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978-0-521-88760-1 - Opera in the Age of Rousseau Music, Confrontation, Realism

David Charlton

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OPERA IN THE AGE OF ROUSSEAU

Historians of French politics, art, philosophy and literature have long known the tensions and fascinations of Louis XV's reign, the 1750s in particular. David Charlton's study comprehensively re-examines this period, from Rameau to Gluck, and elucidates the long-term issues surrounding opera. Taking Rousseau's *Le Devin du village* as one narrative centrepiece, Charlton investigates this opera's origins and influences in the 1740s and goes on to use past and present research to create a new structural model that explains the elements of reform in Gluck's *tragédies* for Paris. Charlton's book opens many new perspectives on the musical practices and politics of the period, including the *Querelle des Bouffons*. It gives the first detailed account of *intermezzi* and *opere buffe* performed by Eustachio Bambini's troupe at the Paris Opéra from August 1752 to March 1754, and discusses Rameau's comedies *Platée* and *Les Paladins*, and their origins.

DAVID CHARLTON is Professor Emeritus, Music History, at Royal Holloway, University of London. He is a regular contributor to conferences and has sat on the Council of the Royal Musical Association and the Comité International Hector Berlioz. He has published widely on the history of opera and his books include *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique* (1986), *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings* (1989), *French Opera 1730–1830* (2000) and *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera* (as editor 2003).

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To
John Railton, MBE
Musician and teacher extraordinary

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book offers an integral approach to opera in France during perhaps its most complex and critical decades: those of Rousseau and Rameau. The period of Louis XV's middle and later years remains a time of intense interest for us regarding history, philosophy, art and literature. The personality and politics of Louis XV continue to generate book-length studies: his major showdowns with the Paris Parlement, his conduct of the War of Austrian Succession, the catastrophic Seven Years' War, his attempted assassination in 1757, his private life. Perhaps never before have there been such quantities of research on Diderot, Rousseau and Voltaire, who (as it happens) were all intimately and practically involved in the production of certain operas; for opera in France, as elsewhere, was an art-form whose relationship to politics, history and the literary world guaranteed its cultural importance.

To be more precise, the reader will find here a study of opera in and around Paris between 1739 and 1774, roughly between Rameau's zenith and Gluck's advent. During this period – see Chapter 6 within – book-buying citizens thought of opera as more than a special sensation, hedonistic feast or nostalgia for the century of Louis XIV. Their own tradition had come of age, thanks to Rameau, and they were measuring their experience of opera against new waves of fiction in other media, especially perhaps the novel (for example Richardson's *Pamela*, translated in 1741), plus new departures in the spoken theatre.

The word 'confrontation' in my subtitle alludes to the many signs of long-term shifts, including two features that our group memory has somehow favoured: the visit to Paris made by the troupe of Eustachio Bambini (the 'Bouffons', 1752–4) and the story of pamphleteering and debate associated with them: the *Querelle des Bouffons*. In fact this particular disputation – stoked up by Rousseau to the extent that he claims in his *Confessions* that it caused the public to forget real politics for a time – was just one episode in a series. Coinciding with the expansion of the press in France, her long debates over opera became part of the Enlightenment in action: the exercise of taste and (hopefully) reason in the public sphere.

Opera studies do not need to exclude any facet of their subject, so this book touches on many practical aspects of the art: trends in acting, types of scenery, the size and disposition of theatres, production costs. Musical questions are never far away. Particular attention is paid to the singing of virtuosos at the Opéra; to the style of Rousseau's extremely successful opera, *Le Devin du village*; and to the shock-effect of the Bouffon comedies fortuitously appearing in Paris a few months later.

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Indeed the origins of the present study lay in the wish to know what music the Bouffons brought over and sang. One original title for Chapter 10 was 'Fourteen works in eighteen months'. Little did I expect to discover that the Bouffons' repertory developed in response to public expectation, and included creative engagement with the Paris Opéra company.

My approach to opera always gives the libretto half or more of the due quota of attention, opera-as-drama; and in France, of all countries, one expects dramatic values to be a strong point of definition. By giving attention to the librettos, and to *their* own sources, it becomes possible to escape from the simple view of French opera as the home of five-act tragedy, and to observe – for example – the growth of comedy in the 1740s or the flowering of strangely philosophical opéras-ballets in the same decade. In the final three chapters this method leads to evidence for a new model of French opera based more on the design and content of librettos than on any musical factors. This evolving model shaped responses to Gluck's operas in 1774–9 and surely signals the start of a European integration process for French opera – the same process which in the 1830s would confirm 'grand opera' as a leading world genre alongside the forms and practices of Italian opera. I have suggested the validity of this notion by surmising Mozart's response(s) to Philidor's *Ernelinde* in 1778, when he was in Paris.

Received history avers that Gluck 'reformed' opera, but recent opera studies point to a series of reforms that preceded or overlapped with his. We have Margaret Butler's *Opera Reform at Turin's Teatro Regio*, for example; Daniel Hertz has pointed to 1749 as a watershed year and sees opera reform as something rooted in a variety of places.¹ Reforms were certainly present in operas commissioned and staged by the Marquise de Pompadour in the years 1747 to 1750; she sang many leading parts, as Chapter 1 describes. The legacy of the Bouffons' Parisian visit was, surely, the most important reform of all: an altogether new type of opera, using spoken dialogue and an up-to-date range of musical idioms: *comédie mêlée d'ariettes*. Chapter 11 describes how this new type of opéra-comique crystallised. The fullest account of its early development is included in Hertz's *Music in European Capitals*, Chapter 7.

The word 'realism' is crude, but useful as an occasional signal indicating this or that small shift of sensibility, usually subtracting weight from the symbolic or distanced side of a representation and adding to its scale of immediacy.² One attraction of the emergent opéra-comique lay in its dramatic nature, often anchored in societies that were experientially familiar to audiences. In the present book, operatic realism is seen both in the evolution of comedy and in changing concepts of character, which is one main reason why acting is studied near the beginning, in Chapter 2.

¹ Margaret Ruth Butler, *Opera Reform at Turin's Teatro Regio* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2001); HertzMEC, 269–70, 278–87.

² HobsonOA, 'alethia' to 'adequatio': music plays a full role in this study.

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The formula of my title, ‘the Age of Rousseau’, denotes more than simply the era of Rousseau’s maturity. He was born at Geneva in 1712 and came from Lyon to Paris in 1742. After twelve months’ experience as a diplomatic secretary in Venice and seeing opera there, he engaged most closely with the world of Parisian public music between 1745 and 1754. One could argue that ‘the Age of Rameau’ equally fits a period when this composer’s genius was fully acknowledged; for certain operas continued to bear his name aloft following his death in 1764, up to the arrival of Gluck. The many links between the latter and the former have been explored by Cuthbert Girdlestone in *Rameau*, Chapter 15. In choosing to privilege Rousseau, I would recall that Gluck advertised *Le Devin du village* as ‘a model’ when he dedicated his score of *Orphée et Euridice* to Marie-Antoinette,³ and also recall that Gluck’s French tragedies obliged Rousseau to recant his famous problematic stance that ‘French opera’ had no future so far as he was concerned. Furthermore, it has turned out that recurring evidence from Rousseau (musician, polemicist, outsider) well serves in clarifying different strands of my narrative; Rameau left no writings on opera, as Piero Weiss has lamented.⁴

Rousseau’s success in *Le Devin du village* was owed not only to his responses to Italian models, but also his desire to make good music more accessible; he had earlier tried to do the same in two works of music education and theory. This, his last opera, succeeded as a unified, original work of art incorporating non-traditional elements as well as orthodox (courtly) ones. It has usually received unsympathetic coverage but this book devotes a whole chapter to it which could easily have been longer, had space permitted.

Reception history is full of musical paradoxes and some have a long pedigree. It can easily come as a surprise to non-specialists that Rousseau wrote a successful opera at all, let alone involved himself in musical politics. The opera troupe of Mme de Pompadour ought to be better known than it is. Since we can now see and hear recordings of Baroque operas that have been staged, and know that a new Rameau complete edition is in progress (*Opera Omnia Rameau*), it seems odd that this composer should have been omitted from English accounts of music history (as sometimes happened before the twentieth century). Yet perhaps Charles Burney’s views echo subliminally: his passionate desire to bury the French Baroque style, and its hapless singers along with it. Burney’s bias cannot explain, however, why the decades covered in this book were identified in 2005 by Richard Taruskin as ‘until recently the most systematically

³ ‘His *Devin du village* is a model which no author has yet imitated . . . The style I am trying to introduce seems to me to return art to its original dignity. Music will no longer be limited to the cold, conventional forms of beauty which authors used to be obliged to use’: from the Dedication of Gluck’s *Orphée et Euridice*, printed score (1774), trans. Patricia Howard in HowardG, 123.

⁴ WeissO, xii.

neglected span of years in the whole history of European “fine-art” music’.⁵ Excellent scholars have certainly investigated aspects of French opera between *Castor et Pollux* and *Iphigénie en Aulide*, yet only a few of their dissertations and ideas are sufficiently known. By contrast, in subject-areas adjoining music, the richness and genius of French thought has generated fertile swathes of secondary literature, from that era to this.

It is hardly necessary to recall that the Age of Rousseau itself saw an astonishing tide of important new books: histories, scientific discoveries, theories of language and cognition, plays, translations from English and German literature, and of course the epochal appearance of the *Encyclopédie* edited by Diderot and d’Alembert (1751–65). The expansion of journal publication increased the circulation of ideas, some from abroad; Paris could sometimes read about operas given in Vienna or London.

Each chapter in this study offers a specific area of overview combined with relevant topics of discussion. Such topics usually include ‘experiences’ of opera, whether reported by witnesses in France or Italy or whether as my own critiques of works. Wherever possible, I use and refer to modern performances of opera. Recent performers have recorded, for example, *Callirhoé*, *Scylla et Glaucus*, *Les Amours de Ragonde*, *Titon et l’Aurore*, *Daphnis et Chloé*, *Egine*, *Zélindor*, *Platée*, *Les Paladins* and parts of *Ernelinde*;⁶ my preferences in the few available recordings of *intermezzi* and *opere buffe* remain with early, incomplete Italian versions of *Livietta e Tracollo*, *Baiocco e Serpilla* and *La zingara*. The unrecorded gaps include a rediscovered work of great interest: Royer’s *Zaïde, Reine de Grenade* (1739).⁷

The most systematically used primary sources in this book were the earliest editions of librettos and scores of all operas discussed;⁸ manuscript sources of unpublished operas; periodical publications (1742–66); edited memoirs and letters; contemporary books and tracts; different archives of court performances and of Paris Opéra administration; and relevant Arrêts du Conseil du Roi. No relevant category of evidence has been consciously excluded.

The ordering of the book, allowing for different subject-areas, is chronological, and the provision of tables aims to make fact-finding easier. Modes of discussion respond in different ways to the varied materials that opera studies deal with. For reasons of space, French texts of my quotations, and Table 12.1, are to be made available from

⁵ Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford University Press, 2005), II, 401. In 2008 Victoria Johnson published *Backstage at the Revolution* (JohnsonBR), which is centred on the Paris Opéra; unfortunately its main periods of concern do not overlap with those of the present book.

⁶ On disc 16 of a twenty-CD set, *200 Years of Music at Versailles* (Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 2007); see *Early Music Review* 126 (Aug. 2008), 8–10.

⁷ Lionel Sawkins’ edition of *Zaïde* was performed at St John’s, Smith Square, London (2005), conducted by Graham Caldbeck.

⁸ Scores by Rameau were consulted in RameauOC and OOR only.

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Royal Holloway Research Online (<http://digirep.rhul.ac.uk>). Translations are my own unless otherwise mentioned. Plot summaries of all works discussed may be found in volume 2 of Spire Pitou's *The Paris Opéra: An Encyclopedia* (Westport, Conn., and London, 1985), and many relevant materials at <http://operabaroque.fr>. The new authority for Opéra repertory is located at <http://chronopera.free.fr>.

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It is a pleasure to thank the staff and music librarians of the public collections where research has been carried out. Prime among these is the British Library, London, whose keepers and collections have long nourished my work. Whether music, journals or books, the majority of published sources read for this book were located in this great public institution. At the University of London (Senate House Library, Music Collections) Anthea Baird, then Ruth Darton, and in recent years Colin Homiski, helped generously and unfailingly. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Musique, Opéra, Manuscrits, Arts du Spectacle) and the Archives Nationales, Paris, made every visit profitable. In Musique, I would like to thank MM. César, Genin and Bourda (among others) for giving readers like me such an exceptional service. Royal Holloway Library, University of London, has extended ideal conditions, especially for its academic research loans.

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Meticulous research work by Peter Turner and Hannah Godfrey-Mahapatra took place during the years of foundation-laying. Lionel Sawkins' edition of Royer's *Zaïde* and discussion of the work with me were most valuable. Karin Pendle encouraged me to consult her unpublished project on eighteenth-century opéra-comique. Jacqueline



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Waeber has been a most generous sharer and discussor of information. Nicole Wild has been ever ready to help, responding with loans, gifts and information of all kinds, not to mention hospitality. Graham Sadler has discussed many research questions with me. Exceptional thanks are owed to Michel Noiray for numerous pieces of information, discussions, gifts and extended loans of material that have made an enormous difference to the writing of this book. I should like to acknowledge the help of Daniel Hertz, whether manifested in his remarkable works of scholarship or in his correspondence.

My searches for particular illustrations profited from the expertise and assistance of Elizabeth Agate, Florence Gétreau, Mark Ledbury, Richard Macnutt, Stephen Rose and Pierre Vidal; the setting of music examples from that of Ric Lloyd at Cleftec. Victoria L. Cooper, senior editor at Cambridge University Press, has once again been an inimitable blend of strength and support. Various parts of this work were fielded at research seminars or conferences through invitations by Alexandre Dratwicki (Opéra-Comique, Paris), Katharine Ellis (Institute of Musical Research, London University School of Advanced Studies), Andrea Fabiano (Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand), Dinko Fabris (Università della Basilicata), Sarah Hibberd (University of Nottingham, Department of Music), Charlotte Lorient (Université Paris-Sorbonne), Michel Noiray and Solveig Serre (CNRS; Chronopéra), Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval and Dominique Quérou (Université Paris-Sorbonne), Herbert Schneider (Universität des Saarlandes) and Ingrid Sykes (University of Warwick, Department of History) towards all of whom I am greatly appreciative.

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Rewriting the text has been a process vitally assisted by friends or colleagues who have kindly read chapters and improved them: James Dack, Mark Darlow, Art Groos and Michel Noiray. The book has greatly benefited from their expertise and judgement, and I hope they will forgive my remaining mistakes.

Rosalind Bleach, some decades ago, indexed musical references for me in Rousseau's *Confessions*. At last her dedicated work is seeing an outcome; I hope she will enjoy reading the results.

Patricia Scholfield has made the project possible – indeed her own – and so the following text is an image of her unfailing sustenance, every step and every year of the way.



NOTE TO THE TEXT

1. Online material: Table 12.1, and all original French texts of quotations translated in the book, are available from Royal Holloway Research Online (<http://digirep.rhul.ac.uk>).
2. If any referenced source serves more than one chapter, it is abbreviated and listed in full within the Select bibliography at the end.
3. General abbreviations

AN = Paris, Archives Nationales; ARM = Académie Royale de Musique (the Paris Opéra); Ch. = Chapter; CI = Comédie Italienne; Ed. = editor; F-Pn = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; F-Po = Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra; Facs. = facsimile; FB = Fontainebleau; FS = Full score; FSG = Foire Saint-Germain; FSL = Foire Saint-Laurent; GB-Lbl = London, The British Library; IMS = International Musicological Society; KT = London, King's Theatre; MS = manuscript; OC = Opéra Comique; perf. = performance; TP = title-page; trans. = translated/translator.

4. I have used 'opéra-comique' to denote the genre and 'Opéra Comique' to denote the company.
5. For convenience and clarity I refer to the 'acts' of *intermezzi*, not 'intermezzo 1', etc.
6. Opera performances: The Opéra (ARM) was seen on Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays all year, except for the three-week Easter recess. Thursday performances were also given from St Martin's Day (11 November) until Ascension.<sup>1</sup> The Comédie-Italienne was seen daily all year (outside the Easter recess).<sup>2</sup> The Foire Saint-Germain ran from Candlemas (3 February) until Palm Sunday, and the Foire Saint-Laurent between late July and 29 September, but exact dates were variable from year to year.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Thursday after St Martin's Day until Thursday before Ascension Day: [Léris], *Harmoniphile*, 135–6.  
<sup>2</sup> *Calendrier historique des théâtres* (Paris: Duchesne, 1751), 3. Tuesdays and Fridays usually showed Italian-based repertory.  
<sup>3</sup> FSL could start on 25 July (feast of St James) or 9 Aug. (the day before the feast of St Laurent): Emile Campardon, *Les Spectacles de la Foire*, 2 vols. (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1877), 1, vii.

FRENCH OPERA REPERTORY 1742–1752

Table 0.1 *French opera repertory 1742–1752*

(See Table 12.1 [online] for the period 1753–63)  
This table is an overview of commissions and revivals in the elite institutions of French opera during a specific period. ARM and court premieres are listed separately for each work (albeit information is sometimes incomplete). The left-hand column includes both absolute world premieres and important earlier works new to these theatres. Works given across a New Year period are listed twice. Individual *entrées* are mentioned only when revived separately, or to avoid ambiguity. Prologues are mostly ignored. For dates of revivals before 1751, see FajonIS, 343–4.  
Key: ARM = Académie Royale de Musique; *bal.* = *ballet*; *bal. bouf.* = *ballet bouffon*; *bal. com.* = *ballet comique*; *bal. hér.* = *ballet héroïque*; *bouf.* = *bouffon*; *com. en m.* = *comédie en musique*; *div.* = *divertissement*; *int.* = *intermezzo*; *op.* = *opéra*; PC = Théâtre des Petits Cabinets; *pant.* = *pantomime*; *p. hér.* = *pastorale héroïque*; *prol.* = *prologue*; *t.* = *tragédie*; < = extract from; ‘Blamont’ = Collin de Blamont.

| Premieres at ARM (listed first) and court                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Revivals at ARM or court (by original date)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1742 <i>Amours de Ragonde, Les</i> ( <i>com. en m.</i> , 3: Néricault-Destouches/Mouret, 30 Jan.) [first version: Sceaux, 1714] <i>Isbé</i> ( <i>p. hér.</i> , 5: La Rivière/Mondonville, 10 Apr.)                                                                             | <b>All Revivals at ARM</b> <i>Proserpine</i> (Lully, 1680) <i>Phaëton</i> (Lully, 1683) <i>Issé</i> (Destouches, 1697) <i>Ajax</i> (Bertin, 1716) <i>Eléments, Les</i> (Destouches, Lalande, 1721) <i>Fêtes Grecques &amp; Romaines, Les</i> (+ <i>La Fête de Diane</i> ) (Blamont, 1723/34) <i>Hippolyte et Aricie</i> (Rameau, 1733) <i>Temple de Gnide, Le</i> (anon., 1741)                                                                                    |
| 1743 <i>Don Quichotte chez la Duchesse</i> ( <i>bal. com.</i> , 3: Favart/Boismortier, 12 Feb.) <i>Pouvoir de l’Amour, Le</i> ( <i>bal. hér.</i> , 3: C.-H. Lefebvre de Saint-Marc/Royer, 23 Apr.) <i>Caractères de la Folie, Les</i> ( <i>bal.</i> , 3: Duclos/Bury, 20 Aug.) | <b>All Revivals at ARM</b> <i>Phaëton</i> (Lully, 1683) <i>Roland</i> (Lully, 1685) <i>Issé</i> (Destouches, 1697) <i>Hésione</i> (Campra, 1700) <i>Callirhoé</i> (Destouches, 1712) <i>Hippolyte et Aricie</i> (Rameau, 1733) <i>Indes galantes, Les</i> (Rameau, 1735) <i>Amours de Ragonde, Les</i> (1742)                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1744 <i>Ecole des amans, L’</i> ( <i>bal.</i> , 3: Fuzelier/Niel, 11 June) <i>Augustales, Les</i> ( <i>div.</i> , 1: Roy/Rebel, Francœur, 15 Nov.)                                                                                                                             | <b>All Revivals at ARM</b> <i>Thésée</i> (Lully, 1675) <i>Roland</i> (Lully, 1685) <i>Acis et Galatée</i> (Lully, 1686) <i>Alcide</i> [ <i>La Mort d’Hercule</i> ] (Louis Lully, 1693) <i>Jephthé</i> (Montéclair, 1732) <i>Indes galantes, Les</i> (Rameau, 1735) [much revised] <i>Grâces, Les</i> (Mouret, 1735) <i>Dardanus</i> (major overhaul) (Rameau, 1739) <i>Amours de Ragonde, Les</i> (1743, + Italian aria) <i>Caractères de la Folie, Les</i> (1743) |

Table 0.1 (cont.)

| Premieres at ARM (listed first) and court                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Revivals at ARM or court (by original date)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
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| <p><b>1745</b> <i>Retour du Roi, Le</i> (div., 1: Roy/Rebel, Francœur, Aug.) <i>Zéлиндор, roi des sylphes</i> (as below, 10 Aug.) <i>Trophée, Le</i> (div., 1) (Moncrif/Rebel, Francœur, 10 Aug.) <i>Fêtes de Polimnie, Les</i> (bal. hér., 3: Cahusac/Rameau, 12 Oct.) <i>Temple de la Gloire, Le</i> (as below, 7 Dec.)</p> <p><b>Versailles (Grande Ecurie)<sup>a</sup></b> <i>Princesse de Navarre, La</i> (com., 3: Voltaire; divs by Rameau, 23 Feb.) <i>Zéлиндор, roi des silphes</i> (bal. hér., 1: Moncrif/Rebel, Francœur, 17 Mar. and 11 Dec.) <i>Platée</i> (bal. bouffon, 3: Autreau/Rameau, 31 Mar.) <i>Retour du Roi, Le</i> (as above, 8 Sept.) <i>Temple de la Gloire, Le</i> (fête, 5: Voltaire/Rameau, 27 Nov.) <i>Jupiter vainqueur des Titans</i> (t., 5: Bonneval/Blamont, Bury, 11 Dec.) [lost] <i>Fêtes de Ramire, Les</i> (bal. op., 1 derived from <i>La Princesse de Navarre</i>: Voltaire/Rameau, arr. Rousseau, 22 Dec.)</p> <p><b>1746</b> <i>Scylla et Glaucus</i> (t., 5: D’Albaret/Leclair, 4 Oct.)</p> <p><b>Versailles (Grande Ecurie)</b> <i>Zélisca</i> (com., 3: Lanoue; divs by Jéliotte, 3 Mar.) <i>Félicité, La</i> (bal. hér., 3: Roy/Rebel, Francœur, 15 or 16 or 17 Mar.)<sup>b</sup></p> <p><b>1747<sup>c</sup></b> <i>Année galante, L’</i> (as below, 11 Apr.) <i>Daphnis et Chloé</i> (p., 3: Laujon/Boismortier, 28 Sept.)</p> <p><b>Versailles (Grande Ecurie)</b> <i>Année galante, L’</i> (bal. hér., 4: Roy/Mion, 13 Feb.) <i>Fêtes de l’Hymen &amp; de l’Amour, Les, ou Les Dieux d’Egypte</i> (bal. hér., 3: Cahusac/Rameau, 15 Mar.)</p> <p><b>Petits Cabinets</b> <i>Erigone<sup>d</sup></i> (bal. hér., 1: La Bruère/Mondonville, 13 Mar.) <i>Ismène</i> (p. hér., 1: Moncrif/Rebel, Francœur, 20 Dec.)</p> <p><b>1748</b> <i>Zaïs</i> (p. hér., 4: Cahusac/Rameau, 29 Feb.) <i>Pigmalion</i> (bal., 1: La Motte [1700], rev. Sauvot/Rameau, 27 Aug.) <i>Fêtes de l’Hymen et de l’Amour, Les, ou Les Dieux d’Egypte</i> (1747) (5 Nov.)</p> <p><b>Petits Cabinets</b> <i>Æglé</i> (p. hér., 1: Laujon/La Garde, 13 Jan.) <i>Almasis</i> (bal., 1: Moncrif/Royer, 26 Feb.)</p> | <p><b>All Revivals at ARM Except where Marked</b></p> <p><i>Thésée</i> (Lully, 1675, + 2 danced comic intermèdes) (also Versailles) <i>Armide</i> (Lully, 1686) (also Versailles) <i>Amadis de Grèce</i> (Destouches, 1699) <i>Fêtes de Thalie, Les</i> (Mouret, 1714); <i>La Provençale</i> (ibid.) also given separately <i>Grâces, Les</i> (Mouret, 1735) <i>Zaïde</i> (Royer, 1739) <i>Ecole des amans, L’</i> (+ new entrée, <i>Les Sujets indociles</i>) (Niel, 1744) <i>Amours de Ragonde, Les</i> (1742) (Versailles)</p> <p><b>All Revivals at ARM</b> (Versailles records are lost) <i>Persée</i> (Lully, 1682: with sets by Boucher) <i>Armide</i> (Lully, 1686: added aria in <i>Mercure</i>, Apr. 1746) <i>Fêtes de Thalie, Les</i> (Mouret, 1714) <i>Hypermnestre</i> (Gervais, 1716) <i>Amours des Dieux, Les</i> (Mouret, 1727) <i>Triomphe de l’harmonie, Le</i> (Grenet, 1737) <i>Zéлиндор</i> (Rebel, Francœur, 1745) <i>Temple de la Gloire, Le</i> (Rameau, revised, 1745)</p> <p><b>All Revivals at ARM Except where Marked</b> <i>Atys</i> (Lully, 1676) <i>Persée</i> (Lully, 1682: new Prologue by Bury for royal wedding)<sup>e</sup> (Versailles) <i>Armide</i> (Lully, 1686) (also Versailles) <i>Europe galante, L’</i> (Campra, 1697) <i>Bal, Le</i> (&lt;<i>Fêtes vénitiennes, Les</i>) (Campra, 1710) <i>Amours déguisés, Les</i> (Bourgeois, 1713) pc <i>Hypermnestre</i> (Gervais, 1716) <i>Provençale, La</i> (&lt;<i>Fêtes de Thalie, Les</i>) (Mouret, 1722) <i>Amours des Dieux, Les</i> (Mouret, 1727) <i>Talens lyriques, Les</i> [= <i>Les Fêtes d’Hébé</i>] (Rameau, 1739) <i>Zéлиндор</i> (Rebel, Francœur, 1745)</p> <p><b>Revivals Divided between ARM and Petits Cabinets</b> <i>Armide</i> (Lully, 1686) ARM <i>Tancrède</i> (Campra, 1702) pc <i>Carnaval et la Folie, Le</i> (Destouches, 1703) ARM Prol. (&lt;<i>Amours de Mars &amp; de Vénus, Les</i>) (Campra, 1712) ARM <i>Estime, L’</i> (&lt;<i>Amours déguisés, Les</i>) (Bourgeois, 1713) ARM <i>Soirées d’été, Les</i> (&lt;<i>Fêtes de l’Eté, Les</i>) (Montéclair,</p> |

Table 0.1 (cont.)

| Premieres at ARM (listed first) and court                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Revivals at ARM or court (by original date)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
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| <i>Surprises de l'Amour, Les</i> (bal. hér., 2: Bernard/Rameau, 27 Nov.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 1716) ARM Prol., <i>Air, L', Feu, Le</i> (<Eléments, Les) (Destouches, 1721) PC Prol., <i>Cléopâtre</i> (<Fêtes Grecques, Les) (Blamont, 1723) PC <i>Vue, La</i> (<Sens, Les) (Mouret, 1732) PC <i>Amphion</i> (<Triomphe de l'harmonie, Le) (Grenet, 1737) ARM <i>Philémon et Baucis</i> (<Paix, La) (Rebel, Francœur, 1738) PC <i>Talens lyriques, Les</i> [Fêtes d'Hébé, Les](Rameau, 1739) ARM <i>Amours de Ragonde, Les</i> (Mouret, 1742) PC <i>Ismène</i> (1747) PC <i>Erigone</i> (1747) PC                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>1749</b> <i>Platée</i> (Rameau, 1745) (9 Feb.) <i>Naïs</i> (p. hér., 3: Cahusac/Rameau, 22 Apr.) <i>Carnaval du Parnasse, Le</i> (bal. hér., 3: Fuzelier/Mondonville, 23 Sept.) <i>Zoroastre</i> (t., 5: Cahusac/Rameau, 5 Dec.) <b>Petits cabinets</b> <i>Jupiter et Europe</i> (div., 1: Fuzelier/Duport, Dugué, <sup>f</sup> 13 Feb.) <i>Zélie</i> (div., 1: Cury/Ferrand, 13 Feb.) <i>Silvie</i> (p. hér., 3: Laujon/La Garde, Feb. 26) <sup>g</sup> <i>Prince de Noisy, Le</i> (bal. hér., 3: La Bruère/Rebel, Francœur, 13 Mar.) | <b>Revivals Divided between ARM and Petits Cabinets</b> Prol. (<Phaëton) (Lully, 1683) PC <i>Acis et Galathée</i> (Lully, 1686) PC <i>Issé</i> (Destouches, 1697) PC <i>Médée et Jason</i> (Salomon, 1713) ARM Prol., <i>Air, L', Feu, Le, Terre, La</i> (<Eléments, Les) (Destouches, 1721) PC <i>Tibulle &amp; Saturnales, Les</i> (<Fêtes grecques, Les) (Blamont, 1723) PC <i>Caractères de l'Amour, Les</i> (Blamont, 1738) ARM <i>Philémon et Baucis</i> (<Paix, La) (Rebel, Francœur, 1738) PC <i>Amours de Ragonde, Les</i> (Mouret, 1742) PC <i>Zélinor</i> (Rebel, Francœur, 1745) ARM <i>Fêtes de l'Hymen et de l'Amour, Les</i> (Rameau, 1747) ARM |
| <b>1750</b> <i>Léandre et Héro</i> (t., 5: Le Franc de Pompignan/de Brassac, 5 May) <i>Ismène</i> (Rebel, Francœur, 1747) (28 Aug.) <i>Almasis</i> (Royer, 1748) (28 Aug.) <b>Petits cabinets</b> <i>Fêtes de Thétis, Les</i> : [1] <i>Egine</i> [11] <i>Titon et l'Aurore</i> (bal. hér., 2: Roy/Blamont [1] & Bury [11], 14 Jan.) <i>Journée galante, La</i> (bal. hér., 3: Laujon/La Garde, 25 Feb.) <sup>h</sup>                                                                                                                      | <b>Revivals Divided between ARM and Petits Cabinets</b> <i>Thétis et Pelée</i> (Colasse, 1689) ARM <i>Tancrede</i> (Campra, 1702) ARM <i>Fêtes vénitiennes, Les</i> (Campra, 1710) ARM <i>Caractères de l'amour, Les</i> (Blamont, 1738) ARM <i>Linus</i> (<Empire de l'Amour, L') (de Brassac, 1741) <sup>i</sup> ARM <i>Platée</i> (Rameau, 1745) ARM <i>Zélinor</i> (Rebel, Francœur, 1745) ARM <i>Erigone</i> (Mondonville, 1747) PC <i>Carnaval du Parnasse, Le</i> (Mondonville, 1749) ARM <i>Zélie</i> (Ferrand, 1749) PC <i>Prince de Noisy, Le</i> (Rebel, Francœur, 1749) PC <i>Zoroastre</i> (Rameau, 1749) ARM                                     |
| <b>1751</b> <i>Titon et l'Aurore</i> (<Les Fêtes de Thétis) (Bury, 1750) (18 Feb.) <i>Æglé</i> (La Garde, 1748) (18 Feb.) <i>Génies tutélaires, Les</i> (div., 1: Moncrif/Rebel-Francœur) (21 Sept.) <i>Guirlande, La</i> (bal., 1: Marmontel/Rameau) (added to <i>Les Indes galantes</i> ) (21 Sept.) <i>Acante et Céphise</i> (p. hér., 3: Marmontel/Rameau, 19 Nov.) <sup>j</sup>                                                                                                                                                      | <b>All Revivals at ARM Except Zélisca</b> <i>Thétis et Pelée</i> (Colasse, 1689) <i>Tancrede</i> (Campra, 1702) <i>Fêtes vénitiennes, Les</i> (Campra, 1710) <i>Ballet des sens, Le</i> ( <i>La Vue</i> also separately) (Mouret, 1732) <i>Indes galantes, Les</i> (Rameau, 1735) <i>Zélisca</i> (Jélyotte, 1746) PC <i>Ismène</i> (Rebel, Francœur, 1747) <i>Pigmalion</i> (Rameau, 1748) <i>Carnaval du Parnasse, Le</i> (+ a Galuppi aria) (Mondonville, 1749)                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>1752</b> <i>Serva padrona, La</i> (int., 2: Federico/Pergolesi) (1 Aug.) <i>Giocatore, Il</i> (int., 3: Salvi/Orlandini) (22 Aug.) <i>Maestro di musica, Il</i> (int., 2: Palomba/                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <b>All Revivals at ARM Except where Marked</b> <i>Acis et Galathée</i> (Lully, 1686) <i>Omphale</i> (Destouches, 1701) <i>Alphée et Aréthuse</i> (adapted from <i>Aréthuse</i> , 3,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

Table 0.1 (cont.)

| Premieres at ARM (listed first) and court                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Revivals at ARM or court (by original date)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
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| Auletta) (19 Sept.) <i>Amours de Tempé, Les</i> (bal. hér., 4: Marchadiés <sup>k</sup> /Dauvergne) (7 Nov.) <i>Finta cameriera, La</i> (int. 2: Federico/Latilla) (30 Nov.) <i>Donna superba, La</i> (int., 2: Vanneschi/Rinaldo di Capua) (19 Dec.)<br><b>Fontainebleau</b> <i>Devin du village, Le</i> (intermède, 1: Rousseau/Rousseau) (sc. 1 to 7 only) (18 Oct.)<br><b>Bellevue</b> <i>Vénus et Adonis</i> (bal. hér., 1: Collot de Messine/Mondonville) (27 Apr.)<br><b>Versailles (Salle de la Comédie)</b> <i>Serva padrona, La</i> (25 Nov.) <i>Maestro di musica, Il</i> (29 Nov.) <i>Giocatore, Il</i> (29 Nov.) | Campra, 1701 (+ ‘Vole, Amour’ <Mouret’s <i>Les Grâces</i> , 1735) <i>Fêtes de Thalie, Les</i> (Mouret, 1714)<br>BELLEVUE Prol. (< <i>Fêtes de l’Été, Les</i> ) (Montéclair, 1716) <i>Vue, La</i> (< <i>Sens, Les</i> ) (Campra, 1732) <i>Amours de Ragonde, Les</i> (Mouret, 1742) (+ aria < <i>Isbé</i> , Mondonville, 1742) <i>Zéindor</i> (Rebel, Francœur, 1745) <i>Daphnis et Chloé</i> (Boismortier, 1747) <i>Æglé</i> (La Garde, 1748) <i>Pigmalion</i> (Rameau, 1748) <i>Titon et l’Aurore</i> (Bury, 1750) <i>Guirlande, La</i> (Rameau, 1751)<br><i>Acante et Céphise</i> (Rameau, 1751) + FB AND OTHER COURT REVIVALS, OCT.–DEC. |

Sources: BrennerB, KaehlerO, LagraveTP, LajarteO, Lavallière, *Mercure*, NG/2, RiceFB, SerreARM

<sup>a</sup> NG/2 lists *Les Quatre parties du monde* (op.-bal.: Roy/Mion), without exact date; this title is absent from Lavallière and BrennerB

<sup>b</sup> BrennerB gives ‘15’, *Mercure* ‘16’, Lavallière ‘17’.

<sup>c</sup> Rousseau’s *Les Muses galantes* rehearsed.

<sup>d</sup> This version not entitled ‘Bacchus et Erigone’; the premiere on 13 March 1747 well attested by Luynes. Yet the MS source in F-Po bears the date 21 March 1748, also noted in Lavallière: KaehlerO, 252.

<sup>e</sup> Overture by Bury in ‘the modern taste’: *Mercure*.

<sup>f</sup> Source: Lavallière, 221–2. Dugué is not in NG/2: Benoit omits this opera but includes an ariette published in *Mercure*. A MS of *Jupiter et Europe* (attributed to Dugué) was listed in the *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu Madame la Marquise de Pompadour* (Paris, 1764). A unique F-Po copy is described in KaehlerO, 249.

<sup>g</sup> Later reworked as libretto and set by Berton and Trial for Fontainebleau/ARM in 1765/6.

<sup>h</sup> Consisting of *Æglé* (1748), *La Toilette de Vénus* and *Léandre et Héro*, the last two of which apparently do not survive as scores.

<sup>i</sup> *Linus*’ text was by Moncrif, and here given as a set of *Fragments* with *Ismène* and *Almasis*. The 1750 libretto alludes to many changes since 1741.

<sup>j</sup> The OOR postulates a premiere on the day before at Choisy. See GreenR, 11, 700.

<sup>k</sup> The composer testified that his libretto was by ‘feu Labé Marchadiés’: letter of 12 Apr. 1753 to M Barbe, Clermont-Ferrand in Dauvergne, *Concerts de symphonies*, ed. Edmond Lemaître (Versailles: Centre de Musique Baroque, 1994), viii.

In London, Milord, one speaks only of public order, European interests, the commerce of nations. In Paris we speak only of the Opéra and the playhouse. The Government here apparently regards them as pure amusement, and these are the only things that it gives over to the criticism and reasoned arguments of French persons. These are also the only things that can energise them: they inspect them constantly, think themselves arbitrary rulers over them, make judgements about them, command them – and their decisions serve as orders. All other subjects are kept out of reach.

‘Lettres d’un Anglois, sur les Spectacles de Paris’, *Observations sur la littérature moderne*, III (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1750), 208.

What is virtue? It is . . . an act of self-sacrifice.

DENIS DIDEROT, *Eloge de Richardson*