

on which the *symphonie* will conclude, then rises to *à demi* (*mf*) in the transition passage (ex. 178) to the chord of G, whence, after a pause, C major bursts out *fortissimo*. The most dramatic single moment is when, after a close in C major, the chorus enters afresh in C minor (ex. 179). Violin scales keep the winds present throughout Borilée's song of hate; a final chorus with full-blast storm music brings us back to C major and the lesser emotional tension of the beginning.

The storm breaks off suddenly on a dominant seventh chord to "Nous périssons tous" as Abaris returns to survey the damage. He registers his dismay in ten bars of recitative, then settles down to an

Ex.179

air. Its words, "Lieux désolés", challenge a comparison with Dardanus' "Lieux funestes" and indeed it does not pale beside the earlier piece. It shows in an extreme form that building up with tenuous wisps of themes—here, no more than sighs—which is a feature of the latest Rameau. Further comment is unnecessary as the piece is given in Appendix E.

It is unlikely that *Les Boréades* will ever emerge from the caverns of its two manuscript scores, one largely autograph, one a copy, with their simultaneous use of six different clefs. And yet publication of a vocal score, with indications of the orchestration, would bring musical pleasure to many in addition to providing historical interest. In the absence of such a thing I have quoted more liberally from the work than its obscurity would have seemed to warrant.

9. Les Indes Galantes and Rameau's Opéra-Ballet

WE tend to think of classical opera as falling into two kinds: tragic and comic, *opera seria* and *opera buffa*. While such a division may hold good for Italy it is as incomplete a classification of French opera during the first hundred years of its existence as a division into tragedy and comedy would be for French drama of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

We have seen how important a place the dance carved out and maintained for itself in *tragédie lyrique*. The tradition of ballet survived independently and, in the eighteenth century, under the shape of *opéra-ballet*, came to rival Lullian opera in popularity. Out of the seventeen surviving works of Rameau which have more than one act, only five—the fifth of which was never performed—belong to the class of tragic opera; two more are comedies; one consists in incidental music to a comedy; three are pastorals; whilst the largest genre is that of *opéra-ballet* which comprises six works, including two of his best and most famous. Of his ten works in one act, seven are *actes de ballet*, in no way different from the acts which form the *entrées* of an *opéra-ballet*. It is thus clear that works where dancing predominates are as important in him as those where the interest is divided between dance and drama or is predominantly dramatic. This is typical of French classical opera as a whole.

The *ballet à entrées* was not ousted by opera and survived the competition of the new form of entertainment. From it derives *opéra-ballet*. This was the creation of Houdar de La Motte and Campra, the appearance of whose *L'Europe galante* in 1697 was the birth of the genre, though Lulli's *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* in 1681, to words of Benserade worked up by Quinault,¹ and *Les Saisons*, by Collasse and Pic, in 1695, were well on the way towards it.

"*L'Europe galante*", wrote Cahusac in 1754, "is the earliest of our lyric works which was not like a Quinault opera."² He defined it

¹ It was in this ballet, so it is generally thought, that women dancers first appeared on the stage.

² (44), 110.

as "a spectacle of singing and dancing made up of several different actions, each one complete and with no link one with the other except a vague and indeterminate relation".¹ Its subjects were not always taken from mythology or legend, as in opera, and comedy was not excluded. Thus, in *L'Europe galante*, though two *entrées* are laid in an imaginary or exotic setting, another takes place on a square in contemporary Spain and a fourth in an Italian ballroom. All the *entrées* of Campra's *Les Fêtes vénitienes* are set in modern Venice and several have frankly comic scenes. Thanks to these elements of realism and comedy "ballet opera, before the advent of *opéra-comique*, helped to bring verisimilitude and truth into our musical drama".²

This new genre was entirely French. In the work of Lulli and Quinault, with its mixture of French ballet and Italian, especially Venetian, opera, the dramatic element predominated. In ballet opera, dancing and spectacle take first place and opera is reduced to a few scenes of recitative and singing.

The old French passion for dancing has again a free run, whereas in Italy vocal virtuosity ends by banishing choreography almost entirely from opera. Moreover, so varied a spectacle, sensuous and easy to follow, agrees perfectly with the average taste of the French public of the time [the declining years of Louis XIV's reign] which was not inclined towards entertainments which required concentration.³

"The pathos and seriousness of opera suit us much less well than dancing," said Rémond de Saint-Mard in 1749.⁴

"It corresponds to French impatience," wrote Roy in 1753.⁵

No Lulli and Quinault ushered it in and gave it fixity of form; no distinguished inheritance weighed it down. Lack of rules allowed for experimentation and made it popular with artists and a public ready for novelty. By cutting down the drama and increasing dance and display it gave further scope for symphonic music of a descriptive and impressionistic kind and hence for innovation in orchestration.

Serious opera was not superseded, but the new genre became a strong rival. Before 1735, the date of Rameau's first *opéra-ballet*, the first thirty-eight years of its existence had seen some forty examples produced by the Académie de Musique. With the two by Campra that I have named the most notable musically was *Les Éléments* (1725), by Destouches (with Lalande's collaboration in the prologue) on a libretto by Roy; its music is still as fresh as some works of Purcell's.⁶

¹ (44), 108.

² (190), 23.

³ (190), 24.

⁴ (97), 275.

⁵ (104), 130.

⁶ It was published in vocal score by Michaëlis, Paris, edited by Vincent d'Indy. The reader who is able to obtain this now rare edition will find much enjoyment in studying this charming work. There is attractive

From time to time attempts were made to strengthen the operatic part by making the plots of the *entrées* more dramatic. These attempts were indicated by the addition of *héroïque* in the title and it is to this category of *ballet héroïque* that *Les Indes galantes* belongs.

Rameau's second dramatic work was performed on August 23, 1735, two years after *Hippolyte et Aricie*. The librettist, Louis Fuzelier, a man over sixty, was well known as a writer of comedies, some of which had been given by the Comédie Française, some by the Italians, and others by the theatres which flourished in May and August during the Fairs of St. Germain and St. Laurent and caused considerable anxiety to the Comédie Française actors by trespassing on their privileges. Out of the fairmen's attempts to dodge the regulation which forbade spoken acting elsewhere than on the two privileged stages arose in 1724 the earliest form of *opéra-comique* in which Fuzelier played an important part, collaborating with Lesage, of *Turcaret* and *Gil Blas* fame, Piron and d'Orneval. He was born soon after 1670 and died in 1752. His work includes the texts of thirteen operas, all performed by the Académie de Musique, six comedies given by the Comédie Française and eighteen by the Italians. The earliest of the numberless sketches and *opéras-comiques* which he wrote for the Fair theatres from 1705 onwards, *Le Ravissement d'Hélène*, is an attempt to evade the edict which forbade unprivileged theatres to perform "comédies ou farces", broke all rules of space and time by extending over many years and many square miles. In a parody which he made of La Motte's and Marais's *Alcyone* there occurs the following pronouncement: "A reasonable opera would be a white raven, a silent wit, a candid Norman, a modest Gascon, a disinterested attorney, a faithful fop and an abstemious musician."¹ Near the end of his life, in 1744, he became joint editor of the *Mercur de France* with La Bruère, the librettist of *Dardanus*.

The title of *Les Indes galantes* speaks of love and exoticism commingled, and each *entrée* unfolds a tale of amorous intercourse in a remote part of the globe—one of those magical lands comprised under the name of Indies. The first is laid in Turkey, the second in Peru, the third in Persia, the fourth in a North American forest.

The settings are intended to be modern; the prologue, however, makes use of mythological figures. It treats of the universal appeal of love, exemplified by the youth of four nations, French, Spanish,

descriptive writing in *L'Eau* and original orchestration in Neptune's air in this *entrée*: *Le Feu* contains a good discussion, an effective terror chorus, a narrative *arioso* and a well-developed chaconne. The numbers are more sharply characterized than in Lulli or even in Campra. Cf. Chapter 4, pp. 119 and 125.

¹ *La Rupture du Carnaval et de la Folie*.

Italian and Polish, "who run on to the stage and form graceful figures". The ballet mistress is Hebe, minister to the gods' pleasures, and she is supported by a chorus of nameless singers who, to judge from their words and the nature of their music, seem to be shepherds. The prologue develops dialectically; to the thesis of concord in the first two scenes is opposed the antithesis of Bellona's invasion and her appeal to Glory.

La Gloire vous appelle; écoutez ses trompettes.

Two flag-bearing warriors perform, "gravement", a recruiting dance, and "call to the lovers of the allied nations. These generous lovers take their stand near Bellona and follow the standards." But Love in person comes to the assistance of Hebe and the forsaken ladies; though no further stage directions occur the words of Love's air and of the last chorus prove that some sort of synthesis is achieved.

The overture, in G major, shows how ready Rameau was to depart from the tradition of Lulli. There is still a slow introduction and an apparently fugal *allegro*, but the introduction is more melodic than in earlier French overtures and the *allegro* soon leaves the paths of fugue. So melodic, indeed, are the opening bars of the *lent* that the librettist's son wrote words to them¹ (ex. 180).

Ex.180 *Lent*

Quel plaisir pour moi quand je bois le vin de mon voi - sin.

The *vite* is built on a spidery theme with witty jumps of sevenths that turn to octaves in the answer (ex. 181); it skips in and out every few bars. It has a counter-subject of scales and a second part which appears later on as a kind of second subject, first in A minor, then in

Ex.181 *Vite*

G major. The principle of contrast which was to characterize early sonata form is there but not the key sequence, since the first close—after an excursion into D major and a return to G—is in E minor and the middle portion in A minor, whence we return via D to G. One of the happiest moments is when, after this "second subject" has been given out, the spidery theme returns to a counterpoint of part of the counter-subject, tumbling down upon it inverted (ex. 182). It is a spritely and highly-strung movement of some hundred bars, long enough for concert performance.

¹ Rameau then set them as a duet "with a bass specially composed", according to the *Mercure de France*.

Ex.182

The best vocal number in the prologue is Love's air, "Ranimez vos flambeaux". It is scored for two violins only; though the words "avec clavecin" are added the score shows no bass. The three treble parts weave delicately in and out of each other to a firm, square-cut rhythm which would have pleased Dr. Burney; the solo, indeed, is more Italian than French. Its decided opening recalls Bach's D minor harpsichord concerto (ex. 183). This is one of Rameau's many airs well suited to chamber-concert performance.

Ex.183 L'Amour

Ra - ni - mez vos flam - beaux, rem - plis - sez vos car -

- quois, mois - son - nez,

The *symphonies* are the most attractive numbers. I would draw attention to the musette, *air grave* and minuets in Scene 2 and the *air pour les amants et amantes* in Scene 3. The musette is one of the earliest of those pieces with pastoral inspiration which impress us so deeply when we travel any distance into Rameau's world. Picturesque, indeed, all pastoral music is expected to be and there is always charm in the many examples found in Rameau's predecessors and contemporaries, but Rameau's pastoral music has much more than charm.¹ The minuets combine the harmonic power of the musette with a grace of outline that reaches its peak in bars 13 to 16 and 21 to 23 of the first. Rameau was so pleased with this strain that he took it up in the second minuet and built that dance almost entirely upon it (ex. 184). In the *air pour les amants* we see the skill with which, in the narrow limits imposed by his small orchestra, he paints the mood of each group by his choice of accompanying instruments; the *amants* who

¹ See Chapter 10, p. 387ff.

answer Bellona's call are sustained by fast-running fiddles; the *amantes*, who hold back and sigh, are symbolized by slow flutes.

A "generous" pasha, Osman, who is in love with his slave Émilie, a French captive, but yields her to her lover, Valère, who has been washed up (after a tempest and a "We perish" chorus) upon the shores of the pasha's domain and has retrieved his Émilie in a cynically unemotional recognition scene: "—Étranger, je vous plains . . . —le reconnaissant:—Ah! Valère, c'est vous!—C'est vous, belle Émilie!—" where the music is as unconcerned as the words: such is the hero whose character gives its title to the first *entrée*, *Le Turc généreux*. Spectacle is provided by a storm; terror by a chorus of sailors, perishing unseen; ballet by African slaves and the "Provençaux et Proven-

Ex.184



çales" of the fleet. Of properly dramatic interest there is none. Neither is there much dancing; a short march, used again as a tambourin, an *air* for the slaves, and rigaudons and tambourins to mark the sailing home of the lovers, and that is all. Music easily predominates over words and even over dance and spectacle. In the preface to his libretto Fuzelier claimed that this *entrée* was founded on "an illustrious original, the grand vizir Topal Osman, well known for his abounding generosity. His story is told in the *Mercure de France* for January 1734."

The *entrée* opens with a *ritournelle* of some forty bars. Each of the first three *entrées* does likewise and the presence of *symphonies* of this length, which have not their like in any other of Rameau's ballet operas, is perhaps a sign that the "young" composer had not yet learnt to contain his music within the limits required by an impure art. This *ritournelle* is merely a fugal exposition in four parts followed by a short episode and two more entries of the subject; it owes an incisive character to its key of D minor and to the leaps of sixths, sevenths and tenths in its theme. Too ephemeral, perhaps, to live alone, but assertive while it breathes.

The earlier part of the *entrée* is uneventful. As in most movements of ballet opera the action takes some time to warm up and is not ready for its injection of song and dance till after a stretch of recitative has been traversed. As we cross it, we notice a pleasing air sung by Osman, "Il faut que l'amour s'envole". The pasha is a bass, but his melody remains distinct from the true bass and moves about with

rapid and expressively sinuous lines up and down the register accompanied only by the continuo and violins.

Our excitement is first roused by the tempest. Storms are stock phenomena in the weather of opera. Lulli's pupil and successor, Collasse, provoked in his *Thétis et Pélée* (1689) one of the earliest to break upon the French stage. His tempest scene (II, 7), which shows more originality in figuration than in harmony, describes cleverly the motion of the waves and comprises chorus and dialogue. Another was in Desmarêts's *Iphigénie en Tauride* (III, 5), with Thoas and the chorus as human elements. The most celebrated of these early storm scenes in French opera was that in Marais's *Alycône*, Act IV, where orchestration, as well as figuration, is impressive.

Marais conceived the idea of having his bass performed not only by the bassoons and bass viols, as is usual, but also by loosely strung drums whose continuous roll produced a dull, lugubrious sound; this, combined with harsh and piercing notes on the violins' first string and the hautbois, makes one feel both the fury of a rough sea and a raging wind rumbling and howling.¹

The tempest, twice broken by solo and chorus, lasts for about a hundred bars. *Alycône*, first given in 1703, was revived in 1730, when Rameau may have heard it.

Ex.185

The storm scene in *Le Turc généreux* begins with a startling change from D minor to B flat² and a descriptive *symphonie* of tremolos and up-and-down rushes on the common chord, with some dramatic changes of key towards the end. The words of Émilie's soliloquy,

¹ (III), art. *Marais*.—The opening bars are quoted in (165), 1370–1371.

² A key which, according to Rameau's classification, "is suitable to storms, furies and suchlike subjects" ((I), 157). A similar change from minor to major on the sixth degree (G minor to E flat) occurs when Émilie speaks after the chorus.

which begins in the sixth bar, declaimed against the background of tremolandos and scales—the key is now G minor—interpret the fury of the elements as a symbol of her own agitation. The sailors' chorus adds physical terror to elemental fury and moral perturbation; its most telling moment comes towards the end when, with a sudden enharmonic change, a gentler note is sounded (ex. 185). In the recitative which marks the subsiding of Nature's anger, all the string parts except the basses are in double stopping, a device which Rameau is said to have been the first to use in orchestral writing. A movement like the overture and opening chorus of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* is a descendant of this tempest of Rameau's where mingle descriptive *symphonie*, recitative and chorus.

All this is effective and masterly. But the Ramellian *fin gourmet* will savour the object of his love at its purest in the G minor section that corresponds to most of Scene 6 and in the tambourins that conclude the *entrée*. Here we find a beautiful duet, "Volez, Zéphirs", full of unquiet tenderness, where the agitation is in the music, not in the words, and bears Rameau's hall-mark; here, too, is a no less beautiful chorus which develops the mood of the duet and embodies quotations from it. Into such G minor choruses in three-time, marked *gai*—but no more gay than every *allegro* is blithe—Rameau has poured his most personal music. This one should be compared with the "Volez, Zéphirs" of *Les Fêtes d'Hébé* (prologue) which is as close to it in music as in text. The power of this particular chorus lies largely in its contrasts: between the parts, one of which sways and flows while the others interpellate, assert (ex. 186) or sustain (ex. 187),

Ex. 186 *Gai* Vo - lez, tendres amants de Flo-re!

Vo - lez, Vo - lez, tendres amants de Flo-re, vo - lez!

Vo - lez, Vo - lez, tendres amants de Flo-re, vo - lez!

and between the sections, when counterpoint is succeeded by homophony. Further variety is obtained by expressive abstentions of the basses, who ever and anon leave the upper parts to float or declaim in mid-air. The return, half-way through, of *Émilie's* and *Valère's* duet, is a lovely episode; it lasts for only seven bars; then the upward flow

Ex. 187

Vo - lez, tous nos vœux sont rem - plis,

of the sopranos "Volez, Zéphirs" is resumed and the whole chorus re-enters. After another duet interruption the chorus concludes with the most Ramellian bars in the movement with typical upper held fifth and emphasis on the subdominant ninth (ex. 188). Typical, too, is the way in which the outer parts begin far apart and close in upon one

Ex. 188 Vo - lez, vo - lez, ze - phirs!

Si vous nous con - dui - sez, tous nos vœux sont rem - plis.

Si vous nous con - dui - sez, tous nos

another; there are hundreds of instances of this procedure which is French as well as Rameau's but which, in our composer, is always significant. Just before *Émilie's* and *Valère's* entry there occurs an effective use of another of his favourite devices: the building of the harmony by adding thirds upwards and downwards from a central point (ex. 189).¹

Such writing, where airy lines are wreathed against a firm backcloth of strong beats, reminds us of those pictures of Botticelli where the flowing grace of the figures stands out against the hard, geometrical lines of the background. A chorus like this one, even more Ramellian than French, represents a form of beauty which is missed by

¹ Another instance, with upward building only, occurs in *Valère's* ariette "Hâtez-vous de vous embarquer", just before the *da capo*.

those whose knowledge of early eighteenth-century music does not go outside the circle of Bach, Handel and Domenico Scarlatti.

Something of the outlines of this piece, with heavier rhythm, persists in the *air pour les esclaves africains*, with massive harmony, that follows. With Valère's *ariette* "Hâtez-vous de vous embarquer", the alternation between sinuous line and repeated hammerings returns.

Ex. 189

This solo recalls also the D minor *ariette* of the prologue, "Ranimez vos flambeaux". Lively, too, but less characteristic, is the B flat *ariette* "Régnez, Amour", where the accompaniment is noteworthy for the sonata- and concerto-like writing of the violin part and its interesting combinations with the flute. Masson opposes these two *ariettes* as examples of the two different kinds of *aria di bravura*: the older, musically richer, more refined in expression and more polyphonic in its accompaniment, represented by Alessandro Scarlatti, and the later, that of Pergolese, simpler and more flowing, more purely tuneful, with somewhat slick figuring and passage work.¹

The *entrée* ends with the only set dances it contains, two rigaudons and two tambourins, all of which in their mixture of passion and grace are among the best examples of their forms; each of the two *minor* dances is repeated as a solo or a chorus. The sinuous lines of exs. 186 and 187 are present again in the G minor rigaudon.

Of the four *entrées* that make up the final form of *Les Indes galantes* the second, *Les Incas*, is the only one with any dramatic interest and also the most spectacular. Perhaps for these reasons it has inspired Rameau with his finest music. Adaptable though he was to all sorts of situations he responded more readily to those in which drama, or at least the depiction of definite emotional moods, was required. Considering as he did that the music was the libretto's

¹ (190), 234-235.

handmaid, it was natural that an exciting text should call forth exciting music and a dull text something as near to dull music as he could produce.

The story of *Les Incas*, though no more convincing than most others in ballet opera, affords contrast of character and even of civilization, conflict of personalities, diversity of passion and grand spectacle. As in *Le Turc généreux* there are three heroes: Huascar, high priest of the Sun, Phani, a maid of the royal Inca race, and Don Carlos. "The scene is in a desert of the Peruvian mountains shut in by a volcano." Phani and Don Carlos are in love with each other. Huascar is concerned with saving what can be saved of Inca religion and race and with keeping up the pretence of his priestly powers. His attempts to thwart the union of the Inca girl and Pizarro's gallant countryman are the most dramatic part of the act; needless to say, they are frustrated. The spectacle is twofold: one half, the first, is peaceful and consists in the Sun god's festival; the second contains the eruption of the volcano and Don Carlos' struggle to save Phani from the cataclysm and from Huascar's rule.

Like *Le Turc généreux* and *Les Fleurs*, this *entrée* opens with an extended *ritournelle*. It begins like the exposition of a five-part fugue, continues with an episode in which the parts never reach five and concludes without any return of the theme in its original form. It has no kinship with what is to come but is a pleasant piece, and it is rather surprising that it was replaced soon after the first performance by one shorter and much less characteristic. Clearly Rameau had underestimated his audience's impatience with pure music.

The earlier part of the *entrée* is uneventful. Not till Huascar appears does the music quicken its pulse. Huascar, the villain, stands out in relief; he is one of the few *dramatis personæ* in Rameau with whom it is possible to speak of musical characterization. There is no doubt that the music of his part is forceful and unlike that of any other hero; he has been conceived as a whole and is not just a succession of emotional states.

His first solo enjoins Phani to "obey without hesitation when Heaven commands" and is set to a 6/8 rhythm uncommon in our composer. The vocal line is broken into short scale passages and leaps of fifths, sevenths or octaves, and the impression of a blustering and domineering character is well rendered. I quote the concluding bars, in which the little breathless phrases of the violins, bassoons and basses will be noticed (ex. 190).

Phani is less sharply depicted; nevertheless the abrupt change from hard C minor to soft, warm A flat corresponds to the difference between her nature and Huascar's.

The Festival of the Sun and the earthquake episode are the most interesting parts. The first is a succession of *symphonies*, airs and

Ex. 190

Vns.

Huascar.

O-bé-is-sons, sans balan-cer, O-bé-is-sons sans balan-

B. C.

6 6/5 +6 6 4/6 6 6/5 7

fort *doux* *fort*

-cer, sans ba-lan-cer!

fort *doux* *fort*

choruses, lasting some fifteen minutes, and moving within the circle of the key of A. The prevailing impression is one of breadth and solemnity. The worship is depicted in its external aspects only; this is not sacred music in the accepted sense but the accompaniment to a gorgeous spectacle. The slow unfolding of the parts in the polyphonic A minor *prélude pour l'adoration du soleil*, the animated unspinning of long lines of conjunct melody in the A major air and chorus "Brillant soleil", the unearthly sweeps and swoops of the loure which brushes its skirts up and down over more than two octaves in a bar and a half, and the more urbane but equally agile leaps of the first gavotte, appeal to us as pure music, not as an interpretation of worship. Perhaps what is rarest, because least possible to match elsewhere, are the A minor prelude and the loure. The prelude, the second half of which is acrid with ninths, has a slowly unfolding free

Ex. 191 *Gravement*

Fls.

Vns.

Alt. (Vas.)

Bns. B. C.

polyphony and a delicacy of scoring just imaginable in the piano arrangement (ex. 191). The uncanny opposition of registers in bars eleven to sixteen, which reminds one of the Fire and Water scene in the *Magic Flute*, may be intended to call up the unfamiliarity of an esoteric cult. A desire to express strangeness is unmistakable in the gaunt, agile outline of the loure (ex. 192).

The rest of this *entrée* contains some of Rameau's grandest impressionistic writing. It describes the earthquake which Huascar

Ex. 192

provokes artificially by causing rocks to be hurled into the volcano, the villain's attempt to frighten Phani into recognizing the phenomenon as an expression of the Sun god's will that she shall flee with him, Carlos' intervention, and Huascar's final suicide of despair in the flames of the volcano.

The first seventy bars depict the earthquake. The words of the chorus which enters at the twelfth bar describe the details of the erup-

tion which accompanies it. There is no mention of fear and this is not a terror chorus; the music is expressive of awful might and physical catastrophe, but untinged by personal emotion. Tremolandos, rushes of scales and repeated figures in the strings make up its outline over a threatening seesaw rhythm in the bassoons. Slowly, degree by degree, starting with a clash of seconds, the harmony builds up with menacing rumblings to a chord of the thirteenth, bursting forth complete in the sixth bar (ex. 193). After the first choral section

Ex. 193

Ex. 193 shows a musical score for a scene. It includes vocal parts for Vns (Vocal), Alt. (Vas.), and B.C. (Bass), and instrumental parts for Ens. (Ensemble). The score is in G minor and 6/8 time. The vocal parts are marked 'doux' and the instrumental parts are marked 'fort'. The score consists of three systems of staves.

the music dies down to a unison, the first of several. The power with which Rameau uses unisons in his dramatic music could be already imagined from the end of the G minor minuet in the 1724 book of harpsichord pieces. The device was comparatively uncommon in his time; it became more frequent after the middle of the century. It is followed by another outburst, with enharmonics, which was so badly played and so ill received at its first performance that it had to be

changed, complains Rameau, for "une musique commune",¹ but the original is preserved in the *Œuvres complètes* and the vocal score. A chorus in 6/8 follows; then the crowd scatters and Huascar and Phani remain alone. Scenes 6 and 7 have exciting accompaniments, with much tremolando, which proved too difficult for the orchestra of the Académie de Musique and had to be replaced almost at once by a simpler one with mere continuo.

The dialogue in these scenes is in *récitatif accompagné pathétique*. In this kind of recitative the orchestra intervenes to emphasize by descriptive devices the features of a dramatic narrative. It was common in soliloquies, but Rameau appears to have been original in using it for scenes with more than one character.² The declamation keeps its expressive outline, however, and the composer is far from relying entirely on the orchestra. It is hard to think that Rameau sacrificed without a pang such a strain as this (ex. 194). After a short

Ex. 194 *Huascar*

Ex. 194 *Huascar* shows a musical score for a scene. It includes a vocal line with lyrics: "Que l'on est cri-mi - nel lors-que l'on ne plaît pas!". The score is in G minor and 6/8 time.

air of Huascar's characterized by giant leaps like those of the loure, Carlos enters and Phani at once informs him of the eruption—a seemingly needless act which gives Rameau an opportunity for more impressionistic writing and a striking unprepared second.

The agitation of the scene resolves itself into a *divergent* trio in which the feelings expressed are contradictory. Here the *divergence* is incomplete since Phani and Carlos express the same sentiment in identical words, so that the number consists in a *unanimous* duet and a *divergent* bass. The situation and sentiments are not unlike those in the trio, "The flocks shall leave the mountains", in *Acis and Galatea*

¹ (12), 95.—Indeed, according to Noverre, the whole earthquake music had to be left out in 1735 and this is borne out by the fact that, in the score, this part is either crossed out or has had pieces gummed over it or pages have been sewn together. Some parts were kept but with a simpler accompaniment.

² Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de Musique*, art. *Monologue*, says that Italian operas use this kind of recitative only in monologues.—There is another fine instance of it in the 1744 *Dardanus*, IV, 4-6; to the words of Dardanus, Iphise and Antéonor the orchestra provides an accompaniment which calls up both the sound of battle and the turmoil of passion.

but there is little similarity in the music. To the lovers' "Pour jamais, l'amour nous engage" Huascar opposes his "Non, non, rien n'égalé ma rage". The tempo is *modéré* but occasional repeated chords keep up the rumble of the earthquake and the undercurrent of Huascar's "rage". The lovers sing most of the time in harmony; the bass moves with independence (ex. 195). As the trio finishes "the

Ex.195

Vns.
 Alt. (Vas.)
 Phani. Carios.
 Huascar.
 B. C.

doux Non, non, non, rien n'est é-
 Je suis té-moin de leur feli-ci-té. Faut-il que mon cœur irri-
 -gal à ma fé-li-ci-té.
 -té Ne puis-se être ven gé d'un si cru-el ou-tra-ge?

volcano lights up again and the earthquake begins afresh". The epilogue is a soliloquy in which Huascar declares his intention of throwing himself into the flames and his words are once more punctuated by an agitated accompaniment. His last strain contains another of those leaps which characterize his part. While "the volcano vomits flaming rocks which crush the villain" the orchestra delivers a final *symphonie* of fury in which the highlight is a bar of grinding seconds (ex. 196) and the *entrée* ends on another of Rameau's dramatic unisons.

I cannot insist too emphatically that all this latter part of *Les Incas* is far from being just childish pictorial. Masson is right to say that

Ex.196

Vns.
 Alt. (Vas.)
 Bns. B.C.

fort
doux

it is of the same order as the climaxes in Rameau's *tragédies*. And indeed, apart from the second act of *Hippolyte et Aricie*, it is hard to think of any passage in these where the emotion is sustained for so long at such a pitch and where the technique of expression is so superbly elaborated. The aesthetic interest of these pages is undeniable and they may be enjoyed fully as pure music, without reference to the scenes they were composed to accompany.

One cannot but be struck by the modernity of much of the writing. It is, indeed, in descriptive passages of battles, storms, monsters, "frémissements des flots", that Rameau is most modern and that we find strains and progressions that carry us on fifty years or more. The piano version of the opening of the earthquake music might almost be mistaken for a page from Liszt. The practice of description, even more than the desire to depict new emotional states, impelled eighteenth-century musicians to develop the expressive resources of their art.

There is a great difference between the third *entrée*, *Les Fleurs*, and the last. Nothing is dramatic here and the only spectacle is that of dancing, which occupies the second half. The plot is insignificant and had to be changed three weeks after the first performance because of the absurdity of a hero disguised as a woman which had aroused sarcasm. The setting was by Servandoni. It contains nothing even remotely tragic and the emotional climate is throughout of moderate intensity, devoid of the majesty and terror of *Les Incas*, of the sense of longing so common in Rameau's music and of the boisterous joy of some of his hunting or triumph choruses. While the music seems tamer than that of the earthquake scene, it is actually very personal and this *entrée*, quiet and mezzotintish as a whole, has a character of its own and it is impossible to confuse it with any other of the composer's many *actes de ballet*. The earlier part is in A, F and D minor; the ballet proper moves entirely within the latitudes of D major and minor—two keys which Rameau, in his *Traité de l'Harmonie*, describes as "lively and joyful" and "tender and loving". Such indeed are the qualities of the long *Fête des Fleurs* (Sc. 3); both vigour and poignancy

are absent, except perhaps in the B minor gavotte, the most arresting of the many dance numbers in this ballet.¹

Like the two earlier *entrées*, *Les Fleurs* opens with a contrapuntal *ritournelle*, scarcely fugal; its light-footed gait announces the atmosphere of the act. The dramatic part of the *entrée* was, I have said,

Ex.197

Un ri-val jusqu'i-cim'of-fen-se. Vois le per-fide et ma ven-geance!

entirely rewritten early in its existence. Of what was lost thereby the best numbers are a touching air in A minor—Ramellian, but similar to many other A minor tunes of his in 3/4 time; one in F with flute *obligato*; some effective recitative in which we find the double leap of a fifth and a fourth which he had used so tellingly elsewhere² (ex. 197); and a quartet—the only one in all his work. The loss of the quartet was regrettable. It is a quiet contrapuntal piece, with a number of closely related themes that wave and wind languishingly to illustrate the chain of love of which they sing. The tradition of

Ex.198 *Tendrement*

Tacmas
Tendre a-mour, que pour nous ta chaî - - ne

Zaire
Tendre a-mour, que pour nous ta chaî - - ne

Fatime Tendre a-mour,
ne Dure à ja-mais, que te

¹ A doubtfully authentic story about this ballet was told nearly twenty years later. Rameau “had interrupted the charming soft *air* for the Rose with unpleasing muffled buzzing; he said it was the bees and hornets settling on the rose. Fuzelier had difficulty in making him feel that though music can paint everything, there are paintings which taste forbids” (*Jugement de l’orchestre de l’Opéra*, 1753, 4–5; in (190), 426). For once the “pure musician” was not the composer.

² I.e. in “Tristes apprêts”, *Castor et Pollux*, I, 3.

depicting musically “douce chaînes” and “dolce legami” goes back to madrigals, where they are represented by festoons of thirds and sixths as they still are in Lulli and Rameau (ex. 198). The voices are accompanied only by the continuo. After some fifty bars of tranquil meanderings we come surprisingly to a halt on an unresolved discord, the suspense of which is emphasized by the bar of silence that follows it; a close of three bars ends the movement.

In the second version this quartet was replaced by a less significant duet, also in B minor. But on the whole the numbers which Rameau wrote for the later text are more interesting. A fresh *air* in A minor takes the place of the first; it has an attractive flowing accompaniment with beating thirds to illustrate a murmur. The F major *air*'s place is taken by one in D minor, also with flute *obligato*, and a very fine 6/8 *air*, depicting inconstancy, with harpsichord and violins but without bass, light, witty and aerial, is the finest solo in either version. The Durand vocal score gives only the earlier version and the full score prints the second version in an appendix to Vol. VII.

The ballet is musically the most interesting part. It opens with a march in 3/4 whose spirit is continued in a fine chorus evocative of night. This is the most spacious number in the *entrée* and the most personal. It contains a short swaying theme of five notes which the orchestra interpolates ever and anon between the vocal entries and which acts, as Masson says, as a sort of leitmotif of darkness. The writing alternates between the flowing counterpoint so typical of Rameau (ex. 199)¹ and massive homophony. The spirit of this impressive piece pervades also the lovely tenor air, with continuo accompaniment, that follows:

L'éclat des roses les plus belles
Disparaît bientôt avec elles.

Here indeed Rameau's bitterness pierces for a moment in all its intensity as if to tell us that his roses are never without thorns. In the strain with which this tiny song opens and which makes up half its matter, we have Rameau at his purest (ex. 200).

The ballet has many dances: for Persians (the scene is laid in Persia), for flowers, for Boreus and Zephyr; some twelve numbers in all, including a bravura *ariette* for Fatime, a miniature storm and two gavottes. It is an early example of the *ballet d'action*. Save for the first gavotte, none of these dances stands out individually but it is easy to see, even from the vocal score, how delicately blended in them is the musical and the choreographic interest. Rameau, says Noverre, who admired his music greatly,

¹ The example shows the leitmotif at the end.

Ex. 199

Fis.
Hbs.

Vns.
Alt.
(Vas.)

laissez ré - gner les

Nuit, é - ten - dez vos voi - les som -

Fuy - ez, Fuy - ez, laissez ré - gner les

Bns
B.C.

om - bres, Fuy - ez, laissez ré - gner les om -

-bres Fuy - ez,

om - bres, laissez ré - gner les om -

(Hbs.)

-bres.

-bres.

(Bns.)

Ex. 200

Tacmas

Lé-clat des ro - ses les plus bel - les Di-spa-raît bien-tôt a-vec el - les.

had laid down wisely the limits suitable to music written for dancing; his melodies were simple and majestic; he avoided his predecessors' monotony of tune and movement and varied them; realizing that legs could not move as quickly as fingers and the dancer could not possibly perform as many steps as the air had notes, he phrased them tastefully.¹

We are reminded of this judgment of the great ballet master as we run through, keeping in our mind the purpose for which these pages were composed, the *airs* and *gavottes* which conclude this *entrée*.

Les Indes galantes as first given consisted of the prologue and the first two *entrées*. At the third performance *Les Fleurs* was added; after the eighth the new version of this *entrée* was substituted. By the beginning of 1736 it had received twenty-eight performances. Rameau and Fuzelier then added a fourth *entrée*, *Les Sauvages*, first given on March 10.

The scene is laid in the grove of an American forest, "near the French and Spanish colonies where the ceremony of the Pipe of Peace is to take place". A Frenchman, Damon, and a Spaniard, Don Alvar, are courting Zima, an Indian girl, who rejects both and marries Adario, a native warrior. Each of the two Europeans and Zima symbolizes a quality of love: Don Alvar stands for constancy, Damon for its opposite, Zima for innocent nature, and these simple oppositions are rendered in the music allotted to each. The first half is as usual devoted to the miniature drama; the Pipe of Peace provides the ballet in the second, which concludes with a spacious *chaconne*.

The *ritournelle* which opens the act is little more than a perfunctory prelude and its breezy straightforwardness makes one think of Purcell at his most naïve. The dramatic half of the act has several good airs and the music as a whole remains more constantly interesting than in *Le Turc généreux* or *Les Fleurs*. The different outlooks of the three heroes are expressed in a series of solos which are good examples of simple characterization. Damon's represents inconstancy; the long notes of the vocal part suggest fatuity while the inconstancy motif is in the orchestra (ex. 201). There is in this number the sketch of an excessive extrovert which reminds one of a sonata or rondo by Philip-Emmanuel Bach. It helps one to realize Rameau's originality if one

¹ (90), 167.

Ex. 201

Damon



La ter - re, les cieux et les mers

Vns.
Bns.
B. C.

Nous of - front tour à tour cent spec - ta - cles di - vers.

compares this solo with the very staid air in which Silvanre, in the first *entrée* of Campra's *L'Europe galante*, sings of the same theme.

Zima, to whom Rameau gives the most bewitching music in the whole opera, counters Damon's boasting of fickleness for fickleness' sake with a more subtle and qualified judgment.

Le cœur change à son gré dans cet heureux séjour:
Parmi nos amants, c'est l'usage
De ne pas contraindre l'amour;
Mais dès que l'hymen nous engage
Le cœur ne change plus dans cet heureux séjour.

The bassoons, which played in Damon's solo, are replaced by the gentler hautbois, and the music becomes sinuous and caressing. The power of Rameau's melody to express not only a sentiment but also a person is seen at its clearest here (ex. 202).

Alvar's turn comes last. He is a firm believer in constancy and his song is a criticism of the Frenchman's creed; the characterization is in the bold, square-cut melody (ex. 203). After some twenty bars Damon, the more talkative of the two, bursts in again and there follows a second inconstancy air, with accompaniment of fluttering seconds grouped in triplets.

For sheer beauty and power to move, the palm must go to Zima's second air, "Dans ces bois l'amour vole". Here, as in "L'éclat des roses", is distilled the essential Rameau: his grace, his limitless poignancy, his nostalgia, his power to bring the infinite within a simple

Ex. 202

Zima

Tendrement



Le cœur change à son gré - dans cet heu-reux sé-jour. Par-

Vns.
Hbs.

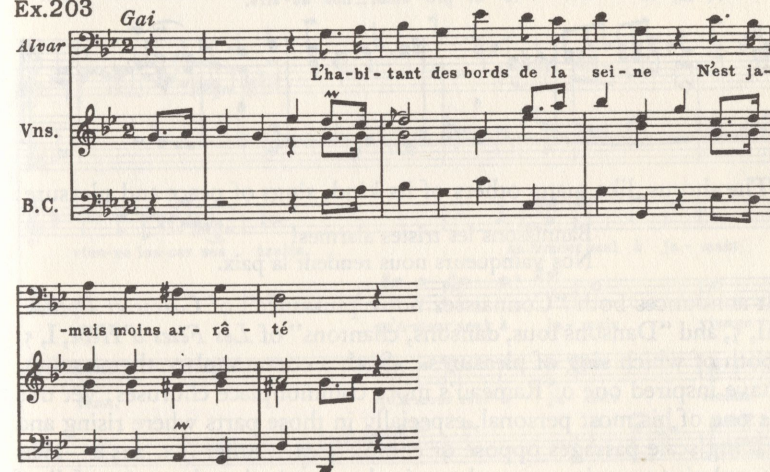
Basses
B. C.

-mi nos a-mants c'est l'u-sa - ge De ne pas con-train-dre l'a-mour;—

Ex. 203

Alvar

Gai



L'ha-bi-tant des bords de la sei-ne N'est ja-

Vns.

B. C.

-mais moins ar - rê - té

eight-bar phrase (ex. 204). I am perhaps unduly swayed by sympathy with certain strains and moods of his personality, but I would give all the rest of *Les Indes galantes*, if need be, for these two songs.

The ballet is danced by Zima and Adario, the rejected suitors having vanished, by "Françaises en habits d'amazones, guerriers français et sauvages, sauvagesses, bergers de la colonie". It opens with an air of Adario which is expanded into a fine chorus of savages.

Ex.204 *Un peu lent*

Zima

Sur nos bords l'a-mour vo-le, l'a-mour vole et prévient nos dé-

Vns.

B.C.

-sirs, l'a-mour vo-le, vo - le et pré-vient nos dé-sirs, l'a-mour

vo-le, vo - le et pré-vient nos dé-sirs.

The chorus, like many others of its kind, sings of peace and pleasure:

Bannissons les tristes alarmes!
Nos vainqueurs nous rendent la paix.

It announces both "Connaissez notre puissance" of *Castor et Pollux*, II, 5, and "Dansons tous, dansons, chantons" of *Les Fêtes d'Hébé*, I, 5, both of which sing of pleasures. Such a commonplace theme might have inspired one of Rameau's more commonplace choruses; yet this is one of his most personal, especially in those parts where rising and falling scale passages oppose or complete each other (ex. 205). Was it a desire to write savages' music that inspired such strains, full of sturdiness and passion, more original than was called for by the words? Some of the rhythms rather suggest it.

The feast of the Pipe of Peace, *Danse du grand Calumet de la Paix*, consists almost entirely of a dance *en rondeau* known to most of us from his harpsichord pieces, where it figures as *Les Sauvages* in the *Nouvelles pièces* of c. 1730. It is the most exotic number in the *entrée*—the only one, indeed, which to our ears speaks of exoticism. The

suggestion is most marked in the second episode, where there occurs twice over an instance of diatonic-enharmonic change.

The piece is given first as a dance by the full orchestra except for

Ex.205

Fls.(all 8a)
Hbs.
Vns.

Alt.
(Vas.)

Bns.
B.C.

Gai

(ja-) mais Fas-se bril-ler ses feux,

bords qu'A-mour seul à ja-

Fas-se bril-ler ses

qu'A-mour seul à ja-

vien-ne lan-cer ses traits, qu'A-mour seul à ja - mais

-mais, qu'A-mour seul à ja - mais vien-ne

feux, qu'A-mour seul à ja - mais vien-ne

-mais, Fas-se bril-ler ses feux vien-ne lan-cer

trumpets and drums; it is repeated as a duet by Zima and Adario, each return of the refrain being taken up by the whole chorus. The vocal line is simpler and more peaceful than that of the instruments; it seems to hover above it. In the second episode the instrumental part is also

Ex. 206

Vns. *doux*

Zima

Adario

B.C. *doux* 6 7 6 7 7

Jou - is - sons des biens tran - quil - les! Ah!

peut - on être - heu - reux, Quand on

for - me d'au - tres vœux?

varied; this is the most moving section in this very beautiful number (ex. 206).

The rest of the *entrée* consists of a minuet and *ariette* and a majestic chaconne which, according to a statement in the *Journal de Paris* for January 5, 1777, had been composed for *Samson*, where it was destined "to call the people to worship at the feet of the True God".¹ If this is correct the chaconne must have been greatly expanded; the original consisted probably only of the opening section of sixteen bars in D minor, which is indeed of a much more inward and even religious nature than the rest and where the music seems to compel repeated prostrations (ex. 207).

Ex. 207

Fls. Hbs.

Vns. 1

Vns. 2

Alt. (Vas.)

Bns.

B.C.

This much-admired chaconne is one of those numbers which helped to break down the rigidity of traditional dancing. The celebrated Dupré himself, we are told, was much embarrassed by it and Rameau had to sketch the outlines to be followed, according to La Dixmerie.

Dancing in the last century was like Pygmalion's statue; life was lacking to it. It owes a part of its advances to the illustrious Rameau. He caused in dancing the same revolution as in music; by strengthening the one he strengthened the other . . . It is stated that the fine chaconne in *Les Sauvages* embarrassed greatly the famous Dupré; Rameau had himself to sketch out its execution for him.²

This was his second chaconne. It is much more varied than that in *Hippolyte et Aricie* and more broadly developed. Its opening is heavy with splendour, but this mood is not sustained and in many episodes the appeal lies more in rhythm than in tune and harmony.

¹ Opening of Act I.

² (78); in *O.C.*, VII, xxx.

Indeed, the preoccupation with choreography seems stronger here than in either its predecessor or that of *Castor et Pollux* which followed it. After the beginning the most purely musical sections are the duet between hautboy and bassoon, repeated near the end, and a D minor episode which returns to the mood, though not to the text, of the opening. It comprises just over two hundred bars and unfolds in some dozen episodes, most of which link up with the next and none of which plays the part of a refrain. Nothing remains of the rondeau-like construction and ground bass of earlier chaconnes.

Ex. 208

The musical score for Ex. 208 is arranged in four systems. The first system includes parts for Violins (Vns.), Alto (Alt. (Vas.)), and Bassoon (B. C.). The second system continues the Vns. and B. C. parts. The third system introduces the Flute (Fls.) and continues the Vns. and B. C. parts. The fourth system introduces the Bassoon (Bn.) and continues the Vns. and B. C. parts. Dynamic markings include *fort* and *doux*. The score is in 2/2 time and G major.

Operas were seldom repeated unchanged in the eighteenth century. Thus, quite early, the *ritournelle* of *Les Incas* was replaced by one shorter and more commonplace. A lively contredanse was inserted in the prologue and two danced *airs*, for the Persians and for Boreus, were added to *Les Fleurs*. All these additions are published in the appendix of the Durand full score. The only one to deserve comment is a mysterious Italian *aria*, "Fra le pupille". It is a witty and spritely display piece, with simple coloratura on "va volando", by no means commonplace, yet without one trace of anything characteristic

of Rameau. It is proof of the Picasso-like versatility with which he could, on occasion, adapt himself to any style and yet produce work of distinction. The bars I quote from the *ritornello* will give an idea of the character of this solo, which deserves to be sometimes heard. It must be the only page in Rameau where the nose and eyes of Rossini may be seen, so to speak, winking over the wall (ex. 208). This *aria* is not found in any of the scores or parts in the Opéra library; it is preserved in a manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Nationale and was printed in an edition of selections of *Les Indes galantes* prepared by Rameau himself for concert performance; its authenticity is thus certain, but its purpose and the occasion of its composition are unknown.

The boldness of certain scenes and the novelty of the recitatives aroused opposition when *Les Indes galantes* was first given. The usual reproaches of noise and cacophony which are the stock-in-trade of those who object to what is new in music were addressed to it.

Un Amphion dont le luth ne se guide
Que par le bruit, le fracas, les clameurs . . .

was the *Almanach du Diable's* reference to Rameau in 1737. The gist of these complaints is found in a paragraph of Desfontaines, the editor of *Observations sur les écrits modernes*.

The music is a perpetual witchery; nature has no share in it. Nothing is more craggy and scabrous; it is a road of constant jolts . . . What an excellent joggling chair¹ this opera is! Its airs are fit to stir up the benumbed nerves of a paralytic. How different are its violent shocks from the gentle stirring that Campra, Destouches, Mouret, Montéclair, etc., know how to cause in us! I am racked, flayed, dislocated by this devilish *sonata* of *Les Indes galantes*; my head is all shaken up with it.²

On the morrow of the first performance Prévost's *Le Pour et Contre* wrote: "I find the music truly Indian, allowing that this nation is capable of producing good music, for this extraordinary music is not without beauty."³

Voltaire had championed Rameau from the beginning; on October 13, six weeks after the first performance, he wrote to Thiériot: "I am well satisfied with having guessed that Rameau's music could not meet with failure." Cahusac, who was later to become Rameau's most constant librettist, tells us that in 1735 the opera appeared in-

¹ "Trémousoir." It was the "name of a kind of armchair with springs invented by Abbé de Saint-Pierre to joggle himself [se trémousser] as a varied form of exercise which he considered necessary for health" (Littré, *Dictionnaire: Trémousoir*).

² II, 238; in *O.C.*, VII, lvi.

³ VII, 22; in *O.C.*, VII, lvi.

surmountably difficult to understand, that most of the audience came out raging against music overburdened with semiquavers, nothing of which could be remembered. "Six months later, every tune, from the overture to the last gavotte, had been *parodied*¹ and was known by all. At the 1751 revival the pit sang 'Brillant soleil' as easily as our fathers chanted 'Armide est encor plus aimable'."²

Except for the early alterations in *Les Fleurs* and the addition of *Les Sauvages* no changes were made in the libretto. In part or as a whole it was often revived till 1761, the date of the last complete performance. After that date single *entrées* were given for another twelve years; the last stage appearance of any part of it till the revival of *Les Fleurs* at the Opéra-Comique in 1925 was that of *Les Sauvages* in 1773, nine years after the composer's death. Concert performances of selections still took place for some time after that date. "L'air fameux des Sauvages de Rameau" was played at the Champ de Mai held on June 1, 1815. On December 18, 1904, excerpts were given at the Concerts Colonne. In June 1952 a complete performance on the most lavish scale was given at the Paris Opéra.

¹ Set to words.

² *Encyclopédie*; art. *Expression*.

20. Les Fêtes d'Hébé and Rameau's Pastoral Music

WE know how important was Rameau's acquaintance with La Pouplinière and the farmer-general's patronage for the origin of his operas, since without them he might never have ventured on dramatic composition. *Samson* nearly came to birth in the financier's circle; *Hippolyte* originated there. Both Rameau and Pellegrin were protégés of his, and five or six years after their joint production we again find them associated. The offspring this time was a ballet opera, *Les Fêtes d'Hébé*. Since his first *tragédie* Rameau had seen performed *Les Indes galantes* and *Castor*, each at two years' interval. After a further two years, this new work was given to the stage on May 25, 1739.

The earliest editions of the libretto mentioned no author's name, and an unsigned explanatory letter printed on it coyly justified this anonymity by stating that all the merit of the work was the musician's and that the nameless author had aimed merely at providing "a series of scenes lending themselves to music and spectacle and, in sooth, without claim to be read". The historical dictionaries, Dubuisson's *Lettres au Marquis de Caumont*¹ and *Le Postillon français* for June 30, 1739, all give Antoine Gautier de Montdorge² as the author. According to Dubuisson he collaborated with La Pouplinière and Gentil-Bernard; according to *Le Postillon français*, with Abbé Pellegrin. Another collaborator is said to have been a Mme Bercin who is hinted at by *Le Postillon*: "Une aimable dame et un joli cavalier, . . . à ce qu'on dit, se partagent la gloire de ces vers." One month after the first performance the second *entrée* was revised, the "needy" Abbé Pellegrin having been called in for this task.

"La dame généreuse a eu soin de parer le réparateur," mocked *Le Postillon*, saying that his fee had been a new outfit, including bedsocks, which he mistook for mittens.

Gautier de Montdorge, under whose name the libretto now appears, was according to Bachaumont a "financier", more accurately "maître

¹ *Lettre VI*, June 8, 1739.

² Spelt variously Mondorge, Montdorge, Mont Dorge, Mont d'Orge.