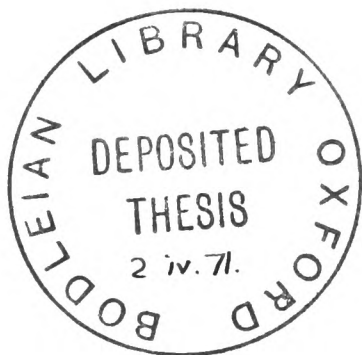


MUSIC AND DRAMA
at the Académie Royale de Musique (Paris)
1774 - 1789



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D. Phil. Thesis

[ms 1969]

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The Musical Examples are bound separately

Abstract

Music and Drama at the Académie Royale de Musique (Paris), 1774-1789

Cycles of regeneration and decline in musical drama at the Académie Royale (the Opéra) can be associated with the names of a series of major composers. The first was Lully; 1774 marks the beginning of the "époque de Gluck". Gluck had already attempted the 'reform' of Italian opera in Vienna, with as its chief manifesto the preface (dedication) to Alceste, published in 1769 and translated into French about 1773. It has long been recognized that this reform owed something to the methods of Rameau (which were developed from Lully's). This study therefore opens with a comparison of Rameau and Gluck, showing the fundamental ways in which their methods and intentions differed.

The "époque de Gluck" was not a sudden reversal of French operatic method, and one of its features - the introduction of the "international style" (basically Italian) of 18th-century music onto a stage which had generally tended to resist it - had been anticipated in several French operas, mostly mediocre resettings of old libretti but including distinguished works by Gossec and Philidor, composers whose talent Gluck recognized.

Consideration of these works is followed by a discussion of the types of aria, recitative, and arioso used in Gluck's French operas, and of Iphigénie en Aulide, the work which definitively established the synthesis of French and Italian elements, and made a return to old French opera impossible while effectively forestalling the attempt to introduce a more purely Italian music.

After adapting three of his existing operas, of which

Alceste, on a subject also treated by Lully, was the most radically revised, Gluck directly challenged the founder of tragédie-lyrique by resetting Quinault's Armide with comparatively little alteration. Meanwhile various attempts were being made to introduce purely Italian music to France; arrangements of Sacchini were not played at the Opéra, but Piccinni was commissioned to set another, substantially altered, Quinault poem. Poland, J. C. Bach's Amadis, and subsequent resettings by Piccinni, Gossec, and Philidor, are measured in this study against Lully and each other.

The controversy between the Gluckistes and Piccinnistes, a literary war in the tradition of the "Guerre des Bouffons", raged fiercely from 1777 to the early 1780s. Artistically it came to a head in the two operas of Ignigénie en Tauride which, despite Piccinni's disclaimer of any desire to emulate Gluck, are in many ways comparable and revealing about the two composers' intentions and achievements. Piccinni was brought to Paris as apostle of Italian good taste and the melodic "Période"; but his French operas, far from opposing to Gluck's dramatic conception of opera the purely musical approach that had dominated in Italy for so long, are themselves thoroughly, indeed strenuously dramatic in intention.

One consequence of this is that although many composers paid artistic homage to Gluck, the majority of their works resemble more closely those of Piccinni; Gluck was personally inimitable, and in any case belonged to an earlier generation. Moreover a critical study of "Piccinniste" melody suggests that elegance and adherence to the "Période" frequently produced music which, in terms of its own musical development and of the dramatic articulation to which it is supposed to contribute, is superficial; both Piccinni and Sacchini were

more successful dramatically in the short forms and ariosi for which French precedent was stronger, than in the Italianate aria and recitativo accompagnato.

The operatic genre most typical of the period, and the most successful, was tragédie-lyrique, frequently with Greek or 17th-century French dramas as model. The French composers, however, concentrated on comedy, pastoral, and non-tragic adventure operas. While Gluck's and Piccinni's pastoral operas were relative failures, successful composers of lighter genres, including Floquet and Grétry, were unequal to the challenge of tragedy. The later works of Philidor and Gossec kept the possibility of indigenous French opera alive, particularly as their work shows a closer relation to their own past (the 'chant français') than did their contemporaries'. With many points of interest, these works are uneven in quality; they include such oddities as Candeille's Pizarre, Dezède's "opéra féerie" Alcindor, and the "paysannerie larmoyante" Rosine by Gossec.

The direct succession to Gluck was in the work of actual or intended pupils and shows strong symptoms of decadence, an exaggeration of techniques and passions. Lemoyne and Salieri both modified their manner after their first "horror" operas, Electre and Les Danaïdes; the former declared himself Piccinniste but without making any significant change of style. Salieri also approaches Piccinni when less overtly copying Gluck, in his sober Les Horaces and exotic Tarare. Vogel's La Toison d'Or, dedicated to Gluck, imitates him almost too closely in places, but elsewhere escapes into the (more Piccinnian) language of his own generation.

Piccinni's last works met with varying degrees of

success or failure; they show intermittently (in Didon and Pénélope) a deepening dramatic insight. His dramatic intentions - which led to the suggestion that he had become a Gluckiste - may have contributed to his eclipse, since the increasingly popular Italian cantabile had found a more consistent champion in Piccini. The latter's musical gifts to some extent disguised his relative lack of interest in drama, a penchant which permits the discussion of him in this study to be comparatively brief. The last overtly Piccinniste opera was Zingarelli's Antixone (1790), but already a synthesis between the allegedly rival trends was apparent in two adaptations of Metastasio's Demofonte set by Cherubini and Vogel.

The heritage of the epoch may be traced through the differing operatic fashions of Revolution, Empire, and Restoration, in the work of Cherubini and Méhul (mainly serious opéra-comique) and Spontini, who restored the supremacy of the Opéra under Napoleon. It should be clear that this somewhat nebulous term "Piccinniste", implying an opera in which musical fecundity often takes the place of dramatic planning and a melodramatic energy that of Gluck's characteristic control, fits all these composers better than "Gluckiste". Piccini however was no leader, and no school should bear his name. The trend he represented was widespread and existed even before Gluck reached Paris; a dramatically intended opera with room for musical expansion, a mixture of French continuity and Italian aria forms. Of this trend Gluck was the supreme master; and if he formed no school his far-reaching influence had its basis in the work of several composers working in Paris between 1767 and 1790 who, in ways befitting their generation and nationality,

followed his lead in mingling the techniques and structures of the two previously irreconcilable 18th-century operatic forms.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Abbreviations used in footnotes (further details in Bibliography)

<u>Annals</u>	A. Loewenberg, <u>Annals of Opera</u>
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BO	Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris
CE	Complete Edition
COF	<u>Chefs d'Oeuvre de l'Opéra français</u>
<u>Correspondence</u>	H. and E. H. Mueller von Asow, <u>The Collected Correspondence and Papers of Christoph Willibald Gluck.</u>
Desnoiresterres	G. Le Brissoys Desnoiresterres, <u>Gluck et Piccinni</u>
Einstein	A. Einstein, <u>Gluck</u>
<u>Enc. Méth.</u>	Framéry et al., <u>Encyclopédie Métho- dique, "Musique"</u> (2 volumes)
Ginguené, <u>Notice</u>	N. Ginguené, <u>Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de N. Piccinni</u>
Girdlestone	C. Girdlestone, <u>Jean-Philippe Rameau</u>
Grimm, CL	Grimm, <u>Correspondance Littéraire...</u> in three parts, 16 volumes. (CL 3 IV = part 3, volume IV)
Grout	D. J. Grout, <u>A Short History of Opera</u>
Hopkinson	C. Hopkinson, <u>A Bibliography of the works of C. W. von Gluck</u>
Howard	Mrs P. Howard, <u>Gluck and the Birth of Modern Opera</u>
Lajarte	T. de Lajarte, <u>Bibliothèque musicale du théâtre de l'Opéra</u>
Kerman	J. Kerman, <u>Opera as Drama</u>
Masson	P. M. Masson, <u>L'Opéra de Rameau</u>
MGG	<u>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</u>
ML	<u>Music and Letters</u>

Abbreviations

MPS	G. M. le Blond, <u>Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution opérée dans la musique par M. le Chevalier Gluck</u>
MQ	<u>The Musical Quarterly</u>
Prod'homme	J. G. Prod'homme, <u>Gluck</u>
PVS	Peters vocal score
Sternfeld	F. W. Sternfeld, "Expression and Revision in Gluck's <u>Orfeo</u> and <u>Alceste</u> "
Tovey	D. F. Tovey, "Christopher Willibald Gluck and the Musical Revolution of the Eighteenth Century"
Wotquenne	A. Wotquenne, <u>Catalogue Thématique des Oeuvres de Chr. W. v. Gluck</u>

2. Other abbreviations

Titles of operas:

<u>Alceste</u> (P)	Gluck, <u>Alceste</u> , 1776 (Paris) version
<u>Alceste</u> (V)	Gluck, <u>Alceste</u> , 1767 (Vienna) version
<u>Aulide</u>	Gluck, <u>Iphigénie en Aulide</u>
<u>Evelina</u>	Sacchini, <u>Arvire et Evelina</u>
<u>Tauride</u>	<u>Iphigénie en Tauride</u>

Several other operas are generally referred to by the first name in the title; "Thétis" for Thétis et Pelée, etc.

Dates of operas:

Dates are those of performance at the Académie Royale, the first performance there which is not necessarily the first performance, nor the year of composition.

Page references to operas:

Page references for operas, unless otherwise indicated are to the contemporary printed full score.

For some operas manuscript numbers are given, but not page references since the pagination of the manuscripts is frequently confused.

Abbreviations

3. Musical Examples:

The musical examples are bound separately. References to them in the text are by number, Ex.1, Ex. 43A, etc. Each example bears a page reference to indicate where in the text it is principally discussed.

4. Musical notation in the text:

a. Key reference

Keys are underlined. Capital letters are major keys, small letters minor keys. D = D major, eb = E flat minor, etc.

b. Chord notation:

Roman numerals indicate the degree of the scale; capitals a major chord, small numerals a minor chord. In C, bIII is a chord of E flat major; V7 a dominant 7th, etc. A harmony may also be indicated thus: F/G/Bb/Db.

c. Pitch notation:

The Helmholtz system of pitch notation is used; pitches are not underlined. C = the lowest string of the violoncello, c''' is two octaves above middle C, etc.

Chapter I

Towards a Synthesis: French Opera before Gluck

A. Gluck and Rameau

Gluck's arrival in 1774 caused something like panic among the Paris establishment, and Dauvergne (the Opéra director) insisted before accepting Iphigénie en Aulide that Gluck should write not less than six operas for Paris since "un tel ouvrage est fait pour tuer tous les anciens opéras français".⁽¹⁾ His predecessor Rebel said: "si cette Musique prend, il faut brûler l'immense & superbe collection de nos Opéras nationaux".⁽²⁾ The holocaust remained symbolic: Gluck's six operas made the break with tradition irrevocable and older works ceased to be performed after 1774. The battle between French and Italian music which had persisted since the early 18th century was ended not by the victory of either party but by a compromise in which the ideal proposed for the French lyric theatre by d'Alembert - to "keep our opera but change our music"⁽³⁾ - struggled for realization.

Hindsight makes apparent the logic of Gluck's decision to produce his last operas at the Académie Royale. Already in his 'reform' of Italian opera in Vienna the influence of French forms had been considerable, and his careful use of 'modern' (Italian) music on the French stage never undermined established French practice. Aulide was not a revolution in French musical drama but the definite establishment of a new synthesis: "at once a blow to French

1. Desnoiresterres p.83.

2. Reported in a letter to Journal de Paris, June 1777; MPS p.235.

3. Summarised thus by Girdlestone p.554, from De la liberté de la musique (Mélanges de Littérature, d'Histoire, et de Philosophie, (1759) IV; see especially pp.403-9 and 417). A similar solution was proposed by Chastellux, Essai sur l'Union de la Poésie et de la Musique (1765). See Tiersot, Gluck and the Encyclopaedists, MQ 1930 p.336.

opera and a renewal of it".⁽¹⁾ The blow especially damaged Rameau. Several composers, some of whose work will be discussed below, groped towards Gluck's solution, but Rameau, perhaps the greatest composer of French operas, had remained persistently old-fashioned in his approach. In an extended comparison⁽²⁾ Girdlestone emphasises Gluck's debt to his predecessor, but through overstatement he carries less conviction than in his pleas for Rameau as a musician.

"...Gluck's reform does indeed amount to a reaction to the Lullian type, still represented by the only lately deceased Rameau". (p.552)

"In Italy, it was indeed a reform; it was a bringing to a head of those Gallicizing tendencies...which aimed at bringing Italian opera into line with French; that is why the preface to Alceste is really a manifesto of Ramellian opera under the disguise of a criticism of 'abuses'". (p.564)

"...every study of Gluck's 'reform-reaction' should open, not with the 'abuses' of opera-seria...but with the presentation of the opera form of Rameau". (Ibid.)

In this, a study of Gluck's French synthesis, not his Italian 'reform', the last suggestion is worth adopting. That reform had been in Vienna, having little effect in Italy, and "Ramellian opera" was neither what Gluck intended in his Preface nor what he achieved in Orfeo and Alceste - chiefly because he retained, in the latter particularly, the clear division of recitative from aria. In Paris he did exploit - not consistently - the blending of these elements characteristic of old French opera. Moreover the "lately deceased Rameau" had had no new tragédie-lyrique produced for a quarter-century before Aulide and had last really attempted

1. Einstein p.138.

2. Girdlestone Ch.15 ("Rameau and Gluck").

drama in the 1744 revision of Dardanus (entitled Nouvelle Tragédie and, unlike the 1754 Castor et Pollux, virtually a new opera). In tragédie-lyrique - as opposed to opéra-ballet - Rameau was if anything less firmly entrenched in the repertory than Lully, although a revival of Castor in 1771 had more success than anything else.⁽¹⁾

The "opera form of Rameau" was essentially Lully's: the differences are of detail, stemming from Rameau's incomparably richer musical invention and the generally inferior quality of his librettists. The near-identity of form is, despite Girdlestone's reference to the "Lullian model", sometimes forgotten:-

"Many of the ideas which the history-books credit to Gluck's account had their origins in Rameau. One might instance the programme overture (Zoroastre), the planning of a whole act as a single entity, the restriction of the role of the solo da capo aria and its vocal virtuosity, the emphasis on continuity through expressive recitative and arioso, the greater importance of the orchestra in emotional comment and the evocation of atmosphere".⁽²⁾

Some of these points will be discussed in detail later. The "greater importance" rightly implies the refinement of an already existing element. But act-planning, by dramatic symmetries and tonality, is found in Lully; just such continuity is essentially Lully's plan; the virtuoso da capo aria needed no restriction by Rameau, having never been part of the French operatic tradition (it was used by Rameau in ariettes, confined to the divertissements). Everywhere Rameau demands more vocal and instrumental virtuosity than his predecessors, if the word be not restricted to vocal acrobatics. The detailed differences are Rameau's richer

1. Prodhomme p.198. Castor was performed until 1785 (Annals) and Candelle's version (1791) included some music by Rameau.
2. Trowell, programme booklet with recording of Hippolyte et Aricie (OL (SOL) 286/7/8) p.3.

orchestration and consequent lesser reliance on stage machinery for effect; the air forms and the more ornate and therefore slower-moving recitative, corresponding to the slow eighteenth-century performance of Lully's originally rapid declamation,⁽¹⁾ which made of it arioso or, pejoratively, "psalmodie". Quinault wrote semi-philosophical generalities which Lully set as airs, often in dance rhythms and with self-contained musical forms. Rameau's airs are usually emotionally relevant - almost the only point on which his librettists are superior - and belong more closely to the dialogue in which they occur; the forms are consequently freer and more varied. For his soliloquy airs Rameau adopted Lully's ternary and rondo forms.

In the early 18th century the Italian opera, while tending to exclude musical forms other than the aria, and the French, including the ballet, chorus and scenic display increasingly neglected in Italy, share the tendency to separate action from the principal musical structures.

Action is in recitative; emotion in aria or (more temperately) Lullian arioso-air. The main musical forms are static and the Italian opera as a whole is a succession of arias while in the French the choruses "become the main means of organization since the air is too small and too indistinct to fulfil this function".⁽²⁾ The complex ensembles of Piccinni's and Mozart's opera buffa, which draw action and music into a single continuity, were not paralleled in French opéra-comique. There, with unsatisfactory aesthetic results, the action is carried on in spoken dialogue and the brilliant 'ensembles of perplexity' in Philidor and the massive ensembles of Cherubini are likewise static. The musical continuity of French and even Italian (secco) recitative usefully preserves the operatic

1. See d'Alembert, op.cit. p.425.

2. Girdlestone p.126.

convention, but too frequently the drama is imperilled because important action is accompanied by unimportant music. In Rameau's Hippolyte et Aricie (III.3-4) Thésée returns unexpectedly from Hades and enters at the very moment when Phèdre is trying to kill herself on Hippolyte's sword. The moment is embarrassing because of the blank unawareness of its importance or of the thoughts and feelings of the characters in the music. It is a difficult situation to treat dramatically because of the intrinsic improbability of Thésée's unannounced appearance at just that moment; the scene is not in Racine and Gluck would certainly have contrived to avoid it. Later in the act Rameau superbly articulates Thésée's complex feelings in a soliloquy.

The Italian opera divided emotion from action more than the French and - even in the occasional duet - rarely brought characters into significant opposition. Each is placed in his own impenetrable cocoon, spun out of stylised emotion, and the "drama of systematic soliloquy"⁽¹⁾ was too easily abused in the interests of capricious singers. Rameau's duet of invective (Hippolyte III.3) uses vigorous counterpoint whose formality produces the effect of a two-part invention rather than an opposition of personality, and its impact is less than that of the more spontaneously expressive recitative.

The merits and limitations of the "opera form of Rameau" can best be shown by example, the fourth act of Hippolyte et Aricie. This, his first opera, remained his most powerfully dramatic, the only one with roots in Greek and French tragedy.⁽²⁾ Girdlestone considered Castor et Pollux the better libretto (p.197) but agrees that Hippolyte has "the only essentially tragic plot" in Rameau (p.194). That "the

1. Kerman p.61.

2. Euripides, Hippolytos, and Racine, Phèdre. For its relation to the latter, see Girdlestone p.195.

native vigour of Hippolyte has been tamed in Castor" (p.228) is to the latter's disadvantage, dramatically, and deft handling of detail cannot compensate for the weaker action. The 1744 Dardanus is "better constructed and its action less interrupted..." but "Its main weakness is the unreality of the subject". (p.272). In this Hippolyte, even with an act in Hades and no shortage of the 'merveilleux', has the advantage of most French operas including those by Quinault.

In contrast to spoken tragedy, French opera freely included the supernatural ('merveilleux') in the visible action. The gods of French opera, however, are not those of the Greeks. In a prologue to the Hippolytos Euripides opposes arrogant chastity to sensuality, Artemis to Aphrodite, a dangerous conflict made trivial in the opera prologue as the seduction of Diane's followers by l'Amour. In Racine the spectator need never suspend disbelief in the gods, whom he does not see - what matters is the effect of belief in them on human minds. The opera takes Racine's Hippolyte, enamoured of Aricie and not the proud virgin of Euripides, but introduces visible deities in every act except IV, where they nevertheless play a crucial role.

This act consists of soliloquy, dialogue, divertissement, peripeteia - the elements out of which every Lully act is formed - and a final scene which is almost soliloquy; these elements in this order are used in I and III, while V also begins soliloquy/dialogue. Thus the opera is constructed by symmetries, of which the opening soliloquys are part. Hippolyte is comparatively underdrawn, and IV.1, his only opportunity for introspection, is musically beautiful but effeminate. In V he is saved from death less for his own sake than because his death was a pathetic incident, too small for tragedy.

Like I.2, IV.2 is a dialogue for the lovers, immature people, preserved by the gods for their innocence when swamped by the adult passions of Thésée and Phèdre. Rameau catches exactly a social awkwardness in the dialogue, but when they come together they disappoint. In the recitative, interspersed with airs, Aricie is the more articulate. She has most of the airs, some with orchestra but mostly ariosi with continuo accompaniment, emerging from the recitative ("Dieux, pourquoi séparer deux coeurs"). Elsewhere the declamation develops enough melodic significance to be part of an air (I.2, Hippolyte's declaration: "Je sens pour vous une pitié Aussi tendre que l'amour même"). In such cases Rameau is more flexible in forms, more continuous, than either Lully or Gluck. In the passionless duets their feelings seem less deep and the orchestra gives no assistance, although Rameau emotionally enriched the great scenes for Phèdre and Thésée by instrumentation. The style, parallel motion over a simple bass, feels archaic, yet it survived Rameau.⁽¹⁾ Even in V, when they declare that "Le moment qui vous rend à moi Est le plus heureux de ma vie", the restrained d is, for the effect of the contrived happy ending, fatally akin to their despairing prayer to Diane (I.2).

The next part of the act is the divertissement, which Lully, in contrast to contemporary Italian practice, had made dramatically relevant. In III, Rameau and Pellegrin made an ironic contrast between the natural rejoicing of Thésée's subjects at his unexpected return, and his gloom. In IV, the scene for Diane's hunters was considered by Girdlestone (from whom Rameau usually needs no defence) to have "no dramatic justification" (p.174). However, it makes an important symmetry, with the Prologue in which the hunting music (also in D) was very similar, and with I.3 in which servants of Diane also entered after the lovers had called on her. The hunters

1. See Girdlestone p.138; compare Adèle de Ponthieu, Ex.7.

suggest her unseen presence, and an answer to prayer. Rameau always excelled in dance music and choruses; his next work was Les Indes Galantes, in which the brief romances are excuse for an exciting spectacle and musical delights. Here the delights serve a purpose and the spectacular scene to follow is part of a large dramatic rhythm.

The structural symmetry with I is continued by the use of key contrast. Phèdre's entrance (I.4) brought d after G, a shadow on the festivity (the priestesses sing again in G, and d reappears for Phèdre in I.6). Here after D (the last written music is in d, but the first Minuet is recapitulated) comes Bb, the unison spreading up the scale and over the orchestra like the swelling "montagne humide". The chorus is used both as a commentator and an extra dynamic resource (compare Gluck's Tauride I.1). By a striking chord-progression (D \flat after B \flat , to A \flat ; then to F and the tonic B \flat) Rameau, without holding up the dramatic impetus, gives the passage the grandeur of a longer movement. With the orchestral continuum and the voices singing melodic recitative, music and drama move at the same speed.

Diane does not appear because the gods must not openly contradict one another (compare II.5, where Mercure intervenes to release Thésée). Hippolyte is rescued but must be apparently destroyed to punish Thésée's rashness and Phèdre's lust.

After twenty bars⁽¹⁾ the texture disintegrates, resembling the accompanied recitatives of III.3 and IV.4 (which also evoke the wrath of the gods). Hippolyte disappears and Aricie is alone, in every sense (bar 31); poised on a high note beneath which the descending bass (B \flat -A \flat -G) seems to extinguish hope. Her collapse is most moving, its emotional truth reinforced by its brevity: she could not sustain a long

1. Bars numbered from the B \flat : 1733 score p.151; Durand, full score (1900) p.306 and vocal score p.180.

mourning scene, as Phèdre can, and her role is unresolved until V. This passage also affirms a modulation to g, which appeared in bar 21 and becomes the tonic of the last scene.

The choral refrain "Hippolyte n'est plus"⁽¹⁾ frames the personal epiphany of Phèdre (IV.4). After questioning the chorus she proclaims her own guilt in magnificently controlled recitative, a passage in which Rameau uses his predecessors' techniques to write them into oblivion. It includes even a simple illustrative touch, the fall from g² to d' and eb' at "Dans les enfers c'est par moi qu'il descend". The voice persistently avoids the tonic and concentrates on the third of each chord, a subtle indication of mental instability (f' in d, g' in Eb, eb in c, bb at the return to g ("Qu' ai-je fait")). Not until the end of the section ("bras") does the voice double the root of the chord (d, dominant of G). She demands time to declare Hippolyte's innocence; the vocal line becomes less sporadic and the orchestral bustle gives way to powerful string chords, sustained in forte and given especial resonance by double-stopping and the dissonance with the pedal bass G. A characteristic use of silence (from which the voice emerges alone on a false relation: "Ah! si vous êtes équitables") enhances the awesome effect.

There is no question here of musical formality or 'periodic' melody: this is not air but singing recitative, the 'chant français' inherited from Lully and made more flexible and expressive by Rameau. Melodic control is complete but Rameau might have been concerned to prove his view that harmony is the most effective resource of the musical dramatist.⁽²⁾ Gluck would surely have found this an occasion

1. 1733 score p.155, Durand full score p.319, vocal score p.185.

2. Traité de l'harmonie (1722) p.141; Observations sur notre instinct pour la Musique (1754) p.58 - "c'est dans cette Harmonie même que réside la cause de l'effet, nullement dans la Mélodie..." - and passim.

for one of his "great arias [to] cut through, cunningly placed, tremendously powerful".⁽¹⁾ The very word 'aria' implies an Italian form, and the use of aria is perhaps the major distinction between the French opera form and Gluck's after his Vienna 'reform'.

Even there Gluck was not the first to take practical steps towards merging French and Italian operatic method; the French precedents are discussed below. The Italian are probably of more musical value. Some of Traetta's operas were based on French sources,⁽²⁾ and in his Ifigenia en Tauride (1758, performed in Vienna 1760) he made dramatic miscalculations which Gluck, with the same subject, took care not to repeat.⁽³⁾ Calzabigi's reaction against Metastasio was certainly influenced by Rameau; Howard goes so far as to say that "All the innovations in the three operas on which they collaborated can ultimately be traced back to French opera" (p.24).

Gluck owed nothing to the rambling plot-structure of Metastasian or French opera. Eschewing the confusions of the one and the decorative spirit of the other, he turned for subject-matter to unadorned myth. To say, however, that "...Gluck and his librettist simplified the dramatic problem almost out of existence"⁽⁴⁾ is to confuse action with drama. Gluck excludes complication of the former in the interests of psychological and musical complexity. In relation to Italian precedent the use of chorus, ballet, and varied aria forms are French features, and the opening of Orfeo I has been associated with the tombeau of Castor.⁽⁵⁾ But Rameau

1. Kerman p.71.

2. After Rameau's librettists, Ippolito ed Aricia (1759) and I Tantaridi (1760); after Quinault, Armida (1760).

3. See Howard pp.30-1.

4. Tovey p.82; compare Kerman p.196, on Tristan (see below, Ch. VIII p.359).

5. Castor I.1; 1754 version II.1. Devises compared them, to Orphée's disadvantage, in Lettre à M. le Chevalier de *** (1774) p.9. See also Howard p.27, Kerman pp.38-9.

separates the chorus ("Que tout gémissé") from the personal lament (Sc.3, "Tristes apprêts") by a scene in dialogue, the dramatic rhythm remaining Lullian. In Orfeo and still more in Alceste Gluck welds chorus, aria, and pantomime, public and private grief, into a unified musical complex on a massive time-scale, the simplicity of the action (with its quality of ritual) matched by complexity of feeling.

In spite of Lully's (rather than Rameau's) occasional grand planning, this sort of organization is an innovation, albeit under French influence. Moreover, and despite that influence, Gluck never overthrew the aria. In Orfeo, in the nature of the subject, he used songs, but in Alceste (V) the long aria returns as part of the newly organized time-scale: keeping the freer treatment of Orfeo, without ritornelli and coloratura (according to the precepts of the Preface), but essentially Italian. Gluck's first Paris opera avoids the long aria but it reappears in Alceste (P) and Tauride.

Tauride was "a product of the concurrence of Gluck's own development with congenial artistic traditions" (1) and did not owe its success in Paris merely to Court patronage. Although Marie-Antoinette was partly responsible for Gluck's, Piccinni's, and Sacchini's presence in France, the existence of theatres at Versailles and Fontainebleau made the Court relatively uninvolved in the success or otherwise of works in Paris. There Gluck's reform reached a wider public than in Vienna and was more widely debated as a "revolution in music"; (2) and there it was followed by a school of composers. The essential basis of these operas remains the dramaturgy of the baroque, refined, made flexible, but in achievement, if not intention, less a radical departure from past operatic method than the ensembles and finales of Mozart; in which

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1. Howard p.49.
 2. See below, Ch.V.A.

perhaps lay the true Viennese reform of opera. The Paris opera of Gluck is a compromise, often uneasy but capable of serving the dramatically inclined composer successfully; the continuity at which it aimed is gained by close linking of essentially self-contained musical forms with recitative, smoothing over the divisions but not destroying them. The variety of forms and textures in recitative and air, greater than in the old French or Italian opera independently, should not be allowed to obscure this involvement with the past, and if a continuity is sometimes achieved to match that of the Mozart finale (or Wagner or late Verdi), it is exceptional and not typical of the whole, as analysis of Aulide⁽¹⁾ should make clear.

His determination to emphasise the undoubted debt of Gluck to Rameau makes Girdlestone's peroration somewhat misleading:-

"Till 'le chevalier Klouch' came from Austria with his own genius and the musical riches of opera seria, ready to pick up the mantle which had fallen from the shoulders of Jean-Philippe ten [sic] years earlier, tragédie-lyrique languished in the hands of men too weak to handle it. In Vienna, Gluck's function had been that of a reformer; in Paris it was that of a musician". (p.565)

In France "where no doctrinal reform was needed, it was a personal role he filled" (p.564). Practical dramatic reform was certainly needed, however; and Gluck's dramatic intelligence, which kept his operas on the stage while those of the greater musician were neglected, needs to be considered. While granting Gluck "a sense of dramatic wholes in which Rameau was deficient" (p.556) Girdlestone insists that "Too much is made of Gluck's virtues as a playwright and too little of the value of his music" (p.563).

1. See below, Ch.II.

"His dramatic qualities are precious but the excellence of his music is more so...The enchantment of the fabled second act of Orfeo is nothing if not musical...when we call up the Iphigénies to our mind we turn to "Diane impitoyable", to "Par un père cruel", to "O toi qui prolongeas mes jours", even to "Le calme rentre dans mon coeur", and savour them for their music, without troubling about the skill with which they are integrated in the drama as a whole...What we really love in Gluck ...is not the reforming dramatist but the accomplished Italianate musician". (p.564)

On this plane of subjective response might one not love Gluck's music most when, as in Orfeo and Armide, it is at its least Italianate? And certainly his contemporaries in Italy and France regarded him as characteristically a German composer.

Objectively considered, only a superficial, even irresponsible, appreciation of these passages from the Iphigénies can be made "without troubling" about the dramatic context. Especially in "Le calme rentre dans mon coeur" (Tauride II.3) the musical idea is absolutely governed by the dramatic irony and the music qua music is nothing. Gluck's music "survives...because it is in itself the drama, not a mere fashionable dress to cover a text".⁽¹⁾ As for Orfeo II, its dramatic relevance has been supremely demonstrated⁽²⁾ and our appreciation of the music cannot but be enhanced by an understanding of this.

The dramatically illogical conclusion of Hippolyte is disappointing, but it is in good company (with, for instance, Orfeo and Alceste; at least with Rameau the music remains excellent). It is one of the finest operas of its time because of the indestructible myth, the dramatic method Rameau inherited, the admirable characterization of three

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1. Grout p.246.
 2. Kerman pp.43-5.

main roles, and unfailing musical invention. Like Handel's operas this is nevertheless an opera by a great composer rather than a dramatist. Gluck's aesthetic pronouncements - for example, "...non v'è regola d'ordine ch'io non abbia creduto doversi di buona vogli sacrificare in grazia dell' effetto" ⁽¹⁾ - are far removed from those of Rameau, whose writings are strictly concerned with musical theory, although he made many interesting observations on details of dramatic articulation. Masson said "Rameau n'est pas un dramaturge. Mais il n'en est pas moins un grand musicien dramatique". ⁽²⁾ He paid the most scrupulous attention to details of declamation, which became a province of his musical thought, but readily accepted a generally amorphous libretto as a whole. He caused his poets to alter verses but did not insist on dramatic coherence: "He was, it seems, indifferent to his plots but not to his texts". ⁽³⁾ Gluck also left the plot to others, but having accepted a dramatic idea he criticised both verbal details and the total structure, insisting, for example, on the reduction of Tauride to four acts. ⁽⁴⁾ No amount of skill with details enabled Rameau to transcend the limitations of his poets and shape the episodes into a dramatic whole.

Gluck partly achieved this, in French opera as in the Vienna reform, by using short aria forms and a singing recitative style with the same intention as the French composer. "Che puro ciel" might be regarded as an extended Italian recitativo accompagnato, the expressiveness of the orchestra exceeding that of the voice; but such scenes are found in Rameau (Hippolyte V.3: "Où suis-je...Quels doux concerts"). With similar words ("Che farò" - in Orphée,

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1. Preface to Alceste, printed score of 1769 (Hopkinson 37A).
 2. Masson p.558.
 3. Girdlestone p.540.
 4. Correspondence pp.130-2.

"J'ai perdu mon Euridice" - and Hippolyte IV.1, "Ah! faut-il en un jour perdre tout ce que j'aime") both composers wrote rondos with episodes approaching recitative style. It is precisely in the "skill with which they are integrated in the drama" that Rameau and Gluck differ, the former indulging for its own sake what Gluck uses for a dramatic end. The Elysian "Forêt d'Aricie" is outside the drama proper, the aria of Hippolyte dramatically inapt. The Elysium of Orfeo is crucial to the drama, and "Che farò" is the emotional crux of the last act. In Paris Gluck achieved operas which do not require the implied apology of historical study as Orfeo and Alceste do; Italian 'reform' wedded to the French tradition produced more satisfactory dramas than either alone. Gluck's role in Paris was not merely that of a musician; for him opera was not "a purely musical form, but...a dramatic one in which music has an articulating function".⁽¹⁾

B. The transition from Rameau to the "époque de Gluck"

1. The successors of Rameau

Operatic tyrannies - of Lully, Gluck, or Meyerbeer - cause the history of French opera to fall into clearly divided periods: 1774 ends the "époque de Rameau" and opens the "époque de Gluck".⁽²⁾ In the intervening periods change occurred within a context of conservatism: Campra is a natural bridge from Lully to Rameau, working on the lines laid down by the former but with more musical elaboration. Between Rameau and Gluck the position is complicated by the Italians, who menaced the French opera from without in the 'Guerre des Bouffons', and from within in the operas now to be discussed. If it is true that "The best composers who

1. Kerman p.206.

2. See Lajarte, I p.273.

wrote for opéra-comique...had not the stature for Rameau's succession", ⁽¹⁾ it is hardly relevant, for theirs was a new genre and few of them tried to follow Rameau directly. The Opéra-Comique was particularly fruitful in the 1760s but at the Opéra a general lack of artistic confidence or sense of direction is symptomised by the frequent resetting of librettos from an earlier and better period, and by the transitional musical styles even where old forms are retained. New developments were suggested by composers whose careers were adversely affected by Gluck; as he acknowledged:-

"...vous avez grande raison de dire qu'on a trop négligé les Compositeurs François; car, ou je me trompe fort, je crois que Gossec et Philidor, qui connoissent la coupe de l'Opéra François, serviroient infiniment mieux le Public que les meilleurs Auteurs Italiens, si l'on ne s'enthousiasmoit pas pour tout ce qui a l'air de nouveauté". (2)

Especially in the composers named, 'reform', the use of an Italianate musical idiom within the tradition of French opera, is manifest before 1774.

At first Lully was still too much performed, or too hallowed, for his librettos to be appropriated:-

"...nos Musiciens...n'osent encore toucher aux Opéras de Lulli, comme nos ancêtres n'osoient s'écarter par respect de la doctrine d'Aristote". (3)

Armide survived until 1764, Thésée until 1779 (104 years after its first performance), Amadis until 1771 in which year it was the first to be reset by Laborde (similarly Gossec's Thésée was written about 1779, but not performed until 1782). Victims of the 'Guerre des Bouffons' were

1. Girdlestone p.565.

2. Gluck's letter to Du Roulet, July-August 1776, MPS p.44; Correspondence p.85.

3. d'Alembert op.cit. p.415. He contrasts this reverence with the Italians, who displaced their best operas by inferior resettings.

chosen, such as Destouches' Omphale⁽¹⁾ (La Motte, 1701), or those which had already been dropped. Colasse's Enée et Lavinie (Fontenelle, 1690) became "in French opera one of the earliest examples of resetting an old libretto, a practice so common in Italy".⁽²⁾ The composer was the aforementioned Antoine Dauvergne (1713-97); others to be considered are Rameau's pupil J.B. de la Borde (Laborde) (1734-94), J.B. (Philibert) Cardonne (1730-92), and P.M. Berton (1727-80). Dauvergne had already produced "Le premier intermède que nous ayons eu dans le goût purement Italien",⁽³⁾ Les Troqueurs (1753).

"Purement Italien" should not be taken literally. Campra's Cantates Françaises and Rameau's ariettes were also supposedly "dans le goût Italien" but this would hardly have been recognised outside France. Les Troqueurs, although like Le Devin du Village sung throughout, was an important stimulus to opéra-comique, and Dauvergne, himself a mediocrity, is thus partly responsible for the major developments in late 18th-century French theatre music. Enée et Lavinie, 'tragédie remise en musique', his most successful serious opera, set the pattern for resettings before Piccinni: five acts, omitting the Prologue but keeping all the divertissements although their disproportionate length tends to overshadow the dramatic parts of the opera.

Dauvergne's musical style is for the most part unadventurous, even within the French tradition: 'Chant français' persists, the recitative contains short ternary structures and merges with the airs, frequent time changes give an

1. See Grimm, Lettre sur Omphale. Other victims were Campra's Hésione (1701) and Lully's Atys (1676) (Annals).

2. Annals. Ballet, Opéra et autres Ouvrages Lyriques lists it as "remise totalement en musique par d'Auvergne, avec quelques changements dans les paroles..."

3. Mercure de France, cited Annals.

a-metrical effect (Ex.1). The recitative mostly uses only continuo; here strings add dignity to the King's speech. The scoring is nearer Rameau than Lully, although, except for the double-stopping, it is simpler: the cadential part-writing (Bars 1-2) is Lullian. The air "O Janus" is repeated as a chorus (p.13). Dauvergne's ballets are like Rameau but far inferior, and he exaggerates the device of key-contrasts by following V of g with bb. Extreme keys were common at this time; here, with a dark-toned accompaniment for divided violas (no violins), the abrupt contrast introduces the ghost of Didon (p.71).

Simplicity was considered one of the virtues of Italian music, and if it is not Italian here it is not the less symptomatic of a rejection of Rameau's complexity in favour of a more direct and less subtle music. Laborde retained more of his master's richness of style, but at the price of originality. Dauvergne's storm (descent of Junon, p.25) was poor imitation Rameau, and in Thétis et Pélée⁽¹⁾ Laborde's tempest (II.7, p.113) fits the harmony (F/G/Bb/Db) of a Rameau earthquake⁽²⁾ to a more regular rhythm. Pélée's soliloquy "Que mon destin est déplorable" (I.1, p.11) reproduces the mood of Colasse's setting and melodically echoes Hippolyte II.1, but the continuation is contrapuntally less delicate. The duet that ends I (Ex.2B) shows various aspects of the transition. The parallel-motion 'chant français' resembles Colasse's setting (Ex.2A); the harmony, with liberal suspensions, is old-fashioned and uses "the chord of the superfluous fifth, which makes all nature shudder except our Gallic

1. Originally Colasse (Fontenelle 1689). Laborde's setting (1765) was not performed at the Académie Royale (MGG gives Fontainebleau 20.8.1765; Clément and Larousse give Théâtre prince de Choisy 10.10.1765). The score is published.

2. Les Incas, in Les Indes Galantes.

neighbours". (1) Laborde departs from tradition in the orchestra. The violins double the voices, add harmonically essential notes (bars 1,2,5) and decorate (2,3,5) to 'fill in' with repeated notes, in the manner of the later 18th century. This is not even rhythmical counterpoint, and only in bar 5 has the 1st violin a line seemingly intended for expressive intensification.

In Omphale (1769), (2) one of the last nearly literal resettings, Cardonne bears the same relation to Rameau that Destouches did to Lully: the simple mind and elaborated inessentials of a decadent style. Destouches' emotional range is limited, as is shown by comparison of perhaps the best piece in Omphale ("Digne objet d'une flamme éternelle", III.1) with Lully (or, the ground bass suggesting the comparison, with Purcell): there is far less harmonic resource. Cardonne is generally inferior to Destouches but his setting is intermittently intelligent and exemplifies well the last stage of transition - the more representative coming from a minor talent. It occasionally suggests the influence of Ernelinde (3) but generally the forms and style follow traditional paths - 'chant français', airs attached to the recitative, even the old texture of 'air de basse' (4) where Destouches used it. An air (II.2) which in Destouches (Ex. 3A) arose naturally from the recitative (though it is in itself formal, with repeated sections) is set elaborately by

1. Burney, A General History of Music IV p.611, referring to a passage in the 1754 Castor, quoted Girdlestone, p.232.

2. Unpublished; MS BO A 217.

3. 1767 (see below p.27ff).

4. The voice doubles the bass, with two violin parts above. Cardonne has three and does not maintain the texture throughout; hints of the texture appear in Laborde, Ex.6B bars 8-11.

Cardonne with the same mood but in the major (Ex. 3B). The ornamented 'chant français' is unconventionally accompanied by violin arpeggios such as Rameau might have conceived for an illustrative purpose.⁽¹⁾ Cardonne's treatment of the figure, which has no such purpose, is decidedly crude.

It is in the accompanied recitative that future developments are most unequivocally anticipated. Although 'récitatif obligé' appears in Rameau it differed from accompagnato, and this latter was the feature of Italian opera which French writers most envied.⁽²⁾ In Lavinie's vision of the ruin of Carthage (III.4) Dauvergne uses clichés of 'chant français' in the voice (Ex.4);⁽³⁾ ornaments and sequentially rising 3rds and falling 5ths (bars 8-9). In Hippolyte IV.4 Rameau used similar vocal and orchestral figures - broken chords, note repetition, contrast of loud and soft. The crucial difference is, in Rameau, the dominance through every interruption of the voice, which builds from fragments towards linear continuity. Dealing with a similar series of exclamations Dauvergne gives the voice a simple succession of quavers and semiquavers, except at "O ciel" and "J'entends ses cris", after which the voice returns to formulae and a Lullian arioso cadence. Rameau develops contrasting material simultaneously, in voice and orchestra. Dauvergne confines his orchestra to gaps between vocal phrases; under the voice is a held chord, or nothing. Rameau, making the harmonic progression a collaboration of voice and orchestra, gives a

1. See Hippolyte II.4, and Thétis (Laborde) II.8, where similar arpeggios evoke the sea-god.

2. See d'Alembert, op. cit. p.420ff; Marmontel, Examen des réflexions de M. Dalembert sur la liberté de la Musique p.89, and Essai sur les Révolutions de la Musique en France (see below, Ch.V p.160.)

3. Bars marked '2' are equivalent to 2/4, i.e. the semiquavers of bars 10-11 are equal to the demisemiquavers of 9 and 12.

continuously developing musical logic to a nervous, disjointed texture. Dauvergne starts similarly (bars 1-5), then adopts a texture like Rameau's "tous les dieux conjurés" (7-9), the orchestra punctuating the vocal phrases. Then voice and orchestra separate. The latter goes from F via an unusual augmented 6th to its dominant (10-11); the voice implies f ("c"-ab"), which the orchestra's diminished 7th contradicts (or postpones). The likeness to late 18th-century expressionism as well as conventional French arioso emphasises the stylistic uncertainty of the period.

Dauvergne here bridges the gap between the old French accompanied recitative and the new, given definitive shape by Philidor. It is a method demanding less musical sophistication than Rameau's, and one more easily abused by sacrificing continuity and design in the interests of excitement. The use of 'chant français' with accompagnato is still further advanced in Cardonne's spirited representation of the jealous rage of Argine (Omphale III.5) (Ex.5A). The flexibility of the old style yields to alternation of orchestral aggression ('f et vite'; rapid scales) with held chords (bars 2-3; lento). Yet the cadence ("l'empoisonne") uses a Lullian harmonic cliché, the plagal cadence with the voice rising to the third of the tonic chord.

At Scene 6 (when Hercule, "arrachant le poignard de la main d'Argine", prevents the murder of Omphale) Cardonne cuts four lines of text and moves more swiftly, overlapping the voices for a bar (Ex.5C). Destouches (5B) here proceeded with unsuitable smoothness, using only crotchets and quavers. Still in 'chant français' and similar rhythms, Cardonne hurries with semiquavers (bar 2) and retards with minims (4-5), providing a melodic climax on g" and a conventionally anguished diminished 4th ("achève"). Destouches seems comparatively unaffected by the passion in the text, which Cardonne gives the singer the chance to deliver dramatically -

a distinction similar to that between Lully's and Gluck's recitatives in Armide.⁽¹⁾

Adèle de Ponthieu (Razins de S. Marc 1772)⁽²⁾ is a product of the then common practice of collaboration, between Laborde and Berton. Laborde probably wrote the scene in 'récitatif obligé' (Ex.6A) which retains the transitional style although the libretto was new. Although the violin part in bars 3-4 and the double-stopping at 17 are typically French the alternation of voice and orchestra looks forward to Piccinni.⁽³⁾ At "Mais quel mortel" the voice part leaves recitative formulae and is melodically akin to 'chant français', with subservient orchestra. By bar 24 'chant français' is definitely established and the fine descent from f' to Bb recalls Lully's bass recitatives, or Rameau's. The orchestration is quite unlike the old style, however, and the monotonous and rather clumsy broken texture seems to be attempting a combination of an Italian style of accompaniment with French continuity of bass.

Since it is in aria that the post-Gluck French opera form differs most from the form established by Lully, it is to be expected that the most obviously untraditional parts of the transitional operas are the occasional arias. Dauvergne's stylistic decadence is shown in his rudimentary counterpoint, even in choruses, simple harmony, and lack of voluptuousness in passages like the descent of Vénus (Enée IV.4, p.147). Laborde uses a partial counterpoint not far removed from Gluck's in scenes of Thétis based on Colasse's

1. See Ex.18.

2. Based on a play by de la Place (1757). Unpublished; in fragments, BN Rés. MS 1609 "Par M^r Berton père (Titre non autographe)/Ms in 4^o 294 x 218 mm 55ff/ (Copies, modifications et additions autographes, de divers paginations. Sont autographes de Berton les ff 21-47 et quelques annotations des ff 1-14)". Also BN Rés. MS 1592, "Fragments et altérations"; orchestral material (BO); a few published numbers.

3. See Ex.47B.

music⁽¹⁾ which mark the contrast between the confident simplicities of Lully's pupil, in a settled idiom, and the uncertain simplicities of Rameau's. Neither has a pronounced individuality and their music does not merge for the good of the whole: particularly as Laborde, in the same act, significantly using words not by Fontenelle, diverges most sharply from tradition. In Doris's scene and air (III.4, p.157; in Colasse, III.5) the recitative (Ex.6B) remains simple, with some independence of accompaniment to the 'chant français'. A brusque cadence dismisses the reminiscence of Rameau (bars 3-4) and diverges from the French idea of continuity by sharply separating the recitative from the air (and the old text from the new: originally the confidante had an aria here). In the air the violins have material entirely their own and the piece is dominated by this instrumental invention; to preserve which supremacy Laborde abandons contrapuntal rule and reduces the texture to two parts by crudely doubling voice and bass (8-11) (the violas - quintes - are mere padding).

A similar air in Adèle (Ex.6A bar 34) may also be Laborde's. The five-bar ritornello divides aria from recitative and the elaborate orchestral idea is dominant; the simple vocal line is like an 'air de basse' but not, as it might effectively have been, in unison with the instrumental bass. Like Campra, Laborde is said to have attempted to write in the Italian manner "sans perdre de vue le chant français".⁽²⁾ Another air in Adèle approaches Piccini in

1. In deference to public admiration for particular scenes: see Laborde's "avertissement" (printed score). These (III. 1-3) include the chorus "O destin" (varied) (p.142) and the monologue of Éréc, "Ciel! en voyant ce temple redoutable" (p.152).

2. Castilhon, Journal des Beaux-Arts, cited Marie Briquet, 'Laborde' in MGG; she refers to another monologue which appears as Berton's autograph (BN Rés. 1609 f 26). Her qualification "das heisst 'le goût français'" is misleading, since 'chant français' is as much a set of formulae as a taste.

manner ("Amour, tu m'as rendu perfide") and Italianate aria in length (c. 140 bars) and function; one of few examples before Sabinus of a full aria-form outside the divertissement (those in Ernelinde are more concise). Collaboration perhaps accounts for the musical anonymity of Adèle, and frequent revisions for its unevenness of style; these Italianate elements are mixed with choruses like stiffened Rameau and a lovers' scene in purely French recitative with a parallel-motion duet (Ex.7) more frigid than comparable scenes in Rameau. The technique is ruder than in Thétis (Ex.2B) with only continuo to support singularly clumsy dissonances. The suspension (bar 14) which would be difficult to 'correct' without making matters worse, might be taken for an error if the duet were not written out twice. (1)

2. Reform before Gluck; Philidor and Gossec

In all these transitional operas, the modernities and (in the resettings) improvements, are incidental and do not compensate for unevenness of invention and the failure to rethink the total structure in a new musical and social context. A more radical solution was needed, and the resettings only demonstrated the exhaustion of the tradition they sought to perpetuate. They were unlikely to succeed when a far bolder step away from tradition failed: Ernelinde (1767). Adèle, Ernelinde and Sabinus (Chabanon) (2) have been bracketed together as "reform operas before Gluck". (3) Certain features they do indeed share, but they are fundamentally different in conception. Despite many revisions, they were unsuccessful until Ernelinde in 1777, within the

1. BN Rés. 1609 pp.66 and 67.

2. Based on his Eponine (1762).

3. Guilet, L'Evolution d'un genre: Le livret d'opéra en France de Gluck à la Révolution (1774-93), cited Garlington, "Le Merveilleux and operatic reform", MQ 1963 p.484.

"époque de Gluck", achieved a commercial success corresponding to its earlier "succès d'estime". It had reappeared in 1769 entitled Sandomir, Prince de Danemark; Adèle was revived in 1775, re-set in 1781.⁽¹⁾ Sabinus was the shortest-lived, although heavily revised between December 1773 (Versailles) and February 1774 (Aulide followed in April). None of these operas is easy of access; only Ernelinde was published (1769) and its revival in 1777 was in a completely revised form.⁽²⁾ The fragments of Sabinus are more extensive than those of Adèle. The best MS disappeared during the Revolution; bundles of sketches, reworkings, and performance material survive;⁽³⁾ a careful reconstruction was made by Gastoué.⁽⁴⁾

In the "époque de Gluck" the chorus retained its importance in French opera and the role of ballet altered only gradually. Ballet had already become less relevant to the drama; in Ernelinde it was so inessential as to be largely omitted in 1777 although in 1776 ballets were added to Ab este. In Sabinus they intrude on the very slow-moving action. In Aulide they are long and less relevant than normally in Lully or Rameau, although Gluck uses one (I.4) for a dramatic irony similar to Hippolyte III. The crowd acclaim Iphigénie (they will soon be crying for her blood) and Agamemnon's despairing voice is heard against the choral dance; the irony is in the music, not (as in Rameau) merely visible. Ernelinde (1777) and Tauride reduced the status of ballet, and later operas, such as Les Horaces, were conceived

1. See below, Ch. VIII.A.

2. Vocal score COF; full score, copyist's MS, BO A 215d 1-2 (without overture). See below, Ch. VI.

3. BO A 228; BN Rés. 1429. "Notice" by Tiersot evaluating the sources (including two versions of the text) tipped into BO. "Table des manuscrits de Sabinus, dressé par A. Gastoué", octobre 1935, tipped into both.

4. "Sabinus, restitué par les soins de A. Gastoué", BN SFM 17bis.

without it.

Burney complained that

"In 1770...the serious opera had not advanced a step towards perfection, or even variety... if the opera of Ernelinde, by Philidor, be excepted, in which that ingenious composer quitted the ancient opera style of his country, accelerated the recitatives, and terminated his scenes with many excellent airs, à l'Italienne".(1)

The recitative was perhaps delivered more rapidly but the 'chant français' survives in Ernelinde as well as Adèle and Sabinus. Aulide was the first opera without it and it reappeared in operas by French composers of the Gluck epoch. In 1767 it rubbed shoulders with Italian elements - long arias and accompagnato - not typical of Gluck's French operas except Tauride.

Sabinus is old-fashioned in plan: five acts, each with one major event and a long divertissement, each tending to open (like Hippolyte) with introspective monologue. Ernelinde and Adèle have only three acts,⁽²⁾ a plan previously used in non-tragic works such as Rameau's Platée (comédie-lyrique), Mondonville's Titon et l'Aurore (pastorale-héroïque), or Monsigny's Aline (ballet-héroïque). Only Sabinus retains the 'merveilleux'; the hero's actions, like those of Cadmus in the first tragédie-lyrique just 100 years before, are dictated by a supernatural being, the "Génie de Gaule". Adèle is a human drama of love, jealousy and chivalry; Ernelinde, an adaptation of an old libretto,⁽³⁾ is 'historical' (like

1. Op. cit. p.617.

2. Before Adèle this initiative of Ernelinde had been followed in Laborde's tragédie Ismène et Isménias (1770).

3. From Ricimero, re de Vandali (Noris, set by Pallavicino, 1684), adapted by Poinsinet (revisions by Sedaine in 1777). Most subsequent adaptations adopt this 3-act pattern, yet the 1777 version reverts to five.

Metastasian opera) and anticipates 'rescue opera' when a sudden reversal of fortune, against all military probability, saves the sympathetic characters from the tyrant.⁽¹⁾ Gluck re-established mythical subjects, usually Greek and treated less ponderously than in Sabinus. Until the Revolution most non-mythical French operas were opéra-comique - in this respect Gluck certainly conformed with tradition.

2a. Ernelinde

Ernelinde was composed with full consciousness of Gluck - including literal quotation. When Orfeo was engraved in Paris (1763)⁽²⁾ Philidor read the proofs; and in Le Sorcier occurred what Berlioz denounced as "un des plagiats les plus audacieux dont il y ait d'exemple dans l'histoire de la musique".⁽³⁾ Jullien⁽⁴⁾ considered it a chance resemblance and Fétis⁽⁵⁾ denied its existence, even asserting that Le Sorcier was written first. The resemblance is inescapable (Ex.8A) but not extended: that Philidor was prepared to borrow is better shown by Ernelinde. Such exact reproduction of Orfeo cannot be coincidence:-

Overture	<u>Orfeo</u> (C)	Overture	<u>Ernelinde</u> (C)
Bars 43-41	are identical except in orchestral detail to	Bars 54-62	
52-53	are condensed into ...	63	
54-70	the same progression is reduced for	64-70	

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1. Compare the Iphigénies and Alceste (P) but Ernelinde has no supernatural element at all and is therefore closer to the true 'rescue opera' (Richard Coeur de Lion, Lodoiska, Fidelio, etc.).
 2. Hopkinson 30A.
 3. A Travers Chants 2nd edn. (1872) p.128.
 4. La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI p.346.
 5. Biographie Universelle des Musiciens edn. 1860, VII p.31.

The weakness of the Orfeo overture lies only in its incompatibility with what follows. Philidor's overture is undistinguished although its military manner is relevant to the drama: his main theme invited no development and he used Gluck's very taut development section instead (p.5).⁽¹⁾ Ernelinde likewise follows the overture with the minor, in a duet which recalls the harmony of the duet in Orfeo III (Ex.8B) and proceeds - logically enough - to quote another part of the same piece (Ex.8C) in a different tempo from the Gluck and with a characteristic smorzando cadence (followed by Rodold singing in E♭). This plagiarism may have been unconscious, since it occurs in a well-formed and dramatically effective piece, but it is more exact than Le Sorcier's.

It would be hard to trace a deeper influence. Ernelinde was recognized by contemporaries as an Italian infiltration, and ran into difficulties with the Opéra management:-

"Ce maudit style italien ne lui réussit pas mieux à l'opéra; Rebel, scandalisé d'en voir par tout des traces dans un acte que Philidor lui présentoit, le refusa séchement, et lui déclara qu'il ne vouloit point introduire d'airs dans les scènes. ...il ne perdoit point de vue son premier projet d'introduire au grand opéra ce genre de musique italienne que la langue françoise ne repoussoit pas... & malgré l'arrêt de Rebel, il vouloit essayer d'introduire des airs dans les scènes. Mais on n'étoit pas encore mûr en France pour cette tentative. On ne l'étoit pas surtout à l'académie royale de musique".⁽²⁾

The same author calls Ernelinde

"...cet ouvrage, qui fait époque & qui assure à son auteur la gloire d'avoir le premier substitué sur notre théâtre lyrique, le récitatif simplement déclamé et les airs, duos, trios & autres morceaux

1. Page references to 1769 score. The theme was hinted at before, p.3, bars 28-31.

2. Ginguené, "France", Enc. Méth. I, p.620 (the present author's italics).

de musique mesurée, suivant la méthode italienne,
à l'ancienne et soporifique psalmodie française".(1)

Some of these terms are misleading, although the itali-
cised passage could serve as a motto for the period and the
suggestion that Ernelinde "fait époque" deserves consideration.
But "airs dans les scènes" are, literally, what French opera
always had: air and recitative merged into continuous dialogue.
What Philidor did was to use "airs à l'italienne" (arias)
outside the divertissement, where his predecessors used the
'petit air' or none. Thus while in I.5 (p.62) Ricimer's
"A ma voix que la mort s'arrête"⁽²⁾ is part of his victory
speech and therefore outside the dramatic continuity, his
"Né dans un camp" (II.2;p.121; 1777,III.2) is a full ternary
form "dans la scène" in dialogue (addressed to Ernelinde).
Most of the long arias occur in the conventional French
places - near the beginnings and ends of acts.

Ginguené's comment on the recitative may be based on
memories of the later, more performed version for which it
was completely revised in keeping with methods established
by Gluck. In 1767 it is sometimes separated from the airs
by ritornelli and full closes, but is essentially in the old
style. Strings are added to the continuo in certain places
only (compare Ex.1) and the voice part is essentially 'chant
français' (Ex.9A): the bass moves with the voice. The
figure leading to E \flat (bars 3-4) is pure Lully. While this
is "simplement déclamé" it is hardly Italian; the same pas-
sage was reset in the newer fashion in 1777 (Ex.9B).
Similarly, a minuscule duet (Ex.9C) in 'chant français'
became recitative tremolo in 1777 (Ex.9D).

1. Ibid. p.621.

2. 1777 II.5, in part.

In the monologue of Sophie (Tom Jones III.4, p.137), Philidor had already followed the lead of Dauvergne, using 'récitatif obligé' with the elaborate techniques of accompagnate. The more extended accompagnate of Ernelinde preceded Omphale and Adèle in which older-fashioned (albeit younger) composers tried the same thing with less conviction and stylistic consistency. Bachaumont ascribed the failure of Ernelinde to the libretto⁽¹⁾ (this is habitual with Parisian critics) but praised the heroine's monologue (1767 II, p.206ff; 1777 III, p.180ff):-

"L'accompagnement de ce récitatif est exécuté en partie par des cors, qui par des Crescendo admirables, peignent à l'imagination les cris d'une ombre plaintive".(2)

As a musical rendering of mental torment the passage (Ex.10B) anticipates more subtle effects in Gluck, and decidedly cruder ones in Gossec and Lemoine. Significantly, the scene was scarcely altered in 1777;⁽³⁾ it could then be understood, after Alceste (P). (Alceste (V), performed and published in Vienna in the same years as Ernelinde, cannot have influenced it). Philidor unifies the various moods by using a main tempo, largo, which returns after the andantino with an inversion of the opening (10B bar 25). The principal technique - Italian rather than French - is the alternation of voice and orchestra; the slight musical interest in the voice contrasts with considerable orchestral inventiveness. The largo is richly expressive and becomes more so in fragmented restatements emphasising the affective semitone - summarised

1. Mémoires secrets III pp.267ff. See also Grimm, CL I VI p.280; he calls Poinsinet "absurde et froid" but adds "La musique est superbe".

2. Mémoires secrets III p.269.

3. In 1777 "Quel épais nuage" follows the orchestral passage (Ex.10A bar 7) and is not separated from the completion of the sentence:"...me dérobe l'éclat des cieux".

in the last chords before andantino, Gb/Bb/E# leading to F/A# (p.207). The andantino (Ex.10B) is an interlude of less intrinsic distinction but with more harmonic strength than is usual in similar passages; by a simple device the third (dominant) statement (Ex.10B bar 20) after two in the tonic turns towards a diminished 7th, the bass oscillating between C# and C# - an harmonic incertitude of a kind beloved of Berlioz.⁽¹⁾ The second large (bar 24), with the horns, is undeniably impressive, and the allegretto conclusion (Ex.10C), with a sobbing violin figure and final arioso, is touching. The scene continues, however, with presto; an eleven-bar miniature air (p.211); and further recitative with more horn crescendo before the aria. Too involved in its own novelty it lacks the architectural sense, the disciplined growth to a climax, in Gluck's finest recitative. The aria in Eb (p. 213) is a fine movement and provides a satisfying end to the act.⁽²⁾

Bachaumont adds that

"On trouve encore des Duo, un Trio, un ou deux Choeurs de la plus grande beauté, & , quoi qu'en disent les détracteurs de ce genre, des symphonies & des airs de Danse fort agréables dans le Ballet de la fin".⁽³⁾

The longer duet of III (1777, IV), a molto andante of a melodic design inconceivable in old French opera (p.250), follows a highly dramatic dialogue in 'récitatif obligé' and is followed by a 'chant français' recitative and final duo (Ex.9D), piquant indication of a stylistic uncertainty persisting here as in Laborde, Cardonne and Sabinus.

1. Compare La Damnation de Faust II, 4th to 8th bar after fig. 25 (Old Complete Edition (Breitkopf), in Eulenburg Miniature score, p.75).

2. See below, Ch.II p. 44.

3. Loc..cit.

Should Ernelinde, then, and 1767, rather than Aulide and 1774, begin the new epoch? Ernelinde was undoubtedly a revolutionary gesture; it makes fewer concessions to the old French opera than Aulide, with fewer 'petits airs', less merging of recitative and air after Rameau's pattern. But the revolution was not carried through: Ernelinde was not a success (although many works fell short of the 1767 total of 18 performances) and it is not consistent in style; only with Aulide did it become impossible to continue in the old manner. Omphale, Adèle, and Sabinus, as well as the thorough revision of Ernelinde itself for presentation in the Gluck era, are proofs of this. Ginguené's "qui fait époque", then, is an excusable exaggeration. Ernelinde is the finest of the transitional works; it looks ahead to Gluck, and to Piccinni in accompagnato and aria, but it also harks back to Rameau in the ordinary recitative and, more profoundly, in its moving arioso. Influenced by Rameau and Gluck, he seems to unite them; versed, like Gossec, in the old style yet drinking "hard at the Italian fountain",⁽¹⁾ he put the resulting musical mixture to dramatic uses. Rodoald is given a cavatina-cabaletta formation, the first part (Ex.11) describing the devastation of his country, the second (in D) breathing defiance of Ricimer; the former's instrumentation (strings and bassoons) recalls the superb prison scene of Dardanus (1744 version, IV.1) but the texture, with fp and contrapuntal gestures, recalls Gluck. The separated phrases are reminiscent of Hippolyte II; as Thésée awaits an answer from Neptune so Rodoald draws breath and watches the effect of his words upon Ernelinde and Ricimer (bars 16 and 20). The direct chromaticism, so different from the intricacies of Rameau, is nevertheless part of an utterance whose tone

1. Burney, The Present State of Music in France and Italy, (1771), p.26.

is essentially French; and this quality is not dependent on imitation of the past but belongs to Philidor's own generation among whom his ultimate failure as an operatic composer is the most regrettable.

2b. Sabinus

Sabinus was the last new work of the "époque de Rameau"⁽¹⁾ and the last French opera to be planned and executed on the Lullian model (at least until Tarare). Its uncomfortably transitional style makes the worst of both worlds: the continuity, relevance of everything to the dramatic idea, and variety of characters in the model are sacrificed in the interests of the Italianate musical style. The plan is exceptionally static, but there are portents of the Gluck period as well as nostalgic reference to a more leisurely dramatic method. Monologues, or scenes with a confidante, open each act; then comes a scene leading to divertissement, followed by an action. In I these are the dream (I.1), the wedding festivities of Sabinus and Eponine, and a warning followed by "Pantomime - Danse vive et enthousiaste préparant aux combats". II, after a ternary air for Eponine, has two divertissements, pastoral and religious; in the latter the Druids are interrupted by the Romans (Chorus: "Ravagez ces forêts, Détruisez un culte odieux"). The act ends unusually, with instrumental music headed "Sur l'air suivant les Gaulois sortent avec les gestes de la douleur et du désespoir". III has a monologue for Sabinus followed by a long scene with the "Génie de Gaule"; only in IV is there any dramatic development. It starts with a long aria for Mucien, after which the supposedly dead Sabinus appears disguised to Eponine in order to lure Mucien (who loves her) into ambush; this, again

1. Lajarte I p.259.

after a monologue, forms the action of V.

The scheme, which should discourage any description of Sabinus as "reform opera", could have worked given the musical style of Lully or Rameau; but the large forms conflict with the overall structure and the result is more ponderous even than Alceste (V). In one respect Sabinus marked an epoch at the Opéra: "on y vit, pour la première fois, des trombones, et pour la troisième, des clarinettes..."⁽¹⁾ The former are much used (and abused) in the Gluck epoch. Here they are clearly intended to evoke the supernatural (at the tombs of Sabinus's ancestors (Ex.12)⁽²⁾) and are used, as in Alceste or Idomeneo, with commendable restraint. In general, the orchestration is unremarkable for a work which has been credited with the paternity of the modern orchestra,⁽³⁾ as the trombone music follows naturally from the horn music in Ernelinde (see Ex.10).

Like Ernelinde, Sabinus is Janus-faced, but its more literal allusions to past and future styles are less felicitously mingled. Despite Hellouin's assertion, "A la place d'une réelle autorité, on n'y sent que l'influence directe et accapareuse de Rameau et Mondonville",⁽⁴⁾ the influence of Gluck is apparent in the orchestration, while some of the music suggests the French operas of Piccinni. In passages such as I.2 (Ex.13)⁽⁵⁾ 'chant français' is used, decorated,

1. Hellouin, Gossec et la Musique Française à la fin du XVIII^e Siècle p.129.

2. Revised version, source BN.

3. "Ce n'est pourtant qu'avec Gossec, dans Sabinus, et Gluck dans Iphigénie [sic] que l'orchestre moderne commence à se constituer" (from the programme-booklet of the Théâtre National de l'Opéra (1966)). Orfeo and Alceste in this somewhat parochial essay are presumably only considered to be of historic interest in their French forms, after 1773.

4. Hellouin, op. cit. pp.128-9.

5. Reduced score, based on BO; BN differs in detail only. Gastoué gives string parts throughout, with horns in places.

in flexible metres and tempi, with tiny pieces of measured music; yet the music owes nothing to Rameau, and is of the transition. The monologue with solo oboe (V.2; Ex.14) is like a sombre twin of "Che puro ciel" (Orfeo II) although it is recitative-air rather than arioso-accompagnato. Despite the use of divided violas for colour the scoring is less resourceful and there is little significant harmonic development. The D major aria - the sequence, cavatina-cabaletta, recalls Rodoald's aria in Ernelinde (Ex.11) - is brusque, not ineffective, but commonplace; nearer to Piccinni's manner (Ex.14B bar 5; its last bars opened Ex.12). The crescendo effect over a pedal may have seemed striking at the time.

The characterisation does not compensate for the lack of dramatic movement. Epponine has an exquisite Da Capo aria,⁽¹⁾ largo lamentabile in f, but remains negative. Mucien, the love-sick tyrant, is barely credible. His "Triste recours des coeurs jaloux" (IV.1) resembles the 1774 duet (see Ex.16 B1); an alternative, "Amour, Dieu de mon coeur", would be out of character if one could say he had any character, better for an insipid hero than a villain and displaying coloratura of a kind hitherto confined to the divertissement in French opera and little used subsequently even by Italian composers in Paris. Nor is Sabinus satisfactorily presented. Three acts open with his introspection although his claim on our attention is, surely, as a man of action. His habitual gloom seems inappropriate in one so well cared for by supernatural powers, and no development is achieved from one monologue to another. That in V (Ex.14) gives an idea of his mood - pessimistic and nostalgic for Epponine; that in III is similar, but in recitative. An orchestral motif stated five times (a chromatic descent, conventionally expressing sorrow)

1. Both II.1 and IV, in Gastoué - possibly originally in IV and moved to II when IV was omitted.

and a repeated arioso unify the scene, a method incidentally nearer to Monteverdi than Rameau.

Gossec's music is better than his characterization. One air ("Dieux, ma raison s'égare", in III) lasts nearly 100 bars, a fully closed form; its manner is close to Piccinni, notably to Roland's "Je me reconnais".⁽¹⁾ The key (E \flat) and the original singer (Larrivée) were the same. The verbal meanings are opposite: Roland deceives himself and the music suggests false confidence, not without hints of his (actual) "délire". Sabinus ("Je ne me reconnais plus") feels and is "égaré", but the fast and confident music is inapposite: after an expressive section in c he has sufficient self-control to make a full, emphatically cadenced recapitulation of the main section. Gluck made musical forms reflect a character's state of mind, a procedure also adopted by Handel in the mad scene of Orlando II.

Sabinus's dream (I.1; Ex.15) was the most celebrated part of the opera. Although the vocal line, sung rather than declaimed, shows a close affinity to 'chant français', it also suggests Gluck's recitative methods. Sostenuto chords (originally at a higher pitch; the revision⁽²⁾ makes them more sombre) yield to quicker harmonic movement from bar 8, and 12-13 introduces dynamic contrasts. From 16, instrumental motifs complement rather than underline the voice and their sequence - sharply articulated figures (25, 27), simpler chords after the climax (34) - is that used by Gluck, with more cunning⁽³⁾ (but, unlike Candeille,⁽⁴⁾ Gossec had not Gluck as model). The dream is vaguely prognostic, not closely tied to the dramatic development. The vocal line

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1. See below, Ch.IV p.135 and Ch.V p.193.
 2. BN shows original and revised pitches.
 3. The dream in Tauride I.1; see below Ch.V p.175.
 4. Pizarre, the dream (also in I.1); see below Ch.VI p.252.

lacks control, going too high too soon without reason (db' in 6, eb' in 7) and spoiling by anticipation the fine ascent in 24-5 which stimulates the strings' vigorous outburst. In general, the declamatory rhythm is monotonous and the line too smooth to make much impact. The air which follows does not draw the emotional threads of the narration into a single coherent statement to consummate the scene: the section in c (bar 41), vigorous if rather stiffly handled, lasts only 27 bars, the largo about 20, and after these unconnected moods of agitation and sentiment there is a final allegro in F, originally about 50 bars but later cut. This succession of short airs has little dramatic purpose and arouses purely musical appetites without satisfying them.

The revisions to Sabinus, committing it musically to the new without altering its old-fashioned design, suggest doubts in the authors' minds as to their own intentions: a chorus of Druids (II "Arbitre des combats, protège des climats") is followed by the words "Bien, après un examen rigoureux", ⁽¹⁾ as if the composer was anxious to protect himself, on next glancing through the score, from compulsive revision of this number also. Of the detailed alterations, only the lowering in pitch of the chords in the "songe" has an obvious point. Between Versailles and Paris IV was dropped and V much altered at the dénouement (after Sabinus has retired into the tombs and Eponine appears). In 1773, the appearance of Mucien in pursuit of Eponine and his death are in recitative, as such a scene would probably be in Lully or Rameau. The stilted language matches the slightly precious setting, in 'chant français' (Ex.16A) and Sabinus wastes valuable time telling Mucien what he is going to do to him ("Monstre que j'abhorre"), the music remaining merely functional and itself unresponsive

1. BN Rés. 1429.

to the situation.⁽¹⁾ In 1774, when Gluck was already rehearsing Aulide, an Italiante duet was inserted, too long for its context since action is expected and cannot without straining patience be so long postponed (Ex.16B1). The duet has an 'open end', that is, there is no fermata on the tonic, which the orchestra quits at once, going (tremolando) to C (Ex.16B2). This device will become common; it may be regarded as a means of reconciling Rameau-period continuity with fuller and solidly built Italian forms. Sabinus's abuse and Epponine's ladylike exclamation are omitted, in the interests of realism, and the 1773 'bruit de guerre' terminates the scene, as before.⁽²⁾ Finally, Quinault's Prologues (or the Roland epilogue) are recalled in a divertissement celebrating the glorious future of France and the freedom of Europe.⁽³⁾

To epitomise their historical position, a final comparison between these last three original operas before Gluck may be based on their duets for tenor and baritone, quarrelling, as in the famous duet for Achille and Agamemnon in Aulide.⁽⁴⁾ In Adèle the uncertainties of the composer (Berton) led to there being three versions of, essentially, the same piece (the first phrase is always the same in words and music: Alphonse, "Allons, audacieux guerrier") - x, y and z.⁽⁵⁾ x has voices and continuo only; y adds strings and reduces the interval before Raimond sings; z is the best version with

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1. Compare Omphale (Destouches, Ex.8A) or Hippolyte III, 3-4.
 2. Ex.16 is from BO A 228; 16B1, p.31; 16B2, pp.40-2; 16A, crossed out in pencil, pp.43-4, with a sign at the 'Bruit de Guerre' directing the 16B version to it.
 3. See Appendix 1.
 4. II.6, based on material in Le Cadi Dupé (1761), Lotquenne p.211.
 5. x: BN 1592; y: BN 1609 f.37; z: BN 1609 f.21.

more elaborate orchestration. What in x was measured dialogue became in z a duet of invective much nearer that in Aulide, the voices continuously opposed from the start. Characteristically, in Sabinus the duet is an undramatic argument about policy between friends, Sabinus and Natalis, and becomes tedious. The two are of different stature and should not sing at one another like equals. The piece is too long and is followed by a full-length trio with the "Génie de Gaule", which affirms an impression given by another duet (Ex.16B) that Gossec, in trying to adapt Italian forms to French opera, lacked a sense of proportion. His pieces are well enough composed, but, as 'airs dans les scènes', maladroitly placed. The Ernelinde duet is well composed and placed. Two rivals for the heroine's hand declare war on each other.⁽¹⁾ Less formally polyphonic than Rameau⁽²⁾ Philidor dares to keep the voices on a dissonance for five bars in a high register (eb'/f') and draws them down with a chain of 7ths. If the harmony is not far from Rameau the vigorous and independent orchestration is Philidor's own (the arpeggio bass was borrowed for the Adèle duet, version 2): owing nothing to Orfeo, it corresponds to the violin figure in the Aulide duet. The greater length of Philidor's piece is justified in that it ends the scene, and originally (1767) an act, whereas Gluck goes on to a speech of Achille and a solo scene for Agamemnon. Of this group of operas it is, therefore, only Ernelinde which ushers in, in spirit as well as certain technical matters, the "époque de Gluck".

1. 1767, I.6; p.106; 1777, II.2.

2. See above p.5.

Chapter II

A. Method and structure in late Gluck

1. The aria and large musical forms

The most important single aspect of the reform in French opera was the use (at best, integration) of large aria forms, adapted from but rarely identical with the Italian aria. In Rameau the largest musical structures are the choruses, *chaconnes*, and *ariettes*; outside the action. In Italian opera the aria (*da capo*, or later approaching sonata form) is the basic musical unit. That such arias are musically interesting and sometimes effective as character-studies does not prevent the succession of similar forms from becoming monotonous; a series of the best composed and characterized arias is no substitute for drama. There is no chance here to discuss this form or the reaction against it, the 'reform' of Gluck, Calzabigi, and Durazzo. But such singers' operas aroused interest enough in France to contribute to the operatic experiments of Philidor and Gossec already discussed; while Gluck, in Vienna and Paris, achieved a musical drama in which long forms were turned to dramatic ends. (1)

Because Rameau's operatic form is potentially a superior means to musical drama than the Italian (best exemplified by Handel), the long aria cannot itself be called undramatic. Girdlestone's criticism of Gluck misses the point:-

"In several of the arias the musical interest outweighs the dramatic... Words are repeated to a quite undramatic extent..." (2)

Words are repeated when the musical form demands it; their repetition is not itself undramatic, merely unrealistic. In

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1. The best short accounts of the 'reform' are in Kerman, *op. cit.*, and Howard, *op. cit.*
 2. Girdlestone p.553.

an artificial dramatic form such as 18th-century opera realism is an irrelevant consideration and word-repetition would only be undramatic in a conversational context: Deane's strictures on Cherubini's word-setting in a duet - "verbal repetitions barely conceivable in Italian, intolerable in French"⁽¹⁾ - are gratuitous, for measured by this standard every opera of the period is intolerable. If an aria is the suitable form at a given point in the drama, the content in structural respects such as key-scheme and word repetition are matters for the musician to order; the most dramatic form might be a da capo aria, a rondo, a compound- or sonata-form, the best style a syllabic word-setting or coloratura. (It is, of course, only convenience that allows us to say that an allegro in 4/4 and a largo in 3/4 have 'the same form' merely because they are based on some common modulatory or thematic pattern).

Examples of misplaced arias may be found in Figaro IV, arias given to Basilio and Marcellina because neither had one earlier, but at odds with the progress of the action. Fuller characterization of minor roles is superfluous so near the end: their part in the plot is over (Metastasio's libretti are often prolonged in the same way). These arias would be undramatic if they were the finest in the score.

A well placed aria may yet be undramatic if it misses the emotional tone required by the situation; Hanslick faulted "Che farò" in this respect⁽²⁾ and arias of Gossec⁽³⁾ and Piccinni⁽⁴⁾ more obviously fail in this way. Criticism

1. Deane, Cherubini p.2.

2. "...man dieser Melodie ebenso gut, ja weit richtiger die entgegengesetzten Worte unterlegen könnte:

"J'ai trouvé mon Euridice,
Rien n'égale mon bonheur."

Vom Musikalisch-Schönen 2nd edn. (1858) p.25. See below, Ch.IV p. 134.

3. See above, Ch.I p.35.

4. See below, Ch.IV p.134 and Ch.V p.174.

becomes more complex as the objection must be formulated not as "this aria is misplaced" or "does not rise to the occasion", but "this air is well-intentioned but does not fulfil its own promise". It is a matter for musical analysis: if an aria continues a good beginning weakly, or fails in melodic or harmonic growth, a dramatic failure results from a musical activity. An unconvincing aria makes the character, and situation, unconvincing.

Gluck's use of long arias is connected with a general tendency to throw the greatest musical weight to the end of an act. Alceste I ends with the biggest of its arias, "Ombre, larve"; in Tauride II he controlled the protagonist's emotions in the aria "O malheureuse Iphigénie", adapted from La Clemenza di Tito.⁽¹⁾ The melodic climax, with its unorthodox dissonance,⁽²⁾ exceeds the musical expectation of the opening. A single paragraph, static within the action but itself highly dramatic, is built of irregular phrases characteristically intensified by the accompaniment, in quavers (viola), crotchets ('cello) and syncopations (vn 1), a complex pattern adaptable to every harmonic context. The sforzandi and the oboe's partial canon with the voice contribute to the enrichment of the heroine's personality and our involvement with her fate. Her emotion is transcended in "Contemplez ces tristes apprêts"⁽³⁾ which converts the convention of divertissement into a funeral ritual.⁽⁴⁾ This profoundly moving section is callously omitted in Gluck's German version of the

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1. "Se mai senti spirarti" (aria of Sesto).
 2. Which led to the famous pronouncement of Durante referred to in Howard p.6; the story is told in Berlioz, Les Soirées de l'Orchestre (1852) p.288.
 3. The second part of the same air in La Clemenza, "Al mio spirto".
 4. Compare Lully, Alceste III (see below, Ch.III p. 85).

opera⁽¹⁾ where it is replaced by a short sinfonia. Brevity does not compensate for the loss in relevance; the two movements always belonged together and here, considerably altered, form one of the most successful of Gluck's self-borrowings.

Gluck himself badly misplaced a musical expansion and made one of his finest movements an excrescence. Orfeo II is carefully planned round the tonal progression g (the gates of Hell) to F (Elysium). In Orphée Gluck upset this scheme in several ways,⁽²⁾ most especially by the insertion of new ballets. The flute solo, as the middle section in d of a ternary structure in F, alters nothing and enhances the atmosphere of the new scene. The Furies' Dance, however, not only upsets the key-scheme but destroys the dramatic logic; the longest and fiercest dance follows the Furies' subjugation by the hero. Its musical excellence has deceived balanced critics into thinking it "among the most dramatic musical utterances of the opera".⁽³⁾ It is certainly exciting, but not dramatic; Gluck repeats Rameau's error of indulging in musical expansion for its own sake. In Don Juan (1760) the same music (more strikingly scored, with trumpets and trombone, not horns) culminates the dramatic action, and also satisfies a musical need for a substantial piece after thirty short ones.

The problem is of a long musical form without concurrent dramatic development. Gossec and Berton wrote arias of over 100 bars; Gluck, closer to French tradition, used few arias in Aulide and Armide unless in places and forms used by Lully or Rameau. Only in Tauride was the aria fully integrated into an opera originally French, and there with music

1. Published in the new C F, Series 1, vol.XI.

2. For a complete analysis see Sternfeld pp.116ff.

3. Howard p.22. See also Howard, "Orfeo and Orphée", The Musical Times 1967 p.892.

adapted from Italian works. "Je t'implore et je tremble" (IV.1) is a soliloquy; its character, prayer, justifies its rigid formality. This and "Dieux qui me poursuivez" (II.1) come from Telemacco. The latter is "dans la scène" but like Pylade's aria that follows, it introduces a character fully; the contrast provides enough dramatic tension.

Pylade's other aria ends III, providing an effective curtain and by its single-minded determination preparing for his decisive intervention in IV. Tarare IV ends with just such an air before a rescue; and such purposeful aria statements come at several act ends, for example Didon I, Les Danaïdes II, and Dardanus (Sacchini) II, an air not in the original libretto which contrasts well with Dardanus' next, "Lieux funestes". In a similar position but complex in affection, the air in Ernelinde (1767, ends II, p.213; 1777, ends III) after the accompanied recitative⁽¹⁾ presents conflicting emotions in continuous music, without tempo change. The whole is ternary as is the main section, based on three separate exclamations (it is a soliloquy; Sandomir has just been imprisoned by Ricimer):-

- A1 "Oui, je cède au coup qui m'accable" (to herself)
(p.213)
- A2 "renais pour calmer ma douleur, cher époux" (as
if to Sandomir) (p.214)
- A3 "Tyran détestable, frémis" (as if to Ricimer)
(p.215)

Each section has its own motif, but A1 and A3 are related in mood: vigorous protest becomes the principal affection. The music cadences decisively in the dominant (Bb) before the more introspective B (p.216):-

- B. "Mais je suis encore plus coupable,
De tous deux j'ai fait le malheur."

1. See above, Ch.I, ex.10.

This is set without word-repetition; the accompaniment (three off-beat quavers) derives from A2 but the melody and drooping modulation (g - f - eb - by a Neapolitan Db, c) are new and poignant. Six bars bring the recapitulation (p.218) with A2 shortened and A3, now in Eb, down a 5th or up a 4th with a climax on c'". Again a fine "curtain", the aria articulates emotional confusion but is dominated by the mood of her subsequent courageous actions; and an orchestral figure resembles, and relates the mood to, the exactly contemporary "Ombre, larve" of Alceste (V) (in (P), "Divinités du Styx").

Gluck there used several tempi (as does Salieri, Les Danaïdes, end of II). He ends Aulide II with a long compound aria, like a rondo with the main part omitted at the end. Coming after another strikingly scored recitative, this (p.186:130)⁽¹⁾ like Ernelinde's expresses resolution upon a course of action that gives rise to conflicting feelings. Most of it is as if addressed to Iphigénie:-

"O toi, l'objet le plus aimable" (andante)

and more positively in the second part:-

"Non, que plutôt des Dieux l'implacable colère
A tes yeux me puisse accabler". (presto)

The first part of the andante is repeated, underlining the cause of the presto; Agamemnon then turns to Diane:-

"Et toi, Déesse impitoyable,
Perce mon coeur au lieu du sien".

Recalling I.1 ("Diane impitoyable") and the presto mood, the music is a new, decisively sweeping allegro in the tonic major.

Gluck's flexibility is remarkable; even the shorter airs of Aulide include da capo (or dal segno) ("Armez-vous d'un noble courage", I.6), ternary ("Par son père cruel", II.4,

1. Page references to 1774 printed score (Hopkinson 40A) and Peters vocal score (PVS) Hopkinson 40F.(k).

in which new words are fitted to the musical repetition), and binary structures with repeats. The frequent "airs dans les scènes" are generally short: Achille's "Calchas, d'un trait mortel blessé", although in the Metastasian position of exit-aria, consists only of about fifty bars.

As in Lully's plan, longer forms in Aulide belong, with accompanied recitative, to soliloquy. Particularly good use of compound form is made in I.7 (p.73:55) between the exposition of Clytemnestre and the entrance of Achille. The form is binary (ABAB) but the third part is a more profound restatement of the first:

	<u>Tempo</u>		<u>Mood/music</u>		<u>Words</u>
A1	<u>andante</u>	22 bars	A resigned	A	"Hélas, mon coeur sensible et tendre"
B	<u>allegro</u>	10 bars	B defiant	B	"Parjure, tu m'oses trahir"
A2		18 bars	A enriched	C	"Que sa tendresse avait pour moi des charmes"
B		17 bars	B	B	"Parjure..."

A1 is a poised melodic line proceeding from g to Bb. B is an abrupt contrast, the bass F# forcing the music back to g. B ends inconclusively on a diminished 7th which influences the harmony of the resumed andante. The bass C# continues for two bars, taking the music to d. The material is not new; a simple phrase in Bb ("La gloire et le devoir") from A1 returns, intensified, in Neapolitan relation to d ("Cruel d'y renoncer"). After the exquisite "larmes" (falling arpeggios) and the delicate chromatic bass ("Est-ce pour un ingrat") the coda restores the relation to A1, repeating its codetta in the minor mode and at a higher pitch. Her love for Achille is here a strong dramatic motif; rightly there is no corresponding enrichment to B (now fully closed in g), for this mood is induced not by her own feelings but by her mother's injunction "N'écoutez qu'un juste courroux". In this mood Achille finds her and in I.8 he coaxes it away; but it is the

formal complexity of A2 which makes his success plausible.

I.8 (p.77:59) also exemplifies a standard duet form. After recitative, including arioso, there is an air apiece; the duet begins in dialogue, at a slow tempo. The vocal entries follow more closely on one another, and overlap; the tempo becomes allegro, with the voices together. This will be called the "usual duet form"; according to Ginguené it was invented by Piccinni.⁽¹⁾ It has a sound dramatic basis of argument resolved but it is frequently used so that the final musical unanimity contradicts the dramatic sense. Furthermore, the cabaletta-like allegro is generally inferior to the earlier section. Iphigénie and Achille, Armide and Renaud, are less interesting warbling in 3rds and 6ths than at any other time - and this applies in Piccinni, Sacchini and elsewhere. Mozart (Così II.12) and Stravinsky (The Rake's Progress II.1 and III.3) turned this facile manner of writing to dramatic use; it works in the hectic Fidelio duet ("O namenlose Freude", II.5, No.15), but is normally platitudinous. The two movements are sometimes separated by a short interlude. Quartets and trios are less used and fall less readily into a standard pattern.

2. Short air, arioso, recitative

The short air, which "replaces all but a few of the arias in the Paris operas",⁽²⁾ is closer to French tradition than the aria. Gluck used it more formally than Rameau, and more frequently than other composers of the period; particularly in Armide he refrained from introducing arias in the manner of other Quinault adaptations.

1. Notice p.17.

2. Howard p.49.

"The grand aria is retained for use once or twice in an opera...What is left to the composer for the many situations which in the course of the plot require musical comment and that unfolding of emotion for which there is no space in the flow of recitative?

"For this purpose Gluck established the small aria, derived from both the small-scale arias of Traetta and the simple numbers of opéra-comique... they occur in a genuinely aria context, that is, arising out of the character's need to reveal himself...These small arias are very important to the swift unfolding of the drama in Gluck's best works. They stand among his most personal creations together with the lyrical arioso fragments which sometimes approach them very closely in function, both devices being wholly symptomatic of the continuity of reform opera". (1)

If the large aria is the composer's domain, the arioso and short air are the composer-as-dramatist's; at best they are a particularly sensitive means of dramatic articulation. In such situations Gluck models his music closely on the text - syllabic setting - and therefore uses less material from earlier works than for arias. The close blending of word and note in "Hélas, mon coeur sensible et tendre" (discussed above) is certainly "very near to the borderline between recitative and aria":⁽²⁾ grace-notes relate it to 'chant français'. It is clearly air, however, whereas "...it is impossible...to class Agamemnon's magnificent opening prayer...decisively as either recitative or aria-fragment".⁽³⁾ Such unclassifiable passages will be termed arioso.

The short air

The chief difference in method between Aulide and Tauride is Gluck's use, in the latter, of recitative and

1. Ibid. p.43; "established" presumably means "in relation to Gluck's own past"; see Ch.4, "Gluck's Development of the Aria", passim.

2. Ibid. p.51.

3. Ibid. p.50.

arioso in preference to short aria, and of borrowed arias rather than newly composed compound structures somewhat in the spirit of Rameau (compare the soliloquy ending Hippolyte III with Agamemnon's monologue (Aulide II.7), which in Tauride would have ended with an Italiante aria).

In "airs dans les scènes" Gluck used formal structures clearly articulating stable feelings, and fragments of aria-like music, articulating emotional turbulence: arioso. A third method, much used by Gluck's successors, is the interrupted (incomplete) aria; for example, the first section, only, of a sonata-type structure ending in the dominant. This contradiction of musical logic has obvious dramatic potential if the incompleteness corresponds to some dramatic situation: Handel's "A serpent in my bosom warmed" (Saul I.5) has the middle section ("Ambitious boy!") of the da capo form but not the da capo itself - Saul throws the javelin and David escapes. The use of this device is more often inexplicable. For Gluck, at least, aria meant emotion under control, and this applies to short airs, usually complete forms, as well as arias. The 'open end' promulgated in Sabinus⁽¹⁾ did not greatly interest Gluck.

The first short air of Aulide is part of a complex, the opening soliloquy. The second is Calchas' "Au faite des grandeurs", headed "Air"⁽²⁾ and made extremely formal by the stately 8-bar prelude (with two fermate) (I.4; p.41:36). Lully or Rameau might have made it arise from the recitative. Calchas's singlemindedness is expressed by a single paragraph in one key, with only one chromatic inflexion (E \sharp , bars 7 and 15) and no modulation. Gluck interrupts another

1. See above, Ch.I, Ex.16B2. Such procedures are further discussed below, Ch.V p.197.

2. "Marche" in the performing score in B0.

single-paragraph air without an open end: "Vivez pour Oreste mon frère" (III; p.214:149). The voice cadences into G, the tonic, but the bass moves to E and the chord implies a dominant of D; Clytemnestre intervenes in recitative. But at this stage in the drama Iphigénie is the more emotionally controlled; she finishes her sentence in the original tempo and key.

The short binary aria with two repeated sections, a simple form used in Lully and opéra-comique, occurs first in Aulide in the divertissement (I), where Rameau might have admitted a longer air (ariette) but where the straightforward formality is in keeping with the surrounding dances. Both Clytemnestre's complacent "air gracieux"⁽¹⁾ and Iphigénie's air slightly reflect their personalities; but the latter's anxiety at Achille's absence is hardly reflected in the music (p.64:49). (In Alceste (P) II Gluck contrived to mingle the heroine's unhappiness with the divertissement in just such a short air, virtually a dance with voice added).⁽²⁾ Iphigénie has two more airs in this form outside the divertissement (III) which will be discussed later in connection with the drama as a whole. In II the airs are dal segno ("Par la crainte et l'espérance"; "Par son père cruel") and there are more ensembles, befitting the complications of the action.

Perhaps the most characteristic forms of Gluck are those that follow their own laws and cannot be easily categorized, such as the passages of arioso-air which end Armide II and III. There are also many airs with varied tempi in

1. At some performances played without the voice, in A, after the recitative. See preface to score of the revised (1775) version, Paris (Richault) 1873, ed. Pelletan and Damcke, Hopkinson 40A(1).

2. See below, Ch.III p. 91.

which the continuity is determined by alterations of mood; Achille gives vent to his fury ("Cours et dis-lui", II.5; p.165:116) in thirty-five bars marked successively allegro moderato, adagio, allegro, lento and again allegro; the musical freedom recalls Gluck's ballets. After the duet with Agamemnon, Achille's parting shot is in arioso, too melodic for recitative, too short for aria (p.176:124); his exit overlaps the start of II.7, an eight-bar allegro moderato ("Tu décides son sort"), neither air nor recitative, the vocal line following the orchestra.

Arioso

The existence of "a genuinely aria context" (with music based on an Italian idiom) marks one distinction between early and late 18th-century French opera.

"Though French recitative always tends to arioso, the airs sound like slightly melodious recitative. The French would not accept the frank Italian convention whereby words and reason yield, at a dramatic crux, to the emotional expression of music handled in its own terms". (1)

This summarises the positions from which the battle was fought in pamphlets and operas throughout the century. Gossec and Philidor introduced the "frank convention" to some extent into French opera, and it led to the Piccinniste abuse of aria.⁽²⁾ Gluck, starting from Italian premises, developed the arioso, "building recitative towards the aria",⁽³⁾ blurring the distinction between them to ensure the maximum effect when the arias "cut through". His use of small aria carried on the French tradition with new music, and in Aulide most of the short airs are self-contained units within a conversational context (as in Lully

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1. Kerman, p.58.
 2. See below, Ch.V C.
 3. Kerman p.41.

and Rameau, again). In Alceste (P) short airs are introduced but among arias, as in Tauride, from the original Italian. Armide uses the conversational short air like the Lullian original and is close to Aulide in this respect, but it makes more use of orchestrally elaborate arioso, in which the orchestra carries more musical - and at the end of Act III, emotional - weight than the voice. In Orfeo arioso and song are crucial; song, a special case, needs no discussion here⁽¹⁾ as it counts for little in the Paris operas. But arioso defines some of the finest things in the first 'reform' operas: "Che puro ciel" and the taming of the Furies, in which respectively oboe and harp are peers of the voice. The Paris operas use a less formal, more vocally dominated arioso, close to and sometimes not detachable from the accompanied recitative. In this arioso, less controlled than aria, more impassioned than recitative, Gluck most closely approaches the earliest opera composers.

"Arioso" covers the vague terrain between formal music and declamation. In Orphée, before his interrupted suicide, the hero's "Oui, je te suis, tendre objet de ma foi" is an eight-bar adagio like an aria-fragment, without recitative formulae. Earlier, Euridice's "Reçois donc mes derniers adieux" is recitative, over repeated quavers which dictate a regular pulse, not free like declamation. 'Recitative in tempo' may seem contradictory; but it is said of Beethoven and his orchestral recitative in the 9th symphony that "he called it so" although it was to be "in strict time".⁽²⁾ In opera, 'recitative in tempo' or 'aria-fragments' have the same function: intensification of "normal" operatic speech. Both, then, may be termed "arioso". The word is useful for

1. See Howard p.41ff.

2. Thayer, Life of Beethoven, 1964 (Princeton) edn. p.963.

rhythmically controlled passages in Monteverdi's recitative, for passages in 'chant français' (whose very formulae have more melodic direction than Italian 'secco'), and for the ends of many Bach recitatives. In Jesüder du meine Seele⁽¹⁾ the first recitative ends in strict time ("Rechne nicht die Missetat").⁽²⁾ Over regular quavers the voice at first continues recitative-declamation; at "ersürnet" the melisma treats one syllable with a technique, if not a style, approaching aria. The end is a basic recitative formula, the falling fourth: "...net hat". The orchestra cadences after the voice; both Lully and Gluck sometimes cadence with it, a small contribution to continuity common in Aulide.

In I.3, Calchas imposingly ends a recitative with the "misuré" [sic] (p.40:36) passage, "Ils y traînent déjà ses pas". Iphigénie's "Hélas" (I.6; p.69:52) - her only comment on Achilles's perfidy until Clytemnestre's aria has told her how to behave - is superimposed on an ordinary orchestral cadence. Calchas controls the situation, Iphigénie is controlled by it.

Whole movements of 'recitative in tempo' may be found in Bach⁽³⁾ and Gluck: recitative style over an orchestral continuity. Calchas' "D'une sainte terreur tous mes sens sont saisis" (Aulide, I.2; p.27:24), accompanied by string semi-quavers "à mesure" (until the cadence in rhythmic unison), uses clichés of Italian recitative (which do not reduce its force any more than clichés of 'chant français' reduce the force of Phèdre's monologues in Hippolyte IV). The next passage defies categorization; it belongs to

1. BWV 78.

2. J. S. Bach, Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke Serie I, Band 21 p.134.

3. Matthäus-Passion, "Am Abend da es kühle war"; BWV 56 ("Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen"), the recitativo "Mein Wandel auf der Welt".

continuous opera as much as the join of II,6 to 7. The voice begins in formal canon with the violins, but is left unaccompanied for the recitative phrase "le plus pur soit versé"; arioso and true accompanied recitative are both visible, but inextricable. The arioso becomes a duet, a canon between two bass voices.

It is such passages that explain Wagner's preoccupation with this opera, of which he made an interesting version.⁽¹⁾ A feature more fully developed in Tauride, also tending towards 19th-century continuous opera, is the almost symphonic dénouement. Howard calls Aulide "the most truly French of all Gluck's operas, and by far the most indebted to Rameau".⁽²⁾ This refers to the blending of aria and recitative; the symphonic setting of action appears in Hippolyte IV and similar, if more primitive, procedures can be found in Lully (Thésée I). Rameau starts with the apparition of the monster and continues his movement with short vocal phrases above the orchestral continuum. Gluck, as Achille bursts in upon the sacrifice, begins with a restatement of the chorus in G which we have heard intermittently throughout the act (p.228:161). Achille and other soloists join in with arioso-like fragments until Calchas stills the tumult after thirty bars. (Tauride uses something like a symphonic development section in the equivalent place). Calchas sings recitative and the arioso "Adorez la clémence", which starts a new tempo, defined by quaver motion; the chorus dutifully repeats the priest's words and the main characters join in. The music moves to a dominant pedal,

1. Vocal score Hopkinson 40F (1). Howard calls it "anachronistic" (p.93) - fairly, although it is less so than Strauss's versions of Idomeneo and Tauride (vocal score Hopkinson 46C (q); some details of Strauss's alterations are given in Del Mar, Richard Strauss (London 1969) vol.II pp.354-5).

2. Howard p.50.

and in the final, longer speech of Iphigénie ("Ah! qu'il est dour") the quaver movement ceases and the harmonic style is completely different, though the tempo is constant into the quartet.⁽¹⁾ The arioso dialogue includes the chorus; choral arioso and recitative are among Gluck's most valuable resources (an obvious precedent in this is Handel's "He sent a thick darkness" from Israel in Egypt).

Recitative

Recitative, "the most fugitive aspect of opera",⁽²⁾ was originally an impassioned idiom, some of whose affective vitality Gluck recaptured from 18th-century conventionality. His development here is something of a personal triumph, amply discussed elsewhere.⁽³⁾ Gluck solved for himself problems of controlling recitative as well as aria. In Aulide the techniques are primitive; in Alceste (P) and Armide they are more developed, and the crowning achievement is Tauride. As "the least natural musical entity in opera"⁽⁴⁾ recitative can hardly be categorized or discussed away from the words and dramatic context. In the first place, the distinction between French ('chant français') and Italian vocal style must be recalled; in the 18th century (not the 17th) the former moved slowly, and becomes impressive in scenes of invocatory character which the more functional Italian habits - best in comedy - cannot rise to. Considered purely as vocal lines with harmony, the difference can be seen by contrasting French and Italian settings of the same words, from Dardanus (Ex.17). In Italian opera such scenes would normally use an

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1. The 1774 score (p.238) gives no new indication of speed.
 2. Howard p.54.
 3. Ibid. Ch.5, "Gluck's Development of the Recitative".
 4. Ibid. p.55.

expressively orchestrated accompagnato, but the same vocal clichés as in Sacchini's setting. Most recitative of the Gluck period falls between these extremes, with less intellectual weight than Rameau but less casual than Sacchini.

To clarify terminology, certain textures and techniques may be categorized. The recitative in the Gluck epoch is, with few exceptions, orchestrated; but the basic technique remains secco (as in Ex.17B), with orchestral chords replacing the continuo. An example is Aulide II.3, a trivial scene in which Gluck wisely avoids the serious pretension of elaborate recitative. Less efficient, the secco in II.6 fails to build the argument towards the duet; anger is expressed successively in recitative and measured music, and the feelings remain superficial (rightly, since Achille is a simple character and Agamemnon's anger soon evaporates). The simple chords are varied by dotted rhythms (p.169:119), a held chord, and a progression of chords (p.168:118, after "prévenir les effets").

A specifically orchestral type of simple recitative is that accompanied by held chords: sostenuto. Orchestration of recitative allows a direct link to measured music, a modulation from secco to accompagnato, simple to complex recitative, without disturbing the continuity. Punctuating chords militate against the smooth progression of dialogue. Sostenuto has the advantage of reticence; it supports the singer without interruption, keeps the emotional temperature down yet invites subtle expression by harmonic change; it mingles with arioso and does not detract from the effectiveness of other intensifying resources (as the more forthright secco and accompagnato do). Sostenuto is most used in Tauride and is especially effective in the questioning scene (II.5) where it quietly articulates Oreste's sorrowful recollection ("Mycène m'a vu naître": the change C4 to Cb) and becomes

more agitated (dotted rhythms) as Iphigénie responds (pp.153-4). (1) Sostenuto is less significant in Aulide (I.3; p.35:39). The tremolo is a relation of sostenuto, easily abused but a powerful intensifying resource of simple recitative and a climactic one for the fragmentary accompagnato texture. These basic textures - secco, dotted secco, sostenuto, tremolo - are freely mingled, but the best control is achieved by careful sequence. They join readily in accompagnato, from which they differ through lack of any motivic organisation. The scoring is usually for strings; the wind is reserved for accompagnato and by Gluck only for crucial passages even there.

A distinction was traced above (2) between French 'récitatif obligé' and Italian accompagnato, between the continuum of voice with orchestra and their alternation. It is interesting to consider a French view of the latter; Arnaud attributed the different methods to versification:-

"L'Italien, lorsqu'il déclame ses vers, laisse entre les mots des intervalles considérables; ces intervalles sont devenus pour le Musicien autant de jours dont il a profité, tantôt pour annoncer, tantôt pour commenter & développer la situation de l'Acteur... Dans notre versification au contraire... le Musicien a dû se borner longtemps à accompagner simplement la parole". (3)

The distinction parallels that between the continuous bass line of 'chant français' and the intermittent chords of secco. Gluck used different types of orchestrated arioso exemplified by "Che puro ciel", essentially orchestral music

1. Page references are to the Eulenburg miniature score.
2. Ch. I p.20. [See below, Ch. II p. 181]
3. Lettre à Madame d'... MPS pp.38-9. Compare Rousseau's definition: "L'Acteur... s'interrompt, s'arrête, fait des réticences, durant lesquelles l'Orchestre parle pour lui", "Récitatif obligé" in Dictionnaire de Musique p.411.

with pauses for recitative in the voice, and "Plus j'observe ces lieux" (Armide II.2) where the vocal line is a contrapuntal strand (as in Lully's setting). These, like the Tauride storm and various recitatives (Piccinni, Atys I.3; Pénélope II.5-6) use music to depict natural phenomena which Gluck, the psychologist, used not for its own sake but for better understanding of the protagonists. In "Le calme rentre dans mon coeur", again dominated by the orchestral idea, the instruments suggest something of which the singer is unconscious.

In standard accompagnato the orchestral inventions do not have such specific expressive or representational connotations, but rather a generalized expressiveness, a conventionality, which did not prevent Gluck, at least, from using them very powerfully. Motifs are occasionally taken from preceding formal music; in Idomeneo for example⁽¹⁾ with some profundity, and in Renaud II.1-4⁽²⁾ and Pénélope III.⁽³⁾ Mozart also anticipates in recitative the melody of "Non mi dir".⁽⁴⁾ More usually the motifs are stereotyped; they include rhythmic figures (like the dotted rhythms classed above with secco), rapid scales and arpeggio figures (as in Ch.I, Exs.4 and 15); as well as more expressive motifs, less obviously common property, like Philidor's horn crescendo and expressive passage for bassoon and strings (Ch.I, Ex.10). Aulide I.3 is introduced by a striking arpeggio but the recitative is secco; arioso and air bear the important expression. Some later passages mingle and elaborate these devices without ceasing to be simple (if not 'dry'); at "Mon trouble, mes soupçons" (I.8; p.88:66) the two chords in

1. Act II, no.11, using motifs from "Se il padre perdei"; see below Ch.IV p. 126 and Ch.V p.196.

2. See below Ch.VIII p. 323.

3. See below Ch.VIII p. 318.

4. Don Giovanni II.12, no.23.

quaver-crotchet rhythm and the sustained forte-piano do not constitute motifs and the context is dialogue.

Real accompagnato is for soliloquy; or at least for heroic posturing. In II.4, Achille gesticulates with an arresting (if conventional) dotted rhythm ("Le cruel!", p.151:107), but soon tremolo intensifies the sostenuto opening to this recitative. Aulide reserves true accompagnato for more complex people and situations, justifying the thinness of much of the recitative (as in II.6) by the greater effect of the rich scoring. Powerless to save her daughter, Clytemnestre (III.6) is hysterical. The violent opening (p.217:152) and the first climax (g" on "Ah! je succombe à ma douleur mortelle") are followed by the stark contrast of silence and a low bassoon note, diminuendo - the opposite of Philidor's horn crescendo, horrid silence before the catastrophe. There is nothing in the libretto to suggest this bodeful moderato: it is Gluck's inspiration. Afterwards simpler recitative (crotchet chords) leads to syncopations, an expressive figure on the oboe ("son coeur palpitant"), sharp dissonance ("Dieux") and - two climactic effects mentioned above - tremolo and an arioso cadence in rhythmic unison with the orchestra.

Agamemnon in II.7 is similarly helpless. This scene involves not one emotion but a dramatic development, his change of heart from "Tu décides son sort" (p.177:124) to the more controlled state of mind and the opposite intention of the aria "O toi, l'objet le plus aimable".⁽¹⁾ As Agamemnon is in the grip of forces stronger than himself, each change of mind is anticipated in the orchestra; the plaintive woodwind before "O Dieux, que vais-je faire?", the decisive presto leading to "qu'elle vive!", the descending

1. See above, p.45.

bass extinguishing this resolution: "Ah! quelle est ma faiblesse?" (p.178:125). The flute and oboe, in a longer sostenuto passage, lead him to view the impossible prospect with some lucidity: "Iphigénie...de festons couronnée A l'homicide acier présentera son sein". Again the orchestra, now (with horns) fuller than usual in Gluck's recitative, changes the mood by evoking the Eumenides (p.180:127). The orchestral motifs are perhaps not quite conventional but they do not belong, either, to Gluck's most original inventions. Their strength lies in the aptness of their employment and the strong modulatory scheme over which they are used. Gluck's austerity and intellectual rigour come out in this matter of controlling recitative as much as in his use of aria; they are personal qualities but particularly in recitative they can be considered as methods from which his successors learnt, on the whole, only the techniques of violence - as in Agamemnon's Eumenidean presto - to apply them prodigally, spoiling scenes by overemphasis. The discontinuity, voice between orchestral phrases, which Gluck used for a special purpose here and in Tauride (III.4, where Oreste likewise invokes the Eumenides), tends to become normal practice and the simultaneous use of orchestra and voice in Gluck's sostenuto (even in Aulide II.7), carefully complementing rather than crudely supplementing each other's expression, is little used. It is of course harder to handle; but Rameau and Gluck both showed how it could be done.

B. Iphigénie en Aulide

1. The derivation from Racine

The major differences between Iphigénie as play and opera derive from the different methods of dramatic presentation in French tragedy and tragédie-lyrique. Opera demands a less complicated plot; the expressive medium - music - is less specific than verse and the characters react more impulsively, with less deliberation. Opera also employs stage spectacle to present directly what someone in the play has to describe. Thus Racine's Ulysse is replaced by Calchas, whose arguments are put directly to Agamemnon. The crowd and army scenes are shown, the angry soldiers (Aulide I.2 and III) and the fêtes for Iphigénie (I.4-5 and II). More significantly, there is a visual climax in the sacrifice scene, described in the play by Ulysse after it has happened (V.6). The opera therefore ends with the reconciliation and wedding, taken for granted in the play.

One complication is removed from the opera with the role of Eriphile, "une autre Iphigénie",⁽¹⁾ the substitute sacrifice. Between Aulide II and III the army's discovery of the name of the victim is unexplained; in Iphigénie (between IV and V) Eriphile told them, to prevent her rival's escape. It is one of the consequences of direct operatic presentation (and not, in practice, a weakness) that we do not feel any need for explanation.

Clytemnestre and Iphigénie remain much what Racine made them, and Achille is little different (his crucial role for the capture of Troy is not mentioned; we learn about him from Eriphile in the play, and his political importance is less obvious in the opera). Agamemnon's part is changed.

1. Iphigénie V.6.

His blasphemy (Aulide I.3) is more direct than in Racine; his first deception - bringing Iphigénie to Aulide for sacrifice on the pretext of her marriage to Achille - is the same and has the same consequence, but he is spared the harrowing encounter with his daughter (Iphigénie II.3). His vacillations are preserved in the opera but his deceptions are less numerous and his weakness, through the insight of the composer, is more sympathetic; music makes him instinctive where in the play he was politically calculating. (1)

Du Roullet sometimes only altered Racine slightly; Gluck may have wanted more changes. (2) At the birth of French opera Perrin had recognized the unsuitability of elegantly controlled alexandrines to a composer:-

"Les Vers libres de mesures inégales, qui s'étoient depuis peu introduits en France pour les lettres enjouées, ne contribueront pas peu à faire réussir ces actions par la liberté que l'on eut d'en faire de cette sorte au lieu des Vers Alexandrins, qui étoient les seuls qu'on recitoit sur nos Theatres. On connut que ces petits Vers étoient plus propres pour la Musique que les autres, parce qu'ils sont plus coupez, & qu'ils ont plus de rapport aux Vers Sciolti des Italiens qui servent à ces actions". (3)

Racine's substance is arranged into shorter lines and freer metres; thus in the argument of Achille and Agamemnon (Iphigénie IV.6) the exchanges are brusquer (Aulide II.6). A characteristic example of the alterations may be given here. Clytemnestre, informing Iphigénie of Achille's infidelity (an invention of Agamemnon's) has a twelve-line speech including:-

"Sauvons, encore un coup, notre gloire offensée:
Pour votre hymen Achille a changé de pensée..."
(Iphigénie II.4)

and a further twenty lines starting:-

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1. See Appendix 2 for details.
 2. Mannlich, cited Prodhomme p.202.
 3. Ménestrier, Des représentations en Musique anciennes et modernes p.210.

"Je vous vois rougir de cet outrage.
Il faut d'un noble orgueil armer votre courage".
(Ibid.)

The first becomes recitative:-

"Allez! il faut sauver notre gloire offensée,
Ma fille, il faut partir à l'instant de ces lieux".
(Aulide I.6)

The second becomes aria:-

"Armez-vous d'un noble courage,
Etouffez des soupirs trop indignes de vous,
N'écoutez qu'un juste courroux
Contre un amant qui vous outrage". (Ibid.)

The music provides the subtlety that Du Roullet's verse lacks. The libretto includes a few embarrassing lines where Racine could not help: after Iphigénie's release:-

"Ah, qu'il est doux, mais qu'il est difficile
De passer si subitement du plus cruel tourment
A la félicité suprême".

There are also one or two infelicities of design, but it is pointless to criticise Aulide on the grounds that it ruins Racine. Einstein considered the plot improved, as there is no sacrifice.⁽¹⁾ But the play and the opera are different works with their own particular strengths. Just as Gluck's Armide is the most faithful of the many Quinault resettings to its source, so is Aulide closer to the play in level of achievement and in detail than other operas based on Racine and Corneille, most of which alter the plot in such a way as to wreck the whole design; Grétry's Andromaque, for example, with its happy ending.

2. Gluck's Overtures; "leitmotif": orchestration

Masson postulated an affinity between Rameau and Wagner, not necessarily through Gluck.⁽²⁾ His discussion of recitative and continuity, however, is equally applicable to Lully,

1. Einstein p.140.

2. See Masson, Rameau and Wagner, MQ 1939 p.466.

and his comparison of Rameau's "symphonies" - "martial, pastoral, funereal, even symphonies of sleep"⁽¹⁾ - with Wagner's symphonic technique seems forced: they are radically different. Even when involved with the action Rameau's "symphonies" are decorative, while Wagner's orchestra embodies the drama: the funeral music for Siegfried, for instance, is an essential part of a larger dramatic and musical design. Without leitmotifs neither Rameau nor Gluck could achieve anything comparable, but the latter approaches Wagnerian techniques more closely in certain tonal associations and thematic links, and in overtures which, like Mozart's Don Giovanni, present the essence of the drama in musical terms without the pervasive thematic connections which give Wagner's Tannhäuser overture the air of a symphonic poem. Gluck's professed intention, that

"la Sinfonia debba prevenir gli Spettatori dell'azione...e formarne, per dir così, l'argomento"⁽²⁾

is literally unrealizable, as Berlioz remarked: "L'expression musicale ne saurait aller jusque-là".⁽³⁾

What Gluck achieved was an evident relevance. This development, "the one aspect of his work that begins only with the reform",⁽⁴⁾ was claimed in 1773 as part of French tradition:-

"S'il est vrai (comme on le dit) que les Italiens n'exécutent pour introduction à leurs opéras qu'une symphonie sans relation avec le sujet, ils sont bien loin de la perfection que nous désirons sur notre théâtre..."⁽⁵⁾

But Rameau had departed from tradition when he began

1. Ibid. p.476.

2. Preface to Alceste.

3. A Travers Chants p.156.

4. Howard p.89.

5. Réponse à la critique de l'Opéra de Castor et observations sur la musique p.26, cited Masson p.317.

Zoroastre (1749) without a Prologue: "l'Overture sert de Prologue".⁽¹⁾ Gluck eschewed any literal "programme overture"⁽²⁾ and "warned the spectators" of dramatic conflicts by writing thematic conflicts into one tempo, a method characteristic of the sonata form period. Alceste establishes a mood emphatically; the opening arpeggio recurs with supernatural associations.⁽³⁾ The direct relevance in Aulide is stronger, the material described as "overture mood"⁽⁴⁾ better integrated (in bar 29 the allegro given in some scores⁽⁵⁾ is not Gluck's; his animé implies change of mood rather than tempo). In Tauride he replaced the overture with the highly dramatic "Calme" and "Tempête". Like most of the "reform" this example was little followed outside France where such tendencies existed anyway. Gluck borrowed the Armide overture from a similar work (Telemacco) and for an opera in which the chatter of confidantes at the rise of the curtain would make one of his articulately tragic overtures out of place.

In Aulide the connection to I.1 is specific and the return of the opening at "Diane impitoyable" frames the main movement, which starts in bar 20. The imposing unison, with striking brass intervention on available notes, suggests the inexorability of Diane's decree and the angry army of I.2 and III while anticipating the unison finale. Bars 29 to 50 ("Overture mood" material) deal with less important

1. Livret of Zoroastre, cited Masson p.319. Masson quotes the "programme" of the three sections. In the first the "gémissements" (bar 19ff) closely resemble the Aulide overture bar 64ff.

2. See above, Ch.I p.3.

3. See Cooper, Gluck pp.128 and 130; Howard p.91.

4. Howard p.89.

5. The 1873 full score; PVS.

substance; this is an introduction, not a climax. The unison is restated with harmony from 50 and leads to a pathetic motif (64) with prominent melodic and harmonic semitones over a high pitched pedal note. This contrast of register recalls the baroque, but the material and development are, loosely, in sonata-style. The pathetic motif is recalled at crucial points; the prominent semitones of "peuvent-ils ordonner" and the "cri plaintif" (I.3; pp.36-7:33-4) where the detachment of the oboe from the strings, reserved by Gluck for special purposes, is the same orchestration as bar 64 of the Overture. In II.7 the oboe refers more literally to the rising semitone of the Overture (at "le remord dévorant", pp.184-5:128-9). Other less crucial recurrences are probably unconscious. The pompous rhythm of "Au faite des grandeurs" (I.4; p.41:36) is echoed in the Quartet "Jamais à tes autels" (II.3; p.138:98); both refer to Iphigénie at the altar but the Quartet alludes to marriage, not sacrifice. The rhythm reappears in the sacrificial hymn (p.223:158) and after the dénouement (Achille: "Les Dieux ont eu pitié", p.242:171). These passages are linked by a central theme, the relation of gods and mortals.

If Aulide is Gluck's "most strikingly orchestrated opera"⁽¹⁾ the scoring is not the less characteristically chaste. The discretion in using wind extends to trumpets and drums, which, judiciously held back, can make commonplace material electrifying.⁽²⁾ There are no trombones for, unlike Sabinus, Alceste, or Don Giovanni, Aulide includes nothing unequivocally supernatural nor the other connotation of these instruments, mourning (as in Orfeo). For Gluck

1. Howard p.68.

2. As Gluck pointed out; see Corancez, Journal de Paris, 21 August 1788, cited Desnoiresterres, p.104.

they were valuable stage properties; only later were they used without regard to their particular character, in routine orchestration.

Aulide suffers by the extreme contrast of its magnificent tragic scenes with the profusion of less inspired divertissement.⁽¹⁾ On the other hand it was readily acknowledged as the first French opera in which the chorus is not merely decorative, but has a personality of its own (even in Ernelinde it merely reflects the protagonists). Gluck notoriously had difficulty in making the chorus act.

3. Aulide: Act I

After the massive choral tableaux of Orfeo and Alceste (V) and the looser complex of song and dance in Paride, the opening of Aulide seems conventional. Instead of a community supporting the protagonist, we see him pitted against gods and soldiers (held up in Aulis because the gods have stopped the winds) and the articulate representative of the gods, Calchas (I.1,2,3). "Que d'attraits" closes a tonal cycle in C/c and divides the first act; it shifts interest away from Agamemnon to Iphigénie (in the repeat of the chorus Agamemnon is silent). The tonal centre shifts to D for the rest of the act:-

	<u>Incidental keys</u>	<u>Main keys</u>
Overture	<u>c</u>	
I.1	<u>C</u> , <u>g</u> , <u>G</u>	C/c/e/C (air)
2	<u>G</u>	G/e/C (chorus), <u>Eb</u>
3		(air)
4	<u>Bb</u> (air)	
5		D/c/c/c/e/C (chorus)
	<u>G</u> (air)	D (dance)

This opening, with very different dramatic aims, is not less masterly in organization than the earlier 'reform' operas or

1. See below, Ch.V p.151.

Tauride. It sets the tone of the drama no less: and for Gluck it sets a standard difficult to maintain. At the start, he approaches 'continuous opera' in the free but coherent musical design. Within the context of C, the tonality is fluid; g appears, deceptively, immediately after the Overture but yields to the tonic C (bars 6-7, dominant of g, relative major in 8, tonic at the récit. (18)⁽¹⁾). The first real key-change is via G to e (the opening theme, bar 26) a step to the G (dominant) of Sc.2. G is identified with the army (compare III.1). Calchas, the present object of their indignation, works his way by g to E♭, into which the chorus is attracted for their final prayer (as for the sacrificial hymn, III.6-7). I.3 establishes the tonic minor. Calchas' recitative after the air brings C, and the chorus intervenes (Sc.4). Before the final establishment of C there is a parenthesis, the E♭ air, given oracular weight by divorce from the tonal progression.

I.1 gives a complete portrait of Agamemnon, vacillating from decision to countermand, less despicable than in Racine as the music encourages sympathy where the verse cruelly articulates his hypocrisy. The dramatic situation is also unforcedly summarised, without recourse to confidants, in speech to the gods - first Diane, not in prayer⁽²⁾ but fist-shaking blasphemy: "en vain vous l'ordonnez". The music is from Telemacco; self-pity is common to both contexts.⁽³⁾ Abrupt key-changes (bars 8, 17) suggest Agamemnon's uncertainty of mind even in this defiant stance. The recitative gives the reason for the attitude posed in the air-fragment

1. Bars numbered from the beginning of the scene, bar 1 being that in which Agamemnon sings (p.14:16).

2. As Howard describes it, p.50; see above p.48.

3. Telemacco: "Ah! chi di voi m'addita", then chorus: "Ah! misero infelice".

("Je renonce aux honneurs...on n'immolera point ma fille") and the repetition in e shows more confidence by modulating to G with decisive staccato chords (31).⁽¹⁾ The three bar introduction to "Brilliant auteur de la lumière" does not contradict the sense of continuity, nor any principle of the Alceste preface aimed against fatuously long ritornelli; it is necessary to articulate the change of mood. Defiance of Diane yields to prayer to Apollo. In "the perfect example of the small aria",⁽²⁾ 'chant français' influences the ornaments ("Dieu bienfaisant...prière") and the "fidelity to the natural rhythms of the text...the same flexibility and sensitivity we find in Rameau".⁽³⁾ The Andante, middle section and recitative, is addressed to Apollo and informs us of the plot to keep Iphigénie away. The air resumes at a cadence ("qu'elles retournent sur leurs pas") repeated in e, the confidence of G drained from it. Here rather than in Scene 3 "the da capo aria may be recognized from afar",⁽⁴⁾ turned into a dramatically subtle structure. A final tremolo recitative, whose final cadence echoes that before the air (see bars 31, "l'ordonnez", and 91, "et les Dieux"), precedes the next scenes which will show the "transport homicide de Calchas, des Grecs" - if not "des Dieux": the forces ranged against Agamemnon are human, palpable, and we do not need to suspend disbelief in the gods when the dramatic action depends not on them but on the effect of belief in them. In this at least Aulide, in following Racine, departs from French operatic tradition.⁽⁵⁾

1. Staccato omitted from PVS.

2. Howard p.50.

3. Ibid.

4. Einstein p.141.

5. Compare Hippolyte and Phèdre, Ch.I above p. 6 and Ch.VII below p.287.

This formal flexibility continues although I.2 starts apparently with a formal chorus, separated from Scene 1 by a ritornello in which the full orchestra is heard for the first time since the overture (without clarinets, trumpets, and timpani, but full relative to Scene 1 (strings only) and to Gluck's general restraint: the high horns in G are especially aggressive) (p.19:20). The chorus begins with confident homophony, turning to a more confused counterpoint (bar 14) as in the "fuggiamo" ("fuyons") chorus of Alceste. "Généraux Grecs" (bar 28) have choral recitative and Calchas responds in slower tempi, giving himself time to think (bars 36, 51). All varieties of arioso are deployed, melodic (36; compare Scene 1, bar 52) and recitative (55, "D'une sainte terreur"). Calchas is an impressive figure, striking awe by divine afflatus, real or feigned. The scene replaces the monumentality of the Alceste oracle with a dramatic tension absent in the earlier work: as Calchas says "O père déplorable" Agamemnon listens, afraid that his daughter's name will be revealed. "Nommez-nous la victime", heartless in its "sheer irrelevance"⁽¹⁾ recalls Bach's choruses of "kreuzige".⁽²⁾ The choral hymn "O Diane, sois-nous propice" contrasts ironically with "Diane impitoyable". Here Gluck already achieves the effect Tovey observed in I.3:-

"The tempo is, so far as a metronome can measure it, the same...the music is now moving at least four times as slowly".⁽³⁾

Angular counterpoint yields to slow, smooth harmonic change; the "feel" of the music is 2/2 rather than 4/4 but there is no change of real speed.⁽⁴⁾

1. Howard p.80.

2. Especially the Matthäus-Passion; see Einstein p.139.

3. Tovey p.106.

4. PVS p.28 has crotchet = minim, but "L'istesso tempo"!

Sharing one bar, 1.2 and 3 overlap (p.35:31-2) - a typical compromise between continuity and formal divisions, quick succession from a perfect cadence, without an open end or "continuation chord". Aulide's dialogues contain its least effective recitative but this scene uses very little. Even the introductory phrase, which gives time for the two to be left alone, is rhythmically related to the air. The bass voices, blasphemous king and indignant priest, anticipate one of Verdi's strongest scenes⁽¹⁾ and the air, brilliantly elucidated by Tovey,⁽²⁾ is among Gluck's finest inventions. Harmonic control gives an illusion of flexible tempo; no changes are marked⁽³⁾ and Tovey considered that "a good conductor and a good singer will take care that there is no substantial change".⁽⁴⁾ In the middle section, the dissonance with the bass becomes acuter as the oboe ascends, Gluck neglecting nothing to intensify a basically simple passage. (Compare the air in Ernelinde⁽⁵⁾ where the middle section gains its peculiar introspective agitation from slower note values with quicker harmonic movement). There is no heading 'air' in the original score and this might be better termed a complex arioso structure: its manner, quite unlike "Brillant auteur de la lumière", is not formal and aria-like but spontaneously emotional like "Diane impitoyable" - and it moved Einstein to say that "For the first time opera demonstrates its superiority over the spoken drama".⁽⁶⁾

1. Don Carlos IV.2.

2. P.106.

3. Again, those in PVS (pp.33-4) are not authentic and destroy this effect.

4. Loc. cit.

5. See above p.44.

6. Einstein p.141.

This is hyperbolic; but the strength of expression Gluck gains without disturbing his naturalistic flow is a major dramatic achievement. This flow continues, the stasis of the Bb air only strengthening the dramatic articulation (it has enough strength for Calchas to disappear until III). A brief recitative leads to the first long piece of music since the overture: "Que d'attraits", the perfect introduction to Iphigénie, reacting painfully on Agamemnon. Closing the tonal cycle in C it starts the divertissement (which includes the two airs already discussed⁽¹⁾) and ends, decisively and regrettably, the continuous greatness of this opera.

There are movements and many details of dramatic articulation to admire later in the act. But after four scenes fully worked into a flexible and dramatically balanced continuity, bringing out the best in Gluck as a composer, the change at Scene 5 is abrupt and disastrous. The dramatic values (frivolities, rather) of the French rococo are restored entire, without the delights; for Gluck is most at a disadvantage to Rameau in the divertissement. His dramatic ballets - Don Juan, Semiramis, and in the operas, Orfeo II and Tauride I - are always finer than such "hors d'oeuvre" (as he termed it when accepting ballets by Berton to end Cythere Assiégée⁽²⁾). But, in the middle of an otherwise dramatic action, it is the placing of the Aulide ballets more than their contents which endangers the whole work. The airs do not increase the relevance of the divertissement and the 1775 version improves it by shortening, and emphasising the key of D, for the benefit of the rest of the act, instead of A.⁽³⁾ (This necessitated an alteration

1. See above p.50.

2. Correspondence p.62 and pp.67-8.

3. See Appendix 3.

to the first bar of Scene 6, in which nine lines were added for Clytemnestre' to give details of Achille's alleged infidelity).

4. Agamemnon and Clytemnestre

Agamemnon does not reappear till the end of II; we hear comments about him from Clytemnestre and Achille (hostile), and Iphigénie ("Un père infortuné, qui me chérit lui-même"). Here we discover - crucially for the success of the opera - whether he deserves his daughter's loyalty. II.6 increases the pressure for sacrifice: his pride, touched to the quick, urges him to lose Iphigénie and spite Achille. This is depraved, but less than Racine's "...Elle vivra, mais pour un autre que lui" (IV.8).

II.7 has been discussed above; its coherence is more dramatic than musical. He wavers and apparently decides to save her for fear of the Eumenides. In the next passage the recall of the "cri plaintif" and the sorrowful chromatic descent reveal him in a light truer than the superficially blustering "Tu décides son sort" and nobler than "Les Dieux ont fait mon crime". After this harrowing experience the aria suggests self-control and resolution. Its structure is like Thésée's (Hippolyte III.9): the sacrifice of a child, soul-searching, a fast, exultant conclusion in the major. But Thésée's decision, to sacrifice, is wrong although he believes in Hippolyte's guilt. Aulide II.7 functions more like Phèdre's scene (Hippolyte IV.4); Agamemnon decides aright, but no action of his can save Iphigénie. The scene is concerned with redeeming his personality; as he offers his own life for hers, one can pity his ineffectuality. What he has done is recover the admirable temper of I.1 - with the verbal echo, "Déesse impitoyable" - and this, if it does not make him quite worthy of Iphigénie's voluntary

sacrifice, represents a considerable progress from II.6.

Agamemnon is certainly a fully drawn character. Clytemnestre is also interesting; in more than one sense the mother of Oreste in Tauride, and of Mozart's Electra (Idomeneo) who also continually attracts our attention but has little influence on the action - the tantrums are dramatically static, decorative. In I Clytemnestre's admonitions affect part of Iphigénie's aria⁽¹⁾ but have no lasting effect. In II.4 she implores Achille to protect her daughter, yet he would surely have done as much without the exquisite air sung at his feet ("Par son père cruel", with "plaintive" oboe (p.147:104),⁽²⁾ In III.6 she is overruled by her daughter and, left alone, summons all her imaginative resources for a gratuitous orgasm of despair, released in the very Electraic air, "Jupiter, lance ta foudre". It matters little whether Iphigénie is to be married or sacrificed, as her words in I.5 and II.2 ("Quelle gloire pour moi") demonstrate. The value of III.6 is theatrical - it fills in time while the sacrifice is prepared.

5. Iphigénie and Achille

Iphigénie is far more important than her mother, and has the only substantial introspection (I.7) excepting Agamemnon's. The scene with Achille is an admirably controlled progression from aloofness (simple recitative), through indignation (in arioso, recitative in tempo, andante molto, p.79:60) and protestation (tremolo) to more articulate feelings (airs and duet). Iphigénie's short air has

1. See above p.46.

2. Contrast Euripides' Iphigenia in Aulis where Achilles is not betrothed to Iphigenia; Clytemnestre's plea is needed, and she succeeds in dominating the action.

the pure beauty of the best Gluck. The major key is inflected to minor for most of the twenty-odd bars, without modulation. Achille protests again, responding with an attractive air, rather in the unheroic manner of Rameau's heroes although the middle section demands a powerful singer (with its long top b⁴). The impulsive change of mood at the end (p.87:66) is characteristic of Achille⁽¹⁾ and its general tone is convincing in context, as is the first part of the duet. The scene as a whole suffers from having too many movements, but the musical standard only declines near the end.⁽²⁾

Like Alceste, Aulide hangs fire in II, one of Gluck's worst constructed acts. The uninteresting scene for Iphigénie and attendants includes an air, "Par la crainte et l'espérance", illustrating Gluck's principle that the da capo should not spoil the sense of the second part, "la più appassionata".⁽³⁾ But it is an unconvincing piece, dealing with unimportant issues. The substantial movement for Achille and chorus ("Chantez, célébrez votre Reine") derives from many such movements in traditional French opera, including the ariette (though Gluck seems more concerned to show off his tenor's top notes than coloratura). It is the sort of inessential which could no more stimulate Gluck's peculiar musical gifts than the 'hors d'oeuvre' which follows - another ballet, with the drama hardly further advanced than at the first. The huge Passacaille of 1774 gave way in 1775 to an even longer développement,⁽⁴⁾ balancing the reduction of ballet in I and changing the

-
1. See above p.51.
 2. See above p.47.
 3. Preface to Alceste.
 4. See Appendix 3.

emphasis of celebration from the future destruction of Troy (Patrocle, 1774: "Hector et les Troyens vont mordre la poussière") to the past feats of Achilles (the enslaved Lesbians are freed by Iphigénie, as was Eriphile in Racine), thus strengthening him as a political force before his quarrel with Agamemnon.

The hymn-like quartet concludes the scene, and Arcas makes his revelation. With Clytemnestre's air the act, though not consistently, recovers the high standard of I, and the trio, mingling arioso passages with the splendid uniting of the voices for "O ciel, exauce-moi", is one of Gluck's best ensembles. (Achille curiously enough recalls a phrase from it in III.7: compare "qu'un perfide assassin" and "l'arracher de mes bras", pp.158:111 and 228-9:162). Iphigénie's response - to defend her father - is already formed and accounts for the serenity she displays in III. The rest of the act has already been considered.

In III Iphigénie becomes the centre of attention (in spite of the strenuous efforts of Clytemnestre). In scenes framed by the reiterated and deliberately banal⁽¹⁾ chorus, she faces her doom with almost superhuman resignation, which neither her mother nor lover can alter. In III.3 her attitude is made clear in the small formal airs, on the Lullian pattern of those in I but not in divertissement, so that the form is an articulative one chosen for its own sake, not to suit its surroundings. "Il faut de mon destin", following some simple recitative (p.197:138), reaches the dominant with a slight chromatic inflexion (db, bar 5) and there is the expressive lento ("Que je vous aime") to show that she is not insensitive to Achilles's feelings. His rejoinder ("Vous savez que je vous adore, ingrante, et vous

1. See Corancez, loc. cit., cited Desnoiresterres p.103 and Howard p.80.

voulez mourir!") is nevertheless justifiably indignant. She is unmoved; the longer air is more expressive but what it articulates is a scarcely credible saintliness, understandably exasperating to her lover. Gluck has defeated himself. This strictly formed and chaste music - despite a rococo decoration in dotted notes at the cadence - presents a heroine whose tranquillity, although motivated by filial duty, is unreal; prematurely transfigured, she needs none of our sympathy. This goes out to Achille in his less articulate fury, boiling up in tremolo-recitative to an 'exit aria' of splendidly banal bravado.

Achille is uncomplicated, expressing himself best by decisive action, like Pylade (Tauride). Iphigénie is personally simple yet, a central character who initiates nothing, particularly problematic for a robust musician like Gluck (whereas Rameau perfectly realised Aricie and Tulaire). The only partial success of this Iphigénie - unlike the later one - combined with an excess of ballet, contributes to the failure of this opera as drama, a failure, however, worth many facile successes.

6. Aulide: the dénouement; the genre

Called "Tragédie-opéra", Aulide (like Iphigénie) has many religious implications; but the supernatural is not essential to its action. Racine's dry "messenger-speech" implies how the legend will be told:-

"Le soldat étonné dit que dans une nue
Jusque sur le bûcher Diane est descendue" (V.6).

But Ulysse sounds decidedly sceptical. A calm keeps the army in Aulide; they place pressure on Calchas, who might be genuinely a seer or might be playing on superstition in order to wield political influence. He conceives the sacrifice of Iphigénie because if Agamemnon refuses blame for

the delay can be directed to him. The name of the victim is still secret. The sacrifice nearly goes through but Achilles prevents it or - with the army divided against itself - at least makes it politically inexpedient before Calchas' intervention. This itself is not convincing:-

"Votre zèle des Dieux a fléchi la colère...
Du fils de Thétis la valeur immortelle
Force leur justice éternelle..."

On their previous showing, the gods would have stopped Achilles at once; but their "justice" is forced. Calchas is fortunate, perhaps, in the timely arrival of a wind (the pyre he could easily have had lit surreptitiously). The Jansenist doctrine whereby miracles are seen as such by the faithful but naturalistically explained by the sceptic applies to this drama, in which Racine and Gluck chose, with some dramatic point, to be equivocal.

In 1775 Gluck altered the end, and spoiled the drama, by bringing on Diane in person.⁽¹⁾ She adds no visual effect, nor musical interest (her music is mostly a version of Calchas'); she spoils a symmetry (the interventions of Calchas in I and II frame the action), and makes the religious background boringly unequivocal. Moreover, she is visibly not "impitoyable", but a stage-property who would never have demanded the sacrifice; thus she conventionalizes the first of Gluck's reform operas to avoid the potential embarrassment of Deus ex Machina. This was deplorable in Orfeo and Alceste (V), less so in Paride where Athene, the plot having run its logical course, threatens the lovers as they elope. Similarly in 1774 Gluck was careful not to let the Trojan War out of sight. The final unison chorus is a stark affair, the music belying and dominating the

1. After criticism in 1774, and based on a play by Saint-Foix (1759); the version published in the 1873 score. See Appendix 3.

superficially confident words ("que notre gloire soit des siècles futurs l'éternel souvenir"); the effect - enhanced by the bass drum⁽¹⁾ - is of sacrificial ritual, the victim not Iphigénie but the flower of Greek and Trojan manhood, including Achille. In 1775 the shorter divertissement ends conventionally with the Passacaille from 1774 II.

Although it is a place for theatrical rather than musical values, the dénouement is carefully composed, plain harmonies intensified by a move to the dominant and its minor, at which point (p.231:163) the vocal duet (Iphigénie and Clytemnestre) provides a new colour and rhythmic disturbance (the displaced accent on "nous" making two 3/2 bars from three in 4/4). Two choruses are briefly used at the climax before Calchas intervenes, and the music changes its course, avoiding the G of the angry soldiers. As in other important cadences Gluck accentuates his modulation (to b) with staccato, here on minims (p.233).⁽²⁾ Calchas' speech is admirable. The two versions of 1774 and 1775 unite at his "Adorez la clémence" and with the naive quartet ("Mon coeur ne saurait contenir") Gluck, the drama over, appears to lose interest. (Iphigénie, like her brother in Tauride, seems far from exuberant at her escape). Only Armide remains dramatic until the final curtain. Although Tauride has only a simple final chorus, ballets were inserted by Gossec; Orphée included an expanded final divertissement with music from Aulide of little interest and one masterpiece, the trio ("Tendre amour") from Paride.

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1. The first use of bass drum without cymbals in France, according to Berlioz (A Travers Chants 2nd edn. p.176).
 2. PVS (p.164) omits the staccato. Compare I.1, before "Brilliant auteur de la lumière"; I.2, before "tu veux que par ma main"; I.4, before "Que d'attraits" - all crotchets, but in a slower tempo. Only I.2 has staccato in PVS (p.24).

C. Orphée

There is little point in discussing Orphée fully, since it is so well-known and its dramatic meaning and failure have been so well elucidated as to render further description redundant. ⁽¹⁾ The Paris revisions are mostly unfortunate. The destruction of the key-scheme and of the logic of II has also been convincingly demonstrated; ⁽²⁾ otherwise the most radical revision is the alteration of the main role from alto (castrato) to tenor. Since Berlioz made his intelligent collation of the versions for Pauline Viardot ⁽³⁾ the ideal passions of Orpheus have been better realized by female contraltos than by the tenor or even the French haute-contre, both inevitably associated with normal, unideal operatic passion. To make Orpheus human - the usual argument for a tenor - damages the characterization and ruins the best music without rescuing the final act.

The musical consequences are often anomalous: if a number is untransposed the voice sings at the same pitch or an octave lower than originally, so that in "Quel nouveau ciel" the low alto is replaced at the start by a high tessitura and the exquisite octave drop on "éternel repos" is lost. In I.2 the music is transposed, but where the voice goes down a fifth the orchestra is put up a fourth, completely altering the texture and setting the oboe (in Orfeo, chalumeau) echo an octave above the voice.

Orfeo influenced opera in Paris more than Orphée, which contains few new procedures (but the open-ended air of Amor,

1. Kerman pp.38-47.

2. Sternfeld pp.117-9. The present writer is indebted to this method of tabulation.

3. Berlioz conserved the superfluous ballets and improvements of orchestral detail, while returning to the key-scheme of Orfeo. It is a "practical performing edition" and need not prevent a return to the original version (Hopkinson 30A; CE I.1; Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich 44a).

"Si les doux accords" (I.3) is not in Orfeo). The kind of arioso used in II is inextricable from the subject-matter, as is perhaps the duet in III; scenes for two people tended to follow the precedent of Aulide I.8. The on-stage orchestra of Orfeo, an echo in I and accompaniment to Orfeo in II (the Furies using the full orchestra) may have influenced Lemoyne's Electre. (1)

The general design of later operas owes more to Aulide than to Orphée, which is sui generis; the Euripidean and Racinian source is typical and accounts for most of the operas not adapted from Quinault - the Taurides, Andromaque, Electre, Phèdre, Chimène, Les Horaces, and in the same spirit Les Danaïdes, Didon, and Thémistocle: most follow Aulide in solving problems on a human level, without the 'merveilleux'.

The Deus ex Machina became unfashionable and is less used after Echo where, as in Orfeo and Alceste, it acts in wilful opposition to the trend of the drama. Pace Sternfeld (2) it does not help that Amor's reappearance or Apollo's intervention function like ritornelli from Act I. Such structural symmetries, analogous to a musical repetition, cannot be allowed to conflict with dramatic logic; opera is a form of drama and in a conflict of forms dramatic integrity must prevail. (In any case, a ritornello is open to banality, in musical or dramatic terms). It is otherwise in the original Aulide:-

"How could Gluck...disturb* the symmetry between the intervention of Calchas at the beginning and end of the opera, by adding to the finale the clumsy appearance of Pallas Athene [sic]? Does a work of dramatic music, occupying several hours, once its planning is completed not permit re-planning?" (3)

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1. See below, Ch.VII p.269 (Ex.110).
 2. P.119.
 3. Ibid. p.129.

The Furies of Orphée and Diane in Aulide support this view although the latter, as in Tauride, only confirms a rescue by an armed force. Ernelinde and most later 'rescue' operas manage without heavenly assistance, and the Deus is metamorphosed into Don Fernando in Fidelio (originally a French libretto). In Alceste (P) Gluck made a more radical attempt to restore his drama, by making the Deus (as in Aulide) confirm the victory of Hercule; but in so doing he raised more problems than he could solve.

Chapter III

A. Alceste

1. The Alceste of Lully and Quinault (LQ) (Paris 1674)

Few operas on the Alkestis myth adhere closely to their ostensible source.⁽¹⁾ Lully's and Gluck's operas were considered by contemporaries to be unbearably gloomy, but Euripides' drama was written for light relief and performed after the tragedies in place of the customary satyr-play. (His Tauris shares this ambiguity between tragedy and melodrama and was also taken as material for tragic opera). In Euripides Herakles wrestles with Death, and Quinault's opera, subtitled Le Triomphe d'Alcide, has him in love with Alceste and successively triumphant over Licomède, Hades and this passion, for he returns Alceste to her husband. Calzabigi's libretto omitted Herakles in favour of an arbitrary reversal of dramatic logic by Apollo ex Machina; after the first Paris performances Hercule was introduced.⁽²⁾

"What Music had learned in a hundred and fifty years is shown swiftly by the opening scene of Gluck's Orfeo ed Euridice. Gluck plunges at once into the heart of the story with a funeral chorus for Eurydice, a somber musical block of the sort that Monteverdi knew well how to manipulate, though the tone here recalls rather Rameau".⁽³⁾

A hundred for a hundred and fifty, Alceste for Orfeo, and Lully for Monteverdi; mutatis mutandis, the remark applies.

"Next to Euripides or Gluck, Lully's Alceste is a joke, but Gluck would not have been ashamed of the great choral scene of mourning for the Queen, with its moving scenery, ballet, and mime".⁽⁴⁾

1. Euripides, Alkestis. The opera closest to the source is probably Hofmannsthal's Alkestis set by Wellesz (1923).

2. See Gerber, Vorwort, Alceste (P), CE I.7 p.x.

3. Kerman p.38.

4. Ibid. p.55.

But Quinault, like Euripides, meant in part to be comic; and in assessing his achievement the extravagance of contemporary Italian opera should be contrasted to the careful planning of tragédie-lyrique. In Alceste II-III Quinault used the divertissement for action and drama, a battle and a tombeau (the Furies of IV and the celebrations in I and V naturally occasion dances). Compared with Gluck's scheme the plot lacks concentration and psychological insight. In later works, more romantic in tone, Quinault drew his main characters, such as Cérès (Proserpine) and Théone (Phaéton) more powerfully; and in his last libretto, written just before he abandoned the theatre (like Racine, under religious pressure) Quinault introduced into Armide (compare Phèdre) a moral message absent from, say, Atys.

The second tragédie-lyrique, Alceste (1674), is superior to Cadmus et Hermione, not musically but in its firm dramatic framework based on human relationships. In Cadmus the gods constantly and arbitrarily interfere when the action, lacking any capacity for organic development, threatens to collapse. Cadmus kills the dragon and sows its teeth, but has to be rescued from the harvest of giants (IV). Junon has sworn eternal hostility to him, but the most evident reason for her abduction of Hermione on a rainbow (IV.7) is to furnish material for V. She relents, after Cadmus' air "Belle Hermione, hélas" but by no means because of it (contrast Orfeo II). In Alceste the action results from clearly expressed human passions. The comedy in Cadmus is amusing but the important roles are badly undercharacterized, and the gods speak with the same intonation as the mortals. A divine background to an opera needs more careful handling of the inter-relating planes of mortals and gods, and although Lully made little attempt to do this in music the divine interventions in Alceste do not direct the drama but contribute to the organization of

a complicated action.

The acts of Alceste are cleverly differentiated: "...à chaque acte, en quelque sorte, une couleur différente". (1)
The nuptials of Alceste and Admète colour I; II is martial; III funereal; IV is in Hades; while V, contrasting private sorrow and public jubilation, corresponds to I, but ends in rejoicing instead of confusion. Each act has a pattern, consisting of an appropriate interversion of these elements: situation and development of action, comedy, peripeteia, divertissement, and - pointing the way to the next act - Deus ex Machina.

As Quinault's Alceste was not performed in a resetting (2) there are no such direct grounds for comparison as with Armide, Atys, Persée, and other resettings. The story differs considerably from the Gluck opera. The first two acts deal with events before the threat of Admète's death, with which the Gluck opera opens. Licomède, who abducts Alceste on her wedding day, is the most successfully drawn character, and with his defeat and death in II dramatic interest declines. Even after the battle the comedy infects the main characters, except Alcide; with Admète mortally wounded Alceste sings "Peut-on chercher ce qu'on aime avec trop d'empressement", with the music matching the fatuity of the sentiment. The duet ("Alceste, vous pleurez!" "Admète, vous mourez!") is pathetic, not tragic, in feeling.

In III, however, even the comic characters (Phérès and Céphise) are transfigured; they lead the "pompe funèbre", a vast fresco of over 300 bars with funereal flutes and impersonal solo voices ("une femme affligée", "un homme désolé"), which recalls Lully's monumentally reticent Miserere, frozen

1. Prunières, Preface to Alceste in Oeuvres Complètes de Lully (Paris, 1932) p.xiv.

2. See below, Ch.VI p.214.

emotion. Afterwards, Admète's "Sans Alceste, sans ses appas" is too slight for the situation, and when Alcide sets off to rescue her one feels he deserves her more. IV, like Hippolyte II and Armide IV, is virtually 'hors d'oeuvre'. Quinault chose to end not with the resurrection of Alceste as reward for faithfulness in marriage but with Alcide's triumph over love. This might have worked if Alcide were a personality, rather than a mere (if irresistible) stage-presence. He lacks the depth that only music can provide, and in I his feelings are fatally compromised with the comedy (I.2, trio with Straton and Lychas: "L'amour a bien des maux, Mais le plus grand de tous, C'est le tourment d'être jaloux"). He is anyway less interesting than Licomède and his last air, "Pour une si belle victoire" (V.4), is merely genial, the interest for once focussing on the lovers whose syllabic, parallel-motion duet, pale as it is, has more musical and hence more dramatic force than Alcide's recitative of renunciation. The words are not inspiring ("Il ne manque plus à ma gloire Que de triompher de l'Amour") and the declamation, careful and intelligent as always, remains aloof, impersonal. The conflict is glossed over, the heart of the drama is missing: it is in the last resort a musical failure.

2. Gluck's Alceste: Vienna 1767 and Paris 1776; self-borrowings

If by including comedy Lully approached Euripides more closely than Gluck, his form is much less Greek; Gluck's and Calzabigi's opera - judging largely from internal evidence - aimed to recreate the statuesque tragedy of Aeschylus. Admetos is the most interesting character in Euripides; he accepts his wife's sacrifice in the kingdom's interest, for which he is reproached only by his father under provocation. This attitude was not acceptable to Quinault or Calzabigi.

Admète has no chance to prevent his wife's death; in Quinault she is dead before he recovers and in Calzabigi although Alceste is allowed to say a last farewell the pact she makes with Death is irrevocable. Gluck's music makes this clear: the propitiary rites, the 'pantomimes', the prayers of priest, people, and of Alceste herself, prepare for the terrible response of the god. The priest's ecstasy, the trombones referring to the arpeggio-theme of the overture; the oracle itself, impressive in its simplicity; the people's flight, leaving Alceste alone; all are means to affirm the solemnity of her oath and make her, not Admète, the destined victim. In III.4 (P) "Un Dieu Infernal" confirms this:-

"Si tu révoques le voeu qui t'engage,
Admète de la mort subira seul les loix.
Alceste! c'est à toi de décider son choix".

She cries out "Qu'il vive"⁽¹⁾ - he has no say in the matter. His threatened suicide would leave their children orphaned, and the nation, whose dependence upon him is impressed on us by the opening choruses, without their King. The choruses are also important in making clear that he is worthy of the sacrifice, while in (P) his role reaches an heroic stature approaching Alceste's.

Quinault produced an organised but loose structure designed to tell a story rather than shed light on motivation. Calzabigi, seeking psychological complexity, reduced action to a minimum and dwelt solely on the problem created by Admète's impending death and Alceste's sacrifice, uninterested in the cause of the first or the ultimate consequence of the second. Despite its historical position, as manifesto of Gluck's 'reform', Alceste (V) fails where its predecessor, Orfeo, with an equally lame ending, nearly succeeds,

1. See below, p. 97 note 3.

thanks to the intrinsically musical nature of the subject. Alceste (V) includes more irrelevant matter, such as the confidante's aria omitted in (P). Gluck rose to the long monologues and massive choral tableaux, but these are, unlike Aeschylus' choruses, self-defeatingly static; "Piangi, o patria", for instance, comes four times identically with solo episodes (III). In LQ III.4 the episodes were narrative; here they are mere embellishment:-

"Alceste è morta! Ahime! mai rine il pianto acrà
che queste bagnerà, spiagge funeste!"

Lully is for once more concentrated, in his one funereal tableau (III.5); Gluck here approached too closely the mood of his opening scenes. Rousseau justly criticised the resulting monotony:-

"...le premier acte est le plus fort de Musique &
le dernier le plus foible, ce qui est directement
contraire à la bonne gradation du Drame, où l'
intérêt doit toujours aller en se renforçant".(1)

Unlike Wagner, Gluck never managed this.

The recitative is the weakest aspect of Alceste (V) as of Orfeo, where, however, there was far less of importance. In Alceste, though continuo recitative is used, the important passages are orchestrated; and the length of these restrained declamations, without the variety given by short airs in Lully (or Aulide), the organisation of Monteverdi, or the organic form Gluck was later to achieve in long recitatives, produces that high-minded monotony which weakens the whole as much as would the emotional tepidity of Lully. Certainly Calzabigi demanded the impossible - his text, with too many words and too much ratiocination, is better for reading than singing.

1. Fragments d'observations sur l'Alceste Italien de M. le Chevalier Gluck, in Traité sur la Musique, Geneva 1781, p.393.

Alceste (P) is a remarkable exercise in self-criticism. The superb monumentality is reduced, but what remains is integrated into a more flexible and varied scheme. Occasionally the new words are unfortunate - notably the change of "Ombre, larve" to "Divinités du Styx"⁽¹⁾ - but Gluck presumably controlled the selection of scenes and music to be retained, discarded, reordered, and composed anew. The result is less than perfect, but as a whole preferable to the original.⁽²⁾

The major revisions are of considerable interest in assessing the stylistic development from the pioneering Italian 'reform' to the more assured French period. The monologues are much reduced and therefore no longer detract from the force of the most important, in which Alceste decides to die. The scene by the Styx ((V) II.2) is cut, its best music appearing in (P) III.3. Admeto's soliloquy similarly goes, and the aria "Alceste, au nom des Dieux" ((P) III.4, p.289)⁽³⁾ is now directly addressed to her: self-pity is transformed into a moving plea for death, which makes finer her continued determination to let him live. In (P) the recapitulation is omitted, and her reply ("Je le sens, cher époux", p.294-5) overlaps the cadence, indeed prevents any settling on the tonic by going at once to Eb - a rare use of open-end by Gluck.

The revision brings Alceste closer to Aulide and French tradition by using short airs 'dans les scènes'. These include the Lullian AABB form,⁽⁴⁾ of which "Ah! divinités implacables" ((P) II.3) was "Non vi turbate" in (V). These

1. See Berlioz, A Travers Chants, pp.172-3, and Sternfeld p.127.

2. See Sternfeld p.123ff for a discussion reaching a different conclusion.

3. Page references to CE (full score).

4. See above, Ch.II p.50.

als punctuate the long recitative, avoiding monotony. The recitative, now orchestrated, is stronger than Aulide's; there is more controlled sostenuto, but too much tremolo, particularly for Admète. Only with Armide did Gluck balance his techniques: here the lack of direction in recitative is accentuated by the presence of so many genuine arias, and relatively little arioso. The problems of recitative and Italianate aria were better solved in Tauride, but even there arias in monologue or in public contexts (Alceste I.2, II.4; Tauride I.1, II.6, IV.1) are more successful than those in dialogue (Alceste II.3; Tauride II.1); in Armide I.1, where the characters are not social equals, another solution was reached. (1)

The first act went farther than Lully in transmuting divertissement into public mourning and religious rite. In II there is a real divertissement, celebrating the King's recovery ((V) II.3; (P) II.1), a concession from austerity which provoked Rousseau's criticism:-

"Cette fête, mal placée & ridiculement amenée... est contraire à toute vraisemblance & à toute bienfiance, tant à cause de la promptitude avec laquelle elle se prépare & s'exécute, [an ingenious criticism] qu'à cause de l'absence de la Reine, dont on ne se met point en peine..." (2)

This is a fair objection, and in sending his Observations to Burney, Rousseau was able to append this note:-

"J'ai donné, pour mieux encadrer cette fête & la rendre touchante & déchirante par sa gaieté même, une idée dont M. Gluck a profité dans son Alceste François". (3)

Though longer, the ballet acquires an ironic relevance like that in Aulide I or Hippolyte III, and is an effective

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1. See below p.101.
 2. Op. cit. pp.394-5.
 3. Ibid. p.395.

contrast to the sombreness of I. Alceste arrives (II.3) in the middle; she hides her sorrow but her self-control visibly crumbles, until Admète notices her dismay and asks the cause (bar 347, ⁽¹⁾ p.205). The "Choeur mêlé avec la danse" from (V) is here heard only once and with a new dimension. A modulation from V to ii (p.183), quite casual before, is here heard as the result of Alceste's joining in (à part, bar 64) and it clearly defines her true feelings without holding up the dance. In the middle of an inapposite selection from Paride comes a flute solo in g, to which Alceste sings, arioso, "O Dieux soutenez mon courage" - the dance form, belonging to the divertissement, heightens the pathos of the personal expression, as if she would rejoice but cannot (p. 201).

III is completely recast and the two scenes at Hell's Gates are condensed, to their advantage, into III.3-5; this becomes the true climax, and as such removes some of the force of Rousseau's general objection. ⁽²⁾ In the over-complex (V) III Admeto retired to his palace to threaten suicide alone, but in (P) III.4 he appears to plead with Alceste and is there when she is rescued, the action forming an exciting sequence. Apollo, like Diane in Tauride, merely confirms the victory of the hero. The ritornello ⁽³⁾ with the oracle was in any case a less important symmetry than those between the opening chorus and "Pleure, ô patrie", the oracle and the oracular "Dieu Infernal", the trombones of "Divinités du Styx" (I.7) and the "Choeur des Divinités Infernales" (III.4, p.308).

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1. Bars numbered from start of each scene, as in CE.
 2. Above p.88.
 3. See Sternfeld p.123.

Berlioz criticized Calzabigi for omitting Herakles, but saw also that he fits badly in the later version:-

"L'air qu 'il chante...débute par quelques mesures d'une belle énergie; mais bientôt le style en devient plat, redondant..."(1)

He believed the aria to be by Gossec. In fact, to introduce Hercule was Gluck's idea.⁽²⁾ Gossec contributed to the divertissement, but this quite characteristic piece is from Ezio (1750). Gerber defends it and all the self-borrowings:-

"Dass die Sätze dabei nicht als Fremdkörper wirken, ist darin begründet, dass sie sinngemäss wirken und an der richtigen Stelle stehen...[which is unexceptionable, as "O malheureuse Iphigénie" for one example testifies]. Das Stück aus dem 'Ezio' mit seiner rauhen Entschlossenheit - man beachte die drohenden Bläserklänge - entspricht durchaus dem Charakter des Naturmenschen..."(3)

Berlioz also noted the wind parts, "d'une tournure vulgaire"⁽⁴⁾ These views have much in common but Gerber, knowing the author, defends the aria; the real trouble with which is that it accords very ill with its surroundings (the scene follows "Pleure, ô patrie", III.1-2). Hercule is not woven into the dramatic web as in Quinault or Euripides, and the intended integration of his role by his appearance well before the rescue is spoiled by the musical incongruity. Gluck might have salvaged his opera by composing a new aria, characterizing him within the musical context of Alceste; this raises the issue of the self-borrowings,⁽⁵⁾ which Gerber accepted too readily. Alceste (V) gains from the absence of any borrowing, which makes it doubly unfortunate that (P) should suffer by a too casual one. Movements like "Che puro ciel"

1. A Travers Chants p.185.

2. Letter to Arnaud, 31st January 1778; Correspondence p.79.

3. Gerber, loc. cit. p.xv.

4. A Travers Chants loc. cit.

5. Mostly listed in Wotquenne.

and "O malheureuse Iphigénie" were outstanding in their original contexts, but other movements - "Dieux qui me poursuivez", "Je t'implore et je tremble" (Tauride II.1, IV.1), "Esprits de haine et de rage" (Armide II.2) and Hercule's air - of effective but inflexible diatonic energy, were original in the Italian context for which they were conceived but are at odds with the more subtle music of Gluck's last period.⁽¹⁾ The ballet Semiramis (c.1765) provided some of Gluck's finest dramatic music in Tauride II, but it is very extensively recomposed;⁽²⁾ Tauride is perhaps the most brilliant pasticcio ever written.

3. Alceste (P); the musical structure

Like Orfeo, Alceste (V) is an opera whose subject dictated its peculiar form. The freer plan of Aulide was more imitated but Alceste influenced Electre and Les Danaïdes⁽³⁾ which likewise deal with obsessed persons, and other operas by its orchestration, dominated by the trombones that were absent from Aulide. With the Iphigénies it is the most influential of Gluck's works in Paris, and the development within it of the forms and methods already discussed in relation to Aulide needs to be considered.

The superb opening complex, up to the Oracle and flight of the people in Scene 4, including Alceste's E♭ aria (V) "Io no chiedo", is closely derived from (V) and calls for little comment here.⁽⁴⁾ I.5, in which Alceste decides to

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1. However, borrowings from Telemacco, written after Orfeo (1765), include the eminently late-Gluck opening of Aulide.
 2. Wotquenne (p.225) lists Semiramis as an arrangement from Gluck's works (c.1785), and does not therefore list borrowings from it in Tauride.
 3. See below, Ch.VII.A.
 4. See Sternfeld pp.124-6.

die, is altered in essence as well as detail. In Calzabigi she discoursed, eloquently if not musically:-

"Ah! vi son io! Già tutta alla mia mente
luminosa si mostra la grande idea. Già de
sublime ardire me s'empie il cor..."

In (P), after the hesitant opening "Où suis-je" (p.109; the orchestra recalls Aulide I.8, just before the duet) and despairing p and f# (p.110, bars 11-16), Gluck is able to suggest the "grande idea" and "sublime ardire" musically by a progression from D, through the bass dissonance (C# against D) to a diminished 7th; p to ff in two bars; and an extension of vocal range to "a". In (V) such a moment would be impossible - the French version avoids anti-climax by drastic reduction of the text and Gluck can establish the resolution by replacing much neo-Greek reasoning with direct musical statement, the aria "Non, ce n'est point un sacrifice" (p.111). Bar 23 reached f# again, and Gluck repeats his progression of 16-20 to D, now establishing it as the first real tonic since Scene 4. The aria is punctuated by a heavy syncopated phrase, moderato (29, 41, 57, 80; and, by implication, 92) which gives immense weight to the refrain, andante. Melodic emphasis is on the modally decisive major third, ("Non"). The consequent of this 2-bar phrase is omitted at the second statement to good effect, the text running (p.114): "Eh! pourrais-je vivre sans toi?...O mes enfants!..." When stated in full it is a steady and logical re-ascent, stressing the opening f#" by concentration on the surrounding semitones (g", f#"). It contrasts with the episodes (bars 44 and 63), built of shorter phrases, almost recitative. The final invocation, arioso with tremolo, both acts as coda to the aria and begins the next scene; the contrast with the measured music is immensely effective and the immediate response to the oath seems perfectly natural.

The act ends with "Divinités du Styx" (p.123) which Berlioz considered "la manifestation la plus complète des facultés de Gluck..."⁽¹⁾ Like the previous aria, it depends greatly upon tempo change and contrasting dynamic levels which Sternfeld compares to the taming of the Furies in Orfeo:-

"...the protagonist addresses an imaginary underworld...As a result, the contrasting forte is sounded by the orchestra only, nevertheless, the concertato is just as eloquent".⁽²⁾

The musical substance is of the utmost simplicity, consisting for considerable stretches of a repeated triad, brass answering strings; the pert rhythms of the 2/4 (p.128, très animé) recall opéra-comique. The power of this aria is theatrical; Gluck composed it with a deliberate crudity, turning to a dramatic end the battle between voice and brass (the former thrice rising in a triumph of defiance to a superb bb") which had once thrilled the admirers of Farinelli.

For the revelation of the sacrifice to Admète, Gluck imitated the form of Aulide I.8, replacing its final duet with an aria for Admète from (V) which makes a weaker effect in (P) as it is now the third, not the only, aria. Although the scene contains fine details the problem of control is less well solved than in Aulide where the dramatic issue was relatively trivial. A single "hélas" from Alceste leads to the first reassuring aria (p.206) - appropriately controlled, if rather insensitive. The recitative (p.210, bar 423ff) then becomes elaborate (especially in the use of oboes and the agitated 'mesuré', bar 437) as if "building towards" aria;⁽³⁾ Alceste responds in simple sostenuto leading to her air, "Je n'ai jamais chéri la vie" (p.212). This should gently prepare Admète for the revelation, but as in the

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1. A Travers Chants p.171.
 2. Sternfeld p.127.
 3. See above, Ch.II p.51.

Aulide airs in the same Lullian form⁽¹⁾ (with which it also shares the 'chant français' decoration in the voice, and the central lento, bar 470) the self-control seems barely credible.

For thirty bars before the revelation (p.216ff) Gluck deploys many resources of recitative without the iron grip he was to exercise over them in Tauride.⁽²⁾ The tension does not continually increase and the delay is too long. The pathetic held 3rds of the flutes (493) and the development of the quaver-crotchet figure into the arioso duet (493-7; 502-7)⁽³⁾ are excellent, and the tremolo is admirably placed: but Gluck has to resort to it again, and other accompagnato devices, which cannot exceed the climax at bar 507. The approach to Admète's g' ("Alceste, au nom des Dieux, Au nom de cet amour...") is so fine that the failure of Alceste to respond immediately is cruel to him and to the composer, who has shot his bolt. Admète rejects the sacrifice in extended and incoherent recitative (p.222ff), with yet more tremolo and the striking arioso, "Non, je cours réclamer leur suprême justice" (p.226). One phrase from Alceste apparently suffices to give him enough self-control for an aria. "Barbare, non sans toi" (p.228) is fine, in the classic Metastasian place (exit-aria), yet Alceste's quietness is more impressive. The form, slow (with a presto, p.230) was used for Achille (Aulide I.8) in the same key, but here it is subtler; Alceste's "Ah! cher époux" from before the aria is repeated to introduce the curtailed recapitulation (p.231).

The final static tableau, although its form is damaged by cuts, wonderfully resolves the turbulence. The choral

1. See above, Ch.II p.76.

2. See below, Ch.V p. 175.

3. Conversation in tempo; compare the opening of the scene, where the arioso duet recalls the parallel motion of 'chant français'.

music is among Gluck's best, and "Ah! malgré moi"⁽¹⁾ is one of Gluck's finest sustained melodic paragraphs (only the close of Armide II and "O malheureuse Iphigénie" can match it). The 6/8 (p.240), for all the fine frenzy in high tesitura at "et m'arrache le coeur", reverts to the opéra-comique idiom ("O ciel quel supplice...Quelle douleur") and the banal material is not excused by the context, here introspective.

Although by now there has been too much "perilous" high-mindedness,⁽²⁾ III has magnificent passages, rearranged and condensed from (V) but not significantly altered. After Admète's long aria, Alceste ("Je les sens, cher époux", p.295) echoes her "Ah! cher époux" of II and initiates a further long dialogue. Then their voices unite in prayer (p.298), a movement of characteristically increasing intensity, using slow apoggiature (bar 165ff) in a manner rather like Agamemnon's "J'entends retentir dans mon sein". (Aulide I.3) and leading with an open end to the rugged and powerful "Caron t'appelle".⁽³⁾ Thereafter theatrical considerations dominate and the music continues strong; but the situation thus prolonged has become decidedly unreal. So extended a treatment demands a larger-scale musical organization articulating emotional development, as in Tristan III;⁽⁴⁾ Gluck's large organizations of time are emotionally static.

1. See below, Ch.V p.187 (Ex.48).

2. See Kerman p.135.

3. The autograph, instead of the electrifying recitative "Qu'il vive" (III.4; p.307) has a longer recitative and a measured dialogue with several speed changes (CE I.7, Appendix, p.477; also vocal score by Choudens, Hopkinson 44C (q) p.196). The scene is already long, and the more satisfactory version is that adopted by Gerber (CE), following the printed score of 1776 (Hopkinson 44A) p.234.

4. See Kerman p.200ff.

After Alceste's disappearance, Admète's frenzy (in alarmingly high tessitura, and quite oblivious of Hercule) is less controlled than his aria but not really more intense. It is a relief when the "Choeur souterrain" yields to Hercule (III. 5, bar 64) and the uproar is succeeded by a soft muttering ("Notre fureur est vaine") above which Hercule sings an arioso line (p.338) precariously balanced between banality and the sublime.

B. Armide

1. The subject and libretto

Armide is perhaps the most neglected of Gluck's great operas, but the one which most clearly demonstrates the relation of his mature operatic methods to French tradition, challenging Lully by resetting entire the last and loveliest of his tragédies-lyriques. Compared to its predecessors it had but a slight influence. Later resettings of Quinault are mostly condensed into three acts and make place for long arias. Gluck followed and transcended Lullian forms to produce drama of a calibre beyond Lully's powers.

The libretto, despite the tepidity of Quinault's poetry as compared with Racine's, is intelligently planned and in some details of psychology anticipates Tristan. The subject, from Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata, was used between the ballet de cour La Délivrance de Renaud (1617) and Dvořák's Armida by Handel (Rinaldo), Jomelli, Traetta (adapting Quinault), Haydn, and Rossini among others. It is the third of Quinault's operas to use medieval, rather than Greek, subject-matter, although the enchantments of Armide are not significantly different in spirit from those of Médée in Thésée.

Gluck deplored comparison of Alceste with Armide⁽¹⁾ but they have in common their domination by the heroine. Armide enchants Crusading Knights into captivity, but although confidantes sing her praise (I.1) she appears deeply unsatisfied. Renaud is indifferent to her, and she reveals an obsessive interest in him, expressed as hatred:-

"Ah! qu'il me serait doux de l'accabler de chaînes,
Et d'arrêter le cours de ses exploits!
...incessamment son importune image
Malgré moy trouble mon repos".

She has dreamed that Renaud overpowered her, but "Je me sentais contrainte à le trouver aimable Dans le fatal moment qu'il me perçait le coeur". When Hidraot urges her to marry, she makes a condition: "Le vainqueur de Renaud, si quelqu'un le peut être, sera digne de moy" (I.2). To mask love with implacable hatred is also the self-defence of Wagner's Isolde.

II is concerned with the capture of Renaud. He insists that he is in no danger from Armide: "Je la vis seulement d'un regard curieux" (II.1). Quinault's "indifférence" however always disguises deeper feelings. Licomède (Alceste I.5) covers his jealousy with it, Atys his love for Sangaride; Renaud, a love of which he is unconscious, and which he could not consciously accept. After the conjugation of Armide and Hidraot (II.2) we see a changed Renaud from he who said "Le repos me fait violence" (II.1). In II.3 he reveals a susceptibility to beauty ("Plus j'observe ces lieux") and seems ready for love; as in Tristan the magical potion is more a symbol, destroying inhibition, than an aphrodisiac.

Love overcomes Armide as she prepares to slay him, and she carries him off to an enchanted garden. III and IV are episodic acts: Armide struggles against her passion, summoning

1. Letter to Du Roullet, July-August 1776; Correspondence p.85, MPS p.44.

Hate to her aid, but Love prevails (III); two Christian Knights, on their way to rescue Renaud, easily overcome various monsters and - with more difficulty - the seductions of Armide's minions disguised as their mistresses (IV). There is insufficient action for Quinault's five-act form; but the corollary - reduction of recitative to a minimum - allows Armide to become the more dramatic by its psychological interest.

In V the lovers are together; he completely ensnared, she anxiously foreboding. Left alone, Renaud's conscience troubles him - he displays little interest in the proffered entertainment and is not unready to leave when the Knights arrive. Armide appeals to him in vain, and destroys her magical works in despair. (The story continued: Armide, disguised, was killed in battle by Renaud - a conflation with the Tancredi story).⁽¹⁾

2. Lully's and Gluck's settings compared

Act I

Gluck omitted the Prologue, and his opening - after the mild Telemacco overture - may seem unimpressive beside Alceste and Aulide. But the very prettiness of the confidantes' airs and duet makes Armide's eventual speech the more striking (she must, visibly, be the centre of attention from the start):-

Sidonie: "Ses plus vaillants guerriers,
Contre vous sans défense,
Sont tombés en votre puissance".

Armide : "Je ne triomphe pas du plus vaillant de tous;
Renaud, pour qui ma haine a tant de violence,
L'indomptable Renaud échappe à mon courroux.

1. See Sacchini, Renaud; below, Ch.VIII A2

Tout le camp ennemi pour moy devient sensible,
Et lui seul, toujours invincible,
Fit gloire de me voir d'un oeil indifférent.
Il est dans l'âge aimable où sans effort on aime;
Non, je ne puis manquer sans un dépit extrême
La conquête d'un coeur si superbe et si grand".

After the charming settings of the confidantes' songs by both composers, divergencies in method, if not intention, become apparent. Lully first uses recitative before Armide's speech (p.44),⁽¹⁾ and for her the 'chant français' becomes less arioso, more declaimed, over sustained harmonies (p.45). Gluck continues with formal music. At "Si la guerre aujourd'hui" (p.14:11)⁽²⁾ the music was rugged, suiting the text, but still essentially simple; when Armide sings the tempo is unchanged but the complexity of her feelings is expressed by more rhythmic complexity, dynamic contrasts, and near counterpoint (p.16:13). Gluck thus justifies his boast:-

"Il y a une espèce de délicatesse dans l'Armide qui n'est pas dans l'Alceste; car j'ai trouvé le moyen de faire parler les personnages, de manière que vous connoîtrez d'abord à leur façon de s'exprimer, quand ce sera Armide [sic] qui parlera, ou une suivante..."⁽³⁾

Subtle in itself, this method allows Gluck to reserve recitative for a striking effect later on.

Lully's setting is not ineffective but the declamation provides only the possibility of a dramatically meaningful projection of the words, and depends heavily on a singer who is also an actress.⁽⁴⁾ Gluck expressed the words more vividly, and only partly by his more complex scoring and modulation. The articulation of the speech is composed into the music,

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1. Page references to COF vocal score.
 2. Page references to full score (1777) Hopkinson 45A: vocal score, Peters (PVS) Hopkinson 45C (o).
 3. MFS p.44; see Correspondence p.85.
 4. Grimm made this point about Destouches' inexpressive recitative (Lettre sur Omphale pp.14-15, 18-19, 28).

and it is necessary only to sing it well to realise its dramatic content. Both settings have a ternary key-scheme but Lully, after the first abrupt and effective movement from F to d (p.45), is casual in comparison with Gluck. Gluck modulates less, but uses his relative major (Bb) for contrast and then at a melodic climax consciously recovers the tonic (p.17:14) with a return to the opening mood. Different words are chosen for emphasis: Lully reaches g for "l'indomptable Renaud" and "gloire" (p.46), and again at the end ("superbe et si grand"). These are the conventional words which he always colours thus, and Gluck is more subtle in choosing "lui seul" and "dépit extrême". Renaud's "gloire" is important but the "dépit" he causes her matters more; it occasions this outburst and the opera's entire action. "Il est dans l'âge aimable" is crucial, showing her unconscious love. Lully no more than indicates this with a held chord (46-71), throwing the burden of expression onto the actual tone of voice, over which he has no control; the notes are perfectly dry. Gluck makes the implication inescapable (p.17:14), by using, also with static harmony, a smooth, sequential vocal line. (The settings of the mood-change at "Non" are very similar in effect).

This difference in method and achievement persists throughout. When Armide sings next, Lully (p.50) reverts to recitative, Gluck (p.19:15) to comparatively complex rhythms and enriched scoring (with horns). For the first speech quoted (above p.99) Lully arrests attention with a g (51) but otherwise does little to express the conflict of hatred and suppressed love. Close comparison (Ex.18) reveals a surprising number of similarities, rhythmic and melodic, in the word setting ("qu'il me serait doux", "exploits") but Gluck articulates the contrasts without losing impetus (the march-like dotted rhythms and semiquavers on the 4th beats),

has the voice ascend ecstatically to g" ("doux") and then wrenches the tonality to g ("Que je le hais") at a point where Lully's music articulates nothing.

Lully's accompaniments for five-part string orchestra are a means of heightening interest in a passage by contrast with the bare continuo accompaniment preceding it. Otherwise his dream narration is in itself placid, without anguish; impeccable declamation throws the entire articulative burden onto the singer. The passage is musically controlled by a simple quaver figure heard six times. Gluck opts for uncontrolled music, his first recitative. The tremolo and accompagnato figures (p.21:17) rivet the attention as much as Lully's string orchestra; afterwards the still sostenuto, and arioso cadence - used by Lully also (p.53) - let the words make their point without overstatement.

In I.2 Lully's Hidraot and Armide both use the same light triple metre in linked airs (p.58), but this style and the conventional flourish on "chaine" (p.57) do not suit Armide. Gluck gives Hidraot a slightly comic character in his airs (p.25:20 and p.29:23) but Armide's reply, in form also a French 'petit air', is perfectly serious (p.27:21). Both composers end the scene in arioso. Rameau delighted in Lully's setting of "si quelqu'un le peut être":-(1)

"Rappelons-nous cette parenthese...[Lully] y substitue justement le Ton de la quarte au régnant, qui commence & finit la phrase [p.64; i.e. to hint by a B \flat at F, the tonic (régnant) being C]. Le seul sentiment lui a dicté cette substitution, capable de remuer l'ame au point de faire sentir la situation de l'actrice..."(2)

Where Lully's correct parenthesis is part of a smooth progression, Gluck's subdominant (a) directly follows a dom-

1. See above p.99.

2. Code de musique pratique, p.168; see also Observations sur notre instinct pour la musique, p.55ff.

inant (B#7) and a silence (p.35:26). Piano between two fortes, this is a sinister aside, expressing the impossibility of what she asks and the complexity of her reasons for asking it.

Gluck curtailed the divertissement (I.3):-

<u>Lully</u>			<u>Gluck</u>	
1.	Marche			-
2.	Air (Hidraot)			-
2a	repeat as Chorus	=	1.	Chorus only
3.	Rondeau - Dance			-
3a	repeat as Chorus & Phénice	=	2.	Chorus & Phénice
4.	Sarabande	=	3.	Ballet
5.	Chorus & Sidonie	=	4.	Chorus & Sidonie
6.	Sarabande repeated			-

He expanded the final chorus of vengeance to more than twice Lully's length and, with the harmony and orchestration of the late 18th century, entirely dwarfs Lully. The latter's vite (C, p.90), homophonic with brisk, square rhythms, might make some theatrical impact, but it is hardly enthralling. Gluck's more complex rhythm (p.49:40), his use of solo voices antiphonally with the chorus, and the symphonic development of the driving triplets, contribute to the strength of this music, and so does the prevailing minor mode. In Lully's day the associations of the minor were not standardized, for all that they are scientifically explicable in terms of greater harmonic tension - the contradiction, in a minor triad, of the harmonic series of overtones. Thus Lully writes happy endings in the minor (Cadmus, Alceste; also Destouches' Issé) and ends tragedies in the major (Atys, Armide). Lully's relative ineffectiveness here and at the end of the opera results also from his lack of orchestral resources; such passages must have seemed weak by Rameau's time, whereas Gluck's music, like Rameau's and Mozart's in comparable situations, remains impressive today.

Act II

In the first four scenes of II, only personal taste would favour one or other setting. Gluck perhaps defines the military side of Renaud more clearly, in the air with very active high horn parts (p.66:53). At the conjuration, Lully's contrapuntal duet is not inferior; for the arioso "Plus j'observe ces lieux", the voice being one strand of the counterpoint, Lully uses lulling quavers, Gluck with perhaps a deeper expressiveness a complex texture recalling "Che puro ciel", with solo flute, violin quavers, throbbing bass, and held notes in turn from oboe, clarinet and horn (p.83:64). There follows a divertissement, representing the voluptuous thoughts of the sleeping Renaud, set by Gluck without cuts.

Contemporary audiences found Lully's II.5 a scene of almost unbearable suspense. Again, although it would hardly be fair to fault Lully, Gluck articulated more clearly - so that, possibly, there was less suspense, but more insight. Armide, "un dard à la main", comes upon Renaud "endormy", introduced by a brisk prelude in Gluck (p.103:76) and a substantial and impressive piece in French Overture style in Lully (p.136) in e, the key in which he ends:-

"L'Héroïne finit par adorer celui qu'elle vouloit égorger au commencement; le Musicien finit en E si mi comme il a commencé..."(1)

Rameau made a detailed appreciation of the passage:-

"...tout y est compassé dans le véritable ordre que peut inspirer la Nature. Quel goût! quel génie! quel sentiment! Le monologue débute par le Ton mineur de mi, & passe à son majeur relatif à la tierce, qui est celui de sol, pour donner plus de force aux épithètes dont Armide caractérise son héros; de-là, pour faire sentir

1. Rousseau, Lettre sur la musique française, Paris 1753, p.80.

la réflexion sur l'accident qui le met en sa possession, Le charme du sommeil le livre à ma vengeance [p.137], vient immédiatement sol dièse, qui donne justement le Ton de la quarte du régnant, savoir le mineur de la; puis se livrant à son transport, c'est par ce Ton régnant [e] qu'elle exprime, Je vais percer son invincible coeur. On sent tous les effets de cette belle modulation, sans en savoir la cause, même sans s'en être jamais occupé: qu'elle est heureuse!"(1)

This takes seven bars. Gluck set this much in simple recitative, and the points made by Rameau (expression of "superbe", "sommeil") he leaves to the singer. This is a reversal of the usual situation: Lully is more articulate. But Gluck starts thus unprepossessingly in the interest of the whole scene, which increases in musical intensity as it proceeds, while Lully can do nothing better than his opening and for all his care cannot avoid monotony. Rousseau put this criticism more strongly:-

"...que peut-on concevoir de plus mal conçu que cette régularité scolastique dans une scène où l'emportement, la tendresse & le contraste des passions opposées mettent l'Actrice & les Spectateurs dans la plus vive agitation?... Armide...oublie tous ses projets de vengeance, & n'oublie pas un seul instant sa modulation".(2)

The hesitant murderess - a motif in Amadis and Omphale also - speaks of Renaud's feats (Lully, p.138), her admiration suggesting repressed love. Lully uses a held chord under this phrase, anticipating his setting of "Quel trouble me saisit" - her conscious hesitation. The harmony recovers

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1. Code de musique pratique, loc. cit.; see also Observations sur notre instinct pour la musique pp.69-125, a direct reply to Rousseau's critique of this scene; and d'Alembert, op. cit. p.435ff, replying in defence of Rousseau.
 2. Op. cit. p.79.

its flow, the voice the 'chant français' expressiveness, and at "Ah! quelle cruauté de ky ravir le jour" becomes arioso; proceeding to G (p.141) for the mention of "l' amour". But it is hard to apply Rameau's analytic method to justify the lack of composed agitation; the vocal part is no more than a shapely outline, needing the injection by the singer of liberal interpretation within a fairly rapid tempo. The snort air at the end, with strings, is attractive, but not sufficiently different from the earlier arioso.

Gluck articulates Armide's hesitation in the orchestra as well as the voice (Lully's scene is accompanied by the continuo until p.142). Lully exhausted his declamatory resources early (in the passage analysed by Rameau). Gluck keeps some in hand for an effective end. No contrasting tempi are indicated,⁽¹⁾ and Lully's trite alternation of the same rhythm to different sentiments (pp.138-9) - "Achevons - je frémiss! vengeons-nous...Je soupire") is broken up, the last preceded by stylised 'soupirs' in the orchestra (p.105 bar 11: 78, bar 4). The voice itself sighs exquisitely at "Plus je le vois", a descending phrase heard at two important junctures in Alceste.⁽²⁾ There are still several verses before the air "Venez, seconde mes désirs", but Gluck avoids Lully's mistake (and his own in Alceste II.3) by taking the phrase with which he had anticipated Armide's capitulation (p.104:77) and building it into an orchestrated arioso, the clarinets echoing the strings (p.106: 78). Towards the end Armide grows impassioned, and her continued profession of hate is contradicted by the music's warmth (p.108:79, the semitone apoggiature bars 5:16 and

1. PVS gives several, p.77; they are editorial, and the mood-changes are clear without them.

2. II.3 and III.4; see above p.97.

8:19, and the following passage which develops them),⁽¹⁾
Gluck uses another "parenthèse" which Lully misses⁽²⁾ ("s'il se peut", p.109:80), and thus in "qu'il m'aime au moins... que je le haisse" the last words clearly mean "que je l'aime". Gluck's repeated "s'il se peut" echoes the "je soupire" ten bars before the arioso began. In the final arioso in e it is still the orchestra which leads Armide, suggesting her true feelings in the oboe line, while picturesquely representing the enchanted flight in the violins. The voice has a single melodic paragraph, paying more attention than Lully to verbal detail; a descent from g" to f#' at "Ma faiblesse et ma honte" is cliché in Lully, superb in Gluck (Lully p.144; Gluck p.112:81).

Acts III, IV and V

Gluck's arioso, suggesting Armide's uncertainty as to her own feelings, yields in III to expression of her bitter awareness in aria, "Ah! si la liberté".⁽³⁾ Lully's setting, like "Venez, seconde mes désirs", is nearly measured recitative. Gluck was able to invent a fine melodic line modelled no less closely on the verse. In III.2 as in I.2 Lully's indiscriminate recitative and light air confuse Armide with the charmingly garrulous confidantes. Gluck draws them into Armide's orbit, although she alone has recitative. Her air joins without a break to the confidantes' replies, but the characteristic dotted rhythms of Armide yield to smoother groups of quavers (pp.125-6:89-90). After the invocation, Lully's scene with "la Haine" is on the whole superior to Gluck's wholesale self-borrowing, particularly in the dances. Lully ended the act well, with arioso

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1. Compare "Le calme rentre dans mon coeur" in Tauride II.3.
 2. As Rousseau noted, op. cit., p.89.
 3. See Ex. 52.

for Armide and the rejected "Haine". Here however Gluck recovered interest and produced two masterstrokes, both requiring minor emendations of Quinault. He set the climax of "la Haine's" invocation and Armide's cry "Arrête, affreuse Haine" as a duet, incomparably stronger than Lully's successive recitatives, above all at the cadence when Armide is suddenly left isolated in a high register (p.158:112-3), to fall to the tonic, exhausted but having silenced the incantations. This passage is adapted from an opéra-comique like the magnificent opening of Tauride. Gluck makes good use of the chorus, silent in Lully, to repeat "la Haine's" warnings, and at the close introduces an extra speech for Armide. The words are conventional enough but the setting is remarkable, with shuddering violin, chromatic bass, and the late flowering of melody out of the single d" in the voice ("Amour, puissant amour", p.164:119); and it restores dramatic interest where it belongs, to Armide, instead of the allegorical personage, revealing her intense loneliness and explaining the completeness of her desolation when Renaud finally leaves her. (1)

IV could be omitted without damaging the opera's dramatic form. For some reason Gluck uses far less self-borrowing here than in III, and writes music for the combat with monsters (p.168:123-4) of a calibre unfortunately not shared by the dances of "la Haine's" retinue. Although replete with attractive music in both settings, IV is hardly worth detailed consideration in an analysis of Armide as drama.

The love scene (V.1) is delicately composed in both settings until the final duo, "Aimons-nous". Lully's

1. Ten lines for "la Haine" are cut. This last page may have been added after one performance; see Prod'homme pp.280-1.

unelaborate, syllabic setting, has an attractively restrained ardour which reminds us of the fragility of a love only able to exist in isolation, and soon to be destroyed. Gluck, as in Aulide I.8, ends the scene unworthily with a naive and - in terms of the French tradition - thoroughly old-fashioned fredon on "flamme" (p.221:157).

The divertissements of Armide are all loosely allied to the drama: celebration of Armide (I), seduction of Renaud (II), incantations of "la dame" (III), seduction of the Knights (IV). In V it again takes place around Renaud; ostensibly as an entertainment provided by Armide while she goes to consult the infernal powers about the future. Gluck composed choral and solo numbers, three short dances, and a large chaconne (p.224:160) which Einstein considered inferior only to the Furies' dance of Don Juan.⁽¹⁾ Lully organised the whole sequence into a vast Passacaille on a 4-bar ground of about 300 bars, with little modulation; a considerable feat in an era of small forms, although not free from monotony.

What matters is the effect of all this voluptuous delight upon Renaud; perhaps the most decisive instance of the greater profundity of Gluck's conception. He dismisses the entertainment:-

"Allez, allez, éloignez-vous de moy.
Doux plaisirs, attendez qu'Armide vous ramène.
Sans la beauté qui me tient sous sa loy,
Rien ne me plait, tout augmente ma peine.
Allez, allez..." (V.2)

Lully set this straightforwardly as a ternary air without orchestral embellishment (p.296) (the opening recalls Armide's "Venez, secondez..." at the end of II). The middle section ascends logically but without real tension to bb'

1. Einstein p.158; this opinion is shared by Grout, p.242.

and falls comfortably onto the cadence (rhyming musically with "ramène") on "peine" - not a comfortable word. Where Lully began in the minor and proceeded to the relative major, Gluck (p.252:176) characteristically chose the major in order to adopt the relative minor and the remoter \flat in the crucial middle section. At "ma peine" he draws the voice up to a long g' , and descends chromatically to the cadence - accents of grief, not merely regret at Armide's absence. The held b^4 (p.254:177) while the music moves to the dominant of G , and the $4\frac{1}{2}$ bar rest in the voice during the recapitulation, are additional niceties, and the choice of an orchestral coda (rather than a prélude to the next scene, as in Lully), while giving time for necessary stage movement, keeps attention on Renaud and makes Ubalde's arrival the more startling. Gluck responds to meanings in the text ("qui me tient sous sa loy" might imply a certain unwillingness in his captivity) of which Quinault was probably not conscious; and without any distortion of the poem adds a new dimension to Renaud and makes his desertion of Armide the less callous and repellent.

In V.3 Renaud, swathed in flowers, shows his bad conscience openly: "Ciel! quel honte de paraître dans l'indigne état où je suis!" By the end of the scene Gluck, only, has him join with the briskly martial tone of the Knights' music (p.260:179-80).

In the final scenes, the same contrast may be drawn as with II.5. Lully's recitative is excellent at the start (p.303) but merely continues with no progressive intensification; the good declamation and fine climax (p.310) cannot avoid the ultimate tedium. Quinault modulated Armide's speech from invective (until "le coeur d'un tigre est moins barbare") to threats of suicide and haunting ("Je mourrais si tu pars"), but Lully (p.308) ignores the division.

Gluck, who started with a refined anguish in the echoing oboe (p.261:181), can afford, with his greater resources, "reculer pour mieux sauter". He writes simple recitative for Renaud (p.263:182); Armide responds with the agitated in tempo, the oboe again poignant, leading to tremolo; then Gluck marks the division, not by speed or thematic substance, but by a sudden stillness (p.266, bar 5:p.184, bar 12). The dissonance at "sans toi" (p.266:185) is prolonged against its own resolution in the bass. The semiquaver accompagnato recalls the climax to Agamemnon's recitative, Armide II.7. The final stage is, as in the dream narration, a touching simplification of method, a repeated orchestral sob in crotchet chords. The overlapping of Renaud's entry ("Trop malheureuse Armide") (p.268:186) adds another touch of pathos - he is more touched than Lully's hero - to a passage of a richness and power beyond the means, not only of old French opera, but of Gluck before Armide.

Lully, the master of mezzotint, was inadequate when full colouring is required. His last scene is magnificently handled, by his own standards, in the voice (whereas Gluck's recitative is less fine than previously, and the best moments in both are arioso). At the end, however, the resources of 18th-century symphonic music come into play, and Gluck sweeps on through Armide's last words to compose a musical catharsis, where Lully can provide only an inanely clattering prélude to accompany the spectacular cataclysm on the stage. It is, like the collapse of Klingsor's castle (Parsifal II), a dramatically apt use of stage mechanism, the destruction symbolising the collapse of Armide's life; and the ending provides the final justification for Gluck's attempt to turn Lully's opera (a mixture of poetry, music and stage spectacle) into an artistically consistent musical drama.

Chapter IV

Roland, Amadis, Atys

A. The adaptations

The principal pleader of Piccinni's cause,⁽¹⁾ and his first collaborator in Paris, was Marmontel. His gospel was that while others (including Philidor) had prepared the way, Piccinni would redeem the Académie Royale with truly Italian music, guided by the French poet. The latter was not himself but Quinault, with "improvements" which led to this comment from a devoted friend of Piccinni:-

"peut-être...ajouta-t-il trop de vers à ceux de Quinault, et ne travailla-t-il pas toujours assez les siens...".(2)

Some time earlier Marmontel had implied that the recitative was the only feature of Italian opera preferable to the French;⁽³⁾ yet now fashion led him - considering the musician with whom he worked, not imprudently -

"abréger les longueurs, placer dans toutes les situations qui appellaient le chant, des airs, des duo, des trio, des quatuor...tel était le but qu'il s'était proposé en retouchant ainsi Thésée, Isis, Poland, Atys, Amadis, et Armide".(4)

Only Roland, Atys and Persée were composed; Amadis and Thésée were to be set in different adaptations.

The works which once preceded Armide - Amadis (1684) and Poland (1685) - and which were next chosen for adaptation were, originally, too obviously intended to glorify Louis XIV⁽⁵⁾ to contain as much psychological interest.

1. See below, Ch.V A.

2. Ginguené, Notice p.27.

3. See above, Ch.I p.20 n.2.

4. Ginguené, op. cit. p.26.

5. Louis suggested the subject of Amadis, the first French opera not based on classical mythology; see Lully's dedication in the printed score.

Piccinni's Roland (1778) established a pattern for subsequent resetttings: much of the text retained verbatim, particularly for recitative, the action condensed and superfluous characters omitted (and in Persée an important one); with textual revisions including adjustment of recitative words for arias, the provision of new words for other arias, and detailed alterations necessitated by the curtailed action - the five acts being reduced to three (in Thésée, four).

Roland

Roland, "tragédie", anticipated the pastorale-héroïque; ⁽¹⁾ it exploits the pathetic discomfort caused by alien surroundings (pastoral) and an alien emotion (love) to a hero whose métier, like Renaud's, was war. Angélique, Queen of Cathay, rejects Roland in favour of Médor; the former's consequent madness is cured by Logistille "par le secours d'une douce harmonie". The massive final tableau, with "La Gloire", "La Renommée", "La Terreur", "Suite de la Gloire" and shades of sundry heroes, frames the action by glorifying Roland and, by implication, the King whom the Prologue specifically celebrated. Under Louis XVI this would have been misplaced; but Marmontel, cutting both finale and prologue, put nothing in their place to structure the opera. Gluck, like Handel (Orlando, 1733), might have made something out of this subject, and Einstein's contention that he cannot have taken Roland seriously ⁽²⁾ is contradicted by the care bestowed upon Echo et Narcisse, an inferior poem. The existence of Gluck's destroyed Roland was questioned by some Piccinnistes, who considered it a device to discredit the Italian. ⁽³⁾ Some of it may have found its way into Gluck's last three operas.

1. First used for Issé (Destouches 1697).

2. Einstein p.152.

3. Ginguené op. cit. p.33 (and Enc. Méth. I. p.625).

Marmontel followed the original order of scenes, except that, keeping all five divertissements and placing II.5 at the start of II, he seriously overloaded the early part of the opera with ballet - a structural flaw made worse by Piccinni's dislike of composing dance music.⁽¹⁾

<u>LQ (Lully-Quinault)</u>	<u>PM (Piccinni-Marmontel)</u>
Act I. Scenes 1-6	Act I. 1-5 (Sc.1 = LQ 1-2)
II. 1-4	II. 2-5
5	1
III. 1	Omitted: PM II.6 inserted
2-6	II. 7-10
IV. 1-6	III. 1-6
V. 1	Omitted
2-end	III. 7-end (2)

The divertissements are well contrasted - military, amorous, pastoral, triumphal - but only the fourth belongs strictly to the action. Roland learns from the villagers' songs of Angélique's elopement, and drives them away in a frenzy (PM III.3-6), a scene which had been hailed as "le plus ingénieux divertissement des opéra anciens..."⁽³⁾

At first the action concentrates on Angélique, but the emphasis shifts towards Roland when the lovers elope (LQ, after III; PM, after II). Marmontel cut two episodes; one - out of character but typical of Quinault - in which Médor expresses jealousy of Roland (LQ III.3-4); one in which Astolfe asks Logistille to intervene (LQ V.1). In PM the fairy's arrival ex machina is unprepared and arbitrary⁽⁴⁾ but the ending is more concise. The pleasing idea of curing Roland by music is only hinted at, since Piccinni's symphonie (amoureux, in Eb) precedes Logistille's arrival. She rouses

1. Ginguené, Notice pp.38-9.

2. See Appendix 4 for further details.

3. "Divertissement" in the Diderot-d'Alembert Encyclopédie, IV p.1069. Enc. Méth. attributes the remark to Cahusac (I. p.446).

4. Contrast Orlando, where Zoroastro is woven into the opera from the start, in the manner of some French Prologues (Amadis, Hippolyte).

him with martial strains ("Roland, courez aux armes") of a quality such as to make his final condition, sane and banal, hardly preferable to his madness, which at least was interesting.

Anadis

Roland and Amadis both suffer from the ineffectuality of the hero. Roland self-indulgently chose love, not duty, and when thwarted escaped into madness and sleep; his problems are solved for him by enchantment. Lully's Persée and Thésée sang little but their deeds contributed to the action; Amadis sings at length but does almost nothing. Before the action starts he has slain a brother of Arcalaus and Arcabonne, a pair of magicians, and, incognito, has rescued the latter from danger. In the opera, love-sick for Oriane, he blunders into their power; Arcabonne, finding she loves him, spares him. Persuaded by jealousy of Oriane to avenge her brother, she is thwarted by Urgande, a fairy who figured in the Prologue (the framing effect was lost in 1779, as in Roland).

Devismes condensed Quinault drastically but - pace Grimm⁽¹⁾ - to good effect. Rightly judging Arcabonne and Arcalaus the most interesting characters, he began with them and the omission of I and abridgment of V followed naturally:-

<u>LQ</u>	<u>BD (Bach-Devismes)</u>
Prologue	Omitted
Act I	Omitted
II	Act I; with elements of LQ I
III	II
IV. 1-6	III. 1-6
V	III. 7 in part; the rest omitted

1. "...il a conservé toutes les situations...et...n'en a supprimé que la liaison et les motifs..." CL 2 V p.60.

The sub-plot of Corisande and Florestan, who lead the chorus of prisoners in LQ III, ⁽¹⁾ is omitted; Amadis was captured going to their rescue, and Devismes assigns this decoy-role to Oriane, thereby increasing her part and gaining concentration. I and V were essentially comedy, concerning a quarrel and reconciliation of the lovers, dealt with briefly in BD I and III; the defeat of the magicians, formerly the end of IV, becomes the climax (BD III.6).

Otherwise the adaptation follows the precedent of Roland: arias are inserted to new words or adapted Quinault, recitative is curtailed to leave room for musical expansion in aria and chorus (only in Atys do ensembles play a large part, although there too arias are provided almost to excess). The resources of the 18th-century orchestra greatly assisted Bach in depicting the magicians' fury and the ghost of their brother.

Atys

Atys (1676) is an earlier work of Lully and Quinault, from an era when their operas had more complicated actions and were less developed musically. The comedy has disappeared, but the voluptuous 'merveilleux' which links Thésée to Armide is already prominent. Atys is chosen as priest and lover by Cybèle, the earth-mother, but he loves the nymph Sangaride, herself betrothed to Coelenus. Cybèle, spurned, destroys Atys' reason; he kills Sangaride and, recovering his senses, avenges her by destroying himself. Cybèle, penitent, confers immortality on him in the form of a pine-tree.

The 18th century took Atys not as the pathetic pastoral

1. Compare Alceste (LQ) III; see above, Ch.III p.85. The messenger speech of Corisande (LQ II.5, "O fortune cruelle") is given to the chorus.

Quinault made it but as tragedy.⁽¹⁾ To the prettification of an ugly myth was added misunderstanding of Quinault, whose drama is made amoral. Atys and Sangaride deceive Coelenus, and Cybèle's vicious possessiveness is not re-deemed, for Marmontel's major alteration is to cut the divine grace of Metamorphosis, which alone prevented her from seeming arbitrarily cruel (in her last-minute, musically inarticulate penitence she remains as helpless as a mortal). Piccinni's opera ends in unrelieved gloom, with trombones in the sombre eb chorus "O spectacle funeste". French opera was accustomed to tragic endings⁽²⁾ but Atys was the first in the "époque de Gluck": Armide ends with a triumph of despair, but Atys dies cursing, without hope.

The adaptation is more complicated than Roland or Amadis:-

<u>LQ</u>	<u>PM</u>
Prologue	Omitted
Act I ends with Cybèle's descent (<u>divertissement</u>)	Act I corresponds but ends with <u>choice of Atys as Priest</u> (LQ II.4)
II.1-2	II.1
3	2 from LQ II.1
4 (<u>divertissement</u>) <u>choice of Atys as Priest</u>	Omitted
III.1-7	II.3-7 (omits LQ III.2)
IV.1-4	III.1-4
5-6 (<u>divertissement</u>)	Omitted
V.1-6	6-8
7 (<u>Metamorphosis; divertissement</u>)	curtailed; (chorus retained without <u>Metamorphosis or divertissement</u>)

1. This was a general view; the Gluckistes allowed Piccinni a capacity for pastoral subjects such as Roland but said "... dans Atys il devrait s'élever jusqu'au tragique, où il était incapable d'atteindre..." Ginguené, Notice p.46.

2. For example Phaëton or Idomenée.

LQ IV.1: Air (in colloquy)
(continuo)

Roland:

"L'objet qui m'enchante

Ne m'a jamais tant charmé.
Que l'amour s'augmente

Par le plaisir d'être aimé".

PM III.1: Aria (in colloquy)
(2 obs, bns, horns, strings)

Roland:

"De l'aimable objet qui m'
enchante

Jamais je ne fus si charmé.
Qu'une beauté fière est
touchante

Quand son orgueil est dés-
armé".

In both extracts Marmontel is more complex and stronger (consider the balancing lines beginning "Quelle..." leading to the strongest image at the end). The gain is off-set by the musical setting, aria with generalized emotional connotation: ⁽¹⁾ the words would be better served by sensitive Lullian recitative.

Marmontel is not often as good as this; elsewhere he inserts arias quite gratuitously, as between:-

Angélique: "...n'importe, qu'il revienne.
Attends, je veux...hélas, sais-je ce
que je veux?"

and:-

Thémire: "Voyez ces étrangers..." (LQ I.5; PM I.4)

This air, "Je renonce à ce que j'aime", is the last personal utterance of the act and is perhaps intended to summarise her feelings; but its emotional stability militates against the drama as a whole. Similarly an 'air de basse':-

Roland: "Le dépit éteint ma flamme.
Heureuse la cruauté
Qui rend la paix à mon âme,
Qui me rend la liberté". (LQ III.2)

is replaced by an aria:-

Roland: "Je me reconnais, je respire,
Je reprends sur moi mon empire,
Je retrouve enfin ma vertu.
Honteux d'avoir tant combattu,
Je crois sortir d'un long délire". (PM II.3)

1. See below, Ch.V p. 193.

Roland is hopeful of having conquered his love for Angélique, but he immediately relapses: "Malheureux, je me flatte, et ma colère est vaine". (Q)

The aria is a dramatic achievement⁽¹⁾ strong enough to make the immediate contradiction by mere words unconvincing; the more so in that they are in recitativo secco following an irrelevant little orchestral fanfare. The only musical articulation of a change of mood is the key change, but it is to the "brighter" sound of C. Direct musical statement is the most powerful weapon in opera and contradicts the dramatic meaning at the latter's peril. Roland has many long arias; there are few ritornelli of more than six bars and the occasional coloratura for Angélique is only Italianate in its relative inexpressiveness: the virtuosity required is slight, no more than for the roles of Alceste or Ernelinde. The florid ariette (Médor, II.9) and strophic song (III.4-5) are reserved for divertissement. There are few short airs and some ariosi for Roland - among them the most eloquent passages and, in their lack of formal determination, the most suited to the hero's psychological state.⁽²⁾

Like Gluck Piccinni developed a more elaborate recitative for his later Paris operas. In Roland, a comparison similar to that made with Armide shows Lully to be more sensitive, partly through harmonic flexibility (Ex.19). At "Il faut le satisfaire, il faut bannir Médor" the sharp 3rd (bar 3) at the change to 3/4 propels the music towards the end of the sentence, with passionate determination in the modulation to c. The repeated "bannir Médor" has quite another colour, the voice falling and harmonic intensity decreasing. Piccinni intelligently accentuates "faut" - necessity - rather than the

1. See below p.135.

2. Compare Oreste in Gluck's Tauride; see Howard p.107.

conventionally important word, "gloire"; but he breaks the sentence after "satisfaire" and repeats "bannir Médor" to the same intonation, with orchestral interjections, implying a rhetorical reiteration, ⁽¹⁾ not a sudden realisation of the implication of banishment: "Hélas! c'est me condamner au trépas". Piccinni separates off the aria with a brusque cadence, whereas Lully, making a hémiole 3/2 bar of two in 3/4, cadences sympathetically, bass with voice.

Quinault does use rhetorical reiteration, and Lully takes the opportunity to form the recitative by a refrain:-

Angélique: "Partez, Médor".

Médor : "O Ciel!"

Angélique: "Partez sans différer". (LQ I.4; PM I.3)

PM inserts a long duet before the repetition, making musical identity the more necessary to the effect of the repetition. In the first statement the musical character of the passage depends on an orchestral idea (p.60:46)⁽²⁾ not used at the repetition (p.79:62). The rhythmic similarity of the declamation passes unnoticed, making no unity or rhetorical effect, in the general inexpressiveness of the intervals. Yet Marmontel himself had once insisted:-

"Si le récitatif doit être une déclamation notée, les intervalles à parcourir doivent être sensibles".⁽³⁾

In Atys however Piccinni set "Revenez ma raison" (III.1) as recitative, then, with increased intensity, as part of an air (pp.229 and 234).

In Roland the recitative is insensitive from the opening

1. The punctuation after "bannir Médor" (LQ: "?", PM: "!") may be Marmontel's alteration (PM full score; not in COF); it does not rule out the change of meaning which is the purpose of the repetition.

2. Pages refer respectively to full score, COF.

3. Examen sur les Réflexions de M. Dalembert.... p.86.

introspective monologue (Ex.20). The words "gloire" and "amour" define the conflict in Angélique's mind but the music makes only a rudimentary distinction; the contrast of an orchestral surge (string triplets and trombone⁽¹⁾) with sostenuto is the only musical content and it arouses no sympathy with her predicament. The close involvement of voice with orchestra in Aulide I.1, a method with far richer potential for dramatic articulation, is rarely attempted in Italianate accompagnato; Piccinni, not Gluck, needed "le secours d'un orchestre bruyant".⁽²⁾ One might apply to him Grimm's rather inaccurate description of the recitative in Les Danaïdes:-

"...en general vague, sans accens, et trop souvent coupé par des traits d'orchestre qui le rendent froid et insignifiant".⁽³⁾

Amadis

In Armide the composer adapted himself to the poem, in Roland the poem was partially adapted to the needs of the composer. The relationship of Bach's Amadis to Lully's is more intricate. The function of ballet and chorus is subtly altered, from being mainly decorative (as was even the choral tableau of Lully's Alceste III) to involvement with the protagonists. The arias are fewer than in Roland, and, partly through their musical merits, hold up the action less. The recitative is more elaborate and bound closely to formal music, using arioso and refrains in which Bach derives a musical organization from verbal repetitions. The flexible structures are in the spirit of Lully. In the opening scene

1. Used perhaps for the first time ^{in French opera} without supernatural connotations.

2. See below, Ch.V p. 160.

3. CL 3 II p.495. On Les Danaïdes see below, Ch.VIIA

Lully's string prélude is repeated for voice and continuo:-

Arcabonne: "Mon coeur⁽¹⁾ aurait trop de peine
A suivre une douce loi". (LQ II.1)

Bach, with continual orchestral elaboration, redeploys themes of the introduction as if for aria.⁽²⁾ Recitative in tempo intervenes; the music returns to g and is linked to I.2 by a modulation to the dominant of E_b (p.38), recalling Lully's connection of scenes by a modulating bass figure. Aulide is not the model - Bach's overture plays no part in this procedure - and an affinity, remarkable in one whose experience had been hitherto exclusively Italianate, is established with French operatic tradition.

In I.2 Devismes, intent on his full presentation of Arcalaus and Arcabonne, inserted too many arias. The first adds nothing to Arcabonne's scena (I.1). Arcalaus' 'air de basse' (LQ II.2: "L'amour n'est qu'une vaine erreur") becomes recitative (p.49) and his air "Ah! brisez votre chaine" (p.51) suggests only Rousseau's description of French singing, "un aboyement continuel".⁽³⁾ Bach's interest in continuity revived in the linking of this scene's final energetic duet (Ex.21A) to the conjuration scene by modulating from c to E_b; this does not prevent the maestoso, with trombones (Ex.21B) and a massive arpeggio recalling the opening motif of Gluck's Alceste, from making a strong contrast. I.3 and 4 (in the remote key of A) are linked by recitative (p.101). Material from LQ I is used and summarised in a duet, by Devismes:-

Amadis: "Pourquoi me fuyez-vous, trop cruelle
princesse?"

Oriane: "Pourquoi redoublez-vous le chagrin
qui me presse?"

-
1. BD has "âme" for Quinault's "coeur".
 2. See Ex.37B. For a table of incipits of Amadis see Terry, J. C. Bach, revised edition by H. C. Robbins Landon (London 1967) corrigenda p.xxxiii; the original table (p.215) is inadequate.
 3. Lettre sur la musique françoise p.91.

Such additions generally required no conscious pastiche to fit into a 17th-century poem, since little technical change had occurred in versification; a period of decline repeated the clichés of a greater age. Lully's operas have an integrity, a "cultural unity", that the adaptations lack; yet in Amadis, only the monologue "Bois épais", one of Lully's loveliest passages, is unequivocally superior to Bach. Gently meandering string music, as in Roland IV.2, perfectly matches the hero's bewilderment as, like Renaud, he drifts into danger through enchantment.

In I.6-7 the omission of minor characters led to alterations, and an air ("J'ai vu le danger sans effroi") became recitative. Amadis is distracted from fighting Arcalaus by an hallucination - Oriane appears, no longer "inflexible". After some formal, rather tame, demons' dances, Lully's strings (Ex.22A), the inner parts more than usually meaningless, fail to articulate the hero's bewilderment or to interest, since this textural resource has been exhausted by the more inspired "Bois épais". Bach's vocal line is less sensitive to nuances (Ex.22B) - the query "... irrité?" is set as a perfect cadence (bars 7-8), imperfect in Lully (Ex.22A, bars 8-9).

The order of movements reveals an interesting difference of approach:-

<u>LQ II.6</u>		<u>BD I.7</u>	
1. Summons to demons (Arcalaus)	6/8 <u>G</u>	1. COMBAT (<u>allegro</u>)	ø <u>d</u>
		leads without a break to <u>Gracieux (même mouve-</u> <u>ment) (Ex.22C)</u>	<u>D</u>
2. Air 1	<u>G</u>		
Air 2 ("pour les démons et les monstres")	<u>G</u>		
3. Chorus (and 2 bergers) "Non, pour être invin- cible/ On n'est pas moins sensible"	<u>G</u>	2. Chorus (and 2 corifées) (Same words)	<u>D</u>

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------|
| | 3. Air de danse | <u>A</u> |
| | Gavotte 1 | <u>A</u> |
| | Gavotte 2 | <u>a</u> |
| 4. Amadis (with 5-part strings) | 4. Amadis (recitative) | |
| "Est-ce vous, Oriane?" | (Same words) (Ex.22B) | |
| O ciel! est-il possible?" | | |
| (Ex.22A) | | |
| 5. Chorus repeated | 5. Chorus repeated | |

In BD the scene is strengthened by redirecting the divertissement. There was plenty of demonic music earlier in the act; to replace such dances by pastoral ones focusses attention on the hero's mental aberration rather than the inconclusive fighting; this point is clarified by the use of the gavottes in the recitative (Ex.22B bars 3, 8, 15). The enchantment was begun by a transition from the vigorously contrapuntal Combat by a single wind chord (Ex.22C, même mouvement) to gracieux, with flutes and clarinets replacing the oboes - an effect distantly echoed by Wagner. (1)

Bach replaced the solo and choral complex (LQ III.1) with a single "Choeur des Prisonniers" whose music extends into II.2; an impressive piece in g based on trombone colouring, a shuddering violin figure, and harmony made sombre by the Neapolitan bII (p.161). Lully's antiphonal "captifs" and "géoliers" are replaced by a simultaneous contrast of smooth lines ("captifs") and active bass ("géoliers") (p.163ff). After the air "Bientôt l'ennemi qui m'outrage" (Q) the text is cut; and in the scene with Ardan's ghost the composers pursued opposite courses, Lully resorting to 5-part strings (an enlargement of forces), Bach reducing to strings and bassoon, in a passage whose simplicity recalls the Alceste oracle (p.190).

In the crucial scene where Arcabonne cannot bring herself to destroy Amadis (LQ III.4; BD II.4) Lully's recitative

1. Siegfried III; Eulenburg miniature score p.972.

depends too much upon the actress (Ex.23A). Bach, with slight cuts in the text, used tremolo and fp appositely to articulate her volte-face (Ex.23B), without giving it the interest of Armide's hesitation over the sleeping Renaud. The wind entry at "Un trépas inhumain de ce héros sera la récompense?" recalls that in I.7 (Ex.23C; compare Ex.22C). The melting violin phrase (Ex.23C, bars 1-2) depicts Arcabonne overcome by tenderness; later the violins fall with her dagger (bars 7-8). Amadis' air "Ah, si votre âme est attendrie" (adapted from Q, recitative) follows at once.⁽¹⁾ The divertissement of released prisoners ends the act, with another structurally repeated chorus, "Sortons d'esclavage", a device closer in spirit to Lully than to Gluck.

The interest in BD III focusses on Oriane. The magicians' recitative (III.1, p.248) is restrained, Lullian, acting as introduction to the heroine whose aria "A qui pourrai-j'avoir recours" is heard in the orchestra before she appears (p.254).⁽²⁾ They show her Amadis apparently dead;⁽³⁾ this scene is expanded by the aria "Cruel remords qui me tourmente" (Devismes) and the next scene (the gloating magicians) is reduced. In the latter Bach's Lullian restraint is disconcerting and evil triumphant sounds unimpressive, banal, after its previous raging (p.274). When Urgande intervenes in LQ the magicians melt away: "Nous perdons tout espoir, renonçons à la vie". In BD their increased dramatic importance necessitates a more articulate despair, at the expense of Urgande and Amadis. The orchestration creates some excitement but produces no catharsis comparable with Gluck's ending to Armide. Arcalaus leaves breathing defiance, but his threats lead to no action⁽⁴⁾

1. See Ex.51.

2. A procedure used by Rameau with dances; Hippolyte III.7 and V.7.

3. Compare Thésée (LQ IV):

4. Compare Phinée, in Philidor's Persée; Ch.VI below p. 237.

and his "Dissipons ces vaines alarmes" (p.281), replacing a duet, is superficial and blustering like Piccinni or Gossec in the same key (Eb). Arcabonne, as superficial as her brother in LQ, is left alone in BD for a fine despair worthy of Armide or Lully's Sténobée (Bellérophon).

Atys

Marmontel altered the first scene of Atys to present directly something originally reported.⁽¹⁾ Atys always professes that peculiarly Quinaultian feeling, "indifférence", but in LQ I.2 Idas tells him he has been overheard sighing:-

"Amants qui vous plaignez, vous êtes trop heureux.
Mon coeur de tous les coeurs est le plus amoureux".

In PM the audience overhears this, as an arioso for Atys (I.1, p.26);⁽²⁾ Marmontel added the aria "Brûlé d'une flamme" which formalises his mixed feelings and - with Piccinni's assistance - makes them conventional.⁽³⁾ The refrain "Allons, allons, accourez tous" (p.35), although its structural function is weakened by exclusion from I.1, is used as it was in Lully, and in I.2 a more Lullian device than anything in Roland (PM) is the successive duet - that is, an air for Idas which Atys completes (they do not sing together). The music (p.39) is Italianate, with some coloratura for Atys (p.41).

When Sangaride talks of nature, "Ecoutons ces oiseaux de ces bois d'alentour" (I.3), Piccinni replaced Lully's

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1. Compare the Aulide adaptation; see above Ch.II p.61.
 2. Page references for Atys are to the issue of the printed score in BM; the first issue (Pendlebury Library, Cambridge) lacks wind parts from the middle of II until nearly the end of III. The BM copy with "Académie Nationale" on the title-page must, by analogy with Hopkinson's dating of Gluck's scores, be after 1791 (Hopkinson, Introduction p.x); but it is of the same (original) version.
 3. For a full discussion of this aria see below, Ch.VC(Ex.49)

arioso-recitative with a fragmentary pastoral symphony (Ex. 24A) containing abrupt dynamic contrasts (Ex. 24B). The intention is perhaps to bely the words and betray her inner agitation as in "Le calme rentre dans mon coeur";⁽¹⁾ but whereas we have seen Oreste in the throes of remorse we know nothing of Sangaride's hidden love for Atys and, with an uninteresting voice part, the result is merely charmless. Atys' "L'amour fait verser des pleurs" (in defence of his assumed "indifférence") is a French type of air, conversational in tone like many of Lully's (Ex. 25A); the first such in Piccinni, since the short movements in Roland are intense. The musical idiom, particularly the graceful middle section in 3/8 whose character is unaffected by the illustrative diminished 7th on "épines" (Ex. 25B, bar 32), is close to opéra-comique, a genre to which Piccinni contributed with success. To some extent this suits the nature of the conversation but it ignores the tragical implications of which other parts of the opera make so much, and is consequently incongruous. Piccinni attempts nothing like the continuity, the merging of air with expressive declamation, in Gluck's Armide.

Marmontel was justifiably ruthless with Quinault's confidantes; the comfortless speeches of Doris (I.4) are cut and the final duet replaced by an aria for Sangaride. The recitative includes a verbal repetition of Marmontel's invention which - unlike Quinault's "bannir Médor"⁽²⁾ - Piccinni characterizes (Ex. 26) first by a falling, depressed, phrase, then by rising towards the exclamation "O devoir inflexible!" (M). Had the orchestral figure not preceded "C'est mon plus grand bonheur" it could have articulated better the changed meaning of "Qu'Atys ne m'aime pas".

1. Gluck, Tauride II.3.

2. See Ex. 19.

Atys uses restrained recitative with divided violas and no violins, and a variety of orchestral techniques which marks a distinct advance on Roland. The tremolo, effective in the first dramatic confrontation of the opera (I.6, p.75, where Lully first used recitative rather than arioso-declamation), is much abused and loses its power to excite long before the end.

Atys is about the relation of gods and humans. The failure of both settings to differentiate these categories stems from Quinault, whose Cybèle with her confidente sounds too similar to Sangaride with hers. The goddess's sentimental airs (LQ II.2, III.7) correspond to Piccinni's tender aria in II.1 (p.135); at the end of II (LQ III) Marmontel substituted for her air "Espoir si cher et si doux" words more in keeping with her future actions: "Tremblez, ingrats, de me trahir" (p.216). Piccinni's grandiose (if superficial) music does not improve the characterization; for while Lully set the goddess on the lovers' sentimental plane, Piccinni raised the lovers to heroic stature.

One of Lully's best scenes is the "Songe d'Atys" (III.4), a divertissement that is of the action. "Les songes heur-euses" tell of the honour the goddess would do Atys; "Les songes funestes" warn him not to reject her. Lully wrote some 200 bars of placidly continuous music, including ritornelli, chorus, and solos ("Le sommeil", "Morphée", "Phobétor", "Phantase"), without the ground-bass organization of Armide V.2 or the developing intensity through rhythm in Roland IV.2.⁽¹⁾ Like Gluck in Armide V.2 Piccinni preferred several movements. The symphonie with muted strings (p.164) which lulls Atys (exhausted by "Quel trouble agit mon coeur") is extended as a chorus (p.167); both "Morphée" and "Un songe funeste" (the only remaining allegorical figures) sing

1. See below p.137.

recitative, differentiated by, respectively, sostenuto and accompagnato (p.174-5). In keeping with his tragic conception of the subject Marmontel made the scene more massive, less a divertissement, by an antiphonal chorus (p.177):-

Songes heureuses (à demi voix): "Combien de délices..." C
Songes funestes (à pleine voix); "Combien de supplices..." c

The dénouement is also handled in a fully 18th-century manner. For the confrontation of the lovers with the aggrieved goddess and Coelenus, Lully and Quinault wrote a sort of catechism, the voices singing in pairs. Marmontel retained part of this (see Ex.40A), then inserted a quartet. The scene of Atys' madness, like parts of Amadis, is given an excitement by the 18th-century orchestra that Lully's setting lacks, but the tremolo has lost its force and the best moment is almost an echo of Lully. After an energetic allegro, broken into for vocal entries (therefore, accompagnato, not the "symphonic" recitative of Gluck's Tauride IV. 4-5), the cry "Arrête, malheureux" (p.298) is transferred from the chorus (LQ V.3) to Coelenus and the choral entry:- "Atys, Atys lui-même, fait périr ce qu'il aime", at first off-stage, then repeated as a refrain on stage, gains in intensity through being the first choral music since the "songe" in II. Lully's opera is illuminated here by a recollection of the mourning in Alceste III. Using only wind in the orchestra, Piccinni accurately reproduces this characteristically French effect of ritual.⁽¹⁾

After the death of Sangaride, neither composer successfully rendered Atys' despair on coming to his senses; the scene smacks of a conjuring trick (LQ V.4). In Lully there is too much recitative; Marmontel provided Atys with his seventh aria in an opera already over-burdened with this type of self-expression. Piccinni was capable of tragic accents

1. Compare Hippolyte IV.3-4.

but not of sustaining or varying them, and "Je veux la suivre" (p.311) articulates no overwhelming grief, no revelation of iniquity and divine injustice. Impulsive, agitated, yet solidly built (a ternary allegro animé in c, with an open end as he stabs himself) it does not increase his dramatic stature but repeats the mood of "Quel trouble agite mon coeur" (II.3), showing that Atys has learnt nothing. He escapes into death to spite Cybèle and the rhythm of Quinault's drama - towards metamorphosis - is destroyed.

C. Musical structure and its dramatic uses

1. Roland

Roland is the closest of Piccinni's French operas to his Italian practice.⁽¹⁾ The unwieldiness, here and in other resettings, of the attempt to combine Italian and French features - the long aria, the long divertissement - is the chief general defect which differentiates Roland from Armide; Gluck directed his resources to serve the French form, without attempting to dominate it by introducing matter alien to its spirit.

Angélique and Médor: aria

The aria, in Piccinni as in Gluck, is the most important departure from French precedent - which in Piccinni's case includes Gluck. Roland himself has, besides arias, almost a monopoly of arioso and sensitive recitative; Angélique and Médor's music is Italianate, with recitative separated from, not "building towards", the aria nor even superficially linked by open ends. The syllabic air of Armide is not used, although

1. Einstein (p.152) lists as French features of Roland "choruses, ballets, ritornelli and declamations heavily laden with orchestral accompaniment!" The last two are Italian features; whereas in 'chant français' declamation governs the orchestral contribution.

suitable to characterize Médor. His and Angélique's music is not closely modelled on the text: standing or falling by general consciousness of its sense, by analogies of rhythm and harmonic tension to affect, it is dramaturgically equivalent to Italian aria. The long, sensuous, and uninspired duet of I.3 (p.63:49) draws their voices together to deny the dramatic context of undeclared love and incipient separation, and the different rank of the singers.

Angélique's first aria (p.24:13) continues the verbal, but not musical, contrast of "funeste amour, gloire cruelle",⁽¹⁾ avoiding, in the interests of a unified expression of agitation, the possibility of contrasting these words by modulation (before them the music has jerked, rather than modulated, from c to E \flat). The contrast forte-piano is a device perhaps imitated from Gluck, but whereas the latter usually employs an fp without affecting the prevailing dynamic, in Piccinni it affects the whole texture (with trombone in the forte), and becomes a monotonous alternation. The mood of "Quel trouble hélas" is appropriate and the avoidance of clear-cut form enhances it. (E \flat and e \flat are used before the music returns to the V in c; an earlier phrase, "Ne cesserez-vous pas", is developed rather than recapitulated before the coda, whose extent and emphasis are perhaps explained as compensation for the early desertion of the tonic).

A Marmontel insertion, "Oui, je le dois, je suis Reine" (I.1, p.35:23) destroys the expressive joining, in LQ, of scenes 2-3 by the string introduction for Médor. Despite the major key and the absence of fp the mood too nearly repeats that of the first aria. Whereas that might have been regarded by the authors as a short air (but its temper is that of aria),

1. This air ("Quel trouble hélas") follows the recitative in Ex.20, without ritornello.

this is full-scale, in the quasi-sonata form in general use at this period (in preference to da capo or rondo), the development section consisting usually, as here, of a contrasting affect, new words without change of tempo. (Sometimes it is a separate movement). Here the form is curtailed and the opening not recapitulated:-

Words and music:	A	B	C	B
Key scheme :	I	V	various	I

In the central part (C) fp is the more effective for having been withheld (at "Quel supplice", p.40) and the harmonic roving corresponds to the uncertainty of her mood. (The tonic is all too massively reestablished at the end, however).

After dismissing Mélor Angélique has two more arias (I.4), the first with the words quoted above (p.119). The music (Ex.27) would better suit "Rien n'égale mon bonheur". Slight minor inflexions do not prevail against this diatonic vigour and the coda - after the exact and orderly recapitulation of the opening - is positively triumphant; the soaring line, ascending to ab" and bb", cannot be justified as a melodic extension of range with an expressive purpose.⁽¹⁾ Without ritornello or coloratura, this aria still represents the Italian tradition at its worst, eschewing subtlety and permitting complete incongruity of words and music. "Je renonce à ce que j'aime" (I.4, p.95:73) is better, the flutes adding a touch of pathos to music in keeping with the text. The earlier aria carried such a sense of finality that the intervening dry recitative sounds frigid; there was good sense behind Metastasio's customary "exit-aria", which avoided such anti-climaxes.

Her arias in II are both rather empty, harmonically and dramatically; interest has shifted already to Roland. Mélor, whose sentimental music, even, seems incongruous when its

1. Unlike Gluck's revision of "Che farò"; see Sternfeld, p.122.

solidity of structure is compared with his unpretentious character, has his finest scene (his intended suicide) cut down (PM II.5); the arioso with strings (LQ II.4), reminiscent of "Bois épais":-

"Aggréables retraites,
L'Amour qui vous a faites
Vous destine aux amants contents...
Ruisseaux, je vais mêler mon sang avec vos ondes,
C'est trop peu d'y mêler mes pleurs",

becomes recitative (tremolo) (p.233:182) and dramatic, not elegiac. The perfume of Lully gives way to conventionality. Neither his short air "Je vivrai si c'est votre envie" nor the ariette (II.9) do much to fill in a character whose role is in any case negative.

Poland

Quinault often delays the entrance of an opera's hero, and in Poland (unlike Thésée and Persée) to good effect: he overshadows the other characters by the range and depth of his emotions and - in both operas - by the interest of his music although Marmontel over-loaded the part with arias whose fully-controlled musical forms tend to give the mistaken impression of one in control of himself.

Piccinni's recitative gains in interest, to flower into arioso; as Angélique conceals herself from him, Roland's despair gives rise to a touching passage in which, unusually for Piccinni, the vocal and instrumental parts are thematically related (Ex.28). The air "Tu sais ce que j'ai fait pour elle" (II.3) is a big blustering piece-in D, ternary with contrasted middle section (1^o istesso tempo), containing an attractive orchestral pre-echo of his cry: "Angélique" (p.197:149; see also p.204:156). The next air "Je me reconnais, je respire" (II.3) is the best long number of Roland (Ex.29). A continual quaver movement, broken for a few decisive cadences, sweeps the music along and unifies it, although it has little thematic matter and only fragmentary cantabile. For

once Piccinni's slow rate of harmonic change is justified by developments, at "Je crois sortir d'un long délire", literally represented at the first setting (Ex.29B) by the dissonance Gb-F, held for two bars (oboes, bars 42-3) to emerge in bar 48 as an aberration from Bb. At the recapitulation (Ex.29C) the first two phrases are ingeniously reversed so that the thematic and verbal return ("Je me reconnais") is on a dominant harmony, the immediate repetition establishing the tonic (see Ex.29A).⁽¹⁾ Eb is challenged by a modulation to f and a new setting of "Je crois sortir..." (Ex.29D), cantabile in eb. The high tessitura, the final tonic assertion, the length and structure of the aria - in which the harmonic adventures are incidental - all affirm Roland's freedom: "La gloire qui m'inspire Relève mon coeur abattu"; and militate against dramatic sense, for his self-control is illusory.⁽²⁾

Roland confronts Angélique and fails to move her even with an eloquent arioso (Ex.30) whose freedom of structure, with only immediate verbal repetition and proceeding without key-signature from g to bb, exposes the stiffness of the arias. "Gloire" is strongly accented by a high note but we are spared the fredon with which, perhaps in homage to tradition, Piccinni decorated it in I.1. The scene then lapses into the driest recitative and ends with a single-movement duet, (allegro vif, p.249:197) in which the voices unite in fredons on "chaine", like lovers, not characters between whom there is an unbearable tension.⁽³⁾

1. Compare Piccinni's Tauride, "Diane, suspends ton courroux" (Ex.43).

2. See above, Ch.I p.35. The dramatic miscalculation is more obvious in the Gossec aria.

3. Compare Armide V.1, the fredon on "flamme"; Piccinni and Gluck both bowed to a French convention which Pousseau rightly castigated (Lettre sur la Musique Française p.6.).

III.1 is concerned with the conflict of love and glory. Roland's sentimental aria in E (p.313:253) is opposed to the duet with Astolfe, militaristic although the hero intends to continue in pursuit of love. III.2 is the finest scene in Piccinni as was its Lullian equivalent. Angélique, to make her escape, has sent Roland to await her in the forest. Lully wrote nearly 200 bars of arioso with five-part strings, without subdividing into air or recitative but with metrical changes articulating Roland's developing feelings. Piccinni's prelude for strings (Ex.31A) establishes a voluptuous atmosphere (although he could for once have used a fuller orchestra). A free arioso of twelve bars, "O nuit! favorisez mes désirs amoureux!" is formed by an orchestral rhyme (Ex.31B, bars 20-30); it recurs (Ex.31C) in part with a new cadence to close the short air, "Le charmant objet de mes vœux" (Ex.31B, bar 30). This complex of short air and arioso recalls, although in a completely different mood, the method of aria I.1 (but not the accompagnato-aria of Roland I.1). The qualities of the scene were immediately appreciated:-

"C'est le morceau qui a paru avoir le plus d'effet; et pour s'en consoler messieurs les Gluckistes nous assurent que ce morceau est purement français".⁽¹⁾

In his most Italianate French opera, Piccinni had indeed come as close as he ever did to the French tradition. Subsequent recitative, effectively mingling accompagnato and sostenuto into a smooth continuum (p.347:278), leads to a miniature air in Bb, its mood not unlike the aria in III.1 but integrated into the scene rather than thrust into a conversation.

With the discovery of the inscription coupling the names of the lovers (p.350:279) the scene declines in interest - just where Lully's continuous texture was subtly disturbed from within. Marmontel with characteristic lack of proportion

1. Grimm, CL 2 IV p.346.

inserted a final aria (p.356:284) which shatters the continuity and by its large scale, heavy scoring, and emphatic cadences, detracts from the character and force of the previous scene. A slow, expressive middle section (p.361:284) only accentuates the superficiality of the bluster when it returns for an orgy of tonic reinforcement.

Piccinni produced a melodic gem in the pastoral scene, at "Angélique est reine, elle est belle" (p.396:316), and used an interruption of musical logic to good effect at the end. The chorus has reached the fourth bar of their double of Tersandre's song ("Dénissons l'amour d'Angélique") when Roland furiously disperses them (p.409-11:328-9). For Roland furieux Lully wrote fifty bars of rhythmic ostinato (bass quavers) after a very fast prélude, and punctuated his declamation with - unusually at that date - alternations of fort and doux. This is Lully at his best, although the final arioso cadence in Bb is perhaps too relaxed a close to IV (See Ex. 32B and D). Piccinni's vocal part is considerably less striking but as a whole his setting is hardly inferior. The aria "Témoins d'une odieuse flamme" (Ex.32A) has as much vigour as the vengeance aria (p.356:284), more harmonic energy, and a welcome brevity although the manner is of aria, not short air. Its orchestral coda (Ex.32A1, replacing Lully's prélude) consists of 24 bars eminently suited to the stage action:-

"Il brise les inscriptions, renverse les rochers
et réécine les arbres".

This coda ends on the dominant (Ex.32A2, bar 76); the next bar presents eb, an harmonic juxtaposition unthinkable in Gluck, let alone Lully.⁽¹⁾ The grave introduces the last stage of Roland's madness in which the chosen form - disruptive accompaniato following, rather than building towards,

1. Compare Strauss, the end of Elektra; and Atys, below p.144.

the relative stability of aria - reflects his mental state as it did Agamemnon's (Aulide II.7: both scenes involve imaginary Furies). Orchestral fragments refer back to the aria (p.420:335 in f); a real climax is made by combining voice and orchestra after so much conventional accompagnato alternation (tremolo, eb). The coda (Ex.32C) disintegrates the tremolo into single chords, graphically suggesting Roland's collapse in a manner anticipated by Gluck's ballets. The Eb symphonie follows, and the drama ends.

2. Amadis

Despite the similarity of the poem to Roland the atmosphere of Bach's Amadis is very different, and, like Gossec's Thésée which was written about the same time, points to French opera of the 1780s (including Didon) rather than referring, as Poland does, to the past. This atmosphere is created by liberal use of open-ended and abbreviated forms, massed ensembles with solo voice dominating,⁽¹⁾ and rich, occasionally heavy, scoring (although the trombones are still "supernatural" and used with discretion). Amadis particularly anticipates Lemoyne, in the use of musical repetition and in its melo-dramatic atmosphere, the occasional attempt to be bloodcurdling - something which, pace Marmontel, Gluck never tried. Bach composed Amadis in a serious spirit and influence from Gluck seems likely.⁽²⁾ Yet the methods are not Gluck's, and the arias come closer to Piccinni in style. Thus Amadis, which might at a less controversial period have offered much to the admirers both of dramatic strength and of Italian song, in the event was admired by neither:-

1. II.2. Compare the use of such ensembles in Cherubini's Médée.

2. Geiringer refers to his "intimate knowledge of Gluck" (The Bach Family, London 1954, p.441). Bach had made an arrangement (or travesty) of Orfeo in 1770.

"Les Gluckistes ont trouvé qu'il n'avait ni l'originalité de Gluck, ni ses sublimes élans; les Piccinistes, que son chant n'avait ni le charme, ni la variété de la mélodie de Piccini".(1)

Bach's musical style was less determined by his birth than by his Italian training and his generation, the next after his brother Emmanuel and Gluck. He was a little younger than Piccinni or Sacchini and shares their stylistic premises, having more in common with the latter like whom he easily accepted long spans of cantabile even in the relatively short airs that Piccinni was reluctant to use after Roland. The rondo in I.5 (the words from the latter part of "Bois épais") opens, in a slow tempo, with a 12-bar paragraph in which the melodic idea has precedence over the words in a general sense (it is without anguish) and in detail, the prosody being somewhat unusual (Ex.33). Here and in the two-movement duet (I.4) Bach approaches Mozart more closely than any other composer in an Italianate style without abundant coloratura.

Oriane's music in III adds emotional relevance to musical literacy, bringing Philidor rather than the Italians to mind by forming individual utterances from the common repository of expressive accents. (This is also generally true of Arcabonne's music). The galant sighings of "A qui pourrai-j'avoir recours" (III.2, introduction started in III.1) (Ex. 34) are temperamentally close to Quinault (whose words, slightly adapted, these are) - closer than the austere Gluck in Armide. The second episode of this rondo (p.259) is orchestrally complex (violin flutterings, smooth woodwind); and the main subject has some harmonic complexity, the cadence on bVII (Ex.34, bar 7), a little arbitrary in sound and

1. Grimm, CL 2 V p.60. La Harpe attributed the failure in part to the production (Correspondance Littéraire III p.33).

therefore not Mozartean, is restless and dramatically apposite.⁽¹⁾ In her vision of Amadis dead, the accompanied recitative is formed by the Quinault refrain, "O ciel! Amadis est mort" first set around e/g, then around bb/f (Ex.35) and leading directly to the aria, "Cruel remords qui me tourmente" whose key (f) and tempo have an affinity with Philidor's "Des maux que j'ai faits",⁽²⁾ likewise agitated and remorseful. Although the mood is Piccinnian (compare "Témoins d'une odieuse flamme")⁽³⁾ the crisp phrasing and sure harmonic movement in these arias were beyond the powers of Piccinni.

The best things in Amadis are the dances and recitatives which incline to arioso. These last suggest that, if Bach was not a dramatist in Gluck's class, he was better equipped than the Piccinniste Italians to turn a good libretto into fine opera. Amadis was not such a poem and Terry's account of its choice seems improbable:-

"Posed with the choice of a subject, Bach sensibly withdrew himself from the strenuous controversy by avoiding a classical subject. In selecting the character of Amadis of Gaule he at the same time touched the patriotic sense of his audience..."⁽⁴⁾

Amadis followed the non-classical Armide and Roland and courted comparison with these other resettings of late Lully; the appeal to patriotism occurred in the omitted Prologue and did not prevent failure: the audience was not touched. The subject was probably foisted on Bach who under the circumstances handled it remarkably well.

The dance and arioso music combine in the invocation to Ardan (II.2) for a scene close to Gluck in effect if not in method; it evokes old French opera and the thematic integration

1. The same modulation was more smoothly achieved by Sacchini, Dardanus I.1 (see Ex.143A).

2. Air for Cassiope, Persée III.3; see Ex.85.

3. Roland (see above Ex.32A).

4. Terry op. cit. p.133.

exceeds that in Aulide.⁽¹⁾ At its third appearance a descending scale (marked 'x' in the examples) precedes "Arrosez son tombeau" (Ex.36A) and provides the melodic impetus for the "Air de danse" (Ex.36A, 1st vns, bar 5). Espressivo violins and woodwind are contrasted with the agitated inner part (2nd vns, marked 'y'), from which the fourth bar develops (36A, bar 8, with Neapolitan harmony); it is later heard alone (Ex.36C, bars 2,4). Phrases from the "Air de danse" mingle with the recitative, as in I.7 (Ex.22B) and return after the first stirring of the dead (Ex.36C).

The descending tetrachord ('x') and the mighty orchestral groaning (Ex.36B, bar 47ff), an invention astonishing in its carefully graded dynamics and spacing of the diminished 7th chord, are used to articulate Arcabonne's despair in III. The groan, instantly recognizable although it is muted by replacing trombones with bassoons,⁽²⁾ is a simple but potent dramatic device to force upon Arcabonne recognition of the defeat prophesied by the ghost in II (Ex.37A, bar 4ff). The motif 'x' was continually present during the ghost's speech (Ex.36D), and less explicitly in Arcabonne's reply: "Ombre chère et terrible, Je tiens déjà le fer vengeur" (Ex.36E). As an ironic commentary on the failure of her vengeance 'x' appears strikingly, on unison woodwind, lent (Ex.37A, bar 22). The sustained diminished 7ths (Ex.37A, bars 14, 18, 24) derive from the "groan". The passage ends in g with double-stopped string chords identical to those which open I.1 (Ex. 37B), probably an unintentional reference. The sequence of of these scenes and their carefully worked out relationship

1. See above, Ch.II p.66.

2. Compare Tauride; the same music heard first with horns (II.3) then (with the Furies actually present) trombones (II.4).

to each other may well be unique before 1780, and the invention is matched by the craftsmanship shown in the handling of detail, in the orchestration and the good, if not outstanding, declamation. The motif 'x', especially the three-note version (Ex.36E) is used almost literally by Lemoine in the more thoroughgoing thematic integration of Electre,⁽¹⁾ but there is nothing in that remarkable score as effective as this simple, dramatically crucial recall; Verdi, rather than another 18th-century composer comes to mind (Ernani, however - not Otello).

3. Atys

Atys marks an advance on Roland in resourcefulness, and while it does not surpass the best of its predecessor it is never as dull.⁽²⁾ There are too many arias but their form and content are more varied; if the duet is negligible as ever, the quartet among other numbers handles a complicated ensemble with some skill. The better integration of chorus and divertissement in the "Songes" scene suggests a recognition by the authors that Gluck's furtherance of French tradition could be imitated with profit by themselves. The complexity of the antiphonal chorus was not equalled by Piccini until the great ensemble in Didon II, and the whole scene is worthy of its place at the centre of the opera. Unfortunately the accompagnato for "Un songe funeste" is too like normal opera and breaks the dream illusion; the last chorus ("Songes funestes", p.188, allegro très animé in E♭), though well developed, is too long and extraverted, not sufficiently menacing.

1. 1782; see below, Ch.VIIA. Lemoine returned to Paris about 1778, in time to hear Amadis (the score was also published).
2. See Grimm, CL 2 V p.91, for a contemporary appreciation; and "Mélophile à l'homme de lettres chargé de la Rédaction des Articles de l'Opéra, dans le Mercure de France, Paris 1783 (see below, Ch.V p.189).

Subsequently Piccinni deliberately shatters the dream illusion with a striking harmonic effect (p.202), the substitution of C for the last tonic chord of E \flat as Atys awakes. This key succession occurred within the scene, and is the same as that from I.1 (E \flat) to I.2 ("Allons, accourez tous", C); it recurs at the death of Sangaride (p.298); whether as a conscious allusion or coincidence is impossible to determine. The last chorus of Atys completes a tonal cycle in E \flat . At a revival in 1783 "Le dénouement qui avait paru trop lugubre, fut changé"⁽¹⁾ and Atys received its third overture. The first was only rehearsed; the second

"...plus plaintif & plus sombre...étoit destiné à préparer l'ame du Spectateur à une plus funeste catastrophe".⁽²⁾

The third corresponded to the revised ending (both it and the second, therefore, accord with Gluck's idea of the function of an overture⁽³⁾). Unfortunately the printed score, even in later issues, bears no trace of these alterations.⁽⁴⁾

If the "ensemble...défectueuse"⁽⁵⁾ of Aulide resulted from an imbalance between tragic action and excess of decorative detail, that of Atys stems from an imbalance within the title-role itself. The element of opéra-comique in one air has been mentioned;⁽⁶⁾ it can be explained as belonging in a scene where he is disguising his feelings. But a misplaced triviality is already evident in his first soliloquy. The opening is effective; like Agamemnon (Aulide) and Arcabonne, he begins with neither recitative nor air. The orchestra palpitates with his heart (bar 16, p.27; f) and the minor

1. Ginguéné, Notice p.61. Grimm gives the details (CL 3 II p.143): Cybèle prevents Atys' suicide and resuscitates Sangaride (there is still no metamorphosis; the ending is palpably fatuous and the music was not published).

2. Mélophile à l'homme de lettres... p.10.

3. Alceste preface; see above, Ch.II p.64.

4. See above, p.128 note 2.

5. See below, Ch.V p.151.

6. Above p.129.

inflexions of the dominant of E_b (18-19) suggest his confused mental state by uncertainty of key. The inserted air has been well prepared for but its musical shallowness makes the hero uninteresting. ⁽¹⁾

With the reservation suggested above the tragic aspect of Atys produces the best music. Piccinni finds tragic accents more readily than pastoral charm, and Sangaride's "Est-il d'un destin plus cruel" (I.4; Marmontel insertion) is one of his best long arias (p.62) raising her temporarily to a dramatic plane Atys himself has not yet attained. From the singer of this decisively formed ternary movement in g one would expect a more positive reaction to events than the passive resignation which is her only contribution to their development: even in I.6 it is Atys who initiates the confession of mutual love.

Here, as in Poland III.6, Piccinni controls the recitative with methods like Gluck's. A plaintive introductory idea in e with clarinets (p.73) leads to tremolo forte-piano above which Atys' recitative takes on the shape of arioso (with melodic sequence), suggesting his desperate mood before the words do so. Although tremolo is usually a resource for use late in a recitative scene, Piccinni maintains the tension with violent accompagnato scale figures. Later the orchestral music begins to overwhelm the voices. Piccinni has shot his bolt, and the persistent tremolo becomes, not a resource of intensification, but the norm; hence the lack of attention to the vocal line is the more regrettable. The patter of Italian secco, rather than declamation melodically formed, the voice strives pathetically against the massive orchestral sound. The scene ends with a florid duet (p.88) in which the tonic reinforcement (in B_b) ill suits Marmontel's words: "Est-il une constance égale à nos malheurs?".

1. See below, Ex.49.

Atys takes on the tragic role in II.3, with "Quel trouble agit mon coeur" (p.154; Marmontel), in which a weak periodicity gains strength from the resources of minor tonality.⁽¹⁾ In II.2 his air (p.143) "Qu'un indifférent est heureux" (Quinault) is unconvincing musically and as irony; this rather cool melodic style is better suited to his dismissal of Cybèle's attempt to gain his love: "Je suis comblé de vos bienfaits" (II.5; p.206; Marmontel), which amply justifies, in every sense, her complaint "Qu'Atys, dans ses respects, mêle d'indifférence". It is perhaps too clear-headed for a character recently awoken from the appalling nightmare of II.4. Sangaride in III.1 sings an aria much more in character, gently bewailing her fate (Ex.38A), having been led to believe that Atys is unfaithful. The middle section (Ex.38B) approaches opéra-comique (as Atys did in I.3) in its lilting rhythm, from which some growth of intensity is achieved at "Revenez ma raison" (Ex.38C, an air in Lully). In III.3 an undistinguished air for Coelenus, "Je vais posséder Sangaride" (p.243), holds up the development, and in III.4 the lovers' second duet in rondo form (p.257) is, considering their desperate situation, rather controlled, even placid. Cybèle is heard calling "Perfide Atys" and the final confrontation before the tragic dénouement is reached; the whole episode of misunderstanding between the lovers seems unconvincing in this context whereas in Quinault's more leisurely scheme it was part of the gradual loss of control on their part which led to their being unmasked.

It is interesting to compare Atys with another adaptation of an old French opera by a composer who knew Roland:-

"'Idomeneo'...comes much nearer in spirit to Piccinni than to Gluck, who is generally supposed to be its godfather".⁽²⁾

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1. See below, Ch.V p. 190.
 2. Blom, Stepchildren of Music p.63.

Mozart's accompanied recitative is like Piccinni's in being more sensitive in the orchestral than in the vocal parts (compare Roland I.3, before the duet (p.60ff) with Idomeneo II, after "Se il padre perdei"; by using music from Ilia's air Mozart illustrates the trend of Idomeneo's thought). An air in Piccinni's sweet melodic vein has no savour beside a similar Mozartean idea, "Un aura amorosa"; in "C'est l'amour qui prend soin" (Roland II.4; Ex.39A) his constricted melodic line is only kept afloat by lush orchestration, whereas Mozart's melody (Ex.39B) is self-sufficient, over simple chords and pedal bass. This economy of means gives ample scope for later extensions; Piccinni, although this air is not unattractive, has recourse to a primitive alternation of major and minor to lengthen a piece without intrinsic potentiality for growth.

Atys has more in common with Idomeneo; ^{(the period of composition,} ~~its date (1781),~~ the more involved chorus and stronger recitative than in Roland, and a climactic quartet. The Idomenée of Campra (Danchet, 1712; revised 1731) is not only a typical work of the period between Lully and Rameau, and one of the best, but a tragedy; Neptune intervenes at the end not with an oracle but with Nemesis. Idomenée is maddened and kills his son, to whom, without Neptune's consent, he has previously resigned his throne.⁽¹⁾ With Mozart's opera in mind, this dénouement comes as a shock, but it is very like what Piccinni made of Atys. Campra's opera explains the curious role, in Mozart, of Electra, who raves at length without affecting the action; in Danchet she warns the gods of Idomenée's intention to refuse them the sacrifice. Otherwise Varesco's adaptation is similar to Marmontel's, an attempt to make the French form

1. On the relation of Idomeneo to Idomenée, see Heartz, "The Genesis of Mozart's Idomeneo", MQ 1969 pp.2, 5ff.

approach the Metastasian (the result is not far from the adaptation of Metastasio's Clemenza di Tito for Mozart, approaching the French form). Ballet, ensemble, and chorus are still included, and in the last the influence of Gluck (Alceste) shows more than Piccinni's.

Mozart's Idomeneo quartet is sung by four mortals, but manages to accommodate their conflicting emotions with more success than Piccinni's simple antithesis of divine rage and human pleading; Cybèle replies to Atys' "Pardonnez" with "Non, jamais" to the same phrase (Ex.40A). Mozart is shorter (160 as against 200 bars) but far more varied and wonderfully intense at the climax. At "Peggio è di morte...nissun provò" the music closely resembles Piccinni's at "Avant qu'Atys périsse, percez ce triste coeur" (Ex.40B); rhythmic unison followed by imitative entries. Mozart's superiority is dramatic as well as musical and his active participation in the libretto contrasts with Piccinni's acceptance of whatever was offered him by an author who, with more of a reputation and Quinault rather than Danchet behind him, was no better than Varesco.

Piccinni's rondo-structure is, however, well varied in texture and modulates to articulate the structure firmly. But the tonality developing from c (to f, Ab, Bb and Eb) does not grow in intensity as Mozart does, starting from a relatively untroubled Eb. Such lack of dramatic conflict is perhaps the main defect of Atys and brings it, for all its chorus, ensemble, and ballet, close to a Metastasian opera in effect. Where Cybèle's words are implacable, her music is the same as the others'. Planned as a dramatic climax to precede the catastrophe, the music does not articulate the highest emotional tension; if anything, well organized, static and cadentially 'closed', it lowers the tension. In Mozart the feelings are more stylized - the characters are in self-

communion rather than dialogue - and the quartet is a point of repose and gathering of strength for the next part of the action: the characters disperse, Idamante to kill the monster. Piccinni's quartet does not advance the relative situations of the characters nor reveal their inmost thoughts. It delays the catastrophe without illuminating it, so that the opera closes as an unconsummated tragedy, terror without pity and understanding.

Chapter V

A. Gluckisme and Piccinnisme: the literary disputes

The literature of French operatic controversy,⁽¹⁾ concerned with the gulf between French and Italian music, falls into three periods: early 18th-century;⁽²⁾ mid-century ('Guerre des Bouffons'); and Gluckiste-Piccinniste. In the intervening periods much was written on the theory and criticism of music, by Pameau, Arnaud, and the Encyclopédistes; and the last two periods overlap since they involve some of the same persons, notably Rousseau and Grimm.

In 1779 Grimm's "Petit Prophète" was called upon to say if the promised reformer had yet arrived;⁽³⁾ earlier his "Waldstoerchel" style had been parodied in a "Vision",⁽⁴⁾ proclaiming Gluck as the reformer, the defender of dramatic truth against facile musical attractiveness:-

"...le Génie me dit, oui c'est le grand homme, mais il sera persécuté, & on armera contre lui la Période; & je demandai ce que c'étoit que la Période, & le Génie me dit, elle est fille du mauvais Goût & de l'envie, mais le grand Homme n'a rien à craindre; il sera toujours enétri des âmes sensibles, & le multitude le soutiendra...".⁽⁵⁾

1. For a summary see Striffling, Esquisse d'une Histoire du Goût Musical en France au XVIII^e Siècle, Paris 1912; the Gluck period is discussed in Ch.8.

2. Notably in Ragenet, Parallèle des Italiens et des Français en ce qui regarde la musique, et les opéras, Paris 1702, and Lecerf de la Viéville (Seigneur de Freneuse), Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française, Paris 1704; and subsequent writings of these authors.

3. Letter in Journal de Paris, June 1779, MPS p.445. See Grimm, Le petit prophète de Boehmisch-Broda, Paris 1753.

4. Journal de Paris, September 1777, MPS p.257.

5. Ibid. p.238.

The "période" was the chief weapon of Italophiles and Piccinnistes against Gluck; it appears in Italophile French criticism at least as early as Chastellux's Essai.⁽¹⁾

First Gluck had to overcome the defenders of traditional French opera. Among these Devismes⁽²⁾ tempered admiration with interesting criticisms of Gluck:-

"Quoique l'Opéra d'Iphigénie offre des beautés sublimes...je crois toujours que l'ensemble en est défectueux". (pp.19-20)

Particularly, the recitative seemed dry:-

"...je hasarde de croire que le récitatif de la plupart des Opéras de Lully, celui de Dardanus & du cinquième Acte de Castor, sont beaucoup plus pathétiques & plus vrais que celui d'Iphigénie". (p.10)

More generally, he considered that tragedy, for which Paris had another theatre, should not be confounded with opera:-

"Le sceptre de la Scène Lyrique a deux branches, le poignard de Melpomène, & la baguette de Circé..." (p.12)

Opera he describes as a Gesamtkunstwerk given ideal form by Quinault:-

"Voilà, Madame, ce que doit être notre Opéra. La réunion de tous les Arts...voilà comme l'a envisagé Quinault..." (p.10)

He admits (p.14) that the opéra had often overdone the divertissement ("fêtes") but considers Gluck, whose dance music is so evidently inferior to his tragic inspiration, to have gone too far. He grows warm in defending the dance as integral to opera:-

"La danse nuit à l'intérêt! Oui, quand le Poème n'est pas fait pour la danse; mais alors c'est le Poète qui a tort". (p.18)

1. Chastellux, op. cit., p.93.

2. Lettre à Madame D*** sur l'opéra d'Iphigénie en Aulide, Lausanne 1774.

Gluck implicitly admitted this defect by reduction and better integration of the ballet (Alceste, Tauride, Echo). But Devismes' attempt to restrict opera to the 'merveilleux' was doomed. With tragedy at its zenith, Lully's opera had had to be voluptuous, entertaining; by the end of the 18th century the spoken theatre in Paris was, like most present-day opera houses, a museum; the repertory had congealed around the great 17th-century dramatists and Voltaire. Gluck was the greatest dramatist of his time in Paris and his success at the expense of works like L'Union de l'Amour et des Arts⁽¹⁾ and Céphale et Procris - and that of Tauride at the expense of Echo - suggests that he satisfied a deeper need than traditional or pastoral operas which, more tedious than a tragic action in the hands of a mediocrity, gradually receded from the repertory. The Gluck-Piccinni controversy concerned quite other issues, although Terry stated that:-

"Challenging the traditions of Lully and Rameau, Gluck's heresies provoked a lively controversy and summoned his opponents to find a champion for orthodoxy". (2)

This "champion" is Piccinni; but in fact the real challenge to traditional French opera came from the Piccinnistes, not Gluck.

Grétry briefly defended the orthodox cause, despite his Italian training and satire on 'chant français' in Le Jugement de Midas;⁽³⁾ but the receipts of Céphale made a pitiful showing when, as a "Réponse solide" to Marmontel's Essai,⁽⁴⁾

1. By Floquet: see Desnoiresterres p.144.

2. Terry, op. cit. p.132.

3. Privately performed in 1778.

4. Journal de Paris, June 1777, MPS p.212; letter signed "Urlubrelu". See also Journal de Paris, March 1778, MPS p. 416, contrasting receipts of Roland and Armide; for receipts of the rival Taurides see Desnoiresterres p.309ff.

they were publicly contrasted with those of Aulide and Alceste.

In the 'Guerre des Bouffons' literary (as opposed to musical) intellect had been mostly pro-Italian. Rameau himself allegedly said:-

"Si j'avais trente ans de moins, j'irois en Italie, Pergolèse seroit mon modèle...",(1)

sensing his own obsolescence rather than any technical deficiency. In the later controversy musical and literary intellect mostly favored Gluck, for whom some Piccinnistes later showed a qualified admiration.⁽²⁾ While satisfying d'Alembert's and Chastellux's conditions for French operatic regeneration,⁽³⁾ Gluck carefully wooed the most vehement francophobe, Rousseau, who, having written in praise of old French opera before his Lettre sur la musique française,⁽⁴⁾ was now constrained to admire Aulide as well as Alceste (V), the French language notwithstanding:-

"Vous avez réalisé ce que j'ai cru impossible jusqu'à ce jour". (5)

Arnaud, whose Lettre sur la Musique had appeared in 1754 without involvement in the Bouffon affair, became one of Gluck's most lucid supporters.⁽⁶⁾

Probably the failure of Séphale embittered Larmontel against Gluck, for he wrote the poem. The former collaborator

1. Grétry, Mémoires I, pp.426-7.

2. See Ginguéné's contributions to Enc. Méth.

3. See above, Ch.I p.1.

4. See Tiersot, J. J. Rousseau p.112ff and Ch.6 passim; and on Rousseau and Gluck, Appendix XII p.269.

5. See Mannlich, cited Prod'homme p.208. Mr. Ralph Leigh considers this to be "probably based on an authentic billet, now lost" (letter to the present author).

6. See Lettre à Madame d'*** (Gazette de Littérature), (on Aulide), MPS p.29, and La Soirée perdue à l'Opéra, (on Alceste), MPS p.46.

of Rameau and defender of French music and language⁽¹⁾ produced a scarcely veiled manifesto for Piccinni in his Essai whose title⁽²⁾ shares with the Gluckiste compilation MPS⁽³⁾ the conceit that "musique" is equivalent to "French operatic practice". The Essai appeared while Roland was being written with Marmontel's daily support, and became the longest item in MPS, where it has spawned editorial footnotes, some critical, some contemptuous, and a stream of replies⁽⁴⁾ which lasted until Armide initiated a new phase of controversy culminating in the pertinent but interminable dispute over minutiae by La Harpe and "L'Anonyme de Vaugirard" (Suard)⁽⁵⁾

Marmontel, Framéry, La Harpe, and the "Période"

Marmontel set out to determine "le genre de Musique Théâtrale qu'il s'agit d'adopter en France", and discover some "point fixe du beau" (p.1:153).⁽⁶⁾ He summarised French music history the better to praise Italian (p.4:156), and asserted that

"Vinci traça le premier le cercle du chant périodique...Ce fut alors que le grand mystère de la mélodie fut révélé". (p.16:169)

This grandiose description of a fairly simple phenomenon is a basic ingredient of Piccinniste legend. Duni's opéra-comique

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1. In Examen sur les reflexions de M. Dalember...: - "Il n'y a que deux sortes de Musique, la bonne & la mauvaise..." (p.103).
 2. Essai sur les révolutions de la musique en France; 1st edn., with the royal Imprimatur dated April 1777, 38pp; 2nd edn., giving the author's name, probably also 1777, 60pp.
 3. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution opérée dans la musique par M. le Chevalier Gluck, ed. G. M. le Blond, Naples 1781.
 4. From "Urlubrelu" (see above p.152 note 4), "Un gentilhomme allemand", "Le goûteux", etc.
 5. MPS pp.257-374; see also Correspondence pp.101-123.
 6. Page references to the Essai are respectively to the 1st edn. and MPS.

brought melody to Paris and Philidor introduced it at the Opéra (p.6:158); as proof of public readiness for change, Marmontel misleadingly ascribes to the 1767 Ernelinde its success in 1777, the year of the Essai. Peaching Gluck, he descends to caricature:-

"Avec un orchestre bruyant ou gémissant, avec des sons de voix déchirans ou terribles, croirons-nous posséder la Musique Théâtrale par excellence?" (p.11:163)

He starts the mischievous rumour that Italian connoisseurs despised Gluck.⁽¹⁾ Gluck's Paris success owed everything to the tragic action:-

"On a vu que dans son Opéra de Cythère Assiégée, où la force de l'action ne l'a pas soutenu, il est tombé". (p.9:161)

Nothing is gained by "cris, sanglots, plaintes" (p.9:162); "cette nation [France] ne demandoit qu'une Musique moins monotone..." (p.10:162).

Marmontel mentions Piccinni and accuses the Gluckistes of intrigue (p.11:163); Ginguené thought Marmontel's combativeness damaged Piccinni's cause.⁽²⁾ He presents Gluckisme, with heavy irony, as a conspiracy:-

"Dès-lors, si, par malheur, ce chant mélodieux, qui nous ravit dans nos concerts, est goûté sur notre Théâtre, si nos oreilles s'accoutument à une modulation facile & naturelle, à une harmonie aussi claire dans sa force que dans sa douceur, à ces accens qui ne sont pas les cris de la douleur physique, mais la voix de l'ame elle-même, à ces des-sins élégans & purs de la Période musicale, dont les Italiens possèdent le secret, il semble que tout soit perdu". (p.11:163)

Although Gluck belongs to the reform introducing Italianate music to Paris, it is right thus to separate him from the Italians. But Marmontel and La Harpe were deaf to any melody not comfortably regular:-

1. See letters exchanged by Arnaud and Martini, MPS pp.240, 249. Essai p.9:162.

2. Notice p.36 and Enc. Méth. I p.627.

"...il s'agit d'examiner si les airs d'Alceste et d'Iphigénie ne sont pas trop souvent une espèce de récitatif obligé...".(1)

The smoothness they desired would divide the music from the poetic affect, from "l'ame elle-même". It is doubtful if they could discriminate, among "périodes", between the inventive and the mediocre. Marmontel's own libretti include violence and "douleur physique" but his ideas militate against dramatic subtlety and any but conventional characterization; unlike Gluck's self-borrowings, often finer in their second context, Marmontellian arias could readily be transferred only to be as weak in one place as the other (but Italian facility made writing a new aria easier than adapting an old).

The Piccinniste legend of the beauties of the "période" in aria received theoretical justification from La Harpe and particularly Framéry's Discours; (2) it is much concerned with "dessein", the unity in one air of contrasting affections. (3) La Harpe deals with the fundamentals of music:-

"...le son étant par lui-même une sensation rapide & fugitive, ne peut faire une impression forte, qu'en se reproduisant par une variété de formes qui ne nuise pas à l'unité de dessin, par ces retours que l'oreille attend & retrouve avec tant de plaisir, enfin par toutes les richesses du chant régulier & périodique".(4)

1. La Harpe, Journal de Politique et de Littérature, 25th March 1777, MPS p.121. He was less equivocal later: "Il y a peu de chant dans Iphigénie; les airs en sont faibles et pauvres". (Annonce d'Armide, loc.cit.; 5th October 1777, MPS p.266). For his views on Gluck generally see his Correspondance Littéraire II p.167ff.

2. Discours qui a remporté le prix de musique et déclamation proposé par l'Institut National de France sur cette question: Analyser les rapports qui existent entre la Musique et la Déclamation; - déterminer les moyens d'appliquer la Déclamation à la Musique, sans nuire à la Mélodie", Paris 1802. Some of the material appeared in Enc. Méth.

3. See below p.190.

4. Annonce d'Armide, MPS p.268.

"...si je n'ai entendu que des clameurs de désespoir, des gémissements convulsifs, je puis trouver cela fort vrai, mais si vrai, que je n'y reviendrai pas".(1)

This last echoes an aesthetic generalization of Marmontel:-

"Si l'on ne voulait qu'être ému, on irait entendre, parmi le peuple, une mère qui perd son fils...c'est là sans doute que l'expression de la douleur est sans art, c'est-là aussi qu'elle est très-énergique. Mais quel plaisir nous causeraient ces émotions déchirantes? Il faut que la pointe de la douleur...laisse du baume dans la plaie. Ce baume est le plaisir de l'esprit, ou celui des sens...& la cause en est dans l'art du Musicien...".(2)

The example is certainly moving but art is more so because the experience is forced, having both specific connotations and, through its very localized intensity, a general truth. Gluck achieves precisely "la douleur...très-énergique", striking the hearer more forcibly than words both by physical impact (as the Piccinnistes, unmindful of Piccinni, complain) and remoteness from normal verbal communication; as artistically organized as any "période"⁽³⁾ he leaves "du baume dans la plaie" by providing that aesthetic distance which is necessary for pity to be mingled with terror, understanding with awe.⁽⁴⁾

Framéry's demand for periodicity in music begins by being categorical:-

"Les chants périodiques et carrés sont exigés dans la musique instrumentale: ils le sont plus rigoureusement encore dans celle destinée à la danse; on les veut pour la poésie lyrique proprement dite, savoir, celle qui se divise en strophes ou couplets; comment ne seraient-ils pas aussi nécessaire

1. Ibid. p.261.

2. Essai p.14:167.

3. See below p.159.

4. Awe and Understanding; preferred by Kitto (Form and Meaning in Drama p.235) to Aristotle's phrase.

pour les airs de scène, pour ces moments où, comme je l'ai dit, les passions des personnages, échauffées par degrés, éclatent avec une explosion que le poète et le compositeur ont renforcée de tout ce que leur art a de moyens et de ressources? Prétendrait-on sérieusement que cette symétrie est incompatible avec le désordre des passions?" (1)

Experience of opera, however, suggests that an air "carré" does excessively temper "éclate" and "explosions"; the outward reflection of the affection in the form (for example, Gluck's treatment of Oreste as an arioso character), (2) the incompatibility of periodic song with "désordre des passions", are basic ingredients of opera's aspiration towards drama.

Framéry insists on his analogy with verse drama:-

"Mais quoi de plus symétrique et de plus compassé que les vers alexandrins avec lesquels RACINE, VOLTAIRE et d'autres ont peint si naturellement [sic] ces passions tumultueuses? Voudrait-on qu'une foule de morceaux divins... pour être encore plus vrais, fussent être écrits en prose?" (3)

Chabanon had already advocated prose for recitative (4) and Marmontel abused the Glickistes as "prosateurs" and suggested the analogy, Shakespeare-Gluck, Racine-Piccinni. (5) Framéry finally spoils his own case:-

"Ce qu'ils gagnent à être versifiés, la musique le gagne également dans les morceaux périodiques, dont le compositeur a le talent de dissimuler la régularité" (6)

This is to have it both ways: concealed periodicity.

Shakespeare sometimes articulates passions by metre to the

1. Discours p.20.

2. See below p.178.

3. Discours loc. cit.

4. De la musique considérée en elle-même... (1785) p.247; however he did not put this idea into practice in his libretto La Toison d'Or, "Tragédie-lyrique en 4 actes" (Oeuvres de Théâtre, Paris 1788; it was not set to music).

5. Essai, pp.13:166, and 27:180.

6. Discours loc. cit.

extent of concealing the basic pulse. Framéry, for whom verse drama probably did not include Shakespeare, hardly does justice to Racine either, whose regularity is pronounced and whose intricate irregularities are comparatively hard to grasp. Mozart, Haydn or Gluck approach the idea; in Piccinni the regularity is rarely dissimulated and in Framéry's collaborator Sacchini it is unashamedly, albeit elegantly, obvious.

Gluck's symmetries are subtler and include short-term irregularities,⁽¹⁾ requiring of the listener a grasp of long melodic paragraphs. Framéry attacked "Non, ce n'est point un sacrifice" (Alceste I.5) for its irregularities,⁽²⁾ yet it is a clearly designed rondo whose separate sections articulate the shifting emotions in Alceste's mind and whose total form indicates the resolution (main section) which overrides hesitations (episodes) on her children's behalf. Far from being disordered it is an ordered expression of complex feelings.

The Piccinniste writers, like so many critics, wanted from and missed in Gluck precisely what he achieved and continually proposed solutions for problems already solved:-

"En deux mots, la mélodie sans expression est peu de chose; l'expression sans mélodie est quelque chose, mais n'est pas assez. L'expression & la mélodie...voilà le problème de l'art."⁽³⁾

Marmontel calls not for Italian opera in French (which Framéry tried in L'Olympiade) but Italian music excluding long ritornelli and "gothic" roulades:-

1. See below p. 187; compare Kerman (on Dido's lament) p.59.

2. Enc. Méth. I ("Décousu") p.411; Discours p.17ff. De Momigny refutes him in Enc. Méth. II ("Opéra") p.222.

Rousseau's strictures on "Io non chiedo" are similar, if milder: "...où est l'unité de dessein...Ce n'est point-là... un air, mais une suite de plusieurs airs". (Fragments d'observations sur l'Alceste Italien...loc. cit., p.420.

3. Marmontel, Essai p.16:169.

"Qu'est-ce donc qui nous reste à imiter de l'Opéra Italien? Le voici: des Récitatifs obligés, où sans le secours d'un Orchestre bruyant, une voix... porte à l'ame tous les sentimens qu'elle exprime; des airs d'un caractère noble et simple..." (1)

"L'expression & la mélodie", "airs nobles et simples", bring Gluck to mind rather than any Italian in Paris; and what adjective describes the scoring of some of Piccinni's accompanied recitatives better than "bruyant"?

About 1784⁽²⁾ Beaumarchais was calling in a revolutionary spirit for what Gluck had already done, and that in the preface to a libretto originally offered to Gluck and set by his pupil Salieri:-

"Il y a trop de musique dans la musique du théâtre... on n'en peut douter, que la musique soit à l'Opéra ce que les vers sont à la tragédie [compare Framéry]; une expression plus figurée, une manière seulement plus forte de présenter le sentiment ou la pensée... trop de musique dans la musique est le défaut de nos grands opéras.

"Voilà pourquoi tout y languit". (3)

The precepts are not unsound; but there is no indication that Beaumarchais referred to any decline after Gluck and the preface reads like a discussion of opera in Rameau's time (to which Gluck's remark "puzza di musica" - which Beaumarchais quotes - had applied). The tone recalls much earlier critics (Boileau and Voltaire) with whom Beaumarchais seems to wish to associate himself. The preface seems even less involved with the problems of the time than Tarare itself.⁽⁴⁾

1. Ibid. p.32:184.

2. The libretto of Tarare was written by 1784, and had been conceived some time before, although the opera was not performed until 1787 (see below, Ch.VII). See Beaumarchais, Théâtre (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade) (note to p.365) p.799.

3. Preface to Tarare in Oeuvres Complètes...Théâtre II (Paris 1809) p.493-5.

4. See below, Ch.VII B.

B. Gluck and Piccinni; Iphigénie en Tauride

1. The subject and libretti

Gluck's Iphigénies are independent operas, not a cycle, and that Tauride requires "a negation of the Aulis ending"⁽¹⁾ is no ground for criticism.⁽²⁾ Although Gluck's now seems the definitive version, there were many Tauris operas, even among the generally non-mythological Italians,⁽³⁾ and it would not have been surprising if Gluck and Piccinni had written one before their Parisian rivalry. The first version was French, a libretto by Duché⁽⁴⁾ which Desmarets started to compose about 1696; the setting was completed by Campra, performed in 1704, and occasionally revived until 1762.⁽⁵⁾ The source of the story was Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris but the operas adopt a different mood and many differing details.

Iphigenia is thought to have been sacrificed, and her death to have provided the excuse for the murder of Agamemnon ("Ainsi tu péris en Aulide", says Guillard's Oreste at the altar (IV.2)). Artemis (Diane) transferred her to Scythia and Orestes, after killing his mother, comes there to take the goddess' statue and end its profanation by human sacrifice. The main characters are the barbarian king Thoas, the priestess Iphigenia, and Orestes pursued by the Eumenides; the main scenes are the dream of Iphigenia, her questioning of Orestes and Pylades, the recognition of brother and sister,

1. Howard p.102.

2. See Einstein p.141.

3. Majo and Traetta for example. Excerpts from the latter, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern XIV/1.

4. Duché and Danchet, according to Annals.

5. Ibid. The printed score indicates the composer of each passage.

and their escape. This Euripides engineered quite cynically, by the platitudinous intervention of Athene. The operas are more earnest; and simultaneously more rational - the rescue is accomplished by an armed band led by Pylades - and nearer to traditional 'merveilleux' since Diane ex machina comes as a real goddess, not a mockery.

Euripides' Iphigenia was harsh; she asks the potential victims about her enemies (exulting in their destruction) before demanding news of her family. In Goethe's drama⁽¹⁾ she becomes almost Christian, and her saintly purity - rather than act a lie she confessed the plan of escape to Thoas - can redeem the absolute evil (much emphasised) of the Tantalid line. In the operas she feels a strong instinctive sympathy for Orestes whom in Euripides she recognized only with reluctance. The difference of approach is explained by the nature of Euripides' play, a melodrama⁽²⁾ whereas the operas are 'tragédies' although the ending is favourable to everyone but Thoas. The recognition, which Euripides treated as high comedy and parodied in Helen, becomes the emotional climax. Orestes' frenzies are crucial operatic scenes, although Euripides shows him apparently calm and only describes his "fit" by messenger. Guillard alone - coming closer to Quinault than Duché did - shows us the Furies (II.4; as they appear only when Oreste is alone we may take them literally or as figments of his imagination). Guillard's Diane was criticized:-

"On voit avec peine cette intervention, qui paroît absolument inutile..." (3)

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1. Iphigenia auf Tauris, 1st version performed April 1779 (before Gluck's opera), revised 1781 and (in verse) 1786.
 2. Kitto calls it "romantic drama", op. cit., p.240.
 3. Annonce of Tauride, Journal de Paris 19th May 1779, MPS p.428.

but she is necessary to establish the future of the protagonists:-

"...le malheureux Oreste m'intéresse au point... qu'il ne fait rien moins que la parole de la Déesse, pour me donner toute la tranquillité dont j'ai besoin". (1)

(Surely a striking tribute to Gluck's power over his audience). Far from destroying dramatic logic, like Apollo in Alceste, Diane

"...confirms and makes smoother the Grecian victory over the Scythians, and the dissolution of Iphigenia's bonds". (2)

This last point applies to all three operas.

The real tests of a drama on this subject lie in the main scenes mentioned and the presentation of personalities among whom only Pylade presents few problems: on these lines this analysis will concentrate. Gluck was fortunate in Guillard's libretto, the best he ever set.⁽³⁾ Ginguené tells of his own part in revising Dubreuil's libretto for Piccinni, and the chicanery of the operatic management in dealing with this opera.⁽⁴⁾ After some early reverses Piccinni's opera was not unsuccessful (even the lost battle of box-office receipts did not kill it at once but it did not accompany the Gluck, or Didon, into the early 19th-century repertoire).

1. Lettre aux auteurs, Journal de Paris 29th May 1779, MPS p.428.

2. Howard p.102.

3. See Desnoiresterres p.248ff for the history of this libretto, reading "Gossec" for "Grétry" on pp.253-7; see Correspondence pp.130-4.

4. Notice p.48ff; Enc. Méth. I pp.628-9.

TABLE
of the relation of the French opera libretti
of Iphigénie en Tauride

<u>Duché-Desmarets and Campra</u>	<u>Guillard-Gluck</u>	<u>Dubreuil and Ginguené-Piccinni</u>
PROLOGUE	Calm; STORM	OVERTURE
<u>Act I</u>	<u>Act I</u>	<u>Act I</u>
DREAM	DREAM and prayer	Soliloquy (Iphigénie)
THOAS -	THOAS -	DREAM
Electre	anxiety	THOAS -
Nuptial <u>ballet</u>		amorous
*****		Nuptial <u>ballet</u>
	MESSENGER	STORM
	Bloodthirsty	MESSENGER
	<u>ballet</u> and chorus	Bloodthirsty <u>chorus</u>
	Captured Greeks	*****
	Chorus repeated	

<u>Act II</u>	<u>Act II</u>	<u>Act II</u>
Oreste & Pylade -	Oreste & Pylade -	Oreste & Pylade -
palace gardens	prison	STORM and sea-shore
(& Electre)	(exit Pylade)	
ORESTE - FRENZY	ORESTE - FRENZY	ORESTE - FRENZY
	(Eumenides)	
Diane appears		Scythians capture
*****		Greeks
		Bloodthirsty <u>chorus</u>

<u>Act III</u>		
Thoas -		
supernatural threats		
STORM		

<u>Act IV</u>		<u>Act III</u>
Monologue (Iphigénie)		Monologue (Iphigénie)

QUESTIONING of
Oreste

QUESTIONING of
Oreste
Funeral Ritual
(for Oreste)

OFFER of escape
QUESTIONING of
Oreste & Pylade

Act III

OFFER of escape
Ruse arranged for
escape

Monologue (Iphigénie)

OFFER of escape

DISPUTE between the
two -

DECISION by Oreste's
2nd FRENZY

Pylade goes for help
(aria)

DISPUTE between the
two -

DECISION - Pylade
goes for help

Final trio

Act V

RECOGNITION

Combat -

Thoas dead

Diane

Quartet (Iphigénie,
Electre, Oreste,
Pylade)

Act IV

Soliloquy

(Iphigénie)

HYMN

Oreste at the
altar

RECOGNITION

Combat -

Thoas dead

Diane

Short chorus

(Ballet)⁽¹⁾

Act IV

HYMN

2nd QUESTIONING of
Oreste

RECOGNITION

Combat -

Thoas dead

Diane

Chorus

The old opera is a galant affair with extra characters and twists to the plot. Iphigénie does not appear between I.2 and IV.1; Electre, accompanying her brother and betrothed to Pylade, is loved by Thoas, who tries to bribe her with the freedom of the Greeks. Dubreuil, like Goethe, has Thoas

1. Les Scythes enchainés, by Gossec; added after the first performances of Tauride.

intending a possibly sacrilegious marriage with Iphigénie, priestess of the virgin goddess. Piccini's King thus lacks the terrible barbarity of Gluck's; his motives are apparently conventional (since although the Aulis sacrifice must have happened at least fifteen years previously, Iphigénie is addressed as "Jeune et belle princesse") and he has none of the dignity of Goethe's, whose marriage would be for the good of the State. In the old opera Pylade raises an armed force of captured Greeks, but in the later works their apparition is a mystery, although a stirring theatrical coup. In Dubreuil (III.5) Pylade exclaims "... je puis rejoindre Alcée...". He cannot know, however, where this unexplained Alcée is, since in II he and Oreste⁶ are seen escaping from shipwreck, alone, to fall immediately into Scythian hands. Guillard mystifies more convincingly by attempting no explanation, and Gluck's aria for Pylade (III. 7 - "je vais sauver Oreste ou courir au trépas") is a strong musical statement which arouses the expectation of action. We also sense the hand of Providence, made visible in the person of Diane.

The table (above) shows many points in common between Dubreuil and Guillard;⁽¹⁾ but where the latter makes numerous structural economies, the former is disastrously diffuse. Dubreuil's storm spreads into two acts; he has two questioning scenes, and the recognition resulting from the second ends in a static due^t. Guillard's one storm casts Oreste ashore and troubles the mind of Iphigénie, leading to the narration of her dream (I.1). His one questioning scene is introduced by a masterstroke of economy; the visible Furies show Oreste the accusing ghost of his mother, Iphigénie

1. Grimm points to their common source, a play by de la Touche (1757); CL 2 V p.242. See Einstein p.161.

appears (II.5), the Furies vanish, and he sees his sister in Clytemnestre's place. With unconscious irony she begins "Je vois toute l'horreur que ma présence inspire...". The recognition brings another forceful combination of events, for it comes at the moment of sacrifice. Gluck of course did what was needed in his music at these points but credit for their invention goes to Guillard. Only once does Guillard seem uneconomical: he provides two Orestean frenzies. In fact this is another economy - the second provides the resolution of the dispute with Pylade as to who shall die - and the two are subtly differentiated, the first being as it were genuine (II.4), the second self-induced,⁽¹⁾ a threat of suicide played as the strongest card in a game whose coveted stake is death (III.4). "Quoi! ton âme toujours se refuse à mes vœux?" (trombones recall II.4) "...ne sais tu pas que pour Oreste la vie est un supplice affreux?". The raving becomes uncontrolled until, "revenant à lui", he asks, prosaically enough, "Eh bien, Pylade, est-ce à toi de mourir?" This sort of psychology was beyond the powers of Dubreuil or Piccinni, who have Pylade suddenly yield, conceiving the perplexing plan of rescue: "Je souscris à tes vœux, je pars, et toi, cruel, meurs puisque tu le veux" (III.5).

By linking recognition and sacrifice, storm and dream, frenzies with Iphigénie's appearance and with the choice of victim, Guillard gives to each mental state an extra vividness and the maximum significance to each event. Dubreuil's shipwreck is without dramatic importance; the pathos is less than in the brief appearance of the friends in Guillard's I.5, among the ghoulish Scythians. Dubreuil covers in two

1. Cooper calls it "the simulated attack of the patient" (Gluck p.252).

acts what Guillard does in one. Guillard's fuller treatment of the important scenes makes his central acts both longer than Dubreuil and more concentrated; while his leisureliness, in the interests of psychological complexity, differs from the leisurely diffuseness of Duché, who like Guinault separates each event from the next. His Oresteian frenzy concludes with Diane and enchanted gardens, the off-stage combat is unconnected with the sacrifice, and the opera ends, after a ballet praising Diane, with a purely spectacular destruction of the sacrilegious temple. Guillard's aria for Thoas (I.2) contains all the substance of Duché's III and more human interest.

The later operas have remarkably little ballet, confined to the Scythians' celebration of impending sacrifice (Guillard) or a proposed wedding. Gluck's music, with 'barbaric' percussion colouring and angular gestures, is palely echoed in one of Piccinni's ballets, but the bloodthirsty choruses of Gluck have no parallel in the wedding choruses of Piccinni, which deal with a dramatic solecism and make the barbarians seem almost kindly. Guillard's funeral rites, a unique feature suggested by Euripides' prologue, reflect the tradition of divertissement while functioning dramatically (like the opening of Orfeo). Otherwise there is little purely instrumental music allowed for; Piccinni's overture is unrelated to the drama, but with Gluck "La Pièce commence, pour ainsi dire, avec le premier coup d'archet..."⁽¹⁾ The linked overture of Alceste and Aulide is replaced by "Le calme" and "Tempête", the latter with Guillardian economy dispersing as the first scene begins with Iphigénie's "Le calme reparait, mais au fond de mon coeur, hélas, l'orage habite encore",

1. Journal de Paris 19th May 1779; MPS p.428.

perhaps suggested by Danchet's Idoménée II.3:-

Arcas: "La paix règne partout sur les humides plaines".
Idoménée: "Que ne peut-elle, hélas, passer jusqu'à mon
coeur".

When his Tauride was at last performed Piccinni denied,
in the Journal de Paris, any intention to emulate or super-
sede Gluck:-

"Né dans un pays où l'on voit tous les jours le
même sujet, le même poème mis en musique par
différens compositeurs, sans que cela produise
ni partis, ni querelles, ni comparaisons, je
n'aurois pas dû m'attendre à exciter la surprise
en traitant le sujet d'Iphigénie...

"Près de deux ans se sont écoulés depuis que
M. Gluck a donné son Iphigénie. La mienne ne
peut nuire à ses intérêts ni même à sa réputa-
tion...Ce n'est pas le même poème, et dans les
scènes mêmes donnés par le sujet, les détails
sont si différemment présentés, que j'ose assurer
qu'il n'y aura pas dans les deux ouvrages deux
morceaux qu'on puisse opposer l'un à l'autre". (1)

The last naive disclaimer is as pathetic as the tale of
financial troubles in the same letter. Piccinni's nature
was not such as to dissemble in order to evade comparison,
and the sad probability is that his artistic limitations
led him honestly to feel that there was no point of contact;
but even given the inferiority of his libretto, the charac-
terization and the many scenes identical in purpose justify
the inevitable comparison.

2. Musical treatment

Scythia, Thoas: general environment

The barbarian culture in which Iphigénie finds herself
is an essential dramatic ingredient. The country's laws,
frequently referred to in Euripides, form an ever-present

1. 22nd January 1781, cited Desnoiresterres, pp.302-3.

menace which the operas establish in the usual way by direct presentation near the beginning. Gluck's superstitious and terrified Thoas is a formidable figure, and "De noirs pressentiments" (p.62:27)⁽¹⁾ presents him unforgettably. To make a long solo for one whose thoughts are too confused for formal aria, Gluck, avoiding verbal and musical repetitions, unites the arioso vocal line with a persistent throbbing string accompaniment and sostenuto wind, featuring bassoon; at the central lento ("Tremble, ton supplice s'apprête") he recalls "Caron t'appelle" (Alceste III). The threats of Piccinni's Thoas are as unconvincing as his love-making:-

"De Diane en ce jour on célèbre la fête,
Pour sa félicité tout à l'envi s'apprête,
Vous même avez prescrit ce terme à mon ardeur,
Rien ne peut désormais différer mon bonheur".

(pp.44-6)

The tepid recitative makes it difficult to understand Iphigénie's repugnance for this far from terrible figure. He has no aria here and consequently is ill-defined in the music; the chorus sings in a civilized manner: "Chantons Thoas, que son sort est charmant" (p.49) whereas Gluck's had made the menace to the Greeks more vivid. For a drama in which a sense of place is vital, Piccinni provides a stolid C with trumpets and drums to evoke only a portion of operatic limbo inhabited by colourless characters with predictable reactions.

The greater technical resource of Gluck in depicting natural phenomena (the storm, crucial to action and atmosphere) is perhaps explained by his nationality, that of Stamitz and Benda also. Piccinni was fourteen years younger yet pre-classical in a more primitive sense. He starts his storm with a squarely phrased andante animé (p.71) which

1. Page references respectively to Eulenburg miniature score and Peters vocal score, Hopkinson 46 C (p).

soon degenerates into blustering accompagnato (p.74), the orchestra politely stopping for Thoas to speak (contrast Gluck's thrilling use of voices with orchestra in the "tempête"). The more forceful allegro with chorus (p.79) is interrupted by a messenger ("un scithe accourant") singing with brief explosions between each phrase - no reduction of volume is indicated or suggested by the scoring (p.87). Gluck's storm died away naturally, in an exquisite diminuendo with woodwind scales echoing its fury; Piccinni's simply stops (pp.89-90). In II the storm, after an arioso (p.112) of Pylade for which the elements again courteously abate, merges into a conventional accompagnato as Oreste is saved. I is open-ended: the stolid final chorus, with a good passage in which the priestesses plead for mercy, would make a good curtain, but the orchestral coda, resuming the storm, modulates from the tonic (Bb) to the dominant of f (p.110), in which key II opens with further storm music. The linking of acts suggests that the events of II follow those of I, whereas the opening of II coincides in time with a point about three-quarters of the way through I. The storm is the same, seen first affecting Thoas, then the Greeks; an antithesis suggesting some Wagnerian articulation by reformulation of the same musical ideas (but the superficially Wagnerian continuity of Piccinni weakens it).

Priestesses; Iphigénie's close environment

The group of priestesses derives from Euripides' chorus. In addition Dubreuil provided a conventional confidante, Elise; in Gluck the whole group is Iphigénie's intimate, and urges her to free one prisoner (III.1; she begins, "Je cède à vos désirs"). They join her mourning not only in the ritual "Contemplez ces tristes apprêts" but in the aria before it; they overhear and sympathize in the narrative

scenes (the dream and questioning) and although they encourage the sacrifice (IV.2, pp.254-6:120-1) it is without malice for the victim, before whom they prostrate themselves a moment later ("Oreste?...notre roi!"). In Piccinni they are not obviously Greek at all and display no interest when Oreste's identity is revealed; they are generally unsympathetic, without much increasing Iphigénie's loneliness (since their tactless congratulations on her forthcoming marriage make an impression as little hostile as Thoas himself). The useful resource of choral recitative with which Gluck heightens the effect of crucial parts of the narratives is neglected, but Piccinni's formal choruses are among the best and prettiest music in his opera. (I.2: "Jeune et belle princesse" (p.18) and the two-part imitative chorus, "Sans murmurer, servons les dieux" (p.27; see Ex.43B)).

In the questioning (III.2) they seem more sympathetic, but the music after the climax of Oreste's narrative, while quite forceful, is measured, formal, and too long. The overlapping of Oreste with the first bar of allegro sans presser (Ex.41A) and an open end - on the dominant of E_b, quickly contradicted (Ex.41B) - scarcely hides the division from the recitative and the consequent sense of a relative emotional stability. Gluck expresses shock simply by the exclamation "Ciel!" (p.156:67), two bars of orchestral allegro (p.157:68), and the stunned restraint of the short ensemble "De forfaits sur forfaits". Only later (II.6) does he transcend the shock into a mature response. Piccinni is rarely free from hysteria, but he achieves something closer to Gluck in the chorus "O jour fatal" (Ex.42A), the gem of the opera, following an arioso, "Oreste est mort" (see Ex.44B). The words are stilted but the music flows sweetly and is in touching contrast to Iphigénie's own declamatory platitude for the same words (I.1; Ex.42B).

Without the orchestral forte (Ex.42A, between bars 3 and 4) the music become almost the same as the minor version of Gluck's "Contemplez ces tristes apprêts". In IV the hymn adds to the sweetness an unchaste floridity (in the horns) at odds with the text:-

"Déesse sévère et puissante,
Une main timide et tremblante
Va répandre sur ton Autel
Le sang d'un malheureux mortel". (p.224)

The contrast with Gluck's "Chaste fille de Latone" (IV.2, from Semiramis) could hardly be more marked. Subsequently the priestesses are silent, except for a reverent greeting to Diane. Their best music adds to Piccinni's musical stature but also demonstrates the inadequacy of musical ideas alone to make good opera.

Iphigénie

One of Piccinni's failures was not to distinguish Iphigénie's ex cathedra utterances from personal ones. In I, she neither confides in the priestesses nor speaks with authority to them; in III a long trio with Oreste and Pylade brings them into a far too intimate relationship for this stage of the drama. In IV.2 an arioso prayer for Iphigénie, one of Piccinni's best ideas, is linked to the coda of the hymn (p.229) like a verse for the priestesses' response, but it proves to be a personal utterance and leads with an unfortunate lowering of tension into recitative and the second questioning scene. In Gluck the rapport with the priestesses is closer but the differentiation of formal prayer ("O toi qui prolongeas mes jours") from introspection ("D'une image, hélas", III.1) is marked; at the sacrifice duty and disinclination are poignantly contrasted and dramatic impetus thereby maintained until the recognition.

The soliloquy in I.1 is an inauspicious start to Piccinni's opera. "O jour fatal" (Ex.42B), like Angélique's "Rien n'égale..." (Ex.27), would fit the opposite sense ("O jour heureux") as well; the formality is suited to prayer rather than the introspection of the text. The prayer "Diane, suspende ton courroux" (I.2) is more impassioned, and the musical poise for addressing the goddess is like ulide I.1 (Ex.43A) (the rising 5th on "Diane" corresponds but it is used without linear tension). The danger of a too facile lyricism, at "suspende ton courroux", is averted by formal abbreviation: thematic recapitulation appears in the relative major (Ex.43B) with a dominant statement preceding the tonic, as in "Je me reconnais".⁽¹⁾ A declamatory passage at the open end redefines c by its dominant, at once contradicted by the Eb of the chorus. The fluidity of form approaches the early scenes of Gluck's Iphigénie although the material remains Piccinnian. IV.1, before the questioning, resumes this sort of continuity.

Piccinni's dependence for characterization upon the arias is misplaced since the quantity of them dispells the force of each one and they contain only emotional generalities, not a definite projection of the heroine. Gluck projected her loneliness by the storm and narrative in recitative (I.1), reserving aria for the prayer which emotionally summarises the entire first scene and establishes an important relationship between Iphigénie and the goddess who appears later. The introspective aria (p.40) at the end of Piccinni's dream narrative cannot perform these functions, and, suffering from lack of modulation, is weaker than the prayer before it (ex.43). In Iphigénie's later arias the invention remains uneven. The opening aria of III is insipid (Ex.44A); but after the first questioning scene Piccinni

1. Ex.29A and C.

produced one that is Gluckiste in dramatic truthfulness, using declamatory phrases over an only slightly more continuous accompaniment (p.168). The music exactly catches a restless unhappiness: "la douleur l'accable et lui fait garder le silence", but after the chorus "O jour fatal" (Ex.42A) the aria is briefly resumed (Ex.44B). There is nothing of the transmutation of shock into accepted grief in Gluck at this point, but in a limited way Piccinni rises to the occasion.

The Dream narration; Campra, Gluck, Piccinni

The dream in Tauride occurs near the start, as in Sabinus and Armide, and is of greater dramatic importance than these. Campra's admirable 'chant français' works very well here (Ex.45A). The dream is separated from the recitative by the violins' canonic entries. The effective juxtaposition of high and low vocal registers, typical of the period, is perhaps overdone (at the emotive words "effroyable" and "enflâmés de colère", and, extending the impressive opening arpeggio, "entraîner mon père", with more imitation in the bass (bar 8)).

Gluck starts in an atmosphere heavy with stifled emotion, of which the storm was a symbol. The recitative is perhaps his most economical and controlled of all. The narrative is introduced pianissimo by an arresting unison (F#, p.42: 14); sostenuto strings punctuate the phrases without disconnecting them. The vocal line combines exact declamation with strict melodic control. The first phrase uses only f#, g', a'; the second establishes b4' at the first perfect cadence. The violins' ascent (b'-d#"-e") is imitated in the voice, the semitone d#" ("J'oubliais...") to e" ("rigueurs") tensely balancing the b'-c" of "embrassements" and "doux moments"; at "quinze ans de misère" the melodic climax is

not quite an octave above the original f#'. The andante mesuré reverses the modulation from e to a, and e proves to be the main key; but the tonality is too unstable to act as a point of reference. The music is agitated by tremolo and a typical accompagnato scale, which does not interrupt the voice ("sous mes pas", p.44:15). From the same pitch as the first climax ("quinze ans", f#"-e") the andante mesuré leads the voice to g" for the first action narrated (the collapse of the palace - presto). This musical coherence and continuity of vocal line recall Rameau, rather than Italian opera, and although Gluck does not avoid conventional orchestral figures (presto, p.46:16) when they suit his purpose, he eschews the prodigality of Piccinni. The wind are used with care, as a "voix plaintive" similar to that in Aulide II.7, and at the climaxes of terror (ffp, "c'était ma mère") and of false hope (the assertive major mode (D) at "Oreste"). The close is masterly in its restraint. Revelation and surprise are over and Gluck's simple sostenuto holds a sense of doom absent from the fluent, melodic, 'chant français' cadence of Campra, to remarkably similar words:-

Duché: "Je me sentais forcée à luy percer le sein".
 Guillard: "Un ascendant funeste forçait mon bras
 A lui percer le sein".

This is one of several directly comparable passages which can be adduced to demonstrate that it was Piccinni, not Gluck, who relied on "le secours d'un orchestre bruyant" without intensity in composition - in the disposition of rhythms and pitches; while in Gluck the prime interest remains in the voice. Dubreuil is not altogether to blame, since Guillard's text could well have led to similar abuses. Gluck's setting of "J'oubliais en ce moment ses anciennes rigueurs Et quinze ans de misère" ignores the temporary calm of mind (in the dream) to concentrate on the actual (waking)

"misère". Piccinni chose to paint each event as it came in the dream without reference to Iphigénie's feelings as she tells it. Guillard, following Euripides, intimately related the dream and the subsequent action, and Gluck ensured the scene's resonance throughout the opera. Dubreuil's dream is hopeful, without poignant ambiguity; the deaths of Agamemnon and Clytemnestre are followed by storm, shipwreck, calm, and the aria "Ah, m'est-il permis d'espérer". The music is equally inconsequential and spoiled by naive excesses. If Piccinni's talents were moderate, a talent for moderation was not among them.

Here, Dubreuil miscalculated by designing a dream which leads from horror to anticlimactic calm, and Piccinni's music is largely a colourful irrelevancy. The orchestral prelude in Eb, including woodwind and horns, seems quite disconnected from the gory descriptions which follow. The sostenuto (Ex.45B) is not unlike Gluck but Piccinni squanders the forte-piano (bars 9-10, 12-13) to reach a premature climax (16) having already traversed over an octave (d'-gb") in the voice; the harmony relies heavily on the diminished 7th (15-18) and the representation of "cris douloureux et funèbres" (18-23) is a literal-minded and musically wasteful interruption. Un peu lent restores the original tonality but fails to evoke "tombeaux, poignards, assassins impies". For a moment the tremolo and extension of vocal range to ab" provide an excitement, and a logic, like Gluck's; but the orchestra indulges in more furious climaxes before "A ce spectacle affreux un orage succède" (bar 34ff) and for the "orage" (at bar 41 for 9 bars). The words do not discourage discontinuity but nor do they preclude a better organization, some drawing of the diverse elements into a significant relationship. The voice stops again for four bars while the flutes in unclouded C bring a note of hope (Ex.45C); the

aria is neatly linked to the final cadence (Ex.45D). The vocal part is indeed an accompaniment to the accompaniment; stereotyped, with no organic connection to the orchestral material and precious little internal control. One device, the mesuré used by Gluck (p.44:15) and elsewhere by Piccinni (III.5, the dispute of Oreste and Pylade, p.197), is here neglected although it is a particularly valuable means of combining vocal and orchestral expressiveness.

Oreste

The simplest role in the opera is Pylade, the only character to whom Piccinni was equal. The sane companion of Oreste is as adequately represented by the aria "Oreste, au nom de la patrie" (III.5, p.193) as by Gluck's "Unis de la plus tendre enfance" (II.1). But the former appears in the dispute scene, corresponding to Gluck's "Ah mon ami" (III.4) where, after concentrating most of the scene into a duet, Gluck contrasts an urgent but balanced appeal to the self-induced frenzy. Piccinni achieved this contrast in II, when Pylade's touching arioso (sung "sur la pointe d'un rocher, accablé de douleur et de fatigue") is followed by the frenzy, and in the dispute, when Oreste's "Cruel, et tu dis que tu m'aimes (Ex.46) is, like "Dieux qui me poursuivez", a series of ejaculations over an orchestral continuity - a rare instance in Piccinni of an aria not detrimental to the dramatic flow.

"Dieux qui me poursuivez" is Oreste's only aria in Gluck, not inconsistently, since this arioso character⁽¹⁾ is for once self-controlled, channelling frenzied speech into a formal aria. Moreover, as Newman remarked,⁽²⁾ the musical idea is mainly orchestral and the voice sings disjointedly

1. Howard p.107.

2. Gluck and the Opera p.183.

above it. Piccinni's first aria for Oreste is part of his uncontrolled frenzy, "Faites éclater la foudre", a blustering movement in E♭ of a type in which Piccinni rarely succeeded. The fanfare opening is too formal (end of Ex.47B) and the frenzy exists only in the rhythmic drive, which is not maintained with Gluck's rigorous insistence. The failure to find striking melodic ideas exposes the pitiful absence of modulation - harmonic unrest would suit the character better and in any case this is no place for aria.

With none of the resources of late 18th-century orchestration, Desmarests, not one of Rameau's most remarkable predecessors, made a fine scene of the frenzy by concentrating for expression on the vocal line (Ex.47A). The comparison with Piccinni (neither being a major composer) is perhaps a fairer exposure of the limitations of Italian recitative than that of Rameau with Sacchini.⁽¹⁾ Desmarests borrowed the quaver ostinato from Lully⁽²⁾ and used it strongly, ending not with a placid cadence but with magnificent 'chant français', more ostinato, and (after Ex.47A) the standard 17th-century chromatic bass descent as "il tombe évanouy".

Piccinni adopts the reverse method; the orchestra attacks the singer with a scarcely musical fury (Ex.47B), self-defeating because as violent at the beginning as at the end. The result is as monotonous as Lully's persistent restraint, as against Gluck's controlled increase of tension. The dialogue starts well, allegro scales characterizing Oreste and an expressive lent Pylade (p.120). When Oreste loses control tremolo appears, touching off an accompagnato (allegro) based on scales and dotted rhythms. The conventional figures which Gluck deployed so well are mechanically applied; we have already heard these rushing scales in the

1. Ex.17.

2. Roland IV, the mad scene; see Ex.32D.

cheerful chorus "Chantons Thoas" (p.53), in the dream, and the final chorus of I (p.97).⁽¹⁾ (Gluck was careful to use a new resource, trombones, in his frenzy). Gluck's II, 3-4 is not comparable to the Piccinni frenzy because of the Furies; like Desmarests it relies on the voice for the most powerful expression (the inarticulate cries, P.139ff:59ff). The second (III.4; p.207ff:95ff) is comparable, in that the orchestra "attacks" the singer, but the vocal line is still allied to it and shares its harmonic motion. The tessitura is consistently high, with little below a. Piccinni, without the impressive sweep of Desmarests, allows the voice to use its whole range after a high opening (a better alternative to Gluck's high pitch would be the method of Gluck's dream, gradual upward extension of range).

Piccinni demonstrates accompagnato at its worst; with a negligible voice part, discouraging sympathy with the protagonist, the "orchestre bruyant" in Annaud's "jours" by which the situation is by no means "annoncé", "commenté" or "développé".⁽²⁾ The idea of the passage - showing Oreste under attack from forces beyond his control⁽³⁾ - is legitimate and the fault is in the orchestral clichés, unredeemed by harmonic or motivic development. The aria shares these defects, implying a musical semi-literacy in the favourite pupil of Leo and Durante - an unfair deduction, since he did better elsewhere. The excuse of haste must be rejected; Piccinni devoted much time to his Paris operas and, unlike Sacchini, renounced the speed typical of an Italian composer. Lack of proportion and self-criticism and of a true comprehension of Gluck's achievement lies behind such passages. Massive rhythmicized chords of Bb (Ex.47B bars 7ff, 27ff), scale passages of a violence at odds with the immobile harmony (I.3, 4-6, 16-20), similarly immobile dotted figures

1. See also Ex.41.

2. See above, Ch.II p.57.

3. Like Agamemnon, Aulide II.7; see above, Ch.II p.60.

(9-15) made no more significant by inversion (22, 26-30) - these are the over-exertions of impotence. After a brief effective interruption with echo (32-7) the device used at the start of the scene, tremolo, is powerless to consummate it.

The harshness of this criticism is caused by Piccinni's having produced these passages, insisting there were no grounds for comparison, after Oreste had appeared on the Opéra stage in a portrayal by Gluck as sympathetic as it was masterly. This Oreste is musically true to a single conception - a man of sorrows - even when Guillard's poem permitted something else. The single phrase in I: "O mon ami, c'est moi qui cause ton trépas" is already arioso, his characteristic medium; an exquisitely controlled legato in a small but high vocal range⁽¹⁾ balanced by similar and contrary motion in the strings (of which each part contributes to the cadence, p.98:40). This contrasts sharply with the uncouth "aboyement", with tremolo, of Thoas; even when mad Oreste is the more civilized.

The minor keys, as well as tremolo, are part of the consistent characterization, "Dieux qui me poursuivez" being an exception inserted into the role. The recitative is almost always melodic, near arioso (his first words in II, p.101:43). The major key (II.3) belongs to the Furies and the following passages are full of minor inflexions ("Le calme rentre dans mon coeur"). In the music specifically composed for this opera⁽²⁾ the characterization is most fully developed; in the dialogue with Iphigénie the name of his birth-place brings minor following major (p.153 last bar:66 bar 2), and this recurs at "Au nom des Dieux" (155 bar 8:67 bar 4). The

1. The role is written as for a tenor in the German version but in Paris it was sung by Larrivée, creator of Sabinus, Agamemnon, Roland, etc.

2. II.3-4 are entirely adapted from Semiramis.

cadence in c, using a conventional formula (falling 4th in the voice, perfect cadence, p.158:69, before "grand silence"), is ruthlessly simple. Reunited with Pylade (III.3), Oreste still turns the sostenuto toward the minor (p.186:83 - f). In the dispute he leads the duet (c) but after gaining the ascendancy by the self-induced frenzy he turns to the major (in "Ah mon ami", which is Pylade's number, p.215:99; some decisive parts of the recitative of III.5; the arioso in F, p.221:103; the final "adieu", p.223:104), articulating his self-destructive triumph. In IV his innate sadness returns, in the arioso "Que de regrets touchants" (p.249:118) in b; and he remains the eternally sorrowful matricide even after reunion with his sister. Her "O mon frère" (A) is answered in the minor ("O ma soeur") (compare II.5; p.258:122); her arioso ("Ah, laissons-là") is in the major like most of her music except "D'une image hélas". The dénouement is treated as continuous opera, extending the method of Aulide, and after Diane Oreste has one further speech, introducing his sister to Pylade. The arioso, tender, understanding, accepting the past with its inevitable influence on their future lives, is in a (p.285:133), where a superficial jollity might almost have been excusable (most composers would have provided it). When the music turns to C, key of the final chorus, Oreste inflects it to the minor and his role ends very aptly on an imperfect cadence.

C. Piccinnisme: its meaning in practice

The panacea implied in Marmontel's Essai - the translation into French opera of Italian music, especially the "période" - was hardly the prescription he and Piccinni applied; but it had been tried, more literally, in adaptations by Framéry of Sacchini's La Colonie and L'Olympiade, played before their composer reached Paris. La Colonie (1775) was an opera buffa,⁽¹⁾ little affected by adaptation to the spoken dialogue convention of opéra-comique. L'Olympiade (1777) was intended as a drame-néroïque for the Académie Royale, but performance there was prevented, apparently, by adherents of Gluck.⁽²⁾ Its only French element is the chorus: French verse dialogue replaced recitative and the arias retained the extensive virtuoso coloratura (which Sacchini later removed when adapting Renaud and Chisène). This curious version of Metastasio's popular drama,⁽³⁾ which La Harpe called "un des chefs-d'oeuvre de la musique Italienne",⁽⁴⁾ was played with success at the "Italian" theatre; thus Framéry established genuinely Italian music in opposition to Gluck. Although Poland was Piccinni's most Italianate French opera the very fact of its being set to an original French text, as well as the ballets, choruses, and arioso, marks something of a rapprochement to French tradition (if no more than Marmontel intended). Sacchini's French operas, from Renaud to Evelina, adhere more closely to the Italian manner and make Piccinni's

1. L'Isola d'amore (Rome 1766).

2. See La Harpe, Correspondance Littéraire II p.174.

3. Olimpiade (Sacchini's setting, Padua 1763). Demofonte was later twice adapted (see below, Ch.VIII B). Chastellux recommended Metastasio as a model to the French in 1765 (Union de la poésie et de la musique p.20ff).

4. Correspondance Littéraire loc. cit.

seen by comparison a defection to the French, if not the Gluckiste, camp.

1. Piccinnisme in the overture

Although only in Tauride did Gluck dispense with a fully formed and (with a little surgery) separable overture, Alceste and Aulide are also dramatic from the start. Piccinniste overtures disregard the precepts of the Alceste preface; ⁽¹⁾ they admit musical connection with the opera but are not in themselves dramatic. The relaxed mood, leisurely thematic design, and conventional substance have Gluckiste precedents in Orfeo and Armide, fully closed forms which introduce the drama generally if at all. Piccinni favoured compound structures of successive or linked movements: slow-fast like the old French overture (Atys, Tauride, Diane, Pénélope) ⁽²⁾ or a sonata-form with central slow movement (Roland, like most of Sacchini's overtures). Adèle has a single sonata-like movement, with a bridge rather than a development.

Piccinni's best overture-material is for Roland but the movement is separated from the opera (by key, ending in C; I.1 is in Eb). It contrasts an heroic allegro with a tender andantino amoureux (sic: the linguistic mixture is typical, matching the musical style). These moods, perhaps intended to suggest Roland's or Angélique's dilemma, are baldly juxtaposed without any suggestive durchführung - as in Tannhäuser - and the connection*with the drama is in no way organic. This holds true for Atys where a static andante spazioso replaces the majestic opening of stile

1. See above, Ch. II p. 61.

2. Compare Gluck's Aulide and Tauride ("calme-tempête").

francese and the allegro is intermittently fugal, with stretti between homophonic passages.⁽¹⁾ Atys and Tauride have the first scene in the same key but, with no significant link attempted, the prevalence of one tonic becomes tedious. In Licoste and Lulide the opening scenes develop away from the overture; in the former E \flat is reached from d by the first chorus. In Didon (1783) Piccinni sensed the logic of such designs, but for Pénélope he reverted to the Atys type, largo (featuring flute, like the slow movements of Atys and Island) leading to a weak allegro in the tonic major (A).

Didon's three-movement overture is more like a suite than the prelude to a tragedy; according to Grimm it was "généralement condamnée; elle est faible; l'adagio surtout..."⁽²⁾ Both the allegro maestoso(E \flat) and the andante sostenuto (F) have uninteresting material and the final section (hunting music) is harmonically void and rhythmically heavy.⁽³⁾ This is used again in I.1 and there leads Didon to music, in the third part of her aria, upon Enée and the chase; to frame this scene the huntsmen appear with similar music (divertissement). In Diane et Endymion Piccinni introduced both movements of the overture into I.2 (accompanied recitative).⁽⁴⁾

J. C. Bach's instrumental material is more promising than Piccinni's but in form and dramatic intention the overture to Amadis is Piccinniste. So, for all its use of Gluck, is that to Amélie, and most overtures of the period in Paris. Sacchini's, of which Oedipe is still

1. This refers to the printed Overture; see above, Ch. IV p. 144.

2. GL 3 II p. 325.

3. Gingaché however called it "pleine de chaleur et d'originalité"; Enc. Méth. I ("Chasse") p. 247.

4. See below p. 196.

played, are pleasing and facile pieces of little pretension with less connection to the drama even than Piccinni's. Dardanus is an exception; the short largo introduction reappears in Eb (major and minor) as introduction and accompaniment to a recitative in II.1 (p.67). In Oedipe a chorus (I.2, p.23) uses the arpeggio of the overture, but this is probably fortuitous. Only Evelina has an open-ended overture; from F it ends on a dominant of d. But I.1 opens in F, with another mood and new themes.

Sacchini's overtures conform more to one pattern than Piccinni's; almost invariably they have a contrasting (often minor) theme, without change of tempo, in place of sonata-development; they have the same cadential habits and well exemplify Sacchini's fluent accomplishment and lack of depth. Singarelli (Antigone 1790) used Piccinni's overture design, complete with flute solo; the material is also Piccinnian, although the opera as a whole is closer to Sacchini.⁽¹⁾ It is perhaps in the overture that Lemoyne most clearly fulfilled his intention, in Electre, of being Gluckiste and, in Phèdre, Piccinniste.⁽²⁾ Not until the Revolutionary period, which provides so many links between Gluck and the 19th century, did a dramatic overture become the rule.

2. Piccinnisme in the aria

The matter of the "air périodique" and Gluck's supposed melodic incapacity is best examined by comparing examples in detail; Gluck's "Ah! malgré moi" (Alceste (P) II.4) (Ex. 48) and an aria inserted by Marmontel into Atys, "Brûlé d'une flamme" (I.1), which, at the start of the opera, bears

1. See below, Ch.VIII A 2.
2. See below, Ch.VII.

a considerable burden of characterization (Ex.49).⁽¹⁾
 Piccinni's melody is ready to please and the opening idea might have served for development; but unlike Gluck's aria the music, making no progress away from an initially low emotional temperature, does not grow in stature on close examination.

Gluck's introduction (Ex.48) uses 2-bar units, asymmetrically organised: 1-4 antecedent, with the feel of anacrusis to 5; 6-7 a perfect cadence but 7 a new start; 7-8 summarise 1-4; 9-10 repeat 5-6 but complete the cadence. The voice proceeds 'periodically' enough, but by building his melodic curve over a controlled harmonic growth Gluck projects each phrase onto the next, forming in effect a single melodic paragraph. The example shows five 4-bar phrases of which - a subtle irregularity - the last two form vitually one phrase:-

Phrase:	1	2	3	4	5
Bar :	13-16	17-20	21-24	25-28	29-33
Text :	1st phrase	2nd phrase	repetition
Key :	tonic	IV-ii	vi	to iii

Phrase 1 balances the introduction, bars 1-4; 2 repeats the harmonic structure, the chromatic inflexion (b^4') in the voice giving a new significance to the bass F, with a slight extension of vocal range upwards. Phrase 3 establishes a new range ($bb'-f''$ for $f'-c''$) and brings modulation; it ends on a perfect cadence without making g a new tonic. Phrase 4 ascends in the same range, balancing the descents of 3 and 5; the pedal A is a dominant but prepares the ear for its establishment as a tonic. 4 and 5 are linked; 4 is the first phrase to end dominantly but the descent of a fifth (A to D, bars 28-9) suggests a perfect cadence, withheld by the diminished 7th harmony of bar 29. There is no

1. See above, Ch.IV p.128.

extension of vocal range (g" will appear in bar 45) but a climax is made by holding f" for three beats, and by the harmony, the vagrant diminished 7th. The interval A-D (bass) is repeated as an approach to E as dominant of a, and the phrase is extended by one bar, providing a temporary release.

The second half corresponds to the first:-

Phrase:	6	7	8	9
Bar :	35-38	39-42	43-47	48-53
Text: :	3rd phrase	.. (no repetition)	
Key :	to I	V of V	V	v

The longer final phrases (with extension of vocal range to g") balance the extension of phrase 5. Phrases 6-7 cover the ground of 1-2, with downward extension to e' and the inflexions eb" and f#' (bars 40-41). The section moves from tonic to dominant; 8 and 9, made of 2 plus 3 bars and 2 plus 4, are melodically almost the same but the minor key adds pathos to the repetition.

Without such power of sustained melodic thought Piccinni settles down at the end of each phrase and proceeds by temporal succession, not organic continuity (Ex.49): consider the crude musical full-stops ("périodes") in bars 16, 22, and so on. The phrases are mostly twos rather than fours; 31-34 is typical, a 4-bar phrase made of two bars virtually repeated (a convenient cadential design which is tedious when overdone, since the repetition is unsubtle, not enriching: contrast "Ah! malgré moi", phrases 8 and 9). No harmonic interest redeems this monotony; Piccinni reaches his dominant (bar 34) only to reintroduce Ab (36) and return to the tonic for the rest of the piece (39-42 is on, not in, the dominant). The music fails to match the emotions of the words; at "Il faut que j'expire" (17ff) it makes no use of

the musical tensions usually associated with death or inexorable Fate, and at the end ("sans même oser dire...", 55 and 61) the melodic opera buffa style is accentuated by an increasingly inane Pissinian bustle in the violins.

Piccinni does not control the vocal range constructively. He defines the wide interval $bb-ab'$ (13-15) and remains within it; no significance is given these limits by chromatic inflexions and the extension (to bb' , 32) is incidental, on a trivial word. The middle section (35-42) is declamatory but built of similar ideas in the same range; the recapitulation (43) retracts to the $bb-ab'$ range, extending downwards at the end without affective significance.

An Italian training was sufficient reason for "Melophile" to prefer Bach [J. G.] to "Hayden", who pained his ear:-

"Il semble qu'il ne cherche alors qu'à l'étonner [the ear], à la tourmenter même..." (1)

Only Italians understood true modulation. To such an ear the analysis of Piccinni's insipidity might seem unconvincing; similarly if

"...in the last analysis Gluck's celebrated purity of line...[is] among the hardest things to 'explain' in all music", (2)

this is partly because, as Tovey shrewdly observed:-

"Gluck's highest pathos is expressed in the major mode. He uses the minor mode chiefly to express protest or energy...The study of Gluck's most serious melody is a useful method of shaking modern criticism out of its conventional values". (3)

And Piccinniste criticism:-

"...au mode mineur, dont l'expression est toujours plus touchante..." (4)

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1. Mélophile à l'homme de lettres p.11.
 2. Kernan p.41.
 3. Tovey p.110.
 4. Ginguené, Notice p.125 note to page 51.

Piccinni has little resource in the major and his best music is mostly in the minor - in which minor composers are generally less uninteresting since without any compositional effort its intrinsic harmonic properties are more complex. Gluck's melody is inimitable but its virtues are applicable to any style. Piccinni's failures are likewise personal but his lack of harmonic and melodic resource can be demonstrated: even the dogma of the "période" should falter at the implications of comparative study.

3. "Dessein"

Besides Framéry's strictures on Gluck⁽¹⁾ the Encyclopédie Méthodique contains a Piccinniste panegyric in Ginguené's article "Dessein".⁽²⁾ Piccinni is shown to have worked affective contrasts into a single tempo with one dominant musical idea, achieving unity by good "dessein" whereas Gluck broke up airs into separate tempi. The example is from Diane et Endymion:-

Diane: "Cesse d'agiter mon âme,
Vengeance, amour sans espoir.
Faut-il éteindre ma flamme
Ou céder à ton pouvoir?
Fuis, cruelle jalousie,
Amour, rends-moi mon amant". (II.2)

The type, "air brisé", vigorously declaimed, protesting, in the minor, is common in Piccinni.

"...presque chaque vers renferme un sentiment différent, & sembleroit exiger un motif nouveau, un chant & un accompagnement à part.

"Je n'examine pas si le poète a eu tort ou raison d'accumuler dans le même air tant de mouvemens opposés, & de les rendre avec tant d'incohérence & de brusquerie. Je dis

1. See above p.159.

2. Op. cit., I p.416. See La Harpe's use of "dessin", above p.156.

seulement que cet air, tel qu'il est, sembloit absolument exclure l'unité de dessin..." (1)

Elsewhere Ginguené gives Piccinni's own theoretical position:-

"Il blâmait aussi la manie de changer brusquement de mouvement et de motifs dans un air.... Le Compositeur qui ne sait pas plier le motif qu'il a pris aux variétés d'expression que les paroles exigent...n'était à ses yeux qu'un croque-notes..." (2)

Framéry was still more uncompromising:-

"Un air périodique ne contient, ou ne doit contenir qu'un seul sentiment...S'il en contient plusieurs, ils sont en opposition, ce qui forme un rapport entre eux, et constitue toujours une idée unique. La poésie la présenterait sous plusieurs faces, la musique la répète sous les mêmes formes; voilà ce qui distingue ces deux arts". (3)

To insist that opposed sentiments form "une idée unique" is to justify, even advocate, emotional generalization, neglect of the poetic meaning.

In Pénélope II.9 Ulisse's aria:-

"Quel malheur m'est prédit encore?
N'ai-je donc pas assez souffert?
Je te revois, isle chérie,
Et ne puis te voir sans effroi" (p.134:141), (4)

has two affects, pleasure at being home and thoughts of his suffering. Only the former, although thoroughly soured by circumstances, is represented in the music, a placid andantino sostenuto with pastoral oboe solo, never leaving the tonic G even at

"J'échappe la mer en furie,
Le calme renaît pour moi".

1. Ginguené, loc. cit. p.417.

2. Notice p.111; the hit at Gluck is perhaps more by Ginguené's than Piccinni's intention.

3. Discours p.50 n.22.

4. Page references to the 1785 and 1787 versions; see below, Ch.VIII A1.

Ulisse is aware of the presence of suitors in his palace and the problems before him; the last line is ironic, yet it alone is built (literally) into the music with a pedal-point G (p.139:146).

The problem of uniting contrasting affects is here evaded; even in "Cesse d'agiter mon âme" Piccinni's effort seems primitive beside the 16th-century madrigalists. Philidor had managed better, both in "Oui, je cède au coup qui m'accable" (1) and Sandomir's aria (2) where phrases marked "avec fureur" and "avec tendresse" (3) are sufficiently contrasted by changes in vocal register while a continually developed violin figure binds them into a coherent melodic succession. Piccinni (Ex.50) neither models his vocal line on the syllable nor builds short phrases into a self-sufficient melodic line. He is actually more dependent than Gluck on harmonic succession, rather than melody, for musical logic. The words are expressed by dynamic contrasts - "Vengeance" *f* (bar 4-5) (4) "Amour" *p* - and harmonic detail (the Eb minor, 22-23) but these momentary articulations, smoothed over at each verbal repetition ("Amour" *f*, bar 8; the major cadence, 25), are concealed by continual rhythmic emphasis in allegro agitato.

"A composer as respectable as Piccinni can trust his music to proceed at a comfortable amble without breaking down". (5)

The very regularity of alternating *f* and *p*, legato and tremolo, makes the agitation integrated and generalized; it might have pleased Framéry, but "dessin" is achieved at

1. See above, Ch. II p.44.

2. Ernelinde (1767) III.1 p.227, (1777) IV.1 p.200 (COF).

3. The 1769 score lacks these indications.

4. Ex.50 starts after 21 bars of ritornello and is the first section of a ternary form with a short middle section and full recapitulation.

5. Tovey p.102.

a cost - which Gluck would have refused - of dramatic penetration.⁽¹⁾

"Je me reconnais" (Ex.29) is perhaps a better example; the contrasting minor harmonies ("Je crois sortir") are integrated yet last long enough to make a distinct impression. In any case they do not contradict, but supplement, the main import of the piece. In "Cesse d'agiter mon âme" "le poète a eu tort": generalization alone was possible and its flaw is that the sum of phrases makes an insignificant whole, whereas in an air truly "décousu" like "Cours et dis-lui" (Aulide II.5) Gluck projected one mood far more powerfully almost by overarticulating the contrasted speeds. Even a piece such as that enables one to turn the tables on the Piccinnistes and declare Gluck the finer melodist.

4. Cantabile arias: J. C. Bach and Gluck

In Amadis Bach's aria types are Piccinnian: "Mon âme aurait trop de peine" (I.1) resembles Ex.50, and his cantabile has similar if less disastrous limitations. The priorities - musical ascendancy over the text - of "Je ne verrai plus" (Ex.33) are those of Ex.49 and most of Sacchini's arias. Perhaps this is better than allowing the words excessive dominance over the musical shape: Gluck at best allows ascendancy to neither. In "O malheureuse Iphigénie" the music dominates the text - it was originally an Italian aria - but completely articulates the singer's state of mind. The verbal details - "Vous n'avez plus de Rois, je n'ai plus de parents" - are not necessary to understanding. "Ah! si la liberté" (Armide III.1; Ex.52) arises from a close study of the text while conforming to

1. Grimm called this "le plus bel air que M. Piccini ait fait en France", CL 3 III p.37.

musical patterns such as literal repetition; a musical affect is enhanced by the text.

Long movements in Amadis are mostly soliloquys (although "Ah! brisez votre chaine" is long "dans la scène" like an air of the same type in Gluck, "Dieux qui me poursuivez"). The hero pleads for death in a short air. In similar circumstances in Renaud Sacchini produced a characteristically touching arioso (Ex.131B) and Gluck a pithy but formal utterance, "Ah! mon ami, j'implore ta pitié" (Tauride III.4) in which the words, indispensable to dramatic sense, are responsible for the musical shapes. Amadis' "Ah! si votre âme est attendrie" makes concessions to the dialogue context - shortness, an open end - but could exist melodically without the words. Gluck is more formal yet has the immediacy of speech; Bach's melody is emotionally vague and might have been used for other dramatic contexts.

Bach cannot match Gluck's control of melodic line over a simple accompaniment. Where Bach (Ex.51)⁽¹⁾ proceeds to his dominant with chromatic touches (bars 12-13) and there cadences extensively (19-24) Gluck (Ex.52) avoids such extension by formula in favour of clear-cut repetition of important matter. His first section, formed AABB, makes a melodic climax without leaving the tonic - it is therefore unabashedly a da capo aria - and with only a slight chromatic inflexion (bars 13 and 19). Subsequent modulations are the more telling through this restraint and the employment, in the middle section, of tempo changes. The g#¹ (from bar 13) now leads to a (bar 37) defined as a key, not a supertonic, by its dominant. Tempo I resumes with a new quaver formation (the pattern recalls bars 12, 16-17); Gluck intensifies by modulation - a, e, b (bar 43) - then

1. See Ex.23.

arrests the quaver motion and restores the harmonic balance by returning to e, relative minor to G. The consistently high tessitura now uses g" as the top of an established melodic position, not a climax. This section illustrates a precept of the Alceste preface:-

"Non ho creduto di dovere scorrere rapidamente la seconda parte d'un Aria quantunque forse la più appassionata..."

The da capo stylises the basic affection to project it more strongly.

For all its relative informality the Bach is emotionally uncommitted. The harmonic resources of the middle section are used decoratively, not intensively: G is established but immediately treated as dominant (bar 25)⁽¹⁾ with a chromatic alteration (26-7, bVI with augmented 6th) that is not part of a melodic intensification; the unusual chromaticism of bar 30 has no structural function and hence produces no enrichment of emotion. Trivial chromaticisms (bars 6-7) weaken the device for later use, and high pitches are fairly continuously present; the music is pretty, not interesting. The range is extended in the recapitulation (g#'-a', 42-4) and the climax is not unlike Gluck's revision of "Che farò".⁽²⁾ but it is only a flourish of the kind mocked by Mozart (who elsewhere uses the technique seriously enough) in Così I.3: nearly a third of "Vorrei dir" is cadential extension. Bach's aria remains a tenor song rather than an anguished personal utterance.

5. Recitative

Piccinni's recitative has been sufficiently discussed in connection with specific operas; recitative is in any

1. Compare Ex.49.

2. See above, Ch.IV p.134, note.

case a difficult subject for critical generalization.

When Blom says that after Roland

"The recitative becomes more alive...It is always fully scored and frequently introduces short thematic fragments that underline the dramatic situation. In the arias there is little overloaded and false coloratura..." (1)

he is considering Piccinni in isolation, forgetting that coloratura was unusual in French opera, that the orchestral fragments are part of the stock-in-trade for accompagnato, and that the underlining is often gross (as in Ex.47B) or of doubtful relevance; in Diane I.2 the use of thematic fragments from the innocuous overture (p.21, andantino; p.22, allegro) does no more to intensify the dialogue than if they had been freshly invented.

Piccinni adopted various details of Gluck's practice and, however ineffectually, lavished equal care on the recitative. The forte-piano and agitato accompaniment are features which tend to lose their potency through excess, like the tremolo - as Berlioz remarked in Wagner's Fliegender Holländer:-

"Le tremolo soutenu est de tous les effets d'orchestre celui dont on se lasse le plus vite; il n'exige point d'ailleurs d'invention de la part du compositeur, quand il n'est accompagné en dessus ni en dessous par aucune idée saillante". (2)

He thought its overuse there indicated "chez l'auteur une certaine paresse d'esprit..." (3) The emasculation of this device is better regarded as the result of trying too hard. Wagner and Piccinni lacked the saving control, the taste, of Gluck, and the ability to stand apart from the work and view it as a whole. Wagner's details are still

1. Op. cit., p.64.

2. Voyage Musical en Allemagne et Italie... Paris 1844 p.101.

3. Ibid.

part of a large design and the overemphasis is understandable in an immature work. Piccinni's details arrest attention at the expense of the whole and the fault is inexcusable in a composer with a quarter-century's experience of opera.

6. Continuity

Although Piccinniste continuity may have been affected by Gluck its methods and possibly its aims differ. Piccinniste dramaturgy is, like Gluck's, fundamentally baroque made supple; ⁽¹⁾ aria remains divided from recitative, generally by a perfect cadence. The singled forms of Aulide I. 1-3 are not typical of that opera; Gluck's use of continuity always has dramatic point - as when Agamemnon's monologue follows without a break upon II.6 because his rage allows no formality, or when, in Aulide III.6-9 and Tauride IV.3-6, the continuity is designed to increase excitement. Gluck was too good a dramatist and man of the theatre to neutralize so valuable a device by making it normal practice.

Although it hastens the dénoûment of Sabinus Gossec's open end ⁽²⁾ is Piccinniste in technique. In Sacchini, to propel an aria cadence in the tonic towards a new key and preliminary gesture for recitative is habitual. In Oedipe à Colone he begins II with a phrase to be used in an aria (Ex.53A) and ends the aria "open" (Ex.53B), but the form is complete, unabbreviated, and the musical continuity into accompagnato (with different motifs) serves no dramatic purpose (unlike the open end to "Alceste au nom des dieux"). ⁽³⁾ If only for that reason the device, much used in the

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1. See above, Ch.I p.11.
 2. Ex.16B2.
 3. Alceste (P) III.

1780s,⁽¹⁾ cannot be called Gluckists.

The abbreviated air⁽²⁾ is a specifically Piccinniste method of continuity. The length of a Gluck air can be gauged from the opening phrase: a syllabic line ("Ah! si la liberté") suggesting a short form, accompanimental figuration ("O malheureuse Iphigénie", Armide's invocations) a long. Vogel was to inflate a Gluck-like short-form idea into a long aria;⁽³⁾ several Piccinniste short airs are like truncated long ones, denying the formal implications of the musical substance. Marmontel complained, "Pourquoi ne pas finir un chant que l'on commence?"⁽⁴⁾ yet his party, not Gluck's, adopted this musical illogicality, one with distinct possibilities for pathos or sudden peripeteia, possibilities rarely realised. Examples are the third part of Didon's first aria,⁽⁵⁾ part of a Sabinus air,⁽⁶⁾ and Antigone's air (Ex.146) where the first section goes from Eb to Bb. A variant of this procedure is the air which becomes an ensemble; Thoas' "Air d'invectives" (Tauride IV.4)⁽⁷⁾ is perhaps the model for the end of Pénélope I.⁽⁸⁾ Minute fragments of aria music - arioso cantabile rather than recitativo in tempo,⁽⁹⁾ of which Iphigénie's "O mon frère! ô mon cher Oreste" (Tauride IV.2) is an example - are common in Sacchini, less so in Piccinni.

1. A Piccinni example is in Pénélope I.7, p.50:47; see below, Ch.VIII p.316.

2. See above, Ch.II p.49.

3. See Ex.120.

4. Essai p.15:168.

5. See below, Ch.VIII p.312.

6. See above, Ch.I p.37.

7. See Gluck's letter to Guillard, 17th June 1778 (Correspondence p.130; Desnoiresterres p.250).

8. See below, Ch.VIII p.315.

9. For this distinction see above, Ch.II p.52.

Two of the most touching passages in Didon are, however, short forms: "Je veux si tel est mon malheur" (p.127:137) which is virtually a truncated short (syllabic) air, ending in the dominant (e), and the exquisite fragment in III.8 (Ex.54), a true arioso, not implying a larger structure. These in no way approach Gluck's musical manner; they are highlights of recitative, moments of truth, and only rarely does the recitative "build towards aria".⁽¹⁾ Sacchini once leads from recitative to a short air by way of arioso, in Dardanus where his key sequence is that of Rameau's two short airs to these words (Ex.55).

D. Pastoral Operas

To assess which composers were Piccinniste it is necessary to consider the influence of Gluck on Piccinnisme and the degree to which they differed.⁽²⁾ Piccinnisme certainly flourished among Italians and French; and Germans, since J. C. Bach is rightly associated with it.⁽³⁾ Sacchini and Zingarelli conformed to the ideas of literary Piccinnistes more than did Piccinni; others ostensibly followed Gluck but for several reasons, particularly their natural adoption of a musical language appropriate to their generation, come as close to Piccinni. The position of French composers is complicated by the anticipation of the "Époque de Gluck" in Philidor and Gossec and by remnants of 'chant français'.⁽⁴⁾ Old French opera lived on beyond 1774, and

1. See above, Ch.II p.51.

2. See below, Ch.VIII C.

3. Although by Terry for the wrong reasons; see above p.152.

4. See below, Ch.VI and Exs. 66, 67.

the transition is particularly gradual in non-tragic genres, to which most of Rameau's works belong; it was some years before the pastoral was displaced at the Académie Royale by comic or adventure operas such as Le Caravane du Caire. The revival of pastorale-héroïque was unsuccessful but is important as an example of gradual "modernization": in Monsigny's sole work for this theatre, and one of the most musically delightful works of its time, Aline, Reine de Golconde (Sedaine 1766); in Céphale et Procris, "du très bon genre de l'opéra françois", ⁽¹⁾ which preceded and followed Aulide (Versailles 1773, Paris 1775); and in Gluck's revised Cythère Assiégée (Favart 1775). ⁽²⁾ Gluck's last opera Echo et Narcisse (Tschudy and du Rouillet, 1779) falls into this group as does Diane et Endymion (De Liroux 1784) with which Piccinni followed his greatest success, Didon.

Transitional as Aline is, the engaging confidence of Monsigny's style makes for unity. The rococo fêtes which fill most of this ballet-héroïque resemble Rameau simplified (II.1, with flageolets); the florid ariettes are more Italianate than his (I.6, II.3). The orchestration is pleasing and unusual (II.1, low bassoon sixths depicting night) and I.7 ("Dance") contains some of the most elaborate dynamic markings of the period (continual short crescendi over minims and crotchets). ⁽³⁾ In the dialogue scenes, which contain the slender plot, small airs, Italianate in style, are used in Lullian places (I.4; the scene ends with a longer air). Some recitative is for continuo only (I. 1-2) but some is orchestrated with the voice in Italianized 'chant français' (I.3-4) and a profusion of ornamented

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1. Letter in Journal de Paris, June 1777, MPS p.234.
 2. Original version Schwetzingen 1759.
 3. Full score p.100.

ariosi. In II.2 the aria is an Italian cantabile decorated in French style, suggesting the same compromise as "Né dans un camp".⁽¹⁾

Céphale et Procris has very similar features; Grétry's Italianisms also approach French tradition in vocal style and orchestration, further than the comparatively austere Philidor from central European composers. An ariette, more Italianate than Rameau's, is placed unusually "dans la scène" (II.6, p.123);⁽²⁾ the style, which characterizes the goddess Aurore (I.1, p.141), is reminiscent of Rameau's "Rossignols amoureux" (Hippolyte V). When impersonating nymphs of Diane, Aurore (I.3, p.29) and "La Jalousie" (III.3, p.169) sing in opéra-comique style; while Céphale's long aria in D (II.4) resembles Gossec's Italian vein (Sabinus' aria in the same key) and is therefore "Piccinniste".

Céphale is a work of elegance and charm which, unlike Aline, includes tragic scenes. The duet in f (I.4, p.48; usual form) is dramatic enough to explain the composer's willingness to tackle Andromaque, and like other more elaborate ensembles (end of II; III.4) again seems Piccinniste avant la lettre. If the authors' intention was to be dramatic, however, it is only intermittently realised; a piquant mixture, with almost every available element except spoken dialogue, Céphale suffers from the dissipation of the strongly foreboding atmosphere at the end of II by "La Jalousie", singing 'chant français' (p.148) and preparing unnecessarily complicated plots to destroy Procris.⁽³⁾ Perhaps because Grétry concentrated on opéra-comique the recitative is the least "modern" part of the score. A

1. Ernelinde II.2 (1767); III.2 (1777).

2. Page references to full score of 1813, no. 12 of the "Collection des Opéras de Grétry en Grandes Partitions".

3. Neither "La Jalousie" nor the contrived happy ending come from Ovid's version, Metamorphoses VIII.

"danse infernale" (III.1, p.160) apes Rameau's habits in such pieces, alternate violence and silence, but with late 18th-century syncopations and chromatic practice; while Ernelinde must have affected the theatrical crescendi before the calamity.

Gluck: Cythère Assiégée and Echo et Narcisse; Piccini: Diane et Endymion

Echo et Narcisse revived the pastoral idea with stylistic consistency, but this "sprawling profusion of airs and dances"⁽¹⁾ suffers from a monotony which the uninhibited variety of forms, styles, and orchestration in Monsigny and Grétry made impossible. Nor is monotony the defect of Cythère Assiégée, Gluck's main artistic failure in Paris. An expansion of one act into three, its plot is no more than that of the prologue to Hippolyte. It has no action, but a narrative bringing a change of mood. The musical idiom is richly mixed: recitative both with continuo only and superbly controlled accompagnato (pp.5-6); coloratura (p.39); colourful scoring, angular unisons to characterize the barbarous Scythians (II.p.63; the mood returns in III, p.134) without the percussion of Tauride I. Gluck may have regarded Cythère with a certain cynicism;⁽²⁾ certainly it does not aspire to the seriousness of Echo, whose failure offended Gluck deeply.

A weakness of Céphale and Echo is the importance of deities who do not appear: Diane with her Liebesverbot and Apollo who curses Narcisse with self-love. The heroines of both are resuscitated to demonstrate the power of l'Amour; in Diane et Endymion he claims a moral victory by making the chaste goddess fall in love, and so unites Endymion with Isménie.

1. Howard p.50.

2. See letter to Kruthoffer, 30th May 1775, Correspondence p.62.

Gluck composed Echo with loving care, and used comparatively little material from earlier works. The use of "Le bell' imagine" as "Je ne puis m'ouvrir ta froide demeure" is his oddest borrowing from Paride and suggests that he did not appreciate that masterpiece as it deserved. Echo is less satisfactory: delectably irrelevant in small things - the opening of I.2 - it recalls other operas without reaching their level in more massive passages such as the choral scenes with grieving protagonist in II: "O mortelles alarmes" with Echo (in c, as is Orfeo I) and "Dieux qu'implorent ses tristes yeux" with Narcisse, a situation like Orfeo I.

I.3 treats dialogue in a novel manner; a recitative text set to measured music, melodic grace combined with good declamation, not a dialogue of alternate airs as in Armide but a single air shared. It ends on an imperfect cadence in the dominant, leading to Echo's air in g, "Hélas! je n'ai pour moi qu'une âme simple et pure" - words which this opera might have addressed to the indifferent public:-

"The new qualities in Echo - the extremely rich orchestration and the refined, more detailed expression of the vocal line - passed unnoticed in the face of the poor dramatic construction of the whole". (1)

Narcisse's scena (I.6) consists of aria fragments, all types of recitative, and arioso interventions from Echo; minute sections succeeding each other with his changes of mood. The short 'incomplete' forms may have disappointed a public whose appetite for Italian aria had been whetted by L'Olympiade, Roland and Gluck's own Tauride. In II the Paride aria is overweight, since when Narcisse realizes his aberration and repents the music is less richly expressive and the emotion rings less true; even the echo-

1. Howard p.15.

song cannot prevent III from dragging. The end, as in Hippolyte, was foreshadowed in the prologue. Narcisse's suicide, like Orfeo's, is prevented by l'Amour and the effect is only less banal because, with so little drama to spoil, real tragedy would be incongruous.

The dreariness of Diane, like the monotony of Echo, derives from the subject. Material suited to a lighter genre is treated as tragic, and Piccinni was not permitted the musical indulgence of ballet-héroïque. The plot, an emasculation of Atys, depends on a Quinaultian distortion of the myth in which Endymion loved the goddess. His mistress Ismérie is endangered not by marriage, like Sangaride, but by an oath of chastity, like Procris and Aricie. The setting is purely pastoral and the intervention of l'Amour robs the material of the dramatic suggestiveness of Atys; yet the music - mostly in large, strenuously 'dramatic' formations - is in the manner of Atys, Tauride and Didon.

The continuities perhaps owe something to Sacchini or even Lemoyne. The long air "Aimez Diane, oubliez Ismérie" (I.2, p.23) is formally complete but open ends link it to the recitative; it remains out of proportion in its conversational context. "Cesse d'agiter mon âme" ends on the dominant of the dominant (bass F#), projecting it into the recitative (p.138). Endymion's soliloquy (I.1) is divided into a major section (pastoral: "O doux réveil de la nature", p.12) and minor (personal: "Seul je gémis", p.17) but without the expected recapitulation no mutually enriching relationship is achieved. Like a 19th-century cavatina-cabaletta formation, sections of the duet (I.2) are separated by a hunting-call (p.32) which, warning the lovers of Diane's presence, motivates the agitated second movement. This becomes a chorus in the tonic minor (a) and the same tempo ("Diane, vengeons-nous", p.37) developing

into G - a choral allegro - an unusual degree of musical continuity concurrent with the action.

The music fails to differentiate not only mortals from gods but Diane from l'Amour, as the similarity of their arias shows (Ex.56). Their duet of invective (p.167) makes only a verbal and visible opposition; the music has none of the cut and thrust of Gluck's in Aulide or Philidor's in Ernelinde and becomes sensuous when the voices unite. The opposition is no more vital than the pretty abuse of the Hippolyte prologue. The role of Diane, fuller than Cybèle's, suffers from a lack of opposition from the humans onto whose plane she is drawn - the lovers do not appear in II. Her air "Je veux punir l'objet que j'aime" (Ex.57, from II.2 before Ex.50) has unusual harmonic variety for Piccinni. In the trio (p.202) Diane is better distinguished from the mortals than Cybèle in the Alys quartet but she is subsequently released from her "chaîne" without a struggle and revealed as the plaything of l'Amour. Her exit - "Partons! du bruit des cors ces vallons retentissent" (III.4) - suggests that the care expended on creating and developing her character in three soliloquys (I.5, I.8, II.2) has been wasted.

Unlike tragedy the pastoral naturally includes a quantity of integrated ballet. Diane has several relevant marches, a sacrifice (II.3) and a "Ballet d'action dont le sujet est le triomphe d'Isménie et sa réception de Nymphé de Diane imitée du rit antique" (I.7). This integration in Diane recalls that of Tauride rather than Céphale where the divertissements, occupying a great deal of time, are no more part of the action than in Aulide. Opera is dominant in Diane, however, whereas in Aline the action was the excuse for the ballet. In Echo integration is complete and the elegiac rather than tragic mood matches the pastoral setting.

Gluck's concentration and fecundity of musical idea is never more evident than in these abundant small forms. He lavished his skill on the final divertissement (in contrast to Cythère!) but it is a curious end to the career of a rugged musical dramatist and the oddity lies mainly in his acceptance of Tschudy's amateurish text. The evident inferiority of Diane to Atys, Didon, and Pénélope may partly be blamed on the libretto,⁽¹⁾ but the music only intermittently suggests any development from the standards of earlier operas (the continuity techniques are used to no great purpose). If Echo was not intended to be merely pastoral, it at least succeeds, with reservations, on that level. Diane, with serious operatic pretensions, has many of the properties of pastoral, but succeeds in neither interpretation.

1. Ginguené considered that the sole reason for its failure (Notice p.70).

Chapter VI French Composers

A. The 1770s: Ernelinde, Hellé

During the later 1770s the torch of indigenous musical drama was tentatively relit by two works, one a revival: Ernelinde (Poinsinet, revised Sedaine, 1777) and Hellé (le Monnier 1779). Before Gluck's arrival and in 1776, L'Union de l'Amour et des Arts by Floquet (1748-85) had a success which cannot wholly be accounted for by the music, a pale reflection of works like Aline and Céphale but without their originality. Azolan, a ballet-héroïque, suffered defeat in the year of Aulide, and Hellé, tragédie-lyrique,⁽¹⁾ in that of Tauride, when, like Amadis, it only had three performances.

Two years earlier Ernelinde had returned to the Opéra in a five-act form originally played at Court in 1773,⁽²⁾ and which, despite a superficial resemblance to traditional French structure, solved the problem of aria in French opera better than Poland, by omitting the ballets. Instead each act includes a static choral tableau with solo voices - a texture common in Rameau. In I.4 (p.57)⁽³⁾ this celebrates, specifically, Sandomir's victory, rather than (as in 1767) his commander's (Ricimer), increasing Sandomir's political stature as the revised ballet of Aulide II (1775) did Achille's. Ricimer's "Peuples du Nord, unissons nos concerts" (II.5, p.110: 1767 I.5, p.68) is a traditionally

1. MS BO A263a.

2. Annals (1767). Details of the two versions of Ernelinde are in Appendix 5.

3. Page references for the 1777 version are to the vocal score (COF).

French conception but uses Italianate cantabile. The attractive harbour scene (III.4, p.144: 1767 II.4, p.176) and the admirable chorus of prisoners (IV.1, p.193: 1767 III.1, p.223) are dramatically relevant; in the latter, the chorus expresses Sandomir's feelings also; he utters his especial griefs between their phrases, in recitative. The best chorus is the oath for Ernelinde: "Jurez sur ces glaives sanglants" (I.3; 1767 I.3), mingling differing rhythmic impulses in one tempo - the dotted figure at the start (p.48: 1767 p.52) and the minim-semibreve passage, "à demi voix", beginning "O Mars" (p.51: 1767 p.54).

One effect of the revision is a clarification of tonality in I, obtained by transposing two numbers:-

OVERTURE		
Sc. 1	: Duo	
	Air (Rodoald)	
Sc. 2	: Air (Ernelinde)	(1767, <u>F</u>)
	Chorus	
COMBAT		(new in 1777)
Sc. 3	: Sandomir's entry	
	Recitative	
	Chorus (oath)	
Sc. 4	: Marche and final chorus	(1767, <u>D</u>)

If this is Gluckiste, it is a delayed effect of Philidor's study of Orfeo, since the revision was done before 1773. 1767 I shows no such clear outline, although II (1777 III) was framed by scenes for Ernelinde in Eb. This key is associated with her in 1777 I, making a symmetry within the C used for the enemies of Norway (overture, Scene 1 (Rodoald about to fight them), Combat, Scene 4 (triumph)). 1767 I ended in a c (the quarrel duet of Sandomir and Ricimer) with a different association from the c of Scene 1.

Besides the revision of the simple recitative⁽¹⁾ some

1. See Ex.9.

orchestral recitative was changed. Though hardly "psalmodie"⁽¹⁾ 1767 (Ex.58A) has a residue of 'chant français' - the ornaments, the cadence (bass with voice, bar 19), the free expressive use of a wide range - but is basically accompagnato, with orchestral interruptions to the voice. 1777 (Ex.58B) is simplified and shorter by 3½ bars; orchestral economy is matched by careful placing of climaxes - Ernelinde's g" on "sang" (B, bar 7) not "bras" (A, bar 6); Sandomir's g' on "tyran" (B, 14) not in "cher à mon coeur" (A, 14). 1777 articulates with sostenuto-forte (B, 12-13) mood changes given more spaciouly by andante-allegro before (A, 15-16). 1767 is richer harmonically and orchestrally, and strongly unified (in A, compare bars 3 and 11, and the development of 4-6 in 12, 13, 16); in 1777 speed hardly compensates for the loss in expressiveness and throws more articulative strain upon the following duet than it is fitted to bear. Such changes may have been made before 1773 and were influenced less by Gluck than by the general trend of French recitative towards simplicity; they bring Ernelinde close to Persée.

The arias are Ernelinde's most revolutionary aspect - aria⁽²⁾ as distinct from French air. Even the 'chant français' ornamentation of "Né dans un camp", reduced in 1777 (III.2), does not disguise its cantabile and Italianate phrase structure and form. "Transports jaloux" (III.3) is short and fiery, its character derived from the vigorous violin writing;⁽³⁾ compared to Laborde (Ex.6) Philidor's imitation and striking harmonies (without supine dependence on the conventions of minor tonality) are decidedly strong. With

1. See above, Ch.I p.29.

2. See above, Ch.I p.28.

3. Compare Alceste III, Admète's aria also in c; both were composed in 1767 and plagiarism is impossible.

Ernelinde's touching cantabile in Scene 1 and "Oui, je cède au coup qui m'accable",⁽¹⁾ III is structured by aria-like formations, including Rodoald's compound aria⁽²⁾ and a quartet in G.⁽³⁾ The arias are extremely varied in length, from Rodoald's of 22 bars (I.1) to Sandomir's of 137 (IV. 1)⁽⁴⁾ (a touch of realism: Rodoald hastens away to fight but Sandomir is at leisure in prison).

Ernelinde suffers from some unevenness of invention - the last act (1777) contains little of interest, and the long duet (IV.4) is a disappointment - and from the loose plot structure, although the libretto was criticised unnecessarily harshly. Ricimer and Rodoald are vividly portrayed, the former contrasting jealous rage with a touchingly genuine love for Ernelinde; on the whole it seems right that, in 1777, he is persuaded to live (in 1767 he killed himself). Sandomir is relatively conventional and his initial support for Ricimer, despite his betrothal to Ernelinde, is never adequately explained. Ernelinde is no prototype suffering heroine; her actions in III and IV are bold and it is she who leads the defiance of the villain in V. The scenes where she is surrounded by battle-sounds (I) and afflicted by imaginary Furies (Ex.10) were often imitated. The existence of the two versions, of which it is hard to say that one is better than the other - 1777 contains less irrelevant matter but straggles over five acts - makes the detailed analysis it merits almost impossible: one must be content to describe Ernelinde as the most important attempt at musical drama in France between Rameau and Gluck.

1. See above, Ch.II p.44.

2. The first part is Ex.11; the cabaletta "Détestes ce barbare" follows after a short recitative.

3. Replacing a longer movement in c (1767).

4. See above, Ch.V p.192.

Hellé

Hellé has the familiar theme of a disguised god in love with a mortal. (1) "Arsame" (Neptune) is loved by Ino, who offers him her crown in vain (II) and, assisted by a magician, Elphénor, menaces him and Hellé. Although there are only three acts, the structure is traditionally French, with as many ballets. Except for Ino (she and Hellé have conventional confidantes) the characters are lifeless and the emphasis is on the 'merveilleux' - conjuration, tempest - rather than the psychological implications of the subject. The ballet of I celebrates the god's return from military victory; the march mood spills over into his air "Non, chère Hellé" (I.6), with trumpets (in A) and florid vocal triplets. There follow an Air lent, Gavotte retenu (in 6/8) and gigue. In II the divertissement inconsequentially follows an apparition produced by Elphénor to alarm Hellé; her reaction to it is delayed until III.1.

The musical vocabulary, compared to Floquet's earlier work, is affected by his visit to Italy; (2) string accompanied secco rather than 'chant français' with continuo (parallel to Philidor's development); accompagnato; the ariettes further from Rameau's in style. Hellé also shows signs of ill-digested Gluckisme. The overture ends after the rise of the curtain, but with a full close and no connection to I.1; nor does it "prevenir gli Spettatori..." (3) - fortunately, as it is a medley of vacuous Italianisms without form because without content.

Although the sweeping line recalls 'chant français' Ino's aria (Ex.59A) is Piccinnesque in temper; Floquet

1. Compare the first French opera, Pomone; also Issé and La Danse in Les Fêtes d'Hébé (Rameau).

2. Early 1775 to mid 1777 ("Floquet", MGG).

3. see above, Ch.II p.64.

wastes the inflexion to Db (bar 10), rejecting its potential for melodic extension or modulation to return to the tonic, not made less lame for being ff. The subsequent orchestral crescendi (Ex.59B) crudely underscore the not very original line. This indiscriminate application of dynamic extremes is a foretaste of Lemoyne and the result of a technique of Gluck as much misunderstood as his melody. Floquet seems to have tried to capture something of Gluck's pure line in the middle section of Hellé's aria: "Inexorable ennemie, arrête" (I.4) (Ex.60) but he constricts the voice to a range (bb'-g") which leaves little room for growth and of which the mechanical filling-in by chromatic apoggiature (bars 2, 5, 6, 8 and so on) unbalances the melody by over-emphasis on d" (3, 6, 7, 8) through c#". (The last two sections of this (ternary) aria, and Ino's (compound), are marked in the score as cuts).

The predominant character of Hellé's music is this weak pathos. She does nothing in II, but opens III promisingly with 'récitatif obligé' (Ex.61). The gloomy tread of the strings (bar 2), the plaintive bassoons (9) - scoring and harmony respond to the situation. Only the voice seems indifferent, and (for all the monotony of the alternation p-ff) is metaphorically swamped by the orchestral material although unaccompanied; the trite declamation is heard with merciless clarity. The aria is in two sections, the first concentrating on the "lieux charmants" in which she finds herself (Bb, cantabile with solo oboe), the second, intended as a contrast: "Loin d'ici, oui, je pourrais peut-être oublier" renders despair with an allegro comodo (sic) in Bb, the key of Piccinniste commonplace. (The intervening recitative is marked to be cut).

Ino is more strongly projected at first (see Ex.59); but her jealous outburst ending I: "Je n'écoute plus que ma

rage" has the musical character of the preceding divertissement. In II.3, rejected by Arsame, she has her share of E♭ banality. Arsame is more consistently portrayed; when we learn his identity (II.1), the flamboyance of his aria in I.6 is exceeded in a long aria headed ariette. The virtuoso writing may be intended as contrast to the less powerfully-lunged mortals; it is supplemented, uniquely at this period, with a duet-obbligato for clarinets (Ex.62). With the same key and the same defiant mood, Mozart's "Parto, parto"⁽¹⁾ also uses clarinet in canon with the voice (compare Ex.62A - the passage occurred earlier on the two clarinets - with Mozart, bar 21 of the allegro assai)⁽²⁾ and to fill in vocal pauses or rests, as in Ex.62B. Floquet even provides a fermata for a cadenza, although it would be hard to exceed the brilliance of the written notes (Ex.62C). This music gives the god a dominating aspect, and in III he overcomes his enemies with no trouble (but they make the strategic error of attacking by sea, the element of which he is master). It also impresses as the only music in Hellé in which the composer seems completely master of his material.

Hellé is like a transitional work out of time; an old-fashioned poem with partly Italianate music, partly a reversion to tradition, as in the Con uration (II.4) where words and music weakly echo Rameau ("Qu'à nos cris la terre frémissé"). Although the Furies of Tauride had yet to be heard the passage is ridiculous for 1779. The ineffectual sea-storm is set as a cheerful 6/8 in D, which resembles the final rejoicing.

1. La Clemenza di Tito I, aria of Sesto (Breitkopf CE p.59).

2. Ibid. p.65.

Alceste (a Quinault resetting) was not performed although upon it rest the claims made for Floquet by Marie Briquet - his masterpiece and "ein wichtiges Zeugnis für die Möglichkeiten der frz. Schule neben Gluck und Piccinni".⁽¹⁾ An Alceste was daring after Gluck's and Fétis said that "la première répétition suffit pour faire voir que les prétensions de Floquet étaient ridicules".⁽²⁾ Floquet, or talk of "Floquetistes",⁽³⁾ aroused Gluck's indignation but Le Seigneur Bienfaisant (Bochon de Chabannes, 1780), consisting of three loosely connected acts, has little to commend it even as tear-jerking entertainment, and its interest lies chiefly in its introduction of the bourgeois pastoral to the Opéra, before Rosine. Floquet died after starting Alcindor, which is mostly by Dezède to whom the librettist (again de Chabannes) handed it. With only a slender originality, possibly the result of poor techniques, Floquet seems insignificant beside his contemporaries. Gluck rightly foresaw that a stronger witness to the possibility of a French school could come from Gossec and Philidor,⁽⁴⁾ who both turned their attention to Quinault.

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1. MGG, "Floquet".
 2. Biographie Universelle, "Floquet".
 3. See Desnoiresterres p.311; Striffling op. cit., p.231.
 4. See above, Ch.I p.16.

B. Persée and Thésée; Thémistocle

1. Quinault: the adaptations

Clumsy adaptation partly explains the failure of Persée and Thésée, respectively too much and insufficiently cut. They retain the leisurely action of Quinault while incorporating the aria, and must have seemed carelessly made after Tauride. In both poems Quinault was more interested in spectacle than character; the role of Persée was confided to an inexperienced singer, Dumény, and is slight; that of Thésée is trivial beside that of Médée. There are adult human passions in Persée, and even Thésée contains enough for the adapters to make the most of Egée, Phinée and Cassiope.

The subject of Persée may have been suggested by Corneille's Andromède (1650), "Tragédie à machines" with music,⁽¹⁾ a revival of which in 1682 infringed on the territory of the Opéra. Angered by Cassiope's pride, Junon sends Méduse, the gorgon, to devastate her country, and repulses all prayers (LQ I). Persée offers to attack Méduse if Andromède (who is betrothed to Phinée, her uncle; be his reward (LQ II). Mercure lulls the gorgons to sleep and Persée somewhat unheroically kills Méduse (LQ III); he then disposes of the sea-monster to which Andromède is exposed (LQ IV) and, the goddess having relented, marries the princess (V). The affronted Phinée breaks in with armed men to claim his bride and after much bloodshed, described with relish by Ovid,⁽²⁾ Persée petrifies his enemies with

1. Andromède has even been described as "l'origine de l'opéra" (René Bray, introduction in Corneille, Théâtre I, edn. Hachette, p. 12). According to La Harpe the machinery in the 1780 Persée was ineffectual (Correspondance Littéraire III p.150).

2. Metamorphoses Book V.

Méduse's head. Marmontel reduced the text to three acts, with two major changes:-(1)

<u>Lully-Quinault (LQ)</u>	<u>Philidor-Marmontel (PM)</u>
Prologue	Omitted
I 1-6	I 1-6
II 1-7	I 7-11
III 1-5	II 1-6; II.7 is new
IV 1-3	II 8-10
IV 3-5	III 1-3
V	Omitted

He eliminated Mérope, who loves Persée, plots with Phinée, and penitently warns the hero of his danger in V. Lully gave her much of the best music but the omission allows the other roles to be strengthened - including Phinée, but to no avail, since the omission of V removes at a stroke the whole justification for his presence in the action. His attack unites the strands of the first acts (his jealousy and the Gorgon); in PM it is carefully prepared for but never comes and the drama ends, or rather collapses, with the death of the monster. The opera is reduced to an adventure story, and the drama of human relationships is dissipated.

The merging of LQ I and II makes PM I inordinately long, with few cuts and long musical movements added. The scene-change between PM II.6 and 7 is clumsy (and not, as in Gossec's Thésée III, 'merveilleux'). Marmontel might have adopted this scheme:-

LQ I and II	condensed more, for PM I (preparatory)
III and IV	II (peripetetic)
V	III (consummation)

1. For a detailed table of the adaptation see Appendix 6A.

instead of forgetting Phinée, the most interesting role in II, and leaving III almost actionless. It is particularly unfortunate that the merits of the adaptation, in matters of detail, correspond to Philidor's best skills, and its defects to his negligence, like Rameau's, of dramatic totalities; Philidor could have been entrusted with the former, and needed control in the latter element. As it is, the best operatic music of its time by a Frenchman is left lying in manuscript. (1)

Morel reduced Thésée to four acts by condensing LQ III and IV into III and omitting very little apart from the comic intrigue of servants. (2) Thésée wins a battle (incognito) for his father Egée. The latter proposes to Eglé, who loves Thésée and refuses Egée for fear of Médée ("Que vous êtes ingénieuse à trouver des difficultés", he complains). Médée, having lived with the King, now wants Thésée; learning of his love for Eglé she foments discord between father and son (II), devises torments for Eglé (III), and forces her to be cold to Thésée in an interview which she overhears (LQ IV). (3) When Eglé's reserve breaks down Médée feigns forgiveness and deciding upon parricide as the only adequate revenge, persuades Egée to poison his son (Quinault here reverts to the usual form of the myth). When the plot is revealed she escapes, destroying the palace; Athene replaces it, an ending rationalized in 1782 into a promise of protection for Athens. Handel set another adaptation of Thésée (4) which instead of merging III and IV separates them with an extra scene. Solo aria replaces the chorus and dance structure of the original; Gossec's version

1. BO MS A 281.

2. Omitted in COF, following 18th-century performance tradition.

3. Compare Racine, Britannicus II.6, performed four years before Thésée.

4. Teseo (1713). See Kimbell, "The libretto of Handel's Teseo", ML 1963 p.371.

attempted to combine these elements. Thésée, its long popularity notwithstanding, is one of the weakest works in the Lully-Quinault canon. The adaptation⁽¹⁾ makes an opera, like Sabinus, that is over-extended and occasionally tedious - partly because the music only comes to life in III.

2. Lully: Persée, Thésée and 'chant français' in the 1780s

The elements of the old French style that remain might, given a firmer dramatic structure, have resulted in a creative continuation of the tradition into which Philidor (Campra's pupil) and Gossec (who, like Rameau, was patronized by La Pouplinière) had been born. Philidor's mourning chorus (III.1) evokes Rameau as much as Orfeo,⁽²⁾ particularly in the alternation of block harmony with imitative passages and the eschewing of colourful scoring without wind, let alone trombones (Ex.63). (The light scoring of Persée may well have disappointed a public used to Alceste, Tauride, and Amadis). Philidor's recitative is simpler than in the 1767 Ernelinde or than that of Sabinus. At best it has the delicate sensitivity, the limited but real expressiveness, of the composers between Lully and Rameau - quite unlike Gluck and Piccinni. 'Chant français' died hard and when its formulae, bound up with the melodic and harmonic thinking of an earlier generation, disappeared, French composers maintained its singing quality in their recitative even when Sacchini, at the height of his Paris career, was more sparing of musical substance in recitative than elsewhere. Without returning to the "ancienne psalmodie" or imitating Gluck, they sought a modern equivalent, an alternative to the Italian recitative "simplement

1. Further details of the adaptation are in Appendix 6B.

2. The tombeau in Castor; see above, Ch.I p.10.

3. See above, Ch.I p.28.

déclamé" (1) which Gossec expressed in the direction "récit. chanté" at the dénouement of Thésée. The arioso style is found in fragments, a single adagio bar (Ex.64B) expressing more than Lully's imperfect cadence (Ex.64A), or in whole passages; and in the most insignificant composers. Dezède, in Péronne Sauvée, leaves the voice unaccompanied, declaiming with verbal repetition as in formal music; it might be the climax of an air (Ex.65A). (The quality of the passage is explained - not excused - by the situation, a public speech). In Alcindor the declamation is more varied and successfully carries a considerable burden of feeling at the crux of the opera (Ex.65B - Alcindor, refusing to abandon Azélie for his crown, passes the test of constant love and wins both). For the best effect the music should be sung in tempo; whereas 'chant français' would provide more accompaniment, neither Italian secco nor accompagnato would be so melodically formed.

Occasionally the recitative of Persée shows affinity to Lully but Philidor is in fact simpler (Ex.66A and B), using first-beat chords and sostenuto with fewer note-values in the declamation; the resetting has the reverse effect from Cardonne's. (2) Where Lully articulates the climax of a phrase with triple metre (Ex.67A, bar 6) Philidor flows into a tiny arioso (Ex.67B, bar 7), "cantabile avec sentiment". The galant dotted rhythm is characteristic of this generation; it recurs frequently in Thémistocle, (3) once "cantabile con espressione", in a very similar context: "Ma tendresse, grands Dieux, prévoit tous ces malheurs" (III.1, full score p.156).

1. See above, Ch.I p.28.

2. See Ex.5 B-C.

3. See Ex.87A; also in Ernelinde, Ex.10C.

As well as using ariosi Gossec establishes his relation to the past by symbolising the advanced age of Egée, courting Eglé, by an 'air de basse' from Lully (Ex.68, bar 9),⁽¹⁾ without the repeat. This follows two tiny ariosi (Ex.68, bars 1 and 3), Lullian in method but 18th-century in content, using a literalism (trumpets at "Roi") as much outside Lully's style as the rather ineffectual "modernization" - cadential oboe figures derived from the second arioso - which are inserted into the borrowed air.

Like Ernelinde (1767) and Sabinus, Persée and Thésée have old-fashioned divertissements, the dances associated more with Rameau than the time of Piccinni. Ernelinde, besides unnamed dances (such as Sacchini used), originally had pairs of Menuets and Rigaudons (I), a long Chaconne among eight dances (II), and two Polonaises, Louré, and the customary final Chaconne (III). Persée I includes an "Air pour les Cyclopes", "Air pour les Nymphes Guerriers" and an air for both groups replacing Lully's "Entrée des Divinités Infernales" (LQ II), all celebrating feats as yet unaccomplished; this a year after the admirably integrated ballets of Tauride and Amadis. II has six dances including Gigue, Gavotte and Tambourin; after only a little more action the final divertissement consists of twelve movements after the "Descente de Vénus".⁽²⁾ Even Rameau generally provides less, and Lully is content here with a single Passacaille. With a crucial peripeteia cut, this proliferation - for all its musical charm - is doubly absurd.

Thésée I has an almost Rameauesque Gavotte, but is

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1. See Lully's Thésée, COF p.73.
 2. See Appendix 6A.

mostly "Evolution militaire", entirely fanfare. II has Menuet and Tambourin, Marche and Gavotte featuring piccolos and a chorus (in Lully, "Duo des Vieillards Athéniens"); the dances have minor-key middle sections. The pastoral divertissement has six movements against Lully's one, closing III with Gavotte, Tambourin, and Gigue; but IV has no massive final fête, ending rather like Armide in a spectacular scene of destruction with the excitement of the 18th-century full orchestra. The failure of these operas suggests that the public by now wanted integrated ballet or none. Noverre was satisfying the appetite for ballet with dramatic works such as Jason et Médée; the rise of ballet and the inclusion of lengthy and dramatic musical structures in opera was divorcing the genres.

The resources of the 18th-century orchestra, which like the minor mode⁽¹⁾ provided effect without compositional effort, do not always make the resettings superior to Lully. This is shown by some of the Armide ballets, which eschew these resources, and by Gossec who depended, like Piccinni and far more than Philidor, upon the orchestration for effect. Even the trombones cannot make this conjuration scene exciting and E♭ is again the symptom of musical platitute. The ballet is better, using rhythmic disjointedness (reminiscent of Pameau) and some harmonic adventurousness, reaching c for "Que tout frémissé" (Ex.69) in which the block harmonies in 6/4 are very Lullian. The addition of Médée's and Eglé's voices is a device of Gossec's time:⁽²⁾ "Faites-moi promptement mourir" is recitative in Lully. There is a hint of Gluck in the strenuous tessitura of Médée (compare "O malheureuse Iphigénie") and the plaintive oboe accompanying Eglé. When Médée banishes the desert

1. See above, Ch.V p.190.

2. Compare Amadis II.2; see above, Ch.IV p.139.

Lully's simple ritournelle is replaced by a true transformation (Ex.70) in which Gossec faintly anticipates Die Zauberflöte (between "ewige Nacht" and "Die Strahlen der Sonne")⁽¹⁾ by clothing a straightforward dominant modulation in a chain of suspensions and elegantly controlled rallentando (semiquavers - the departing Furies - yielding to quavers, then crotchets).

Philidor's lesser dependence upon post-Gluck resources of orchestration is apparent in his treatment of woodwind, more richly inventive but not essentially different from Tom Jones fifteen years earlier. The peculiar intimacy of his relation to the past must be distinguished from Gossec's crude juxtaposition of old and new, and is aesthetically truer. The noise of the slumber music, for instance, a cavatina with soloistic woodwind above the continuum of plucked strings, is analogous to Lully⁽²⁾ yet the techniques are entirely different (Ex.71). Lully's chief musical impulse is in the flowing accompaniment; Philidor's is melodic, even in declamatory places like bars 12-14. The response of the Gorgonnes is, in its trio-sonata texture, very close to Lully in technique. The recitative - conventional in this scene apart from the representation of the hissing for Méduse's hair - strikes a balance between old formulae and new simplicity. It is only in the storm, which breaks up the divertissement of II, that Philidor reverts to Rameau's techniques, arpeggiation over the strings (Ex.117E) with block choral harmonies, a texture recalling the storm of Hippolyte IV (sustained wind are added). The relation to the past is also present in Gossec and permeates both operas in a manner inhibiting to

1. II, 13tes Auftritt; Breitkopf CE p.214, Eulenburg score p.396.

2. LQ III.2 (COF p.181).

generalized comparison. Various other points of treatment will be discussed with the scenes, or roles, in which they occur.

3. Thésée

Although he was "Maître de musique pour le service du théâtre" from 1774, Gossec had little success even with those of his operas that were performed, and was much occupied with hackwork (ballets for Castor, Céphale, Alceste and Roland as well as Tauride). Thésée was written before Gossec lost the chance to set Guillard's Tauride, and was postponed for four years, not two as Gossec feared.⁽¹⁾ With sixteen performances it fared better than Sabinus, Persée or Amadis, but remained unpublished⁽²⁾ save for one aria. Hellouin's "honorable, mais pas heureuse"⁽³⁾ is fair but the "adhésion" he detects "aux principes nouveaux de Gluck"⁽⁴⁾ is no more apparent than in Sabinus: Gossec was closer to Piccinni in approach than Gluck, and closer to Philidor than either.

"On a dit que si les paroles de Quinault avaient été traitées fort légèrement par le poète qui les a marmontélisées, elles l'avaient été en revanche fort lourdement par le musicien..."⁽⁵⁾

The last third of Thésée, however, suggests that if Gossec was hardly a dramatist he was an adroit theatre composer; the serious if not strikingly original music is put to

1. Letter to Guillard, Correspondance p.134, Desnoirestermes p.254.

2. MS BN Rés. F. 1126 (1-2).

3. Op. cit. p.132.

4. Ibid. p.131; La Harpe asserted: "Thésée n'aspire qu' à imiter Gluck". Correspondance Littéraire III p.37.

5. Grimm, CL 3 I p.353.

intelligent uses. But Thésée ended his career in tragédie-lyrique: Nitocris was unperformed - priority being given to Renaud⁽¹⁾ - and its only successor was Rosine.

Thésée was the libretto least altered for resetting, but differences of approach appear in the first scene. Gossec starts with a programmatic overture, running without a break into I.1 and setting the scene. Various pieces of material - they scarcely deserve the name of ideas - are labelled:-

"Signal de Combat" (Fanfares)
"Combat" (Crescendo)
"Prières des Prêtresses pendant le Combat" (Woodwind soli)
"Plaintes"

After a literal-minded recapitulation the piece closes with a "Signal" as the curtain rises; the music is quite like Lully's (Ex.72A) but where the latter separates chorus and recitative so that the battle is periodically forgotten in the music, Gossec tries a symphonic unification, using the rhythm of "Avançons...il faut vaincre ou mourir" in various harmonic contexts (Ex.72B-D). Lully stylises, Gossec tries realism, using only men's voices - Lully has a part for Bessus - and gaining a contrast of timbre by the rhythm in halved note-values (Ex.16C). Later "Le chœur doit continuer de chanter de mesure tandis qu'Eglé récitera à volonté", but to accommodate this unusual rhythmic freedom Gossec has to deprive the harmony and melody of interest (Ex.72D).

I. 1-2 adhere to Quinault but last longer, with more arioso and repetition. The minute cut in III of

Cléone: "Pardonne à la peur qui me force à me taire"
spoils a rhyme:-

Eglé : "Ton silence me désespère"

1. Jullien, La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI p.37.

and Gossec leaves no time for the "silence" to make an effect. Recitative becomes an air, in D, "N'as-tu pas admiré l'ardeur noble et guerrière", and cuts follow to restore the balance. The prayer scene is expanded - the act follows the events of the overture, making it redundant - with battle-cries added in verbal rather than musical counterpoint, before "Victoire" in G (the key Lully had so far scarcely left) ends the opening complex. The structure, manifold ideas within a tonal circle, recalls Gluck; but the lay-out is Lully's, and Gossec and Lully divide from Gluck in having opening complexes without later repercussions. Gluck single-mindedly establishes a mood by powerful musical invention; his repetitions are musical structures and the music being worthy of repetition is made more dramatic thereby. There is no question of realism, but the mood reverberates throughout the opera to establish a referential basis for understanding the trials of Orfeo and Alceste. Theatrical rather than dramatic, presenting fighting and the inarticulate woe of Eglé in alternation (with the complication of the vacuously joyful duo in L I.3:-

"Il n'est rien de si beau que les noeuds de l'Amour
Quand ils sont formés par la Gloire"

and Gossec's ternary air for Eglé), this battle is immediately forgotten and serves only to establish the valour of the invisible hero.

Thésée, Eglé

The action of Thésée is dominated by the most forceful person, Médée. Thésée himself is colourless, and no improvement in his role is made comparable to that of Persée. In II he sings two arias, where a combination of the words into the "dessein" of a single air would be dramatically stronger. "La gloire m'enflamme dès que je vis le jour" (recitative in L) increases but does not enhance his role

with its vacuous belligerence, / ^{and} contrasts with:-

"Elle est l'unique objet du plus parfait hommage.
Je préfère un doux esclavage
Au sort brillant des plus grands rois" (Morel)

which includes roulades less extravagant than Mucien's similar aria. ⁽¹⁾ Eglé is more prominent in the action but - unlike Ernelinde - entirely passive. Thésée dominates their colloquy (III), turning from joy at seeing her to despair at her coldness: while, from tranquil E characterized by a violin harmonic (e''') the music (mostly recitative in tempo) turns to the opposite tonal pole, Bb, for his aria "Eglé ne m'aime plus" (LQ recitative).

This scene recreates Rameau's flow of dialogue in arioso and air; Eglé's "Cessez d'aimer un volage" is recitative marked larghetto and his rejoinder (très vite) is followed by the aria which was published, "Si la belle Eglé m'est ravie" (in LQ, an air of eight bars), which makes the Bb aria redundant. This piece uses well the conventional minor-key inflexions of despair (Ex.73A) and reaches an unusual intensity for Gossec in the final cadence (Ex.73B), the voice straining to ab' and descending with genuinely emotional floridity. (The middle section, in Eb, is inferior; the first recurs like a da capo). The closing passage of recitative is particularly rich. Eglé is resigned to marrying Egée to save Thésée from Médée. Use of the major mode recalls Gluck (Ex.74, bars 3-4) and the avoidance of interruptions and superficial excitement adds intensity to the chain of 6/3 chords after the unexpected Bb minor (bvii) (bars 7-9). The voice is left unaccompanied for the crucial line only (bar 10), in contrast to Thésée's abrupt

1. Sabinus IV; see above, Ch.I p.35.

interesting than their content. Dorine's air in F is interrupted by Médée, who reverts to E♭ for

"Les enfers quand je veux
Sont constraint à s'armer" (Quinault)

as her thoughts return to the opening mood of frustration. The last short air (E♭), to new words, "Faut-il donc que l'amour", is better music but still adds nothing. A single aria would have expressed the situation better but the authors lacked the courage of the Piccinnis te age without learning the lessons of Armide. The act ends in monologue, a rondo: "Dépit mortel, transports jaloux", of which neither setting rises to the occasion offered by Quinault. Lully's is nearly recitative, Gossec's is empty, Piccinniste bluster (Ex.75B), slightly redeemed by the second episode which uses tempo changes (allegro, E♭; adagio, B♭; allegro, g) and the only piano marking at "Inventons quelque peine affreuse".

After the dialogue with Eglé (III) and the conjuration, the "Changement" (Ex.70) heralds the best of Thésée, the scenes which, without Philidor's delicate strength or the (often misplaced) charm of Grétry, put it among the best French works of the time. III sprawls, thanks to the gratuitous extension of the lovers' scene by a dull duet which delays Médée's entrance - she could effectively have interrupted it. Eglé responds with affecting arioso to her brusque recitative; Médée pretends to relent, and the action ends with a trio (words Morel). A prelude for woodwind precedes Médée's "Gardez vos tendres amours", which is adapted for the lovers (Ex.76) while she expresses her real feelings. The orchestration (antiphonal wind and strings) and harmony (disturbed by the A♭, bar 12) clarify the contrast of words "à part" and "aux amants", but it is chiefly expressed by using triplets against smoother duplets - a

device invented, according to Grétry, by Philidor. (1)

The music is intelligent rather than serious but creditable at a time when opposed words were generally set to the same music.

Through no fault of Gossec III, which leaves the dramatic situation exactly as it was, is Mors d'oeuvre like Armide IV. For Médée's monologue (IV.1) Gossec begins with a prelude (Ex.77) which quickly disturbs the major mode (by bar 11; and earlier, with the ambiguity of E# = F# and A# = Bb) and brings the voice in strikingly, above an unexpected 6/3 on g# (bar 16). Orchestral material is repeated with the voice (bars 19-22) and the passage is unified by a recapitulation (25, ingeniously overlapping the vocal cadence); the opening idea is captured by the minor mode. This is interrupted by more sostenuto dissonance (28, 32); the voice rises twice to g", the second time held (34), emphasising the ineluctable Must (repeating "faut-il"). This expresses the sorceress far better than Lully's measured music, for all its articulative ingenuity in differentiation of the opening and ending:-

(Opening): "Ah! faut-il me venger en perdant ce que j'aime?"

(Ending): "Non! il faut me venger en perdant ce que j'aime!"

The detail might have pleased Pameau. (2) Gossec's recitative, on words of an air, builds powerfully towards the aria (to words of recitative), an impressive example of vigorous Piccinniste writing (Ex.77, bar 39).

The scene with Egée (much extended from L2 V.3) is vividly dramatic. Médée's insistence on Thésée's death and the King's reluctance are made more articulate by a duet and complex recitative. Egée's horror at the proffered poison

1. In Tom Jones I.1, p.10; see Grétry, Mémoires II p.253.
2. COF pp.199 and 200; see above, Ch.III p.105.

is heard in the orchestra; at his look Médée says "Vous semblez étonné", after the demi-semi-quaver shudder (Ex. 78A bar 3) and the rising minor third (bars 3-9), the "cri plaintif" of protesting humanity.⁽¹⁾ (The minor third is taken up in the duet, Ex.78A bar 10). The recitative is simple and expressive, like Philidor's in Persée; of its time but related to French tradition. Egée, after Médée's matter of fact opening, introduces minor inflexions at once; his voice descends, sad and senile (bars 8-9) and Médée forces her argument home with the allegro (words Quinault). The King repeats his words of bars 8-9 more firmly in E♭, resisting her. She resumes in B♭, then b♭ (Ex.78B), where rhetorical pauses inhibit what tended to be a facile musical flow. Egée contemplates crime, sombrely, in f: "Je n'ai rien fait jusqu'à ce jour" (Ex.78B bar 10). In Lully this was dry declamation. Médée reminds him, larghetto, of his son who might be dispossessed; the fast tempo resumes with the King defiant to the last, crying "Non" (Ex.78C) at the "open" end. This closing opposition is splendid. Quinault swayed the King with "Vous avez un fils à Trézène", here used in the larghetto without affecting his determination. Instead Egée repeats in recitative arguments about the unstable loyalty of Athens; they join in a lively duet recalling the short-lived triumph of Arcabonne and Arcalaus:⁽²⁾ "Vengeons-nous...n'épargnons pas qui nous offense".⁽³⁾ The feeble end to the scene makes its strongest feature the

1. Instrumentation unspecified: on the last stave with tails up, it could be 'cellos or (more Gluck-like) a bassoon.

2. Amadis III; see above, Ch.IV p.127.

3. Quinault, adapted; originally: "Que la vengeance a d'attraits pour les coeurs jaloux./ N'épargnons pas qui nous offense, vengeons-nous". (Omitted in COF).

stubborn resistance of Egée; an imperfect articulation (on a higher dramatic level than Lully aspired to) which strengthens his character. The recognition scene is appropriately theatrical, using tremolo effectively since it has not previously been abused. The careful working of the vocal part continues to the end; it is here that the direction "récit. chanté" occurs.

4. Persée

Alceste comes to mind when the start of Persée is recast into a tableau with a sorrowing Queen and chorus participating in the disaster. But the short musical structures and restrained scoring make no attempt at emulation of Gluck's massive complex, nor would this be possible in so lengthy an act. With elegiac poignance in its suspensions and chromaticism, but without the grandeur of Alceste, the overture strikes the note of serious drama (Ex.79). The harmonic breadth is unusual (four bars pedal \flat , five dominant pedal) and with a rondo-form allegro in the major to follow, this suggests the form of Berlioz's Symphonie Fantastique I.⁽¹⁾ The graceful, Haydnesque C with solo flute dissipates the atmosphere of the lento which has then to be reëstablished in I (and recalled in III.1; see Ex.63). The same C minor to major sequence - the opposite to the start of Ernelinde - is used in Thémistocle.

Choral writing

Instead of repeating the prayer-like opening:-

"Dieux, redoutables ennemis,
Pardonnez à des coeurs soumis" (Quinault)⁽²⁾

1. Largo (c), allegro (C), analysed as a rondo despite the influence of sonata form.

2. Most of the scene is adapted from LQ I, the trio.

to frame Cassiope's public confession, a new 13-bar chorus (Ex.80A) appears in which without incongruity Philidor follows a stiffly vigorous Lullian rhythm with an expressive gesture akin to Gluck (piano, bar 5) although its musical substance is more Piccinnian.⁽¹⁾ The next chorus, after Méduse's approach has been announced (I.6), again recalls Alceste - "Fuyons!" - and effectively pits block harmonies against Lullian antiphonal writing (Ex.80B; bass against upper voices, wind against strings); with gritty, 18th-century harmony (bars 4-5). There is good chorus writing in I.8 and the divertissement; the chorus gives dynamic weight to the storm in II; and Ex. 63 is perhaps the noblest chorus of the period outside Gluck.⁽²⁾ If this pales beside Alceste - where the choruses structure the entire work - it remains a considerable achievement and, various influences notwithstanding, it is very much Philidor's own.

Gorgonnes

By omitting Mérope the authors were able to give about equal prominence to four characters, while Céphée, Cassiope's husband, keeps the small role he had in L₁. There is no part underplayed, like Thésée, dominant, like Médée, or inadequate to the length of the role, like Eglé. Some of the loveliest music, though, belongs to the rather undramatic scenes of the Gorgonnes (L₂ III; PM II). II.1 begins with a large ternary structure, a trio of 60 bars framing Méduse's aria in E_b. The former (B_b; allegro), in angry vein, is not Philidor at his best and has almost exactly the effect of Lully's version. The trio's repetition is marked cut in the MS, after the first seven bars; it thereby

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1. Compare the Priestesses' choruses in Tauride (Ex.42).
 2. The choruses alone escaped censure in 1780; Grimm, CL 2 V p.209.

ends on the dominant of F and leads straight into "Dans ce triste séjour". The aria "Je porte l'épouvante et la mort en tout lieu"⁽¹⁾ is compound, lento-allegro. The lento (Ex.81) opens weightily with a reminiscence of a 'chant français' mood⁽²⁾ and technique, expressing "mort" and "horrible" by an a4' approached by the tritone (bar 3) and diminished 4th (bar 7).⁽³⁾ Yet the line is essentially Italianate and climbs grandly to bb" on a surge of orchestral "traits"; the bb" in "Divinités du Styx" comes to mind, or Ernelinde's great aria.⁽⁴⁾ This Gause is an impressive monster who deserved to be overcome by more heroic means; too human, perhaps, too much the dramatic soprano and too little the gorgon. But Philidor avoids the bane that Eb brings in Gossec, Piccinni, and Lemoigne.

"Dans ce triste séjour" (Ex.82) is genuinely pathetic in its hymn-like simplicity, and ushers in Mercure and the slumber scene. This half-act is almost hors d'oeuvre, like Thésée III, but it brings out the best in Philidor and, despite the musical style of the exquisite cavatina (Ex.71), the closest to Lully in the style of the trio and the forming of the scene by repetition (as in L3 III.2). One's sympathy is with the sleeping Gorgonnes when Persée appears (II.4) to sing an empty-headed, militaristic aria whose chief content is vocal showmanship, though not elaborate coloratura (not an ariette): "Je vais combattre et c'est pour toi" (Marmontel's insertion). He ascends in a scale from e to c" to fall at the cadence back to g. The next

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1. Quinault (but originally "tous lieux"); air in L3, COF p.167. Lully's Méduse is an haute-contre - a man. Philidor preserves this grotesque casting for her sisters.
 2. Compare Ex.171.
 3. Compare Ex.5C.
 4. See above, Ch.II p.44.

scenes are much cut⁽¹⁾ and the weakest part of the opera so far; the humanisation of the Gorgonnes (and the characters generally) makes the hellish monsters painfully out of place and - since it is Mercure who defeats them - irrelevant.

Persée and Andromède

Despite this scene, Persée is the character who benefits most by the adaptation. He appears early in I (instead of, in LQ, II) and his aria (I.10; just after Ex.67B), a Marmontel insertion, strengthens the role which - fittingly for a man of action - is not given a serious soliloquy (Marmontel provides one for Andromède, II.7). The aria, which fits well into the long dialogue, is a compound structure:-

- (A) Fièremment animé in F; ends on the dominant
- (B) Allegro; moves from C to d
- (C) Recitative for Andromède (4 bars)
- (D) Lent con espressione in f

(A) is uncompleted; (B) and (C) are marked to be cut in the MS so that the dominant of F ending (A) leads direct to the f of (D). Andromède has feigned indifference to discourage Persée's dangerous venture against Méduse. First the aria proclaims "Quand tout un peuple m'implore..." (A) although he later says "c'est pour toi" (II.4). She tries to dissuade him further (C) but is melted by the beautifully balanced cantabile ((D), Ex.83), which, formed over carefully controlled chromatic harmony, is among the loveliest airs of the time as well as the perfect articulator of her change of mood. The scene ends with a duet, in the usual two movements (poco lento and allegro in Eb), more resourcefully composed than most. Although the singers are in accord the situation is too tense for happiness; Quinault's words,

1. See Appendix 6A.

adapted by Marmontel, were:-

Andromède and Persée: "Ah! votre péril est extrême,
Je vois votre danger...
Dieux, sauvez ce que j'aime".

Accordingly alternation and imitation are used rather than facile parallel motion. Flutes, which figure in the introduction to her short monologue (I.9; see Ex.66B), accompany Andromède and violins Persée.

The inserted scena for Andromède (II.7, after the "Changement") shows her desolate, believing Persée dead and blaming herself for not preventing his adventure; it consists of recitative, "Qu'ai-je fait, malheureuse?", and a written-out da capo aria, "Persée, ô douleur mortelle". Because the music is conventional the scene seems superfluous. The rest of the act concerns the threats of Phinée and the monster, with the triumph of Persée (divertissement).

In III, as Andromède is exposed to the monster, Marmontel's insertions include, beside the opening chorus (Ex.63), an air for Persée, "Non, c'est pour vous que je respire", short and decisively cadenced, excellently setting him in relief before his next exploit (Ex.84A1). The surging main tempo, ardent fermate, and contrasts of texture (Ex.84A2, bars 16-17) recall, in a similar situation, Achille's "Cours et dis-lui" (Aulide II.5); but Philidor contrives this variety without abrupt tempo changes. A moment of illumination for Andromède (Ex.84B) reminds us that she like Iphigénie is a willing sacrifice (if less improbably saintly); the major-key pathos is very like Gluck. The air makes a ternary form with central recitative. Apart from a 6-bar duet, Persée hardly sings again.

Andromède has an aria in E♭: "O mon père, ô mère trop tendre", at the end of which (an allegro coda) "elle s'approche du rivage & s'élançe dans la mer". Holding up the

action when it should be sweeping towards the climax, this adds nothing that was not already obvious - one of those gratuitous insertions that led to the superfluity of aria in Atys. She also partakes in a complex ensemble dominated by her parents and the choruses of "peuples" and "tritons".

Cassiope and Phinée

With an unusually successful presentation of the lovers, Philidor achieves a good balance between the sentimental and tragic. In the latter he matches without surpassing Gossec's Médée or Bach's Arcabonne (but his characters are human, not sorcerers). Cassiope is strongly presented in I.1 although the musical weight is with the chorus. Her short air "Heureuse épouse, heureuse mère" gains by becoming a public confession; in LQ it is recitative addressed to Cépnée in private. She is heard in the prayers (I.5), then recedes from the picture to return in III, a mother about to lose her child, more sharply focussed than before, filling the gap made by Phinée's disappearance. Her aria in f "Des maux que j'ai faits j'implore la peine" (Marmontel) recalling Oriane's in the same key (Ex.35), opens with a phrase from the repository of Piccinniste heroics (Ex.85). The accompaniment is also from Philidor's usual stock, limited by haste or laziness; but the modulation is decisive, going beyond Piccinni's harmonic reach (bar 7ff). A sequence (7-14), itself almost naive, purposefully establishes Ab (16) for a 'second subject', tender, tonally more stable. In the interest of "dessèin" in an agitated aria this constructively denies its own character by immediate modulation, with a Berliozian lilt. Philidor reverts to the phrase in Ernelinde already borrowed from Gluck (bar 25),⁽¹⁾ and the rest of the aria is mechanically composed,

1. See Ex.8B and above, Ch.I p.28.

with too many fermate on the model of bars 23-4. But just as, when his music recalls Rameau, Philidor outdoes his contemporaries Laborde and Dauvergne, in this more 'modern' music (and in Phinée's) he shows more resource than his juniors, Grétry, Floquet, even Gossec.

Phinée is the most prominent character in I before the lovers' scene. His part hinges on two soliloquys, in I.3, a powerful sonata-form aria in c, "O ciel! à mes tourments quel supplice est égal?" (Marmontel) and II.9 (he has also a 9-bar air in I.7 and a duet with Andromède (I.4) with the defect Philidor avoided in the lovers' duet, opposed sentiments expressed by the same music). The climax to this distinguished role,⁽¹⁾ "Ah! que plutôt l'enfer vomisse", threatens to emulate the superficial bluster of Gossec or Piccinni's E♭ (Ex.86A); but halts abruptly on C♭ to break new ground. The voice ranges like 'chant français' (bar 8ff), the wind answer one another expressively, but what most characterizes this massive sequence are the splendid string scales like those Mozart used to evoke the supernatural in Don Giovanni.⁽²⁾ The bounding phrase (bar 18ff) was used again in Thémistocle III.1 (Ex.86B) although the nobility there is far removed from the malevolence of Phinée. Ideally this air would have forewarned of Phinée's intervention in III; as it is it corresponds to the pointless defiance of Arcaïus⁽³⁾ and Philidor's musical strength proves misplaced.

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1. Performed by Larrivée.
 2. Overture bar 23ff; II.15.
 3. Also in E♭; see above, Ch.IV p.127.

5. Thémistocle

The failure of Persée probably encouraged Philidor's absorption with chess, and his health was failing.⁽¹⁾ His last work for the Opéra, Thémistocle (Morel 1786), although marginally more successful (16 as against 3 performances) and a thoroughly respectable piece of work, is less imaginative and original. The fluency remains, and the sure touch which, hasty composition notwithstanding, reproaches Grétry, Lemoyne and others, with illiteracy; but cantabile and inventive dances and choruses find less place in this cool Metastasian drama, so persistently noble in sentiment that there is no villain - no Ricimer or Phinée - and no psychological trouble like Cassiope's. Thémistocle is precisely articulated by short airs and duets, making little use of devices for continuity (a rare instance is in III.1, p.150), the method of Aulide rather than the 1780s. It culminates, like Alys, with a quartet. Over this satisfactory whole broods a sense of unfulfilled promise, symtomised by lapses into conventionality after original opening ideas; for example the second part of one duet (III.3) in which the elegant melodic curve straightens into cadential cliché (Ex.87A). The idea of the duet in III.6, with Mandane pleading for her lover's life, is more remarkable than the actual music; she and some instruments in the minor, Xercès inexorably in the major (Ex.87B). Although Thémistocle is only a politician his entrance (II.6) is honoured by trombones (Ex.87C) used, as in Alceste and Sabinus, like an invocation of the supernatural; but the recitative before, after, and indeed throughout Thémistocle is simple and uninteresting. (III.5 (p.177) however contains a good

1. See Carroll, "The History of 'Berthe' - a Comedy of Errors", ML 1963 p.228.

passage in the genre - accompagnato - of which Philidor nearly twenty years earlier had given France its first distinguished example).

The small, sometimes minute, airs lack the directness, the connotational specificity, which is so necessary to Gluck's successful use of such forms. The profusion detracts from the significance of each one; I.3 has three, of decreasing length, without ritornelli or any sense of larger form: a ternary air in G, a "Cavatine" in E \flat , a six-bar air in G (pp.26, 29, 31). The forms may be Gluckiste, but the achievement is on Piccinni's level. Overtly Piccinnian is the exceptionally long, banal, vengeance-aria in D for Xercès (II.4, p.101).

I includes little action, proceeding from a massive tableau of prayer for Xercès' return from war to a ballet celebrating this event (after an E \flat aria in which, lowering his dignity to the status of a herald, he describes the battle in which Néocle, Mémistocle's son, saved his life). To win Mandane, Néocle is ordered to destroy his own father. In his dilemma betwixt "Nature" and "Amour" (II.1)⁽¹⁾ he has little original to say, but with Mandane he joins in a strange, elegiac duet (Ex.88). The composer chose to suggest the lost "charmes" as well as the present "douleur", using for the latter (bars 12-14) harmonies from Ricimer's "Transports jaloux".⁽²⁾ The heart of II is the reconciliation of old enemies, illuminated by music first heard in the middle of the overture (p.6). The 'cello melody, there unrelated to its surroundings, comes in II.6-7 (p.118) successively on two bass voices (Ex.89), as a duet, and as

1. Compare Castor et Pollux (1737) II.1 and Ernelinde (1777) III.9-10.

2. Ernelinde (1777) III.3, COF p.139.

a trio with Néocle. The melody is very like Berlioz's entrance of the Cardinal in Benvenuto Cellini,⁽¹⁾ likewise in a conciliatory mood; here this noble concordance prepares for the splendid ritualistic close to III, after a further reconciliation.

A similar illumination in III is the other fine scene of Thémistocle. Xercès' magnanimity is carefully prepared in the quartet which, unlike that in Alys (Ex. 40), fully articulates the situation. Néocle's attempt to overthrow Xercès has just been thwarted by Thémistocle. The Greeks' stoicism (Ex. 90, bar 18, 33), the lovers' plaintive farewell (27ff), and Xercès' gnawing doubts as to the rightness of severity (26), all find different and expressive musical motifs, finely combined in bar 43.

Philidor, who comes closest of the French composers to the central tradition of Viennese classicism, was writing masterly ensembles in Mozart's infancy.⁽²⁾ His musical individuality is innate, a qualitative matter - not superficial like the contrived extraordinariness of Lemoyne and the naive charm of Grétry - and stems from control, balance between melody and harmony without preponderance of either, supported by scoring whose discretion may result from haste but which is never tasteless (see Ex. 71 especially). In control of line only J. C. Bach and Sacchini match him: only Gluck - by adventuring further - exceeds them. Piccinniste literature suggests that such refinements made no wide appeal, but a good librettist might have helped Philidor to recognition as the best French composer between Rameau and, probably, Berlioz; in the 1780s, divided after

1. Especially the second phrase; see Benvenuto Cellini, overture, larghetto bar 9ff.

2. For example the septets of Le Soldat Magicien (1760) and Tom Jones (1765).

Piccinni's last success (1783) between uncomplicated Italian cantelina (Sacchini) and the cult of the bizarre (illustrated by Salieri whose Danaïdes and Tarare succeeded while the sober Horaces did not), the purer musicality of Philidor found no place. But it is noteworthy that alone of those born in the 1720s he survived as a serious creative force after Gluck's arrival.

C. Grétry: Andromaque

Grétry, the most prolific composer of the period in Paris, wrote mostly opéra-comique. Even for the Académie Royale he used light, and comic, genres outside the scope of this study. La Caravane du Caire (1783), in the oriental vein of Die Entführung, was with 506 performances up to 1829 among the most successful operas of its time.

Andromaque (Pitra, 1780) failed, and the measure of artistic success therein does not alter the impression that the genre, tragédie-lyrique, and the dramatic complexity of the subject (based, like Aulide, upon Racine) did not suit Grétry's natural simplicities. His instrumentation has charms but generally suggests not so much haste (like Philidor's) as the speed that follows from slight imagination.⁽¹⁾ In the choruses the violins tend merely to double the voices or vocal rhythms; for example, at the end of II (weightily swearing revenge for Hermione) where the only idiomatic instrumental writing is the division of minims into repeated quavers and tremolo (p.145ff). (In a similar situation, the end of Armide I, Gluck developed a vehement

1. Andromaque was composed in thirty days, "d'un seul jet", (Grétry, Mémoires I pp.355-6).

triplet figure to emphasise the choral line in the orchestra's own idiom). Grétry's method may be better than Piccinni's promising material which he fails to develop; but it is the method of semi-literacy.

Grétry's facility won him greater success than Gossec or Philidor enjoyed, but the apparent variety of detail cannot disguise the limitations of his emotional range. He distinguished, more intelligently than Piccinni,⁽¹⁾ between a character's public and private function, but shows little insight into the latter; for example, Oreste as ambassador (I.2) is characterized by music reminiscent of the Greek army in Aulide - strong wiry counterpoint (a texture rare in Grétry) (Ex.91) - but as the frenzied lover of Hermione he is a lay figure.

Andromaque is formally the closest opera to Aulide⁽²⁾ and although no major role is cut (Pilade is omitted) the adaptation follows similar lines, with the reduction to three acts and the direct presentation in III of a scene described in Racine, the interruption of Andromaque's wedding to Pirrhus by Oreste on Hermione's behalf. Here the action falls apart; for instead of being assassinated Pirrhus rallies his forces to beat off Oreste and the opera ends with the coronation of Astianax as Pirrhus' heir and King of the Trojans. The substantial role of Hermione - who opens the opera with a monologue - collapses like Phinée's although she attempts vengeance, we hear nothing after its failure of her fate or Oreste's which, rather than the death of Pirrhus, were the true culmination of Racine's drama.

Gluck's precepts show in the linking of the overture to I.1, in the absence of ritornelli, and in the use of an

1. Iphigénie; see above, Ch.V p.173.

2. See Grétry, op. cit. I p.345, admitting Gluck's influence; also Grimm and La Harpe, below p.245.

elaborated recitative in which there is no more question than in Aulide of 'chant français'. In a quite meaningless continuity, the overture leads from its easy-going E \flat , without a break, into new music in a new key (B \flat) with whose mood it has no particular connection (pp.7-8). Extensive use is made of incomplete forms and open ends, rare in Aulide, and here not attributable to the influence of J. C. Bach or Piccinni. Andromaque was rehearsed in May 1778: Armide rather than Roland, Céphale and Aline more than either, are behind this extension of Rameau's operatic methods. In I.1 Hermione is torn between love and hate for Pirrhus who has rejected her. The recitative is carefully marked (Ex.92) but the changes of mood are not articulate in the actual notes as they were in Armide; the intervals are repetitive (like Lully's) regardless of the ordained "douleur", required to change to "fierté" in mid-sentence (bar 3) (like the change into air (bar 11), a formation more interesting than the musical material).

Unlike the play the opera hangs on the role of Andromaque, greatly increased in relation to the others. Hostile criticism made an exception of the role⁽¹⁾ which, although it certainly contains the best of the opera, cannot carry it through the mangled dénouement, since its own integrity is ruined. At her first appearance (p.36) this passive and sorrowing widow seems suited to Grétry's talents. Three flutes accompany her recitative (I.4) like a halo, while Pirrhus is accompanied by strings in recitative and, in the second part of his compound air "Ils me menacent de leurs armes", the larghetto "Mais vous, haïrez-vous sans cesse" (p.40), by pizzicato, sustained clarinets, and a wailing oboe recalling Gluck's "cri plaintif" in Aulide.

1. De Curzon, Grétry p.53.

(Similarly in II.1 a bassoon enhances Oreste's "C'est trop gémir tout seul" (p.93)). After Pirrhus' short air, "Votre vainqueur baigné de larmes" (p.43), which would have melted anyone less obsessed than Andromaque, she replies with "Laissez une tremblante mère sauver son fils" (Ex.93 gives the close). The flutes are now used as part of the normal orchestra with oboes, horns, and bassoons, but they resume their "halo" in contrast to the strings' indication of "les mouvements d'indignation de Pirrhus" (bar 16ff).

The air and subsequent duet suggest that Grétry could not maintain even this simple characterization by orchestral colour when it presented a compositional problem to do so, and in II he abandons the three flutes, keeping two in the general ensemble (II.4-6). In II.3 Andromaque sings touchingly in a; Hermione, dominant at this point in the action, takes the music to a confident C (p.104) and exits; the music continues in tempo but with new words (II.4), in a. In a passage closely based on Racine III.8⁽¹⁾ Andromaque recalls words of Hector before he died, giving rise to a profounder Gluckism, a short air of real tenderness and control (Ex. 94A). Particularly Gluckish are the modulation (bar 9) with the unprepared dissonant 7th approached from below (compare Ex.94B), the modelling of the melody on the text, and the irregular, careful placing of orchestral fp.

In III this role deteriorates; the fp is insistently applied (alla Piccinni; although Gluck is insistent, for example in "O malheureuse Iphigénie", his fp forms part of a pattern turned to dramatic ends). As Andromaque reaches her glorious, self-effacing resolution - suicide after marrying Pirrhus, so that he is bound to foster her son - Grétry's musical substance is miserable. In a position

1. See Appendix 7.

equivalent to Gluck's "Non, ce n'est point un sacrifice" he uses a cavatina-cabaletta formation, andante-allegro separated by recitative (Ex.95). Doubling of the voice in thirds, effective in II (Ex.94A), is here almost cynically crude (Ex.95 bar 1ff, end of the andante); the interrupted cadence (bar 8ff) is a raw kind of continuity (the next four bars showing a characteristic immobility of bass - this pedal under I and V harmony is overused) and although the recitative is adequate, the allegro is as inane as any 19th-century Italian cabaletta - and in this form even Verdi achieved inanity. The thumping rhythm, with repetitions ensuring a square four-by-four phrasing, (bars 22, 34, 41-4), the chromatic appoggiature from which all trace of espressivo is absent, and, after the spacious chromaticism of bars 35-9, the abrupt close with a gleeful top a" and hammering violins: all combine to undo the good effect of her music in I and II. After this the collapse of the drama hardly matters. Grétry shows his incapacity to rise to any other than mildly pathetic situations. One is not sorry to be spared his attempt at Racine's tragic conclusion - or at an Electre, unperformed because of Lemoyne's. Grimm, an admirer of Grétry, commented on his unsuitability for tragedy and considered Andromaque an imitation of Gluck, ⁽¹⁾ as did La Harpe. ⁽²⁾ The author of the Mémoires Secrets added Piccinni:-

"...on trouve que M. Grétry a quitté son style & sa manière; qu'il a voulu se rapprocher alternativement de du chevalier Gluck, & de M. Piccinni; & qu'inférieur à tous deux, il n'a ni l'énergie du premier, ni le chant gracieux du second". (3)

1. CL 2 V pp.137-8; Grétry "a cru s'apercevoir que pour être tragique en musique, il fallait faire beaucoup de bruit...Les trois quarts de l'opéra...sont en chœurs..."

2. Correspondance Littéraire III p.107.

3. Mémoires Secrets XVII p.173.

After Andromaque Grétry followed his true bent at the Opéra and his emotional limitations mattered less. On the whole Céphale is nearer to being dramatic than Andromaque; La Caravane du Caire deserved its success regardless of the birth of one of the librettists, later Louis XVIII. Panurge (1785) is hardly Rabelaisian, and the roughness of subject in Amphitryon (Sedaine, after Molière, 1788) is similarly smoothed over. Amphitryon is a rarity - a classical comedy at the Opéra - but it had little success and remained unpublished.⁽¹⁾ Both there and in Aspasie (Morel 1789)⁽²⁾ the central situations, temporarily serious for the main characters, give rise to better (Piccinnian) tragic accents than did Andromaque; but neither the long numbers nor the recitative have the spontaneity of Grétry's comedies - a quality without which he has rather little to offer. Aspasie, with sublime disregard for history, has the basis of a pleasing extravaganza in the quartet of "Sophistes" - Plato, Pythagoras (!), Aristophanes, and Anacreon; but they make poor opera and the chief impression, as with Amphitryon, is of long-minded silliness.

D. The non-tragic operas

1. Ariane; adventure operas: Alexandre, Pizarre

Although the majority of operas at the Académie Royale after 1774 were tragédies several other genres were available: the pastoral, the adventure-opera which appeared well

1. MS BO A 325 1-3; the revision for Paris in 1788 (Amphitryon was given at court in 1786). Published in CE.
 2. Unpublished; MS BO A 327 1-3.

before the Revolution made it the commonest type, the exotic (La Caravane du Caire, Tarare)- and operas sui generis like Alcindor and Rosine. Péronne Sauvée is pure adventure, episodic and spectacular, showing the successes and reverses of Péronne against the English attacker, with the slightest of connecting threads. Alexandre and Pizarre ou le Conquête de Pérou (which is headed "tragédie") combine adventure with exoticism; the former is almost an "opéra-ballet" in effect, being without real conflict of character. One-act operas were common, and included Gossec's pastorals, Alexis et Daphne and Philémon et Baucis (1775), the latter his most successful opera. The form was used for a serious subject in the "drame lyrique" (part of a double bill) Ariane (Moline, 1782) by Edelmann (1749-94).

Ariane was played until 1825. It contains interesting and expressive music; the apparent enthusiasm for Gluck was transmitted to Edelmann's pupil Méhul.⁽¹⁾ It is structured not by action but as internal drama, and forms a link between the baroque monodrama (solo cantatas such as Handel's Lucrezia) and the later "Prix de Rome" cantata such as Berlioz's Cléopâtre (1829). There are two solo scenes, separated by key (C, then E, at "Ariane s'éveille", p.34); the characters never meet. Thésée's scena includes three airs with different affects (ending with the militaristic "Non, plus de pitié", p.27), inferior in quality to the ariosi. There is no Bacchus; Ariane's long and varied scena ends in suicide. This has five arias but what chiefly stimulated the composer's imagination were the chances for depiction of nature and extreme emotions. Echo, waves, "La Nuit", and the excessively violent storm colour each stage of the scene (although the latter is one of those

1. See Benton, "Jean Frédéric Edelmann, a musical victim of the French Revolution", MQ 1964 p.165.

which desist periodically to let the singer be heard); when "le lion mugit dans ces bois" (p.46) the trombone crescendo suggests not Ariane's fright, but the object of her fear. Many devices typical of the period are used: the recitative anticipating an aria (p.36), the open form of "Il ne vient point" (allegro, p.50), and a Piccinnian mood in allegro (p.40). Most remarkable perhaps is the close. After a calming chorus, "Viens goûter avec nous les charmes du repos", in Ab, Ariane's last recitative proceeds from f to e and thus irrationally ends the opera (Berlioz's Cléopâtre was censured for something similar nearly half a century later). Although it is flawed by the excessive length of some arias, Ariane is a lively and literate work enough to cause regret that it was Edelmann's only opera (except the posthumous Diane et l'Amour, 1802).

Alexandre

Alexandre aux Indes, "Opéra en trois actes" (Morel 1783) is the only work of N-J. le Froid de Méreaux (1745-97) within this study (it followed a few opéra-comiques and preceded Oedipe et Jocaste (1791)⁽¹⁾). Alexandre is the work of a nonentity, and contains little of interest in organization and articulation of the action, simplified almost out of existence from Racine and Metastasio. What remains is warlike and noble sentiment, and two battles, placing it with the spectacular adventure operas. It lacks the musical interest that stylistic transition gave to a less competent mediocrity, Floquet, and is exactly what was to be expected in the wake of Gluck and Piccinni - international in flavour, its only French elements the chorus and the misplacedly genial divertissements.

1. Lajarte I p.374. Fétis (Biographie Universelle, "Méreaux") and MGG, "Méreaux", give Oedipe à Thèbes (1780).

There are some features partially Gluckiste. I.1 opens with an overture fragment which, however, serves no expressive purpose; it therefore rather anticipates Piccinni.⁽¹⁾ The overture shares a key (D, the main key of I and III) and mood with Mozart's Idomeneo and Clemenza di Tito overtures but, although it introduces chromaticisms beyond the scope of such as Flouquet, it can only repeat, not extend or develop, its ideas. A similar limitation prevents any full flowering of an attractive cantabile, recalling Gluck in its use of solo oboe (Ex.96A). The melodic range is later extended (bar 50, voice bb" over harmony of Ex.96A bar 14) but there is no harmonic development and cadential repetition fills out, but does not intensify, the 57-bar movement. Another air models the line on the syllable (Ex.96B) and maintains its intensity at "il suffirait de vos appas"; Achille, one of Gluck's less interesting characters, is perhaps the model (Aulide I.8). More typical is the cantabile earlier in the same scene (II. 9, p.182) in which intensity is never suggested. Massive tableaux (I.4, end of II) may reflect Gluck's influence. The latter serves as divertissement, the former includes a broad "Entrée des prêtres de Bacchus, peuples, guerriers" (p.74), marred by the crude orchestral tutti with trombones and bass drum but, unlike the too frequent expressions of shallow bellicosity such as the first finale, not unimpressive. "Local colour" is applied in the ballets, lacking the dramatic value it assumed in Paride or Tauride and having no effect on the musical substance apart from instrumentation - "tamb., Ind. Cymbale et Triangle" (I.2, p.37, Marche), and these with piccolos (I.4, p.91) - the preceding Menuetto (p.89) would be perfectly at home in a European ballroom.

Militant moods overshadow the human feelings of the early scenes and inhibit sympathy for the male protagonists.

1. See above, Ch.V p.196.

Alexandre's "Au milieu des combats j'ai bravé le trépas" (II.6, p.158) is not heroic but boorish, coming in a dialogue with his enemy. In magnanimous triumph (III.4) he remains priggish, and tedious recitative (typical of this opera) serves for him to hand back the kingdom to Porus (p.265). The latter comes briefly to life in III, not in his monologue (III.1) with its long, banal ternary allegro assai in D with trumpets and drums (p.208), but in III.2 where, refusing a chance of peace, he protests with conventional but real energy in c (p.217). This colloquy with Axiane has a semblance of dramatic life. The best part of the extensive battle-scenes comes when Porus first admits defeat (II.2) but it cannot be claimed that the recitative, after the first bars of allegro (Ex.97), is distinguished; the vocal phrases are squeezed between the usual rushing scales, the scoring facilely reduced to two parts. The battle in III is a conventional symphonic war picture, as in Renaud III; the species may derive from the method of the Tauride dénouement. "La fortification s'écroule ...Porus tombe dans les débris", Axiane cries "Barbares, arrêtez", which they forthwith do, and the orchestra with them (p.261).

Pizarre

Among battles and ballets the love interest of Alexandre lights few dramatic flames. Pizarre (Duplessis, 1785) is also a spectacular opera, with a similar plot (the European conqueror renounces his Indian love to her native fiancé⁽¹⁾). This frame is more richly filled in, however, and the drama is complicated by Pizarre, no cardboard hero like Alexandre but repulsive throughout and particularly in his final magnanimity:-

1. As in Les Indes Galantes, L'Afrique, although the setting is that of Les Incas. Pizarre shows a loose relationship to Voltaire's Alzire, ou les Américains (1736). 250

Zamore (à Pizarre):

"Emporte nos trésors, s'ils peuvent te tenter,
Je les méprise trop pour te les disputer.
Mais Alzire est à moi, je l'adore, elle m'aime;
Je la défendrai seul contre tous tes efforts,
Contre toi qui te dis envoyé par Dieu même,
Et qui viens l'annoncer en dévastant nos bords".
(V.4)

To this crushing indictment the colonialist can only reply:-

(Pizarre, avec majesté):

"Jeune et superbe Inca, j'excuse les transports
De ta vertu sauvage.
Sensible aux pleurs de la beauté,
A traiter avec toi j'abaise ma fierté".

In spite of Rousseau the authors do not seem to realize how arrogant and unjustified is Pizarre's assumption of moral and cultural superiority; yet all one can deduce from the facts displayed in the opera is that he upsets a civilized and ordered community in pursuit of a sexual whim, which denied him, he imposes an alien culture and religion. The Peruvians complain "Nos remparts sont détruits, nos temples mis en cendre" but after an abortive revolt they accept Pizarre as a benevolent conqueror and prepare to obey his reforms. Pizarre gains no sympathy from the treachery of Atabalipa (Alzire's father), who acts against him in his country's interests (like Podoald, in Ernelinde, who however never pretends to accept Picimer's victory).

The operas of Candeille (1744-1827) were mostly unperformed, except a pastorale-héroïque, Laure et Pétrarque (1780), Pizarre, revived in a four-act version in 1791,⁽¹⁾ and, in the same year, a version of Castor et Pollux which had 130 performances in eight years.⁽²⁾ Pizarre shows many signs of an intelligent study of Gluck. Only Salieri and Vogel so nearly reproduce Gluck's technique in recitative, by imitating the

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1. The original is discussed here; MS BO A 308a 1-5.
 2. Annals.

Careful handling of the voice and the orchestral restraint. The dignified opening allegro maestoso in d (overture) inevitably recalls Alceste and is eminently suited to a tragic action; but as in Persée the mood is dissipated by the major, an allegro grazioso which reappears, transposed to C and extended, in the divertissement of I; and an insubstantial and repetitive "overture mood" allegro non troppo.

The Dream

That Gluck's chief lesson - control - has been partly learnt, is shown in Candeille's handling of a prognostic dream related by Alzire in I.2. It is her wedding day; I.1 includes a pretty air, "O jour, objet de mes vœux", with an open end, leading into the recitative, "Dieux! quelle horrible nuit précède un si beau jour". Very controlled recitative (I.2) precedes the dream - 17 bars out of 36 in arioso. Flutes and harmonic stillness (Ex. 98A) set a scene of calm, to a purpose, unlike Piccinni's;⁽¹⁾ against this the nightmare makes a forceful contrast. The ff following ppmo (bar 7) is no violent contrast, the instrumentation being unchanged. The first shadow is cast by the flat 6th (Ab in C, bar 8; the idea recurs near the end, Ex. 98B bar 38). In the sostenuto (Ex. 98B) Candeille does not confine the voice to a low register to imitate Gluck's steady ascent;⁽²⁾ his control is orchestral. Horns join the strings, evoking the altar (98B bar 4) and the tonality clouds momentarily (the minor, bars 7-9). An independent string figure (9) mingles with high-pitched bassoons, anticipating the "voix funeste" of bar 28; an idea surely derived from Gluck whose "De noirs pressentiments" (Tauride I.2, p.63)⁽³⁾ exploits high bassoon notes for the same purpose,

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1. Tauride; see Ex. 45C and above, Ch.V p.177.
 2. See above, Ch.V p.176.
 3. Page references to Eulenburg miniature score.

or - since here the bassoons are like an echo of trombones - from Amadis (Exs.36 and 37). (The omission of trombones suggests a more vivid experience - the dream itself - now only remembered). Tremolo is sparked off by "tout à coup" (bar 13; Tauride used tremolo in the 12th bar, p.43). The reversion to F from a allows Candeille his best stroke, the modulation to g via B \flat , strengthened by the preceding static harmony. Wind, with perhaps excessive violence, are used merely for loudness (bar 16), an effect Gluck held back (pp.44-5, strings f but wind p; strings doubled with wind only on pp.47-8). Gluck also formed his dream tonally (but less obviously); Candeille reverts to F again (bar 23, implying the f (1) stated in 28). For the climax he reserves an extension of range to ab" after a period in low tessitura (from 26), approached by leap onto a discord (the bb' of 20 jarring with the b4' of 31).

This simple, literal prognostication, without the mingling of past and future in Iphigénie's dream, suits the "fille de la simple nature" (as Pizarre calls Alzire) as the other suited the complex Greek. F is recovered for a presto air (Ex.98B bar41), not a mature response to the dream like Iphigénie's prayer but an emotional reiteration of its mood, without understanding: "Mais cette image horrible est encore dans mon coeur". The agitation, alternating loud and soft, yields to a pp smorzando as "elle tombe appuyée sur une de ses suivantes". The rest of the act realizes the dream; as Alzire recalls it (I.5-6), the Spanish cannon⁽¹⁾ sound and a tremolo on F with orchestral arpeggiation (like Ex.98B bar 33) bring the narration briefly to mind. Premonition and calamity are separated by the wedding ceremony, a divertissement

1. Written on a single-line staff; possibly a bass drum, like Berlioz's "Coups de canon lointains" (Le Cinq Mai, Breitkopf CE 5 III p.172).

with some exotic colouring (applied as in Alexandre by percussion - "timballes et petits tambours à la mode de ce pays" - rather than musical invention). After a Minuet comes "Entrée des Péruviens" and - rather incongruously - a friendly "Air pour les Espagnols, avec les castagnets".⁽¹⁾ The form of this act is Quinaultian - solo scena, divertissement, peripeteia - but the others are differently designed. After the battle the Spaniards alone occupy II; III and IV include various intrigues and V, after a monologue for Pizarre, the dénouement. There are no more divertissements; II opens with two hundred bars or so of continuous music ("Combat").

Like Grétry (Ex.92), not Gluck, Candeille gives detailed directions to the singers for what he cannot write into the notes. Sometimes the words describe an affect: "Air de fureur" (Zamore, IV.2), andantino déterminé (I.4); sometimes they are directions, as when Pizarre offers to restore Atabalipa his kingdom for the hand of Alzire. The King's agreement is marked "dissimulant", and in a duet with Pizarre "se livrant à l'espérance" he sings "à part, cachant son dépit". The use of musical overlap is again like Grétry rather than Gluck. The end of Atabalipa's furious air coincides with the start of a duet, and its mood continues, pitted against Alzire's pleas for calm (Ex.99).

The two chief roles, Alzire and Pizarre, each include a substantial accompanied recitative. Alzire suffers from Ernelinde's dilemma, a conflict of "Nature" and "Amour"⁽²⁾ (IV.1); and Philidor's example must be behind this passage (Ex.100). The trombone entry at the height of a horn crescendo may derive from Electre and the exploitation of dynamic extremes suggests early Berlioz.⁽³⁾ The descending diminished

1. No part is notated.

2. See above p.239 note 1.

3. For example, Ouverture des Francs-Juges bars 20 and 45-8.

7ths (bars 7-10)⁽¹⁾ are heavily crossed out in the B0 manuscript. The use of two horns in different keys, a procedure developed with four by Méhul and Berlioz, is common in Pizarre; here it is needed for the minor third, otherwise available only with a pair in the rare key of Ab (bar 1). The recitative is generally in the worst Piccinniste manner, the mild vocal writing making no impression amid the trombones' fury.

The authors intended the title-role to work out a conflict like Poland's, between love and duty (or "Gloire"); Pizarre's excuse for renouncing Alzire is the need to concentrate on his métier. Successive airs present "Amour" and "Gloire" (II.4) - not, more subtly, one air of two affects. The short larghetto (Ex.101) with flutes and attractively weaving violin decoration (which Mozart might have enriched by doubling in thirds) is linked to the martial "Pour mettre un comble à ma gloire" in C (headed ariette but not a coloratura movement) with full woodwind except flutes. The scene with Alzire (III.6) misses fire; Pizarre's "air tendre", again with flutes, accords ill with his cruel offer of Zamore's life if she renounces him. The climax of the opera in V is headed "La Nuit", and it is Pizarre's turn - although his main complaint is insomnia - to be afflicted with horn crescendi (Ex.102) representing not a "funeste voix" but "la voix du devoir". The scene is ingeniously constructed, mingling arioso with recitative; a change in mid-sentence (Ex.102B bar 57), as in Andromaque (Ex.92 bar 11), follows a modulation from the same source (Ex.94 bar 9). The introductory motifs, for horn and clarinet ('A') and strings ('B', bar 3, "marqué") are separated and used in new ways:-

1. Compare Ex.88.

Bar 1	Introduction; recitative (Ex.102A)	'A' and 'B' <u>B\flat-g</u> (<u>tremolo</u>)
34	<u>Arioso 1</u> "Alzire, chère Alzire"	'A' at the start <u>B\flat</u> 'B' at the end <u>B\flat</u>
45	<u>Arioso 2</u> (Ex.102B)	"Mesuré" <u>B\flat-F-g</u>
57	Recitative	
61	<u>Arioso 1</u> repeated	<u>B\flat</u>
73	<u>Pecit.-allegro</u> "Pizarre est aux pieds un esclave"	

A fragment of "arioso 2" acts as coda to "arioso 1" (see bars 53-4 and 69), and the wind figure of bar 5 influences later melodic contours (bar 66). "Arioso 2" works up finely to its disintegration into recitative, but the whole ingenious construction is wasted on inadequate material; "arioso 1", the main section of a ternary structure, is melodically flaccid, unable to escape from the tonic which comes on the strong beats of two bars preceding the cadence; voice and horn, 67, voice 68. This weakness is accentuated by the use of the same vocal range as "Alzire, chère Alzire" after the minimal expansion at bar 66. The scene might have turned Pizarre into a profounder character and so gone a long way to saving the opera, which as it is remains an interesting artistic failure.

2. Dezède: Alcindor, "opéra féerie"

Pizarre, however, is psychologically profound beside Péronne Sauvée (de Sauvigny 1783).⁽¹⁾ Nicholas Dezède (c.1740-1792) was successful at opéra-comique and is the only composer considered here who wrote no tragédie-lyrique.⁽²⁾ Péronne failed, after postponement in favour of Renaud.⁽³⁾ Both here and in Alcindor Dezède shows French characteristics which perhaps made him an inappropriate person to finish Floquet's work; the recitative has been mentioned already (Ex.65). Many

1. Unpublished; MS BO A 297 1-4.

2. Except Monsigny, who did not write for the Opéra after 1767.

3. Jullien, La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI pp.36 and 59.

of the airs have the jaunty cut of opéra-comique "couplets". Like Grétry, Dezède never quite adapted himself to the Opéra, whereas Philidor's opéra-comique had an artistic seriousness which made the transition natural.

Dezède learnt little from Gluck, although his overture to Péronne leads into I.1 and bears some affinity to the opening chorus. I consists mostly of a comic love intrigue and divertissement, before the "Arrivée des ennemis". The disconnected mutters and silences here recall Rameau's storms, (1) but the English dispel the sinister atmosphere and make the danger to Péronne seem unreal:-

1er Officier: "Ah, que je hais l'heureux français,
Quoique frivole il a du coeur;
Plein de douceur s'il est vainqueur,
Dans le malheur tout le console.
L'air d'opulence qu'on voit en France,
Le ciel plus doux qu'il n'est pour nous,
Me rend jaloux.
Plaines fertiles, nombreuses villes,
L'ordre et le goût règnent partout".

The very French music belongs firmly to the Théâtre des Italiens. As the English depart, diminuendo, I has an open end, on the dominant of Bb. II begins in c, leaving it unresolved; in any case I is too long for II to follow at once. This feature recalls Piccinni's Tauride (2) and was imitated - also with a battle impending - in Pizarre, but Candelle resolves the dominant half-close onto the d of II.

The best of Péronne is the monologue for St Quentin père (III; recitative/arioso, with solo horns; air in c). The war-music (II and III, a descriptive "symphonie") is squarely phrased and negligible in ideas. The city is set ablaze at the end of III, but relief arrives and IV is devoted to celebration. There could be no better illustration of the

1. See also the opening to Alcindor I.1 (Ex.103).
2. See above, Ch.V p.171.

slight dramatic interest attached to mere events, particularly in opera, a dramatic form whose main agent, music, is better suited to introspection than to a bewildering series of peripeteias without a central character; nor does Péronne have the people as hero, like Boris Godunov, where the Tsar is in any case absolutely central.

For Alcindor, "Opéra Féerie" (1787),⁽¹⁾ Floquet wrote an overture, dances, and an air,⁽²⁾ more original than anything in Hellé; the measure of Dezède's progress since Péronne is in the examples of recitative (Ex.65B). The magician Almovars controls the action for human good while appearing malevolent, like Prospero; another parallel is with Die Zauberflöte. The adventuring hero sees Azélie's likeness in a dream and finds her portrait on awakening (I). They are united, then separated, by the device that Alcindor must choose the perfect wife, not for himself but for Almovars (II).

The overture is in two movements, in d (Ex.103A) and D (allegro), the curtain rising before the full cadence (Ex. 103B; compare Hellé). The jerk from D to Ab (Ex.103B) is given coherence by the recall of the opening (Ex.103A; compare Aulide). The music avoids any settled tonic; Eb is defined by its dominant (bar 16); the eb/gb of bar 5 is not in eb but is part of a 7th chord on the Ab of 2 and 8. This menacing scutter depicts malignant gnomes, dispersed by Alcindor, in a blaze of C (scene, 3). The motif reappears when Alcindor, oppressed by the night, feels himself bewitched (Ex.103C). An orchestral andantino ("le jour") follows and he sleeps. His dream is shown to us, as in Atys, and is organized by repetitions:-

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1. Unpublished; MS BO A 319 1-3.
 2. MGG "Floquet".

<u>Andantino</u>	Bb	- Orchestra; 8-bar phrases separated by recitative (Alcindor)
The same		Chorus: "Dans ces retraites écoute en ce jour Les interprètes dont se sert l'Amour"
Dance 1	F	
Dance 2	C	
Recitative (1 st)	e	Alcindor
<u>Andantino</u>	Bb	"Petite reprise"
<u>Air (1)</u>	G	Alcindor

Alcindor is alarmed, fearing seduction from his pursuit of "Gloire". He recounts his dream but without musical recall - an opportunity missed, Candelle having hinted at some such technique.

Like Lully's divertissement in Armide V, Dezède opens II with a continuity of 284 bars, subdivided:-

Introduction
Dance
Female chorus
Solo (Alcindor)
Dance repeated
Male chorus
Ensemble

After the wooing by proxy, Alcindor and Azélie fall in love and Almovars comes to claim her as his bride. The situation is worked into an ensemble-finale of over two hundred bars, balancing the length of the opening complex, but serious in intention; Almovars dominates it with apparently increasing vindictiveness. His grandiose chromatic line (Ex.104A) has a musical relation to the lovers' smooth chromatic inflexions, but a different mood, and the contrast is enhanced by the instrumentation. The suggestion of pantomime Demon King accords with the tone of most of the opera; after all Almovars is only pretending. Still with an opéra-comique tone, although the structure is beyond that theatre's experience at this date, the lovers' lines separate (Ex.104B) and the music appears to be ending, with harmonic change only every two bars.

1. Employing the same orchestral triplet-figure.

Almovars breaks in with a violent interrupted cadence (bar 13) and the movement takes a new thematic shape with the male choruses (bar 15ff). Dezède uses no recapitulation (as opposed to immediate repetition) of material. The musical shape is dictated by the course of the action and dialogue; for climax, since the material has no potentiality for organic growth, Dezède has recourse, like Rossini, to dynamic means - a crescendo over some forty-five bars.

III begins badly, the composer casually providing the same music for "Jouissez dans ce séjour charmant" (Chorus) and for Azélie: "O pour mon coeur il n'est plus de beaux jours". She cries that all she wants is "Un désert, Alcindor, et l'auteur de ma vie" (her father, Osman); these are granted forthwith in "Nuit à demi", lightning, thunder, and trombones, which in this opera are restored to a supernatural connotation. The first trio, "Ah! quel heureux moment", is repeated to end the opera. Here its open end⁽¹⁾ is a meaningless (Piccinniste) continuity to simple recitative. The second, an oath of loyalty, precedes Ex.65B; the third is a contest in renunciation (Ex.105). Obsessed by the flat 6th (Eb in G), Dezède produces an hypnotic fascination beyond monotony, enhanced by the nervous complexity of the accompaniment; the short-term repetitiveness is relieved by syncopated phrase-lengths, three bars treated as two of 3/2 (bars 7-9).

Alcindor regresses to the decadence of old French opera, when scenic display mattered more than personality and drama. The story is less absurd than some fairy operas - such as Oberon - but lacks the conviction the far more diversified Zauberflöte gains from its Masonic substructure, a live mythology, whereas Alcindor's, like that of Die Frau ohne Schatten, is invented. Like the Metastasian blandness of

1. V in G replacing the tonic, F; Wagner's "continuation chord" of Die Meistersinger.

Alexandre and Thémistocle, like Hellé, Péronne, Pizarre and the comedies of Grétry, it is symptomatic of a tendency among French composers to evade the problems of tragic opera and to attempt, in a diversity of ways characteristic of the heritage of opéra-ballet and pastoral, a reconciliation of the styles developed since the transfusion of Italian music, not by Gluck, but by the Bouffons, Rousseau, and opéra-comique. There is nothing Gluckiste about the short forms and continuities used extensively in Alcindor; the forms hark back beyond Lameau, their content to opéra-comique (but Gluck set a precedent for such compromises at the Opéra; otherwise a more overtly Italianate style - of which Hellé provides glimpses - might well have taken over Paris as all other European capitals).

3. Rosine, "paysannerie larmoyante"

Serious subject-matter in a pastoral setting had been used in opéra-comique in 1768 (Duni, Les Moissonneurs, based on the story of Ruth). Two years after Richard Coeur-de-Lion had joined Italianate aria to the diverse resources of opéra-comique, the interpenetration of genres was carried further at the Opéra by Rosine, "Paysannerie larmoyante" (1786).⁽¹⁾ Hellouin⁽²⁾ justly adjudged this Gossec's best opera, but it is mainly the mere absence of longueurs that makes it so. Aiming less high than Thésée or Sabinus, without portentousness, it succeeds best in the solo scenes and especially the presentation of the heroine in II. That the subject and social milieu demanded different musical treatment from tragédie-lyrique seems only to have been partly realized by the authors; the work is thus uneven in quality and uncertain

1. MS (Autograph) BO Ms. A 312a 1-3.

2. Op. cit. p.133.

in genre. Fine things succeed mediocre; tragic accents sound misplaced in the pastoral setting and situations of pathos. In I.1 Germont's recitative recalls no less august a character than Egée, and the music follows the text in adopting the tone of tragédie-lyrique: "Où suis-je?...quel sort fatal me retient en ces lieux?". After the long-winded overture in A, the scene is in D, suggesting a lowered vitality; three bassoons are used in a larghetto, Germont's drunken sleep. The recitative (Ex.106) uses the language of tragic accompagnato, the combination of tremolo and figuration directly recalling Thésée (bar 14ff; see Ex.74). The air in D is unadventurously diatonic and ineffectual, especially at "Tout m'accable et me désespère", a failing noted in Sabinus.⁽¹⁾

Posine contains resourceful ensemble-writing in an extended gambling scene, the hearty chorus contrasted to the woeful Germont (parted from his wife, pressed into the army, impoverished by gaming; all by the machinations of a servant whose lord has designs on Posine). The three-act structure follows old French models. The substantial divertissement of I has little to do with the action, and is followed absurdly soon by another, opening II presumably because the situation later is too gloomy. III ends with a militaristic ballet, like Thésée I, though the army is a force hostile to Germont's happiness. After "harmonie militaire", "Marche, évolution, exercice, et simulacre du combat militaire", the pastoral fête of I resumes, symbolising the desirable life resumed by Germont and Posine and parodying the other in a "Combat" of St. George and the Dragon and dances which, to their own disadvantage, recall Pameau, Flamande, Gavotte, Gigue, Gavotte, "Cotillon pour le Dragon", Rigaudon.

1. See above, Ch.I p.36.

In II Germont creeps home to be forgiven and in III is nearly dragged away. The sound of a cannon interrupts a complex ensemble, "Rosine tombe expirante, couchée d'une manière pittoresque sur le théâtre", and the Seigneur, penitent and touched by her distress, outbids the friendly villagers to buy Germont out. Rosine's heroic scena (II.4) is entirely consistent with her splendid rejection of the Seigneur in II and her extreme distress in III. The prelude in d to II.4 was heard in part in II.3⁽¹⁾ and is extended to accompany her first words, set in effect as "Récit. chanté" (Ex.107A): "Je n'ai pu le trouver...j'ai tout perdu" - recitative formale in tempo; "O tourment, ô douleur" - cries modelled on those of Electre, in arioso.⁽²⁾ The scene is built of short sections, moving towards flat keys:-

'A'	<u>d</u> agitato	recitative	The child calls "maman"	(Ex.107A)
'B'	<u>F</u>	air becoming recitative	thinking of the child	(Ex.107B)
'C'	<u>c</u> prayer	air		(Ex.107C)
'D'	<u>C</u>	air		
'E'	<u>E♭</u>	entitled "Romance"		

'B' is interrupted by a change of mood - in her agitated state the mood of tenderness cannot endure (Ex.107B). 'C' is impassioned, even indignant; this accusation of heaven might be an Iphigénie, an Electre, in the best Piccinniste tragic vein (Ex.107C), a full ternary movement which gives the scene its centre; yet it might have suited the character better to write something in the pathetic vein of Les Moissonneurs. 'D', in 6/8,⁽³⁾ is trivial, and C interrupts the key progression.

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1. Compare in Amadis, Ex.34; see above, Ch.IV p.127.
 2. See Ex.110A. In Ex.107A the pauses are non-autograph, in the conductor's hand.
 3. Non-autograph tempo; andante grazioso.

The "Romance" is preceded by a few words from the child⁽¹⁾ and is a lullaby, in la capo form,⁽²⁾ satisfactorily ending the scene by the implied stability (but it is musically the least interesting part). Taken as a whole, II.4 is among Gossec's better achievements and dwarfs the rest of the opera, for which it seems rather too serious - as Sophie's scena with accompagnato in Tom Jones (III) makes the rest of that work trivial by approaching the grand manner of Ernelinde.

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1. Crossed out in the score but restored by the word "bon".
 2. This direction is used although uncommon at the time in France.

Chapter VII

A. The decadence to Gluck

After Gluck, "decadence" was inevitable. This term accommodates various phenomena, and the artistic movement represented in opera by Berg (to whom the term "decadent" may be applied without slight to his artistic integrity) must be distinguished from the decadence which follows any supreme artistic achievement, and which presents itself either by thinning it out or exaggerating it. The latter is probably less common but more apparent because more sensational; hence Strauss, exaggerating Wagner, is remembered while more cautious Wagnerians (Reyer, Humperdinck) are largely forgotten. The decadence to Monteverdi, including the substantial artistic achievements of Cavalli and Lully, consists in a thinner spreading of his technique; hence Lully's recitative is a restrained, relatively unimpassioned idiom. Rameau may have been thought decadent, exaggerating Lully, but the true decadence of baroque French opera followed Rameau, diluting his technique in the "transitional" operas discussed above. ⁽¹⁾

The decadence to Gluck takes both forms, most obviously in exaggeration, the cult of the bizarre. Orchestral devices to articulate psychological disturbance - Philidor's horn crescendo and Gluck's oboe "cri" - were readily exaggerated, and composers became intoxicated with the sheer power of trombones. Gluck's restraint and use of their tone-quality in piano (Alceste, the oracle) and in part-writing (Tauride II.4, "Vengeons et la nature") were forgotten, and they were used for harmonic reinforcement in crude block chords in open

1. Ch.I Bl.

position⁽¹⁾ or close - the latter brilliant in Berlioz but generally coarse in the smaller 18th-century ensemble.⁽²⁾

Electre (Guillard 1782) by J-B. Lemoyne (1751-96) is charged with the grossest of this kind of decadence; the official decadence - official because Salieri (1750-1825) came from Vienna as Gluck's disciple - began with Les Danaïdes (Tschudy and Du Roulet 1784) which combines a measure of exaggeration (in scoring, vocal tessitura in aria, and accumulating tension towards a climax with ninety-nine deaths) and thinning-out (in recitative which errs on the side of restraint as much as that of Electre exaggerates, and in concentration of line). Electre outraged contemporary sensibilities, and La Harpe found the Danaïdes music "monstrueuse".⁽³⁾

There is a parallel between these composers' Paris careers. Lemoyne pretended to the Gluckiste succession:-

"L'homme de génie [Gluck] que le goût éclairé de Votre Majesté et sa protection auguste ont attiré parmi nous, m'a encouragé. J'ai osé marcher dans la même carrière, quoi qu'avec des forces inégales, et embrasser un genre que son génie avait créé".⁽⁴⁾

He was understandably repudiated.⁽⁵⁾ The year 1786, besides

1. See Ex.12.

2. See Exs. 100 and 108. Compare Berlioz, Le Roi Lear, Kullenberg score p.81ff.

3. Correspondance Littéraire V p.97. On Electre one of the milder judgments is that of Métra: "On est fatigué de ces contrastes continuels...", Correspondance Secrète 24th July 1782, cited Jullien, L'Opéra secret à la fin du XVIII^e siècle p.127.

4. Lemoyne, dedication to the Queen in the printed score of Electre.

5. "...Gluck refuse aujourd'hui de reconnaître [Lemoyne] pour son élève..." Grimm CL 3 I p.501.

Thémistocle, saw another homage to Gluck which was better received by the dedicatee⁽¹⁾ than the public: La Toison d'Or (Desriaux) by J-C. Vogel (1756-88), whose posthumous Démophon (1789) was to overshadow Cherubini's (1788).⁽²⁾

The same year saw more restrained works by both Lemoyne and Salieri, the successful Phèdre (Hoffmann) and the superior but unsuccessful Les Horaces (Guillard) - "...un fort bel ouvrage, mais un peu sévère pour Paris".⁽³⁾ Lemoyne's Nadir (1787) and Salieri's Chimène et Rodrigue (1788) were not performed, but each composer succeeded in a work with an oriental setting, Nephté (Hoffmann 1789) and Tarare (Beaumarchais 1787).

1. Electre

Electre seizes upon superficial aspects of Gluck for exaggeration, neglecting his essential control in details and total design. The recitative in I is an apotheosis of 18th-century expressionism and the thematic integration is more prophetic of Wagnerian procedures than any other musical repetition of the period (such as Aulide⁽⁴⁾ and Amadis⁽⁵⁾). Ignoring the massive repetitions of Alceste, from which Wagner's full-scale recapitulations perhaps derive, Lemoyne uses his overture, like the Meistersinger prelude, as a quarry from which motifs are extracted and fitted to new contexts.

Introducing the prevailing mood of the drama, the

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1. Gluck, letter to Vogel, 3rd August 1787, Correspondence p.208.
 2. See below, Ch.VIII B.
 3. Beaumarchais, dedication to Salieri of the Tarare libretto, Paris 1787.
 4. See above, Ch.II p.66.
 5. See above, Ch.IV p.142.

overture adheres to Gluck's principles; its link to I.1 recalls Aulide. With unusually varied material, it stands up as a form but the main structural pillar, a tutti with close-position trombones, relies on sheer volume and beside the equivalent place in Aulide is coarse, not powerful.⁽¹⁾ The opening string unison (Ex.108A, 'X') emphasises the rising minor third and this interval comes vertically at the on-stage wind entry (bar 6) whose Gb contradicts the apparent tonality, c. Such separation of wind and string material is a feature of I. A sequence⁽²⁾ with modified intervals ('Y') leads to f (Ex.108A); a third motif, a rising tritone ('Z') (Ex.108B) alternates with the tutti (bar 22) which establishes the main tonic, Eb. Lemoyne rings the changes on these and other ideas until bar 125 when the tutti comes for the third time (Ex.108D), the scoring modified to accommodate the voice; the movement ends with a double bar after 137 bars (p.13). The first reappearance of 'X' comes ten bars later (Ex.109).

With open-ended, incomplete and interrupted (rather than short and self-contained) forms, merging recitative and air, Lemoyne is so far from the baroque divisions visible in Gluck⁽³⁾ as to operate within an apparent convention of continuity, like late Wagner. In the 18th-century idiom, the occasional ritornello seems less surprising than the 4-bar introduction to "Wehvolles Erbe",⁽⁴⁾ but the closed forms are exceptional and Electre has need of its compelling dramatic substance and the leading motifs to save it from continual

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1. Ex.108D; compare Aulide, overture bars 20, 50 and so on.
 2. Rising and falling phrases, tonal ambiguity, and sequence, are precisely the material of the opening of Tristan.
 3. See above, Ch.I p.11.
 4. Parsifal I, Eulenburg score p.249; compare Electre p.78, a 4-bar prelude to a 52-bar air.

musical non sequitur.

The motifs are not labels for persons or ideas, and do not in this respect anticipate Weber or Wagner. Motif 'X', like Strauss's "Agamemnon" motif,⁽¹⁾ is associated with impending vengeance; 'Y' with Electre's lamentations. The words clarify these meanings in her scene with the future victim, Clytemnestre (I.6), although 'X' is altered, lacking the rising 3rd (Ex.112B bar 8; it came literally earlier in the scene, p.72), and 'Y' is softened into string harmony. In the first recitative (Ex.109) 'X' is literal (bar 10), 'Y' is chromatically harmonised. 'Y' preserves its identity whether the descent is of three notes (overture; Ex.108A bar 6 and the subsequent bridge passage, Ex.108C), four (Ex.110B bar 23) or five (Ex.108A bar 13ff; Ex.110A). In I.2 the off-stage wind which introduced 'Y' (Ex.108A) accompany Electre (Ex.110A, with 'Y' and '4'); when she comes onto the stage 'Y' is transferred to the orchestra (Ex.110B) and the strings' rising phrase corresponds to 'X' (bar 4). A figure suggestive of wailing, an amalgam of two ideas in Alceste,⁽²⁾ exploits the tonal contrast of reed instruments and flutes (Ex.110B bars 17-20).

The motifs recur through I with decreasing frequency, and are neglected in II and III. As in Wagner, other short-term repetitions are used. In Electre's invocation to the Eumenides (I.3) 'X' is highlighted as a central lento (Ex. 111B); the introduction (Ex.IIIA bar 19) recurs (p.51), with 'X' and 'Y' (p.50) and the "wailing" figure (p.53), in an accompanied recitative too vast for quotation (I.5). An orchestral presto, itself conventional but suggestive of

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1. Elektra, the opening motif.
 2. Alceste, overture bars 3 and 26-7.

Electre's anger, welds I.6 together. At the start (Ex.112A) it interrupts the procession to the temple; it comes in Electre's denunciation (p.72, with 'X', and Ex.112B) and interrupts Clytemnestre's air at the name "Egiste" (Ex.112C).

Repetition of motifs is an effective device if supported by good musical invention elsewhere; but where he could not redeploy his overture material Lemoyne mostly delivered himself of platitudes. In I.1, after some adequate recitative (Ex.109) the trio (bar 17) moves stiffly without Gluck's compensating vigour; ⁽¹⁾ the melody and orchestral punctuation - forte every four bars - are trite. If the contrasted dynamics derive from Gluck, the application is Piccinnesque ⁽²⁾ and Chrisothémis' air (II.5) carries it to the point of parody (Ex.113). The attempt at forward movement is balked by continual chopping up of the insipid melody (wind and bass, ff dim.); the intention, to depict suffering, appears on the surface, not in the musical substance (compare, in Floquet, Ex.59B).

This clumsy air is representative since almost the entire interest of Electre resides in the presentation of the heroine in I before anything occurs to modify her obsession. The overture is quarried to best effect for her off-stage cries (I.2, Ex.110A) and recitatives (I.3 and I.5), consistently of a higher standard than the airs. The music imitates Gluck less than it anticipates Berlioz's Cassandre (Les Troyens I nos. 2-3; see Ex.110C), suggesting feelings too deep for coherent utterance. The vocal line has its own melodic logic, independent of formulae (Ex.110B; the corresponding but varied falling phrases, bars 20-21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 31). The airs are short and free in form - anything as

1. Aulide II.4, the trio (p.152:108).
2. See Ex.24.

secure as Iphigénie's prayers⁽¹⁾ was impossible to her sister. The first, "Dieux des infortunés, soyez seuls mon recours" (p.28) goes from a bold c to a broken sob in E_b (p.30). In recitative she forbids herself the escape of suicide (Ex.111A) and her progress to vengefulness from lamentation is intensified, with a Gluck-like control, by accompagnato yielding to tremolo, crescendo to a wind entry (bar 5). The voice is generally accompanied and its sudden loneliness (bar 11) is very effective. The harmony is also strong (bars 8-9, 15) and the imperfect cadences (bars 15-16, 17-18) are only resolved at the vocal entry in the air (bar 22) (this ends fully cadenced before I.4).

The chorus (p.39) has music similar to the priestesses' in Piccinni's Tauride⁽²⁾ but less charming; Lemoyne capitalizes on his weak invention by interrupting potentially extended movements with Electre's increasingly exacerbated recitative (pp.41-2, 45). An ensemble in I.5 is only the second substantial and closed form since the overture (adagio, 36 bars, p.47), a point of repose from which the longest and most strenuous recitative follows as Electre relives Agamemnon's death (pp.50-56). Like a neurotic sister to Alceste, and inviting the invective poured on Gluck's Armide by La Harpe - "criaillerie monotone et fatigante"⁽³⁾ - this single-minded portrait of Electre is a considerable if limited achievement. If the orchestra is excessively vehement the consistent melodic control in the voice preserves a balance of interest with it. The scene ends with a welcome tonal stability, the aria in E_b, "Votre justice enfin se fait connaître" (p.60). Electre has induced confidence in herself

1. Tauride (Gluck) I.1 and IV.1.

2. See above, Ch.V p.172.

3. Annonce d'Armide, loc. cit.; MPS p.261. See also Correspondance Littéraire II p.169.

and the chorus, who join in the recapitulation (but disperse (p.68) as Clytemnestre approaches).

Musically this is thoroughly undistinguished; so is the substantial musical structure ending the act, a scene of theatrical, not musical, impact, in which Clytemnestre is driven from the temple by an unfavourable oracle while Electre rejoices at her discomfiture. The action is enclosed within a ternary aria, "Grands Dieux, ne souffrez pas que sa voix vous implore" (p.90), a little reminiscent of the weakest, 6/8, passage of "Divinités du Styx", which also ends I (Alceste (P)). The appropriate placing of the large form and the tonal link with the overture cannot - although the staging might - obscure the musical vacuity.

Lemoyné's anonymity as a composer is conclusively shown by the conventionality of his large forms; thus Nephté, using them more extensively than his other operas, is his dullest (except the still more impersonal Les Prétendus, which almost any composer of opéra-comique might have penned). The short movements are more successful although their musical content still suggests Piccinni⁽¹⁾ rather than Gluck. Lemoyné's originality consists in manipulating them; he is especially successful in I.6 where Clytemnestre's "Electre, votre voix pénètre dans mon coeur" (p.81), following an air of Electre without a break, is an incomplete, not intrinsically short form (18 bars), interrupted (ex.112C); the cry "Egiste" changes her mood and after more recitative comes "Fuis, esclave téméraire" (p.86), a real short form (38 bars, presto) to end the scene.

Guillard used too much of Sophocles in I and had to pad out the later details; but the decline in musical interest makes the libretto's weakness irrelevant. When Clytemnestre

1. See Exs. 111A, 112C and 125 and Ex. 54.

tells her dream to Egiste (II.1, p.101), Lemoyne adopts Piccinni's narrative methods:⁽¹⁾ dull harmony, poor vocal writing, monotonous rhythm, and orchestration overloaded with trombones. The crescendo is now on the full wind (Ex. 114A), a Wozzeck-like effect adopted by Galieri as the signal for murder in Les Danaïdes, with string tremolo added (Ex. 114B). The irrelevant ballet (II. 2-3) does not even act as foil to the announcement of Oreste's death (II.4) since Clytemnestre's mixed feelings - "Dieux qui me l'enlevez, est-ce faveur ou haine?" (p.149) - are left undeveloped and the stage is cleared for Chrisothémis' platitudes (Ex. 113). Electre's arias (p.156 and p.163) are as atrociously scored as her sister's; with the leading themes, and the abandonment of recitative for Electre's main utterances, has gone all originality, all reason to take Lemoyne seriously as a composer. II.7 complements the end of Guillard's Tauride II (funeral rites for Oreste). Two varied statements (Chorus) of "O mort, nous implorons tes coups" (pp.167, 173) surround recitative with the Piccinnian excesses of the preceding arias, relying upon monotonously repeated quavers (p.170), fpp on each group of four, without harmonic interest. III is better, returning to the methods of I, continuity by small forms and ariosi. ('Y' appears, pp.192-3; otherwise the leading-themes are missing). The recognition-scene is well enough handled (III.2), using tonality effectively; an ensemble in f# led by Electre, "Restes inanimées...chère et fatale cendre" (p.197), turns where a recapitulation is expected (V in f#, p.204) to D for the recognition (p.205). The chorus, "Jour de triomphe, jour d'allégresse" (p.207), is energetically banal and although so many musical forms have

1. See above, Ch.V p.177.

been interrupted (in III.1 there were two choral false starts) for no particular reason, this premature rejoicing runs its course to a full close (p.215) just where interruption would be dramatically potent. Oreste enters his father's tomb and emerges (p.244) like a ghost to kill Egiste - and Clytemnestre by accident. With a procession and the melodramatic climax (but not the choral expression of horror, p.249), and in the purely theatrical ending Lemoyne is adequate. The Eumenides mime to an orchestral uproar which goes from c to the original tonic, E \flat (p.266ff), in complete harmonic vacuity; it subsides from ff to mezo (sic) and piano, still on the full orchestra.

2. Les Danaïdes

The chicanery preceding the most successful horror opera was as extensive as that surrounding the Taurides. Tschudy and Du Roullet stole Les Danaïdes from Calzabigi's Ipermnestra,⁽¹⁾ intended for Gluck; Salieri's opera was advertized as partly by Gluck.⁽²⁾ Salieri's music is not pure imitation, although it sounds far more like Gluck than Electre or La Toison d'Or; people were taken in:-

"It may well have been overlooked that all this was more richly and at the same time more conventionally orchestrated than a 'real Gluck', and had a thicker coating of theatricality..."⁽³⁾

1. See Calzabigi, letter to Mercure de France, August 1784, cited Desnoiresterres p.351ff.

2. See Gluck to Du Roullet, 26th April 1784, printed Journal de Paris (see Correspondence p.203); Salieri, ibid. 18th May (cited Desnoiresterres p.347).

3. Einstein p.180.

Salieri's recitative is particularly close to Gluck; his formal music and orchestration sometimes remember Piccini, while his nationality and generation - that of Mozart, not Sacchini - inevitably affect the style. One cannot quite reapply Fétis' comment on Lemoyne, that he "manquait de génie et ne pouvait être qu'imitateur".⁽¹⁾ Les Danaïdes resembles another Greek horror opera, Elektra, in its technical brilliance and emotional frigidity; Salieri avoids Strauss's crasser banalities and Lemoyne's unequal invention - he exhibits the greatest variety of skills in any opera in Paris after Gluck - but lacks real individuality of style.

The overture shares with Electre a multiplicity of ideas and tragic mood, with a measure of festivity inserted as background. But it is disconnected from the mainly festive I by mood and key, and its link with II is a matter of vague affinities, not related themes. There (the temple of Nemesis) the trombone-laden orchestra and roving harmony (d, dominants of G, C, F, back to d, in ten bars before the voices enter, p.66:79⁽²⁾) have point; but the intentions of the overture are not realized because it fails to stand up as a musical form. Salieri over-reached himself; he produced a series of unrelated ideas, formless and therefore void. The binary allegro, with a contrasted middle section, is insubstantial, "overture mood", and cannot support the rest:-

<u>Andante maestoso</u>	11 bars	<u>d</u>	p. 1:1
<u>Allegro</u> : A "overture mood"	41	<u>D-A</u>	1:1
B middle section	25	<u>F-d-a</u>	4:6
A	32	<u>A-D</u>	5:8
Coda (new melody)	26	<u>D</u>	7:11
Bridge (dim. 7ths)	6		8:12
<u>Presto</u>	46	<u>g-c-d</u>	9:12
<u>I.1</u>		<u>Bb</u>	12:16

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1. Fétis, Biographie Universelle ("Lemoyne").
 2. II.1; page references to full score (1784) and CDF.

The sections are unrelated; the presto non sequitur has an unformulated relation to the Hades tableau (V). The three-mood allegro would stand better alone, controlling as it does, like Gluck in Aulide, varied moods into one tempo. The overture to Les Horaces has internal cohesion but little dramatic relevance, cadencing in D before I.1 opens in Eb. It could be called a Piccinniste overture, whereas Phèdre adopts Piccinni's customary flute solo but is linked with I (see Ex.121).

Framed by scenes of horror, Les Danaïdes naturally gave rise to musical sensationalism: the crescendo at "on entend le signal" (Ex.114B); Hypermnestre's sudden joy, expressed not lyrically but by a top bb" exploding forth from simple recitative (Ex.114C); the husbands' deaths (Ex. 114D) where a dissonant eb, unusually placed in the bass (bar 4), pulls d to g, and the ff "Ah!" is echoed on a diminished 7th before the grisly remnants of a cadence;⁽¹⁾ the blaring trombones and deliberate banalities of the demented Danaïdes (p.225+226) (compare Gluck's Greek army, Aulide III). After Danaus' death:-

"Le théâtre s'obscurcit, la terre tremble, on entend le tonnerre..." (p.257:253);

"le palais...s'abîme et disparaît. La décoration change et représente les enfers..." (p.261:256).

Salieri ends with an allegro of 132 bars, with choruses of Danaïdes and demons and the fullest available scoring. The trombone syncopations anticipate Berlioz, who knew the work,^(r) but the obvious parallel is with the end of Don Giovanni. Salieri has plenty of theatrical élan but, although subtle beside the end of Electre, he has none of Mozart's harmonic

1. Compare Ex.32C, from Roland.

2. See Les Soirées de l'Orchestre (1854) p.180; 2nd Edn.(1871) p.184.

richness and strength, and is altogether more gross.

Almost actionless, decorating a single idea (the oath reconciling Danaus and Egyptus), I is a typical Calzabigian organization:-

Overture	(not linked to scene 1)	d	
Scene 1	Complex of recit. and chorus	<u>B</u> b-g	p.16:12
	Chorus (97 bars)	C	26:22
	Dance	F	38:33
	Air & Chorus (<u>divertissement</u>)	<u>B</u> b	40:35
	Dance	<u>D</u> -g-D	46:40
	Recit. and air (Danaus)	C	48:42
Scene 2	Recit. and duet (the lovers)	A	55:49
	Chorus repeated	C	65:60

Here Danaus (and Hypermnestre in III), among the celebration but at odds with it and masking his feelings, recalls the divertissement of Alceste (P) (not Calzabigi's idea, but Rousseau's).⁽¹⁾ The opening, an inextricable complex of recitative in tempo and choral arioso rather than a musically formed mass, resembling Paride rather than Calzabigi's other operas that Gluck had adapted for Paris, emphasises the awfulness of the oath and prepares for the sacrilegious oath of II, presented with similar techniques. The recitative is mostly sostenuto with occasional orchestral gestures and vigorous accompaniment to the choruses. The chorus in C, like "Que d'attraits",⁽²⁾ establishes musical formality for the first time; it forms the act by its repetition. III also consists mostly of divertissement, with the human drama casting shadows; it too is formed by a large, repeated, chorus: "L'Amour sourit au doux vainqueur du Gange" (pp.137 and 168: 131 and 160). It ends with a "Pantomime":-

"Des hymens avec des flambeaux précèdent chaque couple...et paraissent les conduire dans la chambre nuptiale".

-
1. See above, Ch.III p.90.
 2. Luide I; see above, Ch.II p.67.

Salieri does not omit a reminder of the grisly sequel, by eccentric - in the context - uses of the subdominant minor (p.170:171 and p.172:172). There is no break between IV and V, but no direct link; the latter's E_b follows smoothly on the previous g (Ex.114D).

The substance of II to V is the conflict of Hypermnestre, refusing to kill her husband, and Danaus; Lyncée is relatively unimportant. Danaus is presented in arioso and recitative, a shadowy, sinister presence; Hypermnestre is drawn more fully in aria (but is still two-dimensional). The recitative is efficient⁽¹⁾ and suggestive, and avoids Lemoigne's over-emphasis. In I and III Danaus, overtly benevolent, briefly shows the audience his murderous intentions; the temptation to exaggerate, and so over-prepare the subsequent action, is resisted. His speech closing I.1 is introduced by a purposeful figure modulating from D to E_b (Ex.115) and the sostenuto is disturbed by a simple but arresting figure (bars 12-13 and eight bars later), casting a shadow without disturbing the temperate declamation. His aria almost reveals his thoughts:-

"Jouissez du destin propice
Dont l'Amour flatte vos désirs.
Sans bruit souvent la Mort se glisse
Et vous frappe au sein des plaisirs" (p.50:44).

A straightforward melody with a small range (mostly g-d', occasionally c-e') suggests his genial manner; modulations (G to b, E_b, c) insinuate that the second part of the quatrain (and the succeeding lines) is not mere banter. When he leaves, the atmosphere lightens and the lovers can express themselves freely (I.2).

In I and part of II Danaus is dominant, but Hypermnestre supersedes him and fills the rest as the title-role fills Alceste. Salieri is less successful in presenting malevolence

1. Pace Grimm; see above, Ch.IV p.123.

in aria and damages Danaus' shadowy recitative image in "Je vous vois frémir de colère" (II.1, p.77:84). The string figure is well developed (and continues when the chorus enters to complete the structure in the major, p.81:87), but the voice part is conventional declamatory "aboyement" - a possible source is "Dieux qui me poursuivez" (Gluck, Tauride II.1). His admonishment of Hypermnestre is more in character, a short and telling arioso arising from recitative; the wide intervals (not the style) recall 'chant français' (p.97:100; 7th, 8ve, 9th). But in III his mask slips for a moment of self-parody:-

"Allez, après ces jeux goûter un si beau sort
 Dans les bras de l'hymen (à part) vous irez à la mort".
 (p.162:154)

In the last two acts, apart from a brief soliloquy (V.6, the aria too conventionally vigorous again), he participates in scenes which Hypermnestre dominates; he is a dehumanized monster whose fate is of little interest.

Hypermnestre

The lovers' first scene (I.2) is uninteresting in itself but, like the rather similar love music of Quide I and Armide V, it establishes the relationship subsequently to be threatened. The duet is unusually constructed as a single allegretto (not dialogue) with coda un poco lento (p.63:58).

In refusing the oath to kill her husband Hypermnestre is strongly conscious of her duty to her monstrous father as well as to Lyncée, and ashamed to denounce the former:-

Hypermnestre: "Vous osez l'ordonner, ah! cruel, ah! barbare!"
 Danaus : "Perfide!"
 Hypermnestre: "Pardonnez au trouble qui m'égare".

The recitative in this scene (II.2) follows Gluck's principles, "building towards" her aria (which follows the above exchange):-

"Par des larmes dont votre fille
 Arrose en tremblant votre sein".

At first Salieri simply sets the text, as sostenuto with occasional fp (p.87:91), and intensifies by turning to minor at (Danaus) "C'est à toi de me venger" (p.89:92) Hypermnestre dares to interrupt, in tempo for one bar (93); the declamation, hitherto entirely functional, now becomes articulative (as in the expressive rising minor own at "Plutôt mourir sur l'heure" (p.90:94)). Danaus grows urgent (forte chords, sharpening modulation, p.91:94). Before the exchange first quoted, dotted figures lead to a 5-bar tremolo mainly in a; an andante (p.92:96) introduces the aria, which begins without preamble. The middle section to this provides a vigorous contrast, recalling Iphigénie's "Hélas, mon coeur sensible et tendre"⁽¹⁾ but with no change of tempo; and the recapitulation produces no comparable emotional enrichment, a measure of the difference between Gluck and Salieri.

Hypermnestre has scenas in II, IV, and V, and a big aria in III. Her second aria (II.3) begins with a superficial vehemence more like Piccinni than Gluck (Ex.116A); the contrasting larghetto middle section reverts to Gluck's manner of unfolding a melody, the line modelled on the text, the modulation intensifying from F to g and d (Ex.116B). The recapitulation is abbreviated, and made "sensational" (not profound) by the sudden chord of Ab after C (p.109:108); the voice subsequently rises to a" but this note was used as early as the second bar. This is an effective curtain, but the mood and form of the aria are almost reduplicated in III, "O cher époux! père barbare!" (II.3) being followed here by "Mon père...mon époux...Dieux! quel affreux martyre" (Ex.116C), also persistently high pitched but reserving bb" for the end. The middle section is more expressive, unhurried according to

1. Aulide I.8; see above, Cn.II p.46.

Gluck's precept.⁽¹⁾ Although the recapitulation is abbreviated, with an open end (Ex.116D) recalling one in Alceste (P)⁽²⁾ rather than the non-functional ones of Sacchini, the aria is too strong for Danaus' recitative to persuade Lyncée that nothing is amiss. The musical spirit is nearer Philidor than Gluck, a relatively short form with central modulations;⁽³⁾ without Gluck's incisiveness, it gives the impression of a longer form stunted.

IV.1 contains a fine dialogue in tempo (p.176:176 and p. 178:178) and IV.2 a richly invented accompagnato (p.180;181) in the Italian convention, the voice accompanied by sostenuto (but the orchestral interventions are more expressive). The aria (p.183:184) confirms the affinity to Piccinni; a ternary form in which the expected recapitulation is entirely omitted, making it binary (compound). The larghetto in g breaks off on a dominant as Lyncée appears (p.187:187). IV.3 is full of conventionalities, a flaw in the opera's purposefulness - his unjust suspicions, her threat of suicide, their long two-movement duet (the delay is nearly fatal). After the murders Hypermnestre rouses herself with more accompagnato (V.1) and an aria, again in g, again "Père barbare" (as much her regular cri de coeur as Electre's "Grands Dieux").

None of these scenas fails; but some must be expendable. The music is content to match the verbal reduplications and there is no growth of personality as the action develops. V.1 introduces a new feeling, her desire for death, but the music (Ex.116E) departs further still from Gluck towards Piccinnesque bluster. Hypermnestre is an aria role with nothing to match

1. See above, Ch.V p.195.

2. II.3, before Admète leaves. The mood of Lyncée's "Rends-moi ton coeur" (p.152:144) recalls Admète's "Bannis la crainte" (ibid).

3. Ernelinde, "Oui je cède au coup...", above, Ch.II p.44.

the development in Alceste's arias from "Non, ce n'est point un sacrifice" through "Divinités du Styx" to "Ah! malgré moi", nor the variety of Iphigénie's (Tauride). The last aria especially suggest that Salieri, emerging from Gluck's shadow, veered towards Piccinnisme, and that his Gluckisme was hardly less superficial than Lemoyne's, merely more skilful - a verdict his later operas tend to confirm. The subject-matter of Les Danaïdes is not tragic; like Electre it is more a drama of fate, not personality, and a crude melodrama at worst. Calzabigi is responsible for its structure and dramatic limitations; Salieri, best where skill is almost enough (the theatrical coups; the efficient recitative) filled out the former but failed to redeem the latter. Where the burden falls upon music he fails and the immense aria-role, presenting a supreme opportunity to the singing actress, is cold at heart.

3. La Toison d'Or

Les Danaïdes was originally Ipermnestre; La Toison d'Or, having no less dominant a female role, could well be Médée but that Corneille, following Euripides, had used that title for another episode of her career (Médée, 1635). Desriault took little more than the title from Corneille's La Toison d'Or (1660), a fantastical work like Andromède with large cast, prologue, and machines. Hisiphile, Jason's wife, is killed by Médée (II.4); in Corneille she was his fiancée and married someone else. Desriault uses the material for a tragedy, eschewing ballets (there is one Gavotte (I.2) and divertissement mood in III.1). However he tempered this Gluckiste austerity with a quantity of old-fashioned 'merveilleux', recalling Hellé. Vogel's music is skilful rather than individual. His arias tend to be uncontrolled in length and

content and like Lemoyne (but without his eccentricity) he is best in short, free forms. The comparatively restrained recitative and orchestration (generally wind doubled with strings) are less like Gluck's than are Salieri's, but actual echoes of Gluck are more frequent than anywhere else.⁽¹⁾

After an overture recalling Aulide (largo in c without key signature, as in Aulide; allegro maestoso in C with a unison opening (p.3)) the first aria, (Hisiphile) "Hélas! à peine un rayon d'espérance" (p.37) vainly invokes "O malheureuse Iphigénie" by its structural dependence on oboe and vocal lines, here inadequate to the purpose. The "tempête" (II.3) is heavily indebted to the opening of Tauride. It rises from d' to d" over a drumroll (on the pattern of Ex.117A; compare Tauride p.3⁽²⁾) and breaks into a scale figure (Ex. 117B) and an arpeggio (Ex.117C) recalling Pameau, or Philidor's storm in barsée (Ex.117E), which is more obviously derived from Pameau. Tauride is almost quoted (Ex.117D, Tauride p.11) but Vogel's swaying figure, instead of developing itself, moves on to a tutti which recalls not so much Gluck's storm as the aria "Je t'implore et je tremble" (Tauride IV.1, p.233).

The action is filled out by effects whose justification is that they form the best parts of the role of Médée. Hisiphile is weak, Jason despicable and characterized by unctuous sentimentality (I.4) and full-blooded banality (I.5 and II.4, the aria with trumpets "Je suis venu chercher les palmes de la gloire", p.257). Having left Hisiphile he overtly plans to desert Médée when he has the fleece; his behaviour lacks even his amusing evasiveness in Corneille V.3:-

1. As was remarked at the time; see Grimm CL 3 IV p.65.
2. Page references to Eulenburg score.

Hysiphile: "Est-ce pour elle, ou moi, que votre coeur soupire?"
Jason : "La demande est, madame, un peu hors de saison;
Je vous y répondrai quand j'aurai la toison".

His denunciation of Médée for killing Hysiphile, however, provides a splendid dramatic climax; it is almost 19th-century in technique, a dialogue with chorus in continuous music (pp.427-448) from which Ex.118 is an extract. Médée's music recalls Gossec (Ex.78C) but Jason's indignation is like Achille's (Aulide I.8, "de cette perfide", p.79:60), and the modulation (bar 8) comes from Armide (V.5, "L'espoir de la vengeance", p.275:191).

Médée raising the storm to frighten the Argonauts (II.3), and her prophetic visit to the Sybil (III.3), are decorative rather than dramatic scenes, relics of the 'merveilleux'. The conjuration (II.2) is completely unlike Gluck (Ex.119), its mood recalling rather Amadis⁽¹⁾ by detaching the wind from the strings and using trombones as discreet reinforcement, *f* to the others' *ff* (but liable to cover the low-pitched voice part, bars 9 and 17). These trombones are supernatural, a conservative use that Vogel abandoned in Démophon in favour of more blatant, Piccinniste, use; their association with Médée began in I.4 (p.120). The formality of Armide's invocations⁽²⁾ and the excesses of Electre are equally remote; Vogel begins to emerge as an intelligent composer with dramatic capacities whose age- exactly that of Mozart - brings him nearer to Salieri and Cherubini than Gluck. The *eb grave* (Ex.119A) alternates with *allegros* in the major (23 and 21 bars respectively, pp.190 and 197). The latter ends *plus lent* (Ex.119B) with a well-controlled chromaticism and an imperfect cadence leading to a 25-bar air in *g* (bar 11). This at first

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1. Exs. 36 and 37.
 2. Armide II.2 and III.3.

is almost a "real Gluck" in melodic poise - expressively extending the consequent (bars 13-14) over three bars (1) - and in the phrase at bar 12. The cadence (bars 15-18) dissipates the tension, spending too long on the last part of the descent g" to g' and over-anticipating the tonic (bar 15, perfect cadence; melody, bar 17). (2) Vogel has also wasted the top of the vocal range. He made the same mistake in I (Ex.120) where the Gluck-like repetitions occur in the highest tessitura from the start, an intense gesture to open a musical form without inner tension. (Vogel combines the elements of decadence, exaggeratedly expressive ideas being spread thinly over too long a form, 60 bars). Jason's andante grazioso in G, "Est-ce à vous de voir un crime dans mon infidélité?" (I.4, p.110) is a Piccinniste short air (28 bars) without any intensity.

Not all of La Toison d'Or is skilled pastiche. Especially in III Vogel finds his own level; the Sybil scene (p.358) is well composed and exhibits trombone tone in the restrained manner of the Alceste oracle without imitating it (p.363ff). Médée's monologue (II.4) includes some finely controlled recitative (p.380ff) and an adagio (p.382) like Gluck and not obviously inferior. Symphonic techniques are further used in the Combat (III.5, pp.388-416) with no suggestion of Gluck (such scenes were conventionally written in this way), but the last scene has an orchestral coda (p.454ff) recalling Arnide (not Les Danaïdes or Electre), as Médée, although spurned, flies after the departing Argo. La Toison d'Or (revived in 1788 as Médée à Paris) is a promising achievement; for reasons to be discussed this promise was not fulfilled

1. Compare "Ah! malgré moi", Ex.48.

2. Compare Ex.102.

B. Later works of Lemoine and Salieri

1. Phèdre, Nephthé

Fétis' verdict on Electre:-

"Lemoine n'avait imité que les défauts de l'auteur d'Alceste, sans avoir, pour les faire oublier, ses sublimes beautés" (1)

in which "défauts" must refer to Lemoine's most personal achievement, "expressionism", is unfair only to Gluck. The comparative restraint of Phèdre suggests that Lemoine's view of Gluck closely resembled La Harpe's - noisy, unmelodic, melodramatic. Contemporaries perceived a change of style:-

"...il est évident que M. Lemoine a essayé de se rapprocher...du système de l'école italienne, autant qu'il avait cru s'en éloigner dans son Electre. Le récitatif, sensiblement imité de celui de Didon, est la partie la plus estimable... La facture des airs, et surtout des accompagnemens, annonce combien il a étudié les partitions de Sacchini; mais ces intentions...n'ont pu remplacer...ce que le génie seul peut donner". (2)

The success of Phèdre suggests a predominance of Piccinniste taste in 1786, yet Pénélope, "prostituée", (3) had failed the previous year. Nationalism may have helped Phèdre, which displaced Oedipe à Colone at Court. (4) Lemoine still imitated with "forces inégales" (5) and Phèdre, which is certainly nowhere very Italianate, is hardly more - or less - Piccinniste than Electre; there is no radical change in his generally nondescript idiom, no difference in approach not explicable by the change in subject-matter. Lemoine's three tragédies

1. Biographie Universelle ("Lemoine").

2. Grimm CL 3 IV p.154.

3. Piccinni's description of the performance; Ginguené, Notice p.131 (note to p.71).

4. Jullien, La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI p.105.

5. See above p.266.

mingle approximate Gluckisme and actual - not theoretical - Piccinnisme in similar proportions, the latter preponderant. The abandonment of "leitmotif" is hardly a renunciation of Gluckisme, and repetitions are still used in Phèdre:-

Act I	Overture	<u>C</u>	Flute solo 'X'	Ex.121A
Sc. 1	Recitative		p.27	
	Hymn to Diane	<u>Bb</u>	p.29	
	Recitative			Ex.123
	Chorus	<u>C</u>	p.40	
Sc. 2	Prelude	<u>C</u>	Using 'X'	p.42
	Hymn to Diane (shortened)		p.44	
Sc. 3	Marche religieuse	<u>Bb</u>	p.48	
	Chorus	<u>Bb</u>	p.48	
	Recitative		p.50	
	Marche	<u>C</u>	p.53	
	Hymn to Vénus	<u>C</u>	Using 'X'	Ex.121B
	Ballet	<u>C</u>	p.69	

The flute solo ('X') (Ex.121A) is only slightly altered (Ex. 121B); the sequence as a whole might have been suggested by Atys or by Les Danaïdes.

Hoffmann's Phèdre mingles elements from Euripides - as the above table suggests, the worship of Diane and Vénus is placed in opposition at the start - and Racine (the convention of invisible deities and the order of events). There is no Aricie. The tragedy is not evaded; the opera ends with its most original passage and with unexpected swiftness after Phèdre's death (Ex.122), in a pessimistic sort of Greek chorus, more accomplished, less theatrical, than the end of Electre. Lemoigne's final pp (Ex.122B) is hardly a bid for applause; yet after the première of Nephté (of which the MS⁽¹⁾ contains three different conclusions, essentially the same, all pp) he was the first composer to be called before the curtain at the Opéra.

The last roar of trombones (Ex.122A bar 9ff) fulfils an

1. MS BO A 330 1-3. Nephté is also published.

orchestral prophecy from I.1. The opera opens pastorally, like Atys - a bad model. The insignificant voice part sings between fragments of equally insipid instrumental material (Ex.123 bars 1-9).⁽¹⁾ The mention of "présages heureux", however, brings the ominous unison of trombones with bassoons and strings in piano, and suggestions of a minor key (bars 10-13, 17). This phrase immediately followed the overture (p.27, strings only), before the hunting-calls; it structures the scene but is only explained emotionally (as "présage") by events. It is emphatically not a Piccinnian, nor a Gluckian, idea. Here at least Lemoyne was original.

The rest of I (like Electre I) belongs to the title-role. The early scenes are a poor setting for her, since there is only the crudest distinction between the music for Diane and Vénus (hunting-calls versus flutes; both use the keys of C and Bb). Phèdre shares Electre's tendency to interrupt apparently established numbers (I.3, p.50) - another indication that Lemoyne's change of idol was more propaganda than artistic fact. More than in Electre the recitative relies on conventional formulae (I.4, p.97ff), a sign of Piccinnisme, and the intensity has to be provided by the singer, whereas for Electre as for Armide it was sometimes inherent in the pitch and rhythm of the declamation. When Oenone pronounces the name "Hippolyte" (Ex.124) Lemoyne leaves Phèdre unaccompanied and her straightforward intervals (bars 5-6) have a bewildered air enhanced by the tonal difference implicit in each chord (c, bar 5; a, 8; e, 12). Her air in f is elaborately headed "Lent et toujours l'accent de la sensibilité et de la douleur la plus profonde" (p.110) but relies on the normal inflexions of the minor rather than

1. Compare Ex.24.

any composed "accent",⁽¹⁾ a Piccinnisme also present in much of Electre. Lemoyne continues to be at his least effective in arias; even with the greater literacy of Nephté they remain conventional. Ironically, the best passages in the "Piccinniste" Phèdre are those which most nearly approach Gluck. In the short air "Prends pitié de ma souffrance" (I.3, p.75) the simple pure line (Ex.125 bar 9 is the recapitulation) could be in emulation of Gluck or Piccinni but the lightly scored accompaniment (virtually in two parts) suggests the former. Gluck is surely behind "Rends le calme à mes sens" (bar 1) where the "calme" voice, settling onto a single pitch (e'-e"), is at variance with her agitation of mind, presented in the orchestra⁽²⁾ (cresc. to ff; not incongruously loud, however: bassoons, not trombones). A later aria, in Eb and a closed form, ("Ciel! je vois le père d'Hippolyte", p.113), is banal and out of character. Trombones clog the texture - their music, quite unlike that in Ex.123, cannot be associated with that prophecy - and a scene designed as an emotional climax before the peripeteia (the report of Thésée's death) declines in intensity. Unlike Pellegrin⁽³⁾ Hoffmann provided a dramatic opportunity by a choral entry, "O destin déplorable" which inevitably makes a striking effect after a solo scene. Lemoyne's music is inferior to the similar chorus in Atys.⁽⁴⁾ Such effects without effort are common in Lemoyne, and include his roaring trombones, tonal shifts in Electre, and the weighty opening of Nephté, a quartet of sonorous basses, in d: "Memphis, ton Roi n'est plus" (p.7). In Phèdre I the final ensemble (in C, the

1. See above, Ch.V p.190.

2. Compare Tauride II.3, "Le calme rentre dans mon coeur".

3. Hippolyte et Aricie I. 6-7; Rameau moves to f, Lemoyne with similar effect to c.

4. See above, Ch.IV p.131.

overture key) is tame, even placid, and the voices never bring their various melodic strands into significant interplay or combination (p.124ff).

As in Electre, II hangs fire at first. The long duet with Oenone is socially inappropriate and cannot justify the delay in deciding on a course of action. Awaiting Hippolyte, Phèdre's air "Il va venir" (II.2, p.160; the words were set as recitative, p.159, to the same notes) begins agitato, the orchestra in 6/8 and the voice in 2/4, but this produces no real intensity since the harmony is completely undeveloped; Piccinni again may be the bad model. The scene with Hippolyte comes unexpectedly from the composer of Electre; all melodramatic possibilities are shunned. The orchestra obtusely interrupts the speeches with an arpeggio (p.168ff)⁽¹⁾ and Phèdre's aria in C (p.176) recalls the worst part of Andromaque.⁽²⁾ The end (Ex.126) cleverly embodies her revelation of love, the word "amour" withheld until the end of the last quatrain; the cadence is complete but Hippolyte's immediate response sounds like an open end. This rapid sequence of aria-cadence to recitative is more typical of Sacchini than Piccinni, but is consistent with the methods of Electre. As Phèdre tries to retract, Lemoigne makes effective contrast of Hippolyte's high tessitura with her low (Ex.126 bars 17, 19ff; she uses d' to a' after the aria's g" and a"). An appendix⁽³⁾ offers three cuts in the subsequent dialogue which shorten the scene without subtracting anything important. Lemoigne was incapable of controlling so much text and descends to fatuous "effectiveness" in the final duet (p.186), uniting the voices at the end (p.191).

1. Compare Roland I.1, Ex.20.

2. Ex.95.

3. Printed score B0; lacking in the BM copy.

When Thésée appears his aria "De cent brigands j'ai payé l'univers" (p.218) continuing "...mais d'être aimé, voilà le vrai bonheur" (p.223) is as banal as the irony in the second quoted line is crude.⁽¹⁾ Only in III does something nearer the best standard of Electre return, without eccentricities (which perhaps explains the belief in a change of style). Although III presents Thésée with some power, it is spoiled by coarse trombone writing and generally poor recitative. The voice in III.2 suggests 'chant français' (Ex.127 bar 22ff) but the dotted figures and string scales invoke the stile francese less than they suggest the opening of Tauride II.4 - another suggestion of Gluck in this "Piccinniste" opera. Lemoyne's blaring trombones, however, bely the direction "noblement" without providing "fureur" - they are too stolid. III.1 and 2 are thoroughly integrated. The vehement introduction (p.240) and contrasting flute solo (p.241) are unified by the interval of a minor 3rd, which reappears in many forms (one often used is in Ex.127 bar 5).

Hippolyte remains uninteresting and his exit (III.3-4) has little to commend it - unless it is meant to make Phèdre's monologues finer by contrast. These are more restrained than Electre's but hardly less intense. The low tessitura (III.5, pp.293-5) is again strikingly used. Gluck seems to be the model for an arioso in c, "Il ne m'est plus permis de vivre" (III.7, p.302), in which the disturbed string figure (compare "Le calme rentre dans mon coeur" and Ex.125) is not maintained, as it could well have been, through the various harmonic situations. Lemoyne soon resorts to conventional accompagnato scales and tremolo, while the

1. Contrast the irony in Hippolyte III (the divertissement); see above, Ch.I p.7.

trombones roar. The intention might have been Gluckiste; the means and the failure are Piccinniste. Following Racine, Hippolyte's death is narrated (p.329ff) and Phèdre dies quietly on the stage (Ex.122A). This effect is repeated more elaborately and less movingly in Nephté - with indeed a Bellinian inanity, both in the bland lament of the onlookers and in Nephté's recitative, where the orchestra all too obviously depicts the working of the poison (Ex.128).

Except for the repetition of an orchestral maestoso figure in I.5 and 6, Les Prétendus, comédie-lyrique in one act (1789), has little to stamp it as Lemoyne's work. It was his greatest success; for him public acclaim was in inverse proportion to originality. It is, much more than Grétry's Académie-Royale comedies, or Rosine, in the standard idiom of opéra-comique and with subject matter of a kind Grétry had the grace to reserve for another theatre.

It was Lemoyne, not Guillard, who made a brutal melodrama of Electre; II especially shows that Fétis, for once, was right. (1) Lemoyne was an imitator and (except in Les Prétendus) an inaccurate one; this is apparent particularly in his failure whenever sustained musical invention is necessary - in aria, ballet, even in control of narrative, which, in Phèdre III is as poor as in Electre. He could assemble massed forces with rough confidence, and his third tragédie, Nephté, gave him further opportunities for this. The libretto is derived from Thomas Corneille (2) but the adaptation alters all the names and simplifies the motives, omits in effect two characters (the queen's mature daughter is replaced by her infant son) and introduces the priest

1. See above p.275.

2. Camma, Peine de Galatie (1661).

Amedèe as a new character. Complex political intrigue is replaced by elevated feelings, and Nephté does nothing so unbecoming as an attempt on the life of her husband's murderer. (1)

With the grossness smoothed over, the style more consistent, Nephté is in some respects Lemoyne's best opera but the least interesting since it affords least scope to his indubitable gift for the bizarre. The expressionism of Electre makes brief appearances, as when Nephté meditates suicide (II.5, Ex.129A); the orchestral ideas are more interesting than the voice. The air in Eb, "O toi que j'ai perdu" (p.196), ingeniously sets the same music in largo and, with doubled note-values, allegro (p.200); the substance is conventional. Expressionism appears, quite unusually, in an aria ("Tout me trouble, tout m'épouvante", I.6) as a syncopated gasping (Ex.129B).

Nephté inspired a curious pamphlet addressed "aux mânes de l'abbé Arnaud". (2) The author suggests that Lemoyne

"en marchant sur les traces de Gluck, a su éviter ses défauts. Il a mieux connu l'art d'émouvoir et d'exciter les passions, en augmentant par degrés l'intérêt au spectateur, et le conduisant de l'attendrissement, des larmes jusqu'au dernier terme de la pitié, jusqu'à la terreur". (p.17)

Lemoyne combines the dignity of Gluck, who "montra à Paris un spectacle digne de l'ancienne Grèce..." (p.15), with melody, that wields the greatest power over human minds. Ginguené described an ensemble in Didon in similar terms; after explaining the several passions expressed in it he ends: "ce morceau est non-seulement sublime, mais strictement périodique". (3) Toscan is in effect proposing Nephté as the

1. Camma III.2; a type of scene - on-stage peripeteia with detailed stage directions - unusual in French tragedy.

2. G. L. G. Toscan, De la Musique et de Nephté, Paris 1790.

3. Notice p.68.

synthesis, and culmination, of Gluckisme and Piccinnisme. His overpraise leads one to wonder what his reaction might have been to La Vestale.

2. Les Horaces; Tarare

Les Horaces is based on the most austere of Corneille's early tragedies. (1) The three brothers Horace fight the three Curiaces as champions of Rome and Albe, despite ties of friendship and marriage. One Horace is left alive, and kills his sister, Camille, when she laments Curiace, her lover. In the opera Camille is the chief character and is given some of the lines of Sabine, sister to Curiace and wife to Horace. Besides omitting this character Guillard palliated Corneille's severity by evading the murder of Camille and hence omitting all Corneille V, and by adopting the principle of Aulide and Andromaque, direct presentation of events described in the play. Thus the opera opens in a temple, with an oracle described in Corneille I.2; the very vividness of the scene, inevitably recalling Alceste although the scoring is without the usual supernatural trappings, accentuates the final subsidence of the drama, since the message to Camille:-

"La guerre entre Albe et Rome aujourd'hui doit finir.
Ce jour à ton amant va pour jamais t'unir". (2)

is only half fulfilled and the irony - the price of peace being the unity of Camille and Curiace in death at Horace's hands - is made pointless. The libretto suffers from

1. Horace (1640).

2. Corneille: "Albe et Rome demain prendront une autre face;
Tes vœux sont exaucés, elles auront la paix,
Et tu seras unie avec ton Curiace,
Sans qu'aucun mauvais sort t'en sépare jamais".

Guillard's tendency to mitigate the tragic implications of his material; his best librettos, Tauride, Evelina, are not tragic. He wants the awesome oracle but not the repulsive sororicide;⁽¹⁾ similarly in Oedipe à Colone he keeps the terrible curse of Oedipe upon Polynice, but reconciles father and son at the end, omitting the death of Oedipus which is the goal of Sophocles' drama.

The principle of direct presentation is further used to structure the opera by two intermèdes, substitutes for divertissement (hence the severity Beaumarchais noted; the gloom of Les Danaïdes was palliated by frequent dances). These come after I and II and present the political background to the human drama. The first, also called "deuxième tableau" in I, represents a parley in the temple of Capitoline Jove and preparations for the choice of champions to settle the war. Imposing but dull, it acts as foil to the second which starts in a similar mood but is interrupted by the people's violent protest against the fratricidal combat; it is decided to ask the gods to confirm or reject the choice. This derives from the "messenger" speech (Julie) in Corneille III.2, to which Sabine's response is "Que je vous dois d'encens, grands Dieux qui m'exaucez!", now adapted as an air for Camille (III.1). The intermèdes might have gained in weight, and the interruption of the second surprise, by musical formations like the opening complexes of Alceste or Les Danaïdes. The second is mainly an ensemble in C, the first, without even that much tonal structure, provides a specious link to the first scene:-

1. Which a critic sympathetic to Corneille calls "a gratuitous outrage"; George Steiner, The Death of Tragedy, London 1961, p.57.

Overture	D
1er Tableau	<u>E_b</u> - <u>C</u> - <u>c</u> (aria)
	<u>F</u> (aria)
	<u>E_b</u> (aria)
	<u>D</u> (quartet and chorus)
2me Tableau (intermède)	<u>C</u> - <u>E_b</u>

The adaptation, and the use of Corneille's lines, is otherwise good. One aria for Le Vieil Horace comes almost directly from Corneille:-

"Que des plus nobles fleurs leur tombe soit couverte"
(Corneille III.6)

"Que des plus nobles fleurs leurs tombeaux soient
couverts" (Guillard III.3),

while its second part replaces twenty-five verses by:-

"Mais leur indigne frère, après sa lâcheté,
Qu'il traîne avec mépris sa honte et sa misère". (1)

The tremendous political rhetoric of the argument between Horace and Camille is similarly curtailed, as unsuitable to music; Corneille's climax:-

Camille: "Rome, l'unique objet de mon ressentiment!
Rome, à qui vient ton bras d'immoler mon amant!
Rome qui t'a vu naître, et que ton coeur adore!
Rome enfin que je hais parce qu'elle t'honore!"
(IV.5)

is replaced by:-

"Rome, je la déteste ainsi que ta valeur.
...plus elle t'applaudit, plus tu me fais horreur".

But here Guillard indulges in an expansion:-

Camille: "Puissé-je de mes yeux y voir tomber ce foudre,
Voir ses maisons en cendre, et tes lauriers en poudre,
Voir le dernier Romain à son dernier soupir,
Moi seule en être cause, et mourir de plaisir!"

1. See Corneille III.6, IV.1 (Le Vieil Horace).

becomes:-

"Puissent les Dieux lançant sur vous la foudre
Et sur elle et sur toi me venger aujourd'hui.
Puissé-je voir réduire en cendre ces féroces Romains
Dont ton bras fut l'appui;
Qu'on oublie à jamais Rome et son défenseur,
Qu'enfin de tant des maux seule je sois l'auteur,
Pour accroître à la fois ma joie et ton supplice".

Horace: "C'est trop souffrir un mortel déshonneur".

Valère: "Ah, seigneur, d'une amante exaucez la faiblesse".

Valère, who challenged Horace after Camille's death, here saves her.

One prerequisite for the success of this scene is the strong presentation of Camille's love, earlier achieved in one of the best duets of the period. Another is the control of recitative, or some other musical shaping; this is missing. There are good moments; as when Curia's spoils are brought in and Camille weeps over them (Ex.130).⁽¹⁾ Here Gluck's techniques are intelligently applied in combining sostenuto with accompagnato, enabling the orchestra to support the voice, and, by preserving continuity, to be more expressive elsewhere. But the voice part is undistinguished, and in default of vocal expressiveness the orchestra's progression from figuration to tremolo climax seems mechanical and leads to no dramatic musical utterance. This scene, headed "scène dernière", follows a ballet of two movements and a chorus in D:-

"Les Dieux de l'univers nous ont promis l'empire,
Le bras d'Horace accomplit leurs décrets".

after which is written "Fin de l'Opéra". Presumably the chorus is repeated after the "scène dernière", making a tonal link to the overture.⁽²⁾

1. A scene deduced from Corneille's direction (IV.5):

"Procule porte en sa main les trois épées des Curia's".

2. This is not indicated although the MS was apparently used for performances.

The recitative is generally less inventive vocally than that of Les Danaïdes, but still coolly efficient. At another poignant moment, when the choice of Curiace is added to that of Horace, the most expressive response is from the chorus. Curiace sounds matter-of-fact (Ex.131A, bars 1-4) and his interjected "Ah! Camille!" (Guillard's one invention in this adaptation of Corneille II.2⁽¹⁾) passes almost unnoticed, articulated only by a simple return to Ab, with one note sfz. This excessive restraint contrasts with Gossec's nice balance at a crucial moment in Thésée⁽²⁾ and to Sacchini's arioso in Renaud I.4 (Ex.131B) where the bars in tempo are of a tonal and emotional complexity (the music wrenched from g to b) to overwhelm the surrounding simple recitative and disrupt the development of the scene, inhibiting any Gluckian "building towards" musical formality. Salieri gives the chorus an arioso (Ex.131C) mingled with Camille's recitative, which it complements but does not disturb. She enters strongly but fades away at the cadence (bar 7) and - as in Ex.130 - Horace sings the merest formulae. Salieri's restraint is all too similar to Sacchini's rapidly composed simplicities; neither (after Les Danaïdes) developed much control of increasing tension.

One major flaw is the neglect of Horace, no longer precisely the title-role he was in Corneille. His father's role is mostly dignified recitative leading to the aria in III.3 praising his dead sons and bemoaning the cowardice of the eldest who ran away. (It is only learnt later that this was a ruse: Horace separated the Curiaces and overcame them singly). Horace's recitative is uninteresting; when he is chosen to fight (II.2) he sings an air, "Dieux protecteurs

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1. In which Camille is not present.
 2. See Ex.74.

du Tibre", inserted into the MS in autograph,⁽¹⁾ a short, incomplete movement overlapping an ensemble:-

"O de Rome heureux défenseur,
Cours, vole où la Gloire t'appelle".

The air goes from C to G, the ensemble returns to C. The style is banally militaristic and brands the character as superficial; later in the act, more subtly, this mood infects Curiace even in the presence of Camille. The domestic little trio, "Doux paix, transports pleins de charmes"; at the start of II cannot be taken seriously as an example of Horace's humanity - he is a monster, like Danaus and Atar (in Tarare) but less fully drawn than either.

Open ends and short forms are freely used in Les Horaces which, like Phèdre, makes its contemporary Thémistocle seem reactionary, even Italianate. There are many ensembles, including the close of I in an illusory stability before the choice of champions shatters Camille's hopes.

Camille and Curiace

The lovers are presented strongly in their arias and the duet; Camille has three arias in I.1. The first expresses her dilemma of "Nature" (love of Rome) and "Amour" (love of Curiace⁽²⁾). Its musical matter could be called Piccinniste (Ex.132). The vocal position is high from the start and extensions of range (bar 10, f", bar 21, downwards) are mostly casual, while the easy melodic flow lacks Gluck's

1. Presumably a revision for the second Paris performance (10th December 1786); the first, at Versailles, was on the 2nd; Paris, the 7th). The first part of le vieil Horace's air (III.3) is also autograph. See Jullien, La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI p.212.

2. Not of Albe; the first words of Ex.132 are properly Sabine's (a native of Albe married to a Roman; see Corneille I.1).

crabbed intensity. Yet the aria is more subtly dramatic than any in Les Danaïdes. The melody is non-repeating, near arioso, unified by the dotted figure in the orchestra (bars 11, 16, 22, 30) and formed, like Gluck's, closely on the text, becoming declamatory in bars 13 and 28-9. After the harmonically intense inflexion towards d (bar 26) comes a modulation flatwards (30), where the same vocal range has a new harmonic interpretation; the music returns to the tonic, in the minor mode. A significant extension of range to ab", with a new orchestral agitation, characterizes the end; the violins' melodic semiquavers (bar 41) are more intense than the repeated chord semiquavers (bars 18ff and 28). The melodic poise of the opening, a cool consideration of her own feelings, has as the inevitable result of that consideration become warmly emotional; initially a lyrical impulse, the aria both hangs together as a single dramatic statement and, as a train of thought, develops the scene. The next aria is appropriately static, a prayer in F: "Déesse secourable, je t'invoque en tremblant". The oracle is optimistically interpreted in the Bb aria "Oui, mon bonheur est assuré", the allegro providing a good contrast to the preceding larghetto and adagio. These last arias are, however, more distinguished in their intentions than their substance.

After the choice of combattants, Camille and Curiace are left alone (compare Corneille II.5). Curiace's aria, which gives him more substance as a character than Horace, is a developing one like Camille's (Ex.132); the initial Piccinnian sentimentality (Ex.133A) is given an unexpectedly strong development. After an interlude in Bb and g the opening returns but the ternary impression is belied by an extra section (Ex.133B) in which the tender cantabile is effectively pitted against the call of duty, represented

rather strikingly with the main key E_b by trumpets in D. The tonic returns for the cadence (Ex.133B bar 10) but the opening mood is left behind.

The duet adapts the usual form (slow-fast, with an intervening slow section) to fulfil, for once, its dramatic potential. The orchestration is different for each singer, as in Persée,⁽¹⁾ but the ensemble of clarinet, bassoon and horn is Mozartean (Ex.134A). With closer entries the groups merge but clarinets still double Camille, violins Curiaze (bar 34ff, not quoted). This device is not pursued in the andante (Ex.134B), an in tempo exchange recalling Echo,⁽²⁾ but sharper rhythms characterize Curiaze (bar 5, like a gesture; bar 11 (voice), bar 13ff (orchestra)). Her questioning produces imperfect cadences, his firm responses, perfect ones. Camille's line is dismembered by rests and fp, as her hope wanes. Tremolo and rapid modulation lead to his decisive statement (Ex.134B bars 21-2; doubling the bass, compare the end of Ex.133B). The progression of mood continues in the allegro, from expostulation (Ex.134B bar 25) to acceptance of destiny (Ex.134C), characterized by renewed cantabile (with Camille's clarinets and bassoons). After his "C'en est fait" the voices at last join, not in opposed sentiments but for a coda of shared regret. In these lingering repeated cadences Salieri again shows an affinity to Mozart.

With the arrival of the Horaces (II.5) Camille loses self-control; but the recitative sostenuto sounds weak after the duet. The dramatic method is recognizably the refined baroque of Aulide and of Sacchini; only with more formal music, a quartet, does the situation return to life, just as

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1. See above, Ch.VI p.235.
 2. See above, Ch.V p.203.

the duet of Achille and Agamemnon (Aulide II.6) brings their antagonism to life after the dull recitative. The piece is led by the men:-

Horace, Curiace: "Allons remplir notre devoir".
Le Vieil Horace: "Allez remplir votre devoir".

After a brief recitative Camille expostulates (Ex.135); Curiace too is now a "tigre" and she is alone.⁽¹⁾ The music returns to C for the briskly contrapuntal trio (bar 8) with trumpets; Camille in defeat loses the tonic A but inflects the established C to the minor, juxtaposed to the major as in the Thémistocle duo⁽²⁾ but with less obvious contrivance. Again Salieri avoids combining contradictory emotions; the piece recalls the first aria (Ex.132) by ending, as the men leave, with Camille despairing in the minor.

III opens with Camille's false optimism: "Que je vous dois d'encens, ô mes Dieux tutélaires"⁽³⁾ acting as a foil to her subsequent sorrow. Like Hypermnestre she is an aria character, and it is a moot point whether the lack of an aria in the "scène dernière" is not the main flaw of Les Horaces. She is presumably by then too overwrought for any organized expression of feeling and therefore recitative is the right technique. On the other hand Salieri's recitative is consistently weaker than his formal music. The psychology of the solution adopted (Ex.130) is sound, even consistent with the conception of the character, but the quality of the recitative leaves an unsatisfied desire for something musically and emotionally more substantial; an aria could have saved the opera. Although all in all it is the best of Salieri's French operas, Les Horaces lacks a focal point and a sense of purpose at the end.

1. Sabine's words in Corneille II.7.

2. Ex.87B.

3. See above p.295.

Tarare

Tarare⁽¹⁾ reverts to the old French pattern, five acts with prologue and much ballet. The poem is unworthy of the author of Le Mariage de Figaro. It contains various naive political implications - the soldier hero becoming King, the corrupt Priest - which led to revisions to suit republican taste after the Revolution.⁽²⁾ There is a satire on Italian opera in the eunuch Calpigi's couplets (themselves French in manner):-

"La plus célèbre cantatrice
De moi fit bientôt par caprice
Un simulacre de mari.
Ahi, povero Calpigi!" (p.294)

The popularity of Tarare must have owed something, in a period of single-minded works (whether melodramatic or bel-canto) on Greek subjects, to its comprehensiveness; it embraces tragedy, comedy, pathos, heroism, bathos, satire, everything except the serious dramatic purpose of Gluck which Salieri had followed in his earlier works.

These qualities and its grandiose degeneracy, which links it through Catel's Les Bayadères to the applied exoticism of Meyerbeer, make Tarare, in its time an opera sui generis, irrelevant to the main theme of this study - a less frivolous counterpart to La Caravane du Caire. Salieri's development led him closer to other Italians (Piccinni, Zingarelli) in leaving the unaccompanied voice to sing

1. See above, Ch.V p.160.

2. The revisions may be found in Beaumarchais, Théâtre (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade pp.454-5). They are not in the 1809 edition, perhaps because the career of Tarare, in the original version, shows a marked parallel with Napoleon's. For the revival in August 1790 see Grimm, CL 3 V p.503. The 1794 revival, with new text by Framéry, Théâtre (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade p.804).

functional phrases without the harmonic support (sostenuto) which in Les Danaïdes gave continuity to conventional shapes. The recitative is spiced with directions - "avec dignité", "avec majesté", "avec fierté" - which, as in Grétry, Candeille,⁽¹⁾ and later Bellini, are poor substitutes for musical and declamatory invention. The recitative is exposed, and fails, at crucial moments. When Aspasia, Tarare's wife whom Atar has kidnapped for his harem, interrupts a divertissement with her plaint (p.275) the dances make the strongest impression; the second intervention (p.281) is sung over a dance rhythm and shares its mood. Atar's suicide is similarly neglected in the music (pp.433-4).

The recitative is also aligned with Sacchini (and later, Cherubini) in its frequent enhancement by single in tempo bars and brief ariosi whose emotional intensity - higher than that of the airs - still further breaks up the progress of the recitative.⁽²⁾ The airs are mostly short, a reversion like the opera's whole scheme to old French forms, but the change in texture from recitative to air is marked, as in Aulide. As in Les Horaces the best passages are formal music, notably Astasia's allegro agitato "O mort, termine mes douleurs", which opens IV; in effect a da capo form in f# (p.344) with the middle section recitative and andante and the recapitulated allegro written out with an extended coda. Tarare and Atar were successfully presented in I, but she was colourless there and in III, and only comes to life here. V, granted that the authors' aim was lively melodrama, is skilfully worked out, the recitative excepted; a massive chorus with solos for the priests, whose leader had a fine

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1. See above, Ch.VI pp.243, 254.
 2. Compare Ex.131B.

monologue, II.3, sets the stage for the execution of Tarare and Astasie.⁽¹⁾ They feel triumph in dying together, expressed in a trio (p.426):-

Tarare, Astasie: "Le trépas nous attend..."
Atar : "O rage, affreux tourment,
C'est moi qui lutte,
Et leur coeur est content".

After this it might have been grander to martyr Tarare than have him crowned when Atar, despairing of degrading the soldier whom he hates but who once saved his life, has killed himself.

Tarare is even less a drama of character than Les Danaïdes; its purpose is the story and the effects, and Beaumarchais may be seen as an ancestor of Scribe. That he had something more philosophical in mind is suggested by the prologue, an inane and pretentious effusion which tries to show the development of human consciousness out of Chaos, moulded by "La Nature" and warmed by "Le Génie du Feu". The characters of the opera appear and are told their destinies, but no thematic or other link makes this significant. Salieri must have enjoyed composing the extended introduction ("La Nuit" dispersed by "La Nature") but otherwise dutifully set what was before him with some fine inventions, some drab recitative, and the characteristic conscientious efficiency by which rubbish is treated with as much care as truly dramatic material.

The success of Tarare relative to Les Horaces suggests that the taste for Gluckian austerity could not survive the departure of Gluck himself. Les Horaces is a sincere attempt by Guillard to recreate a great play (departing

1. Compare Ernelinde, the final tableau; or indeed Aulide.

further from Corneille in detail than in Chimène, he remains closer in spirit).⁽¹⁾ In view of the meretriciousness informing his other French operas Salieri's sincerity remains open to doubt, although Les Horaces displays more than mere skill. Certainly the mantle of Gluck, which had eluded ~~Remond's~~ eager grasp, slipped quickly from Salieri; the two operas of Démophon suggest where it might have settled had not Vogel died at thirty-two, and Cherubini, by force of circumstances, not devoted the best of his operatic activity to opéra-comique.

1. Les Horaces was re-set by Porta in 1800.

Chapter VIII

A. Piccinni and "Sacchinisme"

1. Piccinni's last works

After Roland, Atys and Tauride, three reasonably successful works, Piccinni had more varied fortunes. Adèle de Ponthieu (1781) and Diane failed and Didon (Marmontel 1783) triumphed, on the whole deservedly. Pénélope (Marmontel 1785) failed underservedly⁽¹⁾ and Clytemnestre (Pitra), of which Ginguené spoke highly,⁽²⁾ was withdrawn after a few rehearsals. Adèle suggested to some that his powers were declining,⁽³⁾ a theory Didon refuted, but his Paris career ended sadly between waning popularity and managerial chicanery.

Adèle de Ponthieu

Adèle remains unpublished.⁽⁴⁾ It is his weakest French opera and the drama, such as it is, barely comes to life in the music. Piccinni relies chiefly on arias and ensembles, and there is comparatively little recitative; when this has to bear a serious dramatic burden, as in the argument of Alphonse and Raimond (II.4), it fails. The scene is better served by the two short arias; the final duet, "Alions, audacieux guerrier", is thoroughly banal and inferior to the earlier setting.⁽⁵⁾ The quartet in I.3 sets "O jour affreux" (Adèle and Raimond) and "O jour heureux" (Le Comte

1. The 1787 revival was overshadowed by the season's novelty, Tarare (Grimm, CL 3 IV p.400).

2. Notice p.135 (note to p.79).

3. See La Harpe, Correspondance Littéraire III p.297, and Desnoiresterres p.318n.

4. MS BO A 288 1-3, including alterations for a projected revival in 1787.

5. See above, Ch.I p.38.

and Alphonse), characteristically, to the same music. This movement and the following chorus consist of block harmony made oppressive by the monotony of pitch ranges used (the soprano especially lies high all the time), a failing parallel to Piccinni's tendency to dispense with modulation; for example in Adèle's aria "Allez, servir mon espérance" (I.2, in D with warlike trumpets), and the last of Raimond's three airs in the same scene; Piccinni allegedly said:-

"Moduler...n'a en soi rien de difficile...C'est de créer du chant dans une modulation donnée... de faire du changement de modulation comme de tous les autres procédés de l'art, un moyen d'expression juste et de variété sage; c'est-là ce qui est difficile".(1)

And "c'est-là" that Piccinni is prone to fail. For all the professions of his admirers Piccinni in Paris showed more imagination in short airs than in arias. Adèle contains a few short airs - two in I.2 (Raimond); one in III.3 (Le Comte) - but the majority are long and empty, or blandly dull like the opening of III (Adèle's monologue). In II.3 Adèle and Raimond have consecutive airs, slow and fast, like the movements of a duet; more usually the airs intrude in the scenes, in the old French position but with a form unsuited to it. Alphonse's vengeance aria,⁽²⁾ ending I, is almost the only aria which is well placed, emotionally apposite, and adequate to the situation; the allegro in c for Le Comte (III.4) has some power but, with a duet to follow in which he expresses the same feelings and a virtual hiatus in the action since I, it is far too long.

Of the ensembles, the trio (II.7) and the lovers' duet (I.5) are very poor; the latter a model of "périodique"

1. Ginguéné, Notice p.111.

2. "Suivons le transport qui m'entraîne"; compare Ex.64.

inanity, cries of distress set somewhat floridly in the major (Ex.136); the dynamic contrasts are not incompatible with gaiety. This and the duet in III.4 are in the usual two-movement form, the latter coming near to making a dramatic crux. Le Comte's penitence - he nearly ruined Adèle's life by trying to make her marry Alphonse - brings a suggestion of divine retribution from the trombones (Ex.137): the trombone tone is heard, if coarsely, for its own sake (with bassoons and strings) and not merely as dynamic reinforcement.⁽¹⁾ There is a rich and moving sequential modulation (bar 14ff) which Philidor might have penned, but the faster movement characteristically lapses into servile dependence on minor-mode inflexions, without modulation, the voices joining to bewail their "sort cruel". The action ends with Raimond triumphant over Alphonse, and the third ballet.

Didon

Didon and Pénélope are closer in method to Tauride than Adèle, and to Gossec, Bach or Lemoyne (and hence Gluck) than to the more fundamentally Italian methods of Sacchini. Pénélope approaches Electre in the flexible continuity of its first act, likewise discontinued in II and partly recovered in III. Didon makes more use of short or incomplete aria forms. This does not itself represent a rapprochement to Gluck, but Didon, one of the most successful works of the period,⁽²⁾ is typical in method, an amalgam of long and short arias, occasional ariosi, frequently dry recitative, large ensembles, choruses; all rather loosely designed but dominated and directed by the title-role.

1. See above, Ch.VII p.265.

2. Performances until 1836; 250th in 1826 (Annals).

The dramatic diffuseness of Didon is the consequence of forcing most of the action into III. This begins with the issue of the battle against Iarbe uncertain, and ends with Enée gone and Didon dead. In Berlioz's Troycns, for which Didon may be to some extent regarded as a source,⁽¹⁾ this action occupies over two acts, the greater expansiveness allowing greater concentration since every situation receives full musical weight, uncluttered by mere events. Although Didon is generally said to be Piccinni's best opera, Pénélope is not inferior. The less tragic subject is better suited to his temperament: intentions are matched by achievements. The action is better spaced and although II is almost redundant it provides a complete contrast of mood and setting: the heroine does not appear⁽²⁾ and the dominance of Atys or Didon is avoided. (In relative weight of characters Tauride is Piccinni's best work). Didon suffers from monotony. Piccinni's luke-warm emotional generalities, derived from a sameness of tempi (predominantly andante), of harmony and especially harmonic rhythm, and of melodic ideas, are here made worse by monotony of key. The allure of E \flat for Piccinni is inexplicable. Unlike Mozart's, his inventions in this key are almost always among his weakest - Roland's "Je me reconnais" (Ex.24) is a qualified exception. In Didon it comes in I.1 and I.5; II.1; and predominates from III.3 to the end (p.241:262ff).⁽³⁾ The music is reasonably suited to the stage ritual preceding Didon's suicide but the final chorus, allegro:-

1. There are several correspondences of mood, scene, and verbal detail; see Julian Rushton, "Berlioz' Roots in 18th Century French Opera", in The Berlioz Society Bulletin I (April 1965) pp.5-7.

2. In the 1787 version (full score, BM) she appears at the start of II, the scene for Laërte being suppressed.

3. Page references are to full score and COF.

"A cette race criminelle,
Haine, fureur, guerre éternelle" (p.303:312).

would serve better as a song of triumph. In Pénélope the mourning chorus in Ab after a prelude in c, "Pleurons le plus sage des rois" (p.221)⁽¹⁾ is far superior to the end of Didon and is enriched by irony, for Ulysse is not dead. Piccinni was simply not equal to tragedy. The fate of Didon moved him deeply:-

"il me disait en sanglottant: '...Même quand je ne composais pas, je ne faisais que pleurer en pensant à Didon...'",⁽²⁾

but his tears blinded him to the inadequacy of what he set down. He depends upon the sympathy aroused by events. His Didon does not rise to meet her doom with tragic awareness, as Berlioz's heroine does in her aria "Adieu, fière cité", like "Che farò" "Beyond grief...a considered solution, a response to the catastrophe".⁽³⁾ Perhaps the quantity of earlier arias made a final one undesirable, but the role, like Camille's,⁽⁴⁾ seems to lack substance at the end. Pathos Piccinni does achieve, in the exquisite whimper "O toi qui me condamnes" (Ex.54). The reference to her dead husband balances the appearance of his ghost in a dream, related in I.1.

Such negative, restrained pathos suited Piccinni better than tragic passion - hence his suitability to compose Pénélope. Didon's denunciations of Enée (III.3 and 6) are less convincing, recitative in which the voicepart, in Piccinni's usual manner, seems under-articulated, at most

1. Page references to the full score of the original version (copy Pendlebury Library, Cambridge). The chorus is suppressed in the 1787 version, in the interests of a quick dénouement; instead Minerve appears, ex machina. (See Grimm, CL 3 IV p.398).

2. Ginguené, Notice p.64.

3. Kerman p.43.

4. See above, Ch.VII p.302.

permitting the actress to rant (a method surely more "monotone, fatigante" than Gluck's composed inflexions of anger). One harmonic effect does not save it; after a C crescendo the piano sostenuto texture with an augmented 6th chord (Ex.138A) as she realizes the impossibility of vengeance is very similar to what Berlioz does at this point (Ex.138B) with less striking harmony. Piccinni, like Sacchini in arioso (Ex.131B), went too far from his normal practice and thereby aroused expectations which he could not satisfy.

Like many operas of the period Didon opens with a soliloquy for the principal character; Pénélope, more imaginatively, and remotely recalling Alceste, opens with her against a backcloth of the hostile suitors' chorus. The dream narration in Didon is too short for comparison with other such passages. Its elements are those of his Tauride dream, vocal conventionality and a futile orchestral energy which does little to weld the narrative into an organic whole (p.23:24). The aria is compound, three feelings in succession.⁽¹⁾ The allegro in E♭, "Vaines frayeurs" (p.26:26) concerns the dream; the lent in A♭, "O toi dont mon coeur est charmé" (p.30:32), refers to Enée, for whom her love conflicts with that for her husband; the short andante in E♭ (p.33:35) is more frankly amorous, and overscored (flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, strings; it might effectively have been characterized by flutes only, in contrast to the following hunting music). The air ends on the dominant (B♭), the incompleteness serving no dramatic purpose, and Scene 2 brings the hunting music (heard before the andante in part). The lent begins well but collapses melodically in the eighth bar; the allegro is undistinguished,

1. See above, Ch.V p.185.

and the best music is the last movement, with which the vacuous hunters might make, on stage, a brilliant contrast.

Didon has more facets than the sentimental, and her aria in I.4, addressed to Iarbe disguised (p.67:74), is of a type not uncommon in Piccinni, sweeping, diatonic, with proud top bb"s, but here used with unusual appositeness for a regal and public utterance. Otherwise the role is better suited by slighter forms. In II.3 the long sentimental aria in E with a touch of Italianate floridity (p.119:127) makes a superficial impression beside the tiny, incomplete form (ending in the dominant minor), "Je veux, si tel est mon malheur" (p.127:137). Again Piccinni's slight emotional range enables him to succeed in a public scene (II.6, the grandiose ensemble praised by Ginguené)⁽¹⁾ but not a private; the duet (II.7, p.170:194, in the usual form) receives some vitality from incorporating action - Didon faints, and Elise joins in (p.176:203) to make it a trio - but is conventional in substance, like the trio of Tauride III. Her best aria is in III.1, "Hélas, pour nous il s'expose" (p.201:228), where a typical Piccinnian agitato is suitably placed because there is as yet no tragedy, only nervous anticipation of the battle's outcome (contrast the last air of Atys).⁽²⁾ The lively opening string figure is left undeveloped: after the introduction it appears only twelve times (seven in the first part, five in the longer recapitulation which follows a contrasted middle section, p.205:232). This neglect hardly accords with Piccinni's stated principles of aria-composition,⁽³⁾ and weakens both affect and "dessein".

1. See above, Ch.VII p.293.

2. See above, Ch.IV p.132.

3. See above, Ch.V p.191.

Despite Didon's dominance the character best served in aria is Iarbe, who sings two in Metastasian positions - ending I (p.87:94) and, threatening the ruin of Carthage, as he leaves in II (p.134:146). Both are vigorous and effective compositions outside Piccinni's usual stereotypes. Enée is a lesser figure except when defying his formidable opponent in a duet (p.75:81) modelled on Aulide I.6. He enters with an heroic aria (p.53:59) but persistent harmonic ineptitude spoils the imaginatively conceived coda, pp:-

"Si pour vous il est doux de vivre,
Pour vous il est doux de mourir" (p.56:63).

II opens with a solo for Enée, somewhat the weaker in impact for being addressed to the entirely insignificant Elise. His ternary aria "Au noir chagrin qui me dévore" (p.95:102) has a bitter edge added to Piccinni's usual smoothness and a genuine pathos which is less than heroic. The impression is dissipated by the recitative and the effeminate E♭ aria "Plaignez un roi, plaignez un père" (p.101:107). Unlike Berlioz's Enée he is unworthy of Didon; in III.3 their consecutive airs articulate the scene crudely where a composed dialogue like "Errante sur tes pas"⁽¹⁾ would have been stronger. The ghost of Enée's father, accompanied by "supernatural" trombones très doux (full score p.265) ends his wavering and he goes.

Pénélope

Pénélope is besieged by suitors and the people of Ithaca whom they oppress (I.2); she is warned of a plot against Télémaque by Nesus, who demands her hand in return for help (I.4). Uncertain what action to take, she seems to see her husband's shade rising to accuse her (I.7); she confronts

1. Les Troyens V.7, no.44.

the suitors, demanding confirmation of Ulysse's death (I.8), and at the climax of the argument Télémaque appears, having eluded ambush. There are only three arias: for Télémaque, with heroic trumpets, leading without a break into a massive ensemble in the same tempo (p.75:69);⁽¹⁾ and two for Pénélope, carefully placed between the various pressures brought to bear on her (Scenes 3 and 7). Scenes 1-3 present a situation that has been in existence for some time; the rest is as it were a departure from routine, demanding a new response. With the roistering suitors in the background, Pénélope laments in arioso; the direct confrontation is carefully postponed. In 1787 Scene 1 was replaced by a formal "Choeur dansé" in D (p.13) but originally, and far more dramatically, the first two scenes were flexibly structured and formed by repetition of the suitors' music:-

Overture	<u>largo-allegro</u>	<u>a/A</u>	p.1/4
Scene 1:	<u>Ritornello</u> and suitors' chorus		13
	A ("Laissons les amans de la gloire")		
	B ("Dieu de l'amour")	<u>A</u>	
	Pénélope - recitative	<u>a</u>	20
	Suitors' chorus B	<u>A</u>	21
	[Further alternations of these]		
Scene 2:	Ithacans - chorus	<u>a</u>	26
	Pénélope - <u>arioso</u>	to <u>C</u>	27
	Ithacans - Pénélope	<u>a</u>	28
	Suitors' chorus B	<u>A</u>	29

The scheme is hardly Gluckian and anticipates rather the first scenes of Phèdre.⁽²⁾ The dialogue with the suitors (I.8) is developed by a similar use of choral arioso, and the recitative becomes measured dialogue, allegro (p.60:55), with an active violin part against simple declamation; a climax is made by an open end, interruption by recitative

1. When two page references are given the second refers to the full score of the 1787 version.

2. See above, Ch.VII p.287.

(p.66:61). The scene is rounded off by repetition of a short female chorus, "O malheureuse mère, votre fils va périr", led by Pénélope in Scene 5 (pp.41 and 68:42 and 62). The recitative is generally of high standard both for Pénélope and the chorus, which is given more in the final scene of III.

After using predominantly sharp keys the music, in accompagnato which more than usually develops (rather than statically reiterating) a dotted figure (p.30:29), shifts in I.3 to E_b, for the first aria (p.32:31). The form is very free:-

Words:	A "Reine captive, mère craintive"	B "Reviens, mon fils"	C new text	B
Music:	A	B	C	D
Key :	<u>E_b</u> (I-V-I)	to <u>B_b</u> (V)	roving (V)	<u>E_b</u>

I.7 is the weakest scene, a grave flaw since it should be the emotional core of the act, preceding the climax of action. Pénélope's recitative relapses from the earlier arioso texture to the crudest accompagnato, with more orchestral than vocal involvement. The aria in B_b, "Oui, je la vois, cette ombre errante", is as inexpressive as Oreste's vision of his mother's ghost (Ex.47B) although the voice at least is the leading part (Ex.139). The form is again free and open-ended for no particular reason.

I.4 presents dialogue interestingly. Nesus enters allegro (p.36:35) (full orchestra) and Pénélope answers expressively lent (p.38:37) (strings). The instrumental differentiation recalls Andromaque (Ex.93). Nesus' reply proceeds from allegro accompagnato (p.39:38) through sostenuto to four bars mesuré (a threat). At the end of the scene he cadences with the orchestra, in Lully's manner, and the allegro of I.5 begins on his last syllable (p.41:40). Such continuity is unusual in Piccinni and may well have been

learnt from his French contemporaries or Sacchini rather than Gluck. Continuity tempered by repetition, variety of action and music, make this perhaps the best act of the Marmontel-Piccinni collaboration.

There is no real divertissement in Pénélope but II provides a substitute, with nymphs, pastoral scenes, an ariette for Télémaque, and the storm which brings Ulisse to Ithaca. The storm (quite without Homeric justification) is Piccinni's best, and approaches although it cannot equal equivalent movements in Rameau and Gluck (p.106:113). Like the latter's Tauride it brings in voices as dynamic reinforcement (p.109:116) having already intensified its clamour by shifting to the minor (p.107:114). The climactic musical number of II is a trio in which Télémaque and Eumée mourn Ulisse (who has started a rumour of his own death) and wonder how they will break the news to Pénélope (allegro, P.151:158). Ulisse reveals himself immediately afterwards, so that the irony, as well as being laboured, proves gratuitous. The lesson of Electre, where the recognition is contained in an ensemble which furthers the action, is ignored.

Ulisse, weak in II, ⁽¹⁾ grows impressive during III, from his soliloquy (III.2) to his public self-identification near the end, after which he and the Ithacans dispose of the suitors. The narrative to Pénélope (p.180:194), which makes use of all sorts of techniques for continuity, is unnecessary to the action (as Wagner's narratives never are) and more suited to epic than opera. When the suitors rush in with news of Ulisse's death - which he confirms - interest revives and the last scenes are among Piccinni's most theatrically effective. Pénélope's aria (p.201:215) in g articulates

1. See above, Ch.V p.191.

a conventionally frenzied despair, again recalling Atys' last aria.⁽¹⁾ She then resolves to die rather than marry again - a poignant passage omitted in 1787. It is noticeable that Piccinni set the superficial despair as an aria, the nobler feelings as recitative, whereas Gluck is more convincing when transcending grief in aria: "Che farò" follows some unconvincing recitative despair, and very little recitative precedes "O malheureuse Iphigénie" and "Ah, malgré moi". There is one clear exception, Admète's aria in c ("Alceste, au nom des Dieux", Alceste (P) III.4) agitated yet "périodique" and Gluck's most Piccinnian movement. The agitated aria is better placed in Fénélope than in Atys but less well than in Didon. Whether Piccinni's last performed French opera is better than those is a matter of personal preference; in spite of its poor reception Fénélope is certainly a characteristic, if uneven, achievement and artistically a decent end to Piccinni's career.

2. Sacchini; Zingarelli

In a study devoted primarily to dramatic articulation it is unfortunate but inevitable that Sacchini (1730-86), one of the leading composers of the "époque de Gluck", should receive only a cursory discussion. Arriving after Framéry's successful adaptations of his work, he suffered at Court by the proximity of Piccinni (Didon eclipsed Chimène⁽²⁾) and Lemoyne.⁽³⁾ He fared better at the Opéra but through disappointment and dissipation did not live to see the

1. See above p.313.

2. Jullien, La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI p.63.

3. See above, Ch.VII p.286.

exceptional success of Oedipe à Colone (Guillard 1787)⁽¹⁾ and left Arvire et Evelina (Guillard) unfinished (completed by Rey, performed 1788).

Sacchini was the most prolific and the most lyrically gifted composer in Paris at this period. The notion that he was a follower of Gluck, as Grout suggests,⁽²⁾ is quite false. There is no trace in the Italian operas of "this graceful, elegant, and judicious composer"⁽³⁾ of any striving towards 'reform' opera comparable to that which, with French influence, makes Traetta's work problematical; but Howard's judgment, that "Traetta's drama often loses power by the continuous lyricism..."⁽⁴⁾, applies equally to Sacchini in Paris. Unlike Piccinni he made no attempt to go below the surface of the French forms and use them as a vehicle for complex musical drama; his work is, comparatively, a simple phenomenon.

He was no dramatist but abundantly a musician. He concentrated on aria; his characteristic arioso cantabile (Exs 1313 and 141) is a detail, forming only a minute proportion of a whole opera. He adapted himself more readily than Piccinni to the composition of dances and choruses, without strain on his natural musicality. Piccinni paid

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1. Oedipe's total of 583 performances (up to 1844) exceeds that of any opera originating in this period. The next, Julide, had 428 up to 1824 (unlabeled).
 2. Grout p.301. See also Correspondence p.96, editors' note: "...under the influence of Gluck's Dardanus [sic] (1784) [Sacchini] wrote his most important work, Oedipe à Colone...". Even if Dardanus is an error for Les Danaïdes (also 1784) to which Gluck was supposed to have contributed, no influence on Oedipe is detectable. Grimm (CL 3 II p.160) considered Benaud to be "gluckiné".
 3. Burney, A General History of Music IV p.521
 4. Howard p.30.

more attention to detail and consequently overscored recitative and aria; his attempts to match Gluck's sensitivity to words eroded his perhaps overrated melodic invention. Sacchini's arias are musically of higher quality, uninhibited by detail and more varied in affection. The defect of this fluency is a too ready abandonment of good ideas; not only does he not re-use especially characterful material, like Gluck, but he eschews the concentration achieved by thorough working-out of a single motif.⁽¹⁾ His arias are too sweet, too "périodique", at best finding the right accent and so articulating a situation, an achievement more undisguisedly baroque (or Neapolitan) than Gluck's;⁽²⁾ for all the thematic interlocking and continuity this is true of the passage from Oedipe II already quoted (Ex.53). More often an aria disappoints by its quality or irrelevance, and leads to a diffusion of sentiment, to generalization (see Ch.V C). Dardanus' "Lieux funestes", a compound aria, cannot match the intensity of Rameau's setting. The opening (Ex.140A) is elegiac and mildly touching but the middle section (Ex.140B) falls even below this inadequate musical response. (The thematic link, 'X', is probably coincidental). Dardanus' air as he awaits Iphise is entirely superficial: Arwide in the midst of violent action and conflicting loyalties improbably banishes mental turmoil to sing a poised, mellifluous, organized rondo.

Sacchini is more dramatically successful in shorter movements. The short air is Gluck's speciality only in that his use of it is unmatched; the form belongs to old French

1. For an exception see Ex.142A-B; compare Piccinni, above p.313.

2. See above, Ch.I p.11.

opera and the Piccinnistes adopted it readily. In a Piccinniste short form the cantabile tends to imply further, omitted, extension, rather than self-sufficient brevity. There are possibilities for pathos in the stifling of a form but these are usually neglected and the result is less intense than an extended arioso, such as that in Roland (Ex.30) - a species from which it must be distinguished. In a thoroughly Italian idiom, Sacchini occasionally produced spontaneous, self-sufficient short forms: a perfect example is in Chimène (Ex.141). Although the words are syllabically delivered they do not seem to be directly responsible for the melodic shape; the music suggests aria style and therefore a stifled form yet is fully cadenced before Chimène falls silent and the chorus begins. There is no contradiction of musical logic; the pathos is in the musical substance and does not need the overemphasis of Lemoyne (Ex.113).

Renaud and Chimène contain short airs despite their Italian origin. Dardanus, directly derived from an old French opera whereas Renaud drew one in irrelevantly,⁽¹⁾ is closest to traditional French forms. But the recitative is already grown drier than in Renaud and Chimène and the orchestration is slightly thinned; Oedipe and Evelina continue this simplification. The following shrewd, and not unsympathetic, criticism of Chimène applies to all Sacchini:-

"Ceux qui croient que la grande puissance de la musique réside dans les airs et qui n'apprécient le mérite d'un opéra que par le plus ou le moins de beaux airs qui s'y trouvent ne pourront guère refuser à Chimène le premier rang dans ce genre de beauté..."

1. Rameau, Dardanus (La Bruère 1739; revised 1744); Desmarests, Renaud ou la Suite d'Armide (Pellegrin 1722), "marmontelisé par le sieur Le Boeuf, revu et corrigé par M. le Bailli du Rollet" (Grimm, CL 3 II p.158).

"Si nous considérons la musique de Chimène relativement à l'effet dramatique, nous y trouverons beaucoup à désirer".(1)

With some exceptions Sacchini has banished Italianate "redondances" (ornaments, ritornelli) but

"Il peut juger, par le beau mouvement de Rodrigue, au troisième acte, lorsque, animé par un mot de Chimène, il dérie ses rivaux, qu'une simple phrase de récitatif, lorsqu'elle tient à une situation intéressante et qu'elle est rendue avec un sentiment vrai, peut avoir, au théâtre, un effet fort supérieur à celui du plus bel air, lorsqu'il est déplacé ou qu'il n'a pas l'expression ni le mouvement convenable".(2)

This is criticism from a Gluckiste standpoint of an attitude advocated by the Piccinnistes but of which Sacchini, rather than Piccinni, is the most consistent champion.

Renaud; Chimène

Unlike L'Olympiade, Renaud (1783) and Chimène (Guillard, using Corneille, 1784) were so much adapted as to cease to resemble Italian operas;(3) they are Piccinniste-French with features which might bear the label Sacchiniste,(4) shared perhaps by Zingarelli, but that they come closest to the Piccinnistes' ideal. The published arias of Il Cid (5) show little resemblance to Chimène; long, with coloratura and extended ritornelli, they are perfect examples of Neapolitan opera in decadence. For Paris the operas must have been completely recomposed(6) and the result is within the French

1. Mercure de France, "Annonce" of Chimène, cited de Thémis, preface to Chimène in COF, p.7.

2. Ibid. p.8.

3. Armida, Milan 1772; Il Gran Cidde, Rome 1764.

4. Grimm referred to "les Sacchinistes", CL 3 IV p.105.

5. Il Cid, a new version, London 1773.

6. COF provides Italian words for both operas, but in a version prepared for the edition. Page references to Renaud and Chimène are respectively to the full score and COF.

tradition, with ballets, choruses and a massive Conjunction (Renaud II.9) as well as ariosi and the devices for continuity already mentioned.

Renaud II is unusual in detail but typical in layout. It starts with a chorus of Armide's confidantes which she interrupts, wrenching the tonality from G to Bb (p.102:103), and from G to Eb (p.106:109) with continuity into recitative. This builds towards the aria, with an orchestral andante phrase and four bars recitative in tempo; the voice ends with the first note of the largo, a short, abbreviated form going from G to Eb. A brief recitative (p.108:110) precedes the full-length aria in Eb. From this a quaver figure, crescendo, at

"Et que le poignard de la haine
Déchire son coeur inhumain" (Ex.142A)

is taken to accompany choral recitative in Scenes 2-4 (p.115ff:116ff; Ex.142B). The Saracen kings are trying to murder Renaud; Armide rescues him. When they are together (II.6) an earlier orchestral figure recurs (pp.106 and 120:109 and 120), flowering into arioso at "O! le plus chéri des ingrats" (p.120:121). Armide's short air (26 bars) is fully closed, without ritornelli, and a little more recitative leads to the duet, in the usual form but with a short minore between the main movements. Armide sends Renaud safely away and sings her cantabile rondo "Barbare Amour". Hidraot furiously urges her to vengeance, and they conjure the powers of Hell - in vain, for the "souverain de l'univers" holds them back. This scene is one which suffers from excessive length and lack of concentration; a massive aria for Hidraot and a duet in Eb (p.150:150) lead to a long chorus (p.153:157) with solos. Similar scenes had been presented more succinctly in Amadis and Thésée. The act ends with a

massive ensemble in D whose sweep and passion, and freedom in modulating, would be beyond Piccinni.

Renaud may seem a ramshackle opera and the dénouement is appalling. Armide is seen alone amid the symphonic sounds of battle (III.1-5) - the opening figure with demi-semiquavers (p.179:191) reappears as late as her aria (p.188:204ff). Renaud rescues Hidraot and is united with Armide, presumably in Christian matrimony. Every character loses his integrity except Armide's admirer Adraste who, worsted by Renaud, comes before her with an arioso into which his dying gasps are affectingly composed (Ex.142C).

Renaud is nevertheless Sacchini's most exciting opera. Chimène, with the advantage of Guillard as librettist and Corneille as source, is better drama but less rich in action and music; this can best be seen in II where Rodrigue's great narration⁽¹⁾ is given to an Herald (p.133:110) and made less pertinent, less interesting. Guillard's adaptation begins at the end of Le Cid II with Chimène's father already dead, and omits the Infanta. Its chief flaw is to weaken Don Diègue and the ending; Corneille's Chimène, admitting her love for Rodrigue, still holds out in her final speech:-

"Relève-toi, Rodrigue. Il faut l'avouer, sire,
Je vous en ai trop dit pour m'en pouvoir dédire.
Rodrigue a des vertus que je ne puis haïr,
Et quand un roi commande, on lui doit obéir" (V.7).

Guillard softens this:-

"Va! c'en est trop, Rodrigue, lève-toi.
En vain je voudrais me défendre,
Chimène forcée à se rendre
Ne doit plus qu'obéir aux ordres de son Roi" (p.241:
225)

1. Corneille, Le Cid, IV.3.

From dry recitative this leads to an allegro in Bb:-

Rodrigue: "Enfin l'amour triomphe, il désarme Chimène..."

Chimène: "Ah! puis-je me défendre,
Contre un amour si tendre",

insipidly genial music which turns into a quartet before the ballet.

Chimène opens with an accompagnato soliloquy and the stylization of feeling continues throughout in the arias. The short air (I.3, Ex.141) has deeper emotional penetration than the aria which follows, "Je vois dans mon amant l'assassin de mon père" (p.39:31). Chimène is nearer to the Italian form than Renaud, with more arias, simpler recitative, less arioso; and with some expressive inventions within the accompagnato convention (between unaccompanied vocal phrases) in I.1 (p.13:8) and I.2 (p.26:20), where a sustained oboe above the strings recalls Gluck's "cri plaintif" and Mozart's often magical use of a single oboe note.⁽¹⁾ The "beau mouvement de Rodrigue" hailed by the Mercure is not recitative but a 23-bar air in D (p.224:205) which might have been inspired by Achille's "Cours et dis-lui" (Aulide II.5) or his defiant exit (II.6). Its brevity is the more effective because two full-scale arias "dans la scène" preceded it in defiance both of French tradition and the Italian scheme of exit-aria. (There are arias "dans la scène" in I.2 and I.4 also, the latter before a long duet). Just so in the formality of Neapolitan opera (especially Jomelli's) the stylized passion of accompagnato, used only in two or three soliloquys, made a greater effect than the accompagnato soliloquys in Piccinniste French opera where orchestrally elaborated recitative is the rule in dialogue also. Chimène I.1 (scored, including the aria, for strings)

1. See Die Zauberflöte, overture; Eulenburg score p.17.

is an example, very different from the unstylized feelings and arioso formations of Aulide I.1.

Dardanus

Dardanus, as revised in 1744, has been proposed as Rameau's last attempt at real musical drama,⁽¹⁾ second only to Hippolyte in dramatic integrity. The first two acts remained essentially the same as in 1739, the last three were completely altered,⁽²⁾ sacrificing some lovely music for a more human action, less 'merveilleux'. Originally, as in Cadmus, the gods controlled everything. In 1744 the so-called "nouvelle tragédie"⁽³⁾ reduced Vénus to a final Dea ex Machina; Isménor, the magician, appears in IV as well as II, and III and IV give opportunities for development of character missing in 1739. Guillard attempted a still firmer logic. He retained the first two acts almost intact, altered the order of events in III, and condensed IV and V into a single act;⁽⁴⁾ he used a third appearance of Isménor instead of Vénus at the end. He made a few cuts and, like Marmontel adapting Quinault, inserted some arias (the alterations are not so extensive, however, as to justify the title-page's "Paroles de M. Guillard").

That Dardanus, Sacchini's first opera composed expressly for Paris, is also structurally his most French, is due more to the libretto than to the music. Sacchini could capture the spirit of French opera and even approach it musically;

1. See above, Ch.I p.3.

2. See Girdlestone, "Plan for a Stage Production of Rameau's 'Dardanus'", ML 1959 p.39.

3. Title-page of the printed score (1744).

4. This is as printed; details of the adaptation, Appendix

8. Dardanus succeeded best in a three-act version, performed in 1786 (Versailles 1785).

Rameau might almost have written the opening of I.1 (Ex. 143A) at least until the word "âme" or even the orchestral continuation with its galant appoggiature (bar 19). This is followed by a Guillard insertion, an aria (Ex.143B) more in the Piccinniste manner, short with the spirit of a long form. (The theme is similar to that of the overture's allegro). There is more arioso in Dardanus than Chimène but in the generally French context the longer Italianate arias stand out as the more incongruous.

Succinct forms help make Iphise one of the best characterized of Sacchini's heroines but her personality is the simplest. Dardanus himself is too frequently sentimental (as in Rameau). His air in II.2 (Ex.143C) takes, as Piccinni and perhaps Rameau would have,⁽¹⁾ the "charme" as the affect whereas more dramatically "charme" and "tourment" might have been combined, as in the Thémistocle duet (Ex.88). Anténor is similarly sentimental (I.3; p.26) but his fury is convincing enough (III.1-2, aria, inserted by Guillard, p.130). Teucer and Arcas, who is built by Guillard into a sort of Iago, have virtually no musical existence, because of the general blankness of the recitative.

Act I is largely introductory, and prematurely celebrates Dardanus' downfall; II introduces Isménor. The recitative (Ex.17) suggests that, compared to Rameau's, Sacchini's magician is a trivial figure, although his role is longer. The Conjunction in d is more impressive (p.84), bringing trombones which in Sacchini still denote the supernatural. They play an important part in the impressive andante (corresponding to Rameau's air grave), which is

1. The words are recitative in Rameau (II.3).

flavoured by sudden contrasts like those of Rameau's invocatory dances and Gluck's serious ballets (Don Juan and Semiramis, not operatic divertissements). Dardanus also contains varied and effective choral writing; on the whole it is the big arias and dry recitative which make it diffuse, at odds with the libretto which was intended for the flexible methods of Rameau. If it is musically one of the best resettings, Dardanus is the only one with nothing definitely superior to the original version.

Oedipe; Evelina

The return to Italian styles visible through the French structure of Dardanus reached unabashed fulfilment in Oedipe and Evelina. The former may have owed its long popularity to an aesthetic simplicity which makes it barely relevant to the development of French opera and to this study. It is almost consistent even in its mismanagement of the story, for the happy ending is prepared by the sympathetic presentation of Polynice in I (mostly occupied with preparations for his wedding to a daughter of Thésée) and II. In an exciting, if over-extended, movement (I.5) the gods refuse to bless his attack on Thebes, since he is his father's enemy. No prophecy prepares for the old man's volte-face and forgiveness; Oedipe and Créon⁽¹⁾ both go too far in cursing their offspring for their ultimate clemency to be convincing.

Oedipe contains much pleasing music but its most interesting movements are the frequent ensembles, unusually relevant to the action. There are few precedents: the duo-trio

1. In Marmontel's Antigone (see below); contrast his Démophoön (set by Cherubini; below, VIII B). Grimm found the dénouement of Oedipe satisfactory (CL 3 IV p.183).

of Didon II.7,⁽¹⁾ like the ensemble in II.6 and that ending Renaud II, leaves the mutual feelings and situations of the characters unchanged. In the ensemble of Electre III.2 the musical change at the recognition ends the movement.⁽²⁾ The Thémistocle quartet and duet in Adèle (Ex.137) embody genuine dramatic conflict which (in the former especially) helps articulate the dénouement, but they no more include action than the Atys and Idomeneo quartets. The two arias of Les Horaces during which the singer's state of mind changes are no precedent; Oedipe was performed first (at Court). While Sacchini goes nowhere near as far as Mozart in marrying important action to the musical continuity, the trio in Oedipe III (p.192) includes not the whole of Oedipe's volte-face but the crucial change, from fighting his inclination to forgive, and accepting it. He has cursed Polynice irrevocably with fratricide (p.184), despite the latter's aria (p.173), indicative of good character. Antigone's few pleading words in recitative almost turn the scale (they are not, however, particularly eloquent, p.191). In the trio "Où suis-je? mes enfants!" Oedipe struggles with himself and prays, his children joining in: "Dieux justes...vous savez seuls s'il est sincère". In a new tempo Oedipe continues to address the gods (p.194) but before the next section he reaches his decision: "Je cède à ses remords, je retrouve mon fils" (p.196), and embraces them. The final section, which alone ends in the home key, brings the voices together.

The musical substance of this is a regrettably mild, too facile cantabile. The scene had already included an aria for Oedipe and two for Polynice; an aria for Antigone and a duet filled out the early part of the act. The inclusion of

1. See above p.313.

2. See above, Ch.VII p.273.

action in the trio does not satisfy a dramatic need for musical variety. In II another ensemble embodies a change of mood (p.111). Oedipe is in the throes of a Eumenidean visitation; Antigone soothes him and their voices unite (p.118). Immediately afterwards comes a choral outburst and the people of Colonus surge on to surround Oedipe, their hostility expressed in choral arioso and vigorous orchestral writing. Thésée and Antigone have an aria each and the act ends with a static trio. Oedipe is very much an opera of separate numbers (which may, as in II.1 and in Verdi's "numbers", include recitative): in this it is far removed from Electre or indeed Tauride.

The subject of Evelina resembles that of Sabinus, a Celtic rebellion against Rome, this time across the Channel:-

Un Barde: "A l'instant vers ces lieux retirés,
Dans ces sombres réduits à Snowdon consacrés,
Deux mortels ont osé paraître...
Je les crois de Lenox..."

Not until Ossian ou les Bardes was exoticism really to embrace Britain - neither Sabinus nor Evelina employ even as much "local colour" as Alexandre, Pizarre, or the Taurides. Evelina has a good libretto, with a lively action and four fully-drawn personalities, Arvir, alias Caractacus,⁽¹⁾ the King; Evelina, his daughter; and the brothers Vellinus and Irvin, with as background the enmity of Romans and Druids. Sacchini's setting reveals either his poor health or cynicism. It is full of mannerisms: plain recitative, a few ariosi, fully cadenced arias with functionless open ends on the pattern of Ex.16B2. The recitative is mostly automatic, as is shown by the casual recurrence of one orchestral figure

1. Evelina is based on Caractacus, by Mason, performed London 1776. (Jullien, La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI p.131).

on at least sixteen pages of the score⁽¹⁾ in different contexts. It stops where Rey took over (p.254; hinted at pp.306-8). Arvire at his first appearance is honoured with a tremolo (p.63) but neither his nor the chief Druid's recitative are impressive vocally (I.4 and II.1). The orchestration is less varied than ever, relying heavily on the contrasted timbres of oboe and flute, with trombones used for the supernatural.

The arias are like musical interludes holding up the action, which is conceived with something of the complexity of old French opera and (again like Babinus) seems at odds with the type of setting. Rameau's short dialogued arias, Metastasio's exit after the aria, Gluck's careful placement of long and short aria, all valuable formal principles, have alike been forgotten. The musical substance seems irrelevant; Sacchini comes nearest to Piccinni in his brisk allegro setting (II.6) of "O jour affreux" (Ex.144A). The central largo is more characteristic (Ex.144B) and gains some intensity by quitting Bb for c. Yet Vellinus' air of penitence (III.4) is well placed and worthily ends Sacchini's career (after it is written "Fin de la musique de M. Sacchini", p.253), for cantabile is here the servant of feeling.

Where Jean-Baptiste Rey (1734-1810)⁽²⁾ took over Evelina the scoring is enriched (with solo wind in Evelina's air, p.256), the recitative is elaborated, and recurring motifs are used as in Lemoyne but with more subtlety. Evelina is led into captivity and battle begins (Ex.145A); the C (bar 9) recalls the 'Combat' of Babinus.⁽³⁾ Arvire assumes her to be dead. In the introduction to his scena

1. The figure is semiquaver-dotted quaver-semiquaver crotchet, the last two up a 3rd (usually minor).

2. Chef d'Orchestre at the Opéra; author of contributions to several operas and a Diane et Endymion (1792).

3. Ex.16B; compare also Thésée I (Ex.72).

the violas throb with the battle's rhythm (Ex.145B); the aria (Ex.145C) uses the music of her captivity. The task of ending Evelina was originally offered to Piccinni⁽¹⁾ but Rey, using music by Sacchini,⁽²⁾ did the work well while aligning himself to the post-Piccinnian methods of other French composers. It would be interesting to know if any of this repetition was Sacchini's intention; there is no opera of the period by Rey himself with which to compare the stylistic implications of the passage, and, although it seems untypical of Sacchini, it might have been suggested by Renaud II (Ex.142) or III 1-5.

Zingarelli: Antigone

Despite its date the one French opera of Niccolò Zingarelli (1752-1837) belongs very much to the pre-revolutionary period of Piccinnisme. Antigone (Marmontel 1790) was unsuccessful; its chief fault is the lack of variety in the arias, whose incessant bland cantabile is remote from the seriousness of the subject, if not from the improbably contrived happy ending. Zingarelli seems to cultivate discontinuity. II.1 consists of an aria in G, fully closed; baldly juxtaposed to it II.2 consists of a long chorus in Bb; II.3 begins in G; in III.4 a duo (G) again follows Bb (an air) with no linking recitative (p.317). The melodic idiom is Sacchinian but the scoring resembles Piccinni's, conventionally rich with much use of flutes (whereas Sacchini, like Philidor, scores lightly with oboe predominant). The ensembles are massive, as if Marmontel was following up the success of Didon II.6, but they are

1. Jullien op.cit. p.127; Grimm CL 3 IV p.511.

2. Jullien op. cit. p.131; Grimm implies that only the final number was Sacchini's (loc. cit. p.514).

static and assist neither action nor characterization. The rapport of music and words also leaves much to be desired: in III.1 Créon's "Songe affreux, nuit funeste", set to a robust allegro con brio in E♭ (p.281), makes Pizarre's sleepless night (Ex.102) seem psychologically profound. III shows throughout the insufficiency of reliance on the "période"; and this last child of Piccinnisme is also the weakest. Near the dramatic crux a typically decorous cantabile (Ex.146A) would suggest a superhuman calm in face of death were this not the mood of Antigone throughout the opera. Otherwise the poised "Adieu" (Ex.146B) might have made a touching farewell, but Hémon appears and their duet is ridiculous (Ex.146C), recalling Andromaque's inept aria (Ex.95).

From these strictures Act I may be partially excepted. There is some arioso to strengthen the recitative and make it emotionally relevant; Antigone addresses Créon in subdued tones which give more force to her words by eschewal of Piccinnian rhetoric (Ex.147A). Créon's inexorability is marked by a maestoso (bar 11) whose style gives his edict an oracular force. In I.5 Antigone's recitative builds towards the duet with controlled modulations in sostenuto (Ex.147B) (the prosody, however, seems uncomfortable). With the dramatic achievements of later Piccinnisme apparently ignored, Antigone may be regarded as a final attempt to establish in Paris the naive delights of bel-canto. The Queen's former support for Piccinni and Sacchini doubtless identified this, a year before Lodoïska, with the ancien régime. Not only was the Revolutionary atmosphere uncongenial but a stronger cantabile had been experienced in Vogel's Démophon; and the career of Cherubini, who seems virtually of a different generation than Zingarelli although only

eight years younger, was already launched. The "Epoque de Gluck" properly ends, not with Zingarelli, nor with Paisiello's belated resetting of Lully's Armide (1803), but with two adaptations of Metastasio's Demofonte.

B. Vogel and Cherubini: Demofonte

Contradictory trends - continuity, *aria* - in post-Gluck and Piccinnian opera account for the radically different structures of the Demofonte adaptations. The differences in the dramatis personae symptomise this:-

<u>Metastasio</u>	<u>Marmontel</u> (CM)	<u>Desrioux</u> (VD)
<u>Demofonte</u>	<u>Démophon</u>	<u>Démophon</u>
<u>Dircea</u>	<u>Dirce</u>	<u>Dirce</u>
<u>Timante</u>	<u>Osmide</u>	<u>Timante</u>
<u>Matusio</u>	<u>Astor</u>	<u>Narbal</u>
<u>Creusa</u>	<u>Incile</u>	<u>Omitted</u>
<u>Cherinto</u>	<u>Alceste</u>	<u>Omitted</u>
<u>Adrasto</u>	<u>Adraste</u>	<u>Adraste</u>

Marmontel, far from "introducing a superfluous sub-plot",⁽¹⁾ simply retains the full cast but curtails the action by omitting III. Desrioux keeps the whole length of action but omits two characters.⁽²⁾ Marmontel expands I into two acts, the division made natural by a scene-change; he first follows the original more closely, only to depart from it more radically. The expansion was needed to accommodate choruses, ballet and - on the pattern of Les Horaces and Alceste - the direct presentation of the oracle which in Metastasio (I.2) and VD (I.5) is narrated. The form of

1. Deane, Cherubini (Oxford Studies of Composers), p.2.
 2. Details in Appendix 9.

CM is therefore much closer to the post-Gluck main stream than Vogel's opera; VD replaces the sub-plot by choruses and spaces out the action much as in Demoföonte, with arias in corresponding places and followed as in Metastasio's scheme⁽¹⁾ by the singer's exit.

In changing the dénouement Marmontel had also to change the oracle, which became still more enigmatic; it is fulfilled when Démophöön suddenly repents and spares Osmide (his son) and Dircé, married contrary to the law. The sudden magnanimity is Metastasian, but does not come from Demoföonte; it recalls Oedipe à Colone and was used again by Marmontel in Antigone, but only in Démophöön is it logical. In CM the mistaken identities and the suspected incest when it is thought that Timante and Dircea are siblings (Demoföonte III) are omitted. Metastasio's ending has no cumulative or climactic effect because of the persistence of the exit-aria formation (III.5-8; four characters on the stage are gradually reduced to one). VD abandons Metastasio at the end, replacing three arias by a quartet (III.6) and providing a more grandiose conclusion within the French tradition by a descent of Diane. The psychological complexity of VD is balanced in CM by the directly presented oracle (I.1-2) which invokes Alceste in its monotone declamation (Ex.148) although there are no trombones; its weight is enough to make its fulfillment, of little moment in Metastasio, a satisfactory climax, helped as in both Iphigénies by the splendid sacrificial ritual.

Furthermore VD suffers, like many operas reliant upon aria (including Les Danaïdes), from emotional monotony. The arias are richly varied, unlike Zingarelli's, but the

1. There is an exception in Demoföonte (I.5-6; see Appendix 9).

Metastasian pattern remains. Vogel's characters address their emotional outpourings to the audience; Cherubini's are involved with one another, a consequence of the small forms and ariosi, almost absent in Vogel, with which CM abounds and which produce a continuity like that in Pénélope or Electre. CM is altogether richer on the surface and the comparative success of VD a year later perhaps demonstrates an increasing taste for aria in Paris, soon to be satisfied by Cherubini himself in his very discontinuous opéra-comiques.

Vogel: Démophon

Vogel's Démophon is nevertheless an interesting work which perhaps comes closer than any other to what Mozart might have written as a French opera; it somewhat resembles la Clemenza di Tito. Although the structure is like Sacchini, the music is more varied and more impassioned. The recitative is less careful than in La Toison d'Or (or CM), so that Vogel approaches the Italians rather than Gluck. In I Narbal's explanation (for the audience's benefit) is impressive, welded together by rhythmic repetition (Ex. 119; bars 13 and 26, and, controlling the vocal line's change from declamation to arioso, bars 16, 21, 22, 23, 24,). Vogel depends heavily on the rhythmic motif of bar 13 in later recitatives, and his stock of inventions in conversational sostenuto is severely limited. Like Evelina, Démophon was composed hastily between illness and dissipation which led to Vogel's premature death. Careful recitative is the prerogative of sober composers like Cherubini and Gluck, and undisguised discontinuity is easier to write. The recitative is indifferent, the emotions being channelled into separated, formal arias, however distracted the characters, and when

the apparent disaster of incest is revealed they join in a quartet (III.6; p.303), perhaps suggested by Aulide (the trio, II.4) and quite unlike the Atys or Idomeneo quartets since the style is of a choral tableau, in itself impressive but absolutely static (the chorus joins in the very formal recapitulation, p.322).

The emotional climax is Timante's monologue (III.5) where something of a synthesis of 18th-century operatic methods takes place, with procedures more interesting than the musical invention as such. Vogel flings his orchestra into the accompanato (Ex.150A); the voice part, rising from frequent f's to a sustained g' (bar 17) is mainly based on secco formulae such as Piccinni would have used (for example at "de mon sang odieux où répandre les flots?"). A similar orchestral mood was used before the disaster in Atys, but Vogel's principal model must have been the Eumenidean recitative of Aulide II.7.⁽¹⁾ Against vehement strings and wind sostenuto Agamemnon also sang unaccompanied clichés; although the orchestral sound is continuous Timante need not adapt himself to its tempo.⁽²⁾ Agamemnon's persistently high tessitura is more expressive and his recitative is in any case a distracted episode in a complex scene, ending in another mood (compound aria). Vogel continues the same texture throughout and his aria (Ex.150B) has a similar mood to the recitative and a Piccinniste formality unaffected by one of Vogel's few open ends. The sense of organization

1. See above, Ch.II p.60.

2. A marking frequently seen in the conductor's crayon in MS scores used for performance (for example the BO scores of Les Horaces, Alcidor, and Pizarre), a dash (') over a first beat in the vocal part to indicate where, in a free rhythm, the conductor gives a down-beat, is actually printed throughout Démophon; see Ex.150A, bar 6ff.,

induced by the 4-bar "périodes" and the development in different harmonic contexts of the dotted motif, is stronger than the incoherent agitation which appears to be (and would be the most suitable) affect intended. The method is undisguisedly "baroque", and in the light of Tauride and the climax of La Toison d'Or (Ex.118), and from an admirer of Gluck, disappointing. The scoring is too thick; the trombones roar (p.272ff) and their parts in the quartet recall Demoyne's crudities rather than Gluck or even La Toison.

At best, however, Démophon is a more mature and individual achievement than Vogel's first opera. The arias are not so thinly spread, being long by the nature of their material, and remain emotionally relevant. The chromatic mannerisms of La Toison (a fondness for a flat 6th in the major, Ex.117D, and flat supertonic, Exs.119B and 120) remain and become part of an individual chromatic style, including some convincing enharmony (pp.31-2, 40, 51, 72-4, 107). With this goes a "modern" aria form, a unity of closely related parts not falling into binary or ternary patterns; for example the aria ending I, in f (p.98):-

Introduction	A	B	B	Coda
14 bars	22 bars	21 bars	27 bars	13 bars

in which A, B and the Coda have common material. The thematic unity and literal repetition are a stable element to set off complex harmonic material; it is quite unlike the near-Sonata-form arias of Piccinni, Sacchini, and others, and looks to 19th-century structures where extreme chromaticism is balanced by literal sequence. Cherubini also used this form, in Démophon I.3, an air of Astor:-⁽¹⁾

1. Deane, quotes a passage from p.51 or 55 (Vivace) op. cit. p.3.

Page	49	51	53	55	57	58
Words	A	B	C	B	C	B
Music	A	B	A varied	B	Coda	
Tempo	Soutenu	Vivace	Tempo I	Vivace		

One 8-bar passage in 'B' comes three times, unchanged. Later in Cherubini's career such literal repetition became a vice. In VD the form appears in I.1 (p.30), I.2 (p.39), I.4 (p.67), II.4 (p.143); the later parts of Démophon use more conventional structures.

The aria in II.4 is among Vogel's finest, a firmly controlled cantabile modelled on the text (Ex.151A). The rise to g' is not a significant extension of range in Gluck's manner, but the whole range in use is now under more harmonic control than in La Toison d'Or (Ex.120). A change to the major (bar 15) is soon quashed and the tonic persists, amply inflected so that interest is maintained to the touching orchestral coda (Ex.151B) as Dircé is led to be sacrificed. The tone of the aria is very similar to Mozart's "Ach, ich fühl's". (1)

Apart from the arbitrary use of one accompaniato rhythm - the result of haste, not calculation - Vogel uses little repetition; he takes an idea from the overture (p.23) for a chorus after Diane's appearance (p.333) and, presumably influenced by Luide, begins I.1 (p.26) with a fragment of the introduction to the overture. The music is not continuous, nor does it recur after the first bars of I.1; it is hardly more relevant than Piccinni's use of the overture material in Diane. (2)

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1. Die Zauberflöte II no.17.
 2. See above, Ch.V p.196.

Cherubini: Démophoön

Cherubini's overture is a characteristically serious piece, suited to the opera's mood but a closed form, unconnected thematically. Before Démophoön Cherubini's experience had been in Italy, and he now collaborated with an arch-Piccinniste. Significantly the result is as far from the Italian tradition as Gluck himself. Démophoön stands firmly in line with Salieri, Lemoigne, Amadis, Didon, La Toison d'Or; it has not Philidor's or Gossec's relationship to French tradition, but neither has it much in common with the Italian infiltration of French opera from L'Olympiade to Antigone. Cherubini is perhaps the fullest example of something towards which Bach, Lemoigne, and Vogel hinted; a synthesis between Gluck and Piccinni. He had a strength of mind like Gluck's, but Italian birth and training induced a suavity of melody which Gluck, perhaps deliberately, avoided.

It is the duets rather than the arias which, with ballet and chorus, account for one Metastasian act becoming two. The arias are mostly not long, and there is a profusion of carefully instrumented recitative and arioso; in I.5 Osuide has three ariosi (p.76-79) and later (II.1) almost all the dialogue is in arioso formation (an effect emulated by Spontini in La Vestale II.3). The quick change from f# to g (p.181) is controlled, not a shock like Sacchini's Penaud arioso (Ex.131B). Dircé's arioso before the sacrifice (pp.311-2) is almost as touching as Vogel's aria (Ex.151). Open ends and links between numbers are the rule rather than the exception, but the music never becomes incoherent. The handling of forms and language in no way suggests a stranger to French opera (no more than did Amadis); Lemoigne is more prone to false prosody than Cherubini. Deane's comment, that

"The rigid distinction between recitative and aria is broken down by accompanied recitative and *arioso*. The chorus plays a major part..."(1), indicates how thoroughly Cherubini had assimilated the prevailing styles, which unlike Sacchini he never made Italianate.

The intelligence rather than the style of Philidor (Ex.87B) are recalled in one trio (III, p.289): the lovers, legato, plead with the angry Démophoön, who sings in unison with the strings. The role of Osride (Timante) is cut by the omission of Demofonte III, but Démophoön himself is more articulate than in VD - he appears earlier, in I.8 (a scene Metastasio describes), he is shown as a popular figure in I.9 and speaks with Osride in I.11 (from Metastasio's I.3). His first aria, however, is rather sentimental (p.127). In VD he is a remote and monstrous figure, and only appears at the end of II; the stronger portrayal in CM makes his change of heart a more valid climax. One aria (Ex.152), which accompanies a declamatory "aboyement" with a vigorously developed orchestral motif, comes closer to Gluck ("Dieux qui me poursuivez") than similar movements by Piccini or Bach.

In one respect Cherubini surpassed all his contemporaries; in processional music, less severely functional than in the Iphigénies:-

"There is no more beautiful march [than Démophoön's] or effective recitative in Cherubini's operas".(2)

Even Médée has none more splendid than this Marche (p.318) and chorus (p.324).

1. Op. cit., p.9.

2. Bellasis, Cherubini, Memorials... p.24.

Very little ground can be found for direct comparison with Vogel. One instance is a soliloquy of *Alceste* in which she debates whether to save herself by revealing the illegal marriage which makes her ineligible for virgin sacrifice (CM I.4; VD I.2). Cherubini's treatment (Ex.155A) is serious, using Gluck's progression from sostenuto (bar 11, enriched by flutes) to adesso ragnato (bar 15) and tremolo (bar 17); the latter explodes into a scale (bar 19) - the key has moved from g to b - followed by an abrupt change of mood (bar 22, andante sostenuto). The orchestral ideas are richly varied; the vocal and orchestral signs (bars 22-3) are as impassioned as arioso. The aria is introduced (bar 25) by the phrase which opened the scene (then in 2, p.62).

Such imaginative response to poetic detail is scarcely to be found in Vogel, whose equivalent passage (Ex.155B) is set in an uncertain (low terzitura, d' to d''), to simple sostenuto; the andante (bar 23) is inexpressive, merely pointing a choral change; dry crotchets follow (bar 28ff). The aria "Age d'Or, ô bel âge" is separated from the recitative, not built towards, and is a Metastasian meditation remote from the singer's actual situation.

Cherubini, then, is nearer than Vogel to Gluck and Piccinnistic practice. The scoring is rich but never thick, like Lemoyne's, Piccinni's, and Vogel's, economical ~~too~~ with the trombones ^{yet} without Sacchini's thinness. The accompagnato is an enrichment of Gluck's or a controlled version of Piccinni's, and the opera most like Démocrión, from another composer affiliated to the Italian and central European traditions, is Amadis. Vogel on the other hand remains allied to the decadence. Yet there is much of Gluck in him, a seriousness of purpose which, while it does not alleviate monotony, allows him to be considered with Cherubini

as one who closed the gap between Italianate and Gluckiste trends. The dividing line was always vague; here - particularly in Cherubini - it has virtually been abolished, and the synthesis leads without any aesthetic (as opposed to temporal) gap into the next epoch when the Opéra exceeded the Opéra-comique in importance, under the Empire, with Lesueur, Catel, Kreutzer, Spontini.

C. Conclusions

1. Subsequent operatic developments: Revolution, Empire and 19th century

In the 1790s, like the 1760s, the main operatic activity in Paris was in opéra-comique; the main genre was rescue or adventure opera, and although Médée is one of the finest works of the time it failed, partly because Greek subjects were no longer in vogue. Opera with spoken dialogue is at best a dubious species. The repeated change of convention, from the "natural" spoken dialogue to the artificiality of sung speech, and the impossibility of musical control without musical continuity, are enough to ensure its aesthetic inferiority to opera sung throughout,⁽¹⁾ which, more unnatural, is at least an artifact consistent with itself.

The genre opéra-comique can work in comedy, but in the Revolutionary decade the chief composers were not in direct succession to Luni, Monsigny, or Grétry (who was still active).

1. A point well made by Rousseau: "un contraste ridicule qui détruit toute illusion..." (Lettre sur la musique Française p.70) and d'Alembert (op. cit. p.423).

Although the lighter genres continued to exist the dominant "rescue opera" followed Salieri, Lemoyne, even Gluck. Just as in the 1780s, with Grétry, Dezède, Rosine and Les Prétendus, the opéra-comique invaded the Académie Royale, so in the 1790s did the Opéra's tragic vocabulary and more complex methods invade the other theatres. Méhul's operas from 1790 onwards

"were important in establishing the type of opéra comique on serious subjects, approaching the musical style of ordinary opera..."(1)

His instrumental innovations and use of leitmotif⁽²⁾ which, in Euphrosine, is not unlike Lemoyne's, are strong pointers to 19th-century Romantic opera. But spoken dialogue remained, and the gulf widened between passionate musical expression on the one hand and unadorned speech on the other, delivered by singers, not trained actors. Thus in Médée II and III the stormy preludes prepare for some supreme utterance from the sorceress, alone on stage as the curtain rises; the words fall flat because they are spoken. Méhul goes so far as to leave musical numbers uncompleted, on an imperfect cadence or diminished 7th,⁽³⁾ an abuse of inherited devices for continuity since the contradiction of musical sense arouses such expectations as to make plain speech flatter than ever.

Departing from the manner of Démophoön, Cherubini, more austere, less a proto-romantic than Méhul, made another artistic imbalance by constructing massive closed forms whose musical self-sufficiency separates them from the surrounding dialogue more sharply even than the old Italian

1. Grout p.304.

2. See Dean, "Opera under the French Revolution", in Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 1967-8 p.86.

3. See Dean loc. cit. pp.93-4.

aria was divided from secco recitative. He further complicated the issue by using both dialogue and musical numbers for action, so that two conventions operate to one end. Action fills the long finale of Lodoïska II; there is action both in the penultimate number of Les Deux Journées III and in the dialogue before the choral finale. Nevertheless these rescue operas aroused the justifiable admiration (and especially in Léonore the sincere flattery) of Beethoven.

Édée (Hoffmann 1797) is closer to the main stream of the "Éclogue de Gluck". Its seriousness and undoubted dramatic force make its genre the more lamentable, as Deane admits.⁽¹⁾ It is no accident that it is most often heard today in an Italian translation, with post-Beber recitative, and with Cherubini's music ruthlessly pruned - not always to its disadvantage.⁽²⁾ The contrapuntal pedantry which was part of Cherubini's complex musical personality is paralleled in his dramatic music by unimaginative manipulation of good ideas; dramatic force is dissipated in gratuitous repetition (the overture and preludes in Édée):-

"the initial idea is nearly always striking, but its development is strained for the sake of symmetry".⁽³⁾

This results in "a certain coldness and lack of dramatic passion".⁽⁴⁾ It requires special pleading to regard Édée as a dramatic masterpiece; Brahms's accolade⁽⁵⁾ is of doubtful value coming from the least dramatically inclined of major composers, and adverse circumstances from which it suffered cannot make it better than it is. Deane alludes

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1. Deane, Cherubini p.8.
 2. This version by Lachner has been twice recorded.
 3. Blom op. cit. p.84.
 4. Cooper, Coira Colique p.49.
 5. Quoted by Deane, op. cit. p.12.

to its "Racinian intensity", "unprecedented and almost unparalleled in later operatic history".⁽¹⁾ Gluck's Tauride is sufficient precedent and its fastidious control is more Racinian than Cherubini's

"sudden interruptions of phrases, unexpected pauses, ostinato chord repetitions, extreme dynamic contrasts, fluctuations of tempo, new orchestral sounds and colours...some of his effects startle rather than convince".⁽²⁾

The source is the decadence to Gluck, and especially Lemoigne although Cherubini is immeasurably the better composer; the devices derive not from Cherubini's "earlier experiments"⁽³⁾ so much as from widely used procedures of the "époque de Gluck". Yet the assertion that Médée is "reminiscent of Gluck in its general plan and treatment"⁽⁴⁾ cannot be upheld. The intention to be dramatic is the sole common factor; the general plan could not be more different from the small forms, the continuity, the careful control, of late Gluck. Deane's statement, that Cherubini stripped away everything "merely decorative"⁽⁵⁾ is belied by the bassoon obbligato to Neris's aria (Médée II.4). Elsewhere the strenuousness of Médée overcompensates for the composer's inability to control timing and sequence of moods. More than Gluck's in 1762, Cherubini's dramatic gifts needed firm guidance from a librettist and congenial conventions for their fulfillment; the "époque de Gluck" and Guillard might have suited him perfectly.

1. Ibid. p.8.

2. Ibid. p.9.

3. Ibid.

4. Grout p.302.

5. Op. cit. p.8.

Empire and 19th century

Orwell's despotic pig Napoleon⁽¹⁾ became indistinguishable from the human tyrants he displaced; under the First Empire Bonaparte restored to supremacy the Opéra of the ancien régime which, after some years as "Académie Nationale", became "Impériale". Méhul continued to write mostly opéra-comique including such serious works as Joseph, and Cherubini was out of favour; Lesueur came to the Académie with his Ossian ou les Bardes (1804). His weird and sombre La Mort d'Adam (1809) failed but Ossian, a blend of exoticism and rescue opera and, musically, of originality beside rather faded 18th-century melody, aroused the Emperor's enthusiasm. Certainly this, and Paisiello's resetting Proserpine, were serious artistic endeavours in the spirit of the "époque de Gluck", but their contemporaries were mostly meretricious.

The composer who sums up, rather than initiates, this period is Spontini. Einstein called him "the last of the Gluckians"⁽²⁾ but Lajarte began the next "époque" with La Vestale.⁽³⁾ For Grout "Spontini was the last of the great opera composers in whose music the dramatic methods of Gluck were still of living force".⁽⁴⁾ Like Cherubini's his dramatic methods derive from the whole period 1774-89; some are not Gluck's at all; and there is a definite feel of Piccinnisme in his rich scoring and cantabile - consider the heroine's arias in Fernand Cortez (II.4 and III.3), and Cinna's in La Vestale (I.1, III.2), all "dans la scène". Even in the magnificent second act of La Vestale Julie's aria "Impitoyables Dieux" exploits the same minor key

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1. In Animal Farm.
 2. Einstein p.12.
 3. Lajarte II p.61.
 4. Grout p.306.

rhetoric as Piccinni, Bach, Vogel or Salieri,⁽¹⁾ but not Gluck (unless in "Alceste, au nom des Dieux").

Above all Spontini is not austere. His debt to Gluck is simply the idea of a dramatic opera; something he shares with Piccinni. The techniques are familiar from the Gluck epoch although the opening of Cortez anticipates the flavour of Aïda or L'Africaine. La Vestale contains very dry recitative (I.1, p.44) besides orchestally dominated accompagnato (III.1, p.342ff), much arioso (I.4, p.92; II.3 pp.261-2), even a duet in the "usual" form but with thematically linked movements (I.1, p.47). There are some short arias, in unabbreviated, self-contained cantabile; the devices for continuity are Sacchinian, without dramatic significance. Indeed the pattern - fairly continuous, dramatically relevant, but still very much a "number" opera - is closer to Oedipe à Colone than Gluck. Besides looking back before 1789 the long-breathed paragraphs of La Vestale are a source for the 19th century; there are hints of Rossini in the first finale (pp.119 and 129; it is meant to be dramatic but sounds like opera buffa) and techniques of Donizetti and Verdi are also anticipated.

Catel's Les Bayadères, three years after La Vestale, seems conservative; the Frenchman mingles the elements of the Gluck epoch and integrates ballet into the action (II) whereas Spontini separated it off, pointing the way to the tasty choreographic dishes served by Meyerbeer and Halévy between important events. The music itself almost belongs to the Gluck period; being a minor composer's it is the more representative and suggests that the continuity of tradition at the Opéra was almost unaffected by the Revolution. In

1. Spontini prepared a version of Les Danaïdes in 1817.

Lesueur a vein of eccentricity, and good inventions he was not always able to sustain, disguise thought rooted in the earlier period. Les Bayadères, exotic and melodramatic, links Tarare to the 19th century, but this period which, like Méhul's opéra-comique, contains seeds of Romanticism, is still essentially pre-romantic. Only with Hugo's Hernani and, in opera, La Muette de Portici and Robert le Diable, was Romanticism truly launched in the French theatre; and even then links with tradition remain strong.

The presence of Meyerbeer contributed, for better or worse, to the exclusion of France's greatest 19th-century composer from the Opéra. Berlioz's opera semi-seria Benvenuto Cellini (1838) failed and the Carthaginian acts only of Les Troyens appeared at another theatre (1863) although this is the belated culmination of the Gluck-Spontini tradition. Subject, mood, and method set it apart from its contemporaries; the text is at times almost anachronistic, harking back to Racinian imagery (the connection with Didon has already been mentioned). The multiplicity of forms is bewildering. The ensembles ("Châtiment effroyable" (I, no.8⁽¹⁾) and in IV the quintet, septet, and duet) are static, but the grandest set-piece, the Marche Troyenne (I, no.11) is part of the action, and recalls the end of Édée II: the heroine smoulders in the foreground while a procession, dominating the music, passes over the stage; as it leaves both Édée and Cassandra wrench the music to the tonic minor. The atmosphere of II (the sack of Troy) recalls Les Danaïdes IV-V; Alceste might have inspired III, the Queen among her people, although Didon II is the obvious precedent. V makes vivid use of choral participation

1. The numbers, which are Berlioz's, are those of the New Berlioz Edition.

and places the two solo scenas expertly. After Enée's departure (V, no.46) Berlioz exploits the whole gamut of recitative techniques: accompagnato, sostenuto, tremolo, arioso, and the intimate association of voice and orchestra (no. 47, "Je vais mourir") characteristic of Wagner and hinted at in parts of Alceste (P) (I, before and after "Non, ce n'est point un sacrifice"). Generally the recitative seems not to be modelled on Gluck's - indeed it might be termed iccinniste. The voice is often swamped by the orchestra, in volume and interest of material. In I, no.3, which includes perfect short airs⁽¹⁾ and arioso (for Chorèbe, the self-controlled character, not distraught Cassandre), Berlioz balances a relatively conventional geniality with passionate, angular exclamations recalling Electre (see Exs. 110-111). Later, Cassandre's vision of Troy devastated, although it gains in musical relevance from its use of the theme of the subsequent duet, is vocally not unlike the simple exclamations in Lavinie's vision of ruined Carthage (Ex.4), while the orchestra is full and frenetic. The hysteria of the recitative is appropriate here and in Didon's last scenes; in V, no.46 there are too many words (from "Et voilà donc la foi de cette âme pieuse"), but no.47 is perfectly controlled, building from inarticulate frenzy through arioso to the wonderful aria "Adieu fière cité" (no.48). Only this last is nearer to Gluck than to Lemoyne, Piccinni, or Vogel.⁽²⁾

Berlioz was a conservative, but the reforming Wagner also owed something to the Gluck epoch. Einstein heard

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1. Ernest Newman thought the air in E "Reviens à toi" particularly Gluck-like (Opera Nights, London 1943 p.293).
 2. See above p.311.

Spontini rather than Meyerbeer in Rienzi,⁽¹⁾ but the main link is theoretical. Wagner's indignation against Gluck in Oper und Drama was based on the true observation that Gluck's reform, at the expense of the singer, was not helpful to the poet:-

"Von jetzt an geht die Herrschaft in der Anordnung der Oper mit Bestimmtheit auf den Komponisten über...

"In der Stellung des Dichters zum Komponisten, war nicht das Mindeste geändert; eher war die Stellung des Komponisten gegen ihn noch diktatorischer geworden...".⁽²⁾

This tyranny led to Spontini and Rossini (who wrote out his ornaments and orchestrated the recitative, like the French)⁽³⁾ and to the opera dominated by melody. Wagner's position was not without self-deception: no composer dictated the shape of his operas more thoroughly than he. Thus he practised what Gluck practised, and in theory adopted Gluck's priorities:-

"Pensai di restringer la Musica al suo vero ufficio di servire alla Poesia per l'espressione..."⁽⁴⁾

"das ein Mittel des Ausdruckes (die Musik) zum Zwecke, der Zweck des Ausdruckes (das Drama) aber zum Mittel gemacht war".⁽⁵⁾

The devices for continuity in this period superficially suggest Wagner, leading as they do to the idea of a continuous act. Concurrently with Mozart's complex finales, Gluck thrust much of the musical weight to the end of his acts.

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1. Einstein p.192.
 2. Oper und Drama, Gesammelte Schriften III p.238.
 3. From Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra (1815).
 4. Gluck, preface to Alceste.
 5. Wagner, op. cit. p.231.

A final aria in Gluck, not one of fifteen but almost the only aria of an act, has a climactic effect Handel or Metastasio's composers could never give it; their act-ends are arbitrary, even the second-act duet being generally only an aria à deux. Old French operas even ended acts with recitative (Hippolyte I and II) but also used the scena (Hippolyte III) or a complex scene (Hippolyte IV). This sort of thing Gluck developed not only throughout Alceste I, where the climax is an aria, but at the end of II (particularly (V)) and Tauride II. The orchestral conclusion of Armide leads through Rossini's Mosè in Egitto to Die Walküre. Götterdämmerung II ends orchestrally with motifs of vengeful plotting and the Gibichung wedding (compare Médée II). The complexity of musical meaning, without voices, depends on leitmotif, of which such passages are perhaps the main justification; at the end of Der Ring the motifs provide clues for emotional as well as musical analysis. The ends of Gluck's operas are comparatively perfunctory, because of the Deus ex Machina; but in Paride Pallas appears to complicate, not unravel, the ending, and music from the overture recurs (V.3-4). The overture was used thus in Démophon; ⁽¹⁾ in La Vestale, before the final ballet, Spontini recalls the great duet (p.453, headed "Duo du 2^{me} acte"). Gluck's final expansions are a better precedent than Mozart's finales for Wagner's symphonic conclusions as they deal with one situation, and do not develop the action along with the musical continuity. Thus Oreste's funeral - Liebestod, Armide I.8 - Siegfried III, Armide II - walküre III, Armide III - Tristan II, with a sudden change

1. See above p. 339.

of mood, a late peripeteia, after the expansion; but in the absence of leitmotif the rightness of Gluck's solutions has to be sensed more intuitively.

2. Gluckisme and Piccinnisme: a "Réunion des Goûts"

It is perhaps opportune to pose again the question: "what is Piccinnisme?". In this - and concomitantly, "what is Gluckisme?" - lie some clues to the unity of the period and its relation to preceding and subsequent epochs.

Several misunderstandings have confused the issue: Terry's is but one such.⁽¹⁾ Gluck, we have established, confirmed a tradition in Paris by regenerating it, perpetuated in a new form ideals in danger of being lost in decadent French opera. And he was not alone in this endeavour. Piccinni, whatever the intention of Marmontel, did not Italianize French opera, and the move to adopt Italianate music and the aria into French operatic forms involved Gluck, Gossec, and Philidor before him; even Dauvergne, Cardoane, and Laborde. Yet a grasp of the qualitative, rather than dogmatic, nature of the rivalry may lead to confusion:-

"The rivalry between the two composers could have led to a decisive contest only if Piccinni had been allowed to display himself as an Italian composer, and if he had been capable of turning out a masterpiece of Italian opera seria. Such a masterpiece alone could have proved that opera seria had not been dethroned by Gluck's reforms".⁽²⁾

Clearly such a masterpiece would have had to be produced in Vienna, alongside Alceste (V) or Paride; in Paris opera

1. See above, Ch.V p.152.

2. Einstein p.152.

seria had never been enthroned and the rivalry was - consciously - about music, not dramatic forms. What Gluck and Piccinni both did - French forms, Italianate music - was implicitly admitted by Marmontel, who accepted Gluck's dramatic forms while rejecting his music.

The rivalry was real - as real as it would have been had Gluck and Piccinni both written opera seria. Einstein rightly points to a Frenchness in Roland, if for the wrong reasons.⁽¹⁾ The challenge to tradition from Piccinni was stronger because his reliance on aria - especially in Roland, Atys, and Tauride - exceeded Gluck's. (His recitative is also more pronouncedly Italian). One of Gluck's achievements, while preserving the separation of aria and recitative, was to make a smoother continuity and vary the forms so that each need only be used when it was the most appropriate. The French composers reached a similar position from the opposite direction to Gluck and Piccinni; from a tradition of continuity they introduced the aria. The synthesis differs mainly in personality and quality of achievement, and may be regarded as a "Réunion des Goûts", an aspect of the problem that preoccupied Couperin, Campra, Laborde and many theorists.

This synthesis, not "Famellian opera",⁽²⁾ is what the Alceste preface proposes: the union of French and Italian elements, of structure (forms and continuities, chorus and ballet) and of music (arias, recognizably Italian but in a different "goût", without coloratura). By way of opéra-comique and Ernelinde the synthesis is approached before 1774; in Ernelinde for instance Philidor did not "scorrere rapidamente la seconda parte d'un aria". In that phrase

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1. Einstein loc. cit.; see above, Ch.IV p.132 note.
 2. Girdlestone p.564; see above, Ch.I p.2.

lies the refutation of Girdlestone's thesis,⁽¹⁾ for the implications of the Alceste preface as well as of Alceste itself are that aria - a form absent in Bacchus unless one counts the aria - should still be used, but used wisely.

The influence of Gluck on Piccinnisme

Piccinni and all Piccinniste works are deeply indebted to Gluck. The latter said, "je lui ai frayé le chemin, il n'a qu'à me suivre".⁽²⁾ Gluck definitively established the synthesis of which Piccinnisme, as well as the overtly Gluckiste work of Salieri and Votz, is part; he forged it in Vienna and produced in Paris his masterpiece, Tauride. In Paris, Philidor initiated the form under some influence of Gluck, and André as well as Paris shares with Gluck and Piccinni the aria without coloratura, the short forms and choruses, the occasional liaison of air and recitative: French continuity with - from the French point of view - Italian music. The influence of Gluck on Didon was noticed at once:-

"Les zélés de Gluck... sont les plus grands partisans de Didon, et prétendent que Piccinni s'est fait gluckiste. Ils ne font point attention que le grand changement opéré dans le genre musical de ce grand compositeur n'est essentiellement produit que par l'intérêt du sujet, la marche dramatique du Poème, et sa coupe plus sensible à celle dont l'indication en Didon a donné un excellent modèle."⁽³⁾

Tovey went so far as to call Piccinni "an out and out Gluckist";⁽⁴⁾ a more balanced view is in the attempted reconciliation by De Momigny: "Gluck était le papa; mais

1. Ibid.

2. Letter to Du Roulet, July-August 1776, MPS p.42, Correspondence p.84.

3. Musik II p.324.

4. Tovey p.73.

fallait-il pour cela chagriner Piccinni...?". (1)

Grimm rightly observed that greater truth and energy in aria and recitative did not detract from Piccinni's melodiousness. (2) That a change in "faire musical" should be produced by a libretto is, however, irrefutable evidence of the composer's dramatic involvement; it suggests intentions, at least, like Gluck's, whose "faire musical" alters from Orphée to Alceste to Armide. Gluck insisted that his works should not be objects of comparison:-

"...comment peut-on comparer ces deux ouvrages qui n'ont rien de comparable?". (3)

Indeed the influence of Aulide on the Didon poem is neither here nor there. Piccinniste French opera is dramatic in intention and adheres to the general principles of the Alceste preface, against former Italian practice. With long arias, rich scoring (a difference from Ernelinde) and substantial ballet, several operas - Electre, Pénélope, Désaphoön - approach the general structure of Aulide and Alceste (P).

A glance at the figures shows that although none of Gluck's operas was performed as much as Oedipe, he was the most performed composer; after Aulide's 428, Tauride had 408 performances to 1829, Armide 337, Alceste and Orphée around 300. Turcare and Les Danaïdes surpassed 120 performances; few others achieved more than seventy. (4) All the successful works, with the exception of La Caravane du Caire, were of the genre (tragedy) in which Gluck was at his best, another factor which contributes to the unity of the period.

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1. Enc. Méth. II p.128, "mélodie".
 2. Grimm loc. cit. p.325.
 3. Gluck to Du Pouchet, MPS p.44, Correspondence p.85.
 4. See Annals and Lajarte.

The influence of Gluck must have been pervasive, and it included his limitations as well as his skills. Gluck's greatest scenes have a simple pattern: they are dominated by a single actor, sometimes with choral background (Alceste I and II; Orphée I and II, with sympathetic and hostile choruses), sometimes real soliloquy (Aulide I.1, I.8, II.7, III.6 - where the attendant ladies are silent; Armide II.5, III.1, the end of V). Gluck left comparatively few successful colloquys. The love music of Aulide and Armide, the conflicts of wills in Aulide II.6 and Orphée III, are among the weaker scenes; the early part of Alceste II and most of III, although impressive and influential, are dwarfed by the monologues. Even in Tauride, where the colloquys of Oreste and Pylade are more successful, the greatest scenes are for Oreste with the Furies, Iphigénie with the chorus; while Thoas is so strongly projected because, although Iphigénie is on stage, his aria (I.2) is in effect a monologue. This limitation led Tovey to pronounce that

"No account of Gluck's operatic reforms is honest unless it faces the fact that in the two works in which this reform was accomplished Gluck and his librettist simplified the dramatic problem almost out of existence".(1)

What is simplified, and complicated, as Tovey adds, in Paris, is not "the dramatic problem" but the action. Gluck is never so dramatic as when his protagonist is alone. His successors (if we except Edelmann's Ariane) were more interested in mobile drama, like Aulide, with several characters in conflict. The choral complexes of Alceste (V) with their Wagnerian time-scale found no successors and were diluted for Paris.

1. Tovey p.81 (see also above, Ch.I pp.10 and 13).

For colloquy Gluck left comparatively little guidance, except in methods of controlling the tension in recitative which were sometimes learnt but more often applied without control, for an overstatement (Lemoyne, Piccinni's *Oreste*, Vogel's *Timante*) hardly preferable to the secco or 'chant français' thus displaced. Moreover limited powers of characterization led to an unintended dominance of one character. In Les Danaïdes, Thésée, Electre, La Toison d'Or, Didon, the heroine's dominance stems as much from superior music as the length of the role, and the composers were unable with Danaus, Eglé, Clytemnestre, Hisiphile, Enée, to achieve an independent interest for lesser roles, as Gluck did with Admète and Renaud. Only rarely (as in Les Horaces, Tirare, Electre I.6) do colloquys approach the standard of the monologues.

Imitation of Gluck was doubtless conscious but often inept; imitation of Piccinni was probably rarely conscious outside Phèdre. Piccinni and others needed Gluck whereas Gluck had no need of anyone. He controlled his French librettists, his contemporaries respectfully set what was offered.

"Piccinnisme", then, is a loose term covering a wide variety of individuals with similar methods, mainly Italian by birth or training but including Frenchmen. The French position is complicated by respect for their own tradition - even after an Italian journey, Floquet's Hellé adheres to the French past - and by opéra-comique. Philidor was able, as Grétry and Dezède were not, to separate comedy from his serious style, in which the relation to the past was deeper than in Floquet or Gossec. The French either lacked skill (Floquet), emotional range (Grétry, Dezède), or, given facility in imitation, individuality (Candeille, Méreaux, Gossec,

even the superficially original Lemoyne). From another tradition, Salieri and Vogel also showed limitations of personality and from theoretical Gluckisme became aligned with Gossec and Lemoyne in "Piccinniste" practice.

Piccinnisme is nebulous, a trend, an atmosphere, not a school. Piccinni cannot be regarded as leading a group of composers, and to give the trend his name is a convenient falsification. His methods were the normal practice from 1774 (or 1767) to 1790 and beyond; the 'reform' operas before Gluck (Adèle, Ernelinde, Sabinus) aimed at the same synthesis. The trend, or "révolution en musique", should surely be called after its most consistently successful practitioner, who definitively established the form, perhaps the only born dramatist among so many composers attempting dramatic opera: Gluck.

The heritage of Gluck

Gluck was the Colossus. Other petty men did not, however, creep between his legs to find dishonourable graves in imitation. They developed independent idioms with similar aims. Gluck in fact made possible their genuine and individual achievements, detailed in this study; he had "frayé le chemin", provided precept and example. For the others as with Shakespeare's contemporaries, "when everything is set out for a minor poet [composer] to do, he may quite frequently come upon some trouvaille, even in the drama".(1)

Piccinni was no Colossus, merely an official rival. Yet most minor men's operas come closer to his style than to Gluck's. Partly this independence from Gluck stems from

1. T. S. Eliot, "The Possibility of a Poetic Drama", in The Sacred Wood, London 1920; 2nd edn. (1928) p.64.

poor understanding of his work; not of his dramatic power, which was unmistakable, but of the means towards it, especially the control which makes the power possible: control of recitative, in placement of aria, by short forms, of the time-scale of an act. In this misunderstanding, rather than by avoiding Gluckisme, Candeille, Méreaux, Lemoyne, Salieri after Les Danaïdes, Vogel, Cherubini, come nearer to Piccinni in dramatic method. Mostly however their remoteness from Gluck stems from musical idiom, for younger men, and Italians or "hard drinkers at the Italian fountain" like Bach, could not capture the density of Gluck's musical thought, his ability to say much so briefly. Even their short forms are diffuse. Their more voluptuous and expansive manner never approaches the austerity which is part of Gluck's peculiar moral fibre and integral to his dramatic vision.

Should we infer that Gluck had no heritage? Grout seems to suggest this:-

"The influence of Gluck on later composers was comparatively small. He founded no school and had few disciples. We may trace his style of serious opera on heroic subjects treated in the grand manner through his one-time rival Piccinni, his pupil Salieri, through Cherubini, Vêhul, and Spontini, to the greatest of his spiritual descendants, Berlioz. But the line of descent is through similarity of dramatic aims and ideals rather than actual musical idiom".(1)

The list of names - to which Vogel* deserves to be added - is quite impressive, and the link from them to 19th-century Grand Opera can certainly be traced through Spontini to Rossini's Guillaume Tell, Meyerbeer, Rienzi, Les Vêpres Siciliennes and Don Carlos. Very few great artists found a

1. Grout p.246; but see above p.347.

school; Gluck expressed disappointment at the lack of imitators⁽¹⁾ but to expect them was naive. Yet he is the key to a unified and extensive movement in French opera towards the synthesis of French and Italian elements. Its climax may be La Vestale rather than any pre-Revolutionary work and certainly Gluck was not its only begetter, for Philidor, Gossec and Piccinni contributed to its early stages; but Gluck's Tauride is its most enduring work. The line of descent is indeed through "similarity of dramatic aims and ideals" (we may say, methods and intentions) rather than musical idiom, and nothing else was to be expected. How could a composer born, like Cherubini, in 1760, Spontini in 1779, or even Salieri in 1750, approach without disaster the idiom of a composer born in 1714? Certainly if Gluckisme is confined to a musical influence we are left with a few passages in Vogel, Salieri, Candeille, Lemoyne, Berlioz. Should we say that all except Gluck are Piccinnistes? If Gluck's austerity is integral to Gluckisme then Gluck is the sole Gluckiste, with no disciples, no school, no heritage.

For all the variety within the picture of the period under study such a deduction would be absurd. In any case its premises are wrong, for the "influence of Gluck on later composers" was in other matters than musical idiom. Their idiom was based on the international language of 18th-century music which prevailed from Dublin to St. Petersburg and, having surrounded France, conquered it last. The most French composers, Grétry, Dezède, Monsigny, show features of it while Gossec, Philidor, Méreaux, Lemoyne, Candeille are as much part of it as Piccinni, J. C. Bach, Cherubini, Vogel; the most Italian, Sacchini and Zingarelli, faced with a more acute problem of adjustment in Paris, stand only a

1. See the dedication of Paride (1770).

little apart - their methods are not dissimilar but there is more room for doubt about their dramatic intentions. Gluck was remarkably travelled even for his cosmopolitan age - Bohemia, Italy, London, Austria, Paris - and his music is an earlier manifestation of the same international manner. It would be unreasonable to pursue the argument to the length of naming Gluck the greatest Piccinniste: it is his operas which arouse interest in the period and justify the title "époque de Gluck". His rivals, contemporaries, and successors were inferior; they did not learn all his lessons; but they are part of the pattern he dictated and so, if not a school, they are an heritage.

LIST OF THE MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Chapter I

1. Dauvergne, Enée et Lavinie, recitative
2. A Colasse, B Laborde, Thétis et Pelée, duet
3. A Destouches, B Cardonne, Omphale, air
4. Dauvergne, Enée et Lavinie, accompagnato
5. A, C Cardonne, B Destouches, Omphale, recitative
6. Laborde, A Adèle de Ponthieu, B Thétis,
accompagnato and aria
7. Berton, Adèle, duet
8. A Gluck, Orfeo and Philidor, Le Sorcier
B Gluck, Orfeo and Philidor, Ernelinde, duet
C as B
9. Philidor, Ernelinde; A, C 1767, B, D 1777
10. Philidor, Ernelinde, accompagnato
11. Philidor, Ernelinde, arioso
12. Gossec, Sabinus, chorus with trombones
13. Gossec, Sabinus, recitative-petit air
14. Gossec, Sabinus, arioso-aria
15. Gossec, Sabinus, dream narration (accompagnato)
16. Gossec, Sabinus, the dénouement (1773 and 1774 versions)

Chapter II

17. A Rameau, B Sacchini, Dardanus, recitative

Chapter III

18. A Lully, B Gluck, Armide, declamation

Chapter IV

19. A Lully, B Piccinni, Roland, recitative
20. Piccinni, Roland, accompagnato
21. J. C. Bach, Amadis, linking passages
22. A Lully, B, C Bach, Amadis, recitative, transition
23. A Lully, B, C Bach, Amadis, recitative
24. Piccinni, Atys, accompagnato
25. Piccinni, Atys, air
26. Piccinni, Atys, recitative
27. Piccinni, Roland, aria incipit
28. Piccinni, Roland, recitative
29. Piccinni, Roland, aria "Je me reconnais"
30. Piccinni, Roland, arioso
31. Piccinni, Roland, introduction, recitative, short air
32. Piccinni and Lully, Roland, mad-scene

Musical examples

33. Bach, Amadis, aria "Je ne verrai plus"
34. Bach, Amadis, aria "A qui pourrai-je avoir recours?"
35. Bach, Amadis, accompagnato
36. Bach, Amadis, recitative, air de danse, ghost scene
37. Bach, Amadis, thematic recall of Ex. 36
38. Piccinni, Atys, aria "Malheureuse, hélas!"
39. A Piccinni, Roland, B Mozart, Così fan tutte, aria
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Chapter V

41. Piccinni, Iphigénie en Tauride, ensemble
42. Piccinni, Tauride, A chorus, B aria "O jour fatal"
43. Piccinni, Tauride, aria "Diane! suspends ton courroux"
44. Piccinni, Tauride, aria incipits
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46. Piccinni, Tauride, aria "Cruel, et tu dis que tu m'aimes"
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48. Gluck, Alceste (P), aria "Ah! malgré moi"
49. Piccinni, Atys, aria "Brûlé d'une flamme"
50. Piccinni, Diane et Endymion, aria "Cesse d'agiter mon âme"
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53. Sacchini, Oedipe à Colone, scena
54. Piccinni, Didon, arioso
55. Sacchini, Dardanus, arioso-air
56. Piccinni, Diane, aria incipits
57. Piccinni, Diane, aria "Je veux punir l'objet que j'aime"

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58. Philidor, Ernelinde, dialogue A 1767, B 1777
59. Floquet, Hellé, aria (Ino)
60. Floquet, Hellé, aria (Hellé)
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65. Dezède, A Péronne Sauvée, B Alcindor, recitative-arioso
66. A Lully, B Philidor, Persée, recitative
67. A Lully, B Philidor, Persée, recitative-arioso
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69. Gossec, Thésée, ensemble (Conjuration)
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73. Gossec, Thésée, aria "Si la belle Eglé m'est ravie"
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Musical examples

75. Gossec, Thésée, aria incipits (Médée)
76. Gossec, Thésée, trio
77. Gossec, Thésée, scena "Ah! faut-il me venger?"
78. Gossec, Thésée, dialogue-duet (Médée, Egée)
79. Philidor, Persée, overture
80. Philidor, Persée, choruses
81. Philidor, Persée, aria (Méduse)
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83. Philidor, Persée, cantabile air (Persée)
84. Philidor, Persée, short airs
85. Philidor, Persée, aria "Des maux que j'ai faits"
86. Philidor, A Persée, B Thémistocle, aria
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89. Philidor, Thémistocle, ensemble, theme from overture
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92. Grétry, Andromaque, recitative-aria (Hermione)
93. Grétry, Andromaque, air-recitative (Andromaque)
94. A Grétry, Andromaque, air, B Gluck, Alceste, excerpt
95. Grétry, Andromaque, aria (Andromaque)
96. Méreaux, Alexandre aux Indes, airs
97. Méreaux, Alexandre, accompagnato
98. Candeille, Pizarre, dream narration
99. Candeille, Pizarre, linked aria-duet
100. Candeille, Pizarre, accompagnato with trombones
101. Candeille, Pizarre, air
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103. Flôquet-Dezède, Alcindor, overture-thematic recall
104. Dezède, Alcindor, ensemble-finale
105. Dezède, Alcindor, terzetto
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108. Lemoyne, Electre, overture, Sc.1
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112. Lemoyne, Electre, dialogue
113. Lemoyne, Electre, aria (Chrisothémis)
114. A Lemoyne, Electre, B Salieri, Les Danaïdes
musical sensationalism
115. Salieri, Les Danaïdes, recitative
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124. Lemoyne, Phèdre, dialogue
125. Lemoyne, Phèdre, aria "Prends pitié de ma souffrance"
126. Lemoyne, Phèdre, aria-dialogue
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131. Salieri, Les Horaces, recitative, C choral arioso
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Didon's despair
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143. Sacchini, Dardanus, aria incipits
144. Sacchini, Evelina, aria incipit and air
145. Sacchini, Evelina; completion by Rey, thematic
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146. Zingarelli, Antigone, aria incipits, duet
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monologue accompagnato

List of operas
played at the Académie Royale

This list, based on Lajarte, Bibliothèque musicale du théâtre de l'Opéra (Paris 1878) is intended to suggest the full extent of activity at the Opéra; references in the right-hand column indicate the section of this study in which the principal discussion of a work is to be found.

The list is chronological, by dates of the first performances. No revivals are included.

Abbreviations used in this list:-

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| • (asterisk) | resetting |
| AR | Académie Royale |
| b | ballet |
| bf | bouffon |
| c | comédie |
| d | drame |
| h | héroïque |
| i | intermède |
| l | lyrique |
| o | opera, opéra |
| p | pastorale |
| pt | pantomime |
| Q | Quinault |
| t | tragédie |
- (EG: ob = opéra-ballet, dl = drame lyrique)

Date	Title	Genre-	Composer/librettist	no. of acts	or choreographer	
1758-1774; selective list of operas						
<u>1758</u>						
14.2	* <u>Enée et Lavinie</u>	tl	5	Dauvergne/ Fontenelle		I.B 1
<u>1760</u>						
12.2	Les Paladins	ob	3	Fameau/Monticour		
11.11	*Canente	t	5	Dauvergne/La Motte		
<u>1761</u>						
3.4	Hercule Mourant	tl	5	Dauvergne/Marmontel		
<u>1763</u>						
11.1	Polyxène	tl	5	Dauvergne/Joliveau		
<u>1765</u>						
[10.10	* <u>Thétis et Pélée</u> (1)	tl	5	Laborde/Fontenelle		I.B 1]
<u>1766</u>						
15.4	Aline, Reine de Golconde	bh	3	Monsigny/Sedaine		V.D

List of operas played at the Académie Royale

<u>1767</u>							
24.11	<u>Ernelinde</u> (2)	t	3	Philidor/Poinsinet	I.B 2		
<u>1769</u>							
2.5	* <u>Omphale</u> (3)	tl	5	Cardonne/La Motte	I.B 1		
<u>1770</u>							
11.12	<u>Ismène et Isménias</u>	t	3	Laborde/Laujon			
<u>1771</u>							
13.8	<u>La Cinquantaine</u>	p	3	Laborde/Desfontaines			
1.10	<u>Le Prix de la Valeur</u>	bh	1	Dauvergne/Joliveau			
26.11	* <u>Amadis de Gaule</u> (3)	tl	5	Laborde/Q			
<u>1772</u>							
1.12	<u>Adèle de Ponthieu</u> (2)	tl	3	Laborde & Berton/ de St Marc	I.B 1		
<u>1773</u>							
16.7	<u>Ovide et Julie</u>	b	1	Cardonne/Fuzelier			
7.9	<u>L'Union de l'Amour et des Arts</u>	bh	3	Floquet/le Monnier			
1774-1790; complete list of operas, etc.							
<u>1774</u>							
22.2	<u>Sabinus</u>	tl	4	Gossec/Chabanon	I.B 2		
["Epoque de Gluck"]				(Versailles 1773)			
19.4	<u>Iphigénie en Aulide</u>	to	3	Gluck/Du Roullet	II		
2.8	<u>Orphée</u> (adaptation)	dh	3	Gluck/Moline	II A,C		
22.11	<u>Azolan</u>	bh	3	Floquet/le Monnier			
<u>1775</u>							
2.5	<u>Céphale et Procris</u>	bh	3	Grétry/Marmontel	V D		
				(Versailles 1773)			
1.8	<u>Cythère Assiégée</u> (adaptation)	b	3	Gluck/Favart	V D		
26.9	<u>Alexis et Daphne & Philémon et Baucis</u>	(4) (4)	1 1	Gossec/Chabanon			
<u>1776</u>							
26.1	<u>Médée et Jason</u>	b	3	Noverre, Gardel, Vestris			
23.4	<u>Alceste</u> (adaptation)	to	3	Gluck/Du Roullet	III A		
30.7	<u>Les Romains</u>	bh	3	Cambini/Bouneval			
30.9	<u>Les Caprices de Galathée</u>	b	1	Noverre			
1.10	<u>Euthyme et Lyris</u>	bh	1	Désormery/Boutellier			
<u>1777</u>							
10.1	<u>Alain et Rosette</u>	i	1	Pouteau/Boutellier			
21.1	<u>Les Horaces</u>	bt	5	Starzer/Noverre			
23.9	* <u>Armide</u>	t	5	Gluck/Q	III B		
[2.10	<u>L'Olympiade</u> (1) (adaptation)	oc	3	Sacchini/Framéry	V.C]		

List of operas played at the Académie Royale

2.12	Myrtil et Lycoris	p	1	Désormery/de Liancourt & Boutellier	
[Second stage of the "époque de Gluck": Piccinni]					
<u>1778</u>					
17.1	*Roland	tl	3	Piccinni/Q-Marmontel	IV
1.3	La Chercheuse d'Esprit	bpt	1	Gardel l'ainé	
26.5	La Fête du Village	i	1	Gossec/Desfontaines	
4.6	Vertumne et Pomone	(5)	1	Lalande & Destouches, arr. Rey/Roy	
11.6	Les Petits Riens & Le Finte Gemelle	bpt	1	Mozart/Noverre	
		obf	2	Piccinni	
9.7	Annette & Lubin & Le Due Contesse	bpt	1	Noverre	
		obf	2	Paisiello	
13.8	Il Curioso Indiscrete	obf	3	Anfossi	
18.8	Ninette à la Cour	bpt	1	Gardel l'ainé	
10.9	La Frascatana	obf	3	Paisiello	
20.10	La Sposa Collerica	ibf	2	Piccinni	
8.11	La Provençale	Entrée	1	Candeille	
12.11	La Finta Giardiniera	obf	3	Anfossi	
7.12	La Buona Figliuola	obf	3	Piccinni/Goldoni	
<u>1779</u>					
5.1	Hellé	tl	3	Floquet/le Monnier	VI A
18.1	Il Geloso in Cimento	obf	3	Anfossi	
15.4	La Buona Figliuola Maritata	obf	3	Piccinni/Goldoni	
16.5	Il Vago Disprezzato	o(6)	1	Piccinni	
18.5	<u>Iphigénie en Tauride</u>	tl	4	Gluck/Guillard	V B
10.6	L'Idolo Cinese	obf	3	Paisiello & Piccinni/Lorenzi	
8.7	L'Amoroso Soldato	i	3	Sacchini	
5.8	Il Cavalieri Errante	o(6)	2	Traetta	
24.9	<u>Echo et Narcisse</u>	o	3	Gluck/Tschudy	V D
30.9	Il Matrimonio per Inganno	i	2	Anfossi	
18.11	Mirsa	b		Gardel l'ainé	
14.12	*Amadis de Gaule	to	3	J. C. Bach/P-Devismes	IV
<u>1780</u>					
30.1	Médée et Jason	btpt	3	Rodolphe/Noverre	
22.2	*Atys	to	3	Piccinni/Q-Marmontel	IV
6.6	Andromaque	tl	3	Grétry/Pitra	VI C
2.7	Laure et Pétrarque	ph	1	Candeille/Moline	
24.9	Erixène	p	1	Désaugiers/de Voisenon	
27.10	*Persée	tl	3	Philidor/Q-Marmontel	VI.B
14.12	Le Seigneur Bienfaisant	o	3	Floquet/de Chabannes	

List of operas played at the Académie Royale

1781

23.1	<u>Iphigénie en Tauride</u>	tl	4	Piccinni/Dubreuil	V B
17.2	<u>La Feste de Mirza</u>	bpt	4	Gossec et al./ Gardel l'ainé	
21.2	<u>La Feste de Mirza</u>	c	1	Grétry/Guillard	
3.5	<u>Apollon et Coronis</u>	o	1	J.B. & Joseph Rey/ Fuzelier	
21.9	<u>L'Inconnue Persécutée</u>	co	3	Anfossi/de Rozoy	
27.10	* <u>Adèle de Ponthieu</u>	tl	3	Piccinni/de St Marc	VIII A

1782

1.1	<u>La Double Epreuve</u>	cl	3	Grétry/de Santerre	
1.3	* <u>Thésée</u>	tl	4	Gossec/Q-Morel	VI B
2.7	<u>Electre</u>	t	3	Lemoyne/Guillard	VII A
24.9	<u>Le Feu & Ariane dans l'Isle de Naxos</u>	bh	1	Edelmann/Roy	
		dl	1	Edelmann/Moline	VI D
26.11	<u>L'Embaras de Richesses</u>	cl	3	Grétry/de Santerre	

[Third stage of the "époque de Gluck": Sacchini]

1783

28.2	* <u>Renaud (adaptation)</u>	tl	3	Sacchini/Pellegrin, le Boeuf	VIII A
27.5	<u>Péronne Sauvée</u>	o	4	Dezède/de Sauvigny	VI D
29.7	<u>La Posière</u>	b	2	Gardel l'ainé	
26.8	<u>Alexandre aux Indes</u>	o	3	Méreaux/Morel	VI D
1.12	<u>Didon</u>	tl	3	Piccinni/Marmontel	VIII A

1784

15.1	<u>La Caravane du Caire</u>	o	3	Grétry/Comte de Provence & Morel	
9.2	<u>Chimène (adaptation)</u>	t	3	Sacchini/Guillard	VIII A
21.3	<u>Tibulle et Délie, ou (7) les Saturnales</u>		1	de Beaumesnil/ Fuzelier	
26.4	<u>Les Danaïdes</u>	tl	5	Salieri/Du Poullet & Tschudy	VII A
7.9	<u>Diane et Endymion</u>	o	3	Piccinni/de Liroux	V C
30.11	* <u>Dardanus (8)</u>	t	4	Sacchini/La Bruère & Guillard	VIII A

1785

25.1	<u>Panurge dans l'Isle des Lanternes</u>	cl	3	Grétry/Comte de Provence & Morel	
3.5	<u>Pizarre ou le Conquête de Pérou</u>	tl	5	Candeille/Duplessis	VI D
26.7	<u>Le Premier Navigateur</u>	bp	3	Grétry ⁽⁹⁾ /Gardel l'ainé	
9.12	<u>Pénélope</u>	tl	3	Piccinni/Marmontel	VIII A

List of operas played at the Académie Royale

<u>1786</u>					
23.5	<u>Thémistocle</u>	tl	3	Philidor/Morel	VI B
14.7	<u>Rosine ou l'Épouse abandonnée</u>	o	3	Gossec/Gersin	VI D
5.9	<u>La Toison d'Or</u>	tl	3	Vogel/Desriaux	VII A
31.10	<u>Les Sauvages</u>	(10)		Gardel frères	
21.11	<u>Phèdre</u>	tl	3	Lemoyne/Hoffmann	VII B
7.12	<u>Les Horaces</u>	tl	3	Salieri/Guillard	VII B
<u>1787</u>					
1.2	<u>Oedipe à Colone</u>	o	3	Sacchini/Guillard	VIII A
17.2	<u>Le Coquin du Village</u>	bc	1	Gardel l'ainé	
17.4	<u>Alcindor</u>	o	3	Dezède/de Chabannes	VI D
8.6	<u>Tarare (3)</u>	o	5	Salieri/Beaumarchais	VII B
17.6	<u>Le Pied de Boeuf</u>	(10)	1	Gardel l'ainé	
11.9	<u>Le Roi Théodore à Venise</u>	ohc	3	Paisiello/Moline	
<u>1788</u>					
16.1	<u>Le Déserteur</u>	bpt	3	Miller/Gardel l'ainé	
29.4	<u>Arvire et Evelina</u>	tl	3	Sacchini & Rey/ Guillard	VIII A
15.7	<u>Amphitryon</u>	o	3	Grétry/Sedaine	VI C
5.12	<u>Démophoon</u>	tl	3	Cherubini/Marmontel	VIII B
<u>1789</u>					
17.3	<u>Aspasie</u>	o	3	Grétry/Morel	VI C
2.6	<u>Les Prétendus</u>	cl	1	Lemoyne/de Chabannes	
22.9	<u>Démophon</u>	al	3	Vogel/Desriaux	VIII B
15.12	<u>Nephté</u>	tl	3	Lemoyne/Hoffmann	VII B
<u>1790</u>					
22.1	<u>Les Pommiers et le Moulin</u>	cl	1	Lemoyne/Forgeot	
23.2	<u>Télémaque dans l'Isle de Calypso</u>	bh	3	Miller/Gardel le jeune	
30.4	<u>Antigone</u>	ol	3	Zingarelli/ Marmontel	VIII A
15.6	<u>Louis IX en Egypte</u>	o	3	Lemoyne/Guillard & Andrieux	

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1. Not played at the Académie Royale.
 2. Revival in five acts.
 3. With Prologue.
 4. "Entrées des fragmens nouveaux".
 5. "Fragment".
 6. "Opéra italien".
 7. "Acte des festes Grecques et Romaines".
 8. Revival in three acts.
 9. Pasticcio of other works by Grétry.
 10. "Divertissement".

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APPENDIX 1

Sabinus - the final divertissement (1)

A statue is raised to Charlemagne. The movements of the divertissement are as follows:-

Le Choeur Sabinus:)"Peuples, (vous n'avez) plus de
 Peuples:) (nous n'avons) Maître"

L'air en passacaille en Sol
Entrée des anglais (après la passacaille) (2)
Hornpype
"Laisser place pour un duo"
L'air espagnol
"Laisser du blanc - les violons seront changés"
La Gavotte anglaise en Si
Air Grave en Sol
La Chaconne

See Chapter I p.38. The divertissement is clearly intended to show a united Europe (including Britain) celebrating release from Roman tyranny under the benevolent leadership of Gaul.

1. Source BO A 228, a list of movements which directs the copyist to another musical source.

2. The direction in parentheses is inserted from BN Rés. 1429.

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APPENDIX 2

The derivation of Iphigénie en Aulide from Racine

Abbreviations: RI Racine, Iphigénie
GA Gluck-Du Roulliet, Iphigénie en Aulide

RI Acts I-II = GA Act I
Acts III-IV = Act II
Act V = Act III

I.1 presents two deceptions of Agamemnon; to send for Iphigénie and to inform her that Achilles no longer wishes to marry her.

RI Agamemnon to Arcas:-

"Si ma fille une fois met le pied dans l'Aulide
Elle est morte: Calchas, qui l'attend en ces lieux
Fera taire les pleurs, fera parler les Dieux."

GA Agamemnon alone, in prayer:-

"Si ma fille arrive en Aulide,
Si mon fatal destin la conduit en ces lieux,
Rien ne peut la sauver du transport homicide
De Calchas, des Grecs, et des Dieux."

I.2

RI Agamemnon, Achilles, Ulysse; deception deepened to include Achilles.

GA Agamemnon, Calchas, Greek generals; direct presentation of forces impinging on Agamemnon.

I.3

RI Agamemnon, Ulysse:-

"Seigneur, vous le savez, j'ai donné ma parole;
Et, si ma fille vient, je consens qu'on l'immole."

GA Agamemnon, Calchas:-

"Je connais mes engagements;
Sur ces bords malheureux, si ma fille appelée
Obéit, je consens qu'elle soit immolée."

I.4-5, the arrival of Iphigénie and failure of Agamemnon's schemes to save her.

RI Eurybate:-

" une foule charmée
Surtout d'Iphigénie admirant la beauté
Jamais père ne fut plus heureux que vous l'êtes."

GA shows this "foule charmée" (Chorus, "Que d'attraits").

Appendix 2

RI, Agamemnon to Ulysse:-

"...Mais cependant faites taire Calchas;
Et, m'aidant à cacher ce funeste mystère,
Laissez-moi de l'autel écarter une mère."

GA: "...Ah! Calchas, que son nom soit encore un mystère!
Dieux! que de pleurs va répandre une mère!"

End of RI I.

Centre of GA I:
Divertissement

RI II.1; scene for Eriphile Omitted

RI II.2; Agamemnon and Iphigénie, omitted in GA

II.3; Iphigénie, Eriphile; the former's anxiety at not seeing Achille is reflected in GA I.5, her air in divertissement:-

"Achille à mes yeux inquiets
Ne s'offre point encore."

RI II.4; GA I.6. Agamemnon's deception has complicated consequences; Clytemnestre enters to announce Achille's alleged infidelity. Substantially the same progression of dialogue but GA has no Eriphile to lend substance to the story of "nouveaux liens".

RI. II.5; Iphigénie and Eriphile; replaced by GA I.7, Iphigénie seule.

RI II.6, GA I.8; Achille is snubbed by Iphigénie.

RI: "Seigneur, rassurez-vous: vos voeux seront contents.
Iphigénie encor n'y sera pas longtemps."

GA: "Quelque soit le destin qui de guide,
Ma gloire ne pourra du moins me reprocher
Que c'est Achille ici que mon coeur vient chercher."

RI: Iphigénie goes, and II.7-8, involving Eriphile, are omitted from GA.

GA: Iphigénie stays, and the scene proceeds to protestations and reconciliation.

End of RI II and GA I.

RI: The reconciliation of Iphigénie and Achille takes place between II and III.

Appendix 2

RI III 1-4, GA II 1-3 build a sense of well-being for Iphigénie, Achille, and Clytemnestre.

RI Eriphile is freed.

GA divertissement: chorus, dances, quartet with chorus (in 1775 the freeing of Achille's Lesbian captives brings the sequence closer to RI. See appendix 3).

RI III.5, GA II.4: revelation of sacrifice. Clytemnestre's plea to Achille:-

RI "Elle n'a que vous seul: vous êtes en ces lieux
Son père, son époux, son asile, ses dieux.
Je lis dans vos regards la douleur qui vous presse."

GA (Aria) "Par son père cruel à la mort condamnée
Et par les Dieux abandonnée,
Elle n'a que vous seul, vous êtes dans ces lieux
Son père, son époux, son asile et ses Dieux.
Le courroux éclatant qui paraît dans vos yeux
M'en donne l'assurance."

RI III.6, Iphigénie and Achille, a scene reserved for GA III.

RI III.7, with Clytemnestre, GA II.4, continued. Similar assurances and pleadings of Iphigénie:-

RI "C'est mon père, seigneur, je vous le dis encore,
Mais un père que j'aime, un père que j'adore,
Qui me chérit lui-même, et dont jusqu'à ce jour
Je n'ai jamais reçu que des marques d'amour."

GA (opening of trio)

"C'est mon père, Seigneur, mais un père que j'aime."

Clytemnestre:-

"Son père? et le cruel veut lui percer le sein!"

"Un père infortuné, qui me chérit lui-même.." etc.

End of RI III.

RI IV 1-5; the largest cut in GA.

IV.1 involves Eriphile.

2-4 involve meetings of Agamemnon with Clytemnestre and Iphigénie; in GA they are never on stage together until the final scene.

5: Agamemnon alone, to be discovered by Achille.

GA II.5; Achille and Patrocle, an inserted scene;
Achille alone, to be discovered by Agamemnon.

Appendix 2

RI IV.6, GA II.6: Achilles and Agamemnon.

RI is longer, more dense in argument, less overtly abusive, partly because of cross-reference to I.2, an early appearance of Achilles not paralleled in GA. RI has already demolished Agamemnon by the arguments of Clytemnestre and the gentle acquiescence of Iphigénie; to spare him these scenes, as GA does, is to make him less unsympathetic.

RI IV.7-10; Agamemnon's vacillations, the essence of which, without minor characters on stage, is conveyed in GA II.7.

RI IV.7: "Et voilà ce qui rend sa perte inévitable."

GA II.7: "Tu décides son sort."

RI IV.8: "Qu'elle vive. Mais quoi! peu jaloux de ma gloire
Dois-je au superbe Achille accorder la victoire?

Ne puis-je pas d'Achille humilier l'audace?
Que ma fille à ses yeux soit un sujet d'ennui:
Il l'aime; elle vivra pour un autre que lui."

GA II.7: "Faut-il sacrifier l'intérêt de la Grèce?

Faut-il d'Achille endurer le mépris?

Non, que plutôt cent fois à l'autel entraînée
Ma fille par sa mort...Ma fille? je frémis..."

GA: the change of mood is completely articulated in the music, and Agamemnon's determination to save Iphigénie is initially stimulated by paternal feeling. Although his fear (very vivid in the music; see Chapter II p.60) of the Eumenides is a motive of self-interest there is nothing so repulsive as his desire in RI to save his daughter to spite Achilles.

End of GA II after an aria.

RI 10: Iphigénie and Clytemnestre given instruction to escape.

11: Eriphile resolves to tell Calchas of the intended flight of the Tantalids, the discovery of which is not clarified in GA.

End of RI IV.

RI V, GA III; the major difference between spoken tragedy and opera is forcibly illustrated, since GA shows what RI can only describe - the angry army, the sacrifice and armed intrusion, the dénouement (see Chapter II p.77).

Appendix 2

RI V 1-2, GA III 1-3 lead to a dialogue:-

RI Achille:-

" . . . Venez, madame, suivez-moi:
Ne craignez ni les cris ni la foule impuissante
D'un peuple qui se presse autour de cette tente."

Iphigénie:-

"Qui? moi? que contre un père osant me révolter,
Je mérite la mort que j'irais éviter?
Où serait le respect? Et ce devoir suprême..."

Achille:-

"Vous suivrez un époux. . . " etc.

GA Achille:-

"Princesse! suivez-moi,
Ne craignez ni les cris ni la rage inutile
D'un peuple, à mon aspect saisi d'un juste effroi.
Marchez en sûreté sous la garde d'Achille."

Iphigénie:-

"Arrêtez, quel est votre espoir?
Avez vous cru qu'Iphigénie
Peut oublier sa gloire et son devoir?
Ils lui sont plus chers que la vie."

RI Iphigénie:-

"Ma gloire vous serait moins chère que ma vie?"

GA: Achille's parting threat is contained in the aria
"Calchas d'un trait mortel blessé".

GA III.4 replaces Iphigénie's last speech of RI V.2, and
includes a repetition of the soldiers' chorus.

RI V.3, GA III.5, Clytemnestre and Iphigénie:-

RI "Vos yeux me reverront dans Oreste mon frère.
Puisse-t-il être, hélas! moins funeste à sa mère!"

GA "Vivez pour Oreste mon frère.
Puisse-t-il être, hélas, moins funeste à sa mère!"

RI V.4, GA III.6, Clytemnestre (monologue: accompagnato/aria).

RI V.5: Arcas describes the armed intervention of Achille.

RI V.6 is the last scene; containing the "messenger" speech of
Ulysse, whose appearance unifies the play by relating the
end to I. Similarly in GA III the reappearance of Calchas
frames the action.

GA III.7ff; direct presentation of events, therefore not com-
parable to RI in detail.

See Chapter II p.61ff.

APPENDIX 3

Iphigénie en Aulide

The versions of 1774 and 1775

The following table presents the differences between the original Iphigénie en Aulide of 1774 and the version of 1775. The former appears in the printed full score by Huguet, Paris c.1774, Hopkinson 40A, the latter in the printed full score by Richault, Paris 1873, edited by F. Pelletan and B. Damcke, Hopkinson 40A (1).

There were undoubtedly other differences from one performance to the next, probably untraceable and not worth the trouble of tracing. These will not have originated from Gluck but rather from managers and performers.

The versions presented below contain major differences in the conception of certain scenes. The 1775 version has revised divertissements and the dénouement with Artemis (Diane) ex machina. This version, although it was not published while Aulide remained in the Opéra repertory, was the one played at the Académie Royale and that on which Wagner based his version.

The 1873 score is based in part on the Huguet score but mainly on the orchestral parts in use at the Opéra and the M3 score in B0.

Self-borrowings; for fuller details see Wotquenne.

Abbreviations used in this table:-

DJ	<u>Don Juan</u> (1761)
CA	<u>Cythere Assiégée</u> (1759 and 1775)
PE	<u>Paride ed Elena</u> (1770)

Acknowledgment: the form of this table is indebted to F. W. Sternfeld's essay, "Expression and Revision in Gluck's Orfeo and Alceste" (in Essays for Egon Wellesz, London 1966). I am indebted to Dr. Sternfeld for his permission to imitate his methods.

Appendix 3

1774

1775

Act I

Act I

Overture, Scenes 1-4, and Chorus "Que d'attraits"; Tonal cycle in C

Scene 5 as far as the end of the Chorus "Que d'attraits"; the same in both versions.

Air (Clytemnestre)

C The same: 2-bar ritournelle added, new instrumentation. C
Divertissement

Divertissement

Ballet: Air gai
Lento

D - - - - -
d - - - - -

Chorus with solo

D The same D
Dance (lento 1774) d

Ballet (DJ, CA)
Minuets (CA)

A - - - - -
D - - - - -

Air (Iphigénie)

D The same D

Ballet: Passépiéd
Gravioso (DJ)
Air gai (DJ)

D Passépiéd D
A - - - - -
A - - - - -

I.6

I.6

Recitative - opens in

A Recitative - opens in C

from bar 14:-

Iphigénie:-

"Qu'entends-je? ô ciel!"

Clytemnestre:-

"Fuyons la honte d'un refus,

"Et ne lui montrons point une lâche faiblesse".

corresponds to 1774 from bar 2, 4th beat:
"Il faut..."
until bar 14:-

Iphigénie:-

"Qu'entends-je?"

Clytemnestre:-

"Agamemnon, redoutant que la Grâce/Ne vous vit exposée à l'affront d'un refus,/Vous ordonnait de fuir loin de l'Aulide,/Et d'aller, dans Argos, oublier le perfide./Arcas nous apportait ces ordres absolus;/Mais, nos pas égarés trompant sa diligence,/Il ne vient que dans ce moment/De s'acquitter des soins/Commis à sa prudence,/Et de me confirmer, Ce fatal changement."

Iphigénie:-

"Hélas!"

Clytemnestre, aria:-

"Armez-vous d'un noble courage"

C "Hélas!" (the same cadence) C
F Clytemnestre aria (the same) F

Appendix 3

Act I: the remainder corresponds in the two versions.

Note: the divertissement in 1775 I is shorter and is all in D/d, in which key, with a return of emotional stability, the act ends.
 In the duet of I.8 some bars are given as 3/4 in the Huguet score (p.94, the word "hymen") which in others remain in 4/4.

<u>Act II</u>	<u>1774</u>	<u>Act II</u>	<u>1775</u>
II. 1-3 correspond in the two versions up to the chorus with solo (Achille) "Chantez, célébrez votre reine", in <u>C</u> , which initiates the <u>divertissement</u> :-			
Ballet: Marche	32 bars	<u>G</u>	Marche (the same) 32 bars <u>G</u>
<u>Moderato</u>	56	<u>D</u>	- - - - -
Chorus with solo (Patrocle)	66 bars	<u>A</u>	- - - - -
Air (une Grecque)	32	<u>A</u>	The same, words 32 <u>A</u>
words:-			adapted:-
"Son front est couronné"			"Achille est couronné"
Ballet:			- - - - -
Passacaille	114 bars	<u>D-A</u>	
Gavotte	96	<u>AaA</u>	
Passacaille	74	<u>A-D</u>	
- - - - -			Chorus (PE) 53 bars <u>C</u>
			Ballet: <u>Moderato</u> (DJ) 56 <u>C</u>
			Athletes (PE) 92 <u>a</u>
			Lentement 45 <u>C/C/a</u>
			Chaconne 110 <u>C/C/a</u>
			Entrée des Esclaves Lesbiennes 56 <u>a</u>
			Choeur des Esclaves Lesbiennes 52 <u>a</u>
			Recitative (Iphigénie), giving the slaves their freedom 8 <u>C</u>
(1774 III, "air pour les esclaves")			Air pour les Esclaves Lesbiennes 160 <u>F</u>
			2/4 160 <u>F</u>
			2/2 <u>allegro</u> 96
Quartet and chorus "Jamais à tes autels"		<u>d-F</u>	The same <u>d-F</u>

Appendix 3

Act II: the remainder corresponds in the two versions, with only one small change, not necessarily dating from 1775. The final allegro in A ("Et toi, déesse impitoyable") has, in the 1875 score, a 4-bar ritournelle before the voice enters (not in Huguet, PVS), presumably to give the singer time to catch breath.

Note: the divertissement of II is far longer in 1775; very little of it corresponds to the original. (1775 has 782 bars as against 470 between "Chantez, célébrez votre reine" and "Jamais à tes autels".) The emphasis is shifted from the future punishment of Troy (1774, Patrocle: "Hector et les Troyens vont mordre la poussière") to the past feats and hence present political strength of Achilles; a minor incident in the divertissement of 1774 III (the freeing of the Lesbian slaves, derived from Racine's *Eriphile*, see Appendix 2) becomes the centre of the section. 1775 is a looser tonal structure.

1774

1775

Act III

Act III

III.1-9 correspond in the two versions, through the sacrifice scene, entry of Achilles, and Calchas' "Arrêtez!" on the chord V7 in D (the prevailing tonality of the act having been G).

The music of 1775, in the intervention of Diane, is a version of Calchas' speech in 1774.

Calchas:-

"Achille, et vous Grecs,
Écoutez, le ciel s'explique,
Il m'inspire, il m'éclaire!"

Calchas:-

"Calmez cette fureur extrême.
La déesse vient elle-même
Nous prescrire ses volontés."

Calchas:-

"Votre zèle des Dieux
A fléchi la colère;
Les vertus de la fille
Et les pleurs de la mère
Ont trouvé grace devant eux."

Diane:-

"Et du fils de Thétis
La valeur immortelle
Force leur justice éternelle
De révoquer leurs ordres
rigoureux.

"Je ne vous retiens plus
Dans les champs de l'Aulide.
Allez où la gloire vous guide.

PRESTO

"Le bûcher se consume,
et l'autel se détruit,
Les vents agitent l'air,
La mer s'enfle et mugit,
Et vos triomphes se préparent!"

"Étonnez l'univers par vos
faites glorieux,
Et vous, jeunes amants, vivez,
soyez heureux."

Appendix 3

1774

1775

Andante

Calchas: "Adorez la clémence et les bontés des Dieux.." etc.

The versions correspond through the quartet-chorus ("Mon coeur ne saurait contenir") in F-C.

Divertissement

<u>Amabile</u> (PE)	121 bars	<u>C</u>
<u>Grazioso</u>	68	<u>C</u>
<u>Danse d'esclaves</u>	164	<u>F</u>
<u>Air gai</u>	40	<u>G</u>
<u>Tamburin</u>	32	<u>D</u>
<u>minore, da capo</u>	32/32	<u>d/D</u>
<u>Menuetto</u>	128	<u>GgG</u>
<u>Air (une grecque)</u> (PE)	82	<u>D/C</u>
<u>Chaconne</u>	279	<u>D</u>
<u>Chorus "Partons, volons à la victoire"</u> (strophic)		<u>d</u>

Divertissement

<u>Amabile</u> (the same)	121 bars	<u>C</u>
Used in II		

Used in II

<u>Allegro moderato</u>	82	<u>G</u>
<u>Gavotte</u>	40	<u>G-g</u>
<u>Gracieux</u>	66	<u>G/C</u>
<u>Minuet</u>	75	<u>G/C</u>
<u>minore</u>	56	<u>G/G</u>
<u>Andante</u>	102	<u>G/G</u>
<u>Passacaille</u>	114	<u>D</u>
<u>Gavottes</u>	96	<u>i-a</u>
<u>Passacaille</u> (PE)	74	<u>D</u>

Note: the final divertissement may be expected to be more "hors d'oeuvre" than earlier ones, and the reasons for the alterations are relatively obscure. But in fact 1774 is strongly relevant; the 279-bar Chaconne (subsequently used in Orphée, a possible reason for its omission in 1775) has some bars sung by Calchas ("Volez à la victoire") which introduce the final chorus and the thought of war.

The final chorus can be sung with the verses as solos for Agamemnon (who has said next to nothing in III), then repeated by the chorus. There are two sets of words, and a dance intervenes between the verses; the pattern is A (solo) A (chorus) dance B (solo) B (chorus) A (chorus). The relative tonal unity of 1775 is no compensation for the loss of this chorus.

The 1873 score also includes a rigue in F and an ariette for Achille in D with trumpet.

See Chapter II pp.50 and 78.

APPENDIX 4

Roland: the adaptation

Lully-Quinault

(B-C = Basse-continue
only)

Prologue

Act I

I.1 Angélique seule
(Air - strings)

I.2 Angélique, Thémire
Recit. (Ex.19A)

I.3 Médor seul
(Air - strings)

I.4 Médor, Angélique
Recit. (B-C)

I.5 Angélique, Thémire
(arioso, strings)

Duet: "Le secours de
l'absence"

I.6 Divertissement

March

Chorus with solo

Dance; ariette

* * * * *

Act II

II.1 Angélique, Thémire

(Air for Thémire)
Recit., ensemble

Piccinni-Marmontel

(Q = Quinault)

Overture

Act I

I.1 Angélique, Thémire (Ex.20)
Aria ("Quelle trouble..")
Recit. slightly cut
(Ex.19B)

Aria inserted:

"Oui, je le dois"

I.2 Médor seul
Recit: words Q (air)
Aria inserted:

"Je la verrai"

I.3 Médor, Angélique
Recit. somewhat cut
Air, words Q (recit)
"Vous servir est ma
seule envie"

Duet inserted:

"Soyez heureux loin
d'elle"

I.4 Angélique, Thémire
Aria adapted Q: (1)
"Non, rien n'égale mon
malheur" (Ex.27)

Recit. on Q's duet

Aria inserted:

"Je renonce à ce que
j'aime"

I.5 Divertissement

March

Chorus

• Three dances

* * * * *

Act II

II.1 Divertissement
material from Q II.5

II.2 Angélique, Thémire
(cut)

Cut

Aria adapted from Q (recit)
"Non, je ne cherche plus"

Appendix 4

II.2 Roland;

Angélique invisible
"Angélique ingrate,
inhumaine"

Air de Basse:
"Quelle cruauté"

Recit.
"Le dépit éteint ma
flamme" (2)

II.3 Angélique, Thémire
Airs (B-C):

"Mon coeur est engagé"
"C'est l'Amour qui prend
soin"

II.4 Médor (suicide scene)
"Agréables retraites"
(Strings, arioso)

Angélique - rescue
Airs - Angélique:
"Ma gloire murmure"
Médor:
"Témoins du désespoir"

II.5 Divertissement

* * * * *

Act III

III.1 Médor, Thémire (harbour)

III.2 Roland, Angélique
Recit.

Airs; Roland:-
"J'abandonne ma gloire"
"En des lieux"
(False rendez-vous)

III.3 Angélique, Médor, Thémire

III.4 Angélique, Médor
(jealousy scene)
Troupe de peuples de Cathay

III.5 Divertissement; homage to
Médor.

Air; chaconne
Songs, dances

* * * * *

II.3 Roland;

Angélique invisible
Recit. (Ex. 28)

Aria instead (inserted)
"Tu sais ce que j'ai
fait pour elle"

Abbreviated

Aria:
"Je me reconnais" (Ex.29)

II.4 Angélique, Thémire

Cut
Aria, fully scored with
ritornello (Ex.39A)

II.5 Médor (suicide scene)
Words revised
(accompagnato)

Angélique - rescue

Aria, adapted Q arioso
Médor:
"Je vivrai"

(see II.1)

No scene change

Cut

II.6 Angélique seule

II.7 Roland, Angélique
Recit.

Q set as arioso (Ex.30)
Recit.

(False rendez-vous)

Duet inserted

Cut

Cut

Scene change - harbour

II.8 Médor and sailors
Ariette

II.9 Angélique, Médor
Chorus, dance, elopement

* * * * *

Appendix 4

- | | |
|--|---|
| IV.1 Roland, Astolfe
Air: "L'objet qui
m'enchante"
Recit. | III.1 Roland, Astolfe
Aria, adapted from Q: (2)
"De l'aimable objet"
Recit. cut down
Duet |
| IV.2 Roland seul
<u>Arioso</u> (strings) (3)
Discovery of inscriptions linking Angélique & Médor
<u>arioso continues</u>

Dance heard (oboes)
Air de basse | III.2 Roland seul
<u>Arioso</u> , short air (Ex 31)
<u>accompagnato</u>
Aria: "Que l'insolent
qui m'outrage"
- - - - -
As recit., cut down |
| IV.3 <u>Divertissement</u> (pastoral)
March; chorus
Minuets | III.3 <u>Divertissement</u>
Chorus
Dance
Luet:- |
| IV.4 Corydon & Belise
Duet "J'aimerai toujours ma belle" (Q)

Duet continues:
"Angélique est reine" | III.4 Roland
Solo song - new
movement, same words |
| IV.5 Tersandre
Air with chorus
Duet: "Bénéissons
l'amour d'Angélique" | III.5 Tersandre
recit.
Q's words set solo (Ter-
sandre) then chorus,
interrupted |
| IV.6 Roland seul (mad scene)
Voice and B-C
quaver ostinato
(Ex. 32B)
<u>Arioso</u> : "Je suis descen-
du dans la nuit du
tombeau" (Ex. 32D)
* * * * * | III.6 Roland seul (mad scene)
<u>Accompagnato</u>
Aria: "Témoins d'une
odieuse flamme" (Ex. 32A)
<u>Accompagnato</u>
(Ex. 32C)
<u>Symphonie</u> (<u>andantino</u>
<u>amoureux</u>) |
| <u>Act V</u> | |
| V.1 Astolfe, Logistille | Cut |
| V.2 Logistille, Roland endormy
Symphonie, chorus | III.7 Logistille, Roland endormy
recit. only (Q cut) |
| V.3 Roland awakes:
<u>Final tableau</u>
La Gloire, etc. | III.8 Roland awakes:
Troup of heroes
March, chorus |

-
1. See Chapter IV. p.119.
 2. See Chapter IV. p.120.
 3. See Chapter IV. p.137.

APPENDIX 5

Ernelinde: 1767 and revised forms

The table sets out the movements retained, omitted, or replaced, and the key scheme, sometimes affected by revisions.

Recitative, unless otherwise indicated, is always recomposed (see Exs. 9 and 58).

1767 is the version published in full score in 1769. 1777 is the version played for the first time at the Académie Royale in that year; it had already been played at Court (1773). This is the version published in vocal score (COF); the full score, without the overture, is in BO, A 215d 1-2.

Abbreviations:

E.	Ernelinde
S.	Sandomir
Rod.	Rodoald
Pic.	Picimer
orch.	orchestra
orchtn.	orchestration

	<u>1767</u>		<u>1777</u>	
Overture	<u>C</u>	Retained		<u>C</u>
<u>Act I</u>		<u>Act I</u>		
I.1 E., Rod.		I.1 E., Rod.		
Duet (Ex. 8B-C)	<u>c</u>	Retained		<u>c</u>
Air (Rod.)	<u>c</u>	Retained		<u>c</u>
I.2 E. seule		I.2 E. seule		
Aria	<u>F</u>	Aria transposed and slightly shortened		<u>E_b</u>
Chorus (off-stage), recit. intervening	<u>B_b</u>	Retained, orchtn. revised		<u>B_b</u>
Chorus (1)	<u>c</u>	Omitted (1)		
Symphonie pour la destruction	<u>F</u>	Combat (orch.) replacing		<u>C</u>
I.3 E., S., chorus		I.3 E., S., chorus		
Chorus with solo (S.)	<u>F</u>	Retained (2)		<u>F</u>
<u>recit-arioso</u>		* Recet <u>recit-arioso</u>		
Aria (S.)	<u>F</u>	Omitted		
Chorus; oath in support of E., with solo (S.)	<u>E_b</u>	Retained		<u>E_b</u>
'Announce de la Marche'	<u>D</u>	Omitted		

1. Chorus in c: inexplicably omitted in 1777; it is musically the best part of the scene.
2. Words revised; in 1767 all sing "Panimez ces feux dévotants", in 1777 Sandomir, alone, sings "Eteignez ces feux..."
3. Aria between (S.) "...de ces lieux" and (E.) "Moi ne partagerais"; better omitted.

Appendix 5

I.4 Marche	<u>D</u>	I.4 Marche, transposed	<u>C</u>
I.5 Enter Ric.		Enter Ric.	
Annonce des Prisonniers		Omitted	
Aria (Ric.)		Transferred to II.5	
<u>Ballet</u>		Omitted	
7 pieces mostly in	<u>D</u>	Chorus (new to 1777)	<u>C</u>
Marche repeated	<u>D</u>	Marche repeated	<u>C</u>

		<u>Act II</u>	
		II.1 Ric. seul	
		Aria (new to 1777)	<u>C</u>
I.6 Ric., S.		II.2 Ric., S.	
Recit (Ex.9A)		Reset (Ex.9B)	
Duet (1)	<u>c</u>	Duet retained	<u>c</u>

		II.3 Ric. seul (recit)	
		II.4 Ric., Rod., E.	
		(words 1767 I.5)	
		II.5 Ric., chorus	
		Aria with chorus	<u>D</u>
		from 1767 I.5, rewritten	

<u>Act II</u>		<u>Act III</u>	
II.1 E seule		III.1 E seule	
Introduction (orch.)		Omitted	
recit		Omitted	
Aria: 1st section	<u>Eb</u>	Retained (2)	<u>Eb</u>
Middle, D.C.		Omitted	
II.2 E., Ric.		III.2 E., Ric.	
Aria (Ric.):-	<u>F</u>	Retained (slight	<u>F</u>
"Né dans un camp"		alterations) (3)	
II.3 Ric. seul		III.3 Ric. seul	
Aria:-	<u>c</u>	Retained (3)	<u>c</u>
"Transports jaloux"		Omitted	
Recit		III.4 Ric., chorus	
II.4 Ric., chorus		Omitted	
Aria (with chorus)	<u>Bb</u>	Omitted	
<u>Ballet</u>		Omitted	
8 pieces, mostly	<u>Bb</u>	Retained	<u>F</u>
Chorus with solo	<u>F</u>	Danes not to depart	
II.5 Edelbert, telling S.'s		III.5 Shortened to 4 bars	<u>C</u>
Chorus of 7 bars	<u>C</u>		

1. Duet in c: see Chapter I p.39.

2. The Eb aria has a longer ritornello in 1777, because it now begins the act. It is interrupted by a phrase of recitative.

3. Ricimer's arias: see Chapter VI p.209.

Appendix 5

II.6 Ric. seul
II.7 Ric., Rod.

III.6 Ric. seul
III.7 Ric., Rod., later E.
New introductory music
Newly set

Recit-arioso
II.8 Ric., Rod., E.
Aria (Rod.):
1st section (Ex.11) d
Recit.
2nd section (caba- D
letta)

Retained d
Retained
Considerably shorte- D
ned

II.9 Ric., Rod., E., S.
Quartet c

III.8 Ric., Rod., E., S. (1)
Substituted quartet C

II.10 Ric., E. (2)
Aria (E.) E
[E. seule]
Accompagnato (Ex.10) G
Short air G
Accompagnato
Aria: Eb
"Oui, je cède au coup
qui m'accable" (3)

III.9 Ric., E.
Replaced by short air Bb
[E. seule]
Retained: little change
Retained G
Retained
Retained, little Eb
change

* * * * *

* * * * *

Act III

(Prison scene)
III.1 S., chorus (4)
Chorus, Eb
recit. intervening
Aria (5) D
III.2 S., E.
'Prélude' Bb
III.3 S., E., Rod.
Trio Bb
III.5 [4] S., E.
Orch. recit. (Ex.58A)
Duct f
Recit., 'petit
duo' (Ex.9C) Bb
III.6
Changement

Act IV

(Prison scene)
IV.1 S., chorus
Retained Eb
Transposed, slight
alterations C
IV.2 S., E.
Omitted (recit. left)
IV.3 S., E., Rod.
Retained Bb
IV.4 S., E.
Newly set (Ex.58B)
Transposed e
Newly set
(no duo) (Ex.9D)
Slow March (new in C
1777)

* * * * *

1. Another inexplicable alteration; although the new piece in C has some power, the original c has more.

2. Between E.'s (retained) short air "je tombe à tes genoux" and (Ric.) "Ton désespoir sur moi n'a que trop de puissance." The short air of 1777 fits the dialogue context much better.

3. See Chapter II p.44.

4. The 1769 score has two choruses, "coté du Roi" and "coté de la Peine", off-stage.

5. See Chapter V p.192.

Appendix 5

		<u>Act V</u>	
(Temple scene)		(Temple scene)	
III.7	'Prélude' (1)	<u>Bb</u>	Omitted
	Marche	<u>Eb</u>	Retained
	Chorus (2)	<u>Eb</u>	Retained (2)
III.8	Ric., later E.		V.2 Ric., later E.
	Chorus	<u>Bb</u>	Omitted
			New orch. prelude
III.9	Ric., E., S.		V.3 Ric., E., S.
	(Threat of suicide)		
III.10	Rod.; armed inter-		V.4
	vention		Ulric warns Ric.
	Combat (orch.)	<u>D</u>	Replaced by fanfare-
			recit.
	(Death of Ric.)		Chorus (new 1777)
	Trio (E., S., Rod.)	<u>d-</u>	Combat (ensemble)
		<u>D</u>	Quartet (E., S., Rod.,
	Ballet:-(3)		Ric.)
	mostly in	<u>D</u>	Replaced by
	<u>Ariette</u> (3)	<u>A</u>	Recit. (Pic.)
	<u>Loué</u> , chaconne	<u>D</u>	Chorus (& solos)
			Final chorus (solo
			for Prêtre)
	* * * * *		* * * * *

See Chapter I p.25 and p.27ff; Chapter VI p.207ff.

-
1. Continuo only - a Lullian survival.
 2. Central section 1767, duet (Prêtre, Prêtresse), 1777 solo (Prêtre).
 3. See Chapter VI p.220.

APPENDIX 6

A. Persée: the adaptation

<u>Lully-Quinault</u>	<u>Philidor-Marmontel</u>
Prologue	Overture (Ex.79)
<u>Act I</u>	<u>Act I</u>
I.1 Cassiope, Céphée, Mérope (not Persée) Trio	I.1 Recast as choral scene (Persée on stage) 2 set as chorus (Ex.80)
I.2 Cassiope, Mérope	I.2 Cassiope, Phinée
I.3 Mérope seule	I.3 Phinée seul
I.4 Andromède, Phinée, Mérope	I.4 Andromède, Phinée scene re-cast from recit.
I.5 <u>Divertissement</u> Prayers to Junon Oracle	I.5 <u>Divertissement</u> Reduced; more musical repetition
I.6 Messenger (an Ethiopian) (News of further havoc wrought by Méduse)	I.6 Messenger (Orcas) Chorus (Ex.80B)
<u>Act II</u> * * * * *	
II.1 Phinée, Cassiope, Mérope	I.7 Phinée, Cassiope: Aria (Phinée) inserted
II.2 the same, with Céphée	I.8 Recast with chorus
II.3	Omitted
II.4 Mérope seule	I.9 Andromède seule The same words (Ex.66B)
II.5 Mérope, Andromède "Infortunés, qu'un monstre affreux" (Ex. 66A)	I.10 Andromède, Persée Aria (Persée) inserted (Ex.83) Duet (2)
II.6 Andromède, Persée	I.11 Essentially the same
Duet	<u>Divertissement</u>
II.7 Mercure sortant des enfers..	<u>Act II</u> * * * * *
<u>Divertissement</u>	II.1 The Gorgons (S T B) Aria (Méduse) (Ex.81) Trio (Ex.82)
<u>Act III</u> * * * * *	II.2 Mercure; Essentially the same (Ex.71)
III.1 The Gorgons (male voices)	II.3 Persée, Mercure New words
III.2 Mercure; slumber scene	II.4 Persée; aria inserted Death of Méduse
III.3 Persée Death of Méduse	

Appendix 5

II.6 Ric. seul		III.6 Ric.seul	
II.7 Ric., Pod.		III.7 Ric., Pod., later C. New introductory music Newly set	
	<u>Recit-arioso</u>		
II.8 Ric., Pod., E.	Aria (Pod.):		
	1st section(Ex.11) <u>d</u>	Retained	<u>d</u>
	Recit.	Retained	
	2nd section (Ex.11- letti) <u>D</u>	Considerably shorter- nou	<u>D</u>
II.9 Ric., Pod., E., S.	Quartet <u>c</u>	III.8 Ric., Pod., E., S. (1) Substituted quartet <u>C</u>	
II.10 Ric., E. (2)	Aria (E.) <u>E</u>	III.9 Ric., E. Replaced by short air <u>Bb</u>	
	[E. seule]	[E. seule]	
	<u>Accompagnato</u> (Ex.10)	Retained: little change	
	short air <u>G</u>	Retained	<u>G</u>
	<u>Accompagnato</u>	Retained	
	Aria: <u>Eb</u>	Retained, little change	<u>Eb</u>
	'Oui, je cède au coup qui m'accable" (3)		

* * * * *

* * * * *

Act III

(Prison scene)

III.1 S., chorus (4)	
Chorus, <u>Eb</u>	
recit. intervening	
Aria (5) <u>D</u>	
III.2 S., E.	
'Prelude' <u>Bb</u>	
III.3 S., E., Pod.	
Trio <u>Bb</u>	
III.5 [4] S., E.	
Orch. recit. (Ex.58A)	
Duct <u>f</u>	
Recit., 'petit duo' (Ex.9C) <u>Bb</u>	
III.6 <u>Chaconne</u>	

Act IV

(Prison scene)

IV.1 S., chorus	
Retained	<u>Eb</u>
Transposed, slight alterations	<u>C</u>
IV.2 S., E.	
Omitted (recit. left)	
IV.3 S., E., Pod.	
Retained	<u>Bb</u>
IV.4 S., E.	
Newly set (Ex.58B)	
Transposed	<u>e</u>
Newly set	
(no duo) (Ex.9D)	
slow March (new in 1777)	<u>C</u>

* * * * *

1. Another inexplicable alteration; although the new piece in C has some power, the original c has more.
2. Between E.'s (retained) short air "je tombe à tes genoux" and (Ric.) "ton déses-voir sur moi n'a que trop de puissance." The short air of 1777 fits the dialogue context much better.
3. See Chapter II p.44.
4. The 1769 score has two choruses, "coté du Poi" and "coté de la Peine", off-stage.
5. See Chapter II p.192.

Appendix 6A

IV.5 Cassiope, Céphée, Andromède: Thétis, chorus of people, chorus of Tritons	Ensemble: Chorus of people (L. IV.3) Chorus of Tritons (IV.5) Recitative (Cassiope, Céphée, Andromède) cut down from L. IV.5
IV.6 Death of the monster Chorus <u>Divertissement</u>	Death of the monster Chorus (words 4) <u>Changement</u>

V.1-7

Cut

<u>Scène Dernière</u> Vénus, l'Amour, l'Hymen, etc.	<u>Scène Dernière: divertissement</u> Descente de Vénus <u>Moderato</u> Gavotte Louré Passacaille (très lente) Quatuor (main characters) (Da capo form) Gavotte (rondo form) <u>Andantino</u> Menuet Gigue à demi jeu Recit. (Vénus) Chaconne Gavotte Gigue Recit. (Vénus) (3) Maestoso (rondo with 3 couplets)	<u>G</u> <u>A</u> <u>A</u> (1) <u>A</u> (2) <u>D</u> <u>G</u> <u>D</u> <u>G</u> <u>D</u> <u>R</u> <u>D</u> <u>D</u> <u>D</u> <u>D</u> <u>D</u> <u>D</u>
---	---	--

See Chapter VI p.215ff.

-
1. Marked to be cut.
 2. Marked "en Ré".
 3. The two recitatives for Vénus have the same words, to different settings; they are alternatives.

Appendix 6A

III.4 Persée, Gorgons
Monsters born from
Gorgon blood -
Divertissement(infernial)

III.5 Mercure returns

* * * * *

Act IV

IV.1 Mérope, Phinée, chorus
Return of Persée

IV.2 Mérope, Phinée
Intimations of sea-
tempest

IV.3 Messenger
Choruses:

Scene of sea-monster
and its destruction
Divertissement -
for victory over
the monster

* * * * *

[Act V

Act IV;
elements in PM III

IV.3,4,5:
interverted and
rearranged

IV.3 Mérope, Phinée, chorus

IV.4 Cassiope, Céphée

II.5 Persée, Gorgons,
Monsters, etc.
Retained - much cut

II.6 Mercure returns

Changeament

II.7 Andromède seule
(insertion)

II.8 Chorus; Cassiope, Céphée,
Andromède: Return of Persée

II.9 Phinée seul
No sea-tempest imminent
words parti; 2; aria
inserted (Ex.86a)

II.10 Messenger, Phinée
Reference to sea-monster
(1)

Removed to III
Divertissement -
for victory over Mérose

* * * * *

Omitted]

Act III

III.1 Chorus

"O Neptune, O Junon"
Inserted (not 4) (Ex.63)

III.2 Andromède, Céphée, Persée
Inserted

Air (Persée) (Ex.84A)

III.3 Scene of sea-monster, etc.
Aria (Andromède) inserted
From IV.5:-

"Dieux qui me destinez
un mort si cruelle" (Ex.84B)

Ensemble; Céphée, Cassiope,
chorus (from IV.5-4)

Aria (Cassiope) inserted:
"Les maux que j'ai faits"
(Ex.85)

Air for Andromède inserted

1. II.10 (Phinée and Messenger) is marked to be cut in the
BO score.

Appendix 6B

Act IV

IV.4

IV.5 Lovers' dialogue:
Médée overhearing

IV.6 Médée, Eglé, Thésée

Divertissement

* * * * *

Act V

V.1 Médée seule

V.2 Médée, gée

V.3 Recognition

Final sequence:

Destruction of palace
Athene raises a new
palace

Transformation music (Ex.70)

Similar cuts

Cut in speech of Médée telling
Thésée that Eglé no longer
loves him

Extended:

Aria (Thésée) (Ex.73)

Arioso dialogue (Ex.74)

Extended:

Trio inserted (Ex.76)

Divertissement

* * * * *

Act IV

IV.1 Médée seule
(Ex.77)

IV.2 Médée, Eglé
Slight change of emphasis (1)
(Ex.78)

IV.3 Retained (2)

Final sequence extended

New words for Médée, chorus
Athene offers protection to
Athens

See Chapter VI p. 217.

1. See Chapter VI p. 230.

APPENDIX 7

Andromaque: the adaptation

Racine:

I.1 Oreste, Pilade
 I.2-4
 II.1-3
 II.4-5 (Pirrhhus agrees to
 give up Andromaque, and
 marry Hermione)
 III.1-7 (Pirrhhus melted by
 Andromaque)
 III.8, IV.1
 IV.2-3
 IV.4-6
 V.1 Hermione seule

V.2-5

Pitra-Grétry:

I.1 Hermione seule
 I.2-4
 No direct equivalent
 I.5-6 the same
 Ballet
 * * * * *
 II.1-6; Racine III.2 (Oreste and
 Hermione) is cut.
 III.1-3
 II.8-9 (II.7: inserted chorus)
 Omitted
 III.5
 III.13 Andromaque, Céphise: Racine
 III.8 and IV.1
 Omitted
 Wedding scene, failed assassina-
 tion, ballet; in part based on
 Oreste's narration, Racine V.3.

Racine III.8:

Andromaque: "Il demanda son fils, et le prit dans ses bras:
 'Chère épouse, dit-il, en essuyant mes larmes,
 'J'ignore quel succès le sort garde à mes armes;
 'Je te laisse mon fils pour gage de ma foi:
 'S'il me perd, je prétends qu'il me retrouve
 en toi.
 'Si d'un heureux hymen la mémoire t'est chère,
 Montre au fils à quel point tu chérissais
 le père.'
 Et je puis voir répandre un sang si précieux!
 Et je laisse avec lui périr tous ses aïeux!"

Pitra II.4 (air, Ex. 94A):

Andromaque: "Il prit son fils, le serra dans ses bras,
 'Chère épouse, dit-il,
 'Je te laisse ce gage de mon amour et de ma foi.
 'Si je meurs, qu'il retrouve en toi
 'Et mon amour et ma tendresse.
 'Sèches tes pleurs, chéris sans cesse ce fils,
 'Le gage de ma foi...'
 Et sa mère pourrait supporter son trépas!"

APPENDIX 8

Dardanus: the adaptation

Guillard based his Dardanus libretto (set by Sacchini in four acts, 1784) on the version prepared by Rameau and La Bruère for a revival in 1744, entitled somewhat optimistically "nouvelle tragédie". In fact the first two acts remained much what they were in 1739, but the last acts were completely rewritten. (For suggestions as to how the best music and better drama may be preserved together, see Girdlestone, "Plan for a Stage Production of Rameau's 'Dardanus'", ML 1959.) The title-page of the printed score of Sacchini's opera states "paroles de M. Guillard", but in fact much of what La Bruère wrote is retained verbatim or only slightly altered - or "marmontelisé".

Abbreviations: G LB	Guillard La Bruère
<u>Rameau-La Bruère (1744)</u>	<u>Sacchini-Guillard (1784)</u>
Prologue	Omitted
<u>Act I</u>	Overture: see II.1
<u>Act I</u>	<u>Act I</u>
I.1 Iphise seule "Cesse, cruel amour" ["ennemi fatal"]	I.1 Iphise & femme de sa suite LB retained: same air form (Ex.143A) ["ennemi cruel" (G)] Recit. & short air:("O combats d'un cœur incertain" (G) (Ex.143B) Final recit: femme:- "Consultez Isménor" (LB I.4)
I.2 Iphise, Teucer Recit.	I.2 Iphise, Teucer Slight alterations
I.3 Anténor, Guerriers, etc. Prélude Anténor: "Princesse, après l'espoir" Air: (Teucer)	I.3 Anténor, etc. Marche (same effect of contrast) Retained Replaced by (Anténor):- "Dardanus a pour lui les "cieux, /J'ai pour moi, l'Amour et la Gloire" (G insertion). Retained
Duet (Teucer, Anténor): "Mânes plaintifs" Solo & Chorus. "Par des jeux éclatans"	Retained (recit. & chorus)
<u>Entrée.....</u> "Mars, Bellone" <u>Air vif:-</u> "Allez, jeune guerrier"	<u>Andantino galante non lento</u> Omitted Duet:- "Allez, jeune guerrier" (LB)

Appendix 8

- [I.3] Pigaudons: double
"Guerriers, suivez
l'amour"
Recit. (Anténor)
I.4 Iphise seule
"Consultons Isménor"
* * * * *

Act II

- II.1 Isménor seul
II.2 Isménor, Dardanus

- II.3 Conjuration scene
Air grave
"Suspende ta brillante carrière" (LB)
Air vif
"Nos cris ont pénétré.."
"C'en est fait"
Choeur vif "Obéis aux lois"
Recit., exit of Isménor:-
"..n'espérez plus en moi!
Le charme cesse et le
péril commence;
Telle est du sort l'irréc-
vocalable loi"
II.4 Dardanus (disguised),
Anténor

- [I.3] Omitted
Omitted
Used in I.1
I.4 (G insertion)
Un officier (messenger):
"Prince, courez aux armes"
Choral finale
* * * * *

Act II

- II.1 Isménor seul
LB (Prelude: cf overture)
II.2 Isménor, Dardanus
LB: slightly altered
Air (Dardanus): (Ex.143C)
"C'est un charme suprême"
LB (recit), G additions
Duet: (Isménor:
"Du danger qui vous suit,
Mon coeur est alarmée")
G insertion
II.3 Retained
Andante maestoso non presto
"Suspende ta brillante carrière" (LB) (see Ex.17)
Air très vif
Cut
Retained (LB)
Retained (LB)(chorus in Eb)
LB slightly changed:-
"..n'espérez plus en moi!
De Teucer à l'instant vous
subissez la loi
Et vous tombez en sa
puissance" (1)
Omitted
II.4 Dardanus seul sous les
traits d'Isménor.
Aria inserted:
"Jour heureuse" (G) (2)

1. A characteristic Guillard revision, which clarifies the subsequent action by explaining Dardanus' captivity.
2. See Chapter VIII p.320.

Appendix 8

II.5 Dardanus, Iphise

II.5 Dardanus, Iphise (1)

Almost entirely LB (1)
Iphise (recit.):-
"A peine devant lui j'ose
lever les yeux" (2) is G.
The final speech (Iphise):-

"Vous triomphez en vain
de ma faiblesse,
C'est un motif de plus
Pour éteindre mes feux"
is G.

Aria inserted (Dardanus):
"Aveu charmant, trans-
port suprême" (G)

* * * * *

* * * * *

Act III

Act III

III.1 Chorus:-

"Dardanus gémit sous
nos fers,
Qu'il périsse..."

III.2 Teucer, Antéonor, Arcas
Chorus:-

"Livrez-nous Dardanus"

III.3 Antéonor, Arcas

III.4 Antéonor, Iphise

III.5 Antéonor, Arcas

(III.2)

III.6 Divertissement

Chorus:-

"Que l'on chante" (4)

Dances, ariette

* * * * *

III.1 Antéonor; later Arcas

Aria (Antéonor):-

"Sombre chagrin" (G)

LB material from III.3

III.2 Antéonor, Iphise

LB

Duet inserted(G) (3)

Exit Iphise: enter Arcas

LB adapted: textual
detail G

Chorus:-

"Livrez-nous Dardanus"

Teucer, recit.(LB III.3)

Omitted

III.3 Antéonor, Arcas, suite
d'Arcas

1. Includes the passage in ex. 55.

2. Another Guillard rationalization: she does not perceive that it is not Iaméonor but Dardanus disguised.

3. Antéonor: "Mon coeur s'abandonne à la rage"

Iphise: "Je dois mépriser qui m'outrage,
Et votre amour me fait horreur" (G).

4. 1739 version III.3.

Appendix 8

[III.3] Recit. LB adapted
Choral recit G
Aria (Anténor):-
"Le désespoir et la rage
cruelle" (G)
..leads to chorus (1)
"Dardanus gémit..." (LB)

* * * * *

Act IV

IV.1 Dardanus seul
"Lieux funestes"
Recit.
"Lieux funestes" DC
IV.2 Dardanus, Isménor
Symphonie
Recit.
Duet:-"Vole amour,
dans ce séjour"

Divertissement

(Duo, air tendre,
ariette, Gavotte)
Recit. (Dardanus):-
"Ces accens de mes
maux/suspendent la rigueur"

Isménor:-

"Quel transport me
saisit"

IV.3 Dardanus seul
"Puis-je à ce prix
affreux/Vouloir sauver
mes jours?"

IV.4 Dardanus, Iphise
Recit.
Duet:
"Frappez, Dieux
tout puissans"

Act IV

IV.1 Dardanus seul
LB (Ex.140A)
Air 2 (Ex.140B) LB adapted
No DC
IV.2 Dardanus, Isménor

LB adapted, some cuts
Duet, LB adapted:-"Vole
amour, à nos voix hâte-
toi de descendre"

Set as air

Divertissement (dances)(2)

LB retained
(recit., air)

IV.3 Dardanus seul
LB retained

IV.4 Dardanus, Iphise
LB adapted (3)
Duet:
Iphise:"Eh bien, avec
transport/Je vous les sacri-
fic" Dardanus:"Est-ce donc
me rendre la vie/Que me fra-
pper d'un trait plus cruel.."

-
1. A chorus from LB III.1 is linked to the aria (G) to make a massive tableau in the spirit of the Gluck epoch. It is also the visible result of Arcas' demagogic activity.
 2. The divertissement in prison is a luxury Guillard might have done well to dispense with.
 3. LB, vaguely:"On menace vos jours"; G, specifically, Arcas is named as the villain, not Anténor.

Appendix 8

[IV.4] Bruit de Guerre

IV.5 Dardanus, Anténor

IV.6 Iphise seule

* * * * *

Act V

V.1 Iphise seule

V.2 Iphise, Dardanus

V.3 Teucer, disarmed and
saved by Dardanus:

"Quel odieux secours"

Recit.

Short duet (Dardanus,
Iphise)

"Quels doux concerts"

V.4 Vénus

Divertissement

[IV.4] "On entend un bruit de
guerre. Anténor paraît
blessé."

IV.5 LB adapted until Anténor dies
Chorus inserted:

"Délivrons Dardanus"

"Périsse Dardanus"

[IV.6] Iphise

LB, recit. extended

Aria inserted:-

"Cruels! quelle affreuse
valeur" (G)

Chorus & recit. (G)

Combat (symphonie)

IV.7 Dardanus: "Qu'on désarme
Teucer" Iphise: "Mon père!
justes cieux!" (G) (1)

LB retained, partly snort air

LB slightly altered

LB used for successive
phrases of recit

Trio inserted:-

"Quels doux concerts.." (LB)

Later words G.

IV.8 Isménor

LB (Vénus' speech) adapted

Quartet inserted

Divertissement

See Chapter VIII p. 326ff.

1. Another instance of Guillard's effective condensation. LB has IV.6 and V.1 as solo scenes for Iphise in different places. Guillard's aria serves for both; and the battle rages in a continuity like that of Renaud III, Péronne II, or Fizarre II, after the model of the Tauride dénouement. LB V.2 is a dialogue of Dardanus and Iphise, perfectly calm in tone although the outcome of the battle is not known; Guillard shows the reluctant submission of Teucer on stage (although this character remains thinly drawn).

APPENDIX 9

Demoföonte; Démophöön; Démophon

Abbreviations (Dramatis personae)

Demoföonte, Démophöön, Démophon	Dem., Dém.
Dircea, Dircé	Dir.
Timante, Osmide	T., O.
Matusio, Astor, Narbal	M., A., N.
Creusa, Ircile	Cr., I.
Cherinto, Néade	Ch., N.
Adrasto, Adraste	Adr.

(See Chapter VIII p.334)

Metastasio:
Demoföonte

Marmontel-Cherubini:Desriaux-Vogel:
Démophöön, Démophon,
tragédie-lyrique opéra lyrique

[Sinfonia]
Act I

Overture

Overture

I.1 Dir., M.
Aria M.

Act I

Act I

I.1 Chorus

I.2 ORACLE (Ex.148)

I.3 Dir., A.
Aria A.

I.1 Dir., N.
Aria N. (Ex.149)

I.4 Dir. seule
(Ex. 153A)
Aria: "Ah! quand
je vivrais pour moi-
même"

I.2 Dir. seule
(Ex. 153B)
Aria: "Age d'or,
ô bel âge"

I.2 Dir., T.
ORACLE related

I.5 Dir., O.

Marche
I.3 Dir., T., chorus
ORACLE related

I.4 Dir., T.
DUET

DUET

I.6-7 O.

Recit.

I.8 Dém., A.

I.9 Dém., peuples

I.10 chorus

I.11 Dém., O.
(the same)
Aria. Dém.

I.3 Dém., T.
(Dem. tells T.
he is to marry)

I.4 T. solo
Aria

Ballet

* * * * *

Scene change

I.5 Cr., Ch.
Aria Ch.(1)

Act II

II.1 I., N.
Duet (2)

1. He is prevented from leaving; otherwise "Aria" implies exit of the singer.

2. CM II.1 takes elements from other Metastasio scenes than I.5 and thus curtails the misunderstandings of these lovers.

Appendix 9

I.6 Cr., Ch., T.
I.7 Cr., Ch.
I.8 Ch. solo
Aria
I.9 Dir., M.
I.10 Dir., T.
I.11 Dir., T., M.
M. in panic
I.12 These and Adr.
APREST of Dir.
Aria Dir.
I.13 T., M.
Aria T.
* * * * *

II.2 I., N., O.
(in II.1)
II.3 Dir., A., O.
Aria Dir.
II.4 Dir., O.
DUET
II.5 Dir., O., A.
A. simile
II.6 These and Adr.
APREST of Dir.
(no aria)
II.7 O. seul
Aria
* * * * *

[I.4] Dir., T.]
[DUET]
I.5 Dir., T., N.
N. simile
I.6 These and Adr.
APREST of Dir.
(no aria)
I.7 T., N.
Aria T.
* * * * *

Act II

II.1 Dem., Cr.
Aria Cr.
II.2 Dem., T.
Aria T.
II.3 Dem. solo
Aria
II.4 M., T.
Aria M.
II.5 T solo - exit
II.6 Dir.-
Sacrificial
Procession
Aria Dir.
II.7 Cr., Ch.
Aria Ch.
II.8 Cr. sola
Aria Cr.

Act III

III.1 Dém., O.
Aria O.
Aria Dém.
(Ex. 152)
III.2 Dém., I.
(in III.1)
(in III.1)
III.3 Dém., I., N., O.
III.4 Dém., I., N.
Trio
III.5 I., N.
III.6 Dir.-
Sacrificial
Procession
Aria Dir.
(elements in
II.1, III.5)

Act II

II.1 N., T.
Aria N.
II.2 T. solo - stays
II.3 Dir., T.,
Sacrificial
Procession
II.4 Aria Dir. (Ex. 151)
II.5 Chorus of people
(insertion)

