that the opera marches are almost
invariably duple, but that there is no regular upbeat pattern: Example 196 (d), for instance, could be mistaken for a gavotte. The preponderance of C major and D major is deceptive; trumpets and drums feature only in (b) and (g) (though there is a timbalier mentioned in the livret of Cadmus et Hermione, III 5), and the associations of the marches are solemn rather than militaristic. What the incipits do not show is the extreme irregularity of the phrase lengths: there is an almost perverse avoidance of the 4 + 4 phrases of most dances. The rondeau form examples (b) and (g) which feature trumpets in the A sections dropping out for the episodes, achieve some sort of regularity, but in the Thésée example it is based on an A section of 4 + 5 bars, and in the Amadis example, otherwise in 8 bar sections, the C section is 10 bars long. The most regular march is, paradoxically, the triple time Roland example (j), also in rondeau form, which is in 3 bar phrases throughout. This freedom suggests that the march did not acquire any conventional step pattern, and that these and other entrées were individually choreographed.

Example 196

(a) Cadmus et Hermione, III 5 Marche des Sacrificateurs

(b) Thésée, I 8 Entrée des Sacrificateurs et des Combattants

(c) Bellérophon, Prologue Marche pour l'entrée de Bacchus et de Pan

(d) Bellérophon, III 5 Marche du Sacrifice
Menuet: this is the Lully dance par excellence and is the most frequently used dance type in his operas. It is a triple metre dance and, at this stage in its history at least, seems to have been brisk: Brossard in his Dictionnaire de musique, 1703, refers to it as 'toujours gai et fort vite'. The basic component as far as the dancer is concerned is a two-bar section in which there is an accent on the first downbeat but not necessarily on the second. The step pattern for the menuet fits best into twelve-bar units, but there are many examples in the theatre of groups of eight or sixteen bars. Even the two-bar component is not always present in Lully menuets: that at the end of the prologue to Atys is built on pairs of three-bar phrases. This short example from Atys, IV 5 (Example 197) begins with pairs of three-bar phrases, but concludes with five-bar ones, and the first menuet in the prologue to Roland is built of five-bar phrases throughout; these are by no means isolated examples.
Regular features of the Lully menuet are a crotchet-minim syncopation and the absence of an upbeat (except on occasion when the instrumental dance prefigures or is prefigured by a related vocal number, in which case the stress of the opening words sometimes dictates an anacrusis; e.g. the trio 'Heureux qui peut plaire' which precedes the 'Air pour les dieux champêtres' in Cadmus et Hermione, Prologue). When one looks at the overall length of Lully's menuet movements, including repeats and vocal versions, a high proportion fall within the 100-120 bars required for the execution of the full dance, and while varying phrase lengths suggest that 'some tension may have arisen from the lack of coincidence between music and dance', the theatrical and ballroom versions of the dance seen as a whole may not have been so different.

Passacaille: a triple time dance in a slow tempo. There is considerable confusion over the distinction between the passacaille and the chaconne, the usual opinion being that the passacaille is slower than the chaconne and has a more sensuous melody. Stylistically, it would be hard to tell Lully's chaconnes and passacailles apart: both have the same regularity of rhythm, chord pattern and phrase structure, with three-part episodes. The passacaille, however, arrives on the scene somewhat later than the chaconne: while there are chaconnes in Lully's works from the Ballet d'Alcidiane onwards, the first passacaille comes some twenty-four years later, in Persée (1682).

Passepied: in effect, a speeded-up version of the menuet, usually in 3⁄8 time, and having a similar step pattern. It tends to move in constant quavers, shedding the characteristic syncopation of the menuet and adding an upbeat. The only examples in Lully's operas (in the prologue to Persée and Phaéton, II 5) are identified as passepieds only in secondary sources.

Sarabande: a slow triple-time dance: 'la sarabande toujours mélancolique respire une tendresse sérieuse et délicate', said Rémonde de
Saint-Mard. 37 In Lully's ballets, the number of sarabandes is exceeded only by those of the menuet and bourrée. In the operas, there are just five, three of which are identified only from secondary sources (that in Amadis, Prologue, being also listed as a menuet). The two remaining are rondeau form examples in Armide, I 3 (the first being headed 'Rondeau' but being referred to in later reprise directions as 'la première sarabande'). Lully favours a 3 time signature, with the characteristic rhythm $\frac{3}{4}$ frequently not present at the outset. In the first of the Armide sarabandes, this syncopation does not appear at all in the melody line, but is suggested in the bass with

$$\frac{3}{4} \text{ or } \frac{3}{4} \text{ during the first episode only; chordal movement in crotchets predominates, however. The second sarabande has a more equal balance of these two types of movement, again with the bass taking an important role in delineating the rhythmic nature of the dance (Example 198 is the B section of the rondeau).}

Ex. 198 Armide I 3

![Example 198](image)

The formal dance types described here and listed in Ellis's 'Inventory' tell only part of the story, however. There are many instrumental numbers which are simply labelled 'Air' or 'Entrée', such as the 'Prélude pour l'entrée triomphale de Thésée' in Thésée, II 6. From the context, many of these are clearly assembly pieces, covering the arrival of large numbers of people. Others correspond closely in style and metre to a dance form described above: it is hard to imagine these pieces, also taken from Thésée, as other than dances (Example 199(a) to (c)).
It seems to be only the fact that these particular numbers were not recopied into collections and given a dance title label that keeps them out of the 'Inventory'; the estimate that eighty per cent of the dances falling into formal categories are accounted for in the 'Inventory' may, for the operas at least, be rather high.

One further function of instrumental music in the opera should be mentioned. In the theatre at this time, there was no curtain, and an instrumental piece was played between acts. After the prologue, it was customary to repeat the overture. The usual entr'acte is one of the dances from the act which has just finished, but occasionally with modifications, for example in Vénus et Adonis, where the first passepied is directed to be played 'un ton plus haut'. Sometimes, a dance from a previous act is selected. In Amadis de Grèce, III Destouches passes over the dances and chooses instead to play again the 'prélude infernal' from the third scene of the previous act. A few entr'actes are apparently specially composed for the purpose (e.g. all four in Charpentier's Médée) but these do not seem to have any particularly individual characteristics.

To Lully's talents as player, composer, dancer, disciplinarian and administrator must be added his skills as a choreographer. He was by no means content to hand over this part of the production to Beauchamp and his associates: 'Lully eut presque autant de part aux ballets des opéras suivants [i.e. after Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus, 1672] que Beauchamp'. Drawing no doubt on his earlier experience as a dancer, Lully made his contribution in the character dances: 'il réformait les entrées, imaginait des pas d'expression et qui convinssent au sujet'.

In stressing this point, Prunières reproduces in his preface to Volume I of the ballets in the Oeuvres complètes four costume designs from the Ballet de la Nuit, 1653 which show the dancer, Lully, in various guises and poses which owe nothing to the decorous courtly dance (see also a later costume for a furie designed by Jean Berain).
On peut juger d'après ces documents de la rigueur et de l'originalité des pas... Rien... de plus libre, de plus hardi que la danse théâtrale du XVIIe siècle en France.
Tous ceux qui y participaient... devaient faire montre d'une réelle virtuosité. 40

Lully 'réforma la chorégraphie en imaginant ce qu'on appela 'les vitesses', c'est-à-dire en substituant des mouvements rapides aux anciens mouvements lents. En outre, il inaugura une nouvelle esthétique, en cherchant à 'caractériser' la danse, et à développer la pantomime dramatique'. 41

The rhythm of the dance permeated Lully's operas as it came to permeate all forms of Baroque instrumental music. Lully, who had served an apprenticeship as a dancer, was uniquely able to marry the taste for the patterns of the formal dance with the spectacular and dramatic possibilities afforded by the appearance of spirits, evil and benign, pastoral and marine characters, soldiers and peoples of different nations and all the rest.

For the most part, the dance-types in Lully's operas are adopted by his successors without significant modifications, and it is not proposed to duplicate examples of, for example, the gigue or menuet. There are minor changes in the relative popularity of the different dances: a (temporary) decline in the gavotte and a greater number of marches and passépieds, for example. Menuets remain numerous, but they do not have the overwhelming superiority they had enjoyed in Lully's operas. One or two new dances make an appearance during this period, of which the most significant are as follows:

Contredanse: the title is a corruption of the English 'country dance', which was introduced into France in the 1680s and whose 'democratically progressive pattern' achieved a great vogue in France. 42 The first I have found in the opera are in Lacoste's Bradamante, IV 4, entitled 'La marinette' and in Campra's Hippodamie, IV 5; these operas were produced in successive years, 1707 and 1708. The characteristics of the contredanse are a duple metre and much repetition (arising from the eight repetitions of the dance figure; see the description of the dance in the article 'Contredanse' in The New Grove, 4). The name is also applied to the form of choreography, hence it is possible to find a gavotte or rigaudon danced 'en contredanse'.

Musette: as mentioned above, the term 'musette' sometimes seems to imply the use of the instrument of that name, but elsewhere suggests an imitation of its characteristics by other instruments. Certainly, pieces written in this style appeared in the second decade of the
eighteenth century; the 'premier air' in the pastorale in Callirhœ, IV 3 may be, as Little suggests, the first of its kind, but Lacoste could also be credited with the innovation. The name 'musette' in his Créuse, III 3 (produced earlier in the same year, 1712) seems to be used as a title rather than an instrumental specification, and this scene contains a considerable amount of vocal and instrumental music in this style in which the bassoons, with or without the basses de violon, sustain a drone. All the examples mentioned here and above (p. 227) seem to have been character pieces rather than dances, however; Little states that the musette was not danced formally until shortly after the end of the period under review, in Campra's opera-ballet, Les Ages (1718).

Rigaudon: this lively duple-metre dance achieves considerable popularity. An early example occurs in Alcide, Prologue (1693), predating both the examples from Circe and the opera-ballet L'Europe galante mentioned in The New Grove, 16, article 'Rigaudon'. Its characteristics are a lively tempo, four bar phrases and an upbeat. The rigaudon from Alcide (Example 200) shows the typical acceleration of movement after a static opening, in both halves of the dance.

Ex. 200, Alcide, Prologue

Tambourin: like the musette, written in imitation of another instrument, in this case the pipe and tabor. The first operatic example I have found is in Destouches' Télémaque, V 6, featuring petites flûtes, bassoons and basses de violon. This is a dance which, like the musette and contredanse, achieves its full measure of popularity in a later generation, with Rameau in particular.

Chaconne and passacaille: these are not, of course, new, but one or two examples have interesting features, suggesting the breaking down
of these enormous structures into more strongly contrasted sub-sections. The passacaille in Amadis de Grèce, V 7 alternates sections for full orchestra with three-part sections for oboes and bassoons (such reduced sections are commonly found in earlier examples, of course), but the character of some passages is defined by the markings 'tendrement', 'piqué' or 'doux', and one section is marked 'vite et égales'. A much more extreme form of this sectional treatment is the chaconne in Marais' Semelé, II 3 which begins conventionally but moves through $\phi$, $\delta$, $\phi$, $\delta$ (minor key), $\phi$ and $3$ passages. It is a highly inventive piece, and includes a variation for basses de violon and bassoons only.

The most striking feature of the use of dances in the generations after Lully is not so much the selection as the sheer quantity. Anthony tabulates the number of dances in Amadis, Tancrede and Dardanus to show the increase over a sixty year period. What this does not reveal, however, is the point at which this increase begins. A rather larger selection for the period up to 1715 is given below. These figures include all named dances (e.g. gavottes) and unclassified 'airs pour la suite de...' and so on. To this number are to be added the figures in brackets, which indicate the number of reprises. The latter figure excludes the entr'actes, with the single exception of Bellérophon, IV which has a newly-composed menuet instead of the usual reprise.

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From these figures it can be seen that the expansion of the role of dance occurs immediately after Lully's death. Composers much more
frequently write dances in pairs (often varying the scoring for the second), and, as the table shows, more often specify a reprise of a dance. The sudden increase of approximately fifty per cent in dance numbers suggests that the development of opera-ballet (the first true example of which is Campra's L'Europe galante, 1697) was in part a reflection of the increasing proportion of dance music in the tragédie en musique rather than, as might be supposed, a stimulus to that increase. No doubt the popular success of the opera-ballet with its subordination of plot to divertissement confirmed and reinforced this tendency, but it does not appear to have been responsible for its initiation. Lecerf, of course, is quick to point out that things were not like this when Lully was in charge:

Il ne donnait pas d'étendue à la danse, qu'on fait à présent à l'Opéra, dont elle occupe le quart. Elle durait moins. Il n'aurait pas goûté qu'on eût recommencé deux où trois fois sans distinction, en allongeant beaucoup le spectacle, et en le refroidissant ... contribueraient à la langueur qui se glisse dans nos derniers opéras. 45

Writing somewhat later, Rémond de Saint Mard complains of much the same things:

Ne trouvez-vous pas aussi qu'on donne trop d'étendue à la danse, tout est mis en ballet. On dirait que la danse, qui dans son origine n'a été admise à l'opéra que pour peindre, que pour faire partie de la représentation, n'y est aujourd'hui que pour briller, que pour étouffer les autres parties... Le trop d'extension qu'on donne à la danse, la frivole qu'on y joint, fait languir l'action, au lieu de la soutenir, la gâte.46

For critics for whom the word 'tragédie' in tragédie en musique was all important, this dilution of the dramatic effect was to be condemned.

* * * *

As in all areas of French opera, Lully was solely responsible for the establishment of the conventions of orchestral make-up and function. The opera orchestra emerges in its final form in his very first opera, and in those areas in which the orchestra operates independently (overture, prélude and ritournelle, dance) the patterns laid down in Lully's early operas remain in force throughout his career and for many
years afterwards. Changes in these forms are in terms of quantity rather than in style — fuller scoring in the préludes and ritournelles, more dances, for instance — but these do not upset the basic model. More significant is the expansion of the orchestra's role in accompanying the voices, bringing with it the direct involvement of the orchestra in the action and tentative (or at least selective) uses of its potential in furthering plot and characterization.

The orchestra which Lully's successors inherited from him (and in which several of them performed) was a disciplined band by all accounts; it was also one in which homogeneity of sound was highly prized. The strings of the grand choeur are the foundation to which woodwind instruments or trumpets and drums were added; violins or flutes, separately or together, joined the basse continue in ritournelles, but always with the two upper parts equal, not with, for example, one part for flutes, the other for violins; oboes and bassoons worked in harness. The textures available are three or five parts (extremely rare exceptions to this are discussed by Eppelsheim, pp. 192-94). Resources of distinctive orchestral colour are few and used selectively. While there are numerous orchestral items of all kinds in the operas of Lully's successors which use precisely these combinations of instruments, there are many others in which the barriers of convention are broken down and new sonorities evolved. Hence we find the occasional use of unusual instruments (cromorne and taille de hautbois in Enée et Lavinie, III 4 and V 2, basse de flûte in Médée, II 7, IV 1 and IV 7, and so on), but more significantly, combinations of flûtes and flûtes allemandes, flutes and oboes, even flûtes allemandes and trumpet (Semelé, Prologue), and many others. The dark colourings of the lower instruments are used to telling effect when dealing with destruction or the supernatural, and the legend 'toutes les basses' may be found not only in descriptive pieces, but also in accompaniments of all kinds for recitative, air and ensemble, not necessarily balancing out a high voice, but redoubling the sound of a bass, two basses or even a chorus of basses. At the other end, attractive woodwind and violin sounds combine to characterize heroine or goddess, or to bring an air of peace and goodness into the world of evil which the darker sonorities have helped to create. It is these comparatively modest breakthroughs which were to produce their reward long after many of the operas in which they were attempted had perished under the critical scorn of the opera-going public.
NOTES


2 French Baroque Music, p. 95.

3 Das Orchester in den Werken J.-B. Lullys.

4 The sources are as follows:
   1704: contracts and letters patent concerning the continuation of the privilege, reproduced in La Gorce, 'L'Académie Royale de Musique'; 1712-13: Privilège for the Académie, Paris, Archives Nationales Ajxiii 1 Al (see Eppelsheim, Das Orchester, p.150) and the État appended to the Règlement of 1713 (see Durey de Noinville, Histoire, pp.118-22);

5 Preface to Florilegium Secundum, p.xxxv (see note 1 above).


7 French Baroque Music, p.92.

8 Comparaison, I 134-35.


10 Howard, loc. cit.

11 By this, Lully surely intends an alternative specification (see Eppelsheim, Das Orchester, pp.65-66); by ignoring the word 'tailles', Anthony (French Baroque Music, p.94 and The New Grove, 11 article 'Lully') seems to imply either that these were alternative names for the same instrument, i.e. the side-blown flute, or that Lully definitely intended flutes and recorders to be used together.


13 Po, A 81a.
14 P. Fr, Vm2180.


16 'Theobaldo di Gatti', p.62.

17 Das Orchester, p.93.

18 French Baroque Music, p.119.

19 The cornemuse was another member of the bagpipe family, somewhat simpler than the musette and usually mouth blown: the term is sometimes also used as a generic name for the bagpipe family; see The New Grove, 2, article 'Bagpipe' and Sybil Marcuse A Survey of Musical Instruments (Newton Abbot and London, 1975) p.677.

20 'The Operas of J.-B. Lully', p.144.


22 The reprise in this overture is of the last seven bars of the second section only.

23 The possible inclusion of two solo wind instruments in these ritournelles is discussed by Eppelsheim, Das Orchester, pp.218-19.

24 Although the instrumental prélude to 'Bois épais' (Amadis, II 4) begins with the voice's first phrase, it does not 'simply state the entire air in an instrumental version' (Anthony, French Baroque Music, p.98).


26 In a work which falls just outside this period, Montéclair's opera-ballet Les Fêtes de l'été (1716), the bass parts are on occasion divided 'basses de violon du côté droit', 'basses de violon du côté gauche', 'contrebasse, bassons et basses d'accompagnement'.


28 Sometimes erroneously given the forename 'Charles-Louis'; see The New Grove, 2, article 'Beauchamp'.

29 Raoul-Augé Feuillet, Chorégraphie ou L'art de décrire la danse (Paris, 1700).

30 Comparaison, I 22.

31 The most detailed study of Lully's dances has been done by Meredith Ellis Little (formerly Ellis) in her thesis 'The Dances of J.-B. Lully' (Stanford University, 1967). Her 'Inventory of the dances of Jean-Baptiste Lully', Recherches 9, (1969), 21-55 lists incipits of dances in all Lully's works, classified by dance type. Some of these are identified only through secondary sources. Lully's music was copied and recopied over many years, and many of these labels may well have been attached somewhat carelessly some years after the date of composition: it is hard to imagine this lively piece from the Ballet des Nations as a sarabande:

Several of the items included are vocal or choral numbers not enjoying a separate orchestral existence; while dancing might have accompanied a chorus like 'Flaisirs venez sans craindre' (Phaéton, Prologue), it is extremely unlikely that a maxim air like 'Pour se tirer de peine' (Thésée, III 5) was danced. It is necessary, therefore, to use the totals for different dance types with caution.

32 Meredith Ellis Little, The New Grove, 7, article 'Gavotte'.

33 'Inventory', p. 28.

34 Howard's reference in this context to 'four or six bar phrases regularly answered' ('The Operas of J.-B. Lully', p.149) is puzzling.

35 Meredith Ellis Little, The New Grove, 12, article 'Minuet'.

36 'Inventory', pp. 27 and 48.

37 Réflexions, p. 59.

38 Lecerf, Comparaison, II 209.

39 Reproduced as Plate X in RM numéro spécial (January, 1925).

40 Prunieres, preface to Oeuvres complètes, Les Ballets, I, p.xv.

42 The New Grove, 4, article 'Contredanse'.
43 The New Grove, 12, article 'Musette'.
45 Comparaison, II 120.
46 Réflexions sur l'opéra, pp.55-56.
PART THREE

THE DEMANDS OF THE DRAMA
In Part III, the music of the operas of the period 1673-1715 is surveyed from the standpoint of the drama, looking at the conventions of theatre which the tragédie en musique both inherited and evolved, and at how composers mobilized the resources described in Part II to deal with these. From the spoken tragédie come the five act structure, the soliloquy and monologue, and the dialogue scenes, most interesting and numerous among which are the duologues. The conventions which are peculiar to musical drama (inherited to some extent from pre-operatic forms) are the extended prologue and the divertissement. Finally, we have the dramatic possibilities which arise from the exploitation of groups like the chorus and orchestra and of themes such as the oracle or ombre, the tempête and the sommeil.

1) The 'tragédie'

In surveying the mass of material generated by a study of such a large body of works, the obvious candidate for summary treatment seems to be the livret, that is, consideration of the livret purely in itself. This is not to deny the importance of the librettist's role, which has already been stressed; in general terms, however, the types of subject matter and the conventions of the tragédie en musique are well-known, and certain changes in the internal balance (for example, the decline of the deus ex machina in favour of magic and sinister supernatural interventions) have already been referred to and will feature in the following chapters. More importantly, the livret has received detailed attention elsewhere, notably in Étienne Gros's study of Quinault and in Cuthbert Girdlestone's survey of the livret of the tragédie en musique right through to 1750.1 I have, however, excepted the prologues, not because they have escaped attention elsewhere,2 but because they throw light on the tragédie en musique in its social and political, i.e. extra-musical, aspects, and reflect uniquely the relationship with the monarchy which was so important in the early history of French opera. The following brief introduction to the livret is supplemented in the ensuing chapters by consideration of the dramatic function as well as the music of the soliloquy, duologue and divertissement, and focusses principally on the
period between Lully's death and the turn of the century, which receives the least attention from Girdlestone.

For the librettists who followed him, Quinault was the model of perfection, just as Lully was for the composers. The troubled history of the tragédie en musique in this period was due in part to the vagaries of public taste and prejudice, but undoubtedly the genre suffered internally at least as much from the death of Quinault as from the death of Lully. Just as the decline in standards recorded at the Académie Royale de Musique demonstrates in retrospect Lully's disciplinary strengths, so the shortcomings of the post-Quinault livret testify to the efficiency and skill with which Quinault had carried out his task. What Fontenelle, Campistron and the others lacked in poetic subtlety and dramatic sense they tried to make up in sheer brilliance. In his earlier livrets, Quinault contrasted rather two-dimensional main characters with colourful divertissements, keeping the two largely separate. In his later works, he came to inject life into his characters and to justify more carefully the timing and nature of the divertissements, but, by and large, their colour does not rub off on the main characters until Armide, his deepest character study, who is 'spectacular' in her own right. The divertissements of the later librettists are no less spectacular, but spectacle becomes more and more attached to the main characters as witness, for example, the long list of sorcerers and enchantresses and the proliferation of oracles and ombres. The result is sometimes almost unrelieved dazzle. Anthony draws a parallel here between French opera after Lully and Venetian opera after Monteverdi. While the musical consequences of this preoccupation may, as he points out, have paved the way for Rameau and hence be considered progressive, the genre as a whole was undermined by the substitution of 'le merveilleux' for sustained dramatic development.

It must be conceded that the framework on which the Lullian tragédie en musique is hung is a stereotyped one. Girdlestone points out the simple type of formula to which most plots can be reduced:

A loves B who loves and is loved by C (Quinault: Thésée)
A loves B who loves C who loves and is loved by D (Th.Corneille: Bellérophon).

Not surprisingly, the same situations underlie later operas. To take one example, Duché's Scylla conforms to the Bellérophon pattern outlined above:

Capis loves Dardanus who loves Scylla who loves and is loved by Minos.
Together with such situations go the usual happy or thwarted lovers, whose jealousies, separations and reunions help to make the genre seem so exasperatingly repetitious. However, a good story does not guarantee a good libretto, and similarly a stereotyped situation can be transformed in the hands of a skilful librettist into a lively and tautly constructed work, affording the composer just the opportunities he needs.

In the livrets written in the ten years after Lully's death, divinities of all kinds still figure prominently, as they had in those of Quinault, up to and including Phaéton. Their squabbles, featured in Isis, appear in Thétis et Péleée and Enée et Lavinie. The latter, already well-stocked with supernatural interventions in the form of an ombre, has Juno pronouncing vengeance (I 4), Venus pledging support for Enée (IV 5) and a final reappearance of Juno to concede the victory of 'Vénus et la Vertu'. With Médée (1694), we return to the Amadis/Roland/Armide type of livret (though not their chivalric source material), and there are no divine characters. Although one or more gods make an appearance in the next few operas (e.g. Théagène et Charicléée, Ariane et Bacchus and, of course, La Naissance de Vénus and Vénus et Adonis), their role gradually declines. There is no divine character in Amadis de Grèce (1699), which is a chivalric story, and Mars figures in Marthésie as a main character rather than a deus ex machina. Stories like Danchet's Tancrède (1702) and Alcine (1705) and Roy's Bradamante (1707) are related in theme to Quinault's later livrets and, like them, have no divine characters or interventions. Neptune among the gods enjoys some popularity, no doubt because of the spectacular tempêtes for which he is responsible (in, for example, Hésione (1700) and Idoménée (1712), both by Danchet).

The element of magic, on the other hand, features increasingly frequently, and its spectacular manifestations, whether in the form of evil spirits, earthquakes or ombres, tend to fill the gap left by the demise of the deus ex machina. With the exception of the character of Médée in Thésée and one or two magical divertissements, magic surfaced late in Quinault's work, but it plays a significant role in two of his last three operas, Amadis and Armide. The majority of acts II, III and IV of Amadis are given over to the machinations of Arcalaus and Arcabonne, and two main characters in Armide, Hidraot and Armide herself, are magicians. In the livrets of the next thirty years, few cast lists are without their 'célèbre enchanteresse' or 'fameux magicien'. The influence of magic characters is considerable, both through their direct participation in the action and indirectly through the scope they offer
for eruptions of attendant demons and conjurés, and hence their enhancement of the opera's spectacular side.

Rather than detail the ways in which magic functions in the plots of so many tragédies en musique, it would be perhaps more instructive to look closely at two examples which help to show some of the differences between Quinault and his successors. Quinault's Armide and Houdar de la Motte's Amadis de Grèce both contain substantial character portrayals of an enchantress, Armide in the first case, Mélisse in the second. The magical content of the plots is comparable in size, as are the two roles, but their effect is somewhat different.

The events of Amadis de Grèce are as follows: Mélisse detains Amadis in her palace by means of a sommeil, but he defies her and leaves to woo Niquée. He braves the flames which guard Niquée 'au milieu de chevaliers et de princesses enchantées avec elle'. The lovers' reunion is interrupted by Mélisse on a dragon, and her demons abduct Niquée. In act III, Amadis sees a vision of Niquée with his rival. Mélisse and Amadis quarrel, and she again summons demons to wreak havoc: the scene is transformed into 'un enfer'. Magicians are then invoked, who in turn conjure up monsters and 'une pluie de feu'. Amadis remains unafraid. In the next act, Mélisse causes Amadis's rival, the Prince de Thrace, to appear to Niquée in the guise of Amadis. Mélisse's downfall is eventually brought about by the ombre of the Prince, who promises the gods' protection to the lovers. After another transformation scene, the 'good' sorceress Zirphée (who appears also in the prologue) announces the end of their torments.

In Amadis de Grèce, almost every new twist in the drama happens as the result of an external force – disguises, demons, an ombre, and so on. While two of the main characters in Armide are magical, and a third, La Haine, represents a supernatural force, the supernatural features remarkably little. The first mention is in II 2, when Hidraot refers to Renaud's being led to a certain place by 'l'empire infernal'. During the ensuing sommeil, demons disguised as nymphs chain up Renaud with garlands. In III 3, Armide summons La Haine to drive love from her heart. In act IV, which could be considered a redundant act, there is considerable magic content as the 'bouclier de diamants' which is to break the spell of Renaud's fascination first features. This event is finally brought about in the last act.

While these manifestations may seem to resemble those of Amadis de Grèce, the similarities are more apparent than real. Renaud could have
been delivered into Armide's power just as easily by a natural sleep as by an induced one, and the enchantment serves only as an excuse for a divertissement, the garlands symbolizing the chains of love. When Armide summons La Haine, she is externalizing the conflict within herself rather than introducing a new element. The magical events of act IV take place with a completely new set of characters, and satisfy the urge for spectacle and colour without impinging on the development of plot or characters. Only the breaking of the spell is an essentially magic component of the main plot.

The characterization of Armide and Mélanie is different, too. We learn about the character of Armide in several ways; firstly, through other characters. From references by Hidraot, and from the fête in Armide's honour (I 3) we learn that

Armide est encore plus aimable
Qu'elle n'est redoutable.

and

Tout son pouvoir est dans ses doux appas,
Rien n'est si fort que sa beauté charmante.

We hear of Armide's triumphant exploits, but we also begin to get some idea of her as a woman, even visually - there are several references to her eyes: 'le pouvoir de ses yeux' (II 1), 'ses beaux yeux' (I 3). In her conversations with her confidants, Phénice and Sidonie, Armide reveals some of herself, from her early suspicions of her own inability to overcome her growing love for Renaud, through her increasing despair at the situation. She only has her old power when with Hidraot: when he leaves, she is unable to carry out their joint resolve to kill Renaud (for a political motive, not a personal one). In the scene where the two declare their love (V 1), she finally surrenders completely to her feelings, and when Renaud resolves to leave, she has no resources of self-control left; she has passed the point of rational behaviour. She lashes out impotently at Renaud, threatening to haunt him. In her final great monologue, she succumbs to her grief and, again symbolically, buries her love in the ruins of her palace. The development of her character is a sustained one, and the picture of a woman divided between the political necessity of eliminating Renaud and her powerlessness to carry out the act is a powerful one.

Mélanie, however, never emerges as a complete personality. The background to her declared love for Amadis is never explained. On her first appearance, she pleads with Amadis, but when he resists, she falls
back on a string of curses:

Que de monstres sur toi, la rage se signale,
Que cent géants affreux te livrent cent combats,
Et qu'un gouffre de flamme, achevant ton trépass,
Te vomisse, expirant aux pieds de ma rivale.

(I 4)

All her appearances show her wielding magic powers for revenge, until in III 2 (with La Motte surely having Armide in mind) she suddenly begins to waver and prevents Amadis from killing himself. The change of heart is short-lived, however. In V 1, Mélisse admits 'Plus je l'adore, et plus il me déteste', but this is almost exactly what she said in I 4 ('Ah! plus je m'attendris, moins je te vois sensible'). When the ombre pronounces in favour of the lovers, Mélisse pathetically asks for their pity and kills herself. There is none of Armide's self-examination, and none of the interaction with the other characters which makes her interesting. Armide emerges as a three-dimensional personality, Mélisse remains a type.

It is in such details that some idea of Quinault's power as a dramatist and suppleness as a librettist emerges. Girdleston's book is revealing, not only for its stated critical judgements, but also for the relative amount of coverage allocated to different tragédies en musique. Quinault's eleven livrets are discussed in four chapters and some 119 pages; the period from Quinault to the end of the century in a single chapter of 32 pages to deal with more than twenty livrets. Thereafter, the major figures of the next decades, Houdar de la Motte, Danchet and Roy receive rather more generous treatment. Assessing the livrets purely on their merits as tragédies, Girdleston places in the first rank Quinault's Atys and Armide, Thomas Corneille's Médée, Roy's Philomèle and Callirhoé, La Grange-Chancel's Cassandre, and Danchet's Téléphe. In his next rank, which he rates as superior to the remaining seventy-five per cent, we find Quinault's Alceste, Persée and Phaéton, Campistron's Alcide and Danchet's Idoménée. Judging the success of these operas in terms of the number of reprises they enjoyed, we see that literary merit and popular appeal did not often coincide: leaving aside Quinault, only Philomèle and Callirhoé of the 'first rank' and Alcide and Idoménée of the second enjoyed a reasonable degree of success; Médée and Téléphe rather less, and Cassandre virtually none. The recognition these operas achieved was surpassed by a few others which do not figure in Girdleston's order of merit: Thétis et Péée, Omphale, Tancrede, Iphigénie en Tauride and Alcione (and, in another field, L'Europe galante and Les Pètes venitiennes). Lully was sorely missed after his death, but so was Quinault.
ii) The prologue

It is clear that Louis XIV saw the provision of fêtes and divertissements as an essential concomitant of monarchy. By lavish patronage of the arts, he could help to keep his court as the centre of attention, not only of his own people but of the other powers in Europe. Ceremonial added dignity and stature to the royal personage. In the words of the twentieth century, it was good for his image. The propagandist function of royal patronage is nowhere more clearly shown than in the prologues to the tragédies en musique.

The prologue was, with a few exceptions noted below, quite separate in situation and subject-matter from the action of the tragédie it preceded, and was intended as an extension of the fawning dedication to the King with which the composer prefaced his score. Through a transparent disguise, Louis XIV was compared with and praised by the gods, ancient heroes or allegorical characters such as Fame and Glory. The rejoicing that ensued was dedicated to the King's service. Librettists often took the opportunity to include a topical reference to a recent success in battle or in negotiation, and to vilify the enemies of France.7

As Louis XIV's reign progressed and successes in war became fewer, it can be seen from a study of the prologues how much more difficult it became to maintain the confident tone of the 1670s and 80s.8

France under Louis XIV was in an almost constant state of war with one European power or another, and often with several. At the time of Lully's first operas, Louis XIV and his army under its two great generals, Conde and Turenne, were enjoying considerable, though not unmitigated, success. The prologue to Pomone (1671) by Lully's luckless predecessors, Perrin and Cambert, presents the complete image of the ideal king:

Dans l'auguste Louis, je trouve un nouveau Mars,
Dans la ville superbe une nouvelle Rome,
Jamais, jamais un si grand homme
Ne fût assis au trône des Césars;
Aussi sur la terre et sur l'onde,
Ce monarque puissant ne fait point de projets
Que le Ciel ne seconde.
Il est l'amour et la terreur du monde,
L'effroi de ses voisins, le coeur de ses sujets.

Quinault and subsequent librettists do not normally refer to the King by name, but otherwise all the facets of the man and the monarchy which they wished to present to the outside world are encapsulated here.

In his first prologue, to Cadmus et Hermione, Quinault returns to an earlier representation of the King as the sun, which had made such a
sensation when, as a young man, Louis appeared as the rising sun in the Ballet de la Nuit in 1653. There is no reference to the King in his role as conqueror or monarch, but the prologue concludes with homage to the sun. While this symbolism would not have been wasted on the audience, it was perhaps felt to be not entirely suitable, for in subsequent prologues the dedication of the compliments to Louis in the guise of an anonymous hero is made more explicit. Echoes of the sun symbol survive, however, and though the sun is not again made the sole object of homage, the image must have still have been a powerful one. 9

The gods are often pressed into service in the prologues. As in the example from Pomone quoted above, Louis XIV is again referred to as 'un nouveau Mars' in Thésée (1675) and Atys (1676) but the Mars/Louis XIV equation slips out of favour somewhat. The warring Mars is often referred to as stirring up trouble elsewhere, by implication on the side of Louis' enemies, and the names more usually associated with the King are the slightly less warlike Jupiter (Achille et Polixène, 1688 and Enée et Lavinie, 1691) or Apollo, lover of the arts (Astrée, 1691). The gods frequently testify to Louis' greatness; this is one of innumerable examples:

BACCHUS

Je viens prendre part à la gloire
D'un vainqueur aussi grand que moi.

PAN

J'ai quitté les forêts où je tins mon empire,
Pour venir comme vous admirez ce héros.

(Bellérophon, 1679)

If it is not the gods who are ranged on the side of the King, it is allegorical figures: Glory in Alceste, Fame in Isis. In Louis' character are married Virtue and Fortune (Pérasée), Glory and Wisdom (Armide). Fame complains that she is overworked by him (Didon). Most prologues are allegory or myth or a mixture of the two, but the tendency is for the allegorical element to decline after about 1700. The last wholly allegorical prologue in this period is that of Alcine (1705), though allegory plays a substantial part in those to Méleagre (1709) and Créuse (1712) and single allegorical characters appear occasionally elsewhere.

The presentation of Louis XIV as conqueror, hero and supreme monarch is obligatory until about 1701 and usual thereafter. The anonymous hero with whom he is identified is linked with heroes of the past: heroes of ancient Rome (Canente and Méleagre), heroes in general (Atys),
and the heroes of chivalry (Amadis, Amadis de Grèce and Bradamante). In Achille et Polixène, Jupiter exhorts the assembled company:

\[\text{Formez sur lui tous les portraits} \]
\[\text{De vos hérois les plus parfaits.}\]

Since the King was hardly ever named in the prologues, librettists devised a few stock formulae to replace his name: 'le plus grand des hérois', 'le plus puissant des rois' and 'le plus grand roi du monde' are common. From about 1678, the year of the King's fortieth birthday, the warlike image tends to be tempered by the recital of other virtues, particularly those of the peace-lover. The French peasant, heavily taxed to pay for the King's campaigns, might have found the idea hard to swallow, but praise to Louis the peacemaker is regularly trotted out, and the peace brought by the end of a war is given pride of place over the victory (if victory it was).

Après avoir chanté les fureurs de la guerre,
Chantons les douceurs de la paix,
sings Apollo in Bellérophon (1679), the subject of which relates to the conclusion of the war against Holland and Spain and the Emperor.¹⁰

Even when peace has not yet been restored, reassurance is at hand:

\[\text{Les fureurs de la guerre} \]
\[\text{Doivent bientôt céder aux douceurs de la paix.} \]

(Circe, 1694).

There are several references to Louis XIV's magnanimity and clemency, and even suggestions that he held back from further conquests: this is Fortune in Persée, 1682:

\[\text{Ah! s'il m'eût voulu suivre il eût tout surmonté,} \]
\[\text{Tout tremblait, tout cédait à l'ardeur qui l'anime:} \]
\[\text{C'est vous, Vertu trop magnanime,} \]
\[\text{C'est vous qui l'avez arrêté.} \]

Regrettably, his enemies take advantage of his virtue:

\[\text{C'est en vain qu'à ses ennemis} \]
\[\text{Son coeur se montre favorable;} \]
\[\text{Leur orgueil mille fois soumis,} \]
\[\text{Renaît du malheur qui l'accable.} \]

(Jason, 1696).

The King is shown as taking up arms reluctantly: a favourite excuse of the bellicose. This seems to be a feature of the 1690s:

\[\text{Sa clémence est égale à sa valeur extrême;} \]
\[\text{Il est le plus doux des vainqueurs;} \]
\[\text{Il ne veut se servir de son pouvoir suprême} \]
\[\text{Que pour régner sur tous les coeurs.} \]

(Theagène et Chariclée, 1695)

Mais son bras n'est jamais armé
Que pour donner la paix au monde.

(La Naissance de Vénus, 1696)
Mais, il n’a pas cherché dans la guerre  
D’autre triomphe que la paix.  

(Marthésie, 1699)

In the prologue to Médée, 1694, are coupled references to the warmongering of other countries and the King’s love of peace:

Ils ne cherchent à triompher  
Qu’afin de prolonger la guerre.  
Louis combat pour l’étouffer,  
Et rendre le calme à la terre.

Greater glory accrues to Louis through the large number of enemies he has to overcome (Thésée). In Scylla (1701), Envy tries to muster more hostile forces: France counters:

Ils augmenteront ma puissance,  
Tu les verras bientôt soumis.

The place in which the prologue is set and the situation represented therein are all part of the propaganda process. Mars and Venus, in Thésée, 1675, sing:

Au milieu de la guerre  
Goûtons les douceurs de la paix.

This is a passing reference to peace in the middle of war, however, and in a confident age, does not trouble the prevailing theme of victory. In Isis, 1677, Apollo instigates celebrations prepared 'dans un asile heureux', where pleasure is to be spoken of rather than cruel war. The key word here is 'asile', introduced casually here, but becoming increasingly important in the 1690s. Most of the prologues of this period are set in a haven of peace in a war-torn world, sometimes ostensibly neutral: 'un superbe palais' (La Naissance de Vénus, 1696), for example, but often overtly French. The Jeux and Plaisirs fleeing war (Circe, 1694) find their haven of peace and love on the banks of the Seine. Peace (Jason, 1696) thanks the King for offering her a refuge. The theme of such prologues is that peace must be pursued at home, whatever is going on elsewhere; there is a claustrophobic atmosphere about them.

While the formulae describing Louis XIV as a hero continue to be used, another theme begins to pervade the prologues: the key word here is 'sagesse'. In Armide, 1686, the prologue is a discussion between Glory and Wisdom, who decide that in Louis XIV they are uniquely united. For the next ten years, the prologues extol the King’s more peaceable virtues. This may be in connection with the 'asile' described above, and probably also reflects the King’s advancing years: 'sage' and 'prudent' are not the usual descriptions of a young hero.

After 1700, a significant number of prologues avoid any reference to
the King or to a god or hero with whom he might be identified. The first of these is Omphale, 1701, whose subject is the pleasures of love: others are Hippodamie, 1708, Diomède, 1710, Manto la Fée, 1711, Idoménée, 1712, Créuse, 1712 and Arion, 1714. Alcine, 1705, refers to heroes, but the librettist, Danchet, declines to give the extra hint to the audience that a reference to the King is intended. Is the 'fils d'Hector' who is to found the French empire (Cassandre, 1706) intended to be the King? The reference is somewhat oblique. The prologue to Bradamante, 1707, returns to his praises, but dwells on his virtues at home rather than abroad; this was a period of setbacks.

At the end of the reign come prologues which faintly recall the old style. In Roy's Callirhoé, 1712, Victory apologizes to France for having temporarily lost sight of her warriors. Peace is now to reign, and the King can relax. Médée et Jason, 1713, opens with Europe groaning as the sounds of war continue. Apollo announces that Jupiter is on the side of France and her model King, and peace is on the way. Danchet's prologue to Télèphe, 1713, is subtitled 'L'Apothéose d'Hercule', and here we are on familiar ground as Jupiter predicts a hero for France, and Louis XIV, bringer of peace, resurfaces. Some three months after his death in September, 1715, Théonoé sets the seal on his reign. Louis is depicted taking his place among the kings, consuls and emperors of Rome in the temple of Janus. Victory reassures France once again that there will be peace and closes the temple doors as a sign of this. The preoccupation with peace, then, remains to the end.

* * * * *

From the point of view of structure, there are two main types of prologue. In the first, the action unfolds like an opera in miniature, a sequence of events leading to a logical conclusion and a triumphant celebration. Some clearly-defined change occurs: mourning or complaining is changed to rejoicing by an arrival or an announcement; a dispute is resolved; a peaceful situation is disturbed and calmed again. In the second category of prologue, there may be several participants and some 'question and answer' dialogue, but there is no deviation from the aim of achieving the happy outcome and praising the King.

Quinault's first prologue, to Cadmus et Hermione, 1673, illustrates the first type in its most developed form. A fête is summoned, and Pan and his followers augment the company. Envy, however, interrupts, summoning the serpent Python and high winds to lay waste the earth and to attempt to extinguish the Sun. The Sun counters with ever-stronger rays,
and Python is struck down. The fête begins again, and the Sun announces that as long as he reigns, everyone will be happy. The prologues to Proserpine (Quinault, 1680), Thétis et Pélée (Fontenelle, 1689) and Alcine (Danchet, 1705) are modelled on these lines. Quinault's next prologue, to Alceste, 1674, presents a rather less involved action. The Nymph of the Seine, mourning the absence of 'the hero', begs Glory to allow him some respite, but is reminded that he has subjugated 'the proudest river in the universe' (a reference to the crossing of the Rhine in 1672). Louis is returning, however, and the ensuing fête is led by the Nymphs of the Seine, the Marne and the Tuileries. Examples along these lines are to be found in Thésée, 1675, Achille et Polixène, 1688, Méduse, 1702, Philomèle, 1705 and Médée et Jason, 1713. Quinault's fourth prologue, to Atys, 1676, introduces the idea of a dispute for the first time. Time announces that the King has eclipsed the heroes of old; Flora, goddess of spring and flowers, arrives (she is a particular favourite in prologues, probably because many tragédies en musique were first performed in January or February). Melpomene interrupts the ensuing celebrations, elbowing out Flora and her 'agrément rustique' in favour of the muse of tragedy and 'spectacles pompeux'. Iris, messenger of the gods, comes to intercede; Flora and Melpomene must unite to serve 'le plus grand des héros'. Confrontations also take place in Scylla, 1701, Callirhoë, 1712 and Arion, 1714. They are formalized into contests with a referee in some operas: Alcione, 1706 (Apollo v Pan), Polixène et Pirrhus, 1706 (Neptune v Minerva), Méléagre, 1709 (France v Italy - a musical rivalry), and Créuse, 1712 (Fable v History).

The second type of prologue, which unfolds without conflict or change of mood, makes its first appearance in Isis, 1677. Fame summons the Rumours and others to publish abroad Louis XIV's virtues. Tritons appear and announce the arrival of Neptune, who refers to wars at sea, and joins in the festivities. The Muses arrive with Apollo to add their arts. The structure, then, is a cumulative one, and the enormous cast list at the beginning of the livret gives some idea of its grand scale. The prologues to Bellerophon, 1679, Céphale et Procris, 1694 and Marthésie, 1699 are just three of many examples.

The incidence of these two types of prologue shows interesting variations. As we have seen, Quinault's early livrets are of the dramatic type, but Isis is purely celebratory, and the few unkind words said of Fortune in her absence by Virtue in Persée hardly constitute a dispute. The prologues of his last three livrets, Amadis, Roland and Armide are all of the second type. For a short period after Quinault's demise,
librettists seem to hark back to his earlier models: there is a similarity between Achille et Polixène, 1688 and Alceste, and the four scenes of Fontenelle's Thétis et Péléé recall the five of Cadmus et Hermione, especially since both culminate in the arrival of the Sun. From around 1690, however, this type of prologue virtually disappears, and it is perhaps no coincidence that this is the period when librettists were pre-occupied with the 'haven of peace' idea: disputes and wars took place everywhere but in the chosen setting for the prologue.

A few prologues fall outside the classification described above, through the nature of the action which takes place within them or their relationship to the action of the tragédie proper. Fontenelle's prologue to Enée et Lavinie begins with pastoral revelry and homage to Jupiter, but the Titans arrive, and the prologue continues with the presentation of a mythical attack on Jupiter by the Titans. Their temerity in piling one mountain on another in an attempt to reach the heavens is punished: they are buried under the mountains. The prologue has no concluding divertissement. It is the most eventful of all the prologues, but also the most obscure. Isherwood implies that the audience identified with the Titans' 'Nous allons renverser l'empire' (war had been declared on the Hapsburg Emperor in September, 1688). Given the ultimate fate of the Titans, the parallel would seem to be somewhat shaky. The positions are surely reversed: the Titans represent the enemies of France, Jupiter is Louis XIV, and the 'empire' reference is not intended to be taken literally.

Three other prologues contain action which pertains to the tragédies they precede. In Thomas Corneille's Psyché, Venus refuses to join in celebrations of peace and love and, annoyed that homage is being addressed to Psyché, enlists the aid of L'Amour to bring about Psyché's downfall (their near-fatal encounter takes place in the tragédie, II 5-6 and III 2-3). In the prologue to Diomède, Venus receives the news that Diomède is about to embark for Cythera and is awaiting favourable winds. Affronted at this challenge to her authority, she dismisses the assembly peremptorily. Venus is involved yet again in the prologue to Idoménée, first taming the winds, then sending them to create a storm. At the beginning of the tragédie, we learn that Idoménée is presumed drowned in this storm.

Although the action of the prologue is only occasionally related to the tragédie, the two are sometimes linked by allusion. With the exception of Atys, in which Melpomene says she has been instructed to restage the story of Cybele and Atys, Quinault keeps prologue and tragédie separate.
until Amadis. In his last three livrets, the subject matter is carefully introduced in the prologue, as here, in Roland:

Du célèbre Roland renouvellons l'histoire,
La France lui donna le jour.
Montrons les erreurs où l'amour
Peut engager un coeur qui néglige la gloire.

Thereafter, using the prologue to introduce the main character(s) becomes almost commonplace, occurring in about seventy per cent of the remaining livrets. A reference to the story's hero is often coupled with a mention of Louis XIV: this is Fortune in the prologue to Méduse:

Pour un héros fameux entre les plus grands rois
Ma faveur prit plaisir d'élèver autrefois
Un des premiers trônes du monde...
De cet événement rappelez la mémoire:
Et montrez que toute sa gloire
N'est qu'un faible crayon de l'Empire français.

Despite little dramatized disagreements and attempts to characterize divine or allegorical participants, the prologues remain frothy confec-
tions. Their musical ingredients, like those of the divertissement, are the dance and its related air and ensemble forms, the petit air (later the accompanied air), the chorus and, above all, spectacle. Changes over the period in question result from developments in these different forms, rather than in the way they are put together. Thus we see some decline in récitatif simple (which, in the prologues at least, is well advanced in Lully's later works – see, for example, Armide). The petit air increasingly becomes the accompanied air, often in its most decorative form. The use of the orchestra, both in support of the voices and in descriptive writing, becomes more prevalent. The prologues are as varied musically as they are in subject matter, and are paradoxically just as uniform.
NOTES

1 Philippe Quinault, pp.513-635; La Tragédie en musique, pp.1-267.

2 See Isherwood, Music in the Service of the King, Chapters 4, 5 and 8 and Alain Niderst, 'L'Actualité politique dans l'opéra français à la fin du règne de Louis XIV, 1686-1715' in Regards sur l'opéra, Université de Rouen, Centre d'art, esthétique et littérature (Paris, 1976), pp.187-212.


4 The subjects of the tragédie en musique do not always supply sufficient material for continuous unfolding of the main plot. Quinault's solution is sometimes to suspend the action almost completely, rather than to spread it more thinly. The fourth act of Isis is a series of spectacular tableaux; the central action of Proserpine does not get under way properly until the second act; the climax of Roland is the fourth act rather than the fifth. The fourth act of Armide has been criticized, says Girdlestone, but it is an excellent foil to the acts on either side: 'A la réflexion, il ne se justifie pas; à la lecture, il se justifie à moitié; à la représentation il choquerait peut-être moins' (La Tragédie en musique, p.118).

5 La Tragédie en musique, p.325.

6 Théodore de Lajarte, Bibliothèque musicale du théâtre de l'Opéra, 2 vols (Paris, 1878) lists the operas and their revivals.

7 The prologue to Isis, for example, in which Neptune plays an important role, relates to Duquesne's victory over the Dutch and Spanish navies in the Mediterranean in the spring of 1676 (Isherwood, Music in the Service of the King, p.221).

8 'Dans les catastrophes présentes, les poètes se taisent, ils inventent des évasions exquises, ou condescendent à des compliments vagues et trop généraux', writes Niderst, 'L'actualité politique', p.207, concerning the years 1706-09.

9 See the prologues to Thétis et Péée (Fontenelle, 1689), and Hésione (Danchet, 1700), and references to the dawn in Amadis (Quinault, 1684), Vénus et Adonis (Rousseau, 1697), Canente (La Motte, 1700) and Hippodamie (Roy, 1708).

10 Isherwood, Music in the Service of the King, p.221.

11 ibid. p.217.

12 ibid. p.336.
CHAPTER NINE

THE SOLILOQUY

i) The function of the soliloquy

The soliloquy in the tragédie en musique involves only the main characters and usually arises when the person concerned is in a state of indecision or distress.\(^1\) Campistron defines the purpose of the soliloquy through his character Polixène in Achille et Polixène, IV 1:

> Enfin je me vois seule, et je puis sans contrainte
>  Faire éclater les divers mouvements
>  Dont mon âme est atteinte,
>  Et connaître du moins quels sont mes sentiments.

The lover suffering the pangs of real or imagined rejection bemoans her fate:

> Il me fuit, l'inconstant, il m'ôte tout espoir:
>  O Ciel! tant de froideur succède à tant de flamme?

Théone: Phaéton, II 2

Confused by conflicting emotions and the vicissitudes of life, she falls back on rhetorical questions:

> Amour, que veux-tu de moi?
>  Arcabonne: Amadis, II 1
>  Suis-je Clorinde? ô Ciel! quel trouble me dévore!
>  Puis-je me reconnaître encore!
>  Clorinde: Tancredé, II 1
>  Vaine pitié, que me veux-tu?
>  Créuse: Créuse, IV 5

An appeal for assistance is often involved: in Achille et Polixène, III 6 Briseïs summons Juno to stop Achille's proposed marriage. Déjanire, in Alcide, IV 9, is less specific in her request:

> Dieux protecteurs de la foi conjugale,
>  Laissez-vous triompher ma rivale?
>  Dieux justes, dieux puissants, je vous invoque tous.

The character's surroundings can be a source of comfort and relief:

> Mon amoureuse inquiétude
>  Me fait chercher ces bois charmants
>  Dont l'agréable solitude
>  Flatte les peines des amants.

Alcide: Alcide, IV 1

Solitaires jardins, retraites du silence,
A vous seuls de mes maux je ferai confidence.

Philomèle: Philomèle, II 1
They may, on the other hand, be unpleasant or unsympathetic:

Sombres forêts, rochers inaccessibles,
Fier torrent, que l'hiver n'a jamais arrêté,
A mes cruels malheurs vous n'êtes point sensibles.

Iarbe: Didon, II 2

The person seeking reinforcement of a mood of despair may find even dark and deserted places insufficiently hostile for the purpose:

Lieux écartés, demeure obscure,
Solitaires témoins des peines que j'endure,
Asile impénétrable à la clarté du jour;
Redoublez, s'il se peut, l'épaisseur de vos ombres,
Et cachez à jamais, dans vos retraites sombres,
Mon désespoir et mon amour.

Cydipe: Vénus et Adonis, I 1.

This last example is one of innumerable variations on Quinault's 'Bois épais, redouble ton ombre' (Amadis, II 4).

Alongside the endless and exasperating lovers in the throes of nothing very dreadful, some genuinely affecting characters stand out. It is often through their soliloquies that these more rounded portraits are drawn. In Isis, the nymph Io, hapless victim of Juno's jealousy, suffers a series of severe trials and misfortunes. In V 1, at the end of her tether, she implores Jupiter's help in ending her torments:

Réduite au désespoir, mourante, vagabonde,
J'ai porté mon supplice en mille affreux climats.

The situation of Ceres in Proserpine is also pathetic. As she searches desperately for her daughter, she stands apart from the usual tangle of lovers. Her first soliloquy is particularly poignant: she speaks happily of her love for Proserpine and her joy at their approaching reunion, not knowing, as the audience does, that the girl has been abducted. Her second, 'Déserts écartés, sombres lieux', V 2, shows her at her most despairing.

Other strong character portrayals constructed with the help of soliloquies include Didon (Didon), Médée (Médée and Jason), Clitemnestre (Cassandre) and Théonoé under the name of Axiamire (Théonoé). Among the male characters, only the personalities of Roland (Roland) and Roger (Bradamante) emerge through the use of the soliloquy. Danchet, for example, is presented with a male character in a really distressing situation (Idoménée, faced with sacrificing his own son); he nevertheless gives the dramatic soliloquies to a female character, Electre, who does not even belong in the original story.²

In his early livrets, Quinault employs the soliloquy only infrequently. However in Psyché (1678), written by Thomas Corneille and Fontenelle in the
temporary absence of Quinault, new possibilities for its more systematic use are explored. The soliloquy is connected almost exclusively with the central character. In four of her soliloquies (II 4, III 6, IV 1, V 1), Psyche expresses shades of grief or bewilderment. The extended example in III 3-4 has a different dramatic function, however. Psyche, who has been tricked by Venus, is about to discover the true identity of her lover and, in making the discovery, bring about her own downfall. III 3 is in récitatif simple, though unified to some extent by the lines

Si le plaisir d'aimer est un plaisir extrême,
Quels charmes n'a-t-il pas quand c'est l'Amour qu'on aime?

which occur three times. The lover, L'Amour, wakes and sums up the situation with admirable concision:

Tu n'as vu, c'en est fait, tu vas me perdre, adieu.
The scene immediately changes to a desert and Psyche expresses first her confusion at her lover's abrupt departure and then her surprise at the transformation.

Quinault did not immediately take up the idea of focusing attention on a single character through the use of the soliloquy; there are some examples in the livrets which follow Bellérophon but they may be assigned to as many as four different characters. As in the early operas, the soliloquies still tend to express one state of mind, and therefore to be, in terms of the drama, static. In his later operas, particularly Roland and Armide, however, Quinault develops the idea of psychological drama much further, and significant action takes place through the medium of the soliloquy. In Roland's long monologue in II 2 (from which he turns aside briefly to address Temiire) he confesses his shame at abandoning further conquests to follow Angélique (who has no time for him), tries once and for all to free himself from his enslavement, but sinks back into despair at his own feebleness. Act IV contains a succession of scenes which take Roland from happy anticipation through doubt to despair and finally madness. Armide contains four soliloquies for the heroine: two static (III 1 and III 3), two much more significant. In II 5 she has the sleeping Renaud at her mercy, but finds herself unable to deliver the fatal blow. In the final scene, V 5, his desertion of her has driven her to destructive fury. Disjointed phrases show her state of mind:

Traître, atten... je le tiens... je tiens son coeur perfide...
Ah! je l'immole à ma fureur...
Que dis-je? où suis-je? hélas! infortunée Armide.

Of the character portrayals in the livrets after Armide, only that of Médée by Thomas Corneille uses the soliloquy really systematically,
showing the heroine in a range of situations and states of mind, and
reserving the medium of the soliloquy almost exclusively for her. Perhaps
other librettists felt obliged to give all their star performers a chance
to occupy the centre of the stage; no doubt the Académie Royale de Musique
was not immune from the usual theatrical rivalries and jealousies.

The soliloquy remained an important vehicle for the expression of
turmoil, sadness or the desire for revenge. Several heroines and powerful
supernatural figures experience Armide's sudden inability to deliver the
coup de grâce to an intended victim. Her dramatic soliloquy after Renaud's
desertion in V 5 and the attendant destruction are frequently imitated.
Achille et Polixène closes with Polixène calling for revenge after her
husband's death, seeing apparitions and finally expiring. Most of the
final scene of Alcide is carried on by Alcide himself, with inconsequen­
tial interpolations from bystanders. He, too, moves from despair to
hallucination, and calls for fire and earthquake to mark his return to
Mount Olympus. Marthésie ends with a similar scene for Marthésie herself.
Didon and Circe both end with the death of the heroine. In Philomèle it
is the villain of the piece, Progne, who is left to commit suicide after
the murder of his son, while in Cassandre Oreste is left to swear revenge
on his mother and Egisto for their murder of Agamemnon and Cassandre.
Most of the examples of the final scene soliloquy fall within the first
twenty years after Armide, later operas favouring a public, if not always
a happy, ending.

Soliloquies can occur at any point in the act, as the characters
enter and exit freely. One position which comes increasingly to be occupied
by the soliloquy is the opening of an act; the first to do this is Cadmus'
'Belle Hermione' (Cadmus et Hermione, V 1). A quarter of all the acts in
Lully's operas open with a soliloquy, and there is a steady increase until
in the operas written between 1707 and 1715 the proportion is over a half.
Soliloquies at the end of an act are never as popular as this, but there
is nevertheless a similar steady increase, hand in hand with the gradual
move of the divertissement away from the end of the act. The five
examples in Lully's operas represent only 8 per cent of the possible total,
but in the period 1707-1715 28 per cent of all acts conclude with a
soliloquy.

Musically speaking, there are various lines of development within the
soliloquy, but no continuous progression. Generally speaking, it is
possible to say that early examples tend to be short (around eight to
twelve lines of verse), simple (set in the same style throughout, or
moving from, say, récitatif simple to air) and accompanied by the basse
continue. Later examples tend to be longer, to involve more complex musical structures and to be wholly or substantially accompanied by the orchestra. The dividing lines between 'early' and 'late' are, however, far from clear cut.

ii) Continuo-accompanied soliloquies

In their first five operas, Quinault and Lully did not make much use of the soliloquy: in Alceste, for example, the only character to have the stage to himself is the comic old man, Phères, left behind by the advancing army (II 5); Admète's 'Sans Alceste, sans ses appas' is a short monologue (III 6). What soliloquies there are in the early operas fall into two main types. The first involves the use of the (usually) binary form air: Hermione's 'Amour, voi quels maux' (Cadmus et Hermione, II 5) is an attractive example. Such an air may be preceded or followed by a short recitative. Médée's soliloquy in Thésée, V 1 poses the dilemma:

Ah! faut-il me venger
En perdant ce que j'aime?

Non! il faut me venger
En perdant ce que j'aime!

Hiérax's soliloquy 'Cessez d'aider une infidèle' (Isis, I 1) reverses this arrangement, beginning in recitative with a mood of resolution and decision but slipping into a regretful air as Hiérax realizes that it is easier to fall in love than to fall out of it.

The second type of soliloquy from the early operas is longer, and is unified by a recurring phrase into a loose rondeau structure. Vocally, it is more akin to recitative than to air. The examples of basse continue airs of this type referred to in Chapter Four (p.82f) are all soliloquies or monologues ('Terminez mes tourments' Isis, V 1 being part of a longer soliloquy). Any vocal resemblance to the air, for example through the use of a metrical motto theme, tends to disappear: in Example 201, from Lully's next opera, Psyché, III 3, the recurring theme 'Si le plaisir d'aimer' is indistinguishable in style from what surrounds it:

Ex. 201 Psyché, III 3

\[\text{Si le plaisir d'aimer est un plaisir extrême, quelle charme n'a-t-il pas quand c'est l'Amour qui aime-moi? Jamais amour ne fut si beau, si digne de toucher un coeur fidèle et tendre, et le mor-}\]
Structurally, too, the B and C sections of the rondeau (i.e. the recitative) grow so large in proportion to the motto theme A that any feeling of balance disappears.

It is only at this point that recitative emerges as a suitable medium for the whole soliloquy, and not merely for linking passages. The second half of 'Terminez mes tourments', Isis, V 1 referred to above, is a sixteen-bar section of recitative as Io reproaches Jupiter for his abandonment of her; this is the closing passage, Example 202, (the opening is quoted as Example 45, page 83).

The series of soliloquies in Psyché referred to above (see p. 280) demonstrate the growing importance of recitative as the medium for serious self-expression. In all six scenes, there is scarcely one metrical phrase, and where airs do occur, they are formed simply by the repetition of the words or of both words and music of a recitative phrase.

The natural progression from this would seem to be the use of accompanied recitative for all important soliloquies, coupling the
expressive flexibility of recitative with the ability of the orchestra to underline the dramatic nature of the situation. While accompaniments to both recitative and air come to play an increasing role in the soliloquy (as elsewhere) they never, for Lully, become the automatic choice. *Basse continue* accompanied forms are still found at key points. Mérope's 'Ah! je garderai bien mon coeur' (*Persée*, I 3) and Arcabonne's 'Amour, que veux-tu de moi?' (*Amadis*, II 1) are examples in *rondeau* form, between recitative and air. Mérope's second soliloquy, 'Hélas! il va périr' (*Persée*, II 4) is in recitative throughout. Although the speech of Andromède as she confronts death (*Persée*, IV 5) is not strictly speaking a monologue, Lully emphasizes her physical isolation by treating it musically as one, dividing it off from the preceding exchanges of the spectators by a short *ritournelle* and moving into F minor. Finally, there is the great monologue of Armide (*Armide*, II 5) 'Enfin il est en ma puissance' referred to above (pp. 40 and 104), Lully's masterpiece in the form. In this one respect, his successors did not attempt to emulate him.

More than seventy years later, this scene was to draw from Rameau the comment 'Quel goût! quel génie! quel sentiment!'  

One more type of soliloquy should be mentioned here, though it plays a more significant role later and hence usually involves some accompaniment. In this type, several elements are put together into a sequence. A concise example is *Atys*, III 3, which begins with a *ritournelle*, followed by what sounds like the beginning of a *petit air*. This breaks off, though, as Atys' conscience begins to trouble him, and after a short recitative, he has an air in a more serious style 'Laisse mon coeur en paix', in ternary form. A recitative passage forms a link into the next scene, a sommeil. The first part of the scene (after the *ritournelle*) is quoted (Example 203):
The elements put together are not necessarily a mixture, however. Phaéton, II 2 is an extended soliloquy in three air sections, introduced by a ritournelle. The ritournelle and first air are based on a five-bar ascending ground bass, repeated fourteen times. (See p. 120). A repeat of the last part of the ritournelle leads directly into another air. Another short instrumental ritournelle introduces the third air, the last two lines of which repeat the second.

After Lully, soliloquies accompanied solely by the basse continue become few and far between. Récitatif simple is used almost exclusively as an introduction or a link between sections, occasionally as one part of a multi-section movement. Argine's soliloquy in Destouches' Omphale, III 3 is a rare example of a whole scene in recitative. Colasse achieves a compromise in Enée et Lavinie, V 1, by having the orchestra introduce the soliloquy and play three brief interpolations, but never actually play with the voice (there is a shorter example of this in the same opera, II 8). As late as 1715, Salomon writes a recitative soliloquy in Théonoe, V 1. A chromatic ritournelle (violons/violons/basse continue) is interrupted by the voice, which enters over the cadence with 'Il va périr'; thereafter the instruments drop out. At 'Quelle horreur', the basse continue has an insistent

\[ \frac{\text{ton}.}{\text{ton}} \]

rhythm, but there is then a complete contrast for 'le sombre voile se dissipe', with smooth crotchets in the bass being taken up by the voice. There are rather more examples of basse continue-accompanied airs, but again, some of these occur as part of a larger movement. Of those which stand alone, Thétis' 'Tristes honneurs' (Thétis et Pélée, II 4) and Médée's 'Fille de l'enfer' (Médis, I 7) are in rondeau form, the former example conforming very closely to the Lully model. In Théagène et Charicole, V 1 Destouches writes an unusual rondeau form soliloquy over a ground bass which is quoted as Example 84 in Chapter Four. Equally rare is a binary form air for Terée in Philomèle, I 5, a form hardly used for serious
expression since Lully's death, twenty years previously. Even later, Salomon uses a composite form rather like the Enée et Lavinie examples mentioned above: Axianire's soliloquy 'Dieu puissant! Dieu vainqueur!' (Théoné, III 1) is introduced by strings and punctuated by 'flûte allemande seule', but has the singer accompanied only by the basse continue.

iii) Orchestral accompanied soliloquies

Although the use of a basse continue accompaniment for a soliloquy does not die out completely, the usual practice after about 1680 is to use the orchestra for all or part of the accompaniment. The soliloquy may be wholly or substantially accompanied recitative or an accompanied air, but is increasingly likely to be divided into contrasting sections, mixing both vocal and instrumental styles.

a) Air

The self-contained accompanied air soliloquy is rather less common than its recitative counterpart. Lully's 'Bois épais' (Amadis, II 4) is, as has been pointed out, quite untypical, being in binary form and perfectly metrical. Lybie's 'Heureuse une âme indifférente' (Phaéton, I 1) is also in binary form, with a varied repeat of the second half, but the style is much more akin to recitative (Example 204).

Ex 204 Phaéton, I 1

Exemple 204

'Dieu, qui vous déclarez mon père', in the same opera (V 2, see Example 54) demonstrates a ternary form version of this style, as does Armide's 'Ah, si la liberté' (Armide, III 1). These are exact counterparts of the more serious forms of continuo-accompanied air. The orchestral contribution is sometimes increased by means of a prélude, which may be an
instrumental version of the succeeding air (as in 'Heureuse une âme indifférente') or may reproduce the style of the air without quoting more than its opening bar or so (as in 'Bois épais'). The orchestra makes a more distinctive contribution in Médor's 'Ah! quel tourment' (Roland, I 3), which has a lively bass line in the outer sections and a reprise of the brief prélude before the middle section. In Renaud's long soliloquy 'Plus j'observe ces lieux' (Armide, II 3), voice and orchestra form an equal partnership, with the orchestra determining the structure and ensuring continuity (see p. 92 and Example 56(a) and (b)).

In the period immediately following Lully's death, the accompanied air soliloquy is rare. Procris' 'Lieux écartés, paisible solitude' in Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre's Céphale et Procris, II 1 (1694) is an extended ternary form air. Like many continuo-accompanied examples in this form, its middle section is closer to recitative in style. Examples of this type are to be found as late as Cassandre, 1706 ('Temple sacré, lieux solitaires', II 1) and Bradamante, 1707 ('Ah! que mon sort a de rigueur', III 1). 'O mer', Alcione, III 1 has a prélude which determines the serious mood of the air but does not prefigure its melody. The instrumental dessus and bass and the vocal line all show the angularity favoured by Marais and some contemporaries, exaggerating similar tendencies in Lully's writing. Example 205(a) is the opening of the prélude, 205(b) is the latter part of the A section of the air.
Destouches' Marthésie (1699) furnishes an example of a rondeau soliloquy, 'Faible fierté', I 1 (see Example 60) and one over a chaconne bass 'Que fais-je? où suis-je?', II 1. The latter is presented against the background of an off-stage chorus, whose contributions divide the soliloquy into three sections. After the initial chorus, Marthésie sings the first section written over a four-bar descending ground. After a short choral outburst, she recommences, now in the minor key, apparently in a continuation of the chaconne style, but abandoning the ground. A third choral passage introduces the final soliloquy section, in récitatif simple as Marthésie expresses resolve rather than indecision. The few accompanied airs that do feature as soliloquies in the later years of the seventeenth century tend, like this one, to be part of a longer structure involving other forms (other examples are to be found in Jason, II 5 and Circe, II 1).

Around the turn of the century, there is something of a revival in the accompanied air with, as we have seen in Chapter Four, a move away from the recitative-influenced serious air favoured by Lully towards the metrical and more decorative air, whose vocal line and varied accompaniments tip the balance between words and music well towards the latter. While display pieces in the ariette mould are reserved for the prologue and divertissement, their influence is felt on the more serious type of air. Such airs with the focus on the soloist, were ideally suited to the soliloquy; hence the term air de monologue to describe them.

An early example of this type of soliloquy is Canente's 'Coulez, tranquilles eaux, volez, charmants zéphyr' (Canente, II 1, 1700), the decorative nature of whose words is well exploited. Iphis' 'Calme heureux, innocent paix' in Omphale, I 1 (a ground bass air; see Example 85) shows the orchestra providing an attractive background to the soloist. In Tancredé, III 2 (1702), Campra selects a particular orchestral sound, flûtes allemandes and violins, and picks up a brief reference to echoes in the text to feature in instrumental links between the vocal sections (the opening is quoted as Example 75 above).
Leaving aside his completion of Desmarets' *Iphigénie en Tauride* in 1704, Campra's next opera was *Alcine* in the following year. Three of the soliloquies in this opera take the form of *da capo* airs, wholly or for the major part. Astolphe's 'Ténèbreuses forêts', I 2 and 'Vaste mer', IV 2 are accompanied and punctuated by strings, with *flûtes* being added for Melanie's 'Séjour charmant', III 4.

Although all composers took up the ternary or *da capo* air, the best examples as far as the soliloquy is concerned seem to come from Campra. Hippodamie's air 'N'offrez plus à nos yeux' (*Hippodamie*, I 1; see Example 70) is one of several which associate the accompaniment of *flûtes* with the heroine of the story. Electre's 'Que mes plaisirs sont doux', Idoménée, III 5 (incidentally, one of the few soliloquies to present the character in a happy frame of mind) has some similarity to Example 75, being accompanied by *flûtes allemandes*, one of which plays with the voice. Further *da capo* air soliloquies are found in *Télèphe*, IV 4 and V 1, together with 'Unique espoir', II 5, whose words express the desire for revenge rather than the usual fears or regrets. Among accompanied air soliloquies by other composers can be cited Lacoste's 'Tendres soupirs' (*Grèuse*, III 1), which has all the accompanying instrumental parts in a high register, *flûtes* and *basse continue* only with the voice, and the instrumental sections (with divided violins) alternately 'fort' and 'doux'. Two equally attractive examples, both using *flûtes*, are to be found in Destouches' *Callirhoé*: 'O nuit, témoin de mes soupirs secrets', I 1 and 'Coulez mes pleurs', IV 1, both sung by the heroine.

While these ternary and *da capo* air soliloquies are particularly striking, they did not altogether supersede older forms. As well as recitative-related ternary airs, there are a few *rondeau* examples — accompanied versions of the earlier *rondeau* air. The mood of Cydipe's 'Venez, juste dépit' in *Vénus et Adonis*, V 4 harks back more than twenty years to 'Dépit mortel, transport jaloux' in *Thésée*, II 9. 'Mes yeux' in Hésione, V 1 is, like many of its models, closer to recitative than to air, its structure determined by the recurring motif of the opening. Other *rondeau* soliloquies all seem to fall in the period 1710–12: 'Mouvements inconnus', *Dionède*, IV 2; 'Mon coeur, hélas', *Manto la Fée*, III 5; 'Fureur, je m'abandonne à vous', Idoménée, I 6; 'Espoir qui me flattez', *Callirhoé*, II 1. Destouches also includes in *Callirhoé* a rather unusual soliloquy, 'Objet infortuné', I 3, which consists of two accompanied binary form airs. Such airs figure occasionally in multi-section soliloquies, but by and large the binary air had long since shed any pretensions to being a medium for serious self-expression.
b) Recitative

Accompanied recitative was particularly well suited to the demands of the soliloquy. Most soliloquies involve the person concerned in some kind of conflict: between love and hatred for the same man, between love and duty, and so on. While some characters are content simply to outline the nature of the dilemma, others attempt to work it out. Recitative, which for moments of high drama means to Lully's successors accompanied recitative, was able to express the character's vacillations with great flexibility. By its interpolations, the orchestra too could help to dramatize the situation.

Lully tends to use accompanied recitative as the major part of a long soliloquy; examples which are in accompanied recitative throughout tend to be short, like Angélique's 'Ah! que mon coeur est agité!' (Roland, I 1). Examples by later composers are plentiful, however. Polixène's last scene in Achille et Polixène, (V 5) moves into F minor with an orchestral prélude based on imitative descending scales. Graphically, she describes visions of her husband's ombre, with the voice and orchestra particularly closely dovetailed:

Rushing semiquavers in the dessus are provoked by the mention of 'colère' and appear between vocal phrases until their last appearance at 'courir au trépas' where they illustrate the text by a rapidly descending scale. Thereafter, the apparitions fade, the music calms down, and Polixène sinks into a resigned acceptance of her fate.

There are no fewer than five substantial soliloquies in accompanied recitative in Desmarets' first opera, Didon. The first, I 1, is for Didon, with the irregular rhythms of an orchestral prélude helping to establish her troubled state of mind. The second, II 2, is for Didon's rival suitor, Iarbe. This sinister character is given a low-lying prélude in C minor and a similar accompaniment to his long complaint of injustice. Enée has a long debate with himself, IV 5, just after Mercury has appeared to him to remind him of his duty to leave Carthage. In this respect, if in no other, this opera compares favourably with Dido and Aeneas, in which Aeneas' feelings are little explored. This recitative, in F minor, is punctuated by the orchestra, seeming to keep the storm going on behalf
of the gods, in order to prod Enée into doing the right thing. The last two soliloquies are for Didon (V 4 and V 6). The orchestra also punctuates the first of these, as Didon pictures the Trojans foundering in a storm. After the appearance of the ombre of her husband, she resolves to kill herself.

Later examples mostly favour the active involvement of the orchestra and several changes of mood. Roger, in Lacoste's Bradamante, is one of the few male characters to emerge through a series of soliloquies. Three of these are in accompanied recitative, the first, II 2, excited and active. The second, III 3, begins with orchestral rushes and flourishes, as Roger expresses his dilemma. A quaver bass takes over for anger, then there are hesitations, and then the quaver movement is taken up again in the violins at 'Haine, transports jaloux, régnez seuls aujourd'hui'. The last soliloquy, V 1, is similarly varied. Philomèle's soliloquy 'En vain pour dérober tant d'horreurs' in Lacoste's previous opera, Philomèle, V 1, is an excellent example of this style. The orchestra sets the scene, and at 'Quels ravages' alternates 'fort' and 'doux' passages; Philomèle's subsequent 'vole' picks up the orchestra style. (Example 206):

As she vows 'Mais du plus tendre amant, je venge le trépas' the orchestra
takes up an obsessive

\[ \frac{2}{J J J J J} \]

rhythm. The accompaniment changes to running quavers for the final section, 'Brulez, palais'; these are in the bass while she sings, and in the dessus before and after. Campra writes a dramatic soliloquy for the King in *Hippodamie*, V 1, and Destouches uses the orchestra equally dramatically in *Télémaque*, V 1 (quite why the opening of act V should be so often singled out for this treatment is unclear).

c) Mixed forms

Multi-section soliloquies involving the orchestra are not much employed by Lully, and the extent of the variety is only free movement between accompanied recitative and air, perhaps only two or three sections in all. One of the longest soliloquies of the whole period (in terms of the number of lines of text set) is in *Roland*, IV 2. The mood of the first section is established by the prélude in flowing crotchets: Roland is calm and relaxed, awaiting nightfall and Angélique. Example 207(a) is the opening of the prélude; (b) is the entry of the voice.

**Ex. 207 Roland IV 2 (a)**

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{(a)} \\
\text{Ex. 207 Roland IV 2 (a)}
\end{array}\]
When the voice enters, the rhythm of the supporting orchestra is largely determined by that of the voice, but since this is metrical, the effect is of continuous through-composed air. As Roland sees and reads an inscription carved by Angélique and her lover Médor, he is at first able to convince himself that Angélique intends 'Médor' to refer to him, but further evidence causes him greater agitation. In this part of the scene, Roland's quotations from the inscription are metrical, sounding like part of an air, while his own comments are in a recitative which conveys his growing anxiety (Example 208).

At this point, a C major burst of 'musique champêtre' prefiguring the divertissement interrupts, and Roland's final section is an air.

Accompanied air and recitative are again blended to great effect in Armide's final scene (Armide, V 5). This falls into three sections of which the outer two are marked 'air', but the difference in style between them and the middle one is not great. An orchestral prélude introduces the first air, the last line of which repeats the opening line and is then repeated instrumentally before the second vocal section. In this, short phrases and rests help to convey Armide's troubled state of mind. As exhaustion and resignation take over, crotchet and quaver movement is repeated by minims and crotchets. A vigorous orchestral prélude and a move from minor to major mark a change of direction; unusually, Lully
echoes the dessus of the opening in the bass of the ensuing air.

Example 209 (a) is the opening of the prélude, (b) that of the air.

Ex. 209  Armide, V 5

The bass remains very active, and the irregular repetition of words and vocal phrases contributes to the enormous energy and anger of this movement. The prélude is played again and a final orchestral piece added. The two are closely linked, both being based on the same rhythm:
However, while the first is a series of sequences on a descending bass, the second has the bass ascending. These orchestral sections cover stage business, the destruction of Armide's palace and her exit on a 'char volant', and demonstrate just how carefully Lully conceived this spectacular and original final scene: he could so easily merely have directed the first of the pair of prélude to be repeated.

While composers after Lully freely mix accompanied recitative and air in their soliloquies, they rarely integrate them to such an extent. One of the exceptions is Pélée's 'Ciel! en voyant ce temple redoutable' (Thétis et Pélée, III 3). Colasse opens this with a rather sinister prélude, which mirrors the changing metres of the ensuing accompanied recitative. Unlike Lully, who tends either to put the whole vocal section into the orchestra first or else to deviate from the vocal line after perhaps a two-bar 'motto' theme, Colasse here maintains the general shape of the vocal melody, but alters occasional intervals within it. Example 210 is (a) the dessus of the prélude (b) the vocal line:

![Example 210](image-url)

Almost imperceptibly, the recitative merges into the first air (at 'Inflexible Destin'), whose opening phrase deviates by only one semitone from an otherwise monotone line, recalling a phrase in the opening recitative ('C'est ici qu'il est arrêté') as Pélée contemplates the place in which his destiny could be disclosed. An instrumental link between this air and the final section paraphrases part of the air in the manner described above. The final vocal section is another binary air, an instrumental paraphrase of whose second half concludes the scene.

Organization of this complexity is, however, rare. More typical are the five soliloquies in Desmarets' Circe in which he moves from accompanied recitative to air or vice versa. The switch may come at a point of resolution or, conversely, when hesitation or doubt creeps in. For example, after Elphenor's long recital of his grievances against
Asterie (I 6), he resolves to take action against his rival for her affections ('Allons employer l’artifice'), at which point he moves to accompanied air. Circe's soliloquy 'Calmez votre violence', IV 5, begins with an air over a bass of continuous crotchets; the change to recitative comes when she hesitates: 'Que dis-je... Est-ce là me venger?'. Changes of this type appear throughout the period in question: examples in Vénus et Adonis, II 1, Médus, II 5, Hippodamie, IV 4 and Créuse, IV 1 may be taken as typical. Destouches' Téléméque, III 1, illustrates a more dramatic type, in which the nature of the accompaniments varies, and the moods change rapidly. There has been a change of scene, to a desert, and the jagged lines of the opening prélude reflect both the horror of the place and the revenge which the character concerned, Adraste, is planning. This orchestral style continues in the accompaniment to the first section of recitative. At the words 'Les échos attentifs' the accompaniment changes to a three-part texture (flûtes/violons/violons) and the style, briefly, to that of a through-composed air, but agitated accompanied recitative soon resumes. There is then a vigorous orchestral prélude featuring semiquavers in the dessus, whose movement continues through a brief binary air 'Ne songeons plus qu'à nous venger' and concludes the scene with a final flourish. Note that this all takes place in the space of twelve lines of text.

Examples which move between basse continue and orchestrally accompanied sections are less common, if one discounts scenes which have a basse continue recitative link into the next scene, rather on the lines of 'Someone's coming'. Destouches uses an effective mixture of recitatives for Marthésie's final scene (Marthésie, V 5): slow and fast, accompanied by orchestra or basse continue, showing the heroine's disintegrating mind and approaching death. In Alcine, III 4, Campra prefaces Mélanie's accompanied air 'Séjour charmant' with basse continue recitative which is, however, more akin to air, with its striking opening (Example 211(a)); there is no word repetition.

Ex. 211 (a) Alcine, III 4

\[\text{The accompanied da capo air itself is introduced by a short orchestral prélude for strings, with flûtes featuring when the voice enters (Example 211(b)).}\]
In Médée et Jason, III 1, Salomon creates a ternary structure out of an accompanied recitative 'Pour ma princesse, hélas!', a récitatif simple 'Arrête, rivale implacable' and a return to the accompanied recitative, plus a final section of récitatif simple. Marais adds an air to the mixture in Semelé, III 1; after an orchestral introduction, the soliloquy begins in récitatif simple, the first phrase of which is that of the prélude. As Adraste calls upon Juno, the orchestra enters under his recitative. The final section is a binary air, marked 'vif', 'Que le dépit vengeur', which is taken up as a duet in the following scene.

* * * * *
The soliloquy, then, enjoys a dual role in the tragédie en musique. For the librettist, it allows his characters to explain their actions, explore motives and express emotion without having to do so in public. The inner conflicts on which so many plots hinge can be presented in dramatic form. Composers responded to the opportunity of focussing attention on the soloist with music which ranges from the deceptive simplicity of récitatif simple through accompanied air to permutations of recitative and air with a variety of accompaniments. What is on display, however, is not purely a voice: it is a character in a particular situation. Only towards the latter part of the period in question, with the influence of the ariette, could the interest be said to be primarily musical. Through the use of the soliloquy, composers were able to construct solo set pieces on a scale which could to some extent counterbalance those of the chorus and orchestra. The musical and dramatic importance of the form is to be seen well beyond 1715, in the music of Rameau's immediate predecessors and, above all, in the operas of Rameau himself. Thésée's 'Puissant maître des flots' (Hippolyte et Aricie, III 9), Iphise's '0 jour affreux' (Dardanus, I 1) and Dardanus' 'Lieux funestes' (Dardanus IV 1, 1744 version) are just three among many fine examples which crown a long and noble tradition.
NOTES

1 The great majority of the scenes discussed in this chapter are true soliloquies, the character involved being alone on stage. Discussion of one or two examples which are more properly described as monologues, i.e. long speeches (some occupying an entire scene) delivered in the presence of onlookers has not been precluded, since such speeches tend to receive similar musical treatment.


3 Phaéton, for instance, includes soliloquies for Lybie (I 1), Protée (I 5), Théone (II 2) and Epaphos (V 2).

4 Code, p.168.

5 The Ballard score of 1686 directs the wrong prélude to be repeated, i.e. the one which opens V 3.
CHAPTER TEN

DIALOGUE SCENES

The number of individual participants in a scene from a tragédie en musique varies from one to about five, soliloquies and duologues being in the majority. Scenes with three or more characters contributing tend to involve external events and dramatic revelations, and it is in the more intimate scenes that relationships are worked out and motives for action analysed. This chapter is largely concerned with the serious type of duologue, but begins with a look at the comic element in Lully's early operas, and with the handling of secondary characters in general.

Comic characters of the stock kind - the coward, the shrewish woman, the soubrette - are to be found only in Lully's first three operas. Their survival from earlier forms was seen by Lully and Quinault perhaps as a device to give the public some of what it wanted, perhaps as a contrast to the somewhat wooden main characters. Arbas, the companion of Cadmus in Cadmus et Hermione, is a poltroon, but cleverly portrayed. In act III, he hides as Cadmus fights the dragon; emerging to find the dragon dying, he has a sudden rush of bravery and draws his sword, only to be sent scurrying upstage by a twitch from the beast. However, when Cadmus' other followers, the Tyrian Princes, come on the scene, Arbas is ready to give a boastful account of his part in the affair. All this 'nous rappelle que la rencontre de Cadmus avec le dragon ne doit pas être prise au sérieux'. The scene in which Arbas relates the story of the combat illustrates a form of dialogue which recurs in more serious contexts, in which one character conducts a conversation with two, who speak mostly or entirely as one (Example 212).

Ex. 212 Cadmus et Hermione, iii 5

Que voilà vous! qui veut me craire, Quoi! le dragon est à batre. Arbas

Nous en avons sans...
A conversation of this type in *Atys*, III 2, between Atys on the one hand and the confidants Doris and Idas on the other, relates to the main plot:

**DORIS ET IDAS**

Nous venons partager vos mortelles alarmes.
Sangaride, les yeux en larmes
Nous vient d'ouvrir son coeur.

**ATYS**

L'heure approche où l'hymen voudra qu'elle se livre
Au pouvoir d'un heureux époux.

**DORIS ET IDAS**

Elle ne peut vivre
Pour un autre que pour vous.

Other comic elements in *Cadmus et Hermione* and *Alceste* follow a more predictable course: Arbas pursuing the pretty soubrette Charite and trying to avoid the Nurse; the amorous entanglements of the confidants Lychas, Straton and Céphise. However, they yield some delightful exchanges, such as this one from *Alceste*, I 3, in which Straton challenges his rival, Lychas, who laughs at him (Example 213).
The most individual comic scene is the one in which Charon, boatman of the Acheron, is depicted with the ombres waiting to cross in his boat (Alceste, IV 1). The momentum of this scene derives, most unusually, from the instruments rather than the voice. The continuous bass quavers of the opening ritournelle continue through the vocal section, into a reprise of the ritournelle, the vocal section (now extended) and finally the ritournelle again. In recitative, Charon invites the ombres to step forward and pay their dues — they answer as a petit chœur: 'Passe-moi, Charon, passe-moi'. As Charon takes their money, he 'resembles the ticket taker at a cinema box-office' (Example 214(a)).

He chases away one shade who cannot pay, who pleads with him on monotones, finally exclaiming 'hêlas!', which is promptly mimicked by Charon (Example 214(b)).
The violin accompaniment which starts up again under Charon's 'hélès!' continues for the air de basse which concludes the scene. The whole has a rare unity and continuity.

The comic element is somewhat diminished in Lully and Quinault's third opera, Thésée, and thereafter comic characters as such disappear, though the 'tit for tat' of conversations between characters such as Alphée and Aréthuse in Proserpine can be seen as a survival of the earlier comic scenes. This disappearance of the comic characters is the first stage in a general decline in the role of secondary characters and intrigues, a decline which has musical as well as dramatic consequences. This can be seen in the role of the confidant. The device of the confidant, carried over from classical tragedy, is a useful one, the confidant eliciting on the audience's behalf information about the hero or heroine, particularly his or her state of mind. In the tragédie en musique at least, the confidant is only too ready to proffer advice. In Thésée, II 1, Médée expresses her doubts about falling in love with Thésée; her confidant Dorine replies:

\[
\text{Il faut par le changement}
\]
\[
\text{Punir l'inconstance,}
\]
\[
\text{C'est une douce vengeance}
\]
\[
\text{De faire un nouvel amant.}
\]

Later in the same scene, she has a particularly perky little air

(Example 215).

Ex. 215 Thésée, II

This underlines the difficulty in coping musically with a useful dramatic convention. The confidant could not be given the more serious forms of air or recitative, since this would be inappropriate to her status
and would undermine the role of the heroine. Neither at this stage in the evolution of the tragédie en musique could the confidant be dispensed with. The use of the maxim air as the solution to the problem is difficult to defend: such airs are often musically attractive, but they can be disastrous dramatically, and their frequently amoral sentiments did much to get the tragédie en musique a bad name. Dorine's glib replies to Médée's attempts at self-analysis trivialize the scene, and contribute nothing but pretty music.

In the latter half of the Lully/Quinault partnership, the confidant plays a much diminished role. Persée, Phaéton and Amadis have no confidants of the usual type, that is, socially inferior to the main characters. In Persée, I 2, Mérope's sister Cassiope temporarily takes the part of the confidant:

De chagrin et de colère
Votre cœur est déchiré,
Vous perdez l'espère de plaire;
Peut-on trop tôt se défaire
D'un amour désespéré?

Elsewhere, she participates in dialogue as an equal. The lovers Oriane and Amadis in Amadis are able to discuss their emotional affairs frankly with the second pair of lovers, Florestan and Corisande, since the plot is free of the usual entanglements between the pairs. While confidants reappear in Roland and Armide and in many subsequent livrets, they tend to play a very minor part. Nerine, for example, in Danchet's Alcine, appears in only one dialogue scene (I 1) and briefly at the end of a divertissement (III 3). The roles of Doris and Céphise in La Motte's Alcione are similarly confined to one dialogue scene (IV 2) and a couple of exclamations in act V. The concurrent developments of accompanied recitative and air and the cultivation of the soliloquy give librettists and composers a way of allowing their main characters to express themselves directly to the audience, and it is increasingly in this form that information is conveyed.

In conversations between equals, the first contribution to the definition of the situation and the relationships involved is that of the librettist. When two characters are anxious, ardent or argumentative, their exchanges are rapid. When they are more relaxed, their speeches are a little longer, and of roughly equal proportions. Longer speeches still, or a considerable discrepancy in the exchanges, may suggest that little real communication is going on. A glance at the livret of Armide reveals the change in the relationship of Armide and Renaud which has
taken place between their encounters in V 1 and V 4. The first scene, in which they confess their love, proceeds by short, often single-line exchanges; the long speeches of the second scene demonstrate the gulf which has opened between them as Renaud, summoned by duty, prepares to leave. Corneille's Médée includes a similar situation. This is the first anxious exchange between Jason and Médée (I 2):

JASON
Quoi! vous me soupçonnez?

MÉDÉE
Jason doit me connaitre,
Il me coûte assez cher pour ne le perdre pas.

JASON
Ah! que me dites-vous?

MÉDÉE
Ce que je crains.

JASON
Hélas!

By III 2, Médée has given up all hope of reconciliation; here, the speeches (with the exception of one two-line exchange) are from four to twelve lines each.

The equality or otherwise of the exchanges can also be significant. In Alcide, II 3, Alcide, worried that his wife's arrival on the scene will interfere with his amorous adventures, has told her to go home. Her suspicions confirmed, Déjanire gives way to her fury, and the ineffectual interpolations of Philoctète, trying to urge moderation, are no match for her tirades. In contrast, the happy love scene between Philoctète and Iole, II 5, is written almost entirely in speeches of equal length, two or four lines.

The musical treatment of the scene depends on the status of the participants as well as on dramatic necessity (as we have seen in the case of the confidant/heroiné relationship). Different pairs of speakers and sets of circumstances conform to certain patterns. The relationship of the pair of lovers is a never-ending source of dialogue scenes in which they meet, part or quarrel. The outstanding success of Lully's first opera, Cadmus et Hermione, was the farewell scene between the hero and heroine, II 4 (see Example 216 below). Quinault and Lully combine to make the impact of this scene all the greater by preceding it with two comic farewells, II 1 and II 2. In the first, Arbas is about to leave with Cadmus to fight the dragon, and hopes to extract some show of feeling
from Charite:

On console un amant des rigueurs de l'absence
Par de tendres adieux.

Charite will have none of it, and the scene degenerates into a series of frivolous dance airs. It is then Arbas' turn to receive unwelcome attentions. The Nurse echoes Arbas' sentiments of the previous scene:

Me dire adieu, du moins, est une bien-séance
Dont rien ne te dispense,

but she is abruptly cut off by his 'Je te dis donc, adieu'. The touching farewell and genuine feelings of the true lovers, therefore, could hardly be in more striking contrast. Similarly, the scene in which Atys and Sangaride confess their love in largely irregular verse and recitative, Atys, I 6 is set up by an earlier scene in petits airs in which they conceal their feelings, I 3 (see above, p. 94f). At the end of the serious scene, Sangaride fears that they are being overheard, and urges Atys to feign his former indifference: from serious recitative, we switch to a lively dance-style air

Aimons un bien plus durable
Que l'éclat de la beauté,

thus conveying the pretence by both words and music.

The intrigues of secondary characters, too, yield their crop of reunions, farewells and, most of all, quarrels. Such scenes are likely to include a greater proportion of simple binary form airs than those between main characters, who express their more deeply-felt emotions through recitative. The use of these airs means that there is little difference between the quarrels of comic and secondary characters and the happier scenes between main characters. Two scenes in Desmarest's Circe illustrate this. A scene between secondary characters, Elphénor and Astérie, I 5 in which Astérie shows indifference and even hostility to Elphénor's advances includes several petits airs in flippant style. Very similar airs are sung by the main characters, Ulisse and Eolie, in their happy reunion in V 4.

It is the more serious scenes which tend to bring out more interesting music, the 'Adieux' of Cadmus et Hermione being the model for many others. In addition to setting up the scene by the banter of the earlier scenes, Lully makes doubly sure of its impact by the use of a longer than usual ritournelle to separate it from what has gone before, and by the choice of C minor, the most 'extreme' key used in the opera, and its only appearance. The scene is set in récitatif simple with the
occasional metrical phrase, such as Hermione's 'Ah, Cadmus, pourquoi m'aimez-vous?'. The talents of librettist and composer are perfectly fused in this scene. The increasing anxiety of the couple is reflected in the progressive shortening of their exchanges from six or seven lines at the beginning of the scene through four to six lines down to single lines and eventually single words and short phrases:

HERMIONE
Vous fuyez?

CADMUS
Il le faut.

HERMIONE
Demeurez.

CADMUS
Je ne puis.

Lully's recitative, too, helps to convey the increasing tension. As the exchanges shorten, the vocal entries come successively higher until a sudden drop on 'Ah! vous allez périr!', which sounds a note of resignation (Example 216(a)).

The voices remain independent, colliding almost accidentally for single phrases (such as 'Croyez en mon amour') and moving apart again. Even the more extended duet 'Vivez si vous m'aimez' avoids the note-against-
note style of most duets of this period (Example 216(b)).

Ex.216(b) Cadmus et Hermione, ii 4

The whole scene has an air of spontaneous and genuine emotion which is so often lacking in the formalized world of the grand siècle.

Scenes of farewell, more or less modelled on the above, occur in several of Lully's operas. The scene between Alceste and the dying Admète in Alceste, II 8 could hardly have failed to remind the audience of the previous year's success. There is more repetition in this scene of words and music:

Mon sort est assez doux,
Puisque je meurs pour vous

and

Est-ce là cet hymen si doux, si plein d'appas
Qui nous promettait tant de charmes?

There is also a greater proportion of duet and less recitative, but the final section is almost a direct quotation from the 'Adieux':

ALCESTE
Admète!

ADMÈTE
Alceste!

ALCESTE
Admète!

ADMÈTE
Alceste!

ENSEMBLE

(Alceste: Vous mourrez?
(Admète: Vous pleurez?

Another scene featuring lovers in distress, though in this case defiantly refusing to separate, is Bellérophon, III 6 which, like the 'Adieux', is in C minor. Another scene in C minor is the farewell in Phaëton,II 4,
which is extended by the provision of an air for each character, but still contains the now customary passage of quickened dialogue:

LYBIE

Funeste choix!

EPAPHOS

Douleur mortelle!

LYBIE

Jour infortunié!

EPAPHOS

Jour affreux!

There are also the single duet phrases and the set-piece duet of ten years previously. Even a farewell scene between the secondary pair of lovers Corisande and Florestan in Amadis, III 2, though handled very differently from the vocal point of view and containing no recitative, retains a vestigial connection with its model through the use of the key of C minor.

Echoes of Quinault and Lully are found much later. In Méduse, V 2 (1697) Persée and Isménie are apparently at the mercy of Méduse. For this scene, the key changes abruptly from F major to C minor. After a ritournelle and a recitatif simple dialogue, the orchestra enters under Persée's 'Mourons, ma mort suffit' as he decides that death is the only solution to their predicament. After more recitative, the scene concludes with an extended duet. In Scylla, IV 3 (1701) Duché and di Gatti write a farewell scene between Scylla and Minos. After a brief hopeful opening in F major, there is a telling move to F minor as Scylla realizes something is wrong ('Vous vous troublez'). This exchange follows shortly:

SCYLLA

Reine barbare!

MINOS

Injustes Dieux!

SCYLLA

Dure loi!

MINOS

Fortune inhumaine!

There are brief duet passages and a longer concluding duet. Five years later, in Alcione, III 4, La Motte and Marais construct a similar scene, though it is in E major almost throughout. Here, the duet sections are mixed up with the lovers' exclamations, with the last duet
extended and imitative in style, after which Ceix hands over Alcione to the care of his friend Pélée, who has been a silent spectator. (Example 217).

Ex. 217 Alcione, III 4

The type of dialogue scene developed from the 'Adieux', in which recitative, petits airs, duet phrases and full duets are mixed, is found chiefly in the fifteen years or so after Lully's death, later examples more often featuring accompanied sections. Some typical layouts are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thétis et Pélée I</th>
<th>Thétis et Pélée IV</th>
<th>Didon</th>
<th>Méduse</th>
<th>Tancrède</th>
<th>Téléphe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Récit</td>
<td>Récit</td>
<td>Récit</td>
<td>Récit</td>
<td>Récit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Air (acc.)</td>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Air</td>
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<tr>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Air</td>
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<td>Air de basse</td>
<td>Air</td>
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<td>Air</td>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Air</td>
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<td>Récit</td>
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<td>Duet</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Where these differ substantially from Quinault and Lully models is in the role of récitatif simple. Even in the Lully farewell scenes discussed above, a trend towards the use of air is discernible, but in later operas, récitatif simple is largely confined to introducing and linking the airs and ensembles. Consequent upon the decline in status of récitatif simple two new types of scene construction are developed, foreshadowed in Lully's later operas and taken over by his successors.

In the first type, the scene may be conducted entirely in airs and ensembles. Closely allied to this is the type of writing which combines the function of recitative with the melodic and metrical style of the petit air, giving an effect of continuous air. Three scenes from Lully's Amadis illustrate these developments. The happy reunion between the secondary pair of lovers, I 2, is a series of duets and airs with only a line or two of recitative. Their exchanges in III 2 form a continuous movement in triple time (see Example 58 above). The reunion of Oriane and Amadis, V 2, is a free mixture of airs, récitatif mesure and duets. Dialogue scenes with a substantial récitatif mesure content are found in many operas written after Lully's death: Omphale, II 2 and V 3 and Callirhoé, IV 2 are examples of the typical mixture. Charpentier, in Médée, II 5, gets away from the continuous triple time movement; the melody and metre still predominate over the natural rhythm of the words, but the changing time signatures keep the dialogue alive (Example 218).

Ex. 218 Médée, II 5

[Musical notation follows]
The phrase 'Doux repos, quittez moi' which immediately precedes the quoted section acts as a unifying motif in the first half of the scene: after its second appearance in the example above, it recurs as the second part of the ensuing duet. A change from A minor to A major marks the beginning of the second half of the scene which, after a series of petits airs, concludes with another extended duet, again in two sections, picking up ideas introduced in the solo section. This is a degree of formal organization not usually attempted in dialogue scenes.

Of course, récitatif simple still has its part to play: indeed, its introduction at a particular point may have a dramatic effect. In another scene from Amadis, II 2, Arcabonne confesses to her brother sorcerer that she has fallen in love - the brief exposition of the situation is in recitative. A series of airs ensues, Arcabonne describing her feelings, Arcalaus (assuming almost the role of the confidant) pronouncing such maxims as 'l'amour n'est qu'une vaine erreur'. Eventually, impatient at this weakness in his sister, Arcalaus, in recitative, attempts to change her mood back to hatred: the recitative produces a distinct feeling of getting down to business. In the scene from Callirhoé mentioned above, IV 2, Callirhoé knows that she must be sacrificed to save her people, Agénor knows only that the gods' threat has been lifted. In the first part of the scene, the exchanges are airs or récitatif mesuré, except for Callirhoé's rueful comment that the gods' anger never abates, but merely changes direction. She eventually, however, has to reveal why she is unhappy in brief, almost breathless, exchanges:

CALLIRHOÉ

Tout le Ciel est armé.
Si vous saviez quel sang ose exiger sa haine!

AGÉNOR

Serait-ce celui de la Reine?

CALLIRHOÉ

Non, c'est un sang moins cher...

AGÉNOR

Vous pleurez?

CALLIRHOÉ

Quelle peine!

AGÉNOR

Je tremble, expliquez-vous.

CALLIRHOÉ

Ne me demandez rien.
AGENOR  

Ah! je frissonne.

CALLIRHOÉ  

C'est...

AGENOR  

Achevez

CALLIRHOÉ  

C'est le mien.

The use of the orchestral accompaniment increasingly pervades the dialogue, as it does the whole tragédie en musique, and this brings the second type of dialogue scene to develop as récitatif simple becomes less important. The accompanied passage, whether air or recitative, is not usually built into any formal structure, but takes its place as one of the elements in the typical mixture described above. As in the soliloquy, the orchestra can be used to underline a critical moment in the scene.

Didon, IV 6 is a scene between Enée and Acate (who, despite the designation 'confidente de Didon' in the cast list of the Recueil général livret, is actually male and the companion of Enée). It follows a soliloquy in which Enée, hesitating to leave Carthage, is given sharp reminders of his duty through a 'déluge de feu' depicted in the orchestra. Acate's opening remarks are in récitatif simple, but the duet beginning

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ENÉE} & \quad \text{Il faut} \quad \text{mourir} \quad \text{pour satisfaire} \\
\text{ACATE} & \quad \text{partir}
\end{align*}
\]

in which they express their contrary opinions, Acate's further urgings and Enée's final resolve, are all accompanied. This is a turning point in the story, and concludes the act. Earlier in the same opera, III 1, Desmaret writes a dialogue entirely in accompanied recitative for Didon and the sorceress from whom she is seeking underworld assistance. Extended fully accompanied scenes are, however, rare.

Occasionally, greater musical significance and unity are given to a scene through the use of a ground bass. Persée, II 5 presents an unusual situation in which two women who discover that they are in love with the same man agree rather than quarrel. The scene opens with a strikingly chromatic prélude of 16 bars, which invests the scene with special significance before the voice enters. The early part of the scene is really a soliloquy for Andromède, which Mérope overhears. Mérope challenges Andromède with a strikingly similar phrase to that with which Andromède began her soliloquy (Example 219(a)); after a duet in which they deplore pretence in love, Mérope's recitative contains echoes of the scenes
Did Lully calculate such effects, or did they arise accidentally? It is almost impossible to tell if they are planned, why are they so fleeting and so rare?

Over fourteen statements of a conventional four bar ground bass, Mérope and Andromède unite in a dialogue in which they agree that Persée's safety means more to them than any rivalry, and in a duet, each expresses the hope that Persée will live for the sake of the other.

Roland, III 4 is concerned with a more conventional pairing, that of the lovers Angélique and Médor. The striking features of this scene are the ebb and flow of the ground bass and the change from major to minor in the middle of the first duet; it is most unusual for Lully to change in mid-stream like this. The structure of the scene is as follows (GB 1 and GB 2 are the two versions of the chaconne bass, identical except for the crotchet F sharp on the first beat of the second bar in GB 1, delaying the F natural by one beat; GB 2 is simply G, F, E flat, D. Médor's 'Si je ne vivais pour vous' is a brief récitatif mesuré).

1 - 14  Se peut-il     recitative
14 - 46  Médor, je tremble  GB 1 x 8
46 - 66  Roland va m'ôter  GB 1 x 5
This degree of unity over such a long scene is rarely attempted. Colasse writes two dialogue scenes involving ground basses in *Enée et Lavinie*, though on a somewhat smaller scale. In the first, I 2, the bass comes and goes freely (it is quoted as Example 81 in Chapter Four): the musical climax of the scene is not the ground bass dialogue, however, but a fine accompanied air 'O Vénus'. In the second, II 4, the confidant, Camille, is unusually given equal status with the main character, Lavinie. Their dialogue proceeds over twenty-three statements of the ground bass, this time uninterrupted. Perhaps Colasse set up the feeling of musical stability in order to make the appearance of the *ombre* of Didon more shocking. There is another ground bass dialogue scene in Campra's *Idoménée*, V 2 (see above, Chapter Four), but such scenes are uncommon.

Generally speaking, the dialogue scene was not as important to composers after Lully as it was to Lully himself. Obviously, such scenes did not decline in quantity, but it is much harder to find examples which contain interesting music together with some conception of the scene as a whole. *Récitatif simple* is used purely functionally, advancing the action and allowing the rapid exchanges of, say, a quarrel; where characters come together to say things of real significance to one another, they are increasingly given airs and forms derived from the air and are supported by the resources of the orchestral accompaniment. The attention of composers after Lully is really elsewhere: with the care lavished on the dramatic soliloquy, accompanied air and spectacle of all kinds, the dialogue scene is relegated to the role of necessary link rather than cultivated for its own sake.
NOTES


CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE DIVERTISSEMENT

1) The role of the divertissement

The temporary suspension of the tragédie in favour of spectacle and dance could form an obvious weak spot as far as the integrity of the action was concerned. Girdlestone takes the critics to task:

À lire les quelques érudits qui ont étudié la tragédie en musique française, à l'exception d'Étienne Gros, on croirait que le divertissement constitue l'intrusion d'un élément étranger dans la trame d'une action tragique dont il contrarierait le développement et même qu'il contribuerait à disloquer. À les en croire, tout se passait comme si, à un moment donné, poète et musicien se disaient: il est temps de suspendre le dialogue; qu'un des personnages se propose donc d'offrir aux autres un spectacle de chant et de danse ou de proclamer les louanges de tel ou tel dieu ou héros victorieux, après quoi nous reprendrons là où nous nous sommes arrêtés.

Rien de plus faux pour Quinault, tout au moins. Notre poète essaie toujours de rattacher ses divertissements à l'action du poème, même s'il n'y réussit pas chaque fois avec un égal bonheur.

A quick inspection of the divertissements in the tragédies en musique does tend to suggest superficial, attractive dances and airs, gratifying only the public's taste for spectacle and movement. While such gratification was indeed the divertissement's primary function, litrétists went to considerable lengths to integrate the divertissement into the tragédie. At worst, they prevented the interruption from being completely incongruous; at best, they made it essential to the drama itself.

The divertissement is a survival of the old ballet de cour, via the comédie-ballet (for example, the Deuxième Intermède in Molière's Le Malade imaginaire in which 'plusieurs Égyptiens et Égyptiennes... font des danses entremêlées de chansons'). The divertissements in Lully's sixth opera, Psyché, I and V, show this line clearly, since they survive more or less intact from the comédie-ballet of the same name, produced in 1671. The procession of divinités célestes and their followers which form the final scene of act V is an old-fashioned ballet à entrées and although ostensibly in celebration of the wedding of Psyché and Cupid has no connection with the place or people involved.

The self-contained divertissement is not quite obligatory in each act: there may be little or no divertissement content, but this is usually compensated for elsewhere. The single 'air pour les combattants' in Cadmus et Hermione, IV 2 replaces the usual singing and dancing, but
provides the merveilleux element in the act: during it, Cadmus nows the dragon's teeth and fights the soldiers who spring up magically from the earth. In the acts on either side are much longer divertissements: a sacrifice scene and wedding celebrations. Psyché, III has no divertissement, and there is only a single orchestral air 'Les Démons' in IV: however, this act includes Psyché's encounters with the Furies and the nymphs of Acheron, so it is not without colour. Thétis et Pélée, IV has an orchestral air 'Les Vents', but it is the encounter with the Eumenides which seems to replace the divertissement. Sufficiently spectacular or involved action may take away the need for a divertissement altogether: the extended siege in Alceste, II 3-4 and the activities of the Gorgons in Persée, III render further diversion unnecessary. Médée, V is full of action, some of it spectacular, but it has no divertissement as such, in contrast to the fifth act of Th. Corneille's other livret, Bellérophon, which is, with the exception of one scene which disposes of Stenobée, unrelieved celebration. Isis, IV is really a succession of divertissements in which the heroine, Io, meets the Frozen People, the Chalybes and the Fates.

The position of the divertissement within the act is not fixed, and after the demise of Lully and Quinault at least, there is some evidence of change. The table below shows the percentage of divertissements falling in each third of the act, taking as the basis the position of the divertissement in the livret as printed in the Recueil général des opéras. The last column is subdivided to show how much of the figure is accounted for by divertissements which conclude the act: this is the figure in parentheses. Totals of less than 100 per cent are accounted for by cases such as those described above, where there is no divertissement or conversely nothing but divertissement.

| Division of the act (expressed in thirds) in which divertissement falls |
|---|---|---|
| First | Second | Third |
| 1673-1686 | 4 | 21 | 69 (43) |
| 1687-1696 | 9 | 24 | 63 (28) |
| 1697-1706 | 7 | 46 | 46 (20) |
| 1707-1715 | 6 | 39 | 54 (23) |

Figures expressed as percentage of possible divertissements, i.e. of the total number of operas × 5.

It can be seen that there is a shift away from having the divertissement as the conclusion of the act. Sometimes the move is not a very radical one,
with only a brief dialogue separating the divertissement from the end of the act, but even this has consequences for the dramatist, as will be demonstrated later. Throughout the period, a divertissement early in the act remains a rarity, perhaps because of the practical problems of staging two spectacular scenes close together. There is a definite move towards the middle of the act, however.

With so many librettists involved in the period after Lully's death, it is difficult to identify individual preferences. Figures are given for those librettists who are represented by at least three works, but even here, the numbers are too small to be more than a very general indication of trends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duché</td>
<td>3 livrets</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danchet</td>
<td>5 &quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Motte</td>
<td>6 &quot;</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy</td>
<td>6 &quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most striking change is in the placing of the divertissement in the fifth act. Lully's operas, with two exceptions, end with celebrations: the exceptions are, of course, the hero's downfall in Phaëton and the desertion of Armide in Armide. Librettists subsequently used the tragic ending more frequently (often ending, like Armide, with a soliloquy or monologue: see Chapter Nine above). This, of course, throws the divertissement elsewhere in the act, as this table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of operas whose fifth act closes with divertissement</th>
<th>Number of operas whose fifth act has divertissement elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1673-1686</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1687-1696</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1697-1706</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707-1715</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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</table>

The types of character involved in the divertissement vary little. They can be roughly grouped into five categories:

(i) Human:
The ordinary people, suivants of a queen, or warrior, called upon to celebrate their country's good fortune or deplore her fate.

(ii) Parnassian:
The Graces, Plaisirs, Jeux, Amours and Muses. They accompany deities or celebrate the joys of love in their absence. Sometimes this
may be a group of unnamed 'divinités de la terre' or similar.

(iii) Pastoral:

As well as shepherds and shepherdesses, this group embraces nymphs, fauns, dryads, zephyrs and the like. An important category is that of their marine counterparts the tritons and nereids, and the naiads and river-gods. Since they tend to elicit similar musical treatment, the mâtelots can be included here.

(iv) Magic:

Many of these characters are sinister: the demons, magicians and 'habitants des enfers'. Other supernatural manifestations include songes, ombres and esprits.

(v) Ritual:

The sacrificateurs, priestesses and ministers in attendance at any temple scene. Looking at how these different groups fare over the period under review we see that their distribution varies little. For the purposes of the following table, the divertissements have been categorized as outlined above. Where two distinct groups appear in the same divertissement, an entry was made under each heading, e.g. for a temple scene involving priestesses and a chorus of Trojans (Hésione, I 4) an entry was made in both the Ritual and Human columns: this accounts for a more than 100% total. Difficulties in categorizing, for example, the winds make this only a rough guide to the proportions of different types of divertissement, nor is it possible to put forward any convincing explanation of why, for example, there is a sudden decline in the last decade or so of the period in the Parnassian group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Human (i)</th>
<th>Parnassian (ii)</th>
<th>Pastoral (iii)</th>
<th>Magic (iv)</th>
<th>Ritual (v)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1674-1686</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1687-1696</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1697-1706</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707-1715</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals are expressed in percentages of the total number of divertissements in each period.

It is difficult to find a divertissement which is purely decorative, even if sometimes the liaison between it and the tragédie is a little strained. The divertissement may echo and exploit a prevailing mood, may threaten or attempt to calm one of the main characters, and may even convey information. It may be the culmination of a series of events or be the
instrument of change through an abrupt or cataclysmic ending.

In a very large number of divertissements, something is being celebrated. The arrival of a hero, an impending union or a favourable oracle all require public rejoicing. These are obvious opportunities for catching the public mood and developing it into the desired set-piece, and, since the participants are usually the peoples affected by the affairs of their rulers or the gods, the celebration is a natural extension of a tragédie. It is, of course, the easiest type of divertissement to introduce (when in doubt, celebrate the joys of love) and so a librettist who relies too heavily on it is liable to come in for criticism. Perhaps in order to pre-empt such criticism Quinault sometimes goes to the trouble of making sure that the divertissement is prepared in a previous scene or act. The entertainment for Hermione in Cadmus et Hermione, I 4 is prepared by Cadmus two scenes earlier:

Où sont nos Afriqueins? que leur troupe s'avance:  
La princesse veut voir leur plus galante danse.

Cybele orders the sommeil which eventually takes place in Atys, III 4 as early as II 3. The assembly of the people which forms the divertissement in Proserpine, I 8 is ordered in the first scene, and we are prepared for the jeu junoiens in Persée, I 5 by frequent references in the preceding scenes to the need to appease Juno.

The celebration of the happy outcome of events is the inevitable ending of act V up until Lully's Phaéton, although the mood at the end of Atys is not one of unrelieved happiness:

Célébrons son nouveau destin,  
Pleurons sa funeste aventure.

Even when the ending is 'tragic', the audience is rarely deprived of its celebratory divertissement, though it may be brought to a premature conclusion. Hence there is a fête in honour of Phaéton before his downfall (Phaéton, V 4), of the forthcoming marriage of Achille and Polixène before Achille's murder (Achille et Polixène, V 3) and of Idoménée's abdication in favour of Idamante before the events leading to Idamante's death (Idoménée, V 3). Only in Médée is there no divertissement whatever in the final act.

Celebrations are not, of course, confined to act V. There are many heroes, rulers and princesses to whom the ordinary people pay tribute. Armide receives homage from her people (Armide, I 3); the Carthaginians salute Enée (Didon, I 5) and the people of Pergamum recognize Isménie as their queen (Télèphe, III 6). Other examples are to be found throughout the period. Sometimes the librettist rings the changes by having the
tribute paid by one of the other groups of characters described above. In Semélé, II 3, nymphs and naiads are summoned by Jupiter to perform for Semélé, and tritons and nereids execute a similar function for Hipsipyle at Neptune's instigation (Jason, II 8). Sacrificateurs and priestesses commemorate Hercule (Télèphe, IV 6).

The people's celebrations may centre on an event rather than on a hero or ruler: alliances concluded between the Trojans and Latins (Enée et Lavinie) and the Corinthians and Argians (Nédée), for example. The liberation of prisoners occasions rejoicing in Bellérophon, I 5, Alcide, I 6 and Idoménée, I 3, demonstrating the clemency of the hero or king involved. The motives are not always lofty, however. Tancredè freed his captives to ingratiate himself with Clorinde (Tancredè, II 3), and Alcide, having had his prisoners freed by Omphale (Omphale, II 3) promptly sets them extolling the joys of love in the hope that she will unbend towards him. The prisoners in Amadis open the third act singing in opposition to their jailers (see Example 147, Chapter Six); their eventual liberation is the excuse for the divertissement which concludes the act.

The importance of the gods in those livrets not based on chivalric literature is shown in the large number of scenes in which they are praised or supplicated. The following list does not include scenes in which the gods themselves are leaders or instigators, nor those in which they are present in their roles as main characters:

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<tr>
<th>Livret</th>
<th>Scene(s)</th>
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<td>Alcide</td>
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<td>Circe</td>
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<td>Ariane et Bacchus</td>
<td>I 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vénus et Adonis</td>
<td>I 3</td>
<td>Praise of Venus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Méduse</td>
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<td>Offerings to Minerva</td>
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<td>Méduse</td>
<td>V 9</td>
<td>Praise of Minerva</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marthésie</td>
<td>I 4</td>
<td>Sacrifice to the Sun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marthésie</td>
<td>V 2</td>
<td>Celebration of Hymen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Médus</td>
<td>IV 1</td>
<td>Prayers to Diana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iphigénie en Tauride</td>
<td>III 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iphigénie en Tauride</td>
<td>IV 3</td>
<td>Sacrifice to Diana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cassandre</td>
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<td>Praise of Juno (marriage celebration)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassandre</td>
<td>V 1</td>
<td>Prayers to Apollo</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
There are numerous examples of divertissements in which action which would have taken place anyway is allowed to happen semi-decoratively. Agents of evil summoned to assist or confront are pushed into the forefront by their entrées or character dances. In Vénus et Adonis, II 6, Jealousy summons her suite. After answering her as a chorus 'la suite de la Jalousie exprime la joie que lui donnent les ordres qu'elle vient de recevoir' in two orchestral airs. The suivants of Bellonue answer a similar summons later in the same opera (IV 6) and, again in two airs, 'portent l'e ravage dans Amathonte, et en poursuivent les habitants'. Such groups are legion, particularly in the period after Lully's death. Natural forces, too, are often personified: winds, both benign and hostile (see Chapter Thirteen, p.360f) and, more spectacularly, earthquakes and storms (see Chapter Fourteen; the tempête).

Not all decorative action is sinister. The arrival of a god may be the excuse for a divertissement by his or her suite. When Love comes to help Hermione (Cadmus et Hermione, II 6) there is a gratuitous entrée in which statues come to life and another in which cupids dance and throw flowers. The Pleasures and Graces associated with Venus perform on her arrival in Hésione, II 4 and Polixène et Pirrhus, II 7, and celebrations actually precede her arrival in Vénus et Adonis, I 6. This type of extended arrival is not confined to the gods: Ziliante in Roland, I 6 and Melanie in Alcine, II 2, among others, receive similar treatment.

Most divertissements are, from the point of view of the main plot, static, but a few manage to further it to some extent. Perséé is given a cumulative send-off on his mission to kill Méduse by a succession of agencies bringing him the necessary weapons (Perséé, II, 8-10; see Chapter Fifteen, p. 439). In the scenes involving Protée and Triton in the first act of Phaéton, action and divertissement are hard to disentangle. Protée arrives with 'les troupeaux de Neptune' and a troupe of dieux marins. After a monologue (quoted in Chapter Four, Example 51), Protée
falls asleep. Triton is called upon to persuade Protée to divulge what he knows of Phaéton's future, and arrives with more dieux marins, 'dont une partie fait un concert d'instruments et l'autre partie danse'. They wake Protée and invite him to join in. An air and further dances follow. Protée transforms himself into a lion, a tree, a sea-monster, a fountain and a flame, before being cornered and disclosing the oracle. Examples of this complexity are rare, but the bewitching of Creon's guards by Médée (Médée, IV 5-6) and the overcoming of demons and monsters by Orphée leading to the rescue of Jason and Hipsipile (Jason, III 5-7) are similarly protracted divertissements.

An ulterior motive or an unforeseen effect can give extra spice to a divertissement. Three of Lully's finest scenes come into this category: the sommeil in Atys, III 4 (see Chapter Fourteen), the long 'play within a play' of Pan and Syrinx in Isis, III 3-6, designed to divert Argus' attention and liberate Io, and the village wedding in Roland, IV, which is truly part of the action, divulging information to Roland and leading to his insanity (see Chapter Fifteen).

Ulterior motives, revealed or concealed, achieve some popularity. Sometimes, the aim is simply to soothe or please, as when Venus orders the Graces and Pleasures to entertain and calm Achille in Achille et Polixène, I 5, and Jupiter sends fauns and dryads to take away his son's feelings of jealousy in Didon, III 4. More positively, Venus employs ombres fortunées to make a charm for Telamon in Hésione, III 4-5, and Neptune sends his suivants ahead of him in his quest for the hand of Thetis (Thétis et Pélée, I 4-5).

The idea of convincing someone of something by means of a divertissement is accomplished in one of two ways, depending on whether the recipient of the suggestion is conscious or unconscious. The simplest appeal is 'love me', from Licarcis to Ziriane in Manto la Fée, I 4 and from Méduse to Persée in Méduse, IV 4. Alcine concocts an elaborate divertissement in Alcine, III 3 to convince Melanie that Astolfe loves Alcine and not her (this is, of course, untrue). Circe is involved in similar treachery in Ulysse, I 8.

Such messages get through even when the person concerned is asleep or has fainted. Sommeils in Ariane et Bacchus, III 6 and Ciré, III 3, like their model, Atys, III 4, are designed to deliver a message. After promising the ombre of Plexippe that she will kill his murderer (Méléagre, IV 3), Althée faints when she realizes that it is her own son she has to kill. Diana, fearing that Althée will not keep her word, summons demons and the
Fates to make her experience feelings of fury and hatred. Jealousy is implanted in the hearts of Procris (Céphale et Procris, IV 6) and Erixène (Polixène et Pirrhüs, IV 4) while in a faint, by entrées of Jealousy, Suspicion, Fear and the like.

Sometimes, soothing or suggestion is insufficient, and physical action is required. The sommeil in Armide, II 4 detains Renaud to deliver him up to Armide's revenge; Melanie tries to keep Amadis in her gardens (Amadis de Grèce, I 3) and Tancred is ensnared in the magic forest by fauns and dryads conjured up by Herminie. Calypso induces Télémaque to remain on her island by sending demons disguised as nymphs to detain him. Such disguises are a favourite device, and demons disguised as pastoral or Parnassian characters appear frequently. Even human groups are sometimes impersonated, like the 'sailors' in Théagène et Chariclée, IV 9 who reveal themselves as agents of the lovers' enemy, the sorceress Arsace. The 'troupe de génies déguisés en mâtelots' in Philomèle, V 4-5, however, are less sinister, having been sent by Minerva to aid Philomèle and her sister.

Disguise is not the only form of deception. The celebrations ordered for Thésée by Médée in Thésée, IV 7 appear to announce the end of her machinations: act V reveals that she still has more tricks up her sleeve. The innocent happiness of Proserpine in Proserpine, II 8 is made poignant by the audience's awareness of a hidden observer, Pluto, who rushes out and abducts her. After Bório has celebrated what he believes to be his conquest of Procris, (Céphale et Procris, II 4) Céphale emerges to warn him that their contest for her favours is by no means over. Mars, too, observes the celebrations of his rival in Vénus et Adonis, III 3.

Another kind of divertissement may inadvertently cause distress or embarrassment, either to the person for whom the divertissement is intended, or to an onlooker. Girdlestone calls the latter a 'personnage discordant', in disharmony with the rejoicing which he is obliged to watch. The simple entertainment planned for Hermione in Cadmus et Hermione, I 4 is taken over by the amorous Giant, who compels her to watch it with him and then attempts further advances. Thésée, in Thésée, II 6, calls to a halt the acclamation of the people, fearing that it will antagonize the king; Achille is in a similar situation in Achille et Polixène, II 2. Oriane, racked by doubt over her relationship with Amadis, finds it hard to face a tribute of jeux guerriers in Amadis, I 4, and the celebrations of the freed prisoners in Alcide, I 6 are too much for Iole, who begs them to go and rejoice somewhere else. In Philomèle, III 5, Philomèle
is compelled to watch the 'spectacle odieux' by which Teree seeks to get her agreement to their marriage. Semelé is a dissatisfied rather than a distressed recipient of Jupiter's tributes in Semelé, IV 2, since she has doubts as to whether he really is Jupiter. Callirhoé, however, is a truly tragic figure. Faced with demands for her death or that of a lover as the price of peace for her country, she hears the approach of celebrations by the people who are in ignorance of the situation. Bravely, she hides her distress, and tries to see their happiness as the first benefit of her sacrifice (Callirhoé, IV 3).

Other uses of the device of an instrumental or vocal warning of the approach of a divertissement allow the opportunity to a person who does not share the sentiments of the participants to get away from the scene altogether. Hippodamie runs away from the celebrations over the outcome of a combat in which she believes either her father or her lover will have been killed (Hippodamie, IV 5). Two characters are involved in Diomède, I 5: Diomède makes good his escape two scenes before the divertissement, saying that Venus' anger troubles him too much to allow him to join in celebrations. Iphise, distressed by her brother's unhappiness, is left behind as the 'discordant' character at the fête.

As has been noted elsewhere, a large number of Lully's divertissements and a rather smaller number of those of his successors, fall at the end of the act. Where this is not the case, librettists have to try to make an easy or credible transition from divertissement to what follows. The endings they devise may be classified into four groups, ranging from the natural to the cataclysmic.

In the first group, the endings are natural or expected. After the songs and dances of the divertissement, the main characters may simply pick up the action again, usually in récitatif simple dialogue. The frequent celebrations of love or of a person or deity often reach a natural conclusion in this way. Sometimes the group involved in the divertissement disperses or moves away (for example, the mourners in Alcesté, III, the satyrs and bacchantes in Ariane et Baochus, II 6 and the sailors in Alcione, III 3). Many divertissements are aimed at producing a particular effect, and therefore when the event takes place, this is the natural conclusion. The effect may be startling, in that the oracle requested may be unfavourable or the demons conjured up may wreak havoc, but the outcome is essentially that which was intended at the outset.

The type of divertissement described above in which there is a 'discordant' character present often produces the second type of ending,
in which cessation is brought about by a direct order or by the instigator or recipient leaving or attempting to leave. *Cadmus et Hermione*, I 4 is the first of many examples. The 'discordant' character is not essential, however, for this type of ending: Venus in *Hésione*, II 4, for example, says 'That's enough' when she feels Anchise has been sufficiently soothed and she wishes to talk to him alone, and Eurite similarly dismisses the divertissement in *Téléphe*, I 4-5 to talk to Arsinoé.

The arrival on the scene of a character who has not been part of or witnessed the divertissement produces a third type of ending, the unexpected. Needless to say, the new arrival usually brings bad news or threatens the assembled company. The threat of the imminent arrival of Méduse is enough to scatter the dancers in *Perseé*, I 6. The appearance of Alcide's jealous wife, Déjanire, breaks up the homage to Juno in *Alcide*, IV 7; in *Ariane et Bacchus*, I 5 it is Juno herself who declares that the sacrifice to Neptune is offensive to her. Jealous Mars, concealed during the celebration of love in *Vénus et Adonis*, III 3, bursts onto the scene with a rushing prélude, and Méliisse makes a similar appearance to abduct Niquée in *Amadis de Grèce*, II 3. Not all arrivals are unexpected, however, and when, for example, homage to a deity produces that deity, the ending must be classified with the first group.

Finally comes a type of ending in which the divertissement is again brought to an unexpected conclusion, in this case by a physical disturbance. Lully and Quinault essay this only twice: in *Phaéton*, III 5, in which temple doors first shut and then burst open again to reveal flames and fantômes, and in *Proserpine*, I 8, when an earthquake partially destroys the palace of Ceres. Beside the resources of the full orchestra later deployed in such circumstances, Lully's chorus 'Jupiter, lancez le tonnerre' seems quite restrained. Subsequently, this type of ending achieves some popularity. In some, structural damage occurs — a temple burns in *Enée et Lavinie*, I 3, tombs or altars are broken in *Scylla*, I 5, Tancrède, I 4 and *Cassandre*, I 4, and demons destroy part of the palace of Omphale in *Omphale*, II 3. In, among other scenes, *Thétis et Pelée*, II 7, *Théagène et Chariclée*, II 5 and IV 10, *Ulysse* V 6-7, *Manto la Fée*, I 4 and III 8-9 and *Medée et Jason*, IV 8, assortments of natural phenomena such as wind, cloud, thunder and lightning and 'bruits souterrains' are featured.
ii) The music of the divertissement

The only sine qua non of the divertissement is the element of movement involved in the formal gavottes or passsepieds or in the character dances by which special, exotic or threatening groups introduce themselves. None of the other musical constituents is obligatory, but the average divertissement will comprise some permutation and combination of solo vocal, ensemble, choral and orchestral writing.

Recitative plays its least important role in the divertissements, since it pertains largely to the action of the tragédie proper and to the characters involved in it. The initiation of the divertissement often comes about through recitative, of course: an announcement is made that prayers are to be offered to Minerva, that these are shepherds from nearby villages, celebrating peace, or that the victory has been achieved and the hero is to be féted. The occasional use of recitative in a dialogue with the chorus is discussed in Chapter Twelve below. Recitative may be used to make sure that the meaning of a divertissement is clearly brought out, in those circumstances in which the divertissement is manipulated to achieve an end. The mood of the hitherto innocuous sommeil in Atys, III 4 is broken by a recitative warning to Atys, and two recitative interventions in another long divertissement in Médée, II 7 persuade Créuse to 'embark in love's chariot', i.e. to fall for Oronte. The recitative pronouncement of the oracle in Bellérophon, III 5 actually forms the climax of the scene.

The bulk of the solo vocal writing consists of petits airs, many of which are related in character or musical material to dance movements. Example 38 in Chapter Four, 'Que l'amour est doux' from Proserpine is typical, although this particular air happens to come in the prologue (the tone of the larger part of the prologues resembling divertissement rather than tragédie). The developments in the accompanied air around 1700, under the influence of the Italian cantata, are shown in their most striking form in the prologues and divertissements (see the examples discussed and quoted in Chapter Four, pp.100-06 of airs italiens and related forms). The increasing popularity of such airs is demonstrated by the publication of supplements to some operas, for example, a volume published by Ballard relating to a revival of Campra's Hésione in 1709, containing three accompanied airs, two of them in da capo form. The first, 'La terre sur les cieux' comes in II 4, and is accompanied by flûtes allemandes; the second
'Charmante mère des amours' replaces an ordinary petit air 'Jusqu' dans le sombre séjour' in III 5; the third, 'L'amour s'envole', whose middle section features oboes and refers to 'le son des musettes' comes in the divertissement of the fifth act.

There are considerable variations in the length of divertissements and in the number of their constituent elements. Some very brief examples, perhaps involving only a single orchestral air, have been mentioned above. Others are not much longer: Cadmus et Hermione, II 6 follows the arrival of the deus ex machina and consists of an orchestral air 'Les Statues', a binary air with two verses and a second orchestral air. In Bellérophon, I 5, the divertissement consists of a sequence of chorus, dance, dance and chorus (though here the length of the choruses makes this considerably longer in performance than the Cadmus example). There are short divertissements in post-Lully operas, too: the structure of Vénus et Adonis, II 6 is similar to that of Bellérophon, I 5, and the concluding celebrations in Amadis de Grèce consist of a chorus, a dance and a reprise of the chorus (though the dance is a passacaille and fairly substantial). Generally, however, the trend is towards large scale divertissements, involving many elements, with an overall increase of about one third in the number of dance movements therein (some of these larger structures are itemized below).

Various methods of welding the sections of a divertissement together are employed. In some of Lully's early operas, it is the chorus which is the unifying factor. Cadmus et Hermione, III 6, for example, is a sacrifice scene. It consists of two orchestral airs and two sections in which solo and chorus alternate, the grand sacrificateur being answered by the reiterated prayers of the chorus 'O Mars, reçois nos voeux' and 'Mars redoutable, Mars indomptable, O Mars, ô Mars, ô Mars'. Other such scenes are Thésée, I 9-10, Atys, I 7 and V 7 and Bellérophon, II 7. The pompe funèbre in Alceste, III is uniquely the chorus's own, the tribute of the people to Alceste's courageous sacrifice. Individuals detach themselves from the crowd to lead the mourning, but the impression of the whole is of the massed weight of the C minor choral sections. While choruses continue to play a significant role throughout the period, they are rarely given this structural importance. A late example, though, in Campra's Télèphe, IV 6 harks back to earlier models: it is a temple scene, in which three sacrificateurs each have an accompanied air with a choral refrain. They then come together for an accompanied trio, which is concluded by
the choral refrain.

It is usually through the dance music that a divertissement is given such unity and coherence as it may have. In its simplest form, this is a matter of the reprise of a dance or sometimes a chorus at some point: most divertissements contain some element of reprise. In the analyses which follow and throughout this chapter, '1er air', '2e air', etc. relate to orchestral sections: reference to an air without further qualification implies a vocal number.

**Thésée**, III 6: 1er air, chorus, 2e air, chorus, 2e air reprise

**Amadis**, III 4: chorus, duet, 1er air, 2e air, chorus reprise

**Tancredé**, IV 4: chorus, 1er air, 2e air, duet, 2e air reprise.

Longer examples may include the repetition of two or three items:

**Persée**, I 5

1er air
Air
Chorus
2e air
3e air
2e air (reprise)
Chorus (reprise)

**Armide**, II 4

Air
Chorus
1er air
2e air
Air
2e air (reprise)
1er air (reprise)
Air
Chorus (reprise)

The pattern of reprises may impart a rough symmetry to the structure of the divertissement, but is usually haphazard: the typical divertissement is an agglomeration of elements rather than a coherent organization.

The association of dance music with vocal forms affords another method of holding a divertissement together. Dances are often provided in both orchestral and vocal versions, with directions for performance by a soloist, ensemble or even chorus to precede or follow the instrumental dance. Sometimes, two verses lead to alternating vocal and instrumental performance of the same music four times:

**Thésée**, IV 7

[1er] air
Duet (2 vv.) based on air
[2e] air
Duet (2vv.) based on 2e air
Solo/chorus alternating in dance styles.
A later example shows just how complex these interrelationships could become:

Vénus et Adonis, III 3

1er air
2e air (sarabande)
Chorus/duet/chorus (sarabande)
1er menuet
Solo/chorus alternating (menuet)
2e menuet
Solo/chorus alternating (2e menuet)
1er menuet (reprise)

Organization of this type does not give a form to the overall structure, but makes the disparate elements coalesce into larger subdivisions and thus appear less fragmentary.

Greater unity is imparted by the use of an existing form: the rondeau or the passacaille or chaconne. The use of the rondeau form in the divertissement is more common in the operas written after Lully's death, though it appears also in his work. Here, the recurrent use of rondeau structures gives a feeling of unity, even though the divertissement is still sectional:

Armide, I 3

[1er] air
Air answered by chorus
Rondeau (orchestral)
A Solo/chorus
B Solo
A Chorus
C Solo
A Chorus
Rondeau (reprise)
Sarabande (rondeau)
A Solo/chorus
B Solo
A Chorus
C Solo
A Chorus
Sarabande (reprise)

The structure of the divertissement in Destouches' Omphale, I 4 recalls this, though the omission of the instrumental dances from the rondeau structures dilutes the effect slightly: 5

A Solo/chorus
B Solo
A Chorus
C Solo
A Chorus
Loure
Duet /continued overleaf
The alternation of soloist and chorus within the rondeau is not obligatory. In *Ariane et Bacchus*, V 6 Marais has a trio rondeau and solo episodes; in *Hésione*, I 4 Campra alternates the petit and the grand choeur. *Tancredé*, III 4 features duet and solo textures, and *Tancredé*, II 3 is an amalgam of choral, solo and duet sections.

Both long and short divertissements are to be found throughout the period studied: in an opéra in which he writes two or three extended, multi-section divertissements, the composer often restricts the remaining ones to, say, an entrée, a chorus, an air and another dance, or some similar combination. There is a general trend, however, towards longer and more complex divertissements, with a proliferation of dances and the emergence of the decorative accompanied air or ariette. While it is not possible to include detailed analysis of the more than 250 divertissements which fall into this period to show this trend, the following may be taken as typical of the large-scale divertissements of their date:

**Médee**, I 6
Charpentier, 1693

- Air/chorus
- Air
- Chorus
- Rondeau
- 2e air
- Duet
- Sarabande
- Duet (v.2)
- Chorus (reprise)

**Amadis de Grèce**, IV 4
Destouches, 1699

- Bourrée
- Loure
- Canaries
- Air → chorus
- Loure
- Canaries (reprise)
- Rondeau
- Solo/chorus rondeau
- Rondeau (reprise)
- Solo/chorus rondeau (v.2)
- Canaries (reprise)
- Passepied
Tancrede, III 4
Campra, 1702

Petit chœur
Air (accompa nied)
Sarabande

Air des bergères
Duet/solo rondeau
Air des bergères (reprise)

Menuet
2e menuet
Air
2e menuet (reprise)
Air (v.2)
Menuet (reprise)

Chorus (accompa nied)

Idoménée, IV 7
Campra, 1712

Chorus
Duet
Orchestral version
Duet
Orchestral version

1er menuet
2e menuet
Air/chorus
2e menuet (reprise)
Air/chorus (v.2)
1er menuet (reprise)

Air paysan
'Ariette'
1er passepied
2e passepied

The chaconne- and passacaille-based divertissements stand out because of their more disciplined organization. The first of these occurs in Lully's first opera, Cadmus et Hermione, I 4, and combines chaconne and rondeau forms. The long orchestral chaconne is followed by a series of vocal sections organized into a rondeau, the material for which is one of the reduced-texture passages of the chaconne (Example 220).

Ex. 220 Cadmus et Hermione, I 4 (a) Chaconne, bar 53 f

(b) Trio

Suis-sons, sui-sons l'amour, laissons nous en-Flam-es.

Away from the second chaconne and passacaille-based divertissements stand out because of their more disciplined organization. The first of these occurs in Lully's first opera, Cadmus et Hermione, I 4, and combines chaconne and rondeau forms. The long orchestral chaconne is followed by a series of vocal sections organized into a rondeau, the material for which is one of the reduced-texture passages of the chaconne (Example 220).

The two haute-contre upper voices are each given a solo episode, and the third episode is for the full trio.

Lully's last three operas, Amadis, Roland and Armide, each contain a large-scale chaconne or passacaille forming the basis of a divertissement.
and it is these monolithic structures which are the model for later examples. Since each involves a complete reprise of the orchestral dance, these divertissements are the longest continuous movements in Lully's entire output: the one in *Amadis*, V 5, for example, is a staggering 936 bars in length. The *passacaille* in *Armide*, V 2 is in the same key throughout and proceeds as follows:

```
Passacaille
*Air/chorus*
Orchestra
Air/chorus
Orchestra
Air/chorus
* to ** (reprise)
Passacaille (reprise)
* to ** (reprise)
```

The orchestral chaconnes in *Amadis*, V 5 and *Roland*, III 6 each have a middle section in a related key, tonic minor and major respectively. The long series of *grand choeur*, *petit choeur* and solo sections which follow the *Amadis* chaconne echo this key structure, but the situation in *Roland* is reversed, the initial chorus entry being in the key of the middle section. Directions for the reprises in this chaconne in the Ballard score of 1685 are ambiguous, but it seems likely that the entire structure ends in the related key (i.e. the tonic major). 6

There are two of these divertissements in *Achille et Polixène*: the first is in Lully's part of the work, the first act and, unusually, does not use the chorus at all. Colasse writes a chaconne-based movement on an enormous scale, in IV 5. Instead of placing the full orchestral chaconne at the beginning, he divides the orchestral contribution to the scene into three sections, using the alternation of tonic major and minor found in many of the longer orchestral chaconnes and passacailles:

```
Chaconne        C
Chorus/air/chorus  C
Chaconne        Cm
Duet/air        C
Chaconne        C
Air             Cm
Air de basse/chorus  C
```

Colasse returns to a similar structure in *Jason*, III 7. Campra, who writes a vocal and choral movement based on two rondeau form chaconnes in his opera-ballet *L'Europe galante*, bases a divertissement in *Alcine*, III 3 on three orchestra sections, of which the first two are passacailles and the last is a rondeau. The divertissement in *Vénus et Adonis*, V 5 is rather in the Lullian mould, with a free-flowing
succession of solos, duets and choruses of all kinds, but, unlike Lully, Desmarests places the orchestral passacaille at the end of the movement. Destouches' chaconne divertissement in Omphale, II 3 begins particularly unobtrusively, with vocal airs preceding the orchestral chaconne. Alcide's airs 'Mes transports' and 'Jamais on n'a senti' already have the triple rhythm and rigid four-bar phrase structure of the chaconne, but at 'Joignez tous vos voix', 16 bars before the orchestral chaconne begins, the air picks up the typical descending bass pattern of the chaconne, forming a neat bridge. Charpentier builds the divertissement in Médée, II 5 on a chaconne and two passacailles, but although the triple metre persists in the intervening solo, trio and chorus sections, these are not based on the chaconne chord patterns. As the air 'Chi te me d'amore', quoted as Example 63 above also shows, Charpentier manages to break away from the straitjacket of the regular four bar phrases, but this tendency is less pronounced in the non-Italian parts of this divertissement.

Only at the end of the century do minor composers turn their attention to the chaconne and passacaille other than as dances. In Méduse, IV 4 (1697) Gervais writes a comparatively brief passacaille divertissement with only a short instrumental introduction to a mixture of vocal, choral and instrumental sections. Bertin contrasts a major and a minor chaconne in Diomède, V 8, the latter in rondeau form. In addition to vocal and choral sections based on the chaconne, a florid solo air in ariette style is interpolated. Earlier in the same opera (IV 6) there is an entirely vocal chaconne, the accompanied air 'Oubliez votre vengeance'. Stuck includes a da capo air italien in a long chaconne movement in Manto la Fée, V 5. Salomon's Théoné (1715) includes a chaconne movement in I 3 which develops into a solo, petit choeur and chorus movement, together with a passacaille in V 5. This shows close affinities with its models of thirty years previously, with its three part major-minor-major structure, the minor section being marked 'lentement et doux'.

* * * * * * *

It is difficult to be precise about the factors which made Quinault and Lully more successful than their successors at handling the divertissement problem. The constituent elements and types of participant vary little over the whole period. Librettists after Quinault
took pains to justify the inclusion of a divertissement, to assign it a particular purpose or to end it with a surprise. Perhaps they tried too hard. The answer probably lies in the approach to the whole drama. In his livrets, Quinault had such a tight grip on the unfolding of the tragédie that a brief suspension for entertainment was not seriously detrimental to its natural progression. The unwieldy structures of some later librettists and composers, coupled with a growing tendency to place the divertissement in mid-act, make the dramatic thread increasingly difficult to sustain. These two factors also account for something of a change of status in the divertissement. In dramatic terms, and by association musically and visually, the divertissement becomes the climax of the act or an essential adjunct to it through, for example, the use of the disruptive ending. Lully and Quinault allow this only exceptionally, and the tragédie remains the vehicle for real action. Perhaps it was inevitable in the era of the development of the opera-ballet that the divertissement tail should come at times dangerously close to wagging the tragédie dog, but it is one of the most serious weaknesses of the early eighteenth-century tragédie en musique.
NOTES

1 La Tragédie en musique, p.42.

2 For example, a divertissement occurring on pages 4 and 5 of an act which occupies nine pages of text is recorded as falling in the 'second third' of that act.

3 La Tragédie en musique, p.46.

4 Campra, Airs nouveaux ajoutés à l'opéra d'Hésione, remis au théâtre en juillet, 1709 (Paris, 1709).

5 In the first edition of the score, the menuet and gigue in this divertissement are printed at the end of the prologue, with directions for their insertion in I 4. These directions are omitted in the Chefs-d'oeuvre vocal score, where these D major dances appear as a rather puzzling extension of the G minor conclusion of the prologue.

6 'On reprend la Chaconne des Violons à la Reprise, page 161 [i.e. from the beginning]. Et la suite des Choeurs finit'.
The crucial role of the chorus in the music of the early French opera has already been stressed; its position in the dramatic conception of the work is also an important one. Even though the ladies and gentlemen of the chorus seem to have been confined to standing in rows at the side of the stage (presumably because of the restricted stage area), the audience was clearly expected at times to imagine them as full participants in the action. The chorus may be required to observe and comment on events, to flee in terror, to fight or rejoice off-stage or to join in prayers, celebrations and processions. Their presence, then, is a physical as well as a musical one, and can contribute to the total effect through music, words and (presumably imagined) movement.

The presence and designation of the chorus is indicated in the livret with the characters at the beginning of each scene (remembering that a new scene begins every time a character enters or leaves and does not usually imply a change of location). The list of chorus members from a Court performance of Alceste at Fontainebleau in 1677, reproduced from the Ballard livret by Prunieres shows that by no means the full complement of the choir was involved in every scene, the remainder taking petits rôles or, presumably, getting ready for the next scene. The succession of different chorus groupings in Isis, IV, for example, suggests that any one chorus was likely to be small in number, or possibly that their costumes may have had to be somewhat all-purpose and that the attendant dancers may have been relied upon to delineate the precise characters intended. The speed with which choruses occasionally have to materialize may also have posed some problems. The deep perspective of the current style of theatre design often results in a series of pillars, statues or trees receding into the distance - the chorus presumably stepped smartly through the gaps thus afforded, rather than trouping on from two entrance points and arranging themselves. While many chorus entries mark the beginning of the divertissement and may therefore be covered by a dance movement, march or something similar, there are times when the chorus is apparently instantly on the spot; the dialogue scene between Angélique and Médor, Roland, II 4, concludes with a minim in a triple time bar - the last crotchet of the same bar is supplied by the petit choeur arriving on the scene with 'Aimez, aimez-
vous'. Elsewhere, a short ritournelle at the beginning of a scene, for no apparent musical reason, is clearly a functional device: the chorus enters thus at the beginning of Cadmus et Hermione, IV 6, remaining mute until the very end of the following scene. Scores in the library of the Paris Opéra and at Versailles used in performances and revivals often have such linking passages marked 'se joue deux fois', suggesting that the movement of the chorus was not always accomplished as swiftly as might be desired.

Choruses in operas of this period could be called upon to enact a wide variety of parts. It is unusual to find a livret which is not liberally sprinkled with characters from the pastorale, fête marine or underworld. Allegorical personages like Glory in the prologue to Ariane et Bacchus or Discord in Scylla are normally accompanied by their suites. Gods and goddesses bring appropriate followers: Apollo with the Muses, Venus with the Graces and Pleasures and so on. The contribution of these groups is primarily decorative, both visually and musically. Their music, with some notable exceptions, has rather an 'all-purpose' air, and the identity and sentiments of the participants can be largely taken for granted.

The same can often be said of the human chorus groups, the peoples of Ethiopia, Sicily, Corinth, Troy and the rest. If their leader is setting off to do battle, they will answer his call to arms; if he has won a victory they will celebrate it; if he pleads with the gods they will second his entreaties. The presence of the chorus in these circumstances is designed to underline the importance and solemnity of the event. This is the chorus in its reinforcing role, one which is usually emphasized by having the chorus repeat the words and often the music of its leader. An exhortation is responded to simply by changing the verb to the first person plural: 'Quittez vos fers' answered by 'Quittons nos fers' (Tancrede, II 3), 'Vous devez vous animer/ D'une ardeur nouvelle' answered by 'Nous devons nous animer... ' (Atys, I 8). This type of chorus forms the bulk of the choral contribution to the tragédie en musique.

Many groups, however, move beyond this peripheral function and assume a separate identity, reacting spontaneously to events, conducting one side of a dialogue or taking the initiative in action. Some of these are groups which are peculiar to one situation or event and for which the composer may choose a special combination of voices: the frozen people, the songes funestes and so on. When the chorus, human or supernatural, plays an individual part, there is more interest in what it is saying or
doing, though of course this may also be musically interesting or decorative.

a) The chorus expresses collective emotion

Spontaneous reaction to a public event in Lully's operas is often expressed through the chorus interjecting a recitative phrase or two. As Hermione is borne away on a rainbow by Juno, the spectators exclaim 'O ciel, ô ciel, Hermione, Hermione' — this is the conclusion of the fourth act of Cadmus et Hermione and is, incidentally, the only contribution of the chorus to the entire act. The Thessalonians who witness Alceste's abduction contribute 'Ah! quelle trahison funeste!' and back up Alcide and Admète when they cry 'Au secours!'. After playing a considerable role in the drama of the final scene of Phaëton, the chorus is given the last word on the hero's downfall: 'O chute affreusel ô témérité malheureuse!'

The reiteration of such comments may give greater impact, and may also have a structural function. The repetitions of the phrase 'Alceste est morte' form the framework of Alceste, III 4, in which Alceste's action in giving her life for that of her husband is narrated in recitative; this scene prepares in turn for the more ritualized mourning of the pompe funèbre. Example 221, from Atys, V 3 is the spectators' reaction to their failure to prevent Atys from killing Sangaride.

Ex. 221 Atys, V 3
In Proserpine, III 5 the choruses' 'O Cérès, ô mère trop tendre, Ah! quelles seront vos douleurs!' are just as informative as the more prosaic explanations of Proserpine's fate.

Such expressions of emotion are rare in operas after Lully, at least as far as the chorus is concerned; in fact grief, other than a purely personal distress, usually soon assuaged, is remarkably absent in this period. The chorus is quite ready to respond to happier events, though. In Enée et Lavinie, III 4, Lavinie is being pressed to choose Enée or Turnus as her husband. After an anti-Trojan chorus, she is shown a vision of Didon dying as a result of Enée's treachery, and finally names her choice, Turnus. This brings an outburst of joy from the chorus. A similar reaction is brought about by Alcide's relinquishing his claim to Omphale in Omphale, V 4. Two choruses feature in Canente, I 2, in a divertissement in which Saturn and the Ages tell Picus and his people that they will receive divine assistance, to their delight:

CHOEUR DE L'ÂGE DE FER
Que tout cède à votre courage
Par la force et par le carnage,
Montez au rang des vainqueurs.

CHOEUR DES PEUPLES
Quel destin pour nous! quelle gloire!
Redoublons notre ardeur,
Méritons la grandeur
Que nous destine la Victoire.

All the above are more than interjections, however: while later librettists and composers may not dwell overlong on public mourning, they never neglect an opportunity for celebration, and such contributions are often extended into choral movements.

Reaction to an event which threatens the chorus directly rather than the main characters it observes may take the form of a collective panic and flight, for example in the prologue to Cadmus et Hermione when an earthquake precedes the arrival of Envy. Pattering quavers are the usual accompaniments of such a flight (though the comparative freedom of the part-writing in the above example, reminiscent of the scene of the
'donneur des livres' in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* three years earlier, is replaced by the note-against-note style of the typical chorus. The Athenians in *Thésée*, V 7 panic when they believe themselves to be pursued by phantoms, the nymphs in *Isis*, III 7 flee the approach of Juno, and there are similar reactions in *Bellérophon*, IV 2, *Pérette*, I 6, *Phaéton* V 5 and *Roland*, IV 5. Brief excerpts from two of these (Example 222 (a) and (b)) will serve to show their similarities.

Later choruses seem to prefer to stay put and exclaim in horror at things which threaten them, but there is another quaver passage of this type, again in \( \frac{3}{8} \) time, in Desmarest's *Didon*, IV 3.

b) The chorus participates in dialogue

The chorus takes a step further in its integration into the action when it becomes another voice in a dialogue scene. Small beginnings can be seen in *Cadmus et Hermione* Prologue, scene 4. The chorus's role here is to support its leaders in preparing for the arrival of the Sun, but after the first choral section, does not do so merely by repeating their words. In fact, the people get so excited that their last phrase is a hectic semiquaver gabble, and one of the leaders has to break in to restore order, after which the chorus settles down with 'taisons nous' (Example 223).
The setting in a later opera, Cassandre, II 1, is much more formal. Clitemnestre announces to the assembled people her intention of marrying Egiste, and asks them to accept him as their ruler, which they do:

Tant que nous jouirons du jour qui nous éclaire,
    Nous obéirons à sa loi:
    Un époux digne de vous plaire,
    Est digne d'être notre Roi.

However, when news of Agamemnon's imminent arrival is given, the chorus soon changes its mind:

Courons, courons tous rendre hommage
    A ce héros victorieux.

It is rare for the demeanour of a human chorus to be depicted in this way, however, and most examples of a chorus making independent pronouncements tend to occur in supernatural scenes. In Atys, IV 5 the chorus of river gods is consulted by Sangar about his choice of a husband for his daughter, and replies with its approval of his choice. In Isis, IV 6 Io pleads with the Fates to end her life. They reply that it is up to them to determine this. The divinités infernales in Proserpine, V 1 are asked by Pluto if they will allow Proserpine to be taken from the underworld, and they reply 'Non, non, c'est une injustice Que nous ne souffrirons pas'. Pélée, in Thétis et Pélée, III 2, asks the 'ministres du Destin' to interpret the oracle to him, but receives short shrift:

Nous ne répondons point aux mortels curieux,
    L'oracle du Destin n'est que pour les grands Dieux.
A few examples develop the idea of dialogue a little further, presenting the chorus in defiant mood. This defiance is rather short-lived in Ulysse, IV 6: when Circe pretends to leave the scene, Ulysse's companions resolve to free themselves from her spell, but she soon returns and plunges them into darkness, after which they are thrown back on calling on the Sun. In Télémaque, II 4 a chorus of priests and priestesses confronts Calypso, who snatches Télémaque away from the altar on which he is to be sacrificed (Example 224).

Like most groups which arrive at someone's behest, choruses of demons generally arrive with an entrée, do whatever evil work is requested and disappear. Sometimes, however, they too can enter into a dialogue, offering advice to or even egging on their leader. After responding to the summons of the magician Geralde and assuring him of their obedience, the demons in Ariane et Bacchus, IV 4 interrupt him to warn him not to underestimate the power of Bacchus. Phorbas, in Créuse, IV 3, invites demons to do their worst with his rival, Idas. They ask if a monster will fill the bill. Phorbas points out that the country is under Apollo's protection, but the demons confidently predict that they will be stronger and work themselves up to begin revenge. Télémaque, I 6 is a rather similar scene. Demons enter and, after forming the
divertissement, ask what they can do for Calypso. She tells them that Neptune is demanding a sacrifice and that Ulysse cannot be the victim, since he is no longer in her power. The demons advise her not to waver, but to prepare the altar for a sacrifice:

CALYPSO
Où dois-je chercher la victime?

CHOEUR
Neptune y va pourvoir.

The spirits in the form of Zephyrs summoned in Manto la Fée, III 8 provide a variation on this theme by appearing only after a second summons, 'sous des figures hideuses, lentement' and, reprimanded by Manto for their tardiness, confess themselves held back by 'une secrète puissance'.

c) The chorus takes the initiative

As has been shown above, the chorus does not always have to imitate its leaders slavishly. It can be involved in something more powerful than dialogue, however, presenting a more three-dimensional character. The ombres summoned by Médée in Thésée, III 6 begin by echoing her words, but go further by describing their life in the underworld and their joy at being let out; the act finishes with Aeglé's writhing, alternating with the chorus's gloating. In their evocations of 'Nuit, Mort, Cerberes, Hécate, Erebe, Averne', the magicians in Bellérophon, II 7 achieve independent life rather than tamely echoing Amisodar's commands. Magicians and demons play a similarly active role in, for example, Tancredè, IV 3, Alcione, IV 5 and Alcione, II 2. In Semelé, III 5 we even get a glimpse of what the chorus was up to before being summoned on-stage, for the suspension of which activity it hopes to be compensated:

Des plus grands criminels nous suspendons les peines;
Console nous par des lois inhumaines
Du repos où nous les laissons.

Supernatural groups are not the only ones to be characterized, however. In Enée et Lavinie, III 4, a divertissement which begins as a straightforward Bacchanal changes direction suddenly as, incited by their Queen, the people work themselves into a frenzy of hatred for the Trojans (Example 225). There is a similar scene in Polixène et Pirhhus, I 5 when, after the reproaches of the ombre of Achille, the chorus of Greeks and Thracians picks up the movement of the ombre's last lines to sing 'Répandons le sang Troyen!'.
A few groups attempt to intervene physically in events (or pretend to do so). The watching people in Atys, V 3 try to stop Atys from killing Sangaride with their 'Arrête, arrête, malheureux', and in the story of Pan and Syrinx acted in Isis, III 6, Pan's followers block Syrinx's escape route with 'Cruelle, arrêtez, Arrêtez, cruelle!'. In Circé, IV 7, Circé conjures up demons in the form of nymphs, but then leaves the task of luring Eolie into her clutches to them (IV 9). In Théagène et Chariclavé, IV 7 Arsace summons another set of demons, this time disguised as sailors, who answer from off-stage, 'Nous allons seconder ta vengeance fatale'. In IV 10 they appear without Arsace, stage a nautical divertissement and lure the unsuspecting lovers towards their 'boat', which promptly disappears in flames, whereupon the 'sailors' capture Théagène and Chariclavé to deliver them to Arsace. After contributions to the final scene of Polixène et Pirrhus on the lines of 'Quel transport furieux!' and 'Quel intrépide courage!', the chorus intervenes more positively to disarm the distraught and suicidal Pirrhus with 'Il faut le dérober de sa fureur extrême'.

Reaction to a sudden and dramatic event is often the prerogative of the chorus. It is through the chorus that we learn of the change in Admète's fortunes when their cries of 'Hélas, hélas, hélas' which pervade Alceste, III 2 suddenly change to 'O trop heureux Admète! Que votre sort est beau!' at the opening of the next scene. When Cyané (Proserpine, III 6) attempts to explain to Ceres the circumstances of Proserpine's abduction, she is suddenly unable to continue and the chorus is left to explain that she has been turned into a stream. More typical of later examples is another scene in Proserpine (I 8) when, during a scene of homage to Jupiter, an earthquake partially destroys Ceres' temple. This is in the days before naturalistic orchestral depictions of such events, so only recitative describes the event, but the chorus reacts vigorously with 'Jupiter, lancez le tonnerre'. This develops into an extended
chorus with long roulades on 'tonnerre'.

This is one area of activity where composers and librettists after Lully really go to town. Interruptions of all kinds abound, and it is often the chorus which comments on the dramatic and spectacular event taking place. Quite a lot of these disturbances pertain to an arrival. In Théagène et Chariclée, II 5 Arsace, Mercobe and a chorus of magicians invoke Hecate, who arrives preceded by fire, thunder and earth tremors. Most of such visitors arrive unexpectedly, however, sending destruction before them to terrify the company. The gods put on a show of strength: typical examples of this are the arrivals of Mars in Vénus et Adonis, III 3 and of Juno in the prologue to Omphale, both announced by an energetic orchestral prélude followed by the chorus. There are similar events in Thétis et Péée, II 7, Enée et Lavinie, I 3, Idoménée, III 7-8 and Créuse, V 3. The sorceresses Argine and Circe (in respectively Omphale, II 3 and Ulysse, V 7) and Médée herself (in Médée et Jason, V 9) similarly send chaos and confusion before them. Musically, both the orchestral depiction of the devastation and the choral exclamations of horror can be developed on a large scale (the example from Idoménée above is a case in point). 4

Sometimes, such scenes preface an event rather than an arrival: pronouncements by an oracle (Théagène et Chariclée, V 3 and Hésione, I 4) or the appearance of an ombre (Omphale, IV 4 and Polixène et Pirrhus, I 5). The storm or earthquake does not have to be a preliminary to anything, however, but may exist for its own sake. The magicians summoned by Isménor in Tancredé, I 4 are 'épouvantés' by earth tremors which destroy the tombs of the Saracen kings. A storm brings to a sudden end the sacrifice scene in Marthésie, I 5, much to the disgust of Argapise, who accuses the chorus of over-reacting. Sailors in Médée et Jason, IV 8 are put to flight by a storm, and another group about to embark suffers a storm which is calmed by Neptune (Théonoe, III 5). The chorus's role in these and similar calamities tends to be expressed in stereotyped phrases:

Ciel! quel bruit souterrain! quel affreux tremblement!
(Semélé, V 3)

Quel bruit! quels vents! Ciel! quel affreux ravage!
(Médée et Jason, IV 8)

The chorus is clearly felt to have a considerable contribution to make to the development of what in many cases is a large-scale continuous movement. Musically, the chorus adds weight; dramatically, it generates excitement.
The chorus plays an important role when action takes place off-stage. Lully and Quinault throw into relief Alcide's distress at being unable to share in the general rejoicing at the wedding of Alceste and Admete by having the off-stage chorus reiterate 'Vivez, vivez, heureux époux' through Alceste, I 1. Marthésie is in a similar situation at the opening of the second act of Marthésie, listening to her army ready to fight, but troubled by doubt because she has fallen in love with her enemy.

Off-stage action of a different kind forms the background to Thésée, I and to similar scenes in later operas: a combat. The fighting is heard at various points through the first five scenes of Thésée, intensifying in I 6 as one anonymous member of the chorus impinges uniquely on the action by staggering on-stage, wounded. The scene concludes with choral shouts of 'liberté' and 'victoire'. Subsequent examples of the combat are not usually so extended: the words of the combattants in Jason, I 3

Périssmez tous, périssmez tous.
Cédez à l'effort de nos coups

are identical with those of the Scythians in Iphigénie en Tauride (whose livret largely dates from around the same year - see Appendix One).

Both sides of the battle are heard in Ulysse, V 1, with the trumpets ranged firmly on the right side (Example 226). Here, it is Penelope who is left on-stage to react to the battle.

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Ex. 226 Ulysse, V 1

![Ex. 226 Ulysse, V 1](image-url)
The device of the off-stage chorus can be used to convey information. In *Bellerophon*, IV 2 the approach of the monster which *Bellerophon* is to fight is conveyed slightly comically by the chorus (Example 227).

At the end of * Médée*, I 3 a rejoicing chorus of Corinthians signals to Jason that Oronte, prince of Argos, has arrived to fight on the Corinthian side. When in * Médus*, I 4 a chorus of triumph is heard off-stage, it is at first misinterpreted as coming from the enemy, and only on the third occasion is the identity of the victors correctly established.

Roger, in *Bradamante*, IV 4 is similarly misled by praises of 'Marthésie's conqueror', whom he presumes to be himself; the chorus's next phrase 'Heureux Prince de Grèce' corrects him.

More direct contact between on- and off-stage forces is sometimes attempted. The *divinités infernales* in *Proserpine*, V 2 appear with Pluto, resolving to resist any attempt to recapture Proserpine; they end with the words

Renversons toute la nature,
Périsse l'univers.

The next scene is a soliloquy for Ceres, during which voices are heard from the underworld. Ceres is ready to throw in her lot with them:

*CERES*

Le Ciel n'est point touché des maux que j'ai soufferts.
L'Enfer prendrait-il part aux peines que j'endure?

*VOIX INFERNALES*

Renversons toute la nature
Périsse l'univers.

*CERES*

Périsse l'univers.
In Philomèle, III 6, after a disruption of thunder and monsters, voices from inside the temple speak directly to Philomèle and Terée who are about to enter it (Example 228).

Occasionally in Lully's operas, and frequently thereafter, the appearance of a group of people is prefigured briefly off-stage, sometimes by part of an instrumental number which begins the subsequent divertissement, sometimes by a snatch of chorus. In Proserpine, II 8 the underworld characters Pluto and Asclaphe are warned of the approach of Proserpine and her attendant nymphs by two lines of the chorus 'Les beaux jours et la paix'. Elsewhere, it is information which is conveyed by this device (as in the Médée, Médus and Bradamante examples discussed above, the difference being simply the preliminary fragment of chorus). Such a situation often leads to the hasty departure of one of the on-stage characters. In Ariane et Bacchus, II 4, the chorus 'Assemblons nous dans ces paisibles lieux' warns Adraste that Bacchus, whom he has no wish to meet, will soon be on the scene:

Lorsque tout retentit du bruit de ses vertus, 
Tout me reproche de ma tristesse.

Reports which turn out to be false lead to the exit of Cydipe in Vénus et Adonis, V 4 and Scylla, in Scylla, V 1. In Hippodamie, IV 4, Hippodamie awaits the outcome of a combat between her father and her lover: when she hears the chorus's 'Chantons le plus grand des vainqueurs' she leaves, unable to face the death of either of the men involved.

One of the most unusual roles for an off-stage chorus is in Bellérophon, IV 7, in that while the chorus is off-stage, the action
which it is describing is on-stage. This is the spectacular contest between Bellerophon and the Chimera, the elaborate stage-directions for which have Bellerophon on Pegasus fighting, disappearing and reappearing all over the stage (part of this scene is quoted as Example 247 in Chapter Thirteen below). The necessity for keeping the sides of the stage clear for this action may well have been the reason for banishing the chorus off-stage. This may be contrasted with a similar scene in Persée, IV 6 in which the stage is thronged with people and the tussle in the air between the hero and the monster is conducted with equal vigour on the ground by opposing choruses of Ethiopians and Tritons, with interpolations from the main characters.

Finally in this section in which we see choruses taking the initiative come a few instances in which some idea of the chorus moving across the stage rather than simply arriving is conveyed. In Persée, IV 1, the Ethiopians are hurrying to pay homage to Persée. Uniquely, Lully (or Quinault) splits them up, and they cross the stage and depart again in three troupes. In Achille et Polixène, V 5 another group moves across the stage 'fleeing in disorder from the temple of Apollo'; recitative explanations of Achille's death at the hand of Paris ensue. A similarly disorderly group appears in Philomèle, V 2; these are people fleeing from the destruction of the town. Here, too, divisions in the crowd are suggested, in this case by the alternation of the grand and petit choeur.

d) The chorus takes over

Several examples in the previous section have shown the chorus taking an important role in the action. A few choruses go even further in carrying along the drama themselves or in having attention focussed entirely on them, rather than on the protagonists they serve or observe.

So many acts in the tragédie en musique build up from an initial one or two characters that when an act opens with no main character in sight and just the music of the chorus, the impact can be considerable. Sometimes this choral opening is one of the short phrases of the off-stage choral celebration or combat already discussed. To this group can be added the rather more spectacular and extended opening scene of Idoménée, II in which the cries of the drowning are heard off-stage superimposed upon a tempête (see p. 424).

On two occasions when Lully and Quinault open with a chorus, the aim is to create a mood. The opening of the fourth act of Proserpine removes us to the Elysian Fields following the ravages of the end of
act III. A long 'trio de flûtes et violons' sets the scene and a chorus of 'happy shades' sings of the beauty and tranquillity of their life. The scene concludes with duets and ritournelles. Similarly, the opening of the fourth act of Phaéton, which sets the scene in the palace of the Sun, again features a petit choeur, with soloists coming from the group rather than from among the main characters. The third opera in which Lully and Quinault allow groups to establish themselves rather than follow someone else is Isis. Act IV is a succession of tableaux formed by three chorus groups, the Frozen People, the Chalybes and the Fates, who present themselves mostly through choruses and dances. Io and the Fury who escorts her through these scenes are merely spectators, and it is the character groups who are the focus of attention. One example in the operas after Lully recalls earlier models. Rousseau and Colassee set Jason, IV 1 in the antre of the Sibyl and have the chorus set the scene:

Loin d'ici, mortels indiscrets,
Éloignez-vous de notre asile,

no doubt reminding the audience of the Proserpine scene:

Loin d'ici, loin de nous,
Tristes ennuis, importunes alarmes.
The chorus, too, is the petit choeur formation. The scene continues with a mixture of air, duet and chorus, the participants entirely drawn from the suivantes of the Sibyl. Although chorus groups do not often open a scene, they can still function on their own, usually by initiating their own divertissement. The Athenians in Philomèle, I 3 sing their praises of Philomèle in her absence; only Théré is present and when the chorus celebrates the peace which will return them with Philomèle to Athens, things become too much for him and he suggests that they go to the temple to wait for Philomèle. In Polixène et Pirruhus, V 2 the Greeks and Thracians celebrate peace and the defeat of the Trojans on their own, after Erixène's hasty retreat from the scene.

It is in scenes of confrontation that the chorus plays its most active role. The first of these is the siege in Alceste, II 4 (see Example 146 above), in which the forces of Licomède, Alceste's abductor, are besieged by Alcide, Admete and their army. At first, the armies are equally matched, but with 'Donnons, donnons de toutes parts' the besieging army gradually gains the upper hand: 'Courage, courage, courage, Ils sont à nous', and eventually Licomède's soldiers are forced to beg for mercy. Patricia Howard suggests that the practical difficulty of staging such a scene was the reason for the fighting in Lully's next
opera, Thésée, taking place off-stage. Such difficulties seem to have been overcome by the time we get to Persée, since in addition to the contest between Persée and the monster, IV 6, there is a further encounter, in V 5, between the armies of Persée and Phinée. Since the realistic physical involvement of the chorus does not seem to have been envisaged, the problems may not have been as great as imagined.

A contest which is symbolic rather than physical is that between the suites of Peace and Discord in the prologue to Proserpine, resolved by the suite of Victory. Disputes in other prologues, of which there are several, usually take place between leaders rather than their suites, but Roy's prologue to Callirhoé (1712) which has exchanges between choruses of Pleasures begging for peace and Warriors planning more exploits echoes Quinault faintly - the two choruses are well contrasted (Example 229).

A scene in Canente, III 4 in which the Furies (in the livret, the "ministres de Circe") are overcome by Canente's Cupids and Graces is again more decorative than dramatic, and for a more sharply characterized and sustained encounter, we again have to turn to Lully and Quinault and the choruses of prisoners and jailers in Amadis, III (see Example 147 above).
Choruses in operas written after Lully's death are rarely allowed to hold the centre of the stage. A large-scale scene between the Corinthians and Argians in Médée, I 6 celebrates an alliance rather than presenting a conflict and is splendid rather than dramatic. The choruses of warriors and magicians summoned by Argant and Isménor in Tanorède, I 3-4 rival each other in supporting Argant's proposed campaign to rescue Clorinde from Tanorède, but it is still their leaders who are the focus of attention.

* * * * * *

Looking chronologically at different conceptions of the role of the chorus in the tragédie en musique, some changes are discernible over the period in question. One very important function, however, remains constant. From Cadmus et Hermione to Théoné (and, of course, beyond), choruses praise the gods and celebrate victories and weddings in very similar language and style:

Que tout retentisse
Que tout réponde à nos voix,
Que le chant des oiseaux s'unisse
Avec le doux son des hautbois.

(Alceste, Quinault, 1674)

Que tous ces lieux retentissent
Du nom de ces heureux époux;
Que l'Amour et l'Hymen les unissent
De leurs noeuds les plus doux.

(Achille et Polixène, Campistron, 1688)

Chantons sous ces naissants feuillages
Formons les plus tendres accords,
Que les oiseaux, par leurs ramages,
Que les échos secondent leurs efforts.

(Énéide, Danchet, 1700)

Chantons, qu'à nos chants tout réponde,
Formons mille concerts charmants;
Que nos voix annoncent au monde
Le triomphe de ces amants.

(Alcione, La Motte, 1706)

Chantons, dansons, accordons nos musettes,
L'Amour vient dans nos retraites,
Chantons, dansons, exprimons les douceurs
Qu'il verse dans nos coeurs.

(Arion, Fuzelier, 1714)

Lully and Quinault contribute a good deal to the development of the chorus's role. The nature of the chorus's part depends to some extent on the plot, but nearly all Lully's operas add something new.
In the prologue to *Cadmus et Hermione*, the chorus echoes its leaders, but also on occasion contributes a new idea, responds spontaneously to an interruption and gets excited, finally taking a full part in the ensuing rejoicing. *Alceste* adds the entrusting of the relation of important events to the chorus, together with its physical participation in spectacular scenes. *Thésée* develops the use of the off-stage chorus. *Atys* is not as 'public' an opera as its predecessors, focusing on the actions of individuals and their effects on other individuals, rather than on peoples and armies. The chorus's involvement here is as spectators and commentators. The chorus plays a large part in *Isis*, but it is as an adjunct to the decorative rather than the dramatic aspects of the opera. *Psyché*, completed in 1678 but conceived seven years earlier, does not develop the chorus's function, but with *Bellerophon*, the second opera completed in Quinault's absence, we are back to the 'public' theatre of action, and taking the parts of, for example, people threatened by a monster, the chorus participates in and reacts to events. The same is true of *Peréée* and *Phaéton*. *Proserpine*, which comes before *Peréée*, develops the possibilities of a relationship between the chorus and a main character: Ceres, bereft of her daughter, is closer to the chorus than to any single character.

By the time we reach Lully's last three operas, other developments are to some extent undermining the active, varied and adaptable models of chorus use so far evolved. Partly through the choice of subject matter for the plot, there is a sharp decline in the use of human choruses, who are largely relegated to the obligatory fêtes and sacrifices. Choruses who take the kind of participatory roles described above are increasingly the 'special' groups: demons, ombres and the like. These are groups who will make an impact anyway because of their horrific or spectacular nature. With some exceptions, it is this model of the chorus role which is taken over by Quinault's successors.

After the deaths of Lully and Quinault, there is a return to mythological subjects, involving a greater number of human choruses. These groups, however, seldom attain the individuality of their earlier counterparts and are impressive because of their weight rather than their sentiments. The use of the human chorus as alarmed spectator, commenting excitedly on natural or, more likely, supernatural phenomena is greatly increased in later operas, but while this association of the chorus with cataclysmic events may increase its physical participation in the drama and hence seem to give it a more important role, it
detracts from the chorus's interaction with the protagonists at a psychological level. It is rarely portrayed as emotionally involved in events in the way that it is in, say, Alceste or Proserpine.

While human choruses may play a stereotyped role in later operas, non-human choruses are much more vividly portrayed. There are, of course, many such choruses in Lully's operas, often given imaginative treatment, but later composers and librettists give themselves over to horror and magic with much more abandon. The idea of dialogue is more developed, with more activity centred on the supernatural groups, who sometimes act on their own or spur on their leaders. The larger number of such choruses is in line with a shift after about 1700 towards libretti based on legend or pseudo-history.

From the point of view of the overall structure of an act, there is less use after Quinault of the chorus independently of the divertissement. This is not to say that all choral music takes place during the divertissement, but it nearly all involves the group which has just formed, or is about to form, the divertissement, whereas Quinault has significant use of choral groups which are nothing to do with the eventual divertissement, or else are well distanced from it. It has already been noted that the majority of spectacular disruptive events follow immediately on the relaxed atmosphere of the divertissement. This not only helps to create maximum surprise, but also ensures a large number of spectators in whom panic can be induced. Another structural device used much more freely by Quinault's successors is the off-stage chorus, deployed as a background to events, as conveyor of important information or as a warning of an imminent arrival.

As in so many areas of the tragédie en musique, it is extremely difficult to find examples of ideas which are not present in Lully's operas; where later composers make a contribution is in their selection of these ideas and, in some cases, their further exploitation of them. It is the big choral and orchestral scènes which stand out when surveying the role of the chorus in later operas, and while librettists and composers may have been reluctant to let the chorus take over completely, nevertheless it remains as indispensable a part of their conception of tragédie en musique as it was to Lully and Quinault.
1 Writing some years later in the Encyclopédie on the subject of Choeurs, Louis de Cahusac points out the absurdity of this passive stance: 'Les chœurs remplissent le théâtre, et forment ainsi un fort agréable coup d'œil; mais on les laisse immobiles à leur place: on les entend dire quelquefois que "la terre s'écroule sous leurs pas, qu'ils périssent", etc. et pendant ce temps ils demeurent tranquilles au même lieu, sans faire le moindre mouvement.' In Jean-Philippe Rameau, p.165, Girdlestone quotes a quatrain to the same effect from Panard's Le départ de l'opéra-comique (1733).

2 Preface to Alceste, Oeuvres complètes, pp. xii-xiii.

3 La Motte is repeating here the words of a trio in one of his earlier livrets, Canente, V 1.

4 This scene, a tempête, is discussed in Chapter Fourteen.

5 'The Operas of J.-B. Lully', p.214.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ORCHESTRA AND DRAMA

The manipulation of the resources of the orchestra to serve dramatic ends was an aspect of the opera composer's art which played a progressively more significant role during the first decades of French operatic history. At a practical level, the orchestra can cover stage business: exits and entrances and the miracles of the machiniste. By his choice of instruments or the style of their music, the composer can convey the imminence of an event or describe its course or consequences. The orchestra can help in the delineation of character of an individual or group; it can stir up excitement or calm the situation down. The rather neutral style and harmonic language of the orchestral music in Lully's early operas gradually acquire more individuality and colour, and the orchestra becomes a full partner with the singers in the exposition of the drama. Its uses in this respect may be grouped into five main categories. The first two involve the orchestra's role in furthering the characterization of groups and individuals. The third is the reinforcement of action on- and off-stage. The fourth and fifth have the orchestra creating mood and atmosphere, and imitating and providing the sound which necessarily accompanies certain natural and unnatural events.

a) Groups

In the characterization of the many groups who make their appearance, usually as part of the divertissement, the orchestra can play a valuable part. Human groups are rarely given much individuality, and the entrées and dances for the many nationalities represented are by and large indistinguishable from one another. If such groups are given any personality, it is in terms of the emotion they feel or the action they perform. The arrival of a hero demands attendant ceremonial and celebration by his suite, usually featuring trumpets and drums. Musically, the result resembles a similar but more active situation, the combat, of which Lully's first three operas furnish examples. The combattants of Cadmus et Hermione, IV 2, Alceste, II 2 and Thésée, I 9 perform to march-like pieces in C major. The example from Thésée is a mock battle 'à la
manière des anciens', the real battle having taken place off-stage earlier in the act. The other two are more closely involved in the main plot: the beginning of the siege in Alceste and the sowing of the dragon's teeth in Cadmus et Hermione. Lully's ability to write suitable rather than imaginative music may be observed by comparing the Cadmus piece with the colourful events it accompanies, as described in the livret: '... armed soldiers spring from the ground. Cadmus throws into their midst a kind of grenade. It bursts, causing the soldiers to turn on each other and cut each other's throats. The last to remain alive lay their arms at Cadmus' feet'. The 'divers combats' which form the divertissement in Amadis, I 4 are performed to three separate numbers featuring trumpets and drums, the second including considerable rhythmic complexities (Example 230).
Entrées which do not conform to the usual dance patterns often involve non-human groups. Some of these groups personify natural phenomena, manipulated to serve a purpose. The most common are winds, benign or hostile according to circumstances. The earliest example is the 'entrée de l'Envie' in the prologue to Cadmus et Hermione, during which 'L'Envie distribue des serpents aux vents qui forment autour d'elle des manières de tourbillons' (Example 231).

Ex. 231, Cadmus et Hermione, Prologue

In Alceste, I 8 there is an entrée for the Aquilons (north winds) who whip up the sea to prevent Alcide and Admète from chasing Alceste's abductors; the Aquilons are eventually overcome by the Zephyrs (west winds) who calm the storm and allow the vessels to leave. The Aquilons, whose music is in a similar style to Example 231, have the full force of the five-part orchestra, the Zephyrs the lighter texture of the ritournelle (Example 232).

Ex. 232, Alceste, I 9
In Phaéton, III 6 winds appear from the clouds to conduct Phaéton to
the palace of the Sun: again, the three-part texture is used, here
imitatively, and the whole piece is played again at the end of the scene
as Phaéton is borne away.

The Aquilons make two appearances in Circé. In III 1 they are
blamed by Eolie for her troubles; in V 5 they appear again to assure
Eolie that they will be favourable. On both occasions, their préludes
feature flowing quaver movement. In Circé, the Aquilons are referred to
as 'les vents les plus impétueux' and it is thus that they appear in the
prologue to Idoménée, chained up but bursting to free themselves (see
Example 170). Unfavourable winds make several appearances in Colasse's
operas. The long dialogue between Thétis and Péléé in Thétis et Péléé,
IV 6 is interrupted by a short semiquaver prélude. Thétis's startled
reaction to this is punctuated by short orchestral demisemiquaver
flourishes as she describes the winds and Péléé sees the Eumenides.
This becomes a full-scale entrée at the beginning of the next scene, and
fragments continue through the ensuing scene until a final rush as the
winds bear Péléé away. In Médée's encounter with the Sibyl in Jason,
IV 2, she is told that if there are evil intentions in her heart, the
foliage of the sacred tree will be blown away. As Médée approaches the
tree, short semiquaver passages in the orchestra warn her of the arrival
of the 'fougueux Aquilons'; again, this develops into a full entrée
as the Aquilons emerge and bear away the leaves. In Polixène et Pirrhus,
IV 3 Iris, 'on her rainbow' appears accompanied by flowing semiquavers
which turn out to be describing the winds which she brings with her.
As they bear away Erixène, the opening prélude is repeated. Among the
work of minor composers, too, winds can play an important role: the
last two scenes of Stuck's Manto la Fée, III are concerned with the
arrival and confrontation of opposing groups (see Example 249 below),
and almost the whole of Matho's Arion, III is underpinned by descrip­
tive orchestral music concerning winds and waves and culminating in the
orage. The act opens with a prélude (Example 233) whose movement
continues throughout Eurilas' soliloquy (some 61 bars) portraying the
'fiers torrents' to which he refers. In III 3, Eurilas summons
subterranean winds, Borée in turn summons the Aquilons, and in the
course of the ensuing scenes there are two entrées for these groups
and choruses (see Example 168 above, which shows the mixture of semi­
quavers and dotted rhythms with which they are characterized).
Groups summoned by, or appearing in connection with, the magic and evil characters so popular with librettists afford opportunities to composers to break away from the neutral dances and prélices which serve for more commonplace assemblages. Lully conveys the energy of such groups by the rhythmic vitality of their music, sometimes coupled with more than usually inventive part-writing. Example 234 is the opening of the entrée of the Furies in Phaéton, III 5 and may be compared with Example 98(a), the prélude to the duet 'Démon soumis à nos lois' (Amadis, IV 6).

Similar examples in other Lully operas are to be found in Psyché, IV 1, Proserpine, Prologue, Amadis, II 7 and Armide, IV 1. In the 'entrée des fantômes' in Persée, III 4, the energy becomes more like perpetual motion, but with the semiquavers confined, in this case, to the dessus (Example 235).
Examples of other composers adopting this style are to be found throughout the period in question, but full-blown entrées in consecutive semiquavers are more usual in operas written before about 1700. Perhaps surprisingly, Colasse uses this style for two groups of ministres, the 'ministres du Destin' in Thétis et Péлée, III 8, and the 'ministres de Circe' (elsewhere referred to as Furies) in Canente, III 4. Further examples in his work are for the demons in Jason, III 5, the Bacchantes in Enée et Lavinie, III 4 and the Furies in Achille et Polixène, III 7 (Example 236).
Desmarest's work furnishes similar examples: orchestral airs for Furies in Didon, III 2 and the suite of Bellonne in Vénus et Adonis, IV 6, for instance.

Later composers favour a rather different model, although its prototype seems to be a piece which predates even the first opera, being one of the numbers from the tragédie-ballet Psyché, 1671, preserved when the work was refurbished as an opera in 1678 (but not included in the Chefs d'oeuvre vocal score). In IV 2, 'les démons forment une danse, et montrent à Psyché ce qu'il y a de plus effroyable dans les enfers'. The openings of the two parts of the entrée are quoted, the first featuring dotted rhythms, the second more regular (Example 237).
By 1696, the date of Marais' *Ariane et Bacchus*, the rhythmic complexities of the first section are more pronounced and the second section is faster, with running quavers. With a closing slow section, the 'entree pour les demons' in IV 4 resembles a grotesque version of the French overture. Example 238 is the opening of each of this movement's three parts.

The three sections of a similar 'air des magiciens' in *Amadis de Grèce*, III 1 are separated by two short passages of recitative for Melisse. The 'air des demons' in the same scene (added for the revival of 1711) reverts to the more common form of this type of movement, in two parts. There are orchestral airs in this form in Destouches' *Omphale*, IV 4 and *Télémaque*, I 6, Campra's *Tancrède*, I 4 and Marais' *Alcione*, II 3, all associated with magicians. A similar effect is produced by pairing a slow air in an irregular rhythm with a faster one; Campra does this for the suites of Jealousy and Hatred in *Tancrède*, IV 3 and for the suite of Jealousy in *Idoménée*, II 8.

It seems to be the first section of these pieces which has sinister or magical connotations, judging by the many orchestral numbers in this style which, although prefigured in the 'entree des songes funestes' in *Atys*, III 4, becomes most popular from about 1700 onwards. In *Canente,*
Colasse associates this style with the 'ministres de Circé', III 3 and the 'magiciens et... démons sous des formes agréables', IV 4, presumably conveying the true nature of the latter group through having their music belie their appearance. Campra writes this type of symphonie for enchanteurs in Alcine, IV 4, Marais for furies in Semelé, III 5 and Destouches for sacrificateurs in Callirhoe, II 5 (Example 239).

Among the many examples in the work of minor composers could be mentioned airs for Discord, Terror and Rage in Diomède, IV 5 and demons in Créuse, IV 3 and a 'symphonie d'évocation' in Médée et Jason, V 1.

A few groups which do not fall into any of the categories described achieve some sort of individuality. Three groups of smiths appear in Lully's operas: the Cyclops in Psyché and Persée and the Chalybes in Ixis. Example 240(a) and (b), from Psyché, II 1 (beginning at bar 7) and Persée, II 8 shows that the two 'entrées des Cyclopes' are closely related.
The two 'entées des forgerons' in *Psyché*, II 1 and *Isis*, IV 3 depict the groups' hammer blows: Example 241(a) and (b) is the closing passage of each number.

Ex. 241 (a) *Psyché* II 1

(b) *Isis*, IV 3

The symphonie which opens *Isis*, IV 1 during which 'des peuples paraissent transis de froid' features a repetitive rhythmic figure to illustrate their mechanical, limited movements as choreographed by Lully in his 'pantomime' style. One of the most unusual instrumental numbers in all the operas is the second 'entée des Corybantes' in *Atys*, V 7 (Example 242). The Corybantes, attendants of Cybele, were also associated with the cult of Dionysus, and the curious alternations between duple and triple metres are perhaps intended to convey a ritual frenzy (although the *livret* as reprinted in the *Recueil général* refers also to earthquakes and thunder).

Ex. 242 *Atys*, V 7
There is an 'entée des Aegypans et Menades en fureur' in Semélé, Prologue which conveys that 'fureur' through the hectic nature of the orchestral movement. On the whole, however, individually interesting groups are hard to find in the operas of Lully's successors, and virtually all fall into the categories of people of different nations, pastorale characters or ritual and supernatural figures.

b) Individuals

The use of orchestral music in connection with a single character usually centres on his or her arrival or departure. Because of the time needed by the machiniste, the deus ex machina is an obvious candidate, hence such legends as 'l'Amour sur un nuage' (Cadmus et Hermione, II 6) and 'pour Mercure pendant qu'il vole' (Proserpine, I 2) above many préludes and ritournelles. The music not only fills the required amount of time, but also defines the status or nature of the new arrival. The goddess Cybele, whose imminent arrival is the linking theme of the whole of the first act of Atys, arrives eventually in I 8 to a stately prélude of fifteen bars, and there is another such number for her, this time of twenty bars, in II 2. This function of the orchestral music changes little over the years, as witness, for example, the 'prélude pour la descente de Diane' (Iphigénie en Tauride, II 3, 1704) and 'Vénus dans son char' (Idoménée, II 6, 1712). In a rather different style, the music which ushers in characters like Méduse in Persée, III 1, Phorbas and Ismène in Alcione, II 1 and La Haine in Armide, III 4 (Example 243) leaves us in no doubt of their evil or sinister connections.
In the prologue to *Alcione*, a contest between war (Pan) and peace (Apollo), Marais emphasizes the contest by the music he writes for each. Pan, whose tone is flippantly bellicose, has jolly, uncomplicated music for oboes and bassoons. Apollo, the advocate of peace, is characterized by the full strings and a more serious style of writing using, for example, suspensions.

Not surprisingly, the description of mood or emotion is much more to the fore where individual characters rather than groups are concerned. By the vigour of the *ritournelle* played as Médée appears in a chariot pulled by flying dragons in *Thésée*, V 6 and repeated as she sweeps out at the end of the scene, her rage and threats are anticipated and reinforced (Example 244).
As Ceres' despair over her daughter's abduction turns to rage (Procipine, III 8), it is the orchestra which first expresses her emotion. The effect on Arcabonne of the pronouncement of the ombre of Ardan Canile (Amadis, III 3) is a 'fureur', conveyed by the familiar semiquavers which burst in after the plodding crotchets of the ombre scene.

Characters in the operas written after Lully's death give themselves over much more wholeheartedly to rage. Médée, in Charpentier's Médée, has her frequent changes of mood reinforced in the orchestra, and makes many dramatic entrances and exits (Example 31 above is one of these). In Enée et Lavinie, I 3, Juno bursts in upon a temple scene and furiously orders the king and Turnus to drive out the Trojans; her hectic prélude is repeated at the end of the scene. Later examples are numerous.

Composers tend to resort to similar devices in characterizing both individuals and groups. Hence the jerky rhythms associated with enchanteurs and sacrificateurs are to be found also in the prélude to Amadis, III 2 for Arcabonne 'conduite et portée en l'air par les démons'. Another sorceress, Argine, is given similar treatment by Destouches in Omphale, II 5 and III 5. In a personal context, this style is used to convey emotional disturbance. This idea seems to stem from the insidious rhythm which enters in the basse continue in Armide, I 1 at the point where Armide reveals that she is haunted by the image of Renaud:

Incessament son importune image
Malgré moi trouble mon repos
(see Example 28 above). Thétis, threatened by jealous Jupiter, is tormented by her fears (Thétis et Pélée, IV 3): the rhythm of the short prélude recurs between her phrases. Didon's troubled mind at the opening of Didon, I 1 is conveyed by a prélude with an insistent rhythmic motif, and there is a similar accompaniment to Calypso's description of a nightmare in Télémaque, I 3.

Sometimes, a character passes beyond anger to instability and madness. Such is the state of Roland after he has learned the truth of Angélique's love for Médor (Roland, IV 6). At first, his mood is one of rage, which he takes out on his surroundings: the orchestral prélude portrays both his assault on the trees and rocks and the fureur within him (Example 245); this immediately precedes Example 27 above, during which this semiquaver movement reasserts itself briefly between passages.
of recitative in which he describes both misery and hallucination.

There are echoes of this scene in Omphale, V 4, when Alcide learns that Omphale loves Iphis, and in another opera involving the same character, Alcide, V 6. In the latter, Alcide, poisoned by the 'voile de Nessus'
sees apparitions and finally 'se précipite dans le bûcher'. Orestes' visions of the 'enfers' in Iphigénie en Tauride, II 2 are similarly treated.

c) Action

The visual spectacle of action taking place on-stage is usually reinforced by the orchestra. A short ritournelle (Example 246) is played as Cadmus fights the dragon (Cadmus et Hermione, III 3) and is repeated a tone higher in the next act as Hermione is carried off by Juno (IV 6).

Ex. 246  
Cadmus et Hermione, III 3

It is going a little far to describe this as 'une manière de leitmotiv'; rather it illustrates Lully's unconcern at this stage with matching music to action in other than the most general terms. A rather weightier instrumental piece accompanies Persée's confrontation with and victory over Méduse (Persée, III 3). In situations with more people involved, orchestral activity helps to generate excitement. After the long chorus 'Jupiter lancez le tonnerre' (Proserpine, I 8) which the orchestra accompanies throughout, the orchestra picks up the chorus's energetic quavers and has the last word as 'le tonnerre tombe sur le mont Aetna qui paraît dans l'éloignement, et ce coup achève d'accabler le chef des
géants qui s'efforçaient de se relever'. In Bellérophon, IV 7, in which Bellérophon fights the Chimera, the orchestra keeps things going between the chorus's exclamations, effectively doubling the speed of the chorus's rather pedestrian crotchets as 'Bellérophon fond une seconde fois sur le Chimère', and continuing in this manner between choral phrases until Bellérophon is victorious (Example 247).

On an even larger scale, in Persée, V 5-7, the orchestra has an important role in Phinée's last desperate attempt to defeat Persée. He and his army burst upon the scene to a lively prélude (Example 248), whose descending scales and octave leaps recur frequently as the two suites fight, pausing only for dialogue between the spectators.
A combat of a different sort brings together two groups of a type described in the first section of this chapter. *Manto la Fée*, III 8-9 is a conflict between *vents souterrains* and *vents aériens*. Stuck characterizes the first group by writing for them an 'air' in which slow sections with some irregularity of rhythm and rapid scales alternate with fast, regular triple time movements (there are two of each type); this is closely related to the type of orchestral writing used for magic and sinister groups. Example 249(a) shows the opening phrase of each of the first two sections. The second group of winds simply rushes about in continuous semiquavers in its 'bruit pour les vents aériens' (Example 249(b)). Considerable use is made in this scene of tremolando and scalic flourishes, upon which the exclamations of Manto 'outrée de colère' are superimposed.
Most scenes of hectic activity in the operas written after Lully's death arise, like the Manto la Fée scenes, as the result of interventions, calculated or unforeseen. Examples of such events are to be found almost at random:

Dans le temps qu'il veulent entrer dans la temple, il paraît tout en feu, la terre tremble, et le tonnerre se fait entendre.

(Hésione, I 5)

Il se fait un tremblement de terre, des nuages couvrent le théâtre, des Aquilons désolent les jardins, renversent les arbres etc.

(Hippodamie, II 4)

Les tonnerres et les éclairs succèdent au tremblement et embrasent le théâtre.

(Semélé, V 3)

The orchestra's role in such events is, rather as in the Bellérophon example above, to indicate the onset of the cataclysm and often to introduce the group responsible, and then to continue activity for the duration of the ensuing disorder.

The device of giving warning of an imminent arrival or disruption to the characters on-stage has been noted elsewhere in connection with the chorus. A short burst of appropriate orchestral music may perform the same function, the people on-stage reacting to the warning of a forthcoming event, which then duly takes place, or receiving by this device some information about events happening elsewhere.

Lully and Quinault use this expedient sparingly. The arrival of
Glory in the prologue to Alceste is prefigured by a 'bruit de trompettes', recognized by the nymph of the Seine; another announces the arrival of Bellérophon to Stenobée and the king, who are arguing about him (Bellérophon, I 4). Stenobée exits swiftly, uttering threats. The high tones of flûtes douces and solo violins break in on the scene in which the Gorgons and Méduse are portrayed, Persée, III 1, with low strings and their haute-contre, tenor and bass trio of voices. This announces the imminent arrival of Mercury. In Roland, IV 2 Roland, seeking Angélique with whom he believes he has an assignation hears 'un bruit de musique champêtre'. This is, like the Bellérophon example, a few bars of an instrumental number subsequently heard in full, and is the beginning of the village wedding scene, by which Roland learns the truth of Angélique's love for Médor.

These last two examples show Lully and Quinault choosing only very important moments in the dramatic action for this device. On both occasions, the use of the instrumental 'warning' is a significant turning point in the plot, the first culminating in Persée's killing of Méduse, the second in Roland's temporary insanity. Subsequent composers and librettists prefigure arrivals and events somewhat indiscriminately, however, so that the device becomes a commonplace, just another part of the stock-in-trade. Most of the occurrences of these 'warnings' are so similar as not to warrant separate citation, and one or two examples will suffice to show the main ways in which the orchestra functions in this context.

The imminent arrival is frequently a god or allegorical figure: Victory (Thétis et Pélée, Prologue), Venus (Jason, II 1, Idoménée, Prologue), Diana (Iphigénie en Tauride, Prologue and II 2) and so on. Where a group is concerned, the short piece of instrumental music is often the first intimation of the divertissement, for example the arrival of the sailors in Philomèle, V 3, Alcione, III 2 and Médée et Jason, IV 7. Destouches draws out this process somewhat in the first act of Omphale, using no fewer than four instrumental intrusions before Omphale arrives. According to the livret, the trumpeters are practising for the forthcoming fête.

The use of an instrumental prefiguring may allow the people on-stage to be warned of an unwelcome arrival and to beat a hasty retreat if necessary. The 'bruit harmonieux' with which the shepherds announce themselves in Achille et Polixène, III 8 causes Briseis to leave before the divertissement starts, jealous because the celebrations are in
honour of her rival. In Jason, III 5 it is 'pompe éclatante' announcing Hipsipile which gives Jason the opportunity to take evasive action. In Omphale, II 3 'on entend du tonnerre', the warning of the impending arrival of Argine in a jealous rage. Omphale and the crowd exit smartly, leaving Alcide to face Argine. This last example demonstrates a rather more developed form of the instrumental warning and recalls the scene from Persée cited above. Not content with the usual fanfare or few bars of dance, Destouches begins with the running semiquavers which so often mean demons, integrates this movement into the reaction of the chorus, with much use of roulades for 'déchaîné', and concludes with further orchestral semiquavers as Argine makes her appearance.

Marais constructs a scene on similar lines in Alcide, II 5, though with very different materials, for the arrival of the deus ex machina to promise assistance to the lovers Philoctète and Iole. A prélude of flutes and strings is greeted by Philoctète: 'Que j'entends de charmants concerts' and the vocal comments of the two spectators are superimposed upon a continuation of this attractive sound (Example 250).

Similar movements are written by Campra in Alcine, II 1 for the entrance of Melanie riding on a conch shell and for the descent of Venus in Hésione, I 1. An example in Colasse's Enée et Lavinie, IV 4 is even more extended, forming a continuous orchestral movement of 113 bars, in the course of which the usual descending tetrachord chaconne bass is often present, but is treated flexibly. The first eight bars are
scored for pairs of solo instruments (Example 251), after which strings and 'flutes' enter with a slightly extended version of the same music.

![Ex. 251 Enée et Lavinie, III 4](image)

Enée reacts with 'J'entends d'agréables concerts' and goes on to explain that the music means that Venus is about to descend, but his contribution is really subordinate to that of the orchestra which continues in a freely changing variety of six-, five- and three-part textures (the sixth part being the independent line for 'flutes' when Enée is not singing).

d) Atmosphere

As well as describing the feelings and actions of groups and individuals, the orchestra is used to convey general mood or atmosphere, often through the medium of the prélude. One or two examples in Lully's operas stand out, like the 'trio des flûtes et violons' which opens Proserpine, IV and translates us to the Elysian Fields. The ombres heureuses (with at least the flute players playing on stage) have an uninterrupted concert of 70 bars and return during the course of the scene. The scoring here is unusual, being one of Lully's rare uses of a four-part texture. Strings in four parts (using the clefs normally assigned to the dessus, haute-contre, taille and basse de violon, plus basse continue) are joined by flûtes on each of the upper three parts. Passages for this ensemble alternate with others for flûtes alone, with the basse continue doubling the third part. The three-note motif of the first bar plays an important role, and there is (for Lully) considerable use of imitation (Example 252).
Lully uses a three-part texture for the 'ritournelle pour tous les violons' with which he describes the magically beautiful palace of the Sun at the beginning of Phaéton, IV 1 and for the ritournelle which opens Isis, II 1 and describes swirling clouds (see Example 179(a) above).

There are similar examples in the work of Lully's successors, some of the most attractive of which form part of a sommeil and are discussed
in the next chapter. The orchestral piece is not necessarily a long one, but may simply clear the air after evil or magic scenes, often in order to introduce the heroine. Omphale, V I begins with a short, simple prélude for flutes and violins, contrasting with the long soliloquy for the despairing and vengeful Alcide at the end of the previous act. Destouches writes a particularly attractive ritournelle of 28 bars alternating flutes and violins over a chromatic ground bass at the beginning of Omphale, III 1, contrasting the unpleasant events and strong emotions of the previous act with the dignified sorrow of the heroine and also, perhaps, allowing the audience to take in the scene, a colonnade, fountains playing and Omphale's gardens. In a quite different mood, the low-lying prélude to Alcide, III 1 transports us effectively from the charm of the zephyrs' and nymphs' divertissement at the end of the previous act to the 'antre de Théstilis', preparing us for underworld machinations (Example 253).

Ex. 253 Alcide, III 1

Such descriptive pieces are not confined to the opening of an act. Lully uses them for the river Sangar (Atys, IV 5), an enchanted island (Thésée, IV 3) and a cloud (Psyché, Prologue). The prélude to Renaud's air 'Plus j'observe ces lieux' (Armide, II 3) conveys the beauty of the scene as Renaud discovers it, complementing Quinault's evocation of the flowing river, the perfumed air and the shade (Example 254).

Ex. 254 Armide, II 3
One of the longest of these préludes describes Arcalaus as he watches Amadis and works his magic (Amadis, II 3). It is a reflection of the limited resources for descriptive writing that the prélude's portentous, dotted rhythm style could be illustrative either of Arcalaus' enchantments or of Amadis' troubled state of mind.

Symphonies in mid-act are often an adjunct to the transformation scene, an essential element of the tragédie en musique (one of whose direct antecedents was the machine play). Orchestral music at this point could add a musical dimension to the unfolding of the spectacle, and perhaps help to compensate for any deficiencies in the scenery or machines. The symphonies of the transformation scene are similar to other descriptive pieces. One type is ceremonial, for example the opening of Psyché, V 4 during which Jupiter and his palace descend together from the heavens. Another scene which involves a place, this time of Pluto in Alceste, IV 3 is the forerunner of many subsequent descriptions of evil and its purveyors, among them Bellérophon, II 6 (Example 255):

Le jardin disparaît et l'on voit à sa place une espèce de prison horrible, taillée dans les rochers et percée à perte de vue, avec plusieurs chaînes, cordages et grilles de fer qui la remplissent de toutes parts.
The direction 'la scène change, et représente un désert épouvantable, rempli de monstres furieux' in Thésée, III 3 generates the other type of supernatural or sinister description, the energetic (Example 256).

Not all transformations are protracted. In Amadis de Grèce, V 5 'l'antre se change en un palais éclatant, et Zirphée paraît sur un nuage', all this apparently taking place in the course of three ritournelles for flûtes of eight, nine and nine bars. Flûtes also feature in the transformation from desert and precipice to beautiful gardens in Hésione, II 4. In Canente, II 4 it is another palace which appears. The structure of this 'symphonie agréable', with the reactions of the two characters on-stage superimposed, recalls that of Example 250 above.

Many of the spectacular interventions of supernatural forces clearly require scenic effects - buildings catching fire or partially destroyed by an earthquake, for instance - but do not require the complete change of scenery which the true transformation implies. There are some complete transformations along these lines, however. The one in Amadis de Grèce, III 2 has everything:

Des démons volants brisent les ornements de la fontaine, ils déracinent les arbres, et renversent les rochers; l'Amour effrayé s'envole, et le théâtre se change en un enfer.
Destouches settles for vigour rather than horror, the lively imitative quavers reminiscent of Lully rather than of the almost obligatory irregular dotted rhythms and scalic fourishes of other such situations (Example 257).

e) Sound

On occasion, the orchestra is called upon to provide what is actually a sound, in addition to, or rather than, representing something visual or abstract. The most highly developed form of this is the tempête, discussed in the next chapter. Lully largely ignores sounds. Of the 'bruits souterrains' which are supposed to interrupt the prologue to Cadmus et Hermione there is no trace. In the preface to Alceste in the Oeuvres complètes (pp. xx and xxxviii) Prunières refers to one manuscript score (F Pr Vm 12) in which the direction 'on entend aboyer Cerbère' in IV 4 is realized by the provision of chords in four parts, presumably for wordless chorus: these are reproduced at the appropriate point in his edition of the opera (p.254 et seq). The hammer blows of the smiths in Iaste and Psyché have already been referred to (p.366). The first convincing description on any scale comes in the scene in Bellerophon which leads up to the pronouncement of the oracle (III 5). However, it is the sheer activity of the orchestra which suggests chaos, and there seems to be no attempt to illustrate the 'sifflement des airs' by flutes, for example. Similar orchestral writing suggests earth tremors in Proserpine, I 8, and punctuates a chorus in the prologue to Amadís which refers to 'brillants éclairs, bruyant tonnerre', but all these examples show Lully writing suitably rather than imaginatively.

Orchestral descriptions of sound by Lully's successors are usually tied up with the cataclysms with which their plots are beset. A batterie de tambour in the prologue to Enée et Lavinie represents 'un grand bruit de tonnerre qui continue par redoublements jusques à la
fin du prologue'. References to thunder in Omphale, II 3, heralding the arrival of Argine, and Tancrede, I 4 during Isménor's magic, produce the all-purpose lively orchestral writing, but no special colour or effects. Campra uses a little more imagination in Alcine, V 3 as Athlant describes the 'éclairs' and 'bruyants éclats' which signify Mélisse's approach (Example 258), and there is similar treatment of the thunder and lightning which disrupts Alcione, I 3.

The preoccupation with the underworld generates the need for 'bruits souterrains' from time to time. This may be suggested by low scoring (in, for example, Médée et Jason, II 1). The 'bruit souterrain' in Lacoste's Créuse, IV 2 is scored for oboes and strings (with the parties sometimes independent, sometimes in unison), with two separate bass clef lines for basses de violon and 'bassons et basse continue'; it is treated like a tempête (see below, p.426) Marais seems to be after a rather different effect in Semelé, III 4 (Example 259). The dots over the notes (another method of indicating notes égales) drop out as the symphonie continues, but are presumably intended throughout.

Another sound from the underworld actually conveys information rather than simply causing alarm. In Médée, III 7 Médée calls for a response from the 'dieu du Cocyle et des royaumes sombres' to assure her that the underworld is on her side. 'On entend un bruit souterrain', (Example 260) after which Médée declares herself assured of victory.
Not all orchestral sound descriptions pertain to unfavourable winds or earthquakes, however. The story of Pan and Syrinx enacted in Isis, III 3–6 includes the description of the wind blowing through the reeds into which Syrinx is turned as she escapes Pan's advances. One of the debaters in Lecerf's Comparison (II 188–89) speaks of her admiration of the realistic way Lully copies from nature in this piece, with a sighing flute motif between Pan's phrases (see above, Example 21) and
a short chromatic postlude as 'Pan donne des roseaux aux bergers,
aux satyres et aux sylvains qui en forment un concert de flûtes'.
Campra's operas Tancrède and Alcine each include a scene in which sounds
are heard emanating from an enchanted forest. The scene in Tancrède,
III 3 is a long accompanied recitative soliloquy for Tancrède, during
which he sees flames and demons and then hears 'des gémissements et
plaintes qui sortent des arbres' - the simple stepwise movement of flutes
and violins clearly recalls the Isis example (see Example 37). In Alcine
II 1 'la symphonie exprime les plaintes des amants transformés dans la
forêt', eliciting an unusual and attractive piece (Example 261).

Ex. 261 Alcine, II 1

The song of birds is often referred to in the livrets, especially
in pastoral prologues and divertissements. The usual pattern is for
flutes of one kind or another to interject between vocal phrases, for
example in Marthésie, III 2-3, where flûtes alternate with chorus or
orchestra, Philomèle, Prologue, in which a solo flûte accompanies the
air 'Écoutez les oiseaux' and two flûtes punctuate the singer's phrases,
and Manto la Fée, II 4, in which petites flûtes illustrate references
to birdsong in a chorus. In a rather different style, 'Les oiseaux
dans ces bocages' in the prologue to Diomède is a florid accompanied
air in ariette style, birdsong being an obvious and popular subject
for coloratura treatment.

Another sound effect exploited is the echo, usually in the pastoral
context described above. Lully makes use of it as a choral effect (see
above, p.185), though in Alceste, Prologue, an instrumental section
based on the echo chorus follows it. An echo chorus in Méléagre, III 6
uses an instrumental echo to the chorus's phrases. A completely instru­
mental 'air d'écho' in Lacoste's Crèuse, I 3 simply directs the phrases
to be played alternately 'fort' and 'doux' (though this may imply reduced scoring). In Callirhoë, III 4 the instrumental 'deuxième air' has the strings answered by 'flûtes ou hautbois'. Campra in Alcine and Marais in Alcione deftly combine both birdsong and echo effects. The second passacaille in Alcine, III 3 uses sections for full orchestra marked 'fort' and 'doux' as well as flûtes for the birdsong (both echo and birdsong are referred to in the preceding chorus). An accompanied air for Ímole in the prologue to Alcione has instrumental interpolations in which the flûtes copy little arpeggio figures and melismas, perhaps the only attempt to copy birdsong 'realistically' rather than suggest it; the ensuing chorus, using some of the same words, has the echo effects suggested by the orchestra playing 'fort' and 'doux'.

* * * * *

It is in their handling of the orchestra that some of the clearest differences between Lully and his successors are to be seen. A comparison of scores from the 1670s and 1710s, for example, reveals the extent to which the sheer quantity of orchestral music increases. Lully's early operas have quite long stretches of recitative dialogue, three or four scenes at a time, with no ritournelles or orchestral accompaniments. Even in an opera like Armide which has a much heavier orchestral commitment, Lully keeps a balance: while the third act is almost continually orchestrally accompanied, the fourth for the most part involves only the continuo instruments. In the operas written after Lully's death, the orchestra is used not only in accompaniments of all kinds, dances and functional symphonies, but also as an essential adjunct to the action and characterization.

These changes did not all come about at once, of course, nor did they necessarily take place after Lully's death. As with so many aspects of the tragédie en musique, most subsequent developments are foreshadowed in Lully's operas. Later composers adopted and adapted his ideas into their own work. It is the manner of these adaptations and the extent to which special effects are exploited which create differences in balance and emphasis in the later tragédie en musique, and within the limits of the confined, conservative world of the Académie, new resources of orchestral colour and descriptive potential mark a significant
development.

In his earliest works, Lully restricts the orchestra to a largely functional role. At places where the livret suggests violent or spectacular action, there is frequently little or no clue to this in the all-purpose orchestral writing. The orchestra plays its part in supplying dance music, ritournelles and a little chorus accompaniment, but it impinges little on the drama. A narrow range of orchestral resources, conservatively handled, is suggested.

Through its use, from the 1680s, as an accompaniment to recitative and serious air (the prerogative of the main characters) the orchestra begins to be involved in the central action. Much of the time, the fact of the orchestra's presence rather than the nature of its contribution is significant, but on occasion, its descriptive potential is harnessed. With some notable exceptions, like the low scoring of the ombre scene in Amadis or the muted string prélude in Armide it is the nature of the music rather than the instrumental colour which is important to Lully.

Another feature of Lully's later operas has great influence on subsequent composers: his handling of powerful character portrayals such as Méduse (Persée), Arcalaus and Arcabonne (Amadis), Roland and Armide. The orchestra plays a considerable part in delineating character and reinforcing action, strengthening the evil and supernatural elements in the first three and the strength of emotion of the last two. These are the forerunners of many sinister and strong characters in later operas.

Increasingly after Lully's death, the orchestra is called upon to create atmosphere and to effect the changes, chiefly of a disruptive nature, with which the livrets abound. Both in the self-contained instrumental pieces and in accompaniments, composers begin to use resources of colour and timbre, specifying instrumentation more carefully and moving beyond the static harmonies and homogeneous textures of Lully. In the large set-pieces, the oracle and ombre scenes, sommeils and tempêtes, the orchestra plays its most prominent and spectacular role.
NOTES

1 Henry Prunières, preface to Cadmus et Hermione, Oeuvres complètes, Les Opéras, I.

2 From the range of the part, Eppelsheim (p.80) deduces the use of the petite basse de flûte on this part.
i) Oracle and Ombre

An important preoccupation of every tragédie en musique is the external forces which affect both the course of the action and the state of mind of the main characters, whose lives are in the hands of the gods, and whose actions are shaped by the demands of the spirits of deceased relatives or leaders. Sometimes, the god participates in the action directly, as a main character or as a deus ex machina; elsewhere he makes his wishes known indirectly, through the disclosure of oracles, sought or unsought. The spirits or ombres of the departed return to haunt the living, appearing physically on stage or described by one of the characters. The musical treatment of these scenes has distinctive features which can be seen in the work of many composers.

a) Oracle: The word oracle is used in two senses. The first involves the disclosure, upon request, of prophecy or advice to an inquiring mortal, at a sacred place, usually in ambiguous terms. The second sense applies the word more loosely to a pronouncement of doom or straightforward fortune-telling, often uninvited or provided by an underworld agency and greeted by something to the effect of Qu'entends-je? quel funeste oracle!

(Alcione, II 2).

Plots in which the gods participate as main characters in the drama, such as Cybele in Atys or Bacchus in Ariane et Bacchus, are unlikely to employ the device of an oracle, nor is it used except in the very loosest sense in plots derived from chivalric literature, like Roland and Alcine. Quinault's livrets furnish only one example, in Phaéton, but both Psyché and Bellérophon, written for Lully by other librettists, refer to oracles, and later authors employ them liberally, in approximately two-thirds of the operas in the period in question.

The extent to which the action of a tragédie depends on an oracle can vary widely. Sometimes, the oracle has been disclosed even before the story opens, and colours the whole development of the plot. Hippodamie laments the effect on her father of an oracle which has told
him that he will be subjugated to her husband:

Il croit que tout mortel, qui s'empresse à me plaire
Veut le priver de la lumière;
Ou lui ravir un rang dont il est si jaloux.

(Hippodamie, I 2)

Thoas, in Iphigénie en Tauride, has been threatened with death if strangers are allowed to remain on Tauride, and is later given a sharp reminder of this. At the end of Théagène et Chariclée Hidaspe confesses that an oracle disclosed on the day of Chariclée's birth caused her to expose the baby rather than risk a stranger reigning in place of her sons. The basis of the plot is the way in which this oracle is fulfilled.

Usually, however, the oracle is first disclosed during the course of the action. The action of Créuse is entirely centred on the anticipation, disclosure and fulfilment of an oracle referred to in the opening words of the first act. On the face of it, this is a perfectly straight-forward pronouncement, that Idas is the heir to the Athenian empire, but Créuse refuses to believe this. One of the Fates discloses that the son of Créuse by Apollo is still alive and that Idas is not her brother. Poison is prepared for Créuse to administer to Idas, assumed to be an impostor, but in the nick of time, she realizes that he is her missing son; all ends happily. The oracle does not often occupy the entire plot, however. In Thétis et Pélée, act III is concerned with the oracle of Destiny, first refused to Pélée, a mortal, and then disclosed to Neptune. Two other divine oracles consulted are those of Pan (Callirhoé, III 4) and Faunus (Enée et Lavinie, II 3). An underworld oracle, the god of the Styx, is summoned by Hecate in Théagène et Chariclée, III 4 and warns the 'mortels audacieux' that they are liable to become the victims of their own crimes.

Many of the oracles consulted are disclosed through a priestess, who enters into a prophetic trance or fureur at the climax of the invocation. In the course of a temple scene in homage to Apollo (Télèphe, II 3), the oracle's priestess, the Pythia, goes into a state of ecstasy:

Le dieu dont mon âme est saisie
A mes yeux étonnés découvre l'avenir.
Quel éclat! quels honneurs feront briller ta vie!
Avant la fin du jour l'hymen te doit unir
Au destin du Roi de Mysie.

There are similar scenes in Jason, IV 2, La Naissance de Vénus, I 3, Méléagre, II 2, Créuse, II 4 and Télémage, IV 5. The underworld
declares itself through agents in Alcide, III 3, Didon, III 1-2 and Alcione, II 2. Occasionally, one of the main characters is 'possessed': Circe in Ulysse, II 6 has a moment of clairvoyance and Cassandre in Cassandre, V 2 transmits the requested pronouncement from Apollo.

Not all divine edicts are invoked. Those that occur spontaneously are usually unwelcome. Celebrations in honour of Céphale in Céphale et Procris, I 5-6 are cut short by the priestess of Minerva, who declares that the gods disapprove, that Procris must marry Borée and that Céphale must not see her again. Just as Idoménée is about to hand over his throne to his son, Idamante (Idoménée, V 3), Nemesis emerges to condemn the king for believing that he could get round his promise to Neptune to sacrifice the first human being he met in exchange for safe delivery from a storm. At the end of an act set in the vestibule of the temple of Hymen (Philomèle, III) Terée opens the door of the temple, whereupon 'les portes se brisent, la statue de l'Hymen s'envole, la tonnerre gronde, des monstres se répandent sur le théâtre' and voices from within the temple warn that heaven is against Terée and that Hymen will not permit a bigamous marriage to Philomèle (a pronouncement which, while hostile to Terée, is of course most welcome to the reluctant Philomèle).

b) Ombre: Another significant area of supernatural activity concerns ombres, the spirits of long-dead ancestors or leaders, or more commonly, those of characters killed off earlier in the story. These are sometimes invoked to give advice, rather in the manner of the consultation of oracles, but they often appear uninvited and reproach the living. The spirit is not necessarily visible to the audience, but may be seen and described as a vision. Lully's operas feature only one ombre, in Amadis, but spirits appear or are described in well over half the livrets of the next thirty years.

Some of the characters who figure as ombres are dead before the outset of the tragédie but, like Ardan Canile in Amadis, return to influence the actions of the protagonists. Didon appears to Lavinie in Enée et Lavinie, II 5, to warn her that Enée is treacherous; in Didon, it is Didon herself who is visited, by the spirit of her dead husband. Achille, former leader of the Greeks, appears to them and demands the sacrifice of Polixène to appease Thétis and to assure his own repose 'dans l'empire des morts' (Polixène et Pirrhus, I 5).

People who die in the course of the tragédie are not always allowed to disappear. Elphenor, who commits suicide at the end of Circé, III is brought back against his will by Circe to tell her who has been
responsible for his death, so that she can avenge him. Méliasse tries
to enlist the help of the Prince of Thrace, killed by Amadis in the
fourth act of Amadis de Grèce, but his ombre pronounces the end of the
lovers' torments. Diane similarly attempts to manipulate events in
Méléagre through the ombre of Flexippe assassinated by Méléagre.

There are numerous descriptions of the spirits of the dead haunting
the living. In her final scene, Marthésie sees visions of her lover
Talestris and others (Marthésie, V 5); Iphigénie, in Iphigénie en
Tauride, I 1 is haunted by horrible visions:

Dans l'horreur d'une nuit terrible, épouvantable,
A la pâle lueur d'un lugubre flambeau
J'ai vu ma mère, ô spectacle effroyable!
Entraîner mon père au tombeau;
Tous deux sanglants, tous deux enflammés de colère,
M'ont mis un poignard à la main,
Et prête à le lever sur Oreste, mon frère,
Je me sentais forcée à lui percer le sein.

Similarly distressing visions occur to Philomèle (Philomèle, IV 2),
Clitemnestre (Cassandre, I 2) and Calypso (Télémaque, I 3), among
others.

Elsewhere, characters address the departed souls of their relatives
and friends without apparently seeing them. After the news of Patrocle's
death (Achille et Polixène, I 6) Achille swears by his friend's spirit
to avenge the death:

Je cours chercher Hector, je cours hâter sa mort,
Dans l'éternelle nuit son ombre va vous suivre,
Ou moi-même, aujourd'hui, je cesserai de vivre.

When Idoménée is making advances to Ilione (Idoménée, III 2) she swears
by her ancestors that she will not yield to their enemy:

Mânes de mes aieux, trop déplorables ombres,
Ne craignez rien de moi.

6). Musical treatment: Though Lully's operas include only two oracles
and a reference to a third, together with one ombre, most of the
stylistic features of subsequent examples can be seen. There is only
the slightest hint in Psyché, I 2, in which an unfavourable oracle is
related third-hand, as part of a dialogue in recitative (Example 262).
The monotone opening and simple rhythm of the opening phrase of the oracle itself ('Vous allez voir augmenter les malheurs') is developed in Phaéton, I 7-8. Protée, pressed to reveal Phaéton's future is at first reluctant (Example 263(a)) but is eventually persuaded (263(b)).

Other features of this scene are also significant: the long build-up to the scene by the addition of spectacular effects (Protée's transformations) and the recurring rhythmic motif in the orchestral prélude and accompanied recitative (see p.55 and Example 23).

From the point of view of scene construction, the oracle in Bellérophon, III is the prototype of many others. After a few preliminaries in III 3-4, a march ushers in ministers, people and sacrificateur. Prayers are offered for deliverance from a monster, after which favourable signs are observed and celebrations begin. Apollo is called upon (Example 264).
The Pythia, priestess of Apollo, replies while the orchestra describes earthquake and thunder; finally Apollo speaks. At this climactic point, Lully still uses récitatif simple, while later composers are more likely to use accompanied recitative, often illustrated by the orchestral part. In the build-up to the oracle and in the way the priest invokes Apollo, however, this is typical of the formally requested oracles.

The last ingredients of the oracle and ombre scene are to be found in Amadis, III 3, in which the ombre of Ardan Canile appears. The simple rhythms suggested above become an orchestral accompaniment of solid bass crotchets, above which the slow-moving vocal line of the ombre is contrasted with the quavers of Arcabonne, who is being reproached (see Example 24 above). The orchestral register is low, with the dessus de violon notated in the soprano clef. Its part at no point goes higher than c", and mostly lies between c' and g', contributing to the sombre feeling. Lastly, there is the choice of key, C minor (the preceding and succeeding numbers are in F major and C major respectively). Lully makes sparing use of this key, and even less of F minor, but subsequent composers use both more freely, venturing occasionally into B flat minor; later oracle and ombre scenes are more often written in F minor.

Practically every scene involving an oracle or ombre, and many containing only references to one, has musical features related to the ones already described. The first opera which Colasse completed on his own, Thétis et Pélée includes a long temple scene built up like the Bélérophon example, but with the pronouncement of the oracle accompanied by low strings. Enée et Lavinie, II 5, in Colasse's next opera, is an encounter between Lavinie and the ombre of Didon. This is in F minor, again accompanied by low strings, with the ombre's message featuring simple rhythms and a slow-moving melody (Example 265).

Ex. 265 Enée et Lavinie, II 5
In his last opera, *Polixène et Pirithus*, Colasne prefaces the appearance of the ombre of Achille in I 5 with a prélude in F minor, which has an obsessive rhythm

\[ \text{\textit{\textsc{2}}} \]

which continues in the basse continue accompaniment to the ombre itself.

In his first two operas, Desmarets treats the appearance of the ombres of Sichée (*Didon*, V 5) and Elphenor (*Circe*, IV 3) in a similar fashion, with the accompaniment pitched low and a recurring rhythm, respectively

\[ \text{\textit{\textsc{3}}} \]

*Théagène et Chariclée*, his next opera, contains two invocations: the first, in II 5, is in F minor (although the scene opens in B flat minor). Example 266 is the opening of Meroèbe's description of the temple of the Styx, where the oracle is to be consulted.

**Ex. 266  \textit{Théagène et Chariclée, II 5}**

Later, the ombres who appear are addressed in the familiar simple rhythms, the orchestra following the rhythm of the two voices involved:

\[ \text{\textit{\textsc{4}}} \]

The god of the Styx, who appears in III 3 to pronounce the 'underground' oracle, has a repetitive accompaniment:

\[ \text{\textit{\textsc{Trem-blez}}} \]

In *Iphigénie en Tauride*, III 6 Desmarets accompanies the pronouncement of the Ocean with low strings: two instrumental parts in the bass clef are marked 'bassons' and 'tous, basse continue' and are independent of
one another (though much of the time moving in thirds). The rhythm
\[ \begin{array}{c|c}
& J \\
\hline
J & _J_ J \\
\end{array} \]
predominates in the bass parts, and this part of the scene is isolated from the remainder by the use of the key of F minor.

Destouches uses a similar repetitive rhythm in *Amadis de Grèce*, V 3 for the appearance of the *ombre* of the Prince of Thrace. He builds a long scene in *Omphale*, IV out of the revelation of the future to Argine by the *ombre* of Tiresie. Argine sees a vision in which the book of Destiny is opened to her. Destouches includes all the magic ceremonies which lead up to this event, but extends the action by having Argine call upon the 'mânes de Tiresie' and incite the chorus to redouble their efforts to call upon the infernal deities. They succeed, and react as the sky darkens. The key, originally F major, then D minor, switches to F minor for a brief orchestral prélude and the words of the *ombre* in person, so to speak (Example 267).

\[ \text{Ex. 267 Omphale, IV 5} \]

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---
A portentous instrumental introduction to the oracle in Callirhoë, III 4 features a descending chromatic bass and the use of rests (Example 268).

As Calypso (Télémaque, I 3) describes how she has released Ulysse, who is being pursued by Neptune, strings enter as she begins to relate a dream ('Un songe... ah! je frémis quand je me le rappelle!') with an insistent rhythm:

In Marais' first opera, Alcide (written nominally at least in collaboration with Lully's son) it is the build-up to an oracle which is given prominence, rather than the pronouncement itself. As prayers to the underworld divinities become more intense, the key changes to F minor. Strings introduce and accompany Thestilis' introductory line 'Reine, écoute un secret que l'enfer me déclare', but the prophecy itself is disclosed in récitatif simple. References to previous oracles in Ariane et Bacchus, I 4 and II 5 are passed over in recitative dialogue. In Alcione, however, Marais makes more of a point of the pronouncements of Fate. The first, in II 3, is accompanied by the irregular string flourishes often associated with magic scenes and characters. Although the scene begins and ends in E flat major, more chromatic writing marks the point at which the oracle is revealed (Example 269(a)).
A further revelation, via Phosphore, in V 2 opens in familiar style, after an introduction featuring flutes (Example 269(b)).

Out of the most important composers of this period, only Campra does not indulge wholeheartedly in the oracle and ombre scenes, which tend to be treated simply as other serious events. Vestiges of the style of other composers can be seen even in Campra, however. The oracle in Hésione, I 4 is preceded by a prélude marked 'toutes les basses', which continue under the pronouncement which begins with the monotone crotchets seen in Lully's scenes (Example 270).
The description by Iphigénie of visions of her mother and father which begins Iphigénie en Tauride is part of a dramatic accompanied recitative of a type found in dozens of situations, but at the point at which the visions are described, the key switches from F major to F minor; the recitative is accompanied by low strings. In Idoménée, V 4 the pronouncement of Nemesis again has a low-lying accompaniment, but no other particular features; in an earlier scene, III 2, it is the simple rhythms of other examples, here in the orchestra, which support Ilión as she pledges fidelity to her Trojan ancestors (Example 271).

The Pythonisse who reveals the future in Téléphe, II 3 has an accompaniment which has the dessus notated in the soprano clef and a telling use of rests (Example 272).
A few examples from the operas of the minor figures will show just how pervasive the elements of key, low scoring, bland or repetitive rhythms and monotones became; some or all are present in virtually every oracle or ombre scene. In Lacoste's Bradamante, I 3-4 the statue of Merlin is called to life. The key changes to C minor for the prélude as Merlin is summoned by Mélisse (Example 273(a)). A passage for strings alternating with flutes introduces Merlin, after whose first phrase the instrumental bass keeps up a continuous crotchet pulse. The concluding instrumental passage (dessus and bass) is quoted (Example 273(b)).
In the opening scene of the same composer's Creuse, Erectée relates a dream in which he was commanded to hurry to Delphi (where the oracle of Apollo was situated). Example 274 is the first phrase of his narration.

Scylla, di Gatti's only opera, has a scene (III 3) in which the statue of Tiresias comes to life to reveal Dardanus' future; both the F minor tonality and the crotchet rhythms are present.

In Médus, Bouvard prepares for the significant ombre scene by Médée's invocation of the ombre of Thoas in the previous scene, IV 2. Example 275(a) is the beginning of this invocation; 275(b) is the introduction (in F minor) to the ombre's pronouncement in IV 3. This is for 'toutes les basses de violons', who are the voice's only accompaniment.

Salomon introduces a rather similar style into Théoné, I 5 in the course of a dramatic accompanied recitativo, into the midst of whose irregular rhythms comes this passage, in which Apollo appears to his priest, Amphiare (Example 276).
The ombre of Flexippe plays an important role in the plot of Stuck's Mélèagre, in that it is used by Diana to harrass Althée. Its first appearance in IV 4 is preceded by an earthquake, which stops abruptly, giving way to repeated crotchet movement (Example 277).

The composer again features this movement in V 3, in which Althée begs the ombre to stop haunting her, but here the basses de violon fill out the part with quavers (Example 278).
Though the characteristics described appear in a remarkably high proportion of oracle and ombre scenes, one or two such scenes achieve individuality through other means. In *Enée et Lavinie*, II 3, Colasse accompanies the oracle of Faunus by two oboes, in the manner of an *air de basse*, the first use of oboes in the act. Flutes have already been noted in association with Phosphore (*Alcione*) and Merlin (*Bradamante*). Destouches uses them in *Téléméque*, IV 4-5 to characterize the 'grande prêtresse de l'Amour' whose oracle is being consulted, and they also accompany the Pythonisse and her two-part chorus of priestesses in Campra's *Téléphè*, II 3. Her accompaniment in three parts, the upper two for flutes, the lowest for 'violons' in the soprano clef with figures, continues as the oracle speaks, at which point the regular minimis in 2/3 time seen elsewhere (e.g. in Examples 275 and 276 above) are introduced. There is another unusual high-register oracle in Matho's *Arion*, II 5 (1714), whose opening is quoted (Example 279).
It cannot be claimed that there is a single tonality, scoring or style which is applied to oracles and ombres and to no other scenes or situations. Simple rhythms and monotones in vocal line or accompaniment sometimes appear in scenes of homage or prayer to a deity. A low-lying orchestral accompaniment can mark out the evil doings of sorcerers and the like; the key of F minor is associated both with the underworld and with extreme personal distress. Nevertheless, composers do choose by some or all of these means to give their oracle and ombre scenes a special colour and significance. Amid the rise and fall and the natural speech rhythms of recitative, straight crotchets or minims stand out. If the range of the highest part in the orchestral accompaniment is lowered by anything up to an octave, a different sound results. If, at precisely the moment the oracle or ombre speaks or is addressed, the tonality plunges into F minor, the event makes an impact. Composers seized upon the expressive possibilities of this scene with great enthusiasm.

ii) Sommeil

The sommeils are nothing like as numerous as the oracles and ombres, but are particularly interesting in that their influence permeates music outside the tragédie en musique. The first sommeil predates the first French opera by about three years, appearing in the third intermède of Lully's comédie-ballet Les Amants magnifiques (1670) and recycled in Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Baccus, I 5 (1672). The scene includes a 'ritournelle pour les flûtes' and a trio 'Dormez beaux yeux' in C minor (Example 280). No doubt the inspiration for this scene is Italian (Bukofzer points to the trio 'Dormite begli occhi' in Rossi's Orfeo, II 9 in particular) although it is remarkable that at the time of this opera's performances in Paris in March, April and May of 1647, Lully was only fourteen years old. Lully was able to transform the idea into something completely French.

Ex. 280 Les Amants Magnifiques, troisième intermède
The definitive sommeil appears in Lully's fourth opera, Atys, III 4. Dramatically, it is the device by which Cybele intends to convey to Atys the nature of her feelings towards him. She prepares the sommeil well in advance:

Fais venir le Sommeil, que lui-même en ce jour
Prenez soin ici de conduire
Les songes qui lui font la cour:
Atys ne sait point mon amour,
Par un moyen nouveau, je prétends lui instruire.

(II 3).

This scene is particularly tightly organized, and its interest from the structural point of view is analysed in detail in the next chapter (pp. 439-41). It is the first part of the scene which displays the musical features which are to be most significant later.

Example 281 is the opening of the exquisite prélude. The stepwise movement in continuous crochets, slurred in pairs, and the use of strings and flûtes in alternation become characteristic of many later examples.
The \textit{prélude} is unusually long, 67 bars, allowing plenty of time for the right atmosphere to be created. The slurred crotchets move between upper parts and bass, settling in the bass at the entry of Sleep (Example 282).

An air and an \textit{air de basse} for Morphée and Phobétor respectively follow without a break; Sleep's introduction is then repeated, and leads into the trio (quoted as Example 107 above). This clearly resembles the one in \textit{Les Amants magnifiques} in its melody and in the use of pedal notes in the lowest part, but is somewhat more adventurous in the part-writing. With a reprise in full of the \textit{prélude}, we have an uninterrupted musical paragraph of 237 bars at a slow tempo.

Lully and Quinault did not write such an extended sleep scene again, but the idea plays some part in other operas. In \textit{Persée}, III 1-2 Mercury employs the \textit{sommeil} to render Méduse powerless. The \textit{prélude}
for 'deux flûtes douces et deux violons' which precedes Mercury's arrival and continues through the Gorgons' exclamations of surprise shows the crotchet movement and smooth melodic lines of its predecessor. The introduction to Mercury's air 'O tranquille sommeil' conveys something of the same mood with a triplet metre and quaver movement; in this respect, and in the way it returns to punctuate the air, it prefigures the sommeil in Armide, II 3, the prélude to which is quoted as Example 254 and the air 'Plus j'observe ces lieux' as Example 56(a) and (b). After Renaud has been lulled to sleep, disguised demons enchant him and tie him up with garlands, leaving him in Armide's power. The short prélude to their chorus (Example 283(a)) is clearly reminiscent of Atys, and this type of movement is used at greater length and with full strings in the orchestral air during which the enchantment is carried out (Example 283(b)).
There is another triple time flowing symphonie at the beginning of Roland, V 2 when Roland has fallen into a deep sleep after his fureur of the previous act. This attractive piece, marked 'doux' and repeated later in the scene, is associated with the fairy Logistille. In the final section of Protée's monologue in Phaéton, I 5, he expresses the wish to sleep, and the music relaxes into C minor (from C major) with an introductory passage in which the bass descends almost two octaves.

Examples in the operas written after Lully's death draw to a greater or lesser extent on his models. The prologue to Thétis et Pélée opens with 'La Nuit dans son char': a long prélude in continuous crotchets, of which the opening is quoted (Example 284) sets the mood, and is strongly reminiscent of another Lully piece, the opening to the prologue to Amadis, which depicts 'Alquiv et Urgande... enchantés et assoupis avec leur suite' (even if the words are about waking up). In both examples, the crotchet movement of the prélude continues in the bass under the ensuing vocal writing.

The next example, in Desmarets' Circe (1694) is more clearly derivative of the Atys model, and the two are mentioned in the same breath by Lecerf de la Viéville. As with its predecessor, there is an ulterior motive in its instigation: Minerva wishes to shock Ulysse...
into freeing himself from Circe's enchantments. Ulysses is discovered asleep. A *songe agréable* sings of the pleasure of sleep, and is joined by Phobétor and Phantase. Then comes the message: 'Ulisse, il faut quitter ces funestes climats' and a chorus of *songes affreux* warns of the dangers of falling in love with Circe:

```
Une épouvantable mort
Finira ton triste sort
Si tu ne pars en diligence.
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The parallels with *Atys* as far as the action goes are obvious, but there are musical similarities, too. Example 285 is the opening of the scene.

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Ex. 285  Circé, III 3
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The alternation of muted strings over the four bar ground in the bass with flutes over the ground an octave higher in the middle strings in unison continues: there are seven statements of the ground. When the *haute-contre* voice (the *songe agréable*) enters, the slurred crotchets continue in the *dessus*, with the original alternation with flutes recurring between vocal phrases. Phantase's contribution (he is another *haute-contre*) is over a further eight statements of the ground. Example 286 is the opening of the ensuing trio, which again throws us right back to 1670 and *Les Amants magnifiques*.
An abrupt change of mood ushers in the *songes funestes*, whose character air resembles those of other sinister groups. It is then Phobétor's turn to deliver the warning, in *récitatif simple*. The chorus of *songes funestes* is in this instance a unison chorus of basses, accompanied by strings. A second orchestral air is followed by another bass chorus and a reprise of the air. This gives us a plan which resembles strikingly that of *Atys*, III 4, but omitting part 2 (see below, p.440).
In his choice of orchestral style and instrumentation, the use of the trio and the depiction of the *songes funestes*, Desmarets shows his debt to Lully; a less charitable interpretation would be that this comes perilously close to plagiarism by both librettist and composer.

The *sommeil* in Marais' *Ariane et Bacchus*, III 6, which is a play within a play, is not nearly as closely modelled on Lully and Quinault. Despite the appearance of Phobétor and two *songes*, who act the parts of Bacchus and Dirèe in an attempt to trick Adraste into believing that Bacchus is in love with Dirèe, the scene is treated as an overheard pastoral love scene rather than as a *sommeil*, and the prominent use of flutes is the only musical connection with this type of scene. Destouches essays the genre first in his *pastorale héroïque, Issé* (1697) with a pretty prelude leading into a three-part chorus of zephyrs:

*Belle Issé, suspendez vos plaintes,*
*Goûtez les charmes du repos.*

(III 2)

The first act of his opera *Amadis de Grèce* takes place at night, with a prelude of *flûtes* and strings to provide the background for Amadis: *Pendant que le sommeil ferme ici tous les yeux*. His soliloquy in the next scene, in which he seeks the aid of Night and Sleep in escaping from Mélanisse's enchantments, is an accompanied air in a triple metre with *flûtes* playing mostly in parallel thirds in the prelude and instrumental links. The resemblances to Lully's *sommeils* are in the overall impression rather than individual detail, however.

Marais returns to the *sommeil* in *Alcione*, IV 3, in which Sleep is the instrument by which Alcione hears of the death of her husband by drowning. Warning is given of the approach of Sleep through *une*
symphonie fort douce' for strings and flutes. The chorus urges Alcione to yield to the power of Sleep, and as she does, 'le Sommeil, accompagné des Songes, paraît sur un lit de pavots, environné de vapeurs'. This is accomplished during a long symphonie, of which Example 287 is the opening, which may be taken as typical of the operatic sommeils of the period.

There is one further return to the sommeil within the period under review, somewhat later than the rest and, since it was part of one of the many operas which failed, probably not destined to make any great impression. It comes in the prologue to Matho's Arion (1714), and although not developed dramatically, it still includes traces of earlier models, particularly the slurred, stepwise movement and the use of flutes. Example 288(a) is the instrumental opening, 288(b) the beginning of the air into which it leads.
Another fine example of an accompanied air in this style is 'Sommeil qui chaque nuit' from Campra's L'Europe galante.4

In the case of the sommeil in particular, it is valuable to step outside the self-imposed limits of this thesis and see the extent to which the sommeil captured the imagination of composers working in fields outside the operatic one.5 To take a single example from the cantata genre, we have Clérambault's La Muse de l'Opéra (1716), which provides a whistle-stop tour of all the operatic clichés of the time, having as well as a sommeil (no. 7) its own tempête (4) and prélude infernal (8), together with assorted accompanied airs and ariettes.6
The sommeil has the characteristic slurred pairs of crotchets alternating between the upper instrumental accompanying part and the bass, even if they move in thirds rather than stepwise. The prélude to part two of Charpentier’s oratorio *Judicium Salomonis* (1702) uses muted strings and flûtes ('sans hautbois'), slurred pairs of crotchets and the key of C minor. In the instrumental ensemble field, Couperin’s *L’Apothéose de Corelli* (1724) contains a movement, the fifth, entitled ‘Couperin, après son enthousiasme, s’endort; et sa troupe joue le sommeil suivant’. The attractive flowing quaver movement, albeit in a quadruple rather than a triple metre and in broken chord rather than scalar patterns, recalls the Armide type of sommeil rather than the Atys model, but the link is somewhat tenuous, and indeed the first movement of *L’Apothéose de Lulli* (1725) with its scalar crotchet movement (representing 'Lulli aux Champs-Elysées, concertant avec les Ombres') is rather closer to Lully in spirit.7

Moving forward to Rameau we see the strength of the survival of the sommeil in its original form. While the tempêtes and so many other features of Rameau’s scores are virtually unrecognizable when set beside those of Lully, sommeil movements in *Hippolyte et Aricie*, V 3 (Example 289(a)) and *Dardanus*, IV 1 (Example 289(b)) show clear links with Atys.8 This is not to say that either could have been written by Lully (the harmonic language is richer, the part-writing more independent, for example) but that the spirit of Lully remained very much alive, and that the simple, unaffected style of the sommeil epitomized Lully’s quintessential qualities.

Ex. 289 (a) *Hippolyte et Aricie*, V 3

[Music staff notation image]
iii) Tempête

It is in the depiction of the elements that composers after Lully made one of their most original contributions to the tragédie en musique. The tempêtes (and some associated earthquakes and orages) are an extension in scale and scope both of the popular disruptions and of the portrayals of evil groups and individuals discussed in the previous chapter. As such, they stem from the livelier and more imaginative moments of Lully's orchestral writing, but are more than simply longer versions of the same thing. With the possible exception of the virtuoso solo air, the tempêtes
move further away from Lully's models than any other element in the early French opera.

The first tempête occurs in Thétis et Péée, II 7-9. Anthony rightly sees this scene as forward-looking, but does Colasse somewhat less than justice: 'The great musical frescoes of nature in turmoil, the tempests and earthquakes of Rameau, stem from the first timid use of programme music in Colasse's Thétis et Péée'. Looking from the standpoint of Rameau, Colasse may seem tame, but it must be remembered that this opera was produced within two years of Lully's death, and this tempête already looks unlike anything Lully ever wrote.

Colasse's originality in this scene lies in the instrumental figuration: the static harmony and conventional orchestration of the opening passage depicting the onset of the storm resemble closely those of Lully. The directions in the score for the addition of a batterie de tambour in this scene are quoted on p.227. The complexities of the outer parts are, however, considerable, as Example 290, the opening, shows.

Ex. 290 Thétis et Péée, II 7
The low-lying opening and gradual build-up, the tremolando effects and above all the scalic runs, notated in incredibly short note-values, are the main ingredients of any subsequent tempête (defeating, in many instances, the clumsy type-setting of the printers: the tempête in the Ballard full score of Thétis et Pélée, for instance, is engraved).

The first orchestral section of 19 bars leads into a passage in which the chorus's reactions to the raging wind and sea are superimposed on a continuation of the tempête in the orchestra. This in itself is a departure from Lully, who rarely subordinates voices to orchestra for any length of time. At this point, the basse continue and bassoon parts appear on separate staves, the bassoon part being consistently more complicated (Example 291).
Neptune then arrives on the scene - most of the orchestral activity during his recitative is confined to the (now single) bass line, probably still involving bassoons and basse continue. Scalic flourishes in the dessus punctuate his lines and those of Jupiter, who follows him. This scene is succeeded by a further orchestral eruption of the tempête, with the outer parts even more densely packed with notes (Example 292 shows just these outer parts).
The accompaniment to Neptune's tirades against Jupiter is, as before, tremolando in the bass and flourishes in the dessus, but with Mercury's conciliatory replies, the storm abates somewhat. Neptune briefly renews the excitement at 'Ne croyez pas m'imiter', but Mercury calms things down again, and Neptune's final acceptance of his advice marks the end of this vivid and adventurous naturalistic description.

One might have expected a rush to emulate this striking model. Colasse uses the *batterie de tambour* for an earthquake in his next opera *Enée et Lavinie*, but it is not until Campra's *Hésione* ten years later that another *tempête* reaches the stage. However, *Iphigénie en Tauride* begun by Desmarests and completed and staged by Campra in 1704 contains a *tempête* 'de M. Desmarests', so it is this piece, dating from around 1695-96, which is probably the true successor to *Thétis et Pélée*. The *tempête* interrupts a divertissement in III 5, taking place at the palace of Thoas, by the sea. It is only briefly confined to the orchestras; semiquavers in the top part and quavers slurred in fours in the bass introduce Thoas and then an energetic chorus. At the point at which the Ocean is about to emerge, the score indicates that Campra takes over for Triton's 'Que du maître des mers' in which sun, winds and earth are commanded to be still. Campra contrives a gradual cessation of the storm by breaking up the continuous quavers, the accompaniment rhythm subsiding into
before coming to a halt. This is a device to which Campra was to return.

Campra's own first essay in the tempête medium occurs in Hésione, IV 3, opening instrumentally with monotone quavers slurred in pairs in the bass and semiquaver movement in the dessus which begins to impinge on the bass part as well. The accompaniment to Venus's reaction is mostly confined to quavers, with semiquavers bursting out again between phrases. The whole movement is quite short, and when Neptune arrives on the scene, the act continues and concludes as a mixture of lively duets and depictions of the winds which accompany him.

It is with Marais' Alcione (1706) that the promise of further developments from Colasse's prototype is fulfilled. The opening eschews Colasse's protracted build-up, the demisemiquaver runs of the dessus bursting in after just one bar. The bottom part ('contrebasse, bassons, b-c') has monotone quavers, grouped in fours, while the remaining string parts have semiquavers filling out chords. The figuration in the string parts is more varied than in Thétis et Pélée, with a mixture of arpeggios, demisemiquaver runs and tremolando patterns. The lowest part, too, joins in the action. Eventually the running passages in the dessus and basse de violon overlap rather than succeed one another, and the storm subsides temporarily. A chorus ensues, which is lively rather than tempestuous, but the storm resumes under Morphée's recitative 'Ah, je vous perds', with the basse de violon in semiquaver tremolando and the basse continue in quavers (Example 293).

Ex. 293 Alcione, IV 4

Morphée

Ah; je vous perds chère Alcione. Ah, ah, Je vous

Ah, je vous perds, chère Alcione. Ah, ah, Je vous
A short triple time section for the orchestra leads into another chorus and a further recitative, a modified version of the one above. Another choral section is followed by a further recitative, with semiquaver and quaver tremolando keeping the movement going. A final orchestral passage in quavers, marked 'très vite' brings the tempête to an end, and Alcione wakes up.11

With the success of Alcione, the floodgates were open, so to speak, and further tempêtes of various kinds followed thick and fast. A list of these scenes shows just how powerful a stimulus Marais' popular success was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opera</th>
<th>Prologue</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Composer</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Prologue</td>
<td>1706</td>
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<td>Idoménée</td>
<td>II 1</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Campra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idoménée</td>
<td>III 7-8</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Campra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Créuse</td>
<td>IV 2</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Lacoste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Médée et Jason</td>
<td>IV 8</td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>Salomon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arion</td>
<td>III 4</td>
<td>1714</td>
<td>Matho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Théonœd</td>
<td>III 7</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>Salomon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all of these are equally developed; the last, for example, begins like many with 'toutes les basses' leading into a chorus in which an additional bass clef line, marked 'bassons' crosses the other freely. By the time Neptune arrives, the fury has abated, making his command for the winds to cease somewhat superfluous. The tempête in Polixène et Pirrhus, during which 'les flots de la Mer sont agités, il se répand quelques éclairs dans les airs' is far from threatening, and merely heralds the arrival of Minerva. Other examples, however, exploit the possibilities of the form more fully.

Of the major composers of this period, it is Campra and Marais, both of whom have already figured in this discussion, who make the most significant contribution. Marais returns to the style of his previous triumph in his next opera, Semelé, the climax of whose action is the appearance of Jupiter in his godly form, with potentially disastrous consequences for the mortals involved. The partition réduite again
prints two bass parts, the upper marked 'basse continue et basse de violons' and the lower 'contrebasse et bassons'. The usual monotones begin, first as

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \\
\text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \\
\text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \\
\end{array} \]

and eventually

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \\
\text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \\
\text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \\
\end{array} \]

The dessus mostly follows these monotone patterns, until at 'un peu plus vite' it launches into vigorous demisemiquavers against semiquavers and quavers in the upper and lower bass parts respectively. The storm winds down quickly from semiquavers to quavers and then to

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{J} \\
\text{J} \\
\text{J} \\
\end{array} \]

This leads into a choral exclamation and Semelé's reassurances to the people, in accompanied recitative against a menacing

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \\
\text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \\
\text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \\
\end{array} \]

in the contrebasse and bassoons. A further outburst of the tempête brings further choral exclamations, developed into a full chorus with unusually independent parts (see Example 162 above). This resolves into more conventional note-against-note writing against slurred pairs of crotchets in the two bass parts and occasional runs in the dessus, this section being marked 'lentement', after which 'tout fuit et se dérobe à l'incendie'.

Campra's next tempête occurs in Hippodamie, II 4, in the course of which Pelops suffers earthquakes, clouds and strong winds. These begin with an energetic upper string part and two bass lines for basses de violon and bassoons, at first mostly filling out minims and then becoming more independent of each other. Example 294 begins at bar 16, showing typical use of sequence, repetitive rhythms and monotones.

This leads into an accompanied recitative for Pelops, with the accompaniment alternating between 'doux' monotone quavers, and 'fort' arpeggiated chords. The passage quoted above is repeated between two vocal phrases. This movement stops abruptly, as 'le théâtre s'éclaire, les ténèbres se dissipent', illustrated in a strongly contrasting
imitative passage of which the dessus is quoted (Example 295).

The story of Campra's next opera, Idoménée, depends heavily on storms, and is appropriately introduced by a prologue set in the caverns of Eole, god of the winds, which portrays the Aquilons trying to burst their chains (quoted as Example 170). The second act opens with 'une tempête affreuse' and a shipwreck; the instrumental movement opens familiarly (Example 296).

Increasingly active string writing, featuring demisemiquaver runs and arpeggio figurations, leads into the chorus of 'peuples qui font naufrage', who sing note-against-note above a continuation of the tempête in the orchestra. As Neptune rises from the sea at the beginning of scene 2, the flourishes and runs in the accompaniment become more fragmentary, and the storm gradually subsides (Example 297).
Yet another storm blows up in the third act as Idoménée attempts to send his son away rather than sacrifice him. This time it is Proteus who is about to emerge. Another orchestral build-up and chorus reaction leads into a dramatic accompanied recitative for Proteus (III 8). The orchestral movement continues, and the chorus enters again, but the act closes with Idoménée defying the gods with, for the first time in this particular tempête, the usual flurries of activity in the dessus (Example 298). His récit concludes the act.

The other composers who essay the genre all contribute minor variations on the same theme, using roughly the same components but adding individual touches of instrumentation or figuration. Even in the partition réduite format of most scores of this period, the tempêtes are often written out in full, or at least with significant detail. The earthquake in Stuck's Mélée, IV 3 is laid out as follows:

- A divided instrumental part, possibly implying three separate parts, one of which is marked 'arpègement redoublez'
- Two equal upper [violin] parts, in semiquavers
- Voice part (2 short phrases only)
- [Basse de violon]
- Basse continue, playing mostly quaver pedal notes.
This leads into a 'bruit infernal' with upper and middle string parts featuring rushing scales and tremolando. There are two separate 'basse de violon' lines, mostly tremolando, and a line for 'contrebasse et bassons', mostly pedal quavers. This continues under Althée's exclama-
tions, IV 4, coming suddenly to a halt for an abrupt change of mood, briefly restarting and finally subsiding.

Bertin's storm in Diomède, II 5 arises as Venus and Neptune prevent the embarkation for Cythera. A lively duet with a quaver bass for basse de violon and basse continue paves the way for the tempête, scored for strings with two bass parts, 'basse de viole et bassons' and 'basse de violons et contrebas'. At the ninth bar, a 'petite flûte à l'octave en haut' enters with a series of ascending scales and long high held notes against ever more frenzied orchestral movement. The climax is built up through sequences, followed by a cascade of demisemiquavers in all the given parts, which is repeated after a chorus which again features the petite flûte, and refers to 'affreux sifflements'. The 'orage' in Médée et Jason disrupts the divertissement in IV 8 (which features sailors). Its most distinctive feature is the alternation of duple and triple metres. A $\frac{3}{8}$ semiquaver prélude 'pour toutes les basses' leads into an orchestral prélude in 2 ('très vite'), with quaver runs over $\overline{\underline{\textbf{j}}\textbf{j}}$ patterns. Thereafter $\frac{3}{8}$ sections for orchestra alone alternate with 2 sections for orchestra and chorus; only at the very end does the chorus sing in $\frac{3}{8}$, for 'sauvons-nous'.

A familiar situation, that of a magician stirring up evil, is given the tempête treatment by Lacoste in Créuse, IV 2. The 'bruit souterrain' has the by now familiar two bass lines, with the three middle string parts sometimes playing in unison; an unfamiliar addition is an oboe part. This makes use of tremolando semiquavers and scalic flourishes, which punctuate the ensuing recitative, after which the 'bruit souterrain' is repeated in its entirety. The orage in Matho's Arion, III 4 which is unique in being wholly instrumental, is interesting from the point of view of orchestration. The two columns below list the instrumen-
tal parts (a) as in the Ballard printed score of 1714 and (b) as in a manu-
script of the first three acts preserved in F Po (A88b), containing ad-
ditions and corrections;
These are unlabelled in both scores, but are presumably the usual dessus, haute-contre, taille and quinte, with the dessus adopting the usual clef when low scoring is implied.

Les basses de violles
Basses de violles

4 basses de violons
a 5 cordes

4 basses de violons
a 4 cordes

Bassons (this part is labelled on the first page only 'basse de violon a l'octave. Mr de Montéclair Mr Theobald et 2 serpens').

The opening is quoted (Example 299). There is some doubling of parts, the parties de remplissage not being strong enough to sustain individual independent lines: they double among themselves or with dessus or bass as appropriate. These doublings change frequently, however, and give a considerable measure of independence to the inner parts; even this is to some extent illusory.
The tempêtes are interesting as a group because they show an increasing tendency to see the orchestra as having a distinctive role.
in the tragédie, and to construct large-scale movements founded on the orchestra, hitherto essayed only in the chaconne-based divertissements. In Lully's earlier operas, the role of the instruments is to support the singers and emphasize what they do and say, or else to play independently for dancing. Only in the operas written in the last few years of his life does the orchestra begin to make a real contribution in terms of colour and mood, although still only in a small way. As has been seen in other areas, Lully's successors seized on this aspect of the master's work, exploiting the colouristic possibilities of the orchestra in both active and descriptive situations. With the tempête, the orchestra is placed at the centre of events, and composers build up, however primitive-ly, what are for them large-scale movements depending on instrumental sound and technique to stir their audiences. As far as colour goes, the exploration of the bass register noted elsewhere leads to basse de violon, basson, and even contrebasse players taking an active rather than a merely reinforcing role in the texture. Technically, it is in the tempêtes that are seen the proliferation of semiquaver and demisemiquaver patterns, arpeggio figures and tremolando effects displayed in full: certainly composers after Lully demanded more of their orchestral players' technique. Formally, the onset of the tempête, its continuation and periodic resurgence and sometimes its gradual cessation are the binding factors in the construction of scenes involving a mixture of solo and choral forces. The tempêtes of this period remain as one of the most individual features of the tragédie en musique in the interregnum between Lully's death and the point at which Rameau was to take over.
NOTES

1 The label 'L'Oracle de Janus' in the Ballard score (p.65) seems to be an error: Latinus, son of Faunus, has come to a temple in a wood sacred to Faunus to consult his father's oracle.


3 Comparaison, I 64.


8 There were revivals of Atys in December, 1725, February, 1736 and January, 1738, among others.


10 A facsimile of the opening few bars is reproduced in Anthony, French Baroque Music, p.120.

11 This remarkable piece enjoyed a considerable vogue. The Mercure galant of February 1707, p.274 refers to a reprise of the tempête alone, and the Mémoires of De Sourches of 17 February 1711 refer to a performance of the piece 'que le Roi n'avait jamais entendu' at Versailles (both the above are cited in Mélèse, Répertoire analytique, p.217). There is even an arrangement for two violes in Trio de Corelli et Pièces de Marais, 1762 in F Pn, Vm I 1107.

12 See Eppelsheim, Das Orchester, pp.46-49.
PART FOUR

TRAGÉDIE EN MUSIQUE
CHAPTER FIFTEEN

ORGANIZATION ON A LARGER SCALE

Chapters Three to Fourteen of this thesis have surveyed the resources available to the operatic composer and the dramatic conventions with which he had to cope, and shown the ways in which he manipulated resources and conventions to serve dramatic ends. So far, this has been directed for the most part towards single items or relatively short stretches of time. This chapter looks at some ways in which organization on a larger scale is, or appears to be, attempted. The number and length of the operas which fall within this period and, after Lully, the multiplicity of composers and librettists involved make general conclusions hard to draw. Moreover, I would suggest that there is little evidence that composers were greatly interested in a conscious process of organization through musical means. The cohesion of a tragédie en musique stems first and foremost from the art of the librettist. It is perfectly possible, as Girdlestone has done in La Tragédie en musique, to ignore the music and still make a contribution to the study of the genre purely by discussing its literary qualities; the reverse process would be, one suspects, a good deal less valuable. Newman, for example, gives a complete list of scenes in Lully's operas, categorized into 'recitative dialogues', 'recitative monologues' and 'scene complexes' (while making more than one reference to her 'four categories') but she does not draw any conclusions from these lists, if indeed there are any to be drawn.¹

Given the reservations mentioned above, it is proposed to look in this final chapter firstly at groups of scenes and whole acts and secondly at whole operas. The first part concentrates on Lully. From our knowledge of his working methods, his relationship with his librettist and his theatrical background, we may deduce that he had the greatest possible opportunity to determine the structure of the finished product. It is possible to detect in his operas places in which he seems to go beyond word-setting to taking an overview of groups of scenes and using means to unite them which can to some extent be analysed in abstract terms, a process which later composers do not seem to adopt,
or adopt to a negligible degree. In the second part of this chapter, four operas spread across the period 1686 to 1712 are taken as representative and analysed to show their structure.

(i) **Scenes and acts**

Standing as they do at an important stage in the emergence and establishment of the tonal system, Lully's operas might well be supposed to furnish examples of organization by key centre and of the underlining of the drama by shifts of key or by chromatic harmony. These features, however, seem to be present only at a very simple level, if at all, and this must stem from Lully's abhorrence of the Italianate or 'savant'.

Lully's harmony is, on the whole, frankly dull. In her analysis of Lully's harmonic style, Howard isolates some characteristic fingerprints (the minor version of the $g$ on the subdominant, for example), but is forced to the conclusion that his obsession with avoiding Italianate stylistic traits resulted in a harmony characterized by negative qualities and, from the Italian point of view, missed opportunities. Lully was not oblivious of the potential of the use of harmony for effect at key moments, but he is just as likely to ignore such moments elsewhere. Compare Examples 300(a) and (b), which both arise in passages of recitative.

In the first, Psyché is facing death: the strong E flat major perfect cadence in the midst of the constant shifts of tonality in Lully's recitative seems to underline Psyché's courage and defiance admirably. It is disconcerting, therefore, to discover a very similar cadence underlying Lybie's expression of quite opposite emotions in the
latter example.

Lully's recitative passes freely through keys but without truly modulating a great deal. Expressions of defiance, optimism or anger suggest the sharpening effect of a move to the dominant or relative major, while unhappy love, regret or anguish usually bring the flattening effect of a move to the subdominant or relative minor. This recitative exchange illustrates the typically fluid key structure (Example 301, Roland, I 4).

Ex. 301 Roland, I 4

Angélique is resolute, while Médor is pleading, pulling the tonality towards C minor and interrupting the resolution of the B flat cadence with 'Je ne vous verrai plus' and the $\frac{6}{5}$ chord which deflects the key into the minor again. The whole recitative dialogue of which this is a small part begins and ends in G minor, and these temporary shifts occur within the context of this key. Lecerf, of course, contrives to make a virtue out of Lully's fondness for writing whole scenes in one key, unlike the Italians, who

ne peuvent faire deux mesures de chant, qu'ils ne changent de
ton. Quand je vois ces belles scènes d'Armide ou de Thésée,
rouler toujours à merveilles, et d'un air plein, aisé, sur le
même ton, je ne puis m'empêcher de m'écrier: Y avait-il tant
de belles choses dans ce ton seul? 3

Given the antipathy towards both Italianate harmony and modulation, it should come as no surprise to discover that Lully's operas do not
apparently rely on overall tonal schemes. To take one opera, Roland, as an example, we find the keys are as follows:

- **Prologue:** D minor (overture), F major, D minor
- **I:** D minor, G major, G minor, B flat major, G minor, D minor, D major
- **II:** F major, C major, A minor
- **III:** A major, A minor, A major, D major, G major, G minor, G major
- **IV:** C major, C minor, C major, G minor, B flat major
- **V:** G minor, G major, E minor, C major, A minor, C major

With the exception of the prologue, no act ends in the key in which it began, nor do any two acts begin or end in the same key as one another. The list of keys does not show up the disparities in the length of time in which any one prevails. In V 2-3, the music moves from G major to E minor for a prélude and an accompanied recitative, to C major for a prélude and chorus, to A minor for a recitative and back to C major again, in which key it remains; in contrast, the key of A minor lasts throughout II 3, 4 and 5, the last of these being a lengthy divertissement. It is also possible to point to places at which the drama takes a turn which would seem to cry out for a change of key, but where none takes place; perhaps the most obvious point in Roland is in act IV, between the pastoral divertissement and Roland's mad scene. These are sharply differentiated in style, but not in key.

In a few places, however, it is possible to detect a more systematic use of key. Mention has already been made (p.306) of the way in which the use of the key of C minor for the lovers' farewell in Cadmus et Hermione, the only appearance of the key in this opera, invests the scene with extra solemnity and significance. The progression of keys in Persée, IV is a clear one, towards Lully's most 'extreme' key. This is the act in which Persée, victorious over Méduse, returns to be faced with further brave deeds in the rescue of Andromède. The act opens in B flat major, with the chorus rushing off to honour Persée and leaving his rival, Phinée, and rejected sweetheart, Mérope, anything but happy in his success. Scene 2 opens in G minor with their duet, but returns immediately to B flat major for the storm. Scene 3 is entirely in G minor, as the events surrounding the abduction of Andromède by the Tritons are narrated and the people lament her misfortune. With scene 4 we move to C minor as Andromède's distraught parents express their love and distress. They are joined by the chorus at the beginning of scene 5 to deplore the gods'
action against Andromède. Finally, we reach F minor for a ritournelle leading into Andromède's personal expression of despair and courage, 'Dieux qui me destinez une mort si cruelle' (see p.284). The music then works its way out again via F major and D minor to a triumphant D major as the chorus celebrates Persée's victory over the Tritons (IV 6).

Repetition of musical material is an important factor in constructing large-scale scenes. We have already seen it at work in the divertissements, where the reprises of dances or the use of the same music for, say, air and chorus, or dance and duet, help to bind the scene together (see p.330f). The most densely-woven such movements are the chaconne-based divertissements. Unity over other large-scale public scenes such as sacrifices or celebrations is often brought about by the use of the chorus, either restating their own material at intervals or echoing and extending that of their leaders. The sacrifice in Thésée, I[8] illustrates the importance of the chorus's role in this respect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orchestra</th>
<th>Prélude</th>
<th>'Le Sacrifice'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Solo, answered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by petit choeur</td>
<td>+ flutes</td>
<td>Favorable Minerve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo, answered</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le péril</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by petit choeur</td>
<td>+ flutes</td>
<td>Favorable Minerve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Il faut profiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit choeur</td>
<td>Flutes</td>
<td>Chantez tous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td></td>
<td>'La Marche'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priestess</td>
<td>bc recitative</td>
<td>O Minerve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Animez nos coeurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priestess</td>
<td>bc recitative</td>
<td>Souffrez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td></td>
<td>O Minerve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Entrée des combattants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Que la guerre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priestess</td>
<td>bc recitative</td>
<td>Puissions-nous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td></td>
<td>O Minerve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scene of mourning in Alceste, III 5 rests very much on the chorus, who initiate the pompe funèbre with their 'Formons les plus lugubres chants', echo 'O trop parfait modèle', begin 'Rendons hommage à son image' and reiterate 'Alceste, la charmante Alceste, La fidèle Alceste, n'est plus'. Giving way briefly to anger at 'Rompons, brisons'
(where the prevailing C minor becomes temporarily C major), they conclude the scene with 'Que nos pleurs', preceded by a solemn orchestral introduction over a descending ground bass. Voices and orchestra (including flutes) alternate at first, but come together for the closing passage 'Allons porter partout la douleur'.

Another use of the chorus, as the backdrop to an act or group of scenes, has been described above (p.348); the most important examples are the reiterations of 'Vivez, vivez, heureux époux' in Alceste, I 1 and 6 and the sustained combat in Thésée, I 1-3 and 5-6.

The first act of Atys has a slightly different form of construction. Here, the same musical idea is again used several times but is brought rather more to the forefront and is not confined to the chorus or its anonymous leaders. Scene 1 opens with a lively ritournelle, leading into the air 'Allons, allons, accourez tous' for the only character on-stage, Atys: Example 302 (a) and (b) shows the close relationship between ritournelle and air.

Ex. 302 Atys, I

After a short recitative, Atys is joined by Idas (scene 2) and they sing a duet version of the air, Atys repeating his part as before, Idas taking the instrumental bass line. Scene 3 introduces the two female characters, Sangaride and Doris, who have their own duet version of 'Allons, allons accourez tous', now in G major instead of G minor. The melody is slightly modified, but the quaver scalar movement on 'accourez tous' and the 'Cybèle va descendre' motif are identical. During the course of this scene, all four voices come together for a quartet version (Example 314 above), and at the end of the scene, Atys and Idas recapitulate their duet. This is the last appearance of this music (Cybèle finally arriving in scene 8), but perhaps it is not too fanciful to see the influence of the quaver movement of the air in the chorus 'Écoutez un peuple fidèle' in I 7,
which after the opening shows unusual freedom in first the haute-contre part (Example 303) and following this, in the bass part – this is presumably a chorus of which Lully composed all four parts.

Ex. 303 Arys. I7

Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le Qui vous appelle, qui vous appelle
Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le Qui vous appelle, qui vous appelle
Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le Qui vous appelle, qui vous appelle
Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le Qui vous appelle, qui vous appelle

Qui vous appelle, qui vous appelle, Écoutez un peuple fidèle
Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le

Écoutez un peuple fidèle

Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le

Écoutez un peuple fidèle

Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le

Écoutez un peuple fidèle

Écoutez un peuple fidèle

Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le

Écoutez un peuple fidèle

Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le

Écoutez un peuple fidèle

Écoutez un peuple fidèle – le
In this act, Lully uses this unifying motif to create and sustain the atmosphere of expectation required. Of course, how much of the inspiration of the act was Quinault's in providing the same couplet to be set five times can only be guessed, but the possibility of Lully's hand in the construction cannot be ruled out. And if the idea was entirely Quinault's, Lully can certainly be said to have made the most of it.

The majority of the larger structures in Lully's operas are brought about by repetition in some form. 'Form' as such rarely extends beyond the binary or rondeau structure of a single dance or air, the larger ternary structure brought about by the da capo of a chorus or, most monolithic of all, the chaconne-based divertissements (impressive or tedious according to one's point of view). The divertissement in Persée, II, however, seems to show a more calculated formal design. The three scenes, 8, 9 and 10 are entrées for three different groups, offering arms to Persée for his expedition against Méduse. As can be seen from this plan, each entrée is constructed to the same scheme, culminating in a big choral finale:

- Orchestra : Entrée des cyclopes
  Recitative : 'C'est pour vous'
  Air : 'Hâtez-vous'
  Orchestra : Entrée (reprise)

- Orchestra : Entrée des nymphes guerrières
  Recitative : 'Le plus vaillant guerrier'
  Air : 'Que la valeur'
  Orchestra : Entrée (reprise)

- Orchestra : Entrée des divinités infernales
  Recitative : 'Ce casque'
  Air : 'Ce don mystérieux'
  Orchestra : Entrée (reprise)

  Mercury : 'Que l'enfer'
  Chorus : 'Que l'enfer'

The careful balance of these entrées and the rondeau structure of the latter part of the last scene add up to an impressive and rousing conclusion to the act, and build up excitement towards the encounter with the Gorgons in the next act.

The sommeil in Atys, III 4 has already been discussed for its distinctive and influential musical characteristics (see pp. 406-07), but it is a most interesting scene from another point of view. Consciously or unconsciously, Lully appears to go beyond repetition and reiteration in
achieving a unified structure. A plan of the entire scene shows a division into three parts, corresponding to the three phases of the action - the sommeil itself, the songes agréables and the songes funestes.

1) G minor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Musikalischer Abschnitt</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prélude</td>
<td>Le Sommeil</td>
<td>'Dormons tous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morphée</td>
<td>'Régnez, divin Sommeil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phobétor</td>
<td>'Ne vous faites point violence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Le Sommeil</td>
<td>'Dormons tous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trio</td>
<td>Prélude</td>
<td>reprise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) G minor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Musikalischer Abschnitt</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morphée</td>
<td>Trio</td>
<td>'Écoute, Atys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phantase</td>
<td>'Que l'Amour a d'attraits'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>Entrée des songes agréables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phobétor</td>
<td>'Goute en paix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trio</td>
<td>'Mais souviens-toi'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phantase</td>
<td>'Trop heureux' (v.2 of above)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>Entrée (reprise)</td>
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3) B flat major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Musikalischer Abschnitt</th>
<th>Text</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Un songe</td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>'Garde-toi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>'L'amour qu'on outrage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>2e air des songes funestes</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the plan, the first two parts in particular show a closely-knit formal design, with a more systematic use of reprise and related material than in many other examples. This in itself would make this one of Lully's most sophisticated constructions, but there is a further feature which is, as far as I can detect, unique in Lully's output: the use of a recurring melodic motif. Examples 304(a) to (f) are, with the exception of the last, taken from Part 1, and are as follows: a) the opening of the orchestral prélude; b) the first vocal phrase; c) the opening of Morphée's air; d) the upper instrumental part of the air de basse 'Ne vous faites point violence'; e) the opening of the trio (top vocal line); and f) the recitative which opens part 2.
These rising and falling semitones, all but one at the identical pitch, can hardly be coincidental, but how far it is a deliberate ploy is hard to determine. Its effect is to give the first part of the sommeil an even greater cohesion than that already imparted by the continuous movement as described in the previous chapter, and, in the case of 304(f), to ease the transition into the new material of the songes agréables and part 2. That Lully may not have attached any particular significance to this procedure seems to be apparent from his failure to use it to such an extent again (Atys was, after all, only his fourth opera). While the analyst may seize on such evidence of an intellectual rather than an instinctive compositional process, its importance may be over-rated. Nevertheless, this remains a scene of considerable interest.

To look at the integration of musical and dramatic considerations over a somewhat longer time-span, I propose to examine in detail two entire acts, Persée, III and Roland, IV, not to analyse each musical item contained therein, but to try to show how Lully uses his art to sustain and enhance the momentum generated by the events taking place.

Persée, III opposes Méduse and her sister Gorgons with first Mercury and then Persée. The semiquaver prélude which opens the act is lively rather than sinister, suggested perhaps by Méduse's reference to the twining serpents which make up her hair. Méduse's opening accompanied recitative is a surprise: instead of portraying her as evil, Quinault presents her rather sympathetically as she describes the loss of her beauty through the jealousy of Pallas. Following the recitative,
however, the orchestra begins a repeated $3 \updownarrow \updownarrow \updownarrow$ rhythm pattern and with Méduse's first air 'Je porte l'épouvante', the introspection of the recitative disappears and we see her as the sinister figure she now is. The orchestral introduction is repeated, leading into another air 'Les plus grands dieux'. A further orchestral link, with the rhythm now $3 \updownarrow \updownarrow$, leads into the first of the Gorgons' trios, in two sections introduced, separated and concluded by orchestral passages using the dotted rhythm pattern.

The music, then, is unbroken from Méduse's opening recitative to this point, with the orchestra playing a crucial role in linking the three parts of her monologue and the trio sections. It is the orchestra, too, which brings about the sudden change of mood and key (from F major to D minor) with the smooth crotchets of the flûtes douces and violins which prefigure the arrival of Mercury but are used rather less perfunctorily than usual, extending, with the Gorgons' comments, to a continuous movement of 59 bars (see Example 111(a) and (b) above).

Scene 2 is the verbal battle between Mercury and the Gorgons. In accompanied recitative, Méduse offers her services to avenge any wrong Mercury cares to name, but he claims to prefer peace. Thereafter, Méduse and Mercury are clearly characterized through key and orchestration: Méduse has the five-part orchestra and sings in D major, Mercury retains the three-part texture, flûtes douces and D minor of his introduction. Mercury has an air in praise of sleep and urges the Gorgons to succumb. They defy him vigorously (see Example 112) but a return to D minor and the triple time quavers of the sommeil brings about their capitulation, marked by their singing for the only time in Mercury's key.

The orchestra has played almost continuously up to now, working musically to bind the disparate elements together and dramatically in characterizing the participants in the confrontation. It now ceases abruptly, and scene 3 gets down to business with a short recitative dialogue between Mercury and Persée establishing the key of F major. An orchestral prélude moving between $6 \updownarrow$ and $3 \updownarrow$ (a written-out hemiola effect) allows Persée, using his magic bouclier, to decapitate Méduse and stow her head away to take with him. In scene 4, the two surviving Gorgons wake and threaten Persée, describing the monsters which spring up from Méduse's blood in a lively duet which begins imitatively but ends with them singing together with an insistent $\updownarrow \updownarrow \updownarrow$ rhythm. The orchestral depiction of the fantômes (see Example 235) has almost
continuous semiquaver movement and is not unlike a five-part version of the prélude in III 1 (except that two orchestral pieces featuring running semiquavers in F major in Lully are bound to resemble one another). Elements of the style of the entrée punctuate the duet in which the Gorgons urge on the monsters against Persée: the entrée and duet form a continuous movement of 51 bars. Scene 5 is very brief: Mercury urges Persée to leave immediately and renders the Gorgons powerless, sending them down to the enfers.

The act, then, is constructed in three main musical blocks, with scene 5 as a functional tailpiece: Méduse and the Gorgons, unified by the orchestra; Mercury y Méduse, which blends contrasted musical styles, accompaniment and tonality into a convincing whole; and the attempt by the remaining Gorgons to overcome Persée. This last section includes the divertissement, in this case just a single entrée. Presumably, the spectacular nature of the act was felt to be sufficiently diverting in itself; the previous act had, of course, concluded with the extended divertissement described above. The importance of the orchestra's part in welding together the elements in this act has already been stressed; pace and rhythm are also vital. The energetic, repetitive rhythms of the first part of the act yield to the smooth crotchets of Mercury and the flowing triple-time quavers of the sommeil, only for the pace to change again for the rushing semiquavers of the fantômes and monsters. The whole act is tightly and economically constructed, with no extraneous material.

In Roland, IV the divertissement content is much more considerable, but contrives to belong completely to the main action of the tragédie itself. The situation at the beginning of the act is that Roland believes that Angélique is in love with him and that she will shortly come to meet him; in reality, she has promised this to save her true lover, Médor, with whom she has eloped. The first scene is between Roland and one of his knights, Astolfe, who is trying to persuade his leader not to risk defeat by delaying his return to the theatre of war. The scene opens with a typical ritournelle of 16 bars, but its opening melodic figure heard in all three parts in imitation (Example 305(a)) recurs in the basse continue no fewer than seven times and appears in modified versions to open the dialogue (b), part way through the recitative (c) and at the beginning of Roland's first air (d).
Again, one must wonder whether this is unconscious or deliberate. It is easy to find thematic similarities in fragments of Lully's recitative— all those phrases which begin with rising fourths and fifths and the innumerable triadic formulae. It is only when these relationships cross over between recitative and air, or voice and instrument that they may appear to have some significance, but they are usually short-term, like the one line for Astolphe 'Venez couronner votre tête' (Example 306(a)) which is developed in Roland's binary air which follows it: 306(b) and (c) are the opening phrases of each half of the air.

Scene 2, a long soliloquy for Roland, is reproduced in full in Newman's Jean-Baptiste de Lully, pp.191-224. Its key, C minor, is prepared by a move in the last four bars of the previous scene from its prevailing C major to a cadence in G minor. The orchestral prélude which so effectively conveys Roland's calm anticipation, and the opening of his soliloquy, have been quoted above (Example 207(a) and (b)): this passage is like a through-composed air rather than recitative, although one phrase from the middle 'O nuit, favorisez mes désirs amoureux' is repeated to round off the opening section. The orchestra continues,
introducing a new melodic idea alternating between dessus and bass and taken up by the voice ('Que ces gazons sont verts!'). The orchestra continues with the same motif to cover Roland's business as he moves to read some words carved by lovers in the grotto. He expresses the hope that the outcome of his love for Angélique will be as happy as that of these unknown lovers. After the almost unbroken duple metre of the scene so far, the music moves briefly into 3 time for 'Beaux lieux, doux asile De nos heureux amours', but the duple metre resumes as Roland investigates the inscriptions more closely and discovers references to Angélique and Médor. The metre now changes frequently, in normal accompanied recitative style, breaking the relaxed mood of the earlier part of the scene as Roland's peace of mind is troubled by what he reads. Amid his anxious recitative, the words of the inscriptions stand out by being set in a regular triple metre (see Example 208).

The sound of the oboes playing a dance in G major brings a sudden change: this prefigures the arrival of the local inhabitants, whose celebrations Roland stops to watch, putting his suspicions behind him. A long triple-time march at the beginning of scene 3 introduces the village wedding which is to form the divertissement and to parallel the clandestine marriage of Angélique and Médor. The march is taken up as a chorus 'Quand on vient dans ce bocage'. Two menuets follow, the second of which is the oboe piece which broke in on Roland's soliloquy (the prefigured number is more commonly the one which opens the ensuing scene). An entrée marked 'fort gai' leads into a duet in the same style.

Scene 4 introduces the betrothed couple, Coridon and Bélise, and the key of G minor. The oboes' ritournelle is related to the ensuing duet, during which they compare their love to that of Médor and Angélique. In response to Roland's anxious questioning, they tell Roland of Angélique's elopement and, seeing but not understanding his consternation, invite him to sit down and listen to the whole story, which they proceed to narrate in a continuous triple metre, mostly through-composed. Roland, distraught, interrupts - they attempt to continue, but again, his recitative disturbs the serenity of the narrative (Example 307), and the scene concludes with a brief explanation, in recitative, that Angélique and Médor have departed for the nearest port.
With this, we reach scene 5, the key of B flat major and a resumption of the festivities, led by Tersandre, father of Bélide. The chorus briefly takes up his words and music. From Tersandre, who has taken the lovers to the port, Roland learns of their embarkation and, to his horror, is shown the bracelet by which Angélique has rewarded Tersandre — Roland's gift to her. At last, the onlookers begin to grasp the depths of Roland's despair and begin to wonder who he is, commenting in rapid, short exchanges on his appearance and his sighs. Tersandre is unwise enough to attempt to bring comfort by initiating a celebration of the love of Angélique and Médor — his 'Bénissons l'amour d'Angélique, Bénissons l'amour de Médor' reintroduces the regular triple metre and, interestingly, musical material from earlier in the act. Example 308(a) is the opening of scene 4, 308(b) is the duet which follows immediately on Tersandre's solo lead.
The duet is followed by a chorus on the same theme, but this proceeds for a mere six bars before Roland bursts in with an angry 'Taisez-vous, malheureux' and the company flees in terror.

Scene 6 is Roland's mad scene, which falls into three parts; the first for Roland (Example 26) accompanied only by a bass line in continuous quavers; the second a vigorous orchestral prélude as Roland vents his wrath on his surroundings (Example 245); and the third alternating between measured accompanied recitative and orchestral interpolations in the style of the prélude (Example 27) as Roland throws away his arms and suffers hallucinations. His despair concludes the act.

The driving force behind this scene is undoubtedly the situation and the clever interweaving of divertissement and drama. The divertissement not only furnishes Roland with essential information, but is the trigger for his lapse into madness; the participants, uncomprehending, bring this about by their insistence on telling more and more of the story and on celebrating the events they have described. From the musical point of view, there are the melodic relationships described, but a more significant role is played by metre. Virtually everything relating to happy love, beginning with Roland's air 'L'objet qui m'enchant'e is in triple time - the inscriptions concerning the love of Angélique and Médor, the 'musique champêtre' which breaks in and announces the village wedding, the march, chorus, menuets, the Coridon/Béli lose scene and the narrative. This metre, disturbed only when Roland interrupts, is suspended briefly for Tersandre's narrative, but resumes as love is discussed and for the attempt to initiate celebrations in honour of Angélique and Médor. Act IV is the climax of Roland, and demonstrates all the best qualities of the early tragédie en musique.

ii) Whole operas

The selection of just four operas to represent all the others in an investigation of large-scale structure is a difficult one. The ones chosen are not intended to be typical in the sense of conforming most closely to a norm, whatever that might be. They do, however, illustrate a variety of subject matter and treatment. The first is Armide, generally reckoned as the chef d'oeuvre of the Lully/Quinault partnership and highly influential in subject matter, characterization and musical treatment. The selection of the other three has been a combination of
four factors: (a) the date (one opera from each decade after Lully's death) (b) the composer (one opera each by Charpentier, Destouches and Campra, arguably Lully's most talented successors) (c) the livret (it seems only fair to compare Quinault with the best of his successors) (d) the opera's success (admittedly, a crude measure of its quality). These four criteria were not entirely compatible: Omphale has a weaker livret than either Médée or Idoménée, and neither Médée nor Idoménée achieved the number of revivals of, say, Thétis et Thalie or Alcione. The selection is inevitably a compromise, but, I think, a reasonable one. The list then is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opera</th>
<th>Composer/Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armide</td>
<td>Lully/Quinault</td>
<td>1686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Médée</td>
<td>Charpentier/Corneille</td>
<td>1693</td>
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<tr>
<td>Omphale</td>
<td>Destouches/La Motte</td>
<td>1701</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idoménée</td>
<td>Campra/Danchet</td>
<td>1712</td>
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The method chosen in each case is to give a brief synopsis of the plot and then to present a skeletal analysis in tabular form. This is designed to show the number and type of characters on stage, the key centres, the prevailing musical form(s) and the position of the divertissement. An attempt has also been made to indicate the moments of tension and relaxation. From the outline, a short commentary suggests points of interest.

Armide: 'Si vous avez entendu Armide bien exécuté, vous pouvez vous flatter d'avoir entendu le plus beau morceau de musique qui se soit fait depuis quinze ou seize siècles', said Lecerf de la Viéville.4 The opera stayed in the Académie repertoire for seventy-eight years, was revived for the last time in 1764 and was outlived only by Thésée. The story, derived from Tasso, is briefly as follows:

I The victory of Armide over the Christian knights besieging Jerusalem is short-lived, and her prisoners are freed by Renaud, on whom she vows revenge.

II Refusing to return to camp, Renaud is lured to a river-bank where he falls asleep and is tied up with garlands. Armide finds herself unable to murder him, however.

III Armide summons the spirit of Hatred to exorcise her love for Renaud. At the climax of the ceremony, however, she abruptly calls a halt.

IV Armide's spirits in the guise of lovers attempt to lure away the knights sent to bring back Renaud. Armed with magic shield and sceptre, however, the knights prevail.

V Armide leaves Renaud in order to renew her magic powers, ordering her spirits to entertain him. When he sends them away, the two knights
enter and shame Renaud into agreeing to leave with them. Despite Armide's pleas, Renaud is taken away, and, unable to summon the power to destroy him, Armide destroys herself and her enchanted palace instead.

This plot is unusual for a tragédie en musique in that while the underlying theme is love, there are no entanglements outside the central characters, and the conflicts are within and between these two. For Armide, the struggle is between love and hatred, fuelled by wounded pride; Renaud's dilemma is love v duty. The balance of the treatment of these characters is firmly in Armide's favour. The exploration of Renaud's motives and state of mind is comparatively superficial and the resolution of his dilemma is taken out of his hands. While Armide summons outside assistance in the form of La Haine, she dismisses it and takes control of her own fate.

In the following summary, these abbreviations are used:

**Characters:**
- A = Armide
- R = Renaud
- H = Hidraot
- LH = La Haine
- c = confidant
- sec = secondary characters
- s = suite
- div = divertissement characters

**Nature of the action:**
- n = neutral (furthering the plot)
- t = tense
- r = relaxed
- s = spectacular

**Keys:**
An asterisk thus D/Dm* indicates alternations between these keys within the scene.

**Music:**
The prevailing type(s) only -
- bc = basse continue accompaniment
- acc = orchestral accompaniment

_e.g._ V 3 R + sec B flat n bc recitative

This scene, between Renaud and secondary characters, is in B flat major throughout and is mainly and wholly in récitatif simple. It is neither particularly tense nor relaxed.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A, c, c</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>r/n</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative, airs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Above + div</td>
<td>C/Cm</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>divertissement</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Above + sec</td>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>bc recitative</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>duet and chorus</td>
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<td>R, c</td>
<td>C/Cm*</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative, airs</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>A, H</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Gm</td>
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<td>acc air</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>R + div</td>
<td>Gm/G*</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Bm</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>bc recitative, acc air</td>
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<tr>
<td>III 1</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Dm</td>
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<td>acc air</td>
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<td>IV 1</td>
<td>sec</td>
<td>B flat/F</td>
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<td>ensemble, bc recitative</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Am/C</td>
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<td>metrical recitative, duets</td>
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<tr>
<td>V 1</td>
<td>A, R</td>
<td>Cm</td>
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<td></td>
<td>C/Cm</td>
<td>n/r</td>
<td>bc airs, ensemble</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>R + div</td>
<td>Gm</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>divertissement</td>
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<td>R + secs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>G</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>acc recitative, air</td>
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**Key:** Like the scheme of Roland outlined above (p. 435), the procession of keys in Armide seems to show no overall design. One or two choices of key may, however, be significant. Act II, for example, introduces G minor for Renaud's soliloquy 'Plus j'observe' and the subsequent divertissement; the passacaille- based divertissement put on for his benefit in V is in the same key, and recalls the earlier scene's style and mood. The turning point of the opera, Armide's monologue in II 5, marks the only appearance of the key of E minor in the whole opera. Act III, which introduces and disposes of La Haine, pivots on D major/minor, keys which are not used again. Act IV, peopled with new secondary characters, begins in a new key, B flat, which makes one subsequent appearance, in V 3, precisely at the point at which two of these secondary characters arrive to collect Renaud.

**Action:** The pattern of the acts is normally to proceed from a
neutral exposition of the situation, with some underlying tension, to a
tense conclusion, this made possible by the movement of the divertissement
from its end of act position (see above, p.318). There is usually a
further point of tension earlier in the act, for example Armide's confession
of her obsession with Renaud at the end of I 1 and the luring of Renaud to
the magic garden in II 2. The divertissement, of course, affords the
greatest degree of relaxation, Quinault often bringing an abrupt change
of mood by an unexpected ending: the news of the defeat of Armide's
soldiers in I 4, and Armide's dramatic entrance, dagger poised to kill
Renaud, in II 5. The divertissement in III in which the suivants of
La Haine whip up a jealous fury is a spectacular adjunct to the tension of
the situation, but here again there is a surprise ending as Armide sudden­
ly rejects La Haine's assistance. Act IV is the major exception to the
pattern outlined above. Its dramatic function parallels that of III as
an externalization of the conflict within one of the main characters, but
since our interest in Renaud has been little engaged, the link between
this act and the rest of the opera seems tenuous and it lowers the temper­
ature considerably. Significantly, its divertissement is almost non­
existent: the whole act is a kind of divertissement, and its little
pantomime of love's illusions has almost the character of comedy.

Music: One feature of the livret which requires the efforts of the
composer if it is to be fully exploited is change of pace. The most
striking manifestation of this device is at the end of the act, normally
the point of maximum tension, at which in three of the five acts Quinault
builds up to an explosion of rage. Lully matches this with vigorous music.
In I 4, the news of Renaud's liberation of Armide's prisoners stings
Armide and Hidraot into swearing revenge in an energetic imitative duet
'Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas', taken up by the chorus. This is a start­
ning contrast to the recitative and triple time airs and dances which have
prevailed up to now. After the peace of the sommeil and Armide's
hesitations as she fails to murder Renaud, the decision and vigour of the
concluding passage of her monologue is an effective contrast, and similarly,
her other great monologue, the opera's concluding scene, proceeds from
despair to anger and self-destruction. Lully uses the orchestra to whip
up the pace and, after a brief moment of doubt ('Que dis-je? où suis-je?')
the scene continues pell-mell to its cataclysmic ending.

The association of different types of vocal writing with tense or
relaxed situations is clear-cut. A simple air (unlike an aria) usually
marks a lightening of tension, recitative carries the plot along and is used to disclose feelings. The addition of the orchestra is significant, heightening many of the important passages of recitative, but at the other end of the emotional spectrum contributing to the decorating and more relaxed divertissement. The first scene of act I illustrates these associations. Armide's confidants open with happy simple airs; they then try a little harder to convince her in recitative that all is well, leaving the way open for her to explain her sombre mood, also in recitative. More airs from the confidants ensue, but Armide is not to be cheered up, and reveals that she is haunted by Renaud. The orchestra enters for the scene's final section, where she describes the horror of a dream in which she is attracted to him even as he stabs her. Librettist and composer combine to underline the contrasts of mood and the gradual increase in tension in this scene, and such examples can be multiplied throughout the opera.

Musical unity: Any feeling of unity stemming from the music rather than from the unfolding of the plot seems to be chiefly within rather than between acts, each act acquiring some kind of individuality. The character of act I is largely determined by the prevailing triple metre of most of the petits airs in I 1 and I 2 and of the long divertissement in I 3, against which, as has already been pointed out, Armide's accompanied recitative and the alla breve closing duet and chorus stand out in sharp contrast. The style is 'public', with only suggestions of the inner drama which is to come. With act II, we move outdoors, setting, music and mood combining to produce a new dimension. The long central section, the sommeil with its muted strings, determines the mood of the act, but is framed by the machinations of Armide and Hidraot in II 2 and Armide's récitatif simple monologue in II 5. With act III, we are transported to a desert, and the visual and musical character of the act is grotesque and sinister. The act belongs to La Haine and her suite, the vigorous and rhythmio préludes and orchestral accompaniments contrasting vividly with the smoothness of the previous act. Act IV, the least dramatic, has little orchestral accompaniment and is a mixture of airs, metrical recitative and ensembles, mostly rather bland. The setting is indeterminate and fantastic. Act V returns to Armide's enchanted palace, but briefly recaptures some of the pastoral nature of the second act. It is similar in structure to II, with the central divertissement contrasting with the final soliloquy, but here the momentum of the events of the plot
has taken over and the feeling of purely musical (as opposed to musico­
dramatic) coherence is less.

It is perhaps worth pointing out one or two musical ideas which do
seem to recur throughout the opera. A particular melodic motif,
combining Lully's fondness for triadic formulae with that of Quinault for
repeated imperatives, is to be found in several places: these fragments
come from II l, II 5, III 3, III 4 and V 2 (Example 309(a) to (e)).

A reiterated rhythmic pattern in a duple metre, usually 2 \(\frac{\text{J}}{\text{J}}\) \(\text{J}\) \(\text{J}\) also appears in several places. It comes first in association with the
words 'dédains, obéissez nous' in the duet 'Esprits de haine', II 2, then
(with halved note values) in the prélude to III 3, the invocation of La
Haine, continuing in the bass throughout the scene; it appears
sporadically in III 4 (e.g. to the often-repeated words 'Plus on connaî\text{t}

l'Amour'), in the prélude to IV 1 (again with halved note values), and
finally in the prélude which introduces Armide's final act of destruction,
her air 'Traître, attens' where it features in the bass line and in the
prélude which concludes the opera.

Médée: This is, regrettably, the only opera by Charpentier; his
librettist, Thomas Corneille, had been wholly or partly responsible for
two of Lully's operas, Bellérophon and Psyché. The story is as follows:

I Despite reassurances that his interest in Créuse, daughter of
Creon, king of Corinth, is purely for possible political advantage, Médée
suspects Jason of infidelity. Oronte and the Argians arrive to celebrate
an alliance with Corinth; he hopes to marry Créuse.

II On the pretext that his people fear Médée brings misfortune with
her, Creon orders her into exile, while insisting that Jason must stay
and fight for him. The way will be clear for Créuse and Jason. Oronte
arrives to pay court to Créuse.

III About to leave, Médée apprises Oronte of the true situation; they
agree to unite for revenge. Médée makes a final plea to Jason to
accompany her but, still protesting his love for her, he refuses. Médée poisons the dress which she has promised to Créuse.

IV Jason and Créuse declare their love. By a conversation with Jason about an 'unknown' rival for Créuse, Oronte is convinced of Jason's duplicity. Médée threatens dire consequences if Créuse is not given in marriage to Oronte. She uses her powers to turn Créon's guards against one another, and leaves him deranged.

V Médée rejects Créuse's appeals for mercy. News is brought that Créon has killed Oronte and committed suicide. When Créuse utters threats, Médée touches with her magic wand the dress Créuse is wearing, activating the poison. Créuse and Jason bid farewell before she dies, and Médée tells him that she has murdered their children. Pointing out the ruins of Corinth and the palace, she declares herself avenged.

Like Armide, Médée is largely concerned with the character portrayal of one woman with magic powers. The main underlying difference between these women is that while Armide, queen in her own land, is in control of her situation (if not her emotions), Médée, although powerful, is in some measure the victim of the circumstances in which she finds herself. All the main characters around her — Jason, Créon and Créuse — are guilty of duplicity, and it is only when driven to despair that she resorts to magic. Her most horrible act is, however, not magic: so great is her anger that she is driven to murder her own children to punish Jason. The scale of Médée is also much greater than that of Armide, with the fate of peoples and armies at stake and a background of political machinations. Armide's revenge is on herself, Médée's on everything around her.

The abbreviations used are as for Armide, with these amendments:

| M = Médée                     |
| J = Jason                    |
| Cr = Créuse                  |
| Crn = Créuse                 |
| O = Oronte                   |

I 1 M, c F n bc recitative, airs
     t acc air
     n bc air, ensemble

2 M, J, c, c Dm n(t) bc recit, airs, duet

3 J, c Gm n acc air, bc recitative
     G n acc air, off-stage chorus

4 Crn, s, J, c D n bc recit, airs

5 O + above D n bc recitative

6 Above + div D r divertissement (military)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II</th>
<th>M, c</th>
<th>Gm</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>bc recitative, acc air</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B flat</td>
<td>n/t</td>
<td>acc air, bc recitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Crn, M, Cr, c</td>
<td>Gm</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>acc air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Crn, Cr, c, s</td>
<td>C/F</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative, airs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Crn, J, Cr, c</td>
<td>Dm</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>J, Cr, c</td>
<td>Am/A</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative, airs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>O, Cr, J, c</td>
<td>Dm</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative, airs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Above + div</td>
<td>A/Am/</td>
<td>r/n</td>
<td>divertissement (+ bc recit with main characters involved)</td>
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</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>III</th>
<th>O, M</th>
<th>G/Em</th>
<th>n/t</th>
<th>bc recitative, acc air, duets</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>J, M</td>
<td>Am</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative, airs</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>acc air and recitative</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>M, c</td>
<td>B flat</td>
<td>n/t</td>
<td>bc, acc, bc recitative</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Gm</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>acc recitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>M, div</td>
<td>Gm/B flat</td>
<td>t/s</td>
<td>divertissement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>M, div</td>
<td>B flat/Gm/E flat*</td>
<td>t/s</td>
<td>(infernal spirits)</td>
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<tr>
<th>IV</th>
<th>J, c</th>
<th>Dm</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>bc air, recitative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cr, J, c</td>
<td>Dm/D*</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc airs</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>O, J</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative, airs</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>M, O, c</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>n/t</td>
<td>bc recitative, airs</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>M, c</td>
<td>Cm/C</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>acc recitative, air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Crn, M, c, s</td>
<td>F/B flat/Dm</td>
<td>n/s</td>
<td>bc recitative, orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Crn, M, c, div</td>
<td>Dm</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>divertissement (enchantment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Crn, M, c</td>
<td>B flat</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Crn</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>acc recitative</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>M, c</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>n/t</th>
<th>bc recitative, acc recitative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M, Cr, c</td>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative, chorus off-stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cr, c</td>
<td>Cm/C</td>
<td>n/t</td>
<td>bc recitative, chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>M, Cr, c</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>bc recitative</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Cr, c</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>bc recitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cr, J, c</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>n/t</td>
<td>bc recitative, duet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>F/B flat</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>bc recitative, orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>J, M</td>
<td>B flat</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>bc recitative, orchestra</td>
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**Key:** In a little treatise *Les Règles de la composition*, Charpentier set down a list of keys with their associated moods and characters. We might expect, therefore, to find some of his ideas reflected in Médée. Clearly, not every key change corresponds to a particular mood, but it
is perhaps not stretching things too far to pick out Médée's moving central soliloquy, 'Quel prix de mon amour', III 3 in D minor ('grave et dévot'), two uses of C minor ('obscur et triste'), first in IV 5 as Médée fights the feelings of pity within her for the children she is to murder, secondly in V 2-3 for the Corinthians' despair at their fate, and the one passage in F minor ('obscur et plaintif') as Créuse expires in V 6. E flat major ('cruel et dur') is also reserved for one brief passage as Médée invokes the underworld and the orchestra presents its reply (see Example 260). One key which seems to have an association peculiar to Médée is B flat major. According to Charpentier's list, its character is 'magnifique et joyeux', but here, at least, it is associated with Médée at her most furious, with energetic orchestral semiquavers accompanying or following her tirades in III 4, III 6-7, IV 8 and V 7-8.

Action: The patterns of tension and relaxation in Médée and the momentum of the drama are more difficult to pin down than they are in Armide. While Quinault's design, carefully underlined by Lully's music, is to tighten the screw towards the end of each act, with each act a little more tense than the last, Corneille is content with a comparatively slow build-up towards the final climax. The tension is centred almost entirely on Médée's mood, and while, during the first two acts, she is merely suspicious, the pace is slow and the tone guarded. In act III, however, the gloves come off, the emotions are more extreme, and the pressure is much greater. Even the divertissements demonstrate this; those in I and II occupy a staggering forty-five and fifty-three pages respectively in the Ballard full score; III and IV are thirty-two and twenty-eight pages long, and there is no divertissement in V.

It is perhaps divertissements which are the weakest element in Médée. The first is a celebration of an alliance between the Corinthians and the Argians, no more contrived than the average act I divertissement, but prolonged to such an extent as to swamp the tragédie. The second, also lengthy, is the most contrived, being a charade on the well-worn subject of love, enacted in order to persuade Créuse to fall for Oronte. With act III, however, we find the divertissement used as an extension of the spectacular and magic element, as Médée summons underworld assistance to poison the dress: it is, therefore, similar in function to its counterpart in Armide, but without the latter's surprise ending. The fourth divertissement is also concerned with magic, as Médée tries to use her powers to influence events, first by turning Creon's guards against one another and then luring them away with phantoms, a show of force which
Creon tries vainly to resist. The latter two divertissements, associated with the central character, Médée, are a good deal more satisfactory than the first two; again, this is part of the accelerating pace and heightening tension from act III onwards in Médée.

Music: Two of the most striking differences between a dialogue scene in Médée and a comparable one in Armide are firstly the nature of the recitative and secondly the rate of change between types of vocal writing. A much greater proportion of the dialogue is carried on in petits airs, and Charpentier makes considerable use of duets in which the text is introduced and often sung in full by one of the characters, thus adding to the proportion of metrical writing. Within a long scene, the music tends to switch much more rapidly than in Armide from récitatif simple to récitatif mesuré, duet, accompanied recitative or accompanied air, and back again. Like Lully, however, Charpentier tends to reserve the orchestra to accompany the more significant moments in the drama, making telling use of it in the characterization of Médée through her accompanied recitatives (see pp.66-68 above); to a greater extent than Lully, Charpentier relies on the orchestra to generate excitement, whether by dramatic entrances and exits, spectacular action or merely reflections of Médée's furious temper. While Lully confines the element of grotesque magic to act III, Charpentier builds on the atmosphere generated in his third act to carry the momentum towards the climax. Given the limited resources of the period, it is a tribute to Charpentier's powers that he is able to sustain this momentum, and use the moments of genuine pathos to contrast with frenzied activity without slackening the tension. It may also in retrospect suggest that for Lully, an almost unrelated fourth act may not have been such a bad idea.

Omphale: Destouches wrote three operas to livrets by Houdar de la Motte: Omphale is the third of these, and judging by the number of its revivals (and of its parodies) was its composer's most successful tragédie en musique. Typically for its date, it treats a rather less serious subject than those of the other three operas studied, and relies for its impact more on its spectacular and divertissement content than on the tragédie.

1 The victorious Alcide confesses that, in spite of himself, he has fallen in love with Omphale. Iphis, who is also in love with her, warns Alcide to beware of the jealousy of the sorceress, Argine. Omphale orders homage to Alcide, but ignores his professions of love.

II Omphale tells her confidants that she loves Iphis, but tells him only that she loves someone other than Alcide. Iphis declares his love
to Omphale. Alcide presents games in her honour, but these are disrupted by Argine. Alcide protests that the gods are punishing him by making him fall for Omphale, but Argine is unconvinced.

III Argine overhears Omphale lamenting that she cannot declare her love for fear of the consequences, but understands her to be referring to Alcide rather than Iphis. Omphale's birthday is celebrated. Demons enter to bewitch her, and Argine enters with a dagger to kill her, but is disarmed by Alcide. Omphale is borne away as Alcide and Argine quarrel furiously.

IV Alcide tells Iphis that Omphale has spoken of a rival for his affections. Iphis offers to avenge, but the identity of the rival is unknown. Alcide asks Argine to use her magic powers to find out his name. The ombre of Tirésie pronounces that Omphale is to be married at the temple of Love; Alcide is driven to despair.

V At the temple, Omphale expresses the hope that Argine and Alcide can be reconciled so that she and Iphis can be happy—she at last reveals her true feelings to him. Learning that Iphis is his rival, Alcide is about to kill the lovers, but sees a vision of Jupiter, heroically renounces his claim and gives them his blessing. A final scene in which Argine, Armide-like, orders her furies to destroy the temple was suppressed.

O = Omphale
Al = Alcide
I = Iphis
Ar = Argine

met recit = metrical recitative/through-composed air (always bc)

I
1   I
   D n acc air
2   Al, s, I
   D n met recit
3   Al, I
   Dw n/t air, bc recit
   D n met recit, air de basse
4   Al, I, O, s
   D/Dm t/r met recit, divertissement

II
1   O, c, c
   Gm r/n bc airs, duet, met recit
2   I, O, c
   G n met recit
   Em t bc recit, air, bc recit
   G/Gm n airs, met recit, bc recit
3   Al, s, O
   D n bc recit, met recit, airs
   c, c, s
   Dw r divertissement
   Am t chorus (disruption)
4   Ar, Al
   Am t/n/t bc recit, airs, duet
5   Ar
   Am/A t acc air, recit
### Key:  
Comparison with *Armide* and *Médée* shows that Destouches' arrangement of keys and pattern of modulation correspond more closely to that of Lully, with a comparatively narrow range within any one act. (The fact that act I is entirely centred on D/D minor is explained by the trumpet fanfares which recur throughout the act). F minor is reserved, as we might expect, for the appearance of the ombre in act IV, and C minor, the next most 'extreme' key, for the point at which Aloide's murderous rage is tempered by the 'message' from Jupiter. Argine makes her first appearance with the key of A minor, preceded by the chorus of panic which terminates the divertissements in II 3, and her soliloquies in II 5 and III 3 use A and A minor, but the association breaks down after this; the association between Aloide and D/D minor is similarly a loose one, and perhaps both are unintended.

### Action:  
The mixture of tension and relaxation resembles a form of compromise between Quinault and Corneille, being neither as balanced as the former nor as concentrated as the latter. The moments of tension in

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>O</td>
<td><em>Am</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>O, Ar</td>
<td>C/<em>Am/A</em></td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ar</td>
<td>A/<em>Am</em></td>
<td>n/t</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>O, c, s</td>
<td><em>Am/A</em></td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Ar</td>
<td>Dm</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Ar, Al</td>
<td>Dm</td>
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<td>IV</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>I, Al</td>
<td>A</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I, Al, Ar</td>
<td>Am</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ar, div</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ar, Al, I</td>
<td>Fm</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Al</td>
<td>Dm</td>
<td>n/t</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>O, div</td>
<td>G/Gm</td>
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<td>O, I, Al, s</td>
<td><em>Am</em></td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>O, I, Al, s</td>
<td><em>Am/C</em></td>
<td>t</td>
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<td>O, I, Al, s</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>t</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>O, I, Al, s</td>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>t/n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>O, I, Al, s</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>r</td>
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act I (Iphis' warning) and the early part of act II (the dialogue leading to Iphis' declaration) are minor, and it is Argine's eruption onto the scene which injects some life into the proceedings. There are parallels with Armide, in addition to the unused final scene: the scene between Omphale and her confidants, in which they rejoice that all is well and she discloses why she cannot share their feelings corresponds closely to Armide, II 1, and the enchantment of Omphale and the appearance of Argine with a dagger ready to murder her is clearly derivative.

The divertissements, four of them celebratory, are mostly introduced on somewhat flimsy pretexts: homage to Alcide ordered by Omphale, homage to Omphale ordered by Alcide, celebrations of Omphale's birthday, a celebration of Love at the temple; only IV 4, the by now customary scene of grotesque magic, can be said to further the plot in invoking the ombre.

The plot turns on equivocations: the object of Omphale's affections is unknown or misunderstood at different times by Iphis, Argine and Alcide, and this leads to divided loyalties in Iphis, the thwarted murder attempt by Argine and Alcide's final fury and self-sacrifice. Argine's presence allows the element of spectacle and some contrasts of emotion, but on the whole, La Motte's characters are cardboard figures.

Music: Once again, there is an obvious difference between the dialogue scenes in Omphale and those in Armide. This time it is the vast amount of metrical recitative, in the style of the petit air but without the repeat of words or music which give the air its form. When this is coupled with petits airs and airs de basse, the effect is of almost continuous air. It could perhaps be argued that the récitatif simple of the more urgent exchanges is thereby made to stand out, but it seems more likely that the suppleness and rhythmic flexibility of Quinault's verse and Lully's recitative were beyond Destouches, and that he preferred to settle for attractive melody.

The use of the ground bass in this opera, particularly in the soliloquy, has already been mentioned; that is perhaps the reason for one of the comments (from the Chansonnier Clairambault) quoted by Mélèse:

Que dites-vous du tour du chant
Et de la simphonie?
Il n'en est point de plus touchant;
La savante harmonie!

The soliloquies themselves, eight in all, play an important part in Omphale, opening four of the acts and closing two of them. For them, Destouches reserves some of his most attractive music, like the accompanied
airs in I 1, II 1 and IV 1, and some of the most energetic and dramatic, like Argine's rages in II 5 and III 5. The placing of the soliloquies at the beginning of the act, and the nature of their music, places greater emphasis on the opening of the act than is usual in Lully (although act III of Armide, too, begins with a significant soliloquy for the heroine). The importance is primarily a musical one, in that the mood is usually reflective rather than highly charged and that the music is gratifying in itself rather than in the service of the drama. This changes the musical balance within the act somewhat.

At the end of the act, there is some use of the device of an increase of pace, seen also in Armide, and using similar means. Argine's soliloquy in I 5 begins with an echo of Armide's own words:

Il me fuit, et pour lui mon lâche coeur soupire.
(Omphale, I 5)

Le perfide Renaud me fuit
Tout perfide qu'il est, mon lâche coeur le suit.
(Armide, V 5)

She continues with a rondeau air 'O rage, Ô désespoir' which concludes the act in a spirited fashion. The end of act III unites Alcide and Argine, musically if not in sentiment, in a hectic duet expressing rage and fury, just as Armide and Hidraot vow to be revenged on Renaud at the end of act I of Armide.

Like many of the operas of its period, Omphale contains a great many entrées and dances (twenty one in all, with directions for the reprise of four of them) and its success must have owed a good deal to its divertissements. Destouches had enjoyed a considerable success with Issé, a 'pastorale héroïque', in 1697, to which there are several references in the Comparaison which compare its dance music to that of Lully, by no means unfavourably (see Appendix Three); Issé appeared in the year in which Campra's L'Europe galante launched the vogue for opéra-ballet, in which dancing and 'le merveilleux' were paramount.

Idoménée: This is Campra's sixth opera, and the fifth written in collaboration with the same librettist, Danchet. The livret is partly based on a tragédie of 1705 by Crébillon, Danchet retaining some of Crébillon's modifications to the original story and making some changes of his own.6

I After the capture of Troy, Ilione, a Trojan princess has been rescued by and fallen in love with Idamante, son of the Greek king,
Idoménée, who is missing. Electre is also in love with Idamante, but accuses him of betraying the Greeks in liberating Trojan prisoners. Idoménée's 'death' is reported.

II Following a storm, calmed by Neptune, Idoménée reveals that he has bought his people's safety by promising to sacrifice the first person he sees on his return. Idamante arrives: when his identity becomes clear, Idoménée rushes out. Venus, summoned by Electre, orders Jealousy to turn Idoménée against his son.

III Revealing his love for Ilione and his jealousy of Idamante, Idoménée decides to get Idamante out of the way by sending him to accompany Electre to Argos. Ilione rejects Idoménée's advances. The embarkation of Electre and Idamante is thwarted by Protée and a sea monster.

IV Ilione learns that Idamante is to fight the monster. Revealing her love to him, she warns of his father's rivalry. Idoménée sacrifices to Neptune, and on hearing that Idamante has defeated the monster, believes that the god has been appeased.

V The approaching wedding and transfer of power to Idamante are threatened by Electre. Idamante and Ilione are reunited, but the celebrations are interrupted by Nemesis, who pronounces doom on Idoménée. In a state of hallucination, Idoménée kills his son, and restored to sanity, realizes the horror of what he has done.

The story of Idoménée is described by Girdlestone as one of the few 'grands sujets' treated in the tragédie en musique; he regards it as a true tragedy, having the coherence of its classical stage model. The situation is indeed a pathetic one, and uncertainty, despair and fear are the dominant emotions, but Danchet manages to relieve the horror with moments of optimism and happiness without weakening the grip of the main action. A particular theme of the story is misunderstanding, not of the usual tiresome accusations of infidelity type, but situations in which the outcome of an event confuses one of the characters involved (although not the audience). The prime example of this is in II 4, when father and son discover one another's identity, only for Idamante's joy to turn to bewilderment as his father rushes out. The false report of Idoménée's death in the first act and Idoménée's premature rejoicing at what he takes to be the gods' relenting at the end of the fourth add further twists to the story. The jarring note is Idoménée's rivalry with his son for the love of Ilione; as Girdlestone points out, this was an invention by Crébillon taken over by Danchet, but dropped when the livret was reworked by the Abbé Varesco for Mozart in 1780.7
I = Idoménée
Ida = Idamante
N = Neptune
E = Electre

Il = Ilione
P = Protée
V = Venus

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{I} & \text{Il, c} & \text{B♭ major/minor} & \text{n, t, n} & \text{bc, acc recit, bc} \\
2 & \text{Il, Ida, s} & \text{Gm/G} & \text{n} & \text{bc recit} \\
3 & \text{Il, Ida, s} & \text{G/Gm} & \text{r} & \text{divertissement} \\
4 & \text{E + above} & \text{Dm} & \text{t} & \text{bc recit} \\
5 & \text{Sec + above} & \text{Dm} & \text{t} & \text{bc recit} \\
6 & \text{E} & \text{Dm/D} & \text{t} & \text{acc recit, air} \\
\hline
\text{II} & \text{(off-stage chorus)} & \text{F} & \text{s} & \text{tempête} \\
2 & \text{N} & \text{F} & \text{s} & " \\
3 & \text{I, c} & \text{C/Cm} & \text{r/t} & \text{bc recit} \\
4 & \text{I, Ida} & \text{Gm} & \text{n} & \text{bc recit} \\
5 & \text{E} & \text{D/Dm/D} & \text{n/t} & \text{bc recit, acc air} \\
6 & \text{V, E} & \text{Dm} & \text{n} & \text{bc recit} \\
7 & \text{V} & \text{F} & \text{n/t} & \text{acc air} \\
8 & \text{V, s} & \text{F} & \text{s/t} & \text{divertissement} \\
\hline
\text{III} & \text{I, c:} & \text{Dm/D} & \text{n} & \text{bc recit} \\
2 & \text{I, Il} & \text{Am/A*} & \text{n} & \text{bc recit, airs} \\
3 & \text{I} & \text{Em} & \text{n/t} & \text{acc recits, air} \\
4 & \text{I, Ida} & \text{Gm} & \text{n} & \text{bc recit} \\
5 & \text{E} & \text{E} & \text{r} & \text{acc air} \\
6 & \text{E, s} & \text{Am/A*} & \text{r} & \text{divertissement} \\
7 & \text{I, Ida, E} & \text{A} & \text{s/t} & \text{tempête} \\
8 & \text{P + above} & \text{A/Am*} & \text{t} & \text{acc recit, chorus} \\
\hline
\text{IV} & \text{Il} & \text{E} & \text{n} & \text{acc air} \\
2 & \text{Il, c} & \text{Em} & \text{n} & \text{bc recit} \\
3 & \text{Il, Ida} & \text{C/Cm} & \text{n/t} & \text{bc recit, duet} \\
4 & \text{I, Ida} & \text{C} & \text{n} & \text{bc recit} \\
5 & \text{I, s} & \text{Am/A/C} & \text{n/t} & \text{ensemble, chorus} \\
6 & \text{I, c, s} & \text{C} & \text{t/r} & \text{bc recit} \\
7 & \text{I, c, s, div} & \text{C/Cm*} & \text{r} & \text{divertissement} \\
\hline
\text{V} & \text{E, Ida} & \text{Gm} & \text{n/t} & \text{bc recit} \\
2 & \text{Il, Ida} & \text{G} & \text{n/r} & \text{bc recit, duet} \\
3 & \text{I, Il, Ida, s} & \text{Dm} & \text{n} & \text{bc recit} \\
4 & \text{Nemesis + above} & \text{B flat} & \text{n/t} & \text{bc recit} \\
5 & \text{I + above} & \text{B flat} & \text{t} & \text{acc recit} \\
\end{array}
\]
Key: Compared with Armide, there are much more frequent changes of key, particularly of the type alternating tonic major and minor within a scene. Again, the choice of key at certain points may be significant. Especially noteworthy is the fact that the opera opens in B flat, moving within the first scene to B flat minor for a significant accompanied recitative in which Ilione recalls the horror of the storm from which she was rescued by Idamante. The only reappearance of this key centre is at the end of the final act, for Nemesis' pronouncement of doom and for Idoménée's deranged murder of Idamante. The opera, then, comes full circle. The second act is framed by the key of F major, with the tempête in scenes 1 and 2 and the arrival of Venus and the evocation of Jealousy and her suite in scenes 7 and 8. Electre's happy soliloquy in the middle of act III has its own new key, E major, although this is subsequently used for Ilione's 'Retraite solitaire' in IV 1, in a very different mood. In the first two acts, there is an association of Electre with D major/minor (e.g. I 4 and 6, II 5-6), but this is not maintained.

Action: The construction of the plot as regards the creation of points of tension bears remarkable similarities to Armide, with maximum tension at the end of the act in three of the acts, a spectacular manifestation of evil forces in another and a more relaxed act IV ending (even if this proves to be falsely optimistic). An earlier point of tension is also apparent in each act, though very fleetingly in act I. Act III, for example, begins neutrally with dialogue, but there is a sudden increase in tension with Ilione's parting shot in II 2:

Il ne manquerait plus à tes fureurs barbares
Que d'immoler ton fils.

Ilione, of course, does not realize the significance of what she is saying. The anguished soliloquy for Idoménée which follows introduces an orchestral accompaniment for the first time in this act. With the arrival of Electre, happy at the prospect of returning to her homeland, the darkness lightens, and the divertissement continues this mood. A tempête prevents the embarkation, however, and the climax of the scene is the appearance of Protée and a sea monster and Idoménée's brave defiance of the gods. The pretexts for divertissements are reasonable if not particularly subtle, but like Quinault in some of his later livrets and like most of Quinault's successors, Danchet uses the relaxed mood of the divertissement to set up the unexpected ending: Electre's outburst in I, the tempête and arrival of Protée in III, and the pronouncement of Nemesis in V. The ending is, of course, a tragic one, with the deranged Idoménée
killing Idomante before coming to his senses. Girdlestone points out that this is reminiscent of Atys' killing of Sangaride, but lacks the softening effect of the chorus's comments and expressions of grief; he might also have mentioned the ending of Danchet and Campra's earlier success, Tancrède, in this context.

Music: It has already been suggested (see p.49) that Campra's use of récitatif simple approximates more closely to that of Lully than does that of the other composers of this period. Idoménée is perhaps the most extreme example, the quantity of récitatif simple dialogue suggesting Lully's earlier operas rather than Roland or Armide. Idoménée, too, lacks any significant quantity of petits airs or récitatif mesuré, so that the result as far as the dialogue scenes are concerned could hardly be in sharper contrast to the effect of continuous air created by Destouches in Omphale. The austerity of the dialogue scenes throws into sharp relief the spectacle and drama of the tempêtes, the beauty of the soliloquies and the brilliant divertissements: Barthélemy sees Idoménée as representing a conscious attempt by Campra to return to a more dramatic conception of the tragédie en musique. The major new musical factor in Idoménée (by comparison with the other three operas studied) is the da capo accompanied air with its element of display. These are found in the divertissements (the shepherdess's 'Une fleur nouvelle', IV 7, and 'Trompettes, annoncez la gloire' for 'une crétoise', V 3) but not necessarily confined to divertissement characters (Electre's 'Venez répondre', III 6 and 'Aimable espérance', III 6, the latter actually a rondeau, but equally decorative; see above pp.100-06). Those accompanied airs which fall into the tragédie, while relying less on display, are no less impressive, and Campra's use of orchestral colour is varied (see, for example, the soliloquies 'Que mes plaisirs sont doux', III 5 and 'Retraite solitaire', IV 1).

The effect of Campra's approach to Idoménée is to introduce a sharper division between tragédie and divertissement, serious and frivolous, neutral and spectacular than had existed for some time in the tragédie en musique. Perhaps Campra felt the need to define the boundaries between the older form and the new opéra-ballet with which he was scoring greater triumphs: only Tancrède could compare in success with L'Europe galante and Les Fêtes vénitiennes. Idoménée was not a complete failure: it was thought worth reviving (with some reworking) in 1731 and republished in that year, but public taste towards the end of Louis XIV's reign was not in sympathy with Campra's aims in this work.
The impression of the tragédie en musique of the first forty years or so of its existence is of unity or, less kindly, monotony. The formal conventions of prologue and five acts with divertissements, together with similar numbers and types of character, permutations of plot and décor and sentiments expressed combine to give an impression of the same opera repeated fifty times over. Armide, Médée, Omphale and Idoménée, however, show that this superficial impression is an unfair one. While novelty and variety were not cultivated for their own sake, each opera shows something of the particular date at which it was written. Armide, the apogee of its creators' careers, combines a powerful plot with a fusion of all the musical resources at Lully's disposal, handled, we may think, conservatively, but perfectly balanced and subtly moulded. Médée, the product of a more adventurous, and many today would say more gifted composer, was a comparative failure, being thought too Italianate, but showing a trend towards more melodic dialogue and building on the character portrayal of Armide, Charpentier handling the orchestra with more imagination in the service of this portrayal. Omphale further develops the idea of continuous melody, and reflects the contemporary evolution of the opera-ballet. While Idoménée's dialogue and approach to the tragédie recall Lully's models, the invention in the divertissements with their exhilarating dances and ariettes is very much the product of its decade (though perhaps if we were to choose a theatrical work to represent most faithfully the end of Louis XIV's reign and the beginning of the Regency, it would probably be Campra's opera-ballet Les Fêtes vénitiennes (1710) rather than any tragédie en musique).

The tragédie en musique spread well beyond Paris, within and beyond France. Anthony, in surveying the way that opera fared after Lully's death, somewhat exaggerates the theme of disenchantment. The astonishing thing about Lully's operas in the long period of their revival is not how many but how few changes were made in them. Long after the musical idiom had, to our ears, been immeasurably enriched, long after the values of the grand siècle had changed, people still went to hear Lully's operas more or less as he had written them. Comparison of the livrets published for each new production shows that the operas survived with only minor changes for the most part — sometimes so superficial that the old livret could simply be republished with a new title-page and a short list of deletions and substitutions. The livret for the Roland revival of 1743, for example, reuses in this way that of the first performance in 1685. From about this time onwards, however, alterations
in divertissements and the roles of secondary characters become more pronounced, and the last revivals drop the prologues, with their anachronistic homage to a long-dead period of France's history. Still, the cuts accumulated only slowly. A comparison between the reverence accorded to the operas of Lully and to those of Gilbert and Sullivan may seem bathetic, but the parallel is not as ludicrous as it may appear.

It is interesting to note one or two exceptions, however. The 'redundant act' in Isis, act IV, which presents a succession of decorative tableaux but little action, was substantially cut as early as 1704; scenes 3 and 4 (featuring the Chalybes) disappeared together with most of the 'suite des Parques' scene which follows. Isis was one of Lully's most criticized operas, and it is perhaps not surprising to see it treated thus, but Armide, too, one of his most admired, suffered an early cut in the fourth act, and by the time of the 1746 and 1761 revivals, this act was substantially cut and remodelled, at a time when most other operas were only just beginning to be tampered with.

Those operas of his successors which were fortunate enough to be revived at all did not have such a long period of grace. The scores in F Pn, Po and V bear the evidence of much modification, with cuts ranging from a bar or two to whole sections removed or sewn together, sometimes with newly-written numbers to replace them, accompanied airs in a more 'modern' idiom, for example. The air 'Coulez ruisseaux' in the prologue to Idoménée reappears in the 1731 version of the score elaborately reworked with an accompaniment for flute and 'violoncel', while Ilione's pretty soliloquy 'Retraite solitaire', IV 1, disappears to be rewritten as a longer dramatic monologue. Cuts and modifications are, however, more numerous and substantial in a more popular work like Amadis de Grèce. Médée was not revived, but Omphale was, although its revival is mostly famous for the Lettre sur Omphale which it provoked published by a visitor to France, Friedrich Melchior Grimm in 1752. Grimm's criticism of Omphale, sometimes seen as an early manifestation of the Guerre des Bourbons is, as Masson has shown, more properly a late manifestation of the old animosity between the partisans of Lully and of Rameau. Grimm derogates Destouches in order to praise Rameau, and in criticizing the recitative as 'rempli de contre-sens, triste, sans aucune expression, et toujours au-dessous de son sujet', concedes that this is not the general opinion.

One further way in which the popularity of Lullian tragédie en musique may, in a roundabout way, be demonstrated is through the manner
and frequency with which it was parodied. Clearly, the success of a parody presupposes that the audience is thoroughly familiar with the genre or style which is being taken off. As Grout points out, Lully's operas were perfect subjects in this respect. Lully, the most popular composer, was the most parodied, but he was not alone, as the existence of Fanfale, a parody of Omphale, and others testifies. Alongside the Lully cult, there was a healthy streak of demystification and debunking, underlaid by the more serious and prolonged debates on the nature of opera in general and of tragédie en musique in particular which were to be a feature of French musical life for so many years.
NOTES

1 Jean-Baptiste de Lully, pp.145-60.

2 'The Operas of J.-B. Lully', p.113.

3 Comparaison, II 126-27.

4 Comparaison, II 9-10.

5 Le Théâtre et le public, p.274.

6 See Girdlestone, La Tragédie en musique, pp.201-03.

7 Girdlestone, 'Idoménée... Idomeneo: transformations d'un thème 1699-1781', Recherches, 13 (1973), 102-32.

8 La Tragédie en musique, p.205.

9 André Campra, p.112.

10 See, for example, Humphrey Burton, 'Les Académies de Musique en France au XVIIIe siècle', R de M, 37 (1955), 122-47; Léon Vallas, Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon (1688-1789), (Lyons, 1932); J.C.Ayres, 'The Influence of French Composers on the work of Purcell' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Surrey, 1964); Bernard Champigneulle, 'L'Influence de Lully hors de France', RM, 198 (1946), 26-35.


SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The tragédie en musique which emerged in France in the 1670's fused classical French tragedy with the ballet de cour. Under the enthusiastic patronage of Louis XIV, Lully, who had worked his way from dancer and actor to a position in which he could take sole musical charge of a whole ballet, first collaborated with Molière on comédies-ballets and later obtained privileges for an Académie Royale de Musique. His first opera, Cadmus et Hermione, was produced in 1673. His librettist for this and most of his other twelve operas was Philippe Quinault. Quickly assuming a monopolistic position, Lully ruled the Académie with a rod of iron, rode roughshod over all critics and was triumphantly successful.

On his death in 1687, Lully's mantle was assumed by his former secrétaires and others, but public adulation for Lully's operas, the relaxation of his discipline in the Académie and a decline in Royal interest meant that the task of following him was a difficult one. The operas of this period enjoyed mixed fortunes, a few achieving popular success and several revivals, many disappearing almost as soon as they had been produced. Meanwhile, Lully's operas were revived frequently and continued to be venerated as models of balance, good taste and musical purity.

One of Lully's most influential achievements, and one for which he received much praise and criticism, was the declamation of the French language in music. His recitative was exceptionally flexible and sensitive to the nuances of the text. He later added an orchestral accompaniment, but reserved accompanied recitative for dramatically important moments and soliloquies; it did not become the automatic choice for such scenes, however. Later composers, perhaps hampered by inadequate librettists, did not seem to be able to achieve Lully's subtlety in simple recitative, and relied increasingly on accompanied recitative or on a style which resembled continuous air, melodic and metrical.

Most of the airs in Lully's operas are in binary form and accompanied by the basse continue only. Ternary and rondeau forms are sometimes preferred for the main characters' more serious moments. Accompaniments came to be added at about the same time as they were to recitative, but remained subservient to the vocal melody, frequently keeping to the same rhythm. While the petit air remained in existence throughout the period, composers varied in the frequency with which they used it. The major developments came in the accompanied air, both in the nature of the
accompaniment and of the vocal line. Instruments were increasingly specially selected, and elements of vocal display became more important, culminating in the ariette of the divertissements of the end of the period. Side by side went the development of the serious accompanied air, often in soliloquy scenes.

The ensemble was much more significant in the early tragédie en musique than in its contemporary Italian counterpart. Musically, however, it was normally very simple in style, with little use of imitation. A brisk, imitative style of duet usually used in contexts of fury or magic and first appearing in Lully's Amadis achieved some popularity. Later composers sometimes added accompaniments to their ensembles.

The chorus was of central importance to the tragédie en musique. Lully's choruses are mostly homophonic in texture and grand in conception, many featuring the opposition and contrast of grand and petit choeur. While the celebratory choruses of Lully's successors adhere pretty closely to his models, the use of combinations of voices other than the standard groupings was increasingly exploited, often with orchestral accompaniment.

The basic orchestra, using a petit choeur of soloists and a grand choeur based on a five-part string combination, was present from Lully's first opera. It provided overture, préludes and ritournelles and dances. Lully's handling of the orchestra was conservative, favouring homogeneity of sound, but occasionally using effects such as mutes and combinations of wind instruments. His successors, while retaining the basic model, made more use of special timbres, polarizing towards the upper and lower ranges. Dances increased in quantity and variety.

The livret retained the structure of five acts plus prologue, deriving its subjects from mythology, pseudo-history and legend. The quality of livrets written after Lully's death rarely matched that of Quinault. Magic and the supernatural enjoyed a considerable vogue and, following the example of Armide, the tragic and spectacular ending often replaced the celebratory one.

The soliloquy, an increasingly important feature of Lully's operas, was considerably cultivated after his death, and was often used to open an act. The monologues of Armide were particularly influential. The soliloquies contain much of the most attractive and serious vocal music in the operas of Lully's successors.

The basic component of every opera is, of course, the dialogue scene. Functional dialogue scenes in Lully's operas used a preponderance of
recitatif simple, with occasional petits airs, and, in his later operas, accompanied recitative. In some scenes, particularly between lovers, Lully showed some care in the construction of the scene as a whole, but this was rarer among his successors. With many of the later composers, a significant proportion of the dialogue is metrical and melodic; only Campra used Lullian recitative in the proportions of his predecessor.

The divertissement and its attendant dancing and visual entertainment was another fundamental constituent of the French conception of opera. Quinault achieved some success in suspending the action of the tragédie without losing the thread of the drama; some of the librettists who followed him were less skilled at integrating the divertissement into the action. There was a tendency to move the divertissement away from the end of the act, and to make a feature of a surprise ending. The dance element assumed even greater importance after Lully's death.

Lully used the chorus as a powerful and expressive force, and a clear line of development is traceable in his operas. Smaller-scale choruses were integrated into the plot, interacting with the main characters. Later composers, using the special groupings already described, used the chorus as an adjunct to the spectacle, often using the device of prefiguring its arrival.

The orchestra came increasingly into the picture from about 1680 onwards, both in support of the singers and on its own behalf. Many scenes or groups of people were described and characterized orchestrally, and its role in depicting turmoil and supernatural phenomena was a significant one. Three particularly notable types of scene in which the orchestra was prominent were evolved: the sommeil, the oracle or ombre scene and the tempête. Although used to a greater extent after his death, both the first two types had their origins in Lully's operas, but the tempête marked a major advance on his rather conservative handling of his forces.

Organization over longer periods of time is difficult to evaluate. Some scenes and acts in Lully's operas show evidence of a conscious musical process of organization, whether by balanced groupings of individual items drawn together by repetition, by thematic or key relationships or by the creation of an overall mood and style for a particular scene or act. The grand design of a tragédie en musique, however, was firstly the librettist's, and the unfolding of the drama on a larger scale depends mainly on his skills. The better composers could, of course, capitalize on the opportunities afforded to display their skills
in using the music to spectacular or moving ends.

* * * * *

It is customary for the writer of a thesis on any composer lying outside the accepted 'first division' to claim that the man has been misjudged and his music unjustly neglected. From such special pleading, the present writer is not exempt. Lully was a remarkable phenomenon in musical history, an establishment figure who mirrored faithfully the tastes and values of the grand siècle, but to regard him merely as a shrewd politician denies his considerable talent as a dramatic composer. Had he been merely an opportunist with incredible luck, his music and possibly the genre he created would have died out with him. Lully's operas were still being revived after the deaths of Rameau and Handel, not as historical curiosities - it was left to later generations to treat old music in this way - but as satisfying musical and theatrical experiences. Lully remained 'good box office', but could hardly have been so if he had perpetrated the dull music and stereotyped plots of which he has too often been accused.

The period after his death presented his followers with many problems. Lully's powerful grip on the organization and conduct of Académie was gone, and yet the public's familiarity with and enthusiasm for his music and the many revivals of his works ensured that his presence was still very much felt. In such a climate, conformity was safer than innovation, but this meant that, in the field of opera at least, composers had to try to emulate Lully rather than develop in their own way. While none had Lully's all-round experience, monopolistic position or autocratic personality, some had at least as much talent for composition, often demonstrated in other fields (Charpentier, Campra and Marais are the most important of these composers). Such a position was probably extremely unhealthy as far as artistic growth was concerned, but had Lully not laid such strong foundations and received such public adulation, thus ensuring that later composers would aspire to similar achievements, a recognizably French operatic style might well have failed to survive, as composers diversified into fields more in tune with the cultural climate of the day.

Placed as they were in this almost impossible position, it is remarkable that the composers after Lully not only kept the tragédie en musique alive but managed to inject some new ideas and to develop on lines only hinted at by Lully. In their cautious and controversial acceptance of Italian influence in their vocal music, in their handling of the orchestra
and in their enthusiasm for dance and spectacle, these composers had something to add to opera. To ignore the period between *Armide* and *Hippolyte et Aricie* altogether, or to dismiss all its composers as slavish imitators of Lully is to do them great injustice. While Lully and his successors may never achieve the 'first division', it is to be hoped that enlightened revival and reappraisal of their music will yield satisfying and enjoyable rather than merely interesting results.
APPENDIX ONE

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF OPERAS STUDIED

The information given is as follows: Title, Composer, Librettist; Date of first performance; Date of reprises. For operas up to about the turn of the century, the exact date of the first performance is not always certain. Sources consulted in compiling this list are as follows (full publication details are in the Bibliography): Lajarte, Ducrot, Mélèse, Durey de Noirmville, La Vallière; together with the title-pages of some livrets and scores. The title-pages are not as reliable as they might seem, and clearly the score sometimes had to go to press early. The Ballard score of J.-F. Rebel's Ulysse, for example, has the date thus: 'le vingt janvier'. Since the 20th fell on a Saturday in 1703, this is unlikely to have been the correct date, and the 21st or 23rd, dates given in other sources, are more likely. Similarly, the choice between the 25th and 26th March 1699 for the first performance of Amadis de Grèce (the first quoted by Ducrot in the text of her article and by Mélèse, the second by Ducrot in her 'Tableau des spectacles' and by other sources) is made easier when it is realized that the 25th was a Wednesday, and that the 26th was therefore one of the regular performance days at the Académie.

Abbreviations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PP</th>
<th>First performance</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>in Paris</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>at Court</td>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Reprises</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Cadmus et Hermione       | Lully             | Quinault       |
|FP  April 1673 (P)        | R 1674, 1679, 1690-91, 1703, 1711, 1737 |

| Alceste                    | Lully             | Quinault       |
|FP  19 January 1674 (P)    | R 1682, 1706, 1716, 1728, 1739, 1754, 1757 |

| Thésée                     | Lully             | Quinault       |
|FP  11 January 1675 (C)    | R 1677, 1678, 1679, 1688, 1698, 1707, 1720, 1729, 1744, 1754, 1765, 1767, 1770, 1779. |

| Atys                       | Lully             | Quinault       |
|FP  10 January 1676 (C)    | R 1678, 1689, 1690, 1699, 1708, 1709, 1725, 1736, 1738, 1747 |

| Isis                       | Lully             | Quinault       |
|FP  5 January 1677 (C)     | R 1704, 1717, 1732|

<p>| Psyché                     | Lully             | Th.Corneille/Fontenelle |
|FP  19 April 1678 (P)      | R 1703, 1713      |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>FP</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer 1</th>
<th>Performer 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bellérophon</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>January 1679 (P)</td>
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<td>Th. Corneille</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proserpine</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>17/18</td>
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<td>Phéton</td>
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<td>January 1683 (C)</td>
<td>Lully</td>
<td>Quinault</td>
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<td>Amadis</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>January 1684 (P)</td>
<td>Lully</td>
<td>Quinault</td>
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<td>Roland</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>January 1685 (C)</td>
<td>Lully</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>February 1686 (P)</td>
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<td>7/23</td>
<td>November 1687</td>
<td>Colasse (&amp; Lully)</td>
<td>Campistron</td>
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<td>Thétis et Pélée</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>January 1689</td>
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<td>Fontenelle</td>
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<td>Enée et Lavinie</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Fontenelle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alcide</td>
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<td>February/31 March 1693</td>
<td>Louis de Lully/Marais</td>
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<td>Desmarets</td>
<td>Saintonge</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Charpentier</td>
<td>Th. Corneille</td>
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<tr>
<td>Céphale et Procris</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>March/4 April 1694</td>
<td>Jacquet de la Guerre</td>
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<td>October/11 November 1694</td>
<td>Desmarets</td>
<td>Saintonge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thésègne et Chariclée</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Desmarets</td>
<td>Duché</td>
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<td>Jason</td>
<td>6/15/17</td>
<td>January 1696</td>
<td>Colasse</td>
<td>Rousseau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ariane et Bacchus</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>February/8 March 1696</td>
<td>Marais</td>
<td>St Jean</td>
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La Naissance de Vénus  
FP 1 May 1696
Colasse  
Pic

Méduse
FP 13 January/19 May 1697
Gervais  
Boyer

Vénus et Adonis
FP 17 March/3 July 1697
Desmaret  
Rousseau

Amadis de Grèce
FP 26 March 1699
Destouches  
La Motte

Marchésie
FP 29 November 1699
Destouches  
La Motte

Canente
FP 4 November 1700
Colasse  
La Motte

Hésione
FP 21 December 1700
Campra  
Danchet

Scylla
FP 16 September 1701
Di Gatti  
Duché

Omphale
FP 10 November 1701
Destouches  
La Motte

Médus
FP 23 July 1702
Bouvard  
La Grange

Tancred
FP 7 November 1702
Campra  
Danchet

Ulysse
FP 21/23 January 1703
Rebel  
Guichard

Iphigénie en Tauride
FP 6 May 1704
Desmaret/Campra  
Duché/Danchet

Alcine
FP 15 January 1705
Campra  
Danchet

Philomèle
FP 20 October 1705
Lacoste  
Roy

Alcione
FP 18 February 1706
Marais  
La Motte

Cassandre
FP 22 June 1706
Bouvard/Bertin  
La Grange

Polyxène et Pirrhus
FP 21 October 1706
Colasse  
La Serre

Bradamante
FP 2 May 1707
Lacoste  
Roy

Hippodamie
FP 6 March 1708
Campra  
Roy
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<td>Semélé</td>
<td>9 April 1709</td>
<td>Marais</td>
<td>La Motte</td>
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<td>24 May 1709</td>
<td>Stuck (Batistin)</td>
<td>Jolly</td>
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<td>Diomède</td>
<td>28 April 1710</td>
<td>Bertin</td>
<td>La Serre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manto la Fée</td>
<td>29 January 1711</td>
<td>Stuck</td>
<td>Menesson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idoménée</td>
<td>12 January 1712</td>
<td>Campra</td>
<td>Danchet</td>
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<td>Créuse</td>
<td>5 April 1712</td>
<td>Lacoste</td>
<td>Roy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callirhoé</td>
<td>27 December 1712</td>
<td>Destouches</td>
<td>Roy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Médée et Jason</td>
<td>24 April 1713</td>
<td>Salomon</td>
<td>'La Roque'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Téléphe</td>
<td>23/28 November 1713</td>
<td>Campra</td>
<td>Danchet</td>
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<td>Arion</td>
<td>10 April 1714</td>
<td>Matho</td>
<td>Fuzelier</td>
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<tr>
<td>Télémaque (et Calypso)</td>
<td>15/22/29 November 1714</td>
<td>Destouches</td>
<td>Pellegrin</td>
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<td>Théonée</td>
<td>3 December 1715</td>
<td>Salomon</td>
<td>'La Roque'</td>
</tr>
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</table>
1 Some of the Ballard scores seem to have been issued with an error on the title-page, and bear the date 1695 (e.g. otherwise identical copies of F V have this discrepancy). There is no doubt that 1696 is the correct date, and this correction has been made in the card index of F Po, for example.

2 Scylla was quickly restaged in a revised version on 20 December 1701.

3 This opera was left incomplete by Desmarests when he fled the country. It was completed by Campra with the help of Danchet, who wrote a new prologue. The score of 1711 indicates the passages contributed by each composer.

4 According to the printed catalogue of F Pn, this was a pseudonym of Abbé Simon-Joseph Pellegrin, author of Télémaque; biographical sources treat the two separately, but give similar origins and dates for them (see Appendix Two below), which makes the suggestion that they were one and the same person plausible.

5 The discrepancy is explained by the Parfait brothers (quoted in Lajarte) by the fact that the opera, originally commissioned for the 15th according to the livret and the 22nd according to the score, was postponed until the 29th because of the illness of one of the actresses.
APPENDIX TWO

THE COMPOSERS AND LIBRETTISTS

(1) Composers

BERTIN de la DOUÉ, Thomas  
 b. Paris, c.1680  
d. Paris, 1745

BOUVARD, François  
b. Lyons, c.1683  
d. Paris, 1760

CAMPRA, André  
b. Aix-en-Provence, 1660  
d. Versailles, 1744

CHARPENTIER, Marc-Antoine  
b. Paris, c.1645-50  
d. Paris, 1704

COL(L)ASSE, Pascal  
b. Rheims, 1649  
d. Versailles, 1709

DESMARETS, Henri  
b. Paris, 1662  
d. Lunéville, 1741

DESTOUCHES, André Cardinal  
b. Paris, 1672  
d. Paris, 1749

GATTI, Théobaldo di  
b. Florence, 1650  
d. Paris, 1727

GERVAIS, Charles-Hubert  
b. Paris, 1671  
d. Paris, 1744

LACOSTE, Louis de  
b. ?, c.1675  
d. ?, mid 1750s

LA GUERRE, Elisabeth Claude Jacquet de  
b. Paris, 1669  
d. Paris, 1729

LULLY, Jean-Baptiste  
b. Florence, 1632  
d. Paris, 1687

LULLY, Louis de  
b. Paris, 1664  
d. Paris, 1734

MARAIS, Marin  
b. Paris, 1656  
d. Paris, 1718

MATHO, Jean-Baptiste  
b. Brittany, 1660  
d. Versailles, 1746

REBEL, Jean-Féry  
b. Paris, 1666  
d. Paris, 1747
SAŁOMON, Joseph-François  
b. Toulon, 1649  
d. Versailles, 1732

STUCK, Jean-Baptiste (otherwise BATISTIN)  
b. ?Florence, ?Livorno, 1680  
d. Paris, 1755

(ii) Librettists

BOYER, l'abbé Claude  
b. Albi, 1618  
d. ? , 1698

CAMPISTRON, Jean Galbert de  
b. ?Toulouse, 1656  
d. Toulouse, 1723

CORNEILLE, Thomas  
b. Rouen, 1625  
d. Andelys, 1709

DANCHET, Antoine  
b. Riom, 1671  
d. Paris, 1748

DUCHE de VANCY, Joseph-François  
b. Paris, 1668  
d. Paris, 1704

FONTENELLE, Bernard le Bouvier de  
b. Rouen, 1657  
d. Paris, 1757

FUZELIER, Louis  
b. Paris, 1672[?4]  
d. Paris, 1752

GUICHARD, Henri  
b.  
d.

JOLLY, François-Antoine  
b. Paris, 1662  
d. Paris, 1753

LA GRANGE-CHANCEL, François-Joseph  
b. Périgueux, 1677  
d. Périgueux, 1758

LA MOTTE, Antoine Houdar de  
b. Paris, 1672  
d. Paris, 1731

LA ROQUE, Antoine de  
b. Marseilles, 1672  
d. Paris, 1744

LA SERRE, Jean-Louis-Ignace de  
b. Cahors, c.1662  
d. Paris, 1756

MEN(n)ESSON,  
b. ?  
d. ?

PELLEGRIN, Simon-Joseph  
b. Marseilles, 1663  
d. Paris, 1745
PIC(QUE), l'abbé Jean
   b. ?                  d. ? c.1712

QUINAULT, Philippe

ROUSSEAU, Jean-Baptiste

ROY, Pierre Charles

ST. JEAN, ? 3
   b. ?                  d. ?

SAINTONGE, 4 Louise Geneviève Gillot, Mme de
NOTES

1 Henri (or Henry) Guichard achieved notoriety through a court case arising from an alleged intention to poison Lully; this is all bound up with the acquisition of the privilege for the Académie, and is discussed in Newman, Jean-Baptiste de Lully, pp. 48-49.

2 See Appendix One, note 4.

3 Menesson and Saint-Jean appear to be known only by the appearance of their surnames on the title pages of their livrets, although Durey de Noinville (p.237) says that Menesson died in Paris in 1742.

4 Variously spelt Sainctonge, Xaintonge.
APPENDIX THREE

CITATIONS OF OPERAS AND BALLETS IN THE 'COMPARAISON'

This appendix details the references to ballets, comédies-ballets, opera-ballets and tragédies en musique in Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville's Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française found in Parts I and II (III being largely concerned with sacred music). An explanation of the form of the Comparaison is necessary in order to make sense of some of the comments pertaining to the work in question. The major component of its first two parts is a series of six dialogues: these are imaginary conversations between 'M. le Chevalier de...' (the author) and others. In the first dialogue, the Chevalier encounters his cousin, the Comte du B... and his wife at a provincial performance of Campra's Tancredë. They begin to debate the Parallèle des Italiens et des Français en ce qui regarde la Musique et les Opera by 'M. l'Abbe R.' (Raguenet).2 Raguenet was a severe critic of French opera, declaring himself in favour of the Italian style. The Comte is cast in the role of the Abbé's defender, the Chevalier is the ardent Francophile and the Comtesse hovers in between. The second and third dialogues continue their debate over supper after the performance. Part II of the Comparaison contains three further dialogues, involving, of course, the Chevalier, the 'Marquis d'E... ', the Comtesse and a Mademoiselle M... , who takes over the role of Italian partisan. The remainder of parts I and II of the Comparaison, or at least those portions which yield the information in question, is in the form of letters from the Chevalier on various aspects of his case against Raguenet and his championing of Lully.

A dire vrai, Lecerf ne prouva pas la supériorité de la musique française sur la musique d'outre-monts, il défaut l'abbé Raguenet. La défense du parallèle fut pitoyable. Raguenet ne trouvait à critiquer chez Lecerf que des détails orthographiques.3

The polemical nature of the Comparaison must be taken into account in assessing the picture it presents of public taste and particularly of the life and work of Lully. The biographical detail it yields, especially in dealing with Lully's working methods and his relationships with his librettist and performers, is most valuable. From consideration of the works and the airs from them which crop up in the 'conversations', we gain some insight into those aspects of Lully's work which were most
highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and some assessment of the crop of relative failures which followed his death. The Chevalier's prejudice against all manifestations of Italian traits in the music explains the use of apparently neutral vocabulary in contexts of censure: a scene or number which appeals to the 'savant' is liable to be sneered at by Lecerf as 'travaillé' or 'rempli de science'. In general, the number of citations of Lully's works and the tone of the comments reflect roughly the popular critical judgement of them as shown in their revivals. Armide, Lecerf's avowed favourite, and Thésée are well represented, Psyché and Bellérophon hardly at all. The major surprise, perhaps, is the neglect of Alceste, which was still being revived in 1757.

Turning to the other composers and works represented, we see the popularity of works outside the tragédie en musique genre: ballets and their related forms, by both Lully and the next generation, are well represented. With the later works, the comment is often in the form of a comparison with Lully, but not always to the detriment of the other composer. It should also be mentioned that the debates are by no means confined to music, and that frequent references are made to both contemporary and classical literary figures, Lecerf being something of a classical scholar. Side by side with this erudition, the Comparaison includes verses written by Lecerf to fit airs and dances by Lully and others, together with the text of an 'idylle en musique', L'Innocente (II 40-56). The whole is a strange mixture, affording a glimpse into the lives and minds of a certain section of Lully's public.

Citations in the Comparaison are mostly made in the form of the opening words of a vocal number: I have where necessary supplied or corrected the act and scene numbers, and have added the more usual form of certain titles (e.g. for the Idylle sur la paix which Lecerf calls by its alternative name, the Idylle de Sceaux). The name 'Lully' is abbreviated to L. throughout.

1) Lully: tragédies en musique

Cadmus et Hermione

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pro.</th>
<th>Heureux qui peut plaire</th>
<th>II 77</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peut-on mieux faire</td>
<td>II 78</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Examples of numbers based on lines of 2, 2½ and 3 feet.
Je vais partir, belle Hermione

This scene, the 'adieux', shows that L. is 'naturel et expressif' in his word setting, its simplicity contrasting with the complexities which an Italian composer would have introduced. This is 'le plus beau morceau de Cadmus'.

Gardons-nous bien d'avoir envie

One of several trios composed by L. whose three parts are of equal beauty.

Si je ne fais qu'un vain effort

The Comte quotes these orders from Cadmus to his henchman, Arbac, as an example of the unnatural effect of setting ordinary dialogue to music (picking up a quotation from Saint Evremond). The Chevalier concedes the unrealism of such situations, but avows that 'cela est devenu vraisemblable et naturel par l'usage'. (see also Armide, [I 4].)

Invocations, sacrifices and the like (such as III 6) in this and other operas 'aident fort à la variété'.

Est-on sage

This air from Psyché is mistakenly assigned to Alceste.

Pour les plus fortunés

An 'air à boire', a type unknown to the Italians.

Frions, prions la Déesse

This scene, and the role of the 'grande Prêtresse' is 'rempli d'une science, qui le fait estimer aux savants, malgré sa froideur'.

Rendons graces aux dieux

This quartet, (a single phrase) is one of the few in French opera. It is a 'duo doublé'.

Que vous êtes ingénieuse

L. is criticized for allowing a crude word like 'difficultés' to remain in the text.

Doux repos, innocente paix

Princesse, savez-vous ce que peut ma colère

Eglé ne m'aime plus

Lecerf describes these scenes (of which he quotes the opening words) as being admired alike by the people, the connoisseurs and the 'savants'.
Cruelle, ne voulez-vous pas
Faut-il voir contre moi

These scenes are loved by the people. Lecerf does not hesitate to prefer these to 'Prions, prions la Déesse' (see above).

Ah, faut-il me venger

This soliloquy is the beginning of a chain of scenes which 'remplissent le cinquième acte d'une manière qui attache de plus en plus l'esprit et le cœur des auditeurs'.

Les plus belles chaînes

One of Li's many duets 'd'un goût exquis'.

No Italians have matched the 'marches et symphonies guerrières' in Thésée.

Thésée is the only opera to rival Armide in its construction, each act surpassing the one before.

The last act is very fine, but few remain for the divertissement, getting up to leave after 'les plus belles chaînes' [V 5].

Whole scenes unfold in the same key: 'y avait-il tant de belles choses dans ce ton seul?' Italian composers are unable to write two bars of chant without changing key (this applies also to Armide).

Atys

Dans un bois solitaire et sombre

This demonstrates elision in the French language.

Quels honneurs, quels respects
Allons, allons, accourez tous

These quartets (which are actually one continuous movement) are described as 'des duo doublés'.

Sangaride, ce jour est un grand jour pour vous

To place such a fine scene so early in the opera 'inspire à l'auditeur des mouvements qui s'affaiblissent nécessairement ensuite'.

Quand on aime bien tendrement

The Marquis picks this as one of his favourite bass airs (it is assigned to Celœnus, using the baritone clef).

Sommeil

The reference appears to be to the opening symphonie: 'rien n'est au dessus', nothing that the Italians could do, anyway.
III[8] Espoir si cher et si doux II 140

The Marquis picks this as his favourite haute-contre air, although in the opera it is actually assigned to a female character, Cybèle.

Atys is 'l'opéra du Roi'.

The use of a divertissement, chaconne or passacaille to conclude an opera is criticized as weak: 'on s'en va sans les entendre'.

Isis

Heureux l'empire I 79

The orchestral accompaniment to this chorus, which features trumpets, is 'd'une beauté singulière'.

[I 6] Il est armé du tonnerre I 23

This chorus demonstrates L.'s use of roulements, which Lecerf describes as moderate.

III 6 Helas! quel bruit [lqu'] entend-je? II 188

The symphonie to this air, Pan's lament, is effectively painted from nature.

IV[7] Le fil de la vie I 70 & II 299

This is the 'trio des Parques', 'que [L] estimait tant lui-même'. Lecerf himself regards it as 'un des plus parfaits morceaux de science', and expresses his preference for 'deux cents morceaux d'expression qui touchent la multitude'.

V 1 Terminez mes tourments II 139

The Countess chooses this as her favourite air by L.

'Isis, le plus savant de tous, sans contredit, a été un de ceux qui a eu le moins de succès... et est encore un des moins aimés'.

Isis is 'l'opéra des musiciens'.

Psyché

Est-on sage II 78

This divertissement air (mistakenly assigned by Lecerf to Alceste) is composed of lines of 2, 2½ or 3 feet.

[I 2] Deh, piantate al pianto mio I 93

Rispondete a miei accenti II 185

These are two parts of the 'plainte italienne'. L. banned Italianate elements from 'la belle
plainte'. Lecerf attributes the florid second section to Lambert, describing it as a 'petit double', 'placé pourtant à la honte de L.'.

Some musicians are criticized as being more ready to name the key of an air from Armide or Psyché than to declare that 'un de ces opéras est ravissant, l'autre [Psyché] fort médiocre'.

Bellérophon

Invocations, sacrifices etc. (in this opera, III 4) 'aident fort à la variété'.

Proserpine

Pro.

On a quitté les armes

An example of a fine orchestral accompaniment to a chorus.

I 8

Qu'un trophée éternel

L. is criticized for allowing the crude words 'trophée éternel' go by unrevised.

I[8]

Jupiter lancez le tonnerre

In this chorus, L. was responsible for all four vocal parts.

[II 7]

L'amour comblé de gloire

This is the only example by L. of a duet for two basses. Compared with Campra's in Tancrede, this is 'plus singulier et plus beau', 'tendre et gracieux'.

II[7]

J'ai peine à concevoir

Venez vous contre moi

These are the people's favourite scenes, and are vastly superior to the following:

IV[1]

Loin d'ici, loin de nous

The 'savante' scene of the ombres heureuses.

Proserpine is mentioned in connection with the importance of the dénouement and the weakness of ending with a divertissement.

Persée

Pro.

La grandeur brillante

The Marquisaire the criticism that this dance duet is 'd'une gaiété mal placée', but quotes the closing words to justify its 'gaiété aimable'.
Je crains que Junon ne refuse. This dialogue scene (mostly recitative) is cited as the perfect opening to an opera.

O Dieux qui punissez l'audace.

Ah, que l'amour cause d'alarmes. 'Dieux trio comme cela, en un seul acte!'.

Non, non, je ne puis souffrir.

An 'air de mouvement', accompanied by two violins, for 'un personnage qui dit quelque chose de plus vif, de plus emporté que le reste de son discours'.

Nous ressentons mêmes douleurs. A duet, 'd'un goût exquis'.

Tempête.

Lecerf tries to provoke the Marquis by referring sarcastically to 'des fadaises achevées'.

Les vents impétueux.

The Marquis, wishing to demonstrate that the people's taste is not always for simplicity, describes their reaction to this duet 'si savant et si difficile': they do not breathe, they gaze fixedly at Phinée and Merope, and they nod their heads appreciatively when the duet is over.

Descendons sous les ondes.

'C'est un morceau d'une science vraiment italienne. Cependant à l'oreille il ne vous fera qu'un plaisir médiocre'.

Le monstre est mort.

This chorus greatly surpasses the one above, to which it is a sequel.

The use of a divertissement, chaconne or passacaille to conclude an opera is criticized as weak.

Phaéton

Dans le temps même qu'il repose.

The Comte describes the accompanying violins in this 'air de mouvement' (of which he quotes the last rather than the first line) as playing 'd'une manière fort savante'.

Heureuse une âme indifférente. This demonstrates elision in the French language.

Vous y venez rêver aussi. L. shows his skill in conveying meaning and characterization in his word-setting.
I V [III 6] Vous êtes son fils, je le jure
V [IV 2] C'est toi que j'en atteste

Gravity of a type found in these three situations is beyond the range of Italian composers to express; '... quel lustre ces trois endroits ne jettent-ils point sur toute cette pièce!'.

II [2] Il me fuit, l'inconstant

'Un des endroits, de L. le plus travaillé' (this is an air over a ground bass). This does not move Lecerf as much as the recitative in the first act of Armide.

II 3 Que l'incertitude/Est un rigoureux tourment!

Lecerf concedes that this is 'simple, agréable, naturel', but he criticizes its gaiety as 'badinage vicieux'.

[II 4] Que mon sort serait doux
V [3] Hélas! une chaîne si belle

L. is said to have preferred the former duet, although the latter was so admired. Some discussion ensues as to whether Lalouette composed the latter, as he claimed. Lecerf refutes this, mainly because Lalouette had been 'congédié' some four years before Phaéton was written.

III 1 Quoi, malgré ma douleur

The fall at the words 'Quel bien peut être doux' is described as 'nouvelle et touchante'.

[III 3] Non, non, rien n'est comparable

'Ces combats de nos basses et de nos hautes-contrées sont une source inépuisable d'agrément et d'agrément naturels'.


In this chorus, L. was responsible for all four vocal parts.

V [2] Dieu, qui vous déclarez mon père

The Marquis cites this as one of his favourite bass airs.

V [6] O sort fatal, ô chute affreuse

These duet phrases, a reaction to Phaéton's fall, are weak. 'Au lieu d'approcher de ce trou, ils devraient tous s'enfuir, sans rien dire'.

Phaéton is l'opéra du peuple'
The fifth act is somewhat uneven, a mixture of excellence and mediocrity.

'Remarquez tout ce rôle de Phaéton, rôle singulier d'un jeune ambitieux... Comme L. sent, comme il fait sentir ce que dit cet aimable scélérat!'.

L. made Quinault rewrite some scenes in Phaéton twenty times. 'Quinault faisait Phaéton dur à l'excès', while L. wanted him 'ambitieux et non brutal'.

Amadis

I 1

This scene alone contains four delightful settings of the word 'hélas!'.

[I 2]

Que ne puis-je arrêter l'ardeur

This air manages to be both 'tendre' and 'vif', a combination which the Comte says Italian composers do better than French.

[II 1]

Amour, que veux-tu de moi?

All France has sung this air, from princesses to kitchen maids. It pleases equally the 'savant' and the 'ignorant'.

[II 4]

Bois épais, redouble ton ombre

All references to this are laudatory; it would reduce a person of sensibility to tears; the heart, the ears and the rules agree in assessing its qualities; L. regarded it as one of his best airs.

[III 2]

Consolez-vous dans vos tourments

The Conte mockingly refers to this as 'naturel' (it is a very unusual air with an active ground bass). Lecerf agrees that it is 'badin et peu digne de L.'.

The last two acts seem 'languissants' after the first three.

The use of a divertissement, chaconne or passacaille to conclude an opera is criticized as weak.

'L. ... distinguait souvent Amadis de ses autres opéras.'

Lecerf prefers the prologue to Amadis to all the other prologues.
Roland

I 1[2]  Hélas, hélas, que Médor a de charmes!
Two illustrations of L.'s setting of word 'hélás'.

[I 6]  Au généreux Roland
This (the only appearance of Ziliante in the opera) marked the debut of the singer La Forêt, who went on to sing Poliphème in Acis et Galatée.

[I 6]  Ce n'est qu'aux plus fameux vainqueurs
An illustration of L.'s 'rare' use of 'grands roulements' (on the word 'chaîne').

[II 3]  C'est l'Amour qui prend soin lui-même
An air which is both 'tendre' and 'vif' (see Amadis, I 6).

[II 5]  Qui goûte de ces eaux
Duet 'd'un goût exquis'.

[III 2]  J'abandonne ma gloire
An 'air de mouvement' (see Persée, I 4).

IV 1  Quand nous avons trouvé le Roi de Circassie
Demonstrates elision in the French language 'Le désespoir de Roland est d'un prix fort supérieur aux profondes beautés du rôle de Logistille etc.'.

Armide

I 1  Je ne triomphe pas
'Quel morceau!' This, Armide's first utterance, is in récitatif simple, but makes a great impression after her long silence.

I 1  La conquête d'un coeur
(The final part of the above récit). 'L'éclat de voix qui est sur[le]mot 'superbe' peint ce mot-là'.

[I 1]  Les enfers ont prédit cent fois
This récit is a perfect marriage of words and voice.

[I 1]  Un songe affreux
'Quel accompagnement!' (This is the point of Armide's récit at which the strings enter).
Dans le fatal moment qu'il me perçait le cœur
This is the last line of the above récit. 'A ce
mot, 'perçait', je vois, ce me semble, Renaud qui
donne un coup de poignard dans le coeur d'Armide
suppliante'.

Le vainqueur de Renaud
The phrase 'si quelqu'un le peut être' is des-
cribed as a 'demi-soupir, [un] ton bas et lent',
which reveals Armide's innermost feelings.

De [nos] ennemis
This is another example cited by the Comte of the
inappropriateness of sung dialogue; Armide's
wounded captain, Aronte, should be demanding a
confessor or a surgeon rather than singing (see
Cadmus et Hermione, IV 1).

Sourdines
'Rien n'est au dessus... des sourdines d'Armide'.
(There are four instrumental numbers in these
scenes, Renaud's sommeil, directed to be played
with mutes.)

Enfin il est en ma puissance
Both references concern the power of this récit
to move an audience. The Marquis describes having
seen 'vingt fois tout le monde saisi de frayeur,
ne soufflant pas, demeurer immobile, l'âme toute
entière dans les oreilles et dans les yeux, jusqu'à
car l'air de violon, qui finit la scène, donnait
permission de respirer'. (See Persée, IV 2).

Hélas! que son amour
Another striking 'hélàs'.

Passacaille
This represents the highest quality of the French
symphonie, rivalled perhaps only by the chaconne
in L'Idylle de Sceaux.

Renaud! Ciel! ô mortelle peine!
'Connaissez-vous quelque chose dans tous nos opéras
qui soit plus en possession de saisir et d'atten-
drir tout le monde que ces deux endroits d'Armide?'
(i.e. this and 'Enfin il est en ma puissance' —
see above).

Le perfide Renaud me fuit
'Combien de beautés! Quelle force, quelle adresse
d'expression jusques dans les moindres choses!' (This is the monologue of Armide which concludes
the opera).

Armide est 'l'opéra des femmes'
Lecerf is unrepentant in the face of critics who
say he has over-praised Armide.
Armide is the best-constructed tragédie, because the beauty and intrigue grow act by act. The sterility of the fourth act is the fault of Quinault, though it is redeemed by the exquisite divertissement.

'Je ne sais ce que l'esprit humain pourrait imaginer de supérieur au cinquième acte d'Armide'.

Whole scenes unfold in the same key.

(see Thésée)

See Psyché

Achille et Polixène (1688, completed by Colasse)

See Acis et Galatée

ii) Lully: works other than operas

La Grotte de Versailles (1668, revived 1685)

Dans ces déserts, paisibles

'Le bel air... dont le double est de [Lambert]', who composed the double because L. had so little taste and talent for roulements.

This miniature is 'toute charmante d'un bout à l'autre'.

See also L'Idylle de Sceaux.

Le Bourgeois gentilhomme (1670)

Je languis nuit et jour

The musician was right to refuse to 'regaillardir' this air at M. Jourdain's request.

Se que me muero

L. 'a banni les faux agréments et le badinage italien, pour n'y mettre qu'un beau chant des tons français'.

Buvons, chers amis, buvons

This air 'était un des airs du monde que L. a toute sa vie le plus aimé'.

Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus (1672)

Dormez, dormez beaux yeux

A trio whose three voice parts are equally fine.

Ami, me veux-tu croire?

An 'air à boire'.
Le Carnaval (1675)

See Charpentier, Le Malade imaginaire.

L'Idylle sur le Paix (de Sceaux) (1685)

Qu'il [règne] ce héros, qu'il triomphe toujours

This was L.'s favourite chorus, and he composed the
inner parts himself. The Comtesse condemns the
'méchantes paroles', Racine or no Racine.

Chaconne

This acquired the title of 'the Princesse de Conti's
chaconne' and ranks only with the passacaille from
Armide.

'... cette Idylle de Sceaux et la Grotte de
Versailles sont deux pièces, qui dans leur
petitesse, suffisaient pour assurer la réputation
de L.'.

Acis et Galatée (1686)

I [8]

Je suis au comble de mes voeux

L. is criticized for setting the word 'comble'
(height) to the lowest note in the whole verse.

[II 1]

Ecoutez mes tristes adieux

'Cet endroit si touchant'; mention is made of the
use of dissonance in this passage.

[II 5]

Qu'une injuste fierté

Both references are to the preceding and accompa-
nying symphonie, a chaconne. 'Oh, celle-là
est italienne... L. l'a prise toute entière dans
un opéra de Rome', says the Comte; the Chevalier
denies this, and declares himself ready to praise
any symphonie which approaches it.

II 6

Qu'à l'envi chacun se presse.

Lecerf praises the effect of the introduction of
'sifflets de chaudronnier' (Pan-pipes) into this
scene.

L.'s powers did not decline; Acis et Galatée and
his part of Achille et Polixène are at least as
fine as his other opéras.

The use of a divertissement, chaconne or passacaille
to conclude an opera is criticized as weak.

The Italians do not have this type of pastorale
iii) Works by other composers

**Le Malade imaginaire** (1673): Charpentier

Di rigori armata il seno

There is some confusion here: Lecerf attributes this air to L., but places it in the Molière/Charpentier collaboration *Le Malade imaginaire*, where these words do not occur. However, an air of this name appears in the cinquième entrée of L.'s *Le Carnaval* (1675, published by Ballard in 1720). It has an elaborate *double*, the subject of Lecerf's comments.

**Thétis et Félée** (1689): Colasse

**Tempête**

"Quelle pitié que la tempête... de Thétis et Félée: Lecerf is being sarcastic here, trying to provoke the Marquis.

**Les cieux, l'enfer, la terre et l'onde**

Colasse is praised for respecting the convention of high and low notes for appropriate words.

**Les vents**

"Vous n'exécuterez point sur d'autres instruments" this orchestral number. Strings are especially suitable for "les coulades, ces liaisons de plusieurs tons... les fortes vitesses".

**Enée et Lavinie** (1691): Colasse

**Pro.**

Amour, si les soupçons

Lecerf praises Colasse's moderation in the use of *doubles*.

**Alcide** (1693): Louis de Lully and Marais

Charpentier is accused of corrupting his pupils' taste; one woman, "remplie de maximes italiennes" n'estimait de nos opéras nouveaux, que le quatrième acte d'Alcide et ne pouvait pas souffrir L'Europe galante" (of Campra). Why this act, whose main feature is a temple scene, should have been singled out, is not clear.
(Enée et) Didon (1693): Desmarets

IV[6]

Il faut mourir pour satisfaire départ

This is an example of a duet for haute-contre and bass (see Phaéton, III 3).

'Un assez bel ouvrage'.

Circe (1694): Desmarets

[III 3]

Sommeil

Lecerf is prompted by the Comtesse to include this number in his praise of the sommeil of Atys and the sourdines of Armide.

Ballet des Saisons (Les Quatre Saisons) (1695): Colasse

Pro.

Air de violons de la descente d'Orphée

One of the 'borrowings' from L. incorporated in this score.

I[5]

Amour, tu m'as soumise encore

An air from 'nos nouveaux opéras' whose double is described as 'supportable'.

IV[1]

Je sors de ma grotte profonde

The bass line of this récit de L'Hiver is praised.

[IV 3]

Me plaindrai-je toujours Amour

The Count compares this favourably with L.'s best airs.

Vénus et Adonis (1697): Desmarets

'La musique de Vénus et Adonis, dont vous avez estimé les paroles, a paru bonne à la plupart des connoisseurs, quoique les roulements y soient un peu trop fréquents.'

This opera was a failure at first, receiving only twelve performances, but was later successfully revived. 'L'envie et la cabale n'ont su empêcher ... Vénus et Adonis de se relever'.

L'Europe galante (1697): Campra

II [III 1?] Descendez [attendez?] pour regner sur elle
There are no such words in the ballet's deuxième entrée, but 'Attendez pour regner sur elle' is the third line of the accompanied air 'Sommeil, que chaque nuit' in the troisième entrée. The reference is to the elaborate instrumental parts, which are more like symphonies than accompagnements.

'Aucun opéra, même de L., n’a été plus suivi que L'Europe galante'.

See also Alcide.

**Issé (1697): Destouches**

[IV 2]

Sarabande

The Comte claims that L. composed no symphonie with which this may not be compared.

'... où il n'y a tant de naturel et tant de feu'.

'Un des plus aimables opéras qui ait paru depuis L.'.

Its minuets and passapieds are as good as the best of L.'s.

**Amadis de Grèce (1699): Destouches**

I[4]

Ingrat! mets-tu ta gloire

C'en est trop, le dépit succède

These are examples of 'excellentes expressions', i.e. faithful renderings of the sense of the words in recitative.

I[4]

A la mort! quoi, ton coeur la préfère à Mélisse?

This and the following two lines are quoted in the same context as the above. Lecerf ranks the setting of 'mes pleurs' with the invocation in V[2] 'Mânes de son rival', 'qui a tant plû'.

[V 4]

Si ma mort t'arrache un soupir

If Louison or Lalande were to play this air on the violin, one would still hear the expressive 'ma mort' as if Maupin were singing.

'Amadis de Grèce, où il y a tant de naturel et tant de feu'.

(Picus et) **Canente (1700): Colasse**

[III 3]

Cédez, cruels

The Comte compares this favourably with L.'s best airs.
Hésione (1700): Campra

II 5
A vos regards tout doit rendre les armes

This comes at the end of the scene in which Venus begs Anchise to be her lover. This scene is criticized as being in bad taste.

[III 2]
Ah, que mon coeur va payer chèrement

The Comte compares this favourably with L.'s best airs.

'Aurez-vous le courage de mépriser Hésione, dont le prologue a tant plû, et qui est plein de choses neuv e et brillantes?'.

Scylla (1701): di Gatti

'Théobalde' (di Gatti) 'qui joue à l'Orchestre de Paris de la basse de violon à cinq cordes' was one of the Italian admirers of L. drawn to Paris. Scylla is an opera 'estimé pour ses belles symphonies'.

Tancrede (1702): Campra

I [2]
Suivons la fureur et la rage

This duet for two basses is compared with the one in Proserpine [II 7]. Campra's is 'plus expressif et plus juste'; since fury and fire are the prerogative of basses, it is more natural that two basses should meet and sing 'dans un endroit fougueux et emporté'.

'Voilà un opéra bien court... et voilà déjà bien le louer', unlike Italian operas which last for five or six hours, but seem to last for eight or nine.

Tancrede's 'marches et symphonies guerrières' are akin to those of L.'s Thésée, but are in D major rather than C major.

The use of bass voices for all three principal male characters is discussed: 'c'est imiter l'excès des Italiens en prenant le contrepié', says the Chevalier.
NOTES

1 Part I was published in 1704, parts II and III following in 1705 and 1706. Their author died in the following year, at the age of thirty-three.

2 This had appeared in 1702. Following the publication of the first part of the Comparaison, Raguenet went into print with a Défense du parallèle, but spent most of his time criticizing niggling details of grammar and style.


4 He published, among other things, commentaries on Virgil and Lucan; see Prunières' article, p.625.

5 'Peut-on s'imaginer qu'un maître appelle son valet, ou qu'il lui donne une commission en chantant; qu'un ami fasse en chantant une confidence à son ami; qu'on délibère en chantant dans un conseil; qu'on exprime avec du chant les ordres qu'on donne, et que mélodieusement on tue les hommes à coups d'épée et de javelot dans un combat?' Sur les Opera, p.151.

6 There is another brief example in Alceste, I 7; see Example 127.
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II: Les Plaisirs de l'Ile enchantée, La Pastorale comique, Le Sicilien, Le grand divertissement royal de Versailles  
III: Monsieur de Pourceaugnac, Le Bourgeois gentilhomme, Les Amants magnifiques

**Les Opéras**, I: Cadmus et Hermione  
II: Alceste  
III: Amadis


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