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The stage works of Michel-Richard Delalande in the musical-cultural context of the French court, 1680–1726

Coeyman, Barbara, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1987

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THE STAGE WORKS OF MICHEL-RICHARD DELALANDE IN THE MUSICAL-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE FRENCH COURT, 1680-1726

by

BARBARA COEYMAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

1987

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Abstract

THE STAGE WORKS OF MICHEL-RICHARD DELALANDE

IN THE MUSICAL-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE FRENCH COURT 1680-1726

by

Barbara Coeyman

Adviser: H. Wiley Hitchcock

This dissertation evaluates the nineteen surviving musical-stage works by Michel-Richard Delalande (1657-1726) within the artistic and cultural context of the French court for which they were composed. Occupying the most important music posts in the court during the second half of the reign of Louis XIV and the first decade of Louis XV's rule, Delalande's career exemplifies an artist's dedication to the political establishment which employed him. While the composer's seventy-one *grands motets* have been studied frequently in the twentieth century, his secular oeuvre for the court has been neglected.

Delalande's stage repertoire includes *ballets, mascarades, intermèdes* for comedies, and *concerts*. His compositional approach exhibits conventions established by Jean-Baptiste Lully a generation earlier: most works are multi-sectioned, with vocal and instrumental music; many employed sets, costumes, and dance, and included between ten and one hundred seventy-five performers from the court music establishment, the Paris Opera, and the nobility. All were composed on relatively short notice to recognize special events in court and to entertain courtiers.

The dissertation begins with a summary of Delalande's personal life and professional career. The second chapter summarizes this secular repertoire and demonstrates its relationship to court political, social, and cultural vicissitudes. The following three chapters evaluate each composition, considering the political and artistic environment of each; primary sources of music and text,

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which survive in varying degrees of completeness; the organization of each work, with musical examples; and the conditions of performance, including names and numbers of performers, rehearsal schedules, and the site of performance, when known. The three appendixes include a calendar of musical-theatrical performances at court from 1680 to 1723, for a general perspective on its musical life; a Catalogue Raisonné for information about Delalande's oeuvre in reference format, including an index to all performers listed in the Catalogue; and a Thematic Catalogue of music from the stage works, arranged by melodic interval to facilitate comparison with other repertoire.

Studying Delalande's secular compositions as a body enhances our evaluation of an important composer who served artistically influential French kings and also provides a foundation on which to build a more comprehensive view of musical life in the Bourbon court.

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Many people influenced the development of this dissertation: to those whom I cannot acknowledge individually here, I offer a collective thank you.

My dissertation committee assisted this research on many levels: H. Wiley Hitchcock helped me develop the topic during a seminar and patiently saw my project through many phrases of growth; Raymond Erickson constructively challenged many of my ideas and carefully read the final copy; James Anthony offered his comprehensive expertise on French music from many miles away; and Stoddard Lincoln and Siegmund Levarie evaluated the final phase of work from a fresh perspective. I formulated my contextual approach during several Aston Magna Academies on Baroque Music and Art, founded by Albert Fuller and currently directed by Raymond Erickson: to Aston Magna I owe much, but especially the opportunity to explore the social and artistic environment in which the music of our past was performed.

My research in Paris was supported by grants from the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, the Alliance Française de New York, and the Fulbright Foundation. I thank many librarians at the Bibliothèque Nationale for their assistance, in particular Catherine Massip, François Lesure, and the staff of the Departement de Musique and the other major divisions of the library. Additionally, I acknowledge the personnel of the Bibliothèque de Versailles and the museum of the château of Versailles, who opened many special doors to me for a better understanding of life in the French court.

Many individuals supported the final stages of my work. Allan Atlas helped organize my defense. Special thanks goes to my family for their patience and help: to Richard Cleary, who gave many hours working out word processing problems and proofreading; to my son Patrick, to whom I owe several trips to the park; and to an as yet unnamed child, who allowed me to finish this document before his or her arrival.

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INTRODUCTION

A. DEFINITION OF TOPIC

In this dissertation I evaluate the stage works of Michel-Richard Delalande (1657-1726) in the context of the musical and cultural environment of the French court from 1680 until the composer's death.[1] Delalande is recognized as the most important musician and composer in the French court at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. He occupied a majority of the important sacred and secular music posts in the court during his forty-three-year tenure and was well respected by both royalty and the public. A composer who dedicated himself totally to the musical life of the court, Delalande is known today primarily for his seventy-one *grands motets*. His secular repertoire, on the other hand, is less familiar and has never been systematically studied.

In spite of the attention granted Delalande's stage productions when first produced, none were revived after their premieres and only two appeared on the public stage in Paris. Instead, this repertoire functioned largely as occasional music, used for one performance or group of performances and then deposited in the king's library. Consequently, it seems that these stage works did not significantly influence the development of secular music in France at the turn of the century. In this sense Delalande's secular compositions differ from his motets, which were performed regularly in Paris and the court throughout the eighteenth century and which were regarded as

---

[1] I spell the composer's name as one word because this is how he most frequently signed his name. Since he is also commonly known as "de la Lande" and "Lalande," the reader is advised to cross-check both the "D's" and "L's" in indexes and catalogues. Norbert Dufourcq discusses the various spellings of the name. See Dufourcq 1957, p. 9, fn. 1. (I have used a system of coding for footnote references which consists of the author's last name and date of publication of the work cited. This system is explained more fully in the introduction to the **Bibliography.**)

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models of the genre for other composers.[2]

An evaluation of his nineteen known stage works can broaden our understanding of Delalande as a composer and as an administrator of music for the court. In view of his prominence during his lifetime, an examination of his secular repertoire can also serve as a model for studying secular music during the second half of the rule of Louis XIV and the Regency of Louis XV.[3] While Delalande's motets have twice been the subject of doctoral study within the last thirty-five years, only a few have been edited or recorded, and they are rarely performed in concert.[4] His secular works are even less well known than his motets. These compositions have never been studied as a body except in Norbert Dufourcq's tricentennial tribute to the composer, *Notes et Références sûr Michel-Richard Delalande* (Paris: Picard, 1957). Dufourcq's book presents valuable biographic, bibliographic, and archival information and has served as the starting point for my study. Surprisingly, no other scholar has followed up on Dufourcq's preliminary research on Delalande's stage works. Also, no history of musical life at court has appeared, although the publications by Marcelle Benoit, *Versailles et les Musiciens du Roi* and *Musiques de Cour* (both Paris: Picard, 1971) have contributed immeasurably to our understanding of musical activity in the court.

The repertoire examined here consists of compositions which in one

---

[2]See the many listings of Delalande's motets in Pierre 1975, the best published accounts of the Paris-based public concert series, the *Concert Spirituel*.

[3]Delalande did not exclusively dominate the musical environment at court in the manner of Lully a generation earlier, but his works are generally among the most "official" events, sponsored and attended by prominent members of the royal family. His is the most consistently produced repertoire during the generation after Lully and the one which overall best reflects the political and cultural vicissitudes of the court.

[4]See Richards 1950. The English scholar Lionel Sawkins has also studied Delalande in as yet unpublished dissertation research.

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way or another can be designated collectively as stage music. While not all of these works employed sets, costumes, and scenery, most included vocal and instrumental music, performed by anywhere from ten to one hundred seventy-five people. Contemporary political or social events inspired the majority of these works, whose texts directly or indirectly refer to contemporary situations. These compositions include many of the common secular genres of the post-Lully period, such as *ballets, mascarades,* musical *intermèdes* for comedies, and *concerts.* Delalande wrote no *tragédies lyriques,* probably because of the dominance of the genre by Lully's works in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[5]

Delalande's secular works reflect the changing artistic and financial circumstances of the court of Louis XIV: from its final phase of security in the 1680's after the court established itself at Versailles, through the military and financial failures and diminished artistic activity marking the last twenty-five years of the reign, to the revival of cultural life during the Paris-based Regency of Louis XV. My study divides Delalande's life into three periods. (See **Figure Intro-I** below.) The first period comprises his apprenticeship at court from 1682 through 1689, the year he was appointed *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du roi.* This period is the shortest yet relatively the most productive of the three. It comprises seven known secular works, including two *ballets* on a reasonably grand scale that reflect the lingering affluence of the court. Delalande's middle period, which ended with the death of Louis XIV in 1715, includes nine smaller-scale works such as *intermèdes,* comedies, *mascarades,* and small *concerts* created in a climate of limited means that precluded large productions. The composer's late period encompasses the last eleven years of his life and includes the fewest but the grandest works,

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[5]Delalande wrote only one secular work, *L'Amour Berger,* specifically for production in Paris. I include this work in this study because it rounds out our view of Delalande's activities during his early years in Paris.

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three court ballets produced in Paris during the Regency.

The Stage Works of Delalande, 1682-1726

Date	Title	Author	Genre	Site	Event
		Early Period			
Nov. 1682	*La Sérénade*	L'Abbé Genest	*concert?*	Fontainbleau Thianges apartment	fall entertainment
Carnival 1682	*L'Amour Berger*	Marquis de Lomagne	*ballet?*	Hôtel de Duras	Carnival
5 Apr. 1683	*Les Fontaines de Versailles*	Antoine Morel	*concert*	Versailles King's apartment	return of King
May 1683	*Le Concert d'Esculape*	Morel	*concert*	Versailles Montespan apartment	???
25 July 1685	*Epithalame*	Genest	*concert*	Versailles	wedding Bourbon -Nantes
28 Jan; 4, 11, 18, 25 Feb. 1686	*Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*	Florent Dancourt	*ballet*	Versailles Salle de Comédie	Carnival
5, 8, 12, 17, 24, 31 Jan; 7, 14 Feb. 1689	*Le Palais de Flore*	Genest	*ballet*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	Carnival
		Middle Period			
1690/91	*Ballet de M. De la Lande*	-----	*ballet?*	Versailles?	-----
1690/91	*Ballet de St. Louis*	-----	*ballet?*	Versailles?	-----
Fall 1696	*Adonis*	-----	*concert*	Fontaine-bleau	fall entertainment

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Fall 1697	*L'Amour Flechy par la Constance*	-----	*concert*	Fontaine-bleau	fall enter-tainment
15, 18, 23 Oct. 1698	*Mirtil et Mélicerte*	N.A.M. Guérin	*ballet*	Fontain-bleau	fall enter-tainment
24 Sept; 1, 8 Oct. 1699	*La Comedie des Fées*	Dancourt	*ballet*	Fontain-bleau	fall enter-tainment
13, 21 Feb. 1700	*Hymen Champestre*	J. B. Rousseau?	*mascarade*	Marly, Versailles; Maintenon apartment	Carnival
24 Oct. 1704	*Ode*	Genest	*concert*	Sceaux	fall enter-tainment
4, 15, 19 July 1713	*Divertissement sûr la Paix*	Baron de Longepierre	*concert*	Marly Maintenon apartment	king enter-tainment
		Late Period			
8, 10, 17, 21, 24 Feb. 1719	*L'Inconnu*	Dancourt	*ballet*	Tuileries, King's apartment	Louis XV premiere
30 Dec. 1720; 4, 8, 11, 13, 18, 21, 27 Jan. 1721	*Les Folies de Cardenio*	Charles Coypel	*ballet*	Tuileries Salle des Machines	Louis XV dance
31 Dec. 1721; 7 Jan 1722	*Les Elémens*	Charles Roy	*opéra-ballet*	Tuileries gallery	Louis XV dance

Figure Intro-1: The Stage Works of Delalande: 1682-1726

In this study I will consider each work within the political and social context of the Bourbon court to augment our understanding of the role of music in the court. Additionally, I will evaluate this repertoire in the light of extra-musical parameters which influenced each production in order to suggest

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how these works looked and sounded in their original performances. Finally, I will examine all of Delalande's stage works as a body to develop a complete picture of him as a composer of secular music.

A majority of Delalande's stage works can be only partially reconstructed. While most of my essays on the works include some comment on the music, I offer the most detailed discussion of Delalande's compositional style in the essays on the five works which survive in full score and complete text. For the other fourteen productions I have attempted to reconstruct an outline of the contents of the original music and text, based on a variety of primary and secondary sources in various states of completeness. For these fourteen works I can offer only general remarks about the music, which survives at best only in short score. My main objective in each essay is to suggest how each work may have looked and sounded originally and what its function and reception at court may have been like.

B. CONTENTS AND METHODOLOGY

In order to accomplish my goal of defining and evaluating Delalande's secular works within the environment of the French court, I have included the following chapters and appendixes in this dissertation:

Chapter 1, a **Biographical Summary**, surveys the life of Delalande. This chapter integrates known facts with a few new details about his early training before entering the court, his patrons and collaborators, and his various appointments in the music establishment at Versailles.

Chapter 2, an **Overview of the Works**, examines the recurring themes in Delalande's oeuvre and demonstrates how his career parallels general cultural conditions in the life of the royal family and the court.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5, on the **Works** comprise the main portion of this study. I have arranged the nineteen compositions chronologically and numbered them consecutively across the three chapters. This numbering system is

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continued throughout the text, in the Catalogue Raisonné (Appendix II), and in the captions of the illustrations and charts and musical examples.[6] Each composition is discussed in a separate essay which includes the following categories of material when known: 1) an **Introduction** summarizing relevant information about each work (if read as a body these introductions can furnish an overview of Delalande's secular production); 2) the political and musical **Background** of each work; 3) **Collaborators** and their relationship with Delalande; 4) **Sources** of music and text; 5) the musical and textual **Contents** of each work; and 6) the conditions of **Performance**, including names and numbers of performers, rehearsal schedule, and the influence of the performance site on the production. While I frequently refer to dance and dancers in these essays, comments regarding the technical capacities of the dancers and the nature of the dances are only speculative, since no choreographies from Delalande's stage works are known to survive.

The **Conclusions** briefly summarizes Delalande's compositional style in his stage works and his contribution to stage music production in French at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

Appendix I, the **Calendar of Court Musical-Theatrical Productions, 1680-1723**, lists musical-theatrical performances at court through February 1723, the date of the Regent's death. Undoubtedly this list is incomplete, but is a first step towards a much-needed comprehensive evaluation of musical life at court during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV.

Appendix II, the **Catalogue Raisonné**, presents complete information about each of Delalande's secular works in reference form. In particular, many catalogue entries list the performers in the court productions, when known.

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[6]In the nineteen essays, I identify figures (illustrations and charts) by Roman numerals and musical examples by Arabic numerals. Additionally, the chart in the Introduction is labeled *Intro-1* and that in the Biography as *Bio-1*.

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These lists can assist our evaluation of the original performance conditions from the viewpoint of number and qualifications of performers. The Catalogue is followed by an alphabetized **List of Performers.**

Appendix III, the **Thematic Catalogue,** arranges the incipits of the 469 surviving movements of Delalande's secular oeuvre by interval (as explained more fully in the catalogue's introduction). Thus, it is possible to compare the surviving movements of the stage works with other identified and unidentified music by Delalande and also with the vast body of unidentified vocal and instrumental music from this period, particularly the many tunes found in dance manuals.

The **Bibliography** is arranged by primary and secondary sources, the former according to music, then text, the latter by pre- and then post-1800 materials.

C. PRINCIPAL SOURCES

Because Delalande's secular works enjoyed a small number of performances, source material for this oeuvre is consistently less complete than for repertoire such as the *tragédies lyriques* of Lully. Consequently, a different set of questions must be asked for each of Delalande's nineteen compositions, and the works as a body must be approached differently from other French repertoires whose sources are more complete. None of the nineteen works examined in this study exists in modern edition and, as stated above, only five are known in complete score. Therefore, I have reconstructed each as fully as surviving sources allow in order to study this oeuvre.

For each work, I have examined several types of materials, when available. Primary sources consist of printed and manuscript music and texts and plans of performance sites. Contemporary secondary sources include diaries, journals, and criticism of music and theater. Post-1800 sources for views of court life during the Bourbon rule are plentiful but relatively thin in

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their evaluation of Delalande's compositions.

Most of the music survives only in manuscript. Three full scores and two short scores of complete works are known. Four of these were prepared by the king's official copyists, the Philidor workshop, and the fifth was printed by the Ballard publishers. For thirteen works some vocal and instrumental airs survive in short score in the several collections of Delalande's "Supper Symphonies," described in more detail in the **Overview of the Works. Sources: 2. D** Two of the three surviving collections of these *simphonies* are cited most frequently in this study: movements in the Supper Symphonies of 1703 (Pn Rés. 582) are labeled with a Roman numeral indicating the number of the suite in which each appears, followed by a semicolon and an arabic page number. Movements in the Supper Symphonies of 1745 (Pn Rés. 581) are cited by a Roman numeral (either I or II) for volume number followed by a comma and an arabic number for the page. Generally, instrumental music from any given work survives more completely than does the vocal music. Many of these instrumental movements probably accompanied dancing in the works with dancers. Among the vocal repertoire, solo airs and ensembles have survived better than have passages in recitative.

Sources of text fare somewhat better than do those of music. I have located complete texts for fourteen works, mostly printed editions. They have provided the basis for most of my reconstructions, since they generally include all the verse set to music in each production as well as information about the setting of each work, descriptions of stage scenery and movement, and the names of characters and the personnel in these roles.

No choreographies from these works are known, and no documentation

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about visual components such as costumes or sets has been located thus far.[7] Fortunately the overall ambiance of original performances can be imagined with a fair degree of accuracy with the help of contemporary plans of most of the sites of the productions. Entertaining but sometimes contradictory or loosely defined reports about court life are found in diaries by the Marquis de Dangeau, the Marquis de Sourches, and the Duc de Saint-Simon, and in the court gossip column, the *Mercure Galant.* Most of these accounts seem to mention Delalande more frequently and with more respect than they do most other composers.

D. TERMINOLOGY

In general in this dissertation, I will use the original French for titles of dance movements, names of characters, genres, and terms such as *entrée* and *intermède* which are clearly stated in original sources. On the other hand, I will employ English terminology when discussing musical styles and performing forces which are not specified in sources so as to avoid implying that the French equivalents of these terms appear in the scores and texts. I use "recitative" for passages which exhibit most of the conventional features of French recitative. "Monologue recitative" and "dialogue recitative" distinguish passages sung by one or by two or more characters. Any solo vocal music in regular meter, with or without bass, I have termed "air" without a more specific designation such as *air de cour* or *air sérieux.* Many of these airs are also called *simphonies* in original sources. A "solo air" is for one voice, a "dialogue air" for two or more singers in alternation, and an

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[7] A system of notation for dances of this period was first codified and published by Louis Pécourt in 1700. This notation indicates the many steps in this style of dance with great detail. While this notation was first published in 1700, it was developed during the last two or three decades of the seventeenth century, probably by Pierre Beauchamp, the king's choreographer and director of dance at the Paris Opéra until 1687. Very little is presently known about this pre-1700 notation and only a few examples survive. (Apparently Beauchamp did not use it even for himself as a mnemonic device for recalling choreographies.)

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"ensemble air" for two or more characters simultaneously. "Full choir" means a texture involving all the voice parts present in any work (usually four), in contrast to "reduced choir" (usually a trio of divided sopranos and bass). These designations do not imply anything about the number of singers per part, since such information is usually not discernible from surviving source material. Vocal ranges of soloists (soprano, etc.) are seldom identified except in the complete scores. My references to voice parts are also frequently in English, since many of the original sources do not specify a singer by voice classification. Frequently clefs do not indicate ranges nor instruments, as in the Supper Symphonies, where nearly every movement, whether vocal or instrumental, is in French violin clef (G clef on first line) and bass clef. I refer to the parts in these manuscripts generally as "treble" or "bass" lines.

Similarly, I label instrumental passages for complete orchestra in any given work as "full orchestra," while the reduced scoring for divided treble line and bass I called "trio texture," with no implication of specific instrumentation nor number of players per part. Generally a five-part string ensemble, in the tradition of Lully, formed the core of instrumental scoring in Delalande's works, with pairs of oboes, flutes, and bassoons used primarily for textural variety, often in trio passages. If woodwind instrumentation is identified in original sources, I use specific labels such as "oboe trio" to mean two oboes and bassoon.

I have been careful to refer to the lowest part as the "bass" or "bass line" rather than the "basso continuo." Only on occasion are there conclusive indications in the original sources about instrumentation for these bass lines --- that is, whether harmonic as well as melodic instruments were used --- since the sources rarely include figures for the bass. Nonetheless, most recitatives and airs in Delalande's secular works probably were performed with some type of harmonic accompaniment. Questions concerning the basso

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continuo in instrumental movements in French music of this period are raised by the scoring in some of the complete scores of Delalande's secular works. In these score the bass line is commonly written out twice in movements such as choruses which clearly employed basso continuo, but appears only once in most instrumental passages, implying the absence of a harmonic instrument in the latter.[8]

Anyone who has studied French Baroque music realizes the tangle of terminology with respect to musical-theatrical genres. Most of the nineteen works by Delalande do not escape this problem, appearing as they did during a period of musical and literary experimentation following Lully's success with the *tragédie lyrique*. In this study I designate genres as specifically as possible, based either on original designations or on a work's similarity to a known genre. Any work which I label as a *ballet* emphasizes theatrical dance and also includes vocal and instrumental music. When known, I distinguish between "court ballet" and "theater ballet," since the *ballet de cour* included courtier dancers. *Ballets* can be complete works in themselves, or they may function as musical *intermèdes* to spoken stage works, usually comedies. A *mascarade* differs from a *ballet* in its reduced scope of production. A *concert* consists of vocal and instrumental music by variable size ensembles, without staging but possibly with costumes.

I have kept the French terminology in cases which have no exact English equivalent. *Spectacle* means a performance which emphasizes the visual element; *divertissement* refers to an entertainment which includes a great deal of music; an *intermède* is a section of a ballet occurring between the acts of another work and an *entrée* is a presentation of a group of theatrical dances with related subject matter whose music is usually in a common key; the court

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[8]Graham Sadler has been the most assertive in questioning instrumentation in orchestral passages. See Sadler 1980 and the score of *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* in particular.

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social activity which occurred frequently in royal chambers is called *appartement.*

I refer to original sources of music and text by specifying the page or folio number and measure numbers in the case of musical examples. For variant spellings of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical terms, I conform to the usage in Anthony's *French Baroque Music,* 2nd ed. In my **Catalogue Raisonné** the spellings of performers' names matches those in the original source of each work: variant spellings are cross-referenced and indexed according to the versions found in Benoit's *Musiques de Cour.* I also use these standardized spellings in the body of the text.

References to sources are based on the system of author-date coding explained in the introduction to the **Bibliography.** Cross-references to other portions of the dissertation are indicated in bold type and are as specific as possible, such as **Introduction: Stylistic Matters, p. 13.** I often use shortened forms for titles I cite frequently, such as *Jeunesse* for *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse.* I refer to passages in diaries by date only, which suffices for the reader to locate the entry in the several nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions of these works. I generally refer to newspaper accounts, such as in the *Mercure Galant,* by month, year, and page number. Articles in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* are named by title alone. Library sigla conform to RISM usage, the most frequently cited being the principal libraries in and around Paris and a few American collections.

F AN =	Paris, Archives Nationales
F LY =	Lyons, Bibliothèque Nationale
F Pn =	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
F Pa =	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
F Po =	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra
F V =	Versailles, Bibliothèque Municipale
US Ca =	Harvard, Cambridge Mass
US NYp =	New York, New York Public Library

In discussions of the musical and social life of the Bourbon court, I

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usually refer to better-known courtiers by title only, such as "Monseigneur" (the King's son) or "Monsieur" (the King's brother), without explaining in detail the relationship of each to the King. Likewise, common court activities such as *appartement* are named but not explained. It is beyond the scope of this study to address and identify these people and activities in great detail, especially since background on the court is readily available in a number of secondary sources cited in the Bibliography.[9] I also do not define court musical institutions and posts at length, since thorough explanations of the Bourbon musical establishment are available in Benoit's two studies of court music, in Chapter I of Anthony's *French Baroque Music*, and in Chantal Masson's article on Dangeau's reports about music in his diary.[10] The most thorough evaluation to date of the relationship between music and politics in the court of Louis XIV is found in Robert Isherwood's *Music in the Service of the King*.[11]

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[9]In particular, see Mitford 1968 and D'Orléans 1985.

[10]See Masson 1978. Unfortunately, as of this writing, no comprehensive modern history of the Paris Opéra has been written, nor is there a study of performances at court by the Comédie Française.

[11]See Isherwood 1973.

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CHAPTER 1. BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

No definitive biography of Michel-Richard Delalande has been written to date. While the composer was recognized by his contemporaries as one of the most important French musicians of the generation between Lully (who died in 1687) and Rameau (whose first *tragédie lyrique* appeared in 1733), his place in history has been eclipsed by these two more popular composers. Delalande's dedication to the court rather than the public audiences of Paris in part accounts for this rather piecemeal documentation of his personal and professional activities, since much of his music was presented within a relatively private context and thus received less public attention. In particular his secular works were not systematically collected and kept for the future.[1]

Only a few documents in Delalande's hand survive. No diaries or letters and only a few autograph scores are known. Available biographical information is found largely in secondary reports and legal documents, which must be carefully assembled before any comprehensive evaluation of his life can be attempted. Probably many more documents about Delalande's life remain to be uncovered in French libraries and archives. Consequently, any attempt to evaluate his musical development and his influence on other musicians remains largely speculative until more data becomes available.

Delalande's high standing in the eyes of his contemporaries is evident in the many favorable citations about him in diaries and newspapers both

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[1]Henri Quittard wrote of the composer: "Ses contemporains, et tout le XVIII[e] siècle avec eux, ont reconnu unanimement dans Lalande un des princes de l'art français." See Quittard 1902, p. 315. Quittard continued on p. 322 ..."la figure la plus representative des cinquante ans de transitions qui vont de Lulli à Rameau.....".

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during his lifetime and after his death.[2] However, most of these reports are not very detailed. Furthermore, many are based on a common source, the only eighteenth-century biography of Delalande, Alexandre Tannevot's *Préface ou Discours sur la vie et les Ouvrages de M. de la Lande.* Tannevot's essay appeared in the 1729 edition of *Motets de feu M. de la Lande,* which was assembled by the composer's widow and François Colin de Blamont, who probably studied with Delalande.[3] Tannevot's essay and the numerous eighteenth-century reworkings of it also formed the basis for most nineteenth- and twentieth-century biographies of Delalande.[4] More recently, Norbert Dufourcq has offered the most additions to the Tannevot biography. In particular, Dufourcq's 1957 book on the composer includes numerous citations

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[2]At least from the 1690's onward nearly everyone considered Delalande to be the most important of the king's musicians. Delalande literally occupies a high spot on Titon du Tillet's Mount Parnassus (see Titon 1743, supplement, p. 19, and 1760 ed., plate IX) and he is mentioned in nearly every important dictionary of music and theater. See Durey 1757, Parfaict 1734, Beauchamps 1735, and Léris 1754. Diaries such as those by the Marquis de Dangeau, the Marquis de Sourches, and the Duc de Saint-Simon mention him prominently and he frequently appears as the subject of articles in the *Mercure Galant.*

[3]The biography is signed by a "M. T...." Dufourcq and others attribute this essay to Claude Tannevot, *Inspecteur des Bâtiments du Roi et Architect.* However, this attribution is doubtful. Tannevot had no known association with Delalande nor with other court musicians and is not known to have been a writer. Additionally, Delalande died on 18 June 1726 and Tannevot on 5 September the same year, leaving only two and one-half months for the preparation of the essay. Dufourcq suggests that Tannevot prepared the biography quickly and that his son Alexandre offered it to de Blamont for the 1729 edition. See Dufourcq 1957, p. 148. However, more compelling evidence points to Alexandre's authorship. Born in 1692, the younger Tannevot wrote numerous other literary works (published in 1732 and 1766) and was probably personally acquainted with de Blamont, as supported by his lengthy verse to *M. de Blamont, Surintendant de la Musique du Roi* sometimes before 1732. (See Pn Ye 9423.) How the younger Tannevot acquired information for the biography is unclear, but he certainly could have obtained it from a number of individuals close to Delalande.

[4]Francois Joseph Fétis and Hugo Riemann included short entries in their dictionaries. Twentieth-century studies by Quittard and Tessier have again summarized the career of Delalande but have not added any new information or evaluations to the Tannevot work. See Quittard 1902 and Tessier 1928.

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from documents such as payment records and birth, marriage, and death certificates.[5] No other scholar has superseded Dufourcq's research nor systematically evaluated the information included in these known documents.[6]

This biographical summary is intended as an overview of Delalande's life and career so that the reader may better evaluate his secular oeuvre. I have augmented Tannevot's biography with documents listed by Dufourcq and with others I have uncovered. Nonetheless, a truly systematic biography of Delalande would be another full-scale research undertaking in itself.

Several personal traits recur in Delalande's life. For example, from his youth through his old age, the composer demonstrated the ability to succeed in a variety of musical situations through a wide range of skills and a determination of spirit, even in the face of repeated rejections from the power-hungry Lully. That Delalande achieved both professional and personal respect, especially from Louis XIV, speaks to his talent and his adaptability to a variety of situations at court. Additionally, nearly all of Delalande's personal and professional activities were in some way influenced by the court, depending on its fortunes and misfortunes and its corresponding musical activities. From his teens Delalande's determination to work for the court is evident. Perhaps he saw such a goal as a means of rising from the lower middle class family into which he was born. In any event, Delalande became in fact one of the wealthiest musicians in the court through the acquisition of fourteen court posts, other pensions for him and his family, and several

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[5]Dufourcq 1957, p. 45-136. Dufourcq also reprints most of Tannevot's essay. See p. 148-156.

[6]James Anthony's article on Delalande in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* offers the most coherent biographical statement about Delalande thus far, but this dictionary entry by nature cannot be comprehensive.

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pieces of real estate.[7] His overwhelming success in achieving royal support may account for his unparalleled dedication: he was given a job to do and he did it well, producing music as required by the royal family, usually on rather short notice.

Documentation for nearly every phase of Delalande's life indicates that his importance in many respects was equal to Lully's.[8] From early childhood Delalande associated with some of the most talented French musicians, most of whom also had reason to dislike Lully. The tyrannical personality of Lully contrasts with that of Delalande, a gentle, generous man. While one might argue that Delalande was as monopolistic as Lully in his acquisition of fourteen of the fifteen most important posts in the chapel and chamber music, these appointments were gained not by selfish domination but instead through dedicated service. He achieved respect from many, as seen in the several publications of music dedicated to him.[9]

I have found it convenient to treat this study of Delalande's life in four phases: the years before he entered the court and then the early, middle, and late phases of his career. I discuss the musician's professional appointments during each period, his most important secular compositions in each in light of these appointments, the patrons and associates who played a role in his stage

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[7]Bowles 1978, p. 128, discusses the class structure of court musicians: most were from the lower middle class and married other musicians while in their early twenties. Bowles takes his information from Benoit 1971 Versailles, p. 289-291.

[8]See Quittard 1902, p. 321. Colin de Blamont, in the *avertissement* to the edition of complete motets, called him the "Latin Lully," a reference to Delalande's dominance of the motet, as Lully had controlled opera.

[9]The 1710 edition of *Motets à I., II., et III. Voix* by a M. Foliot is dedicated to the *surintendant*, as is the 1720 publication of Jean-François Dandrieu's *Livres de Sonates à violon seul.* Delalande wrote the *approbation* for Michel L'Affilard's *Principes trés faciles pour bien apprendre la musique*, signed 11 April 1694.

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productions, and aspects of his personal life which can enhance our understanding of his musical activity.

A. THE EARLY YEARS (to 1683)

Michel-Richard Delalande was born in Paris on 15 December 1657, the fifteenth child of Michel de la Lande, master tailor, and Claude Dumourtiers. At least one brother, François (probably older), was also a musician. Two of his sisters married tailors.[10] Delalande's family resided on rue Bailleul (house number unknown) near the Louvre. Michel-Richard was placed in the nearby parish church of Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois as a member of the choir school, where one of his classmates was Marin Marais, one year his elder. At the school he probably learned Latin and grammar in addition to singing, solfege, composition, and various instruments.[11] The young Delalande apparently was blessed with a lovely voice. His music master, François Chaperon, assigned him leading singing roles and presented him with five hundred *livres* on his departure from the school in 1672 when his voice changed.[12] Tannevot does not detail Delalande's instruction on instruments, but does say that those which he learned were approached with "tout d'un coup d'intelligence."[13] Anthony suggests that Delalande's organ teacher was Charles Damour. Delalande apparently began composing music while at the school but none of his student works are known to survive. In view of the proximity of Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois to the Louvre, Delalande may have been inspired from an

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[10]Many of Delalande's immediate family members are named in baptism and marriage certificates. See Dufoucq 1957, p. 79-81.

[11]James Anthony in the *New Grove* article on Delalande estimates that the musician entered this school in 1666 at age nine, while Bowles says students began their education at the church at age eight. See Bowles 1978, p. 127-128.

[12]AN LL 430, fol. 22, and Dufourcq 1957, p. 45.

[13]Tannevot 1729, p. 2. Throughout his life Delalande is described as assiduous and sincere in his work, with a personality attractive to the mellowing, middle-aged Louis.

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early age to acquire a post in the court's music establishment one day.

After Delalande left Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois, one of his brothers-in-law arranged concerts twice a week to present the young musician to the Paris public.[14] Tannevot reports that the violin remained Delalande's favorite instrument until he applied to Lully for membership in the Paris Opéra orchestra, which probably occurred between 1673 and 1675. This, his first known contact with Lully, probably changed the direction of Delalande's musical career. On being rejected for this post by Lully, Delalande supposedly destroyed his violin, renounced the instrument forever, and turned to the organ and sacred music. Delalande's participation in the "anti-Lully" faction of musicians and patrons which seems to have developed at court in the 1680's may have been activated as early as this incident in the mid-1670's.

Tannevot describes several avenues of employment as a keyboard player which Delalande sought after he gave up the violin. Again the biographer includes no dates, so this sequence of events is conjectural. Probably in June 1678 Delalande applied for the post of *organist ordinaire de la chapelle du roy* vacated by Pierre Chabaneau de la Barre. Delalande played before the king and Lully. While Lully conceded that Delalande was the most able applicant, he declared him to be too young for the post and so recommended that Louis defer his appointment.[15]

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[14]Tannevot describes neither the repertoire performed in these concerts nor Delalande's mode of performance.

[15]This audition may have marked the beginning of Louis' admiration for Delalande. Certainly this encounter must have increased rivalry between Lully and the young organist, who was nearly twenty-two at the time of the audition and certainly quite mature as a musician. Lully suggested dividing this post among four musicians, probably to avoid giving any one appointee much power. See the *Mercure Galant*, June 1678, p. 193-194. Organists Thomelin (1640-1693), Lebègue (1631-1702), Buterne (1650-1727) and Nivers (1632-1714) were awarded the post, the youngest of whom was seven years older than Delalande. Benoit discusses the system of assigning court charges. See Benoit 1971 Versailles, p. 97-145.

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After this second rejection by Lully, Delalande apparently found employment in four Paris churches in the Marais district, where he continued to serve with varying regularity after his appointments at court began. These Paris positions provided not only financial remuneration but also contacts with many important musicians. On 26 February 1679 Delalande succeeded Charles Couperin as organist at St. Gervais to play for all regular services and for special feast days.[16] In 1682 Delalande replaced Pierre Meliton as organist at St. Jean-en-Grève, a small chapel dependent on St. Gervais.[17] By December 1685 Delalande's brother became his official substitute in this post and in February, 1691 the appointment passed to Antoine Houssu since Michel-Richard had recently been named as the king's *surintendant.*

Tannevot says Delalande also worked at the Jesuit churches of Petit St. Antoine and St. Paul, both a few blocks east of St. Gervais, but these appointments are not confirmed by known church documents. St. Paul was the principal Jesuit church in Paris and was frequently attended by the royal family, while the Petit St. Antoine apparently was used by a community of Augustin priests.[18] Delalande's tenure and duties at these churches are not known precisely, but this employment probably gained him acquaintance with

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[16]This post officially remained in the Couperin family from 1655 to 1733. The interval between 1679 and 1686 was temporarily occupied by Delalande until Charles' successor François could take over the post at the age of eighteen. By 1685, Delalande's brother Francois frequently substituted for him. A possible friendship between Michel-Richard and François Couperin through their mutual association at St. Gervais is suggested by the latter's dedication of his *Pièces d'Orgue* to Delalande in 1690. Delalande's *approbation* called the music in this collection *fort belles.*

[17]This little chapel, erected in 1326, stood on what is today the grounds of the Hôtel de Ville. Parisian music circles were indeed small: Delalande's former student colleague Marais published a *tombeau* for Meliton in his first book of *Pièces de Violes* in 1686, suggesting some special relationship between Marais and Meliton.

[18]St. Paul was built in 1630 at the urging of Louis XIII. In the 1680's Germain Brice described it as one of the most magnificent churches in Paris. The Petit St. Antoine no longer stands.

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more established composers such as Henri Du Mont, organist at St. Paul from 1643 until his death in 1684, and Marc-Antoine Charpentier, who may have served as composer and *maître de musique* at the church from the early 1680's in a post which Brossard called "among the most brilliant" in French music.[19] Du Mont, who also worked for the court, may have recommended Delalande for a post at St. Paul.[20] Certainly Charpentier, a champion of Italian music and also a victim of Lully's monopolizing control over Paris music, probably would have supported another musician rejected by the bombastic Opéra director.[21]

Delalande's work at these Jesuit churches probably led to his association with the Jesuit school in Paris, until 1682 called the Collège de Clermont and after that date the Collège Louis le Grand. This school was attended by many prominent families from Paris and the provinces. According to Tannevot, Delalande composed music for several tragedies presented by the students, just as Charpentier and several other composers did. Tannevot neither dates nor names Delalande's compositions for Louis le Grand, but he probably wrote music for the Latin tragedies presented in the school's courtyard each August. Such productions were possible because of the students' training in dance and the theatrical arts. These performances were considered an integral part of preparation for the life of a cultured, upper-class Frenchman. Delalande's contribution probably consisted of music for one or two

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[19]Quoted from the *New Grove* article on Charpentier by H. Wiley Hitchcock.

[20]At court, Delalande succeeded Du Mont as *compositeur de la musique de la chapelle* in 1685.

[21]Ironically, Charpentier also participated in the court chapel competition of 1683 but supposedly was sick for one phase of the event and was disqualified.

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productions between 1679 and 1682.[22]

Delalande's work at the Jesuit school probably put him in contact with many prominent French families. Names such as Brancas, Dufort, Duras, Noailles, and Grammont, which are associated with pivotal events in the musician's life, are cited in the school's rosters throughout the 1680's. It may well have been through his production of ballet music for the school that he obtained his single Paris commission, *L'Amour Berger*, presented not far from St. Paul during Carnival of 1683 for the Duc de Duras. The name "Lomagne," the author of the text of this work, and the family names of several of the young noblemen who performed in that work, appear in the school's lists of students.[23]

B. EARLY COURT PERIOD (1683-1689)

Delalande's first employment at the court was as harpsichord teacher to the two daughters of Louis and Madame de Montespan, Mademoiselle de Nantes (b. 1673) and Mademoiselle de Blois (b. 1677). Tannevot reports that the Maréchal de Noailles had chosen Delalande (again Tannevot does not specify

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[22]An inspection of surviving texts of ballets performed at the Jesuit school offers no clue about Delalande's contributions because these sources do not include the names of composers. Until more documentation about the Jesuits in Paris comes to light, we may not be able to determine Delalande's role at the school with any more precision. The *Mercure* discusses several productions at the Collège. See March 1688, p. 316-326, and August 1689, p. 224-237. A number of prominent dancing masters, including Pécourt, Blondy, Balon, and Laval, were employed there in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Other composers who wrote music for the school included Campra and Clérambault. Dupont-Ferrier reports 104 ballets performed at the Collège between 1630 and 1761. See Dupont-Ferrier 1921, p. 293. See also Lowe 1958.

Delalande's connection with the Jesuit school and the broader question of the influence of the Jesuit community on the development of French music during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries warrants further investigation.

[23]See the essay on *L'Amour Berger* for more on the young Duras and the other performers.

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the date) to teach his own daughter music.[24] Noailles must have thought well of Delalande: Tannevot says that he recommended the young musician as a teacher for Louis' daughters in order to please the king. Delalande's appointment must have overlapped his Paris church jobs, for Tannevot claims that the musician dedicated himself to the girls' tutelage for three years, which must have occurred between 1677 and the spring of 1683, when Delalande took on his first chapel post.[25]

While this early period was the shortest of his career, it was relatively prolific. He composed twenty-five of his known motets and seven of his known secular works during these years. By 1690 he also gained at least one appointment in each of the music posts in court which he occupied most of his life. This formative period for Delalande was also one of reorganization for the court, with its move to Versailles in 1682 and the deaths of several influential people close to the king, including the queen and Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Much of Delalande's success during this period can be attributed to his ability to respond to the changing artistic needs of this court environment.

Delalande's success also can be explained by his ability to challenge the domination of Lully, with whom he overlapped at court for five or six years. There is evidence of Delalande's rising importance during this early period. Neither Montespan nor her sister, Madame de Thianges, bore warm feelings for Lully. These women probably regarded Delalande as a viable threat to him. In

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[24]Anne-Jules Noailles (1650-1706) was from a prominent Paris family and was an important member of the royal Gardes du Corps. His daughter, Marie Christine Noailles, was born in 1672. In 1689 she married the Maréchal de Grammont. One of Noailles' sons helped sponsor Delalande's *Hymen Champestre* and *Divertissement sûr la Paix*. This is the only recorded case of Delalande offering private music instruction.

[25]Since the younger daughter was not born until 1677, this three-year period probably did not begin until 1679 or 1680. Both daughters apparently developed strong ties with Delalande, evident by future associations with the composer.

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the fall of 1682 Thianges sponsored Delalande's first known stage work, *La Sérénade*, possibly to help attract the king's notice to the young composer and also to the Italian, Paolo Lorenzani, who enjoyed a short-lived prosperity in France during the 1680's.[26] Additionally, *La Sérénade* marked the first of four collaborations between Delalande and the Abbé Genest, a writer who maintained close associations with several members of the royal family at the end of the seventeenth century.[27]

The argument that Thianges and Montespan willingly advanced Delalande's cause is strengthened by their sponsorship of two more of his works in the spring of 1683. *Les Fontaines de Versailles* appeared in April of that year and *Le Concert d'Esculape* in May. The sisters may have tried to enhance the young composer's position with the king as he prepared for the chapel competition of 1683. Also, they may have hoped to draw Louis' attention to the author of these works, Antoine Morel, and the copyist, André Danican Philidor, both of whom were suitable candidates for the "anti-Lully" faction at court. Additionally, performances of these works put Delalande in contact with prominent musicians at court, including his future wife and possibly also the Dauphine.[28]

The *concours* for the post of *sous-maître de la musique de la chapelle* of 1683 offers additional evidence of the conflict between "pro-" and "anti-Lully" forces in the court's music establishment.[29] Both Pierre Robert and Henri Du Mont retired from the court chapel at the end of 1682. Lully divided this job

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[26]See the **Calendar: Appendex I** and the essay on **La Sérénade: 3. I.**

[27]Genest also contributed the text to Delalande's *Epithalame, Le Palais de Flore*, and the *Ode*.

[28]See the essays on **Fontaines** and **Esculape. 3: III, IV** for more on the Dauphine as a patron of music.

[29]See Tannevot 1729, p. 3-4 and the *Mercure*, April 1683, p. 310. Benoit discusses it at length. See Benoit 1971 Versailles, p. 99-108.

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into quarters to reduce the strength of any single replacement. The *Mercure* reports that the king heard thirty-five applicants perform motets of their own composition, from which he chose fifteen semifinalists and four finalists, who appear to have been selected not so much by ability as by recommendation. Robert supported Nicolas Coupillet for the January quarter and the archbishop of Paris recommended Guillaume Minoret of Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois for April. Lully named his favorite student, Pascal Collasse, for July but this time was not so foolish as to prevent the nomination of Delalande, the king's favorite candidate. Delalande won the October quarter.

Delalande's initial appointment in the chapel probably did not directly threaten Lully, who never officially occupied a chapel post, but his appointment in January 1685 as *compositeur* in the chamber music may have. That same year he also gained his first quarter as *compositeur* in the chapel music, a post he would totally dominate by 1709.[30] His expansion into chamber music was expectedly slower than into chapel music, his 1685 appointment being the only one in that branch before Lully's death. Delalande eventually dominated the chamber and chapel, acquiring all posts in each system except for the second of two *surintendant* positions in the chamber music.[31]

It is difficult to document cause-and-effect relationships between the posts which Delalande served for any particular portion of a given year and the compositions which he may have written in response to duties during those assignments. For example, he was named to the January quarter of the

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[30]See the chart at the end of this chapter, **Figure Bio-1**, p. 38, for a list of Delalande's court posts in chronological order. Tessier also lists these posts, but by category, and Dufourcq presents them in chart form along with salaries of each. See Tessier 1928, p. 147-148 and Dufourcq 1957, p. 124-125.

[31]Delalande never worked for the music of the Ecuries, the third major branch of court music.

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chamber music in 1685, but composed the *Epithalame*, his first large-scale court presentation, in July of that year. On the other hand, Louis may have justified using Delalande's *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* to replace Lully's *Armide* in January 1686 on the grounds that Delalande had just been appointed composer in the chamber music for that current quarter. Certainly the substitution of Delalande and Dancourt for the Lully-Quinault team for this Carnival entertainment must have increased ill-will between Delalande and Lully.[32]

Delalande's period of initiation ended with his nomination on 9 January 1689 as *surintendant de la musique de la chambre*, the highest music post in the court. He gained this position on the death of Jean-Louis de Lully, who had acquired it from his father in March 1687. As *surintendant* Delalande was in charge of organizing all court *spectacles*, organizing and supervising rehearsals, and assigning roles and parts.[33] His ballet *Le Palais de Flore*, produced at the time of the nomination, marks the end of his first period at court. Ironically, this was also his last major production in the presence of Louis and his last court ballet for thirty years.

The court environment touched Delalande's personal life as well as his professional career. In 1684, age twenty-six, he married the court singer Anne Rebel, who had appeared in his *Fontaines* of 1683. Daughter of Jean Rebel, *ordinaire de la musique*, and sister of Jean-Féry Rebel, who succeeded Delalande in one of his chamber music posts, Anne was one of Louis' favorite

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[32]For more on Dancourt, see the essay on Jeunesse. Collaborators: 3. VI. C. . The Lully team disintegrated shortly thereafter with Quinault's resignation after completing *Armide*. Quinault died in November 1688. Pierre Mélèse hints that the Lully faction spread the word that *Jeunesse* was not pleasing. See Mélèse 1934 Rep, p. 181.

[33]See Benoit 1971 Versailles, p. 195, for more on the duties of the *surintendant*.

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singers.[34] The king personally sponsored her wedding in his Versailles apartment and granted both Anne and Michel-Richard a sizable pension as wedding presents.[35] Anne continued to appear in musical productions throughout the 1680's, including lead roles in her husband's *Jeunesse* in 1686, and *Palais* in 1689.[36]

The marriage of Anne Rebel and Delalande produced two daughters, Marie Anne, born in 1686, and Jeanne, born in 1687. Both girls also possessed beautiful voices, which Delalande cultivated with "great care," according to Tannevot. In 1704 the girls sang for the king, who granted them pensions. Tannevot says they excelled in Latin and Italian music, which Delalande composed with their voices in mind.[37]

Lully's premature death in 1687 significantly altered French musical life. In addition to eliminating practical obstacles for Delalande's advancement, Lully's departure removed psychological barriers for the development of a court musical system responsive to the changing needs of an aging king and a weakening royal treasury. Delalande's succession to the post of *surintendant* in 1689 confirmed his emergence as one of the most respected and talented

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[34]Anne Rebel was born in 1662 or 1663, making her twenty-one or twenty-two at the time of the marriage. She is on record in court productions as early as Lully's *Cadmus* in 1673. She also sang in the court production of *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* in 1681.

[35]Their marriage contract was issued on 7 July and the wedding occurred two days later. The King also sponsored Lully's wedding in 1662. How much Louis had to do with arranging the 1684 marriage between two people he held in high regard is unclear, but the union meant that Delalande gained strong ties with yet another important family in court music.

[36]She also sang in Philidor's *Princesse de Crète* in 1688. See Po Liv 17 (R7 (2). I have not found her name in court productions after 1689. An older sister of Anne, Marie-Thérèse, was also a singer. She performed in several productions with Anne in the 1680's. See **Fontaines de Versailles. Performance: III. F.** for more on Marie-Thérèse Rebel.

[37]There is no record of their participation in his secular works.

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musicians in the court. In only six short but active years the complexion of the music establishment at court had changed dramatically. By the age of thirty-two Delalande had acquired the leadership of the most important musical system in France.

C. MIDDLE PERIOD (1690-1715)

Less biographical data survives for Delalande's middle period than for his early years. Tannevot does not relate as many personal details from this period, probably because there were fewer pivotal events influencing the composer's development. These middle years mark a solidification of Delalande's place in court as he gained more segments of the chapel and chamber music posts first acquired during the 1680's. Consequently, our view of Delalande during this period is derived largely through the appointments he held and the music he wrote rather than through information about his personal life.

Military and financial problems for Louis after 1690 meant an increasingly less active artistic life at court and less spectacular events when they did occur. Delalande's secular compositions reflect fluctuations in court musical activity more clearly than do his sacred works since the former were more dependent on vacillations in finances and politics than was music for worship. His stage works during these years appeared in phases, two at the beginning of the 1690's, five at the end of the decade, and one more each in 1704 and 1713. On the other hand, his forty-one motets from this period are more evenly distributed, with one or two every year except for four in 1697 and three in 1704, followed by a slackening to one a year after 1706, which suggests that court worship continued on a more or less regular basis

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regardless of external matters.[38] On the other hand, Delalande's acquisition of official appointments progressed in inverse proportion to his production of secular repertoire. During these middle years he gained ten more court appointments, for a total of fourteen. He retained all but three of these posts until his death. Louis may have chosen not to restrict Delalande's accumulation of charges when he realized the composer's suitability for serving the changing, restricted climate of the court in the 1690's as war and famine rattled France.

In September 1690, Delalande succeeded Jean-Louis de Lully as composer in the chamber music. During an intensification of the war, he was named to his second quarter as *sous-maître* in the chapel in September 1693, and in February 1695 he gained the first of two appointments as *maître* in the chamber from Claude-Jean-Baptiste Boësset de Launay, granting him at least one position in each of the five subdivisions of the chapel and chamber.

The depresssed state of musical production during the final fifteen years of the middle period contrasts with Delalande's acquisition of seven posts, awarded as his predecessors either retired or died. In January 1700 he obtained from Pierre Robert two more pensions, as *compositeur* of the chapel and of the chamber. In 1704, as the effects of the War of the Spanish Succession began to debilitate France, Collasse's quarter as *maître* of the chapel passed to Delalande. In 1709 after the death of Collasse he gained three more positions, as *compositeur* in the chapel and the chamber and *maître* of the chamber, the last of which he passed on to Colin de Blamont. These

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[38]His concentration on sacred music during the first fifteen years of the eighteenth century is emphasized by numerous diary and journal citations of performances of motets which he conducted, in contrast to the reduced number of notices about his secular music. For example, Sourches, 28 August 1706, reports a *Te Deum* which Delalande directed at the Invalides, and on 19 June 1710 reports a performance of his *Pange Lingua*. The *Mercure*, November 1702, describes another of his motets.

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three appointments from Collasse symbolically marked the end of Lully's lingering presence at court.

In 1714, one year before Louis' death, Delalande finally acquired the remaining quarter as *sous-maître* in the chapel from Guillaume Minoret, one of the winners of the 1683 competition. This appointment granted him total control of the court chapel music establishment and raised his family's total annual pension to well over 17,000 *livres.*[39]

Soon after Delalande's advancement to *surintendant*, the War of the League of Augsburg interrupted most musical activity at court. In the early 1690's we have record of only two apparently small compositions, the *Ballets de M. Delalande* of 1690/91. However, the end of the war brought a renewed flurry of artistic activity to the court. His first two post-war works, *Adonis* and *L'Amour Fléchy*, remained under the sponsorship of Louis but were held at Fontainebleau rather than Versailles. The king's increasing withdrawal from musical and social events during this decade meant a reduced scope to "official" court secular productions, as can be seen in *Mirtil et Mélicerte* and *La Comedie des Fées*, presented at Fontainebleau.[40]

The nature of Delalande's professional activities between 1700 and 1715 cannot be recounted exactly. In view of expanding responsibilities, his time may have been spent largely on administrative work rather than on composing. Louis' nearly complete absence from court social events after the War of the Spanish Succession began accounts for Madame de Maintenon's growing involvement in music during these years. Delalande's compatibility with

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[39]Dufourcq 1957, p. 125.

[40]While representing reduced court activity, these two works expanded Delalande's associations with authors from the public theater: he worked with Armand Guérin on *Mirtil* and again collaborated with Florent Dancourt for *Fées*. *La Comédie des Fées* was his first work to appear on the Paris stage after playing at court.

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Maintenon, for whom he wrote three secular compositions, is understandable: the composer's gentle personality and spiritual orientation must have been well appreciated by the king's devout, practical, morganatic wife. She sponsored his final three secular works for Louis XIV: *Hymen Champestre* provided a chance for courtiers to dance in a stage production, while both the *Ode* of 1704 and *Paix* of 1713 were apartment-scale works which dared to assert the glory of Louis. For the *Ode* Delalande once again collaborated with the Abbé Genest and for *Paix* he worked with a new author, the Baron de Longepierre. Longepierre's involvement with a production for the king may have resulted from his collaboration with the Duc de Chartres on an opera several years previously. During these last fifteen years of Louis' reign, Delalande may also have developed a healthy working relationship with Chartres, who became more involved with social and artistic activities at court after the death of Monseigneur.

While his offical responsibilities apparently doubled between 1700 and 1715, two personal events may have reduced his activity in court. According to the Marquis de Sourches, Delalande suffered a stroke on 23 January 1710, at the age of fifty-two.[41] That it was not severe is inferred from the fact that Sourches included no follow-up report on Delalande's condition. While the state of the composer's health in this period is unclear, his gradual withdrawal from the supervision of productions is evident. Already on 29 September 1714 Dangeau implied that Delalande was not always in good health when he wrote that "quand Delalande sera malade.... Matho battra la mesure pour lui."

Of greater personal impact than failing health was the death of his two daughters during the same smallpox epidemic in 1711 that claimed the life of Louis' son and daughter-in-law several months earlier. Jeanne Delalande died

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[41]See Sourches, vol XII, p. 146: "On sut aussi que La Lande, maître de la Musique du roi, étoit tombé en appoplexie...." The report by Sourches is the only record of this stroke. No other historians of Delalande have quoted it.

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on 9 May 1711 at age twenty-four and Marie Anne on 23 May at age twenty-five. Their deaths, according to Tannevot, apparently cemented even more firmly the already strong bond between Louis (age seventy-three) and the composer (age fifty-three), both of whom each may have been reminded of their own mortality by the deaths of their beloved offspring.

D. LATE PERIOD (1715-1726)

While Tannevot also does not document the final years of Delalande's life in much detail, citations about him in legal documents, secondary sources, and publications of music provide a reliable overview of some of his activities. The resurgence of artistic and social life in Paris and at court after the death of Louis XIV opened up new avenues of recognition for Delalande from the public during the last eleven years of his life. The publication of music from two of his three Regency ballets, *L'Inconnu* and *Les Elémens*, made his music known to a wider audience than had previously been exposed to his works. These ballets were also the grandest court productions Delalande helped produce. Additionally, in 1729 his accomplishments in sacred music were acknowledged through the publication of his complete motets. The Regency court apparently maintained the respect for Delalande that he had enjoyed under Louis XIV, perhaps in part because of contacts the composer previously established with the Regent and his wife (the second daughter of Louis and Montespan).

In January 1723 Delalande resigned from three of his four quarters as *sous-maître* of the chapel music.[42] He also appears to have reduced his direct involvement with productions at court and prepared the way for his successors. In February 1718 he named Destouches as *surintendant* of the chamber music on his death, and in March of that year designated Jean-Féry Rebel, his brother-in-law, to follow him in one of his posts as *compositeur* for

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[42]He occupied fourteen posts simultaneously for only nine years.

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the chamber. These assignments are logical ones, given his friendship with the two musicians. They also help explain Delalande's collaboration with these composers on his final three ballets: the third *entrée* of *Cardenio* includes a tempest scene by Rebel, while the fourth *entrée* of *L'Inconnu* as well as most of the music of *Les Elémens* is by Destouches. A further indication of Delalande's slackening compostional activity is that he wrote only two motets during his late period, one in 1719 and the other in 1721.

Anne Rebel died in Paris on 6 May 1722 at the age of sixty and was buried in the church of Saint Roch.[43] Her death followed by four months the court production of *Les Elémens.* Anne's passing, as well as the court's return to Versailles when Louis XV gained his majority in February 1723, may have influenced Delalande's cessation of composition for court and also his remittance of the three *sous-maître* appointments in the chapel.[44] Apparently he composed no new works during the last three years of his life. However, he does seem to have been actively engaged in collecting and revising both his secular and sacred oeuvre. Tannevot tells us that Delalande had wanted to revise his motets ever since the death of Louis XIV, and that when the composer died he was still reworking compositions from his youth.

Personal matters may have been of greater concern than musical ones during these final years. Delalande's health apparently remained reasonably good, in spite of the apparent stroke a decade earlier. Eleven months after Anne Rebel died, Delalande (age sixty-five) married Marie-Louise Cury, age thirty-two, on 23 April 1723.[45] His new wife also had court associations: her

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[43]Her extensive will offers a good impression of her material possessions on her death. See Dufourcq 1957, p. 87-103.

[44]The **Calendar of Musical Stage Performances, Appendix I** in this study stops in 1723, the first year of Louis XV's official rule, since Delalande did not compose any new music beyond this point.

[45]Dufourcq reprinted their marriage contract. See Dufourcq 1957, p. 112-118.

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father served as surgeon to Madame La Princesse de Conty. The union of Delalande and Cury produced an heir, Marie Michelle, born on 22 September 1724 in Versailles.[46] Delalande died of pneumonia on 18 June 1726 at the age of sixty-seven, after forty-three years of faithful service to the court, and was buried in Notre Dame de Versailles.[47] After his death his widow received a number of financial compensations from the sale of her husband's posts and also apparently gained income from the publication of his motets. Unfortunately, Delalande's will is not known to survive today, eliminating an important source of personal information about the composer.

E. SUMMARY, LEGACY

Delalande's career epitomizes the possibilities for a composer within a court musical system. An examination of the composer's life and works provides us with a view not only of one particular musician of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries but also of the musical life of the French court. Delalande stands as a model of survival in a system of political patronage, surviv al resulting from talent, a pleasing personality, and a great deal of hard work. While realizing his "penchant natural pour la musique latine," the composer also produced a secular repertoire not unworthy of consideration which reflects the changing musical climate during the Bourbon regime.

Little personal information about Delalande survives. We know him best through his deeds for others and through his works. Many eighteenth-century critics wrote commendable words about his music, but about the man himself, Tannevot's essay remains the most touching account:

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[46]The daughter lived until 1781 and herself had one child, a daughter who died in 1787 without an heir. Marie Louise Cury died in 1775. It is not clear if she remarried after Delalande's death.

[47]The church officials today have no record of his grave, which may have been purged during the Revolution.

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> Quoyqu'il fut naturellement vif, il étoit timide en public: le moindre éloge le faisoit rougir. Il n'appartient guères qu'à ceux qui méritent des louanges de les craindre. Son caractère étoit droit & civil: peu Courtisan, mais toujours prêt à rendre ce qu'on doit au mérite & à la naissance. Il loüoit de bonne foy dans les Ouvrages des autres ce qu'il y trouvoit de bon, & on peut dire qu'alors la supériorité de ses lumières tournoit toute à l'Avantage de ces Auteurs.

Delalande's commitment to the court and to all those he associated with is summed up by the words of Colin de Blamont in his dedication to the composer in the 1729 edition of the motets:[48]

> J'étois trop son serviteur & son amy, & j'avois reçû de luy trop de marques d'estime & de bontez, par les soins qu'il a pris de m'instruire des ma plus tendre jeunesse, soit par ses conseils pour tout ce qui peut former le goût, soit par sa constance & son attachement inviolable au travail & à son devoir, pour ne pas sacrifier quelque chose de mon amour propre, en hazardant de mettre par écrit ce qui peut instruite de toutes les perfections que j'ay reconnues dans ce Lully latin....
>
> Infatigable dans ses recherches, autant que prodigue de son génie dans ses Oeuvres, il ne se satisfaisoit presque jamais; toujours plus difficile à mesure qu'il augmentoit en merite.
>
> Les qualitez que ce grand génie possédoit encore à un degré éminent, étoient la combination, la précision, & la juste proportion de ses morceaux, soit grands ou petits, soit de différens caractères, ce qui se fait sentir par les périodes de chant, & la gradation sans pareille des beautez de chacun de ses Récits, Duo, & autres ou l'esprit & le coeur sont également intéressez, l'un par le surprise & l'admiration, & l'autre par le sentiment.

Most of Delalande's stage works were little known outside the court and never performed after the composer's death. Consequently, they probably exerted little long-range influence on the scope of composition of secular music at court. On the other hand, his motets were among the most frequently performed works of this genre throughout the entire eighteenth century, dominating concert series such as the *Concert Spirituel* during its sixty-six-year existence in Paris. During his lifetime, Delalande's stature at court was as large as that of Lully a generation earlier. Therefore, learning more about this important musician reveals more about the musical life of the

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[48]Delalande 1729, p. 9-10.

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French court at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

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Date	Term	Post	Predecessor	Successor
16 May 1683- 20 Jan 1723	Oct. quar.	*Maître de la Musique de la Chapelle*	Pierre Robert	C. H. Gervais
8 Jan 1685- 18 June 1726	Jan. quar.; Jan. quar.	*Compositeur de la Musique de la Chapelle;* *Compositeur de la Musique de la Chambre*	Henri Dumont; Dumont	Gervais; J. F. Rebel
9 Jan 1689- 18 June 1726	Jan. sem.	*Surintendant de la Musique de la Chambre*	J.L. Lully	André Destouches
25 Sept 1690- 18 June 1726	July sem.	*Compositeur de la Musique de la Chambre*	J.L. Lully	J. F. de la Porte
20 Sept 1693- 18 June 1726	Jan. quar.	*Maître de la Musique de la Chapelle*	Nicolas Coupillet	Gervais
12 Feb 1695- 18 June 1726	Jan. sem.	*Maître de la Musique de la Chambre*	C.J.B. Boësset de Launay	Destouches
6 Jan 1700- 18 June 1726	Apr. quar.; July sem.	*Compositeur de la Musique de la Chambre;* *Compositeur de la Musique de la Chapelle*	Robert; Robert	Rebel; Bernier; Gervais; Campra
31 March 1704- 20 Jan 1723	Apr. quar.	*Maître de la Musique de la Chapelle*	Pascal Collasse	André Campra
17 July 1709- 18 June 1726	Apr. quar.; Jan. quar; July sem.	*Compositeur de la Musique de la Chapelle;* *Compositeur de la Musique de la Chambre;* *Maître de la Musique de la Chambre*	Collasse; Collasse; Collasse	Campra; Rebel; De la Porte; Colin de Blamont
1 Oct 1714- 20 Jan 1723	July sem.	*Maître de la Musique de la Chapelle*	Guillaume Minoret	Nicolas Bernier

Figure Bio-1: Court Music Posts Occupied by Delalande, 1683-1726

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CHAPTER 2. OVERVIEW OF DELALANDE'S STAGE WORKS

Just as the biography of Michel-Richard Delalande reflects the influence of the French court on the musician, the repertoire of the composer reveals a similar dedication to important people and events in the royal establishment.[1] The reign of Louis XIV marked the pinnacle of royal patronage of the arts in Europe, while the Regent Philippe D'Orléans displayed an inordinate appreciation for music as well as the visual arts. Delalande composed most of his secular repertoire in response to the call from the court for music which reflected its good life. The composer's secular repertoire is best examined as a body, within the context of court life, in order to develop a comprehensive view of the music in relation to the court which instigated its composition.

This chapter presents an overview of Delalande's secular repertoire, with emphasis on its genre classification and use and presentation in court. The approach here is comprehensive in order to evaluate better individual works discussed in the following three chapters, which are arranged according to the same three chronological period used in the biography. The focus here is on repertoire, but this chapter must from time to time also recall biographical information already discussed in order to draw common ideas together.

A. DELALANDE'S STAGE WORKS AS A REFLECTION OF COURT LIFE

There can be no doubt that artistic production in France during the Ancien Régime was used as a vehicle to promote political images and events.[2] The monarchy's support of the arts began as early as the Valois rule and

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[1] I have consulted several general histories of France in the preparation of this dissertation. The history of Louis XIV which I cite most frequently is John B. Wolf's study of the monarch (Wolf 1968), since this work is easily accessible to most readers. Most of my citations about the Regency are from J.H. Shennan's work on Philippe D'Orléans (Shennan 1979).

[2] Such association between art and politics is the orientation of Robert Isherwood's study of music under Louis XIV, in particular his first chapter on "Musical Philosophy." See Isherwood 1973.

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blossomed under Louis XIV. Throughout Delalande's tenure at court publications such as the *Mercure Galant* regularly included references to the musical philosophy of the Ancients, who maintained that music expressed the harmony of the universe. The king increasingly politicized this view, to argue that music could therefore also provide a model for stable government.[3]

The practical implications of this philosophy meant that musical productions, in particular lavish court spectacles, could support the prestige of the monarchy. France's ability to sustain such productions, even during the thick of war, demonstrated to the enemy that the country remained strong. The unity of the arts proved the unity of the nation. The artistically-initiated Frenchman could not help but draw parallels between the subjects of productions and the lives of all Frenchmen living under France's absolute monarchy.[4]

Delalande produced all but one of his known secular works for the Bourbon court. All nineteen compositions acknowledge particular events in royal life. Consequently, a majority of these compositions played only in court and only during Delalande's lifetime. Understanding how Delalande's secular works were used as court entertainments and how they reflect life at court

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[3]See Isherwood 1973, p. 38-39. Isherwood cites an essay in the *Mercure* of October 1680, p. 75, by the poet Rault de Rouen, and discusses a report in the April 1680 installment of the journal by a writer named Tournelle which explains how dance also can express the unity between bodily movement and the movement of the heavenly spheres. Isherwood summarizes the writing of four authors --- Philippe Quinault, Michel de Pure, Claude Ménestrier, and Jacques Bonnet --- as being most supportive of the parallel between ancient musical philisophy and seventeenth-century France. See p. 47-54.

[4]See Isherwood 1973, p. 40-41. As I have observed in discussing Delalande's repertoire, even Louis XIV's resolute attempts to maintain costly productions could not be maintained, particularly after 1700. On the other hand, Delalande's three grand Regency *ballets* symbolize a renewal of prosperity under Louis XV.

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can assist our evaluation of this repertoire.[5]

Delalande's seven early works appeared between November 1682 (*La Sérénade*) and January 1689 (*Le Palais de Flore*).[6] While the musical impact of his first four compositions, presented within a seven-month period, may seem minimal, their influence on his future career as a royal musician should not be underestimated, for this music reveals the developing talents of the young composer within the environment of the court's new home at Versailles.[7] Delalande's compositions from the 1680's were less costly and grand than were court productions of the 1660's and 1670's. Nevertheless, his early works were viewed within the context of a court well aware of the benefits of a

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[5]The short-lived acquaintance of Delalande's secular works in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and our lack of knowledge about most of these compositions in the twentieth century result partially from their original functional nature. The Bourbon court's "throw-away" attitude toward productions meant that many texts and scores were not permanently preserved. Even those works which were printed were not widely distributed and often did not attract the notice of contemporary critics. On the other hand, the two productions to which Delalande contributed music which made it to the public stage enjoyed significantly greater recognition in the eighteenth century: *Les Elémens*, which opened at the Académie Royale three years after its court premiere, was the most widely disseminated and frequently performed secular work to which the *surintendant* contributed music. The only work by Delalande which was reviewed in print was *La Comédie des Fées* in *Poète sans fard* by François Gacon, who heard the work at the Comédie Française after it played in court. See my essay on *Fées*, 4. XII., for comment about Gacon.

[6]See the Works Chart, Figure Intro - 1, p. 13, for a list of all compositions.

[7]The decade of the 1680's was marked by significant personnel changes in court which also affected the scope of its musical life. The queen died in 1683 and Louis shortly thereafter married the conservative Madame de Maintenon. Louis lost influential court advisors such as Jean-Baptiste Colbert in 1683 and Jean-Baptiste Lully in 1687. In spite of seemingly uncontained spending on building at Versailles, the decade was also marked by a tightening of the treasury because of internal unrest and external wars. Louis' advancing age (the king turned forty-five in 1683, the year of Delalande's first chapel appointment) and his gradual withdrawal from social and artistic activities by the 1690's, aggravated additionally by ill-health, also influenced the scope of stage productions and other musical endeavors at Versailles.

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strong, active musical system.[8]

Delalande's nine middle-period secular works reflect his domination of the court's music and his facility in adapting his compositional approach to changing social and economic conditions. For example, while *Adonis* of 1696 continued to feature gods and goddesses likened to Louis and other courtiers, the pastoral characters in *L'Amour flechy* the following year ushered in lighter subject matter more popular during the last twenty to thirty years of Louis' life. The small scope of the two *Ballets* of 1690-91 probably reflect France's financial commitment to the War of the League of Augsburg, while his annual productions between 1696 and 1700 parallel the overall revitalization of artistic activity in France after the war, albeit on a much smaller scale than in the 1680's. Delalande's only two works after 1700, the *Ode* and *Divertissement sur la Paix*, were intimate *concerts* which reflect the restricted approach to music brought on by the most threatening military entanglement of Louis' long reign, the War of the Spanish Succession.

The death of Louis meant new life for France, for Paris, for the court, and for Delalande. Under the Regency of Philippe D'Orleans, a leader intensely devoted to aesthetic pleasures and learned in many of the arts, the court enjoyed a resurgence of social and artistic life reminiscent of the first half of the reign of Louis XIV. The court's return to Paris during the Regency (the Tuileries became Louis XV's official residence) diminished the boundaries between court and public and so provided additional stimulation for the arts to thrive. Delalande, although by then aged, was clearly part of this revival. His three *ballets* from this period, *L'Inconnu*, *Les Folies de Cardenio*, and *Les*

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[8]That Delalande was willing and able to produce entertainments on a more restricted scale than Lully did reflects his basic approach to serving his court. This attitude surely had some impact on his rapid rise to becoming Louis' favored musician. See also the **Biographical Summary: Chapter 1**, for several other comments about this flexibility.

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Elémens, were the grandest productions of his career. While affording him new opportunities for exposure to wider audiences, these final works also reflect a return to the past, bringing full-circle his productions for the monarchs of France.

Delalande's stage compositions expressed several themes central to a positive self-image of the court. *Fontaines* and *Esculape* saluted Louis for the health and happiness which he brought to France. Three works celebrated royal weddings: *Epithalame* acknowledged the marriage of the king's daughter Mademoiselle de Nantes and the Duc de Bourbon in July, 1685; *L'Amour flechy* may have been intended for the 1697 wedding of the Duc de Bourgogne and the Princesse Adelaide; while the first performance of *Mirtil* was part of the wedding festivities at Fontainebleau for Mademoiselle and the Duc de Lorraine. Three other productions were inspired by a need to confirm France's position in impending or current military conflicts: *Jeunesse* asserted the strength and happiness of youth in France following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; *Palais* reaffirmed that springtime can return to the Trianon anytime, even during the dead of winter or the War of the League of Augsburg; and the 1704 *Ode* celebrated a recent French naval success in the War of the Spanish Succession. In contrast, six other works reiterated the peace which Louis maintained for his country: *Adonis* welcomed the Princesse Adelaide to France; *L'Amour Flechy* and *Mirtil* presented pastoral shepherds and shepherdesses concerned about love; *Fées* responded to the vogue for fairy stories, and *Hymen* presented a rustic village wedding scene.[9] The *Divertissement sûr la Paix* of 1713 celebrated the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the immortality of the king (or perhaps the anticipation of his death). Delalande's three Regency *ballets* were perhaps the most propagandistically designed in their attempts to

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[9]Five of these appeared between 1696 and 1700 at Fontainebleau after the War of the League of Augsburg.

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recall the imagery of Louis XIV, who, while in many ways dead and long forgotten by many Frenchmen, still symbolically represented a past age of French glory.

Seven of Delalande's entertainments (*L'Amour Berger, Jeunesse, Palais, Hymen, L'Inconnu, Cardenio,* and *Les Elémens*) were presented as part of mid-winter Carnival entertainment. Five others (*Fontaines, Esculape, Epithalame,* and the *Ballets* of 1690/91) appeared at Versailles for a variety of special events throughout the year. The remaining seven played during the court's summer or fall visits away from Versailles: five of these (*Sérénade, Adonis, L'Amour Flechy, Mirtil, Fées*) at Fontainebleau, one (*Paix*) at Marly, and one (the *Ode*) at Sceaux.

B. PATRONAGE AND RECEPTION

Delalande's productions can be divided into two types according to their reception. The public events presented in court theaters were probably attended by most of the estimated one to two thousand courtiers who occupied Versailles or the Tuileries during his tenure, while the private events appeared before much more limited audiences, usually in the presence of the king in private apartments. Delalande's three works written before his first chapel appointment in 1683 were expectedly private, while the remainder of his early productions reflected his growing prominence in the court's music in the latter half of the 1680's. Attendance at public events in the late 1690's after the war was probably reduced over that in the 1680's because of Louis' withdrawal from performances. His three Regency *ballets* may have recalled the public atmosphere of festivals from the early part of the reign of Louis XIV but

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these works were probably ineffective as tools of propaganda.[10]

The nature and size of audiences attending productions at court cannot be determined precisely, nor can we know with certainty how audiences perceived musical presentations. Most surviving accounts about performances were written by a handful of authors who hardly ever offer negative criticism of events at court. One feature of Delalande's audiences which seems clear is that nearly all were courtiers, since only two productions ever reached the public stage. Possibly his three Regency *ballets*, performed in Paris, included the greatest number of public observers.

In any patronage system, the personal taste of the supporting political ruler will influence the reception of the art being endorsed by that system. The career of Delalande witnessed a shift away from the direct patronage of the king to other members of the royal family and a consequent shift in scale of production. While the young composer could, if we are to believe the stories, turn to Louis for technical advice about composition, by the end of the seventeenth century the king retired almost entirely not only from planning productions but even from attending them.[11] This shift in patronage parallels a general trend at the beginning of the eighteenth century in France toward more private patronage of the performing arts. Even the return of a more centralized government during the Regency did not reverse the tendency to place music in the hands of more diverse sponsors.

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[10]The nature of private audiences can be more precisely determined than the public ones at court because secondary reports frequently itemize the "persons of quality" attending such events. Generally private audiences included the king's son and his wife or current mistress, the king's brother and his wife, and for later productions, the king's grandsons and their wives, plus other members of the family with strong interests in the arts such as the Princesse de Conty, plus retinues of other ladies in the king's and Maintenon's parties.

[11]Louis probably never heard Delalande's *Fées*, *Hymen*, and possibly *L'Amour Flechy*.

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Productions officially endorsed by the monarch were generally grand affairs, although the effect of their reception may have varied considerably. Delalande's *Jeunesse* and *Palais* were promoted by Louis in the manner *ballets de cour* of the past as spectacular musical-theatrical events involving many courtiers to convince the court of France's power and security and to show off prominent members of the royal family. These works may have been effective in achieving their goals, but already by the 1680's they may have served instead only as empty tributes to a past glory which was fast fading.[12] Politically the Regency functioned for the court and the country as Delalande's late years functioned artistically for the composer, as a period of revival and recalling as well as of innovation. However, while Delalande's three late *ballets* enjoyed the endorsement of the Regent and the Duc de Villeroy, Louis XV's guardian, they held an even more hollow ring of security than did the compositions of the 1680's. The rejuvenated Paris audiences of the 1720's wanted art that was entertaining, not persuasive; intimate, not grand.

On the other hand, the six Delalande works supported by women patrons were productions in private apartments, offered to the king for his entertainment, in contrast to the public events sponsored by the king for the enrichment of the court. In these private *concerts* Louis probably found relief from the relentless need to be on display in front of the court and the nation. The intimate settings of *La Sérénade*, *Fontaines* and *Esculape* under the sponsorship of Thianges and Montespan apparently also paid off as means of asserting the skills of Delalande. On the other hand, the *Ode* and the *Divertissement* supervised by Maintenon and the Duc de Noailles were intimate productions designed to shelter the aged Louis from the critical eye and ear of a disheartened court, and *Hymen* was performed by courtiers largely for their

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[12] *Palais* was Delalande's last grand event for which Louis exercised primary authority and, not coincidentally, the composer's last large-scale work until *L'Inconnu* thirty years later.

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own entertainment. Maintenon's patronage of music resulted in works which were spiritually uplifting, not propagandistically persuasive.

From the 1690's, other substitute patrons filled in for the absent Louis XIV for public events. For one, Monseigneur, the king's son, endorsed *Mirtil* and *Fées*. These and other works under Monseigneur's sponsorship did not display the same verve as many productions of the past, in part because elaborate presentations were less necessary if the king was not in attendance.[13] Furthermore, Monseigneur did not possess the discrimination of his father and tended to choose works with questionable artistic merit. *Mirtil* and *Fées* were probably perceived only as jolly pieces of entertainment by a court audience grown weary from a debilitating war. Additionally, courtiers did not dance in works from which Louis was absent, underlining my premise that a principal motivation for courtier participation in theater productions was to be seen by the king.

C. CLASSIFICATION OF DELALANDE'S SECULAR WORKS

The common feature of Delalande's nineteen stage works is their functional nature: all were composed in conjunction with specific events at court.[14] Many compositions apparently were written, rehearsed, and presented on a relatively restricted time schedule and most were never revived, reflecting the *ad hoc* nature of much secular music for court.

Consequently, Delalande's secular works are less standardized in content and less classifiable by conventional genres than is the more public repertoire

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[13]The essay on **Mirtil: 4. XII** discusses alterations to that *ballet* for the performance which Louis attended. Also, see the essays on **Mirtil** and **Fées: 4. XII** and **XIII** for more on Monseigneur's role as musical patron.

[14]Delalande's secular works differ from the public repertoire in that the latter addresses topical events in a more general way. Delalande's works were intended to be heard for only a few performances by a select audience, while the public repertoire had to appeal to a wider range of people over a longer period of time.

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of the period. Surprisingly, many of Delalande's compositions are not specifically categorized in primary sources or contemporary accounts, in spite of the preoccupation of many French critics and artists of the period with a precise musical vocabulary. Furthermore, present difficulties of classification for Delalande's compositions are compounded because many works can be only tentatively and incompletely reconstructed.

Variety in scope and content is symptomatic of the court repertoire of other composers of the post-Lully generation as well. (See the **Calendar of Court Productions: Appendix I.**) Experimentation with a variety of compositional genres can be explained by a combination of factors, not the least of which was the powerful hold which Lully maintained over certain patterns of musical life in France even after his death in 1687. For example, that Delalande and others never composed any *tragédies lyriques* can partially be explained by Lully's dominance of this genre. Furthermore, the demand on court composers to tailor their works to specific celebrations for different members of the royal family, under a variety of performance situations in the several royal chateaux, certainly contributed to diversity in this repertoire.

Delalande's secular repertoire is also less standardized in part because of the large number of artists with whom he was willing to collaborate during his many years of service to the court. Nine different authors for a total of fifteen secular works have thus far been identified: the Abbé Genest created four, Florent Dancourt wrote three, Antoine Morel authored two, and Armand Guérin, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, the Baron de Longepierre, Charles Coypel, Charles le Roy, and a M. Lomagne wrote one each. Of Delalande's nine works with dance, choreographers are named for seven: four were created by Pierre Beauchamp, cheorographer of the Académie Royale until 1687, and three by Jean Balon, director of the Académie Royale de Danse and dancing master for the king from 1719. Only Delalande's designers remained constant: the Bérain

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workshop collaborated with the composer on the seven works for which a designer is indicated.

The length of Delalande's productions probably varied from about one-half hour for works such as the *Ode* to several hours for grand presentations such as *Les Folies des Cardenio*. All compositions apparently included instrumental music, and probably all but three (the *Ballets* of 1690/91 and *Hymen Champestre* of 1700) contained vocal music as well.

The two most important factors in the classification of Delalande's repertoire used in this study are the mode of performance and the musical-textual content. These nineteen compositions generally may be catalogued as either *ballets* or *concerts*.[15] Additionally, a few revised works appear in both categories. The musical style of these compositions rarely display distinguishing features to clarify classification, having merely predictable variety in instrumental and vocal music, the former used as dance accompaniment and also as independent descriptive music, the latter usually consisting of recitatives, airs, ensembles, and choruses. For the compositions found with different titles in different sources, I have adopted a standardized title for each which best reflects its genre classification.[16]

In general terms, eight of Delalande's known secular works are best classified as *concerts*, nine as *ballets*, and two are undefinable because of the

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[15]Thus far I have found no clear-cut definitions by other authors of the *ballet* and the *concert* in the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. For example, Sebastien de Brossard does not include the term *concert* and discusses the *ballet* only briefly. See Brossard Dictionary: *Dictionaire de Musique*, 1705, 2nd ed, reprt Frits Knuf, Hilversum 1965. James Anthony discusses in detail several specific phases and types of *ballets*, but does not address the more fundamental question of the wide-ranging application of the term *ballet* in this period. See Anthony 1978.

[16]Many sources cite titles in an ambiguous manner. The casual identification of works in diaries and newspapers adds to the confusion. Even the most carefully annotated source, Pn Rés. 581, frequently uses two or three different titles.

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paucity of primary sources. One of the *ballets* is more accurately called a *mascarade*; moreover, dances were probably added to two or three of the *concerts* after their initial performances, making them classifiable also as *ballets.* All the *concerts* are in one main unit of several separate scenes performed without interruption, while the *ballets* contain a number of independent sections (usually four to six), called *entrées* or *intermèdes*, which were usually performed in alternation with spoken stage plays.[17]

The eight *concerts* were not staged and included neither dance nor pantomime. Most were probably performed without special costumes and scenery. Only *Esculape* and *Adonis* are specifically called *concerts* in primary sources, but the other six works which I label as such resemble these works in contents and means of performance. *Fontaines, Epithalame, L'Amour Flechy,* and *Ode* are not classified at all in primary sources, and *Paix* is called both an *Idylle* and a *Ballet*, but not a *concert.* *La Sérénade* is vaguely defined but should probably also be called a *concert.* While Delalande's *concerts* are less visually spectacular than his *ballets*, they contain the more serious subject matter.

Primary and secondary sources alike reveal the changing scope and purpose of what was called a *ballet* during Delalande's lifetime.[18] A *ballet* for Delalande and other composers of his generation apparently referred to a musical-stage production employing vocal and instrumental music, dance, costumes, and sets, arranged in several scenes, usually with a prologue and a grand finale. Dramatic unity is present in any given scene or *intermède* and possibly throughout an entire work. Generally the prologue offers the

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[17]Six of the nine *ballets* probably consisted of a prologue and three *intermèdes*, *Les Elémens* contains a prologue and four acts, while *L'Inconnu* includes a prologue and five *intermèdes.* Only *Palais* has no prologue.

[18]See more discussion of the term *ballet* in the essay **Middle Works. Ballet de Mr. Delalande: 4. VIII.**

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traditional praise of the monarch, while the remainder of the *ballet* include a variety of characters ranging from mythological and allegorical figures to rustic shepherds and shepherdesses.

In primary sources ten of Delalande's compositions are called *ballets*: the two early works *Jeunesse* and *Palais*; five middle-period compositions, the two 1690/91 *Ballets*, *Mirtil*, *Fées*, and *Paix*; and the three late works, *L'Inconnu*, *Cardenio*, and *Les Elémens*. The most fundamental component of a *ballet* of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is the dance, enhanced by vocal and instrumental music. However, even this general definition of the genre seems to not be airtight for Delalande's oeuvre: probably neither the *Ballet de M. Delalande* nor the *Ballet de St. Louis* included dancing, and *Divertissement sûr la Paix* appeared only in concert. On the other hand, *L'Amour Berger* included dancing but was not identified as a *ballet*. Additionally, *Hymen Champestre* is identified as a *mascarade*.

Most of the eight *ballets* with dance also contained a variety of vocal and instrumental music and were used in a variety of theatrical contexts. Four of them served as musical *intermèdes* to three-act comedies: *Jeunesse* and *Fées* accompanied plays by Dancourt, *Mirtil et Mélicerte* appeared with a play by the same name by Guérin, and *Cardenio* accompanied Coypel's *Les Folies des Cardenio*. Additionally *L'Inconnu* accompanied a five-act play of the same name. The contents of the musical portions of *Fées*, *Mirtil*, *L'Inconnu*, and *Cardenio* support the story line of their corresponding plays and in this sense resemble the *comédie-ballet*.[19] Only *Jeunesse's* play does not seem to have been related to the subject matter of the accompanying *ballet*. *Palais* and *Les Elémens* included no spoken drama: *Palais* resembles Lully's late *ballets* in its organization of continuous yet loosely-connected *entrées* without play and *Les*

[19]This combination of musical *intermède* with comedy became increasingly prevalent during the last twenty years of Louis's reign, probably because of the lower cost of producing works smaller than *tragédies lyriques*.

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Elemens is an *opéra-ballet* in four acts with prologue.

The type of dancers in a production influences my specific categorization of *ballets* at court. Nearly all Lully and pre-Lullian *ballets* featured courtiers as well as professionals: I label these works as *ballets de cour*. Delalande's *ballets*, produced over a span of thirty-five years, reflect the changing participation of noblemen in stage dance. *Jeunesse* and *Palais* included courtiers and professionals, although by the 1680's a distinction in technical abilities between these two groups seems to have developed. The interruption in musical-theatrical productions at court during the early 1690's signaled a decline in interest in stage dance among courtiers: only professional dancers appeared in *Mirtil* and *Fées*, which I classify as theater ballets for court rather than as *ballets de cour*. While courtiers resumed dancing after the war, their participation in staged productions (as opposed to social dancing) seems confined largely to shorter genres such as the *mascarade*. Only the revival of the *ballet de cour* during the Regency marked the temporary return of courtiers to the stage, in part for many of the same political motivations which encouraged them to dance in the 1660's and 1670's. We may never be able to evaluate effectively the technical capabilities in dance of noblemen in the early eighteenth century, but in view of the interruption in a strong theatrical dance tradition at court for at least twenty years, we may assume with some assurance that the Regency noblemen were substantially less skilled than were their predecessors in the seventeenth century.

D. PRIMARY SOURCES

Surviving source material differs for each of Delalande's secular works. Musical sources range from complete full scores for four works, to no music of any kind for *Epithalame*, to somewhere in between for most of the productions. In only a few cases do multiple sources of music or text survive. Many of the most important movements, especially the instrumental passages, are included in at least one version of Delalande's Supper Symphonies. For

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many works, large portions of the vocal music, particularly recitatives, are no longer extant.

Most compositions with incomplete sources can be partially reconstructed through a compilation of surviving music, text, and secondary accounts of original performances. Therefore, in evaluating this repertoire, the historian's primary task is not to determine which is the most authentic version of any given Delalande composition but instead to decide how the several surviving pieces of each work can best be put together to gain an impression of the whole. In keeping with the contextual approach of this study, a comprehensive view of Delalande's secular oeuvre assists a critical evaluation of each work within that oeuvre because of the recurring similarities among many of the compositions.

A summary of the most important sources used in research for this dissertation is appropriate here so that these sources may be referred to in the essays on individual works without repeatedly explaining their significance. In particular, I will describe Delalande's Supper Symphonies, the source of secular music most commonly known by scholars and musicians today.

MUSIC: The principal sources of music from Delalande's stage works are manuscripts, while texts are largely printed editions. The Philidor workshop produced full manuscript scores of *Fontaines, Esculape,* and *Jeunesse* and a short score of *Paix*. A full manuscript score by an unidentified copyist also survives for *L'Amour Flěchy*. These five sources offer the most information about Delalande's scoring for full orchestral and chorus, and also assist our assessment of Philidor's manuscript production. Manuscript anthologies containing Delalande's music include three surviving versions of the Supper Symphonies and several other collections of *simphonies* containing the music

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of other composers.[20]

Delalande's only secular music in print consists of the vocal and instrumental airs from *L'Inconnu*, the short score of *Les Elémens*, and the vocal airs from the *intermèdes* to *Fées*. *L'Inconnu* and *Elémens* were published within the last seven years of the composer's life, pointing out that the dissemination of Delalande's secular music outside of the court probably did not occur widely until the Regency.

Supper Symphonies: The three surviving Supper Symphony collections without question represent the most important source of Delalande's stage music. In addition to several hundred *simphonies*, these anthologies include a wealth of written information about the organization of the stage works.[21]

Two versions of the Supper music survive in three different collections. The earlier of these, Pn Rés. 582, was copied in 1703 by the Philidor workshop and includes 154 *simphonies* arranged in ten suites. The later version, with 317 *simphonies* arranged in eighteen suites, is represented in two anthologies with identical contents, Pn $Vm^{7}3077$ copied in 1727 and Pn Rés. 581 of 1745. I refer

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[20]A number of anthologies examined thus far contain a total of one hundred sixteen appearances of fifty-four movements by Delalande. The origins of most are not indicated in these anthologies. I have found concordances for twelve of these movements in four stage works: *Palais, Fontaines*, and the two *Ballets* of 1690/91. The other forty-two movements remain unidentified. Pn $Vm^{6}5$ contains music from three works, *Palais* and the two *Ballets* of 1690/91; Pn Rés. F. 533 contains ten movements; Pn Rés. F. 670 includes one suite; and V Mus Ms 139-43 includes thirty-eight airs. I describe $Vm^{6}5$ more completely in the essays on **Palais: 3. VII** and the **Ballets de M. Delalande: 4. VIII and 4. IX.** The importance of these collections for this study lies primarily in their attesting to the popularity and widespread use of Delalande's secular music in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

[21]See the **Bibliography** for complete titles of each collection. Dufourcq summarizes these collections. See Dufourcq 1957, p. 241-48. My comments supplement Dufourcq's ideas, particularly from the viewpoint of how the Supper Symphonies assist our evaluation of the stage works, and, conversely, how a study of the stage works can help explain these manuscripts. James Anthony also offers shorts comments about the collections. See Anthony 1978, p. 302-303.

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most often to Rés. 582 and Rés. 581 in this study.[22]

The term *simphonie* as used in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries must be defined before discussing these collections, since the Classical use of the word permeates our musical thinking today.[23] As used in the anthologies cited above, a *simphonie* refers to an individual movement of music, generally between sixteen and thirty-two measures, but with some as long as one hundred and fifty or more measures. These *simphonies* usually appear in short score or in separate treble and bass parts and are collected into suites which generally consist of an overture, several dance movements, and several character or descriptive pieces. While most *simphonies* in most anthologies are instrumental, Vm^{7}3077 and Rés. 581 also include texted *simphonies* from the stage music. None of these vocal *simphonies* appear with text in Rés. 582.

A majority of Delalande's Supper Symphonies originated in the stage works. Seventy of the one hundred fifty-four movements in Rés. 582 have been identified from productions composed before 1703.[24] All of the 139 movements added to the 1727 version of Supper Symphonies were taken from

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[22]Entry "J" in the **Catalogue Raisonné** includes only Rés. 581 and Rés. 582. Rés. 581 is more useful than Vm^{7}3077 because it includes many more annotations.

[23]As Anthony 1978, p. 304, reminds us, "The problems of classification (of instrumental music of this period) is further confounded by the numerous performance possibilities and the indefinite terminology."

[24]Three of the ten suites (fifty-seven movements) in this collection represent all or most of the instrumental music of three stage works: the sixth suite is from *Palais*, the ninth from *Mirtil*, and the tenth from *Fées*. Additionally, a no longer extant version of the original Supper Symphonies collection expanded to twelve suites contained music from *Paix* as its eleventh suite. Music from Delalande's *Ballets* of 1690/91 is scattered throughout Rés. 582 in suites II, IV, and VII and in the *Concert de Trompettes*. The music from these *Ballets* is identified as such only in Vm^{6}5, raising the possibility that the supper collections may contain movements from other stage works whose identity is unknown today because no other sources identify their origins.

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eight of the composer's stage works, some, such as *Adonis*, composed before 1703 but not included in Rés. 582.

In stage productions, most of these *simphonies* probably would have been performed by a large ensemble in five-part scoring. As *simphonies* these movements were probably performed during *appartement* and, as their title implies, during the king's supper, possibly also in chamber style with only one or two players per part in two- and three-voice scoring.

Copyists from the Philidor workshop produced the 1703 collection of Supper Suites at the request of the Comte de Toulouse, the eldest son of Louis and Montespan.[25] We know neither Toulouse's reasons for this commission nor Delalande's involvement in the preparation of the collection. Since Toulouse had no particular association with music at court nor with Delalande (as did Toulouse's two sisters), there appears to have been no personal motivations for producing this anthology. The collection consists of four partbooks, two for "dessus de violon et hautbois" and two for "basse de violon et bassoon" without figured bass. The two treble parts are identical except for trio passages, and the two bass parts the same except in obbligato passages for the melody continuo instrument. The collection is identified for the "petits violons qui se jouent ordinairement au souper du Roy." Dufourcq believes the anthology was hastily prepared, since it includes no ornaments and lacks text for the vocal movements. The books probably were never used in performance since they contain numerous errors of pitch and omissions of measures. The movements in each suite are grouped by related tonalities, most suites consisting of three different keys. Apparently all but two of the airs in Rés. 582 recur in Rés. 581.

An expanded version of the original Supper Symphonies must have been

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[25]See Massip 1979 for a discussion of the Toulouse collection in the Bibliotheque Nationale.

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produced between 1713 and 1719, for the index of Rés. 581 indicates that the Supper collection used as the basis for that index contained twelve, not ten, suites. The nature of this newer collection can only be conjectural. Its uniformity of pagination with the 1703 collection indicates a similar format with the earlier anthology, pointing out that the Philidor workshop probably also copied this anthology.

The third collection of Supper Symphonies, and the second known surviving copy, is the short score Pn Vm^{7}3077, dated 1727. This anthology, in one volume, is probably based on the earlier collections but includes 163 more *simphonies* than does Rés. 582. Forty of its added airs were taken from five pre-1703 stage works --- *Fontaines, Mirtil ou la Sérénade, Adonis, L'Amour Fléchy,* and *Hymen Champestre* --- indicating that these suites were expanded by adding music composed as early as forty years previously. This time lag may mean that some sources of Delalande's early works now missing survived at least through the 1720's. That this new compilation occurred after 1722 is confirmed by the inclusion of ten airs from *Les Elémens,* Delalande's last work. Additionally this new anthology, rearranged into nineteen suites, includes what is apparently the complete instrumental music to *L'Inconnu* (forty airs) and *Cardenio* (forty-seven airs), as well as a collection of nineteen *Symphonies de Noël* by Delalande and an anonymous *Suite particulière.*

Why Vm^{7}3077 was produced is not clear. Its coat of arms indentifies it from the collection of the Duc de Brancas.[26] The several hands in the manuscript are not identified, but are clearly not from the Philidor workshop. Dufourcq describes three different hands for the annotations alone, one of which left some hastily scrawled indications of the movements borrowed from

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[26]These arms appear on many manuscripts and prints in the music collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Apparently no scholar has yet evaluated Brancas as a bibliophile and music patron.

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L'Inconnu, Fontaines, and *Elémens.*[27] In light of revisions to his *grands motets* during his last years, Delalande himself may have supervised this new compilation of *simphonies* as some sort of complete works for his secular music. The addition of music from five pre-1703 productions may indicate the composer's desire to include music from as many of his stage works as possible in this final anthology.[28] Vm^{7}3077 includes several movements reworked for later productions, such as the overtures to *L'Inconnu, Cardenio,* and *Les Elémens.*

Vm^{7}3077 probably served as the basis for the latest Supper anthology, Pn Rés. 581, since their contents match exactly. Again, the circumstances of production of this later collection are unclear. Without doubt this finely bound and exquisitely copied manuscript was intended for a library shelf rather than for practical use. In two volumes in octavo format, neither the manuscript's patron nor copyist is known. While its contents duplicates that of the 1727 manuscript, the copious annotations in Rés. 581 offer a unique source of information about the *simphonies* and the stage works from which many were taken, for annotations in the airs identify the use and the placement of each within its original source.[29] The manuscript also identifies the *Suite Particulière* as the *Airs de Violon* from Matho's *Ballet de la Jeunesse* of 1718 and recognizes composers other than Delalande for a few movements. The anthology's engraved title pages also mentions the periodic use of these *simphonies* for the suppers of both Louis XIV and Louis XV and also hint at

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[27]Dufourcq 1957, p. 242-43.

[28]As documented by works such as *Jeunesse, Palais,* and *Paix,* for which sources other than the Supper Symphonies survive, clearly these anthologies do not include all of the music from the composer's secular productions, but do contain the most important or the most representative segments. It is curious that no music from *Jeunesse,* one of Delalande's better known works, appears in the anthology. Neither is there music from *Epithalame* nor the *Ode.*

[29]Frequently titles in Rés. 581 differ from those in Rés. 582.

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yet another copy of this version made in 1736.[30] The invaluable *Table Générale* in Rés. 581 includes a list of the *simphonies* as they appear in that manuscript and, of more importance for the reconstruction of Delalande's stage works, another list as they appeared in their original sources in the twelve original Supper Suites or as airs *Tirés des autres Divertissements et Ballets.*

Texts: The contents of the texts of all but two of Delalande's works with text can be at least generally reconstructed. No printings of the texts for smaller works such as *Fontaines, Esculape,* and *Paix* were prepared. For most of the larger productions, complete texts were published, the majority by the court's official printer, J. C. Ballard. The texts of several works were also printed in the *Mercure Galant,* an important means of disseminating information about musical activity at court.[31] Some of the printed texts appear to have been distributed at performances, supplying summaries of the action and including the all-important list of performers.[32] They probably also functioned as a source of information for people who could not attend peformances but who wanted to keep abreast of musical activity at court. The records of the Menus Plaisirs, the accounts of the king's household, specify the number of copies of many of these Ballard printings, assisting our evaluation of the

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[30]The title page reads: "Simphonies de M. Delalande qu'il faisait éxécuter tous les 15. jours pendant le souper de Louis XIV & Louis XV, mises dans un nouvel ordre et ses augmentations, receuillés en 1736." The *nouvel ordre* with "augmentations" certainly refers to the revisions for Vm^{7}3077 in 1727.

[31]The journal printed *L'Amour Berger, Epithalame,* and *Palais* during the 1680's, a decade when war news consumed fewer pages of the newpaper than during Delalande's middle period, when the *Mercure* reproduced none of this works. The *Mercure* also published a detailed summary of *Les Elémens.*

[32]Most texts of stage works printed for court include the names of all the dancers if courtiers danced in the works. Additionally, these court publications usually include rosters of singers and the roles they performed. Texts intended for the Académie Royale usually do not list dancers or singers, apparently in part since courtiers did not participate in these productions. The texts for court productions have served as the basis for my lists of performers in my Catalogue Raisonné and also for my discussion of performing personnel in my essays on the works.

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contemporary reception of Delalande's productions.[33] Additionally, three of the less typical manuscript texts of Delalande's works survive: the verses of *Epithalame* and *Fontaines* were copied by the same hand and bound together, while a manuscript outline of the contents of *Paix* also exists.

Texts of *Jeunesse, Palais,* and *Mélicerte* were also published in Holland by Henri Schelte in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in a collection of French *tragédies lyriques* and *ballets.* This collection includes eighty-six works in octavo format in twelve volumes by Lully and by French composers of the post-Lully period such as Delalande, Campra, and Destouches, published anywhere from one to thirty years after the premieres of the works.[34] Probably copied directly from Ballard editions, the Dutch texts include performance information as well as complete verses of the works as performed in Paris and the court.[35]

Apparently the Dutch texts, unlike the Ballard copies, rarely accompanied performances. Instead, their publication probably indicates a market in Holland for information about musical productions which occupied an important place in French culture. Delalande's name is not mentioned on any of these Dutch publications. Nevertheless, the distribution of these copies far from Versailles must have contributed to international recognition of Delalande as a composer of stage music.

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[33]When more than one source of text survives for any work, I have used the Ballard version as the principal source of information for my study.

[34]See the collection Pn, X.1702, *Recueil des opéras, balets, & des plus belles pièces en musique qui ont représentés depuis dix ou douze ans jusques à présent devant Sa Majesté très Chretienne, Suivant la Copie à Paris.*

[35]Curiously, no scholar of French Baroque music has examined these Dutch publications as a body. Therefore, I have not been able to find out how many copies of the Delalande works Schelte printed not anything about their dissemination and use. European libraries currently seem to own more copies of the Schelte edition than the Ballard edition of the works which both published.

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E. CONDITIONS OF PERFORMANCE

Since this dissertation investigates not only the organization of Delalande's stage works but also the conditions of performance, a brief account here of some aspects of performance discussed in the individual essays will enhance our view of these productions and, more generally, of musical performances at court between Lully and Rameau.

Performers: A reliable impression of the performers in most of Delalande's secular works can be gained from a combination of musical, textual, and secondary sources.[36] Complete rosters of performers are known for eight productions. In these, dancers and vocal soloists are usually named most completely. Generally the works required a greater number of vocal and dance roles than performers to fill them. Consequently most dancers and solo singers were assigned two or more parts in different *entrées* or *intermèdes*. Chorus personnel are named more often than are members of the orchestra: choirs are enumerated for *Jeunesse*, *Palais*, *Cardenio*, and *Elemens*, and orchestras only for *Cardenio* and *Elémens*. Most of the other theater productions apparently used all or most of the *24 Violons du Roi*. For the eleven works whose performers are not identified, I have developed general estimates of their nature and number based on confirmed data found in works of similar scope.

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[36]Printed texts of this period hardly ever include first names of performers. First names for some of the more prominent performers can be found in histories of music and theater of the period. For example, see Durey 1757 and Parfaict 1735. Marcelle Benoit has included as many full names as she could define with certainly. See Benoit 1971 Musiques. Many first names which I include in this dissertation are taken from Benoit, but I use them only when there is no ambiguity in the identity of a performer. Frequently families of musicians worked for the court, particularly in positions in the instrumental and choral ensembles. Printed texts also do not specify their first names. In my **Catalogue Raisonné** I have listed performers by last name only, as found in contemporary texts, but in my **Index of Performers** I have included first names of those who are identified with certainty. An essay such as that of *Mirtil* offers a typical view of performers in a Delalande production.

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Nearly all the musicians in Delalande's secular productions were members of the court's music establishment.[37] Dancers included professionals from the Paris Opéra as well as courtiers.[38]

Most performers appeared in at least two productions and a few professional dancers such as Jean Balon and Michel Blondy offered the composer several decades of service. This not only testifies to the dedication with which many served the *surintendant* but also suggests that the preparation and performance of his works must have been expeditious, in view of the familiarity of spirit which probably developed among such a seasoned "company."

The dancers in Delalande's *ballets* provide a particularly helpful index to the environment of musical performance in the court. The participation of professional versus courtier dancers seems to parallel the prevailing interest in dance by noblemen in this period. Without doubt productions involving

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[37]Prominent solo singers such as Anne Rebel, Antoine Morel, Mademoiselle Pluvigny, Joseph Miracle and Jean-Baptiste Matho apeared in several early works, while a Mademoiselle Chappe and a M. Brossard (first names unknown) sang in several works from *Palais* through *Fées*. The late productions featured prominent Opéra singers such as Marie Antier, Mademoiselle Bury, Louis Muraire, and Jean-Joseph Mouret. Early-period instrumentalists included one member of the Hotteterre family and two Philidors, while unspecified violinists of the Huguenet family served Delalande throughout most of his career.

[38]The choreographer Beauchamp danced in three productions, and Louis Pecourt, Beauchamp's replacement at the Opéra, appeared in six works over a period of thirty-five years. The choreographer of the late works, Jean Balon, danced in all three Regency ballets and appeared in a total of seven Delalande productions over thirty-six years. Other professional dancers in early works included Mademoiselle Lafontaine and several members of the Favier family, while in his middle period Delalande featured Marie Thérèse Subligny and his late works included nearly all of the important principals from the Opéra. All of the important dancer of the early eighteenth-century cited in Pierre Rameau's important dance treatise of 1725 appeared in one or more Delalande productions. Rameau names Beauchamp, St. André (not in Delalande's productions), Favier l'ainé, Favre, Boutteville, Dumirail, Germain, l'Estang, and Pécourt and women dancers Subligny and Fontaines. Younger dancers cited by Rameau include Blondy, Prévôt and DuMoulin the fourth, plus Mademoiselle Menes and M. Marcel. See Rameau 1725, p. XII, XIV.

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courtiers were used in part as a means of showing off the more prominent, although not necessarily the more talented, noblemen.[39]

My eight **Performer Charts** in the essays include a breakdown of vocal, instrumental, and dance assignments in the works for which specific information is known, as well as data regarding the numbers of performers required to fill these assignments. These charts consistently reveal that the number of assignments was larger than the number of available performers. Predictably, information about the orchestras is generally the most incomplete. The following table summarizes data regarding the number of performers in Delalande's stage oeuvre. (Speculative or unknown figures are indicated with question marks.)

	Singers: Solo/Choir	Orchestra	Dancers	TOTAL
Sérénade	6 / ?	?	----	6 +
L'Amour Berger	5 / ?	?	6?	9 +
Les Fontaines de Versailles	15 / ?	16	----	30
L'Esculape	4? / ?	8?	----	12 +
Epithalame	4? / ?	6?	----	10 +
Ballet de la Jeunesse	24 / 32	25?	35	116?
Palais de Flore	36 / 28	20?	27	111?
Ballet de M. Delalande	----	----	----	----
Ballet de Saint Louis	----	----	----	----
Adonis	8 / ?	?	----	8 +
L'Amour fléchy	4? / 5?	10	-----	19 +
Mirtil et Mélicerte	7 / ?	25?	20	45 +
La Comédie des Fées	9 / ?	25?	16	49 +
Hymen Champestre	?	?	14	14 +
Ode	?	?	----	?
Divertissement de la Paix	? / ?	?	----	?
L'Inconnu	3 / ---	24?	37	74 ?
Les Folies des Cardenio	9 / 31	65	68	173
Les Elémens	11 / 31	35	59	136

Figure Overview-1: Performers in Delalande's Stage Works

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[39]For example, in the 1680's, the Duchesse de Bourbon, daughter of Louis and Montespan, who had appeared in productions as early as *Triomphe de l'Amour* in 1681, danced important solos in *Jeunesse* and *Palais*, while Regency ballets featured the Regent's son, the Duc de Chartres, in nearly as many important solos as Louis XV. Many performances at court during Delalande's middle period featured Adelaide, the Duchesse de Bourgogne, granddaughter-in-law of Louis.

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Preparation Schedule: We know very little about the method by which musical entertainments such as these by Delalande were rehearsed.[40] I have not been able to determine with any reliability answers to questions such as the relationship between Delalande and his collaborators for any given productions, the role of Delalande as *compositeur* versus that as *surintendant*, or the actual influence of the sponsoring patron on the contents of a work. What does seem certain is that a high level of artistry must have been maintained, in view of the critical audience for which most works were performed and the participation of many of the most important French musicians and dancers.

The interval of time between conception and performance of occasional works such as Delalande's is hardly ever documented precisely in contemporary reports. Apparently preparation time varied widely from work to work. Delalande's borrowing of music from previously composed productions may indicate his obligation to organize performances quickly. We have no accounts of his method of composing. However, diarists offer some clues about the schedules of some of his works, which took anywhere between three weeks and eleven months to prepare.[41]

We have slightly more information about the nature and number of rehearsals required for productions at court. The accounts of the Menus

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[40]The best examination of rehearsals for a court *ballet* which I have seen appear in Tessier's article on preparations for *Le Triumphe de l'Amour*. See Tessier 1925.

[41]For example, on 16 November 1688 Dangeau first announced the production of *Palais de Flore*, which was rehearsed in some manner on 24 November, first appeared in a "public" rehearsal on 20 December, and was first performed on 5 January 1691. The marriage of Mademoiselle set for 12 October 1699, when *Fées* played at Fontainebleau, was confirmed by Dangeau on 25 September of that year, allowing three weeks for rehearsal. Jean Balon was commissioned on 11 March 1719 to prepare the dances for *L'Inconnu*, which premiered eleven months later, on 8 February 1720. See the essays on each of these works.

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Plaisirs provide some impression of rehearsals for some works. Apparently singers, instrumentalists, and dancers initially rehearsed independently of one another, as today.[42] Probably during the week or ten days before premieres, *répétitions générales* resembling our modern public dress rehearsals were held before a limited number of courtiers, who frequently included Monseigneur but hardly ever the king.[43] These dress rehearsals were sometimes held in sites other than the theaters in which performances occurred.

Costs: Throughout most of the seventeenth century money was no object when it came to musical theatrical productions which glorified the king and the Bourbon court.[44] However, the secular works of Delalande clearly reflect the effect of redirected financial commitments at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

Some of the essays include information about costs for productions. One difficulty in evaluating these costs lies in assessing the completeness of accounts in the Menus Plaisirs for any given production: the figures which

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[42]Usually dancers' activities are the most precisely recorded, since the professionals required special payments for their services because they were not part of the court. For example, according to records in the accounts of the Menus Plaisirs, the king's household, to prepare *Mirtil* the Opéra dancers rehearsed several times alone in Paris at the home of Beauchamp, to the accompaniment of only one violin, presumably to learn the new dances created for this production. These dancers traveled to Fontainebleau two or three times for the dress rehearsals and performances.

[43]For some of Delalande's works the diarists recorded the frequency of these public rehearsals. According to Dangeau, for *Palais*, which opened on 5 January, such rehearsals were held on 20, 27, and 29 December and 3 January, while *Mirtil*, performed on 15, 18, and 25 October, was rehearsed six times, on 6, 8, 12, 16, 19, and 23 October. *L'Inconnu* enjoyed three *répétitions générales*. Dangeau cites only two public rehearsals of Lully's *Le Temple de la Paix*, on 8 and 14 October, before its opening on the 20th of that month, while new operas by Destouches enjoyed up to six or eight rehearsals at Fontainebleau, frequently by the act, before opening at the Académie Royale.

[44]Sebastiano Serlio summed up the attitude of court productions: "The more such things cost, the more they are esteemed, for they are things which stately and great persons doe." Quoted in Orgel 1975, p. 7.

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survive at best provide only tentative comparisons of costs among several productions. Another problem in evaluating court finances concerns the adjustment of figures for inflation during the forty years of Delalande's service, a period which witnessed the tremedous devaluation of the French currency under the economic reforms of John Law in the early 1720's and the impact of severe military conflicts. For purposes of our history of musical life in the court, the greatest value in studying payment accounts lies not in the actual figures which they include but in the itemizations of personnel and production apparatus in these accounts.

Sites: The size of audiences for court performances was in part determined by the size of performance sites.[45] We must remember that the French court remained itinerant throughout Delalande's lifetime. A view of the several different sites in which Delalande's works played reflects the changing preferences of the sponsors for performance locations. Delalande's first three "apprentice" *concerts* appeared in apartments at Fontainebleau and Versailles, while his staged *ballets* of the 1680's and 1690's were presented in theaters in Fontainebleau, Versailles, and the Grand Trianon. After 1700 his productions for Louis XIV returned to more intimate apartments, at Marly, Versailles, and Sceaux. The grander Regency *ballets* appeared in larger sites in the Tuileries: the Salle des Machines, the largest theater in France at the time, was remodelled for *Cardenio*, while temporary theaters were erected in chambers near the king's apartment for *L'Inconnu* and *Les Elémens*.

Apartment performances generally were not staged, while those in theaters usually employed scenic and visual effects. While most theaters in court were much smaller and less well equiped than the public theaters in Paris, the Salle des Machines afforded a setting for *Cardenio* which was

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[45]For only three of Delalande's works are the sites unspecified: *Epithalame* and the *Ballets* of 1690/91 appeared somewhere at Versailles. The *Ballet de Saint Louis* may have played outdoors.

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actually too large to be effective for most *ballets*.

None of the three Salles de Comédie for Delalande's works --- at Fontainebleau, Versailles, and in the Grand Trianon --- was intended as a permanent theater. Consequently none included elaborate machinery. However, all three halls apparently had proscenium stages, which set off the performers on stage from the courtiers in the audience. The Versailles Salle de Comédie, site of *Jeunesse*, was to serve as a temporary theater until the completion of a full-scale open house, while the Salle de Comédie in the Trianon, site of *Palais*, stood from only 1688 to 1703 and never included permanent seating. The Salle de Comédie at Fontainebleau was a somewhat more permanent structure, although for Delalande's three productions in the late 1690's --- *L'Amour flechy*, *Mirtil*, and *Fées* --- the theater probably contained no permanent seating, possibly no balconies, and probably limited equipment for scenery.[46]

All of the theaters for Delalande's works except the Salle des Machines provided minimal performing area: stages ranged from ten and one half by eighteen meters in the Versailles Salle de Comédie to twelve by thirty-seven meters meters in the Fontainebleau theater, and orchestra pits must have been cramped if the king's complete orchestra performed. Sometimes the placement of the choir in his productions is documented: in the Versailles and Fontainebleau halls the vocal ensembles sometimes sang from balconies overhanging the stage, while in the Trianon theater at least one choir sang from behind the stage.

The size of the area for audiences in these court theaters generally

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[46]Some information about scenery capabilities of theaters can be determined by printed texts of works performed therein. Delalande's three works performed in Fontainebleau include no changes of scenery from section to section. I have found no information about the temporary theaters erected in apartments in the Tuileries for *L'Inconnu* and *Les Elémens*. No plans of these rooms survive.

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parallels the space for performers. The Tuileries theater offered a seating capacity reportedly as high as 3000.[47] On the other hand, spaces in the three smaller Salles de Comédie must have ranged between 150 and 250. These rooms probably allowed the dance and music of the period to be clearly seen and heard, since no members of the audience were very far from the stage. All of the theaters hosting Delalande's performances employed one-point perspective scenery. In these arrangements the king occupied the best seat in the house, front and center, while all other seats, physically and symbolically, were removed from that perfect view.[48]

The private apartments afforded less sophisticated performing conditions. All apartments were smaller than any of the theaters in which Delalande's works appeared. *Sérénade, Fontaines, Esculape, Hymen Champestre, Ode,* and *Paix* played in chambers without stages and *L'Inconnu* and *Les Elémens* in apartments with temporary stages. The largest of these apartment locations, the Tuileries site for *L'Inconnu,* measured approximately ten by sixteen meters, while the two smallest, the Grand Cabinet in Maintenon's apartment and the largest room in Montespan's apartment, measured only six and one half by eight and one half meters and five by ten meters respectively.

While no detailed information about Delalande's performances in apartments survives, commentary about other presentations in similar settings offers a general idea of what Delalande's may have been like.[49] The temporary stages which were used were probably no more than wooden platforms. They

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[47]Its immense volume made acoustical conditions terrible, however.

[48]Orgel 1975, p. 11, says that "the theater thus became, in the most direct way, a political entity as well," and that the greatest virtue of the center box was not that it granted a full view of the stage but of the audience.

[49]See **Middle Works. Hymen Champestre: 4. XIV.**

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probably offered only limited facilities for movement and scenery. Based on my estimates of the dimensions of apartments, as well as verbal commentary about performances, most of Delalande's apartment productions were attended by no more than fifty to one hundred courtiers. Probably only chamber ensembles rather than the entire orchestra of the king played for most apartment performances.

The following chart summarizes the dimension of the known theaters and apartment sites of Delalande's productions:

Theaters	Overall (meters)
Versailles Salle de Comédie	10.5 X 18
Trianon Salle de Comédie	11 X 19
Fontainebleau Salle de Comédie	12 X 37
Tuileries Salle des Machines	24 X 76
Apartments	
Versailles Salon d'Apollon	9 X 11
Versailles Montespan apartment (largest room)	5 X 10
Versailles Maintenon apartment (Grand Cabinet)	6.5 X 8.5
Marly Maintenon apartment (largest room)	7 X 8
Tuileries Louis Antechamber	10 X 16
Tuileries Gallery	???

Figure Overview-2: Sites of Delalande's Stage Works

F. MISATTRIBUTIONS; ADDITIONAL WORKS

The nineteen works discussed in this dissertation represent the known surviving stage music by Delalande. This list is based on Dufourcq's bibliography of the composer's repertoire published in 1957 and on my subsequent research. This study refutes one of Dufourcq's attributions and proposes the existence of several other secular works for which no sources

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survive today.

Dufourcq mistakingly attributes the *Prologue sûr la Prise de Mons* to Delalande. This work was probably written by Sébastien de Brossard.[50] For chorus and orchestra in four scenes, the work celebrates the French victory at Mons during the War of the League of Augsburg in April 1691. The composition survives in full manuscript score and separate text in the Bibliothèque Municipale dé Versailles.[51] Neither source indicates a composer nor an author, but Dufourcq attributes the work to Delalande based on a similarity between the opening phrase of the treble line of an instrumental movement, the *Entrée des Suivans de Jupiter*, and the overture of the third suite of Supper Symphonies in Rés. 582.[52] However, a thorough comparison of these two movements indicates that these parts do not correspond throughout and their basslines are totally different. Additional evidence confirms Brossard's authorship. The *Mercure Galant* of August 1691 printed the text of this work and identified its author as a Mr. Des Forges, about whom nothing else is known, and its composer as Brossard.[53] While the *Prologue* is not included in any bibliography of Brossard's works, nor in the 1725 catalogue of his personal collection of music, the hand of the Versailles manuscript closely resembles that of several other manuscripts definitely attributed to Brossard.[54] The score of the *Prologue* includes figured bass throughout, a feature found in none of the three complete scores of Delalande's works prepared to that date.

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[50]In 1691 Brossard was *maître de musique* in the Strasbourg Cathedral.

[51]See F V Mus Ms 151.

[52]See the *Prologue* score, p. 61 and Rés. 582: III: p. 29 and Rés. 581: II, 86.

[53]*Mercure Galant*, August 1691, p. 13-23.

[54]For example, see Vm^{7}164: *Cantates Françaises*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

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The attribution to Delalande of at least four other secular works is possible.[55] *Mirtil, ou la Sérénade* included in the index of Rés. 581 is not one of the nineteen identified stage compositions discussed in this dissertation.[56] Based on the chronological arrangement of this index, *Mirtil* would have appeared between 1683, the date of *Fontaines*, which precedes it in the list, and 1696, the date of *Adonis*, which follows.[57] Additionally, the Marquis de Sourches refers without name to a "petite pièce de musique" by Delalande performed on 12 October 1690 in honor of the return of Monseigneur from the battlefront. While this work may have been a rerun of all or parts of *Palais de Flore* from the previous season, or the otherwise unidentified *Ballet de Mr. Delalande*, the most probable suggestion is that Sourches' reference is to another otherwise unidentified production.

A third composition may be suggested on the basis of Dufourcq's thematic catalogue of Delalande's secular music. Dufourcq cites a movement after entry 563 found in a collection of airs entitled *Idille de Fontainebleau*, which is otherwise unknown.[58] This movement corresponds to the second air of the *Ballet de Saint Louis*. Although no other concordances between the two works are known, the Brussels manuscript presents the possibility that all or parts of the *Ballet* played for an unidentified Fontainebleau production. Finally, Dangeau cites a group of airs by Delalande composed to texts written by an unidentified M. Belloc and performed at Marly on 6 August 1704 to

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[55]See the essay on Fontaines: 3. III for one additional possible attribution. *Fontaines* probably replayed in 1685, as discussed earlier in this chapter, but if it did not, then yet another unidentified work by Delalande existed at one time.

[56]This work is listed under *Autres Divertissements et Ballets.*

[57]See Early Works. Serenade: 1. I for more discussion of the attribution. The *Sérénade* discussed in this dissertation was performed in 1682.

[58]The collection is currently housed in the Conservatoire Royal in Brussels.

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celebrate the birth of the Duc de Bretagne on 25 June of that year. While Dangeau offers no further explanation of these works, it is possible that they were part of a larger concert work similar to the composer's *Ode* performed later that same year.

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CHAPTER 3. EARLY WORKS: 1682-1689

I. LA SÉRÉNADE

A. INTRODUCTION

The first documented court entertainment including music by Delalande is referred to as "une Sérénade en forme d'Opéra." The work was performed sometime in November 1682 after the festival of Toussaint on the first of the month, during the court's fall trip to Fontainebleau. *La Sérénade* was probably performed once, for an audience that may have been limited to the king and a few friends of Madame de Thianges, the sponsor, and her sister, Madame de Montespan, the king's mistress. The work merited coverage in the *Mercure Galant* because it marked Delalande's initiation into court musical circles.

Because neither musical nor textual sources survive, the contents and scope of *La Sérénade* are largely conjectural. The report in the *Mercure* describes it as a mixture of Italian comedy and French and Italian music.[1] The work may have been performed in costume, but does not seem to have included dance. The *Mercure* names Paolo Lorenzani as the composer of the Italian airs and the Abbé Genest as the author of the French songs. Because all three young artists were so skilled in their respective arts, they were able to compose *La Sérénade* in five or six days.[2] The *Mercure* says nothing about the production's performers, who may have been professional musicians and

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[1] *Mercure Galant*, November 1682, p. 344-45. "On y représenta une Sérénade en forme d'Opéra, meslée de Musique Françoise, & de Comédie & de Musique Italienne." The complete report about the work is on p. 342-357.

[2] This rather unassuming comment in the *Mercure* may actually tell us much about the working process for the smaller musical *divertissements* so popular at court during the period considered in this study. It seems that many such works were composed and rehearsed on very short notice, on command of the king or other courtiers.

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actors employed by Thianges.[3] The extent of Delalande's contribution to *La Sérénade* is unclear. In light of his recent introduction to court, his youth, and his concurrent commitments to several Paris churches in 1682, he may have composed only a few of the French airs, as the *Mercure* implies. His collaboration with the more established Lorenzani and Genest probably reflects Thianges' faith in the skill of the composer.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

During the first half of the 1680's a festive spirit pervaded the court as France remained relatively free of military conflicts and internal problems. In May 1682 Louis officially moved his court away from Paris to the splendid palace of Versailles.[4] Musical performances in 1682 enhanced the spirit of celebration. Lully's *Atys* played several times at St. Germain-en-laye and *Persée* appeared in the Grande Ecurie at Versailles. The court also heard numerous concerts. Festivities increased in the autumn of that year as France celebrated the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne, the king's first grandson.[5] The *Mercure* reports that *divertissements* during the court's fall trip to Fontainebleau included hunting, cavalcades, and French and Italian comedies with music, balls,

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[3]Thianges was an important supporter of the arts, especially of music. Prunières 1922 discusses her interest in music. See also my **Biography. Early Period: 1, B.**

[4]The shaping of Delalande's career with the court corresponds almost exactly with the preparations for the occupation of the most magnificent château in France. The *Mercure* describes in great detail the festivities of *appartement* in the new residence. See December 1682, p. 6 ff; January 1683, p. 319-21. Also see the letters of Liselotte, the king's sister-in-law, in D'Orléans 1970, p.40.

[5]The Duc de Bourgogne was born on 6 August. See the *Mercure*, January 1682, p. 278-88, for the report of *Atys*; July 1682, p. 354, for the report on *Persée*; and much of the second volume of the September 1682 installment for news about the birth. There are many reports in the *Mercure* about other festivities. For example, the August issue, p. 148-150, tells of a free performance of a Lully opera at the Académie Royale de Musique. On p. 154 the journal reports that "l'on pourroit mesme dire que tout Paris estoit comme une Salle de Bal."

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and magnificent feasts.[6]

C. COLLABORATORS

All three contributors to *La Sérénade* presented noteworthy credentials. At the time of the performance, Delalande served as harpsichord teacher to Mademoiselle de Nantes.[7] The *Mercure* cites the established reputation of Genest as an author, while Lorenzani, according to the journal, had recently received so much praise that he had become the object of great envy.[8] *La Sérénade* marks the first of several collaborations between Delalande and Genest.[9] Apparently *La Sérénade* included no dance, for neither a choreographer nor dancers are credited.

D. SOURCES

No music or text of *La Sérénade* is known. A possible attribution of eight of Delalande's Supper Symphonies to this work is doubtful and none of Lorenzani's airs has been identified. Apparently a text was never printed,

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[6]*Mercure*, November 1682, p. 343. "Rien n'estoit plus somptueux que ces Repas."

[7]The *Mercure's* report on *La Sérénade* describes him in this way, but does not mention that he also taught Nantes' sister, Mademoiselle de Blois.

[8]*Mercure*, February 1682, p. 238; November 1682, p. 350. Henri Prunières also discusses Lorenzani's court musical activities. See Prunières 1922. In 1682 Lorenzani was one of the most prominent Italian musicians at court, in part because he had recently composed four motets which received special notice from the king. However, the Italian did not succeed in the motet competition of 1683 in which Delalande was granted his first court appointment. See the *Mercure*, April 1682, p. 8-9. Thianges had sponsored his *Nicandro e Fileno* at Fontainebleau in September 1681. According to Robert Isherwood, this was the only Italian opera to appear in Paris for sixty-seven years after Cavalli's *Ercole Amante* in 1662. See Isherwood 1973, p. 133-134. However, James Anthony reports a performance of an Italian opera, *Orfeo nell' inferni*, after Act III of *Le Carnival de Venise* in 1699. Both works were by André Campra. One of Lorenzani's last works for the French court was *Orontée*, which played at Chantilly in 1688.

[9]See the essays on the other works which Delalande produced with Genest, *Epithalame*, *Palais de Flore*, and *Ode*. See also Sourches 1 November 1688 for Genest's attachment to Monseigneur.

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particularly in view of the informal nature of the production.

The later version of Delalande's Supper Symphonies, Pn Rés. 581, includes music from a work entitled *Mirtil, ou la Sérénade*. Most evidence indicates that these airs are not from the entertainment Thianges commissioned but are from another work by Delalande.[10] There is no duplication of subject matter between the *Sérénade* described by the *Mercure* and the text of the three vocal works in the Supper Symphonies. Additionally, the 1682 work includes no reference to the character "Mirtil" named in the Supper Symphonies.[11] The naming of the 1682 works is probably as much a generic classification as a proper title.[12] Finally, the work *Mirtil, ou la Sérénade* is listed in the chronologically-arranged index of airs added to the original version of the Supper Suites between *Les Fontaines de Versailles* of 1683 and *Adonis* of 1696, too late to coincide with the *Sérénade* for Thianges of 1682.[13]

E. SUMMARY OF THE STORY

According to the *Mercure*, a few days before the court's intended departure from Fontainebleau, the king, on entering the antechamber of

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[10]See the Summary. Additional Works: 2. G.

[11]The eight airs clearly are not from Delalande's *Mirtil et Mélicerte* of 1698.

[12]Thianges presented another *Sérénade* on 9 July, 1683, again with music by Lorenzani. This work is also called a *cantata* by the *Mercure* and was probably smaller in scope than the Fontainebleau *Sérénade*, consisting of about fifty lines of text for soprano and bass solos. Donna Anna Caruso probably sang the soprano role. See Prunières 1922.

[13]Even though these eight airs have been inconclusively identified, I have included them in the Catalogue Raisonné under "Commentary" and also in the Thematic Catalogue of this study, since they may indicate the existence of yet another stage work by Delalande. These airs include an "Overture" in A major, a "Petit Air tendre" in A minor, four movements in D minor --- a "Rondeau," an "Air" and a "Trio," and a sung "Menuet" --- plus another "Petit Air Tendre" in C minor, and a "Chaconne" in C major. Little evidence about the chronology of Delalande's secular works can be determined from stylistic features of this and most other Supper Symphonies.

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Madame de Thianges to play billiards, noticed that a stage had been erected in the room. On the stage he heard an actress playing Diane lamenting the court's departure from Fontainebleau and professing her intention to persuade Louis to stay. She and her nymphs and the gods of the waters and woods of Fontainebleau then presented a concert of voices and instruments, concluded by the appearance of Apollo and Amour in search of the source of the music. On learning that Diane intended to entertain the king, Apollo reminded her that only noble topics were worthy of a prince such as Louis and so proposed a suitable story for a *divertissement*. According to the *Mercure*, time permitted the performance of only the prologue, but the company agreed to present the entire work at Versailles.[14]

The *Mercure's* description of *La Sérénade* is brief. The story, presented by Diane and Apollo, concerns the Chevalier du Soleil, Apollo's brother, who wages war against giants who want to interfere with his love for the Princesse Claridiane. The giants plan to employ the infernal powers of a famous magician in order to gain their victory. After the prologue by Diane, her nymphs, and the divinities of Fontainebleau, the famous magician invokes furies and shades, who help plot the defeat of the Chevalier. They are surprised by the arrival of the Heures du Point du Jour, with whom they dispute.[15] The *Mercure* also says that several Italian comedians played in this entertainment, but does not specify the nature of their contributions.

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[14]There is no evidence that such a repeat performance ever occurred. The *Mercure* implies that this partial performance for Louis was a rehearsal.

[15]Is it possible that Thianges presented this story to suggest to Louis that he should not abandon his love for Madame de Montespan, who had fallen from favor with the king as early as 1678. Louis' growing disapproval of Montespan reached its height with the Affair of Poisons in 1682. See Mitford 1966, Chapter VI, p. 83 ff. It is hard to imagine any musical or literary work from this period with associative characters such as those in the *Sérénade* not having a dual level of interpretation.

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F. PERFORMANCE

The production of *La Sérénade* could not have been grand, in view of the site of performance and the apparent makeshift conditions under which it was presented. The *Mercure* names six vocal solo roles and six suites of characters, such as the Nymphes de Diane, whose exact function in the work is unclear. Assuming a minumum of two performers in each suite, the stage personnel could have totaled at least eighteen singers and/or pantomimers. Neither the Italian comedians nor the instrumentalists are enumerated, but a relatively small performing area precluded a large number of performers. Based on instrumental ensembles in similar works, only a continuo part and a few melody instruments may have played for this *divertissement*, bringing the total number of performers to approximately twenty.

The exact apartment which Thianges occupied at Fontainebleau in 1682 cannot be determined within the scope of this study.[16] She probably stayed in one of the apartments within the Oval Courtyard, where Montespan also kept an apartment in the 1680's. None of the rooms in this portion of the chateau exceeds approximately four by five meters. (See **Figure I-1**, following.) What seems most important for this examination of Delalande's productions is that none of the rooms in any of these apartments provided a very large performing space, and none was equipped specifically for music and theater. The number of people who could have observed a performance such as *La Sérénade* must have been low, possibly not more than twenty or thirty.

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[16]Such information is probably retrievable through an examination of plans and archival records of the Fontainebleau chateau, to which I did not have access.

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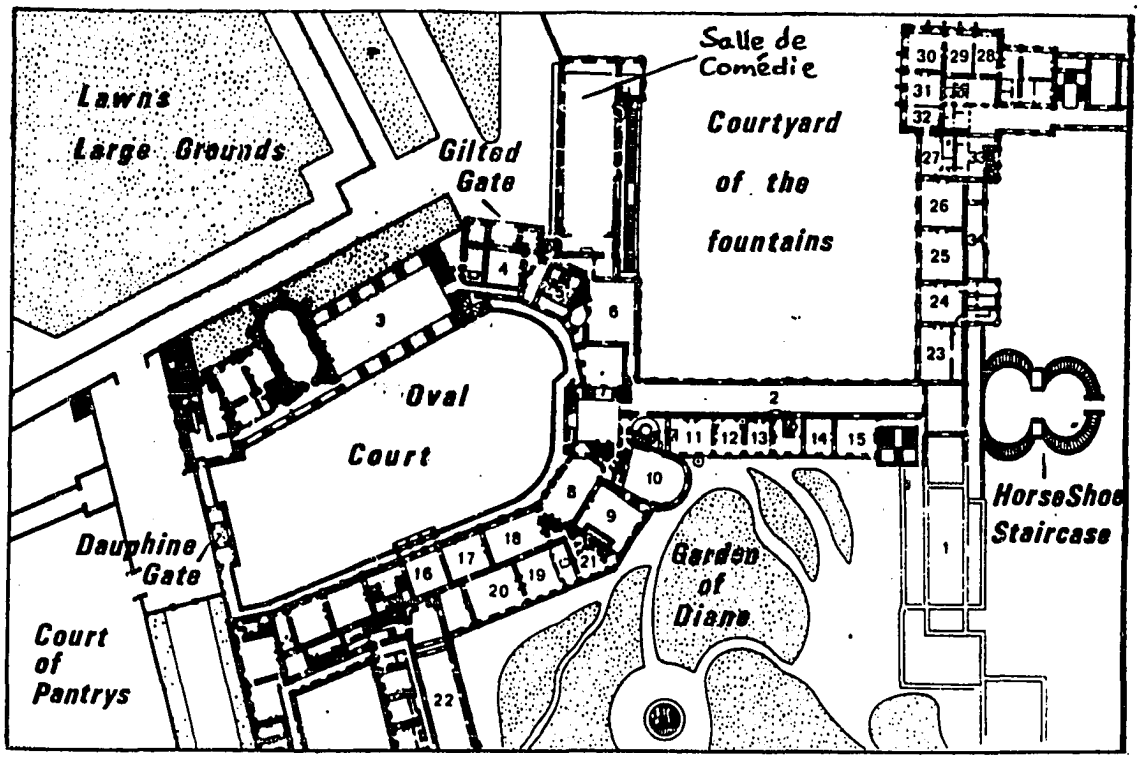


Figure I-1: Plan: Château of Fontainebleau: Oval Court and Theater (Salle de Comédie): Samoyault, p. 7

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II. L'AMOUR BERGER

A. INTRODUCTION

L'Amour Berger is the second known entertainment to which Delalande contributed music and his only secular work written specifically for a Paris audience. The pastoral was sponsored by Monsieur le Maréchal le Duc de Duras in his Paris *hôtel* during Carnival of 1683.[17] Reports in the *Mercure Galant* are the principal source of information about Duras' celebrations. While the journal reprints most of the text, two of Delalande's airs, and a summary of the story and names of participants, it does not include exact dates of performance but says only that the work played several times during Carnival. The two airs printed in the journal are the only surviving music from the work. The *Mercure* names the Marquis de Lornagne as the author of the text, but cites no other collaborators. Most of the dancers were young noblemen, including the son of Duras, although some professional singers and dancers also participated.

According to the *Mercure Galant*, Carnival of 1683 was particularly festive as Paris and the court continued to celebrate the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne the previous summer.[18] In Paris many extraordinary *divertissements* were held.[19]

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[17]Duras enjoyed many prestigious appointments, including Capitaine des Gardes du Corps.

[18]Celebrations at Duras' *hôtel* began at least as early as August, 1682. "Il y avoit de petits canons à l'Hôtel de Richelieu... Vous sçavez qu'il est situé dans cette Place, aussi bien que les Hôtels de Chaunes, de Duras, & de Dangeau, où l'on a fait des choses extraordinaires." See the *Mercure*, August 1682, p. 159.

[19]*Mercure*, April 1683, p. 139-140: "On peut dire que chaque Hostel de Paris passeroit dans les Pais Etrangers pour le Palais d'un Souverain, & chaque Quartier pour une très grande Ville." Entertainments were common events in the houses on the Place Royale during much of the seventeenth century. "Réjouissances et bals fréquent dans les maisons particulières." Dumolin 1912, p. 224.

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B. COLLABORATORS

While the *Mercure*'s description of *L'Amour Berger* identifies Delalande as a figure already known at court, the Marquis de Lomagne apparently did not enjoy the same fame.[20] *L'Amour Berger* appears to be the only musical work to which Lomagne contributed text. Indeed, the *Mercure* can report little about the writer except that he recently published a two-volume work called *De la Politique des Amans*, which the journal recommends.[21] No choreographer is cited by the *Mercure* even though the productions apparently included dancing by the young men.[22]

C. SOURCES

As is the case of *La Sérénade*, the dearth of sources for *L'Amour Berger* limits our knowledge of the contents of the work and the extent of Delalande's contribution. The text of the prologue was printed in the April volume of the *Mercure*, while the rest of the text and two of Delalande's vocal airs, called "les plus beaux endroits," appeared in the May issue.[23] Curiously, the verses of these published airs are not found in the *Mercure's* complete text of the pastoral, possibly indicating that Delalande was not the only composer for the production and that his contribution was again minimal. The two airs

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[20]*Mercure*, April 1683, p. 141. Delalande was described as someone "dont vous sçavez que le nom n'est pas inconnu à la Cour."

[21]April 1683, p. 155-56; May 1683, p. 203-04. The work was "remply de pensées fines & délicates." I have found no other information about Lomagne nor this work. He may have been an acquaintance of Duras. The *Mercure*, March 1683, p. 35, names a M. Montfort as the author of a work called *La Politique des Amans*. Whether these are the same work or whether there is any connection between the two men cannot be determined within the scope of this study.

[22]Possibly all these young performers attended the Jesuit school Louis le Grand, for the family names of many are found in the rosters of the school. There may have been a connection between Delalande's work at the school and the production of this pastoral. See the **Biography. Early years: 1. B.**

[23]Each month throughout the 1680's the *Mercure* printed one or two musical compositions, generally vocal airs.

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identified as his may have been set to the text of an author other than Lomagne.[24]

D. SUMMARY OF THE STORY

While the *Mercure* describes *L'Amour Berger* as a typical pastoral whose prologue and three acts are based on simple themes of love and youth, political overtones in the work are apparent. Love, for example, is embodied in the new royal baby, who will one day become king of France. This love will outlive all disputes and evil forces, and France will remain the strongest nation in Europe.[25]

According to the journal, the pastoral opened with an overture, this one for violins, oboes, flutes, and musettes.[26] Following the overture, Amour disguised as the shepherd Tircis and a shepherd from Tircis' suite set the stage for the following entertainment by singing of love, which will endure in spite of any games of trickery which Amour can devise. Amour's first "victim" is the shepherdess Iris, who had been irritated by Céladon, her lover. Amour as Tircis and Iris celebrate both the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne, a

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[24]There are no clues about who may have written the rest of the music. Eighteenth-century reports about this work do not offer any clarification. Beauchamps says simply that the work was "Mise en musique par le sieur de Lalande." Léris is entirely wrong: he describes the work as consisting of a prologue and five acts in verse, which was never performed but was printed in 1687. Dufourcq includes no qualifications regarding the nature of Delalande's contribution. See Dufourcq 1957, p. 255. Rialland-Barbarin 1972 includes a complete transcription of the *Mercure's* report of the work but does not evaluate Delalande's role. See Rialland-Barbarin 1972.

[25]The subject matter of *L'Amour Berger* is typical of the pastoral of the period. See the article on "Pastoral" in the *New Grove* for a summary of the genre as a musical work. Lancaster also discusses the pastoral, which he considers relatively unimportant as a literary genre. See Lancaster 1940, vol. IV, p. 924-28.

[26]Musettes were commonly used in pastoral settings. See the dissertation listed in the Bibliography by F. B. Lindermann on the use of pastoral instruments in French Baroque music. Delalande used such descriptive instrumentation frequently in his stage works. For example, see **Late Works. L'Inconnu. Contents: 5. XVI. E.**

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symbol of new love, and Louis, France's true Hero:[27]

> Tout célèbre une Naissance
> Qui fait la gloire de la France.
> LOUIS paroist aussi grand
> Dans nos Festes,
> Que dans ses Conquestes.

More intrigue follows as Tircis (Amour) woos Iris, who reminds him that he owes fidelity to his own love, while another unnamed shepherd and shepherdess pair announce through song that the best love is spontaneous love:[28]

> Les coeurs qu'Amour assemble
> Sans les consentement
> De la Maîtresses & de l'Amant
> Sont les mieux unis ensemble.

Tircis and Iris reiterate their feelings of hope and prosperity represented by the new Bourbon baby:[29]

> Que son destin est ravissant!
> Que sa gloire sera nouvelle,
> S'il est aussi parfait, s'il est aussi puissant
> Que l'est LOUIS dans sa gloire immortelle!

The Prologue closes with a choir of shepherds calling for an *entrée* for five shepherds and four shepherdesses, who dance a "Passepied." The prologue ends with a repeat of the overture.

Jealousies and changes of partners, the material of good entertainment in the late seventeenth century, occupy the three acts of the pastoral. In the first act, Daphnis becomes jealous over Aminte's preference for the shepherd Lisandre, and Céladon regrets Iris' attention to the presumed Tircis. In the first

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[27] *Mercure Galant*, April 1683, p. 145. *L'Amour Berger*, Prologue.

[28] *Mercure Galant*, April 1683, p. 150. *L'Amour Berger*, Prologue.

[29] *Mercure Galant*, April 1683, p. 151. *L'Amour Berger*, Prologue.

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intermède Janot reminds them that when love causes pain, shepherds in their wood can easily change partners:[30]

> La vie est différente
> De celle de la Cour!

Appropriately, an *Entrée de Plaisirs* follows, featuring dance and two vocal airs by unidentified Plaisirs. Solo dances by the Marquis de Grignan, presumably as another Plaisir, and Janot in a burlesque role precede the return of the suite of Plaisirs for a *Grand Entrée.*

The second act includes a continuing rearrangement of partners, as well as the threat to abandon love by those hurt by Amour. Lisandre tries to persuade Philiste that Aminte and Daphnis really love only one another, while Cloris has chosen Bacchus over Amour. Amour, still disguised as Tircis, urges everyone to take up new loves:

> Changez, jeune Bergère
> Goustez le changement.
> S'il est doux de plaire,
> C'est un enchantement
> De sçavoir faire
> Un nouvel Amant.[31]

The second *intermède* includes an *Entrée de Paisans* led by Amour now disguised as a peasant, who encourages singing and dancing to rustic tunes.

In the third act the several lovers' spats are resolved. Aminte and Lisandre are reunited, Amour promises yet a more tender love for Daphnis, while Cloris and Janot and Céladon and Iris are once again reconciled. The final *intermède* is an *Entrée de Jeux,* opened by a "Chaconne" for eight

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[30] *Mercure Galant,* April 1683, p. 186. *L'Amour Berger,* Act I. Could this be a reference to disapproval of Louis' many changes of partners, or more specifically, to his taking up with Madame de Maintenon by the time of this performance in 1683?

[31] *Mercure Galant,* April 1683, p. 195. *L'Amour Berger,* Act II. Could this be another reference to Louis?

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dancers lead by Duras' son, who also dances alone to a sung air encouraging love to last a long time. A final *entrée* for five shepherds and five shepherdesses concludes with a "Menuet."

One cannot determine the style of most of Delalande's music in this pastoral. Since the text was sizable, much of it may have been set in recitative, and some verses may have been spoken rather than sung.[32] The uncertain placement of Delalande's two surviving vocal movements compounds speculation about the construction of the work. His recitative-like "Bergers qui murmurez de ces rigeurs extrême" sung by an unidentified shepherdess calling for contentment in love could have been used almost anywhere in the pastoral. His second air, "C'est une douceur sans seconde," is sung by Aminte. Based on the text, its placement in the *divertissement* can be determined somewhat more precisely than the other, probably in the third *intermède* sometime after Lisandre wins the argument with Daphnis.

E. PERFORMANCE

The *Mercure's* report on *L'Amour Berger* is unusual in that it includes biographical information about many of the young nobles performing in the work.[33] The journal also indicates that professional male and female singers and dancers took part in the production.[34]

The *Mercure* names eighteen solo vocal roles but only five of the performers who filled these. The journal also describes vocal and instrumental ensembles of unspecified numbers in the pastoral. For the twenty-eight dancing

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[32]The nature of the musical setting of the text included in the *Mercure* cannot be determined precisely. Many verses printed there are irregular in their structure and rhyming scheme.

[33]Such a report may indicate the special nature of the pastoral, possibly as a means of presenting these dancers to the public.

[34]*L'Amour Berger* appeared during a period when women first danced on the stage of the Académie Royale de Musique. See Hilton 1981, p. 38.

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roles which are specified, the report names six dancers, three of whom are noblemen. The total number of dancers in the pastoral must have been at least ten, the number required for the *entrée* of five Bergers and five Bergeres in the third *intermède*. Both the Duc de Duras and the Duc de Teride performed both vocal and dance roles, one of the few instances in the stage music of Delalande of such doubling.[35]

The *Mercure* describes the high rank and great talent of the five young noblemen in the pastoral's principal roles. As Lisandre, M. le Comte de Duras was "parfaitement beau, dance très-bien, & a un teint que les plus belles Femmes regardent avec envie."[36] M. le Comte de Téride, who played Daphnis, was the second son of M. le Marquis de Mirepoix, governor of several provinces. M. le Marquis de Grignan, as Philiste and the shepherd who abandoned Amour to follow Bacchus, was the son of le Comte de Grignan, Lieutenant Générale for the king in Provence, while M. de la Martellière, who played Céladon, was the son of the late M. de la Martellière. Amour was played by M. le Marquis de Vins, son of the Marquis de Vins, *sous-lieutenant de la compagnie des mousquetaires noirs.*[37] At least Duras and Grignan also performed solo dances, and they were joined by Téride, Martellière, and a M. Huet for the *Entrée des Bergers* at the end of the prologue.

Huet is the only dancer not described in the *Mercure*. He probably was a professional who danced the solo of Janot in the *Entrée des Paisans* and in the

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[35]Professional performers hardly ever both sing and dance in musical stage works of this period.

[36]Jacques Henri de Dufort, son of the Duc de Duras, was born on 29 December 1670 and married in 1689. He was a student at the Jesuit school Louis le Grand. See my Biography. Early Period: 1. B. and Boysse, 1880. He suffered an early death of a "petite vérole" in 1697. See the *Mercure*, September 1697, p. 255 and Dupont-Ferrier 1921, p. 65.

[37]*Mercure Galant*, May 1683, p. 206-209.

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Entrée des Plaisirs.[38] Six young women identified only as *actrices* also participated in the pastoral, but their roles are not specified. Only two, possibly in the roles of Aminte and Cloris, are named: Mademoiselle Laurens sang and danced very well, while Mademoiselle le Clerc also danced admirably.[39] The remaining unnamed women may have sung in the prologue choir and also danced in the *Grands Entrées.*

My hypothesized roster of performers could probably have been well accommodated in the *hôtel* of the Duc de Duras, which was located on the Place Royale --- today the Place des Vosges --- in Paris.[40] According to Germain Brice, in 1684 thirty six pavilions occupied this square, which included the Hotel de Richelieu and homes of other notable Parisians.[41] The hôtel de Duras, #24, was in the northest corner of the square.[42] (See **Figure II-1.**)

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[38]A dancer named Huet appeared in *Le Triomphe de L'Amour* in 1680. See Benoit Musiques 1971, p. 76.

[39]The *Mercure* says that le Clerc also appeared in *Le Triomphe de l'Amour, Prosperpine* and *Persée* of 1682, but Benoit mentions a *Le Clerc* only once, among a group of dancers at Marly in 1685. See Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 103.

[40]The Place Royale was a large square in the Marais district of the city built during the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII as real estate speculation. The square originally honored Henry IV, whose statue once occupied the central green.

[41]Brice 1684, p. 46.

[42]Maurice Dumolin indicates that Duras occupied #24 from 1683 until 1700. Perhaps *L'Amour Berger* was presented to help commemorate the acquisition of the building. The Maréchal de Duras died in Paris in 1704, when the *hôtel* was sold to Louis-Frances, Duc de Boufflers.

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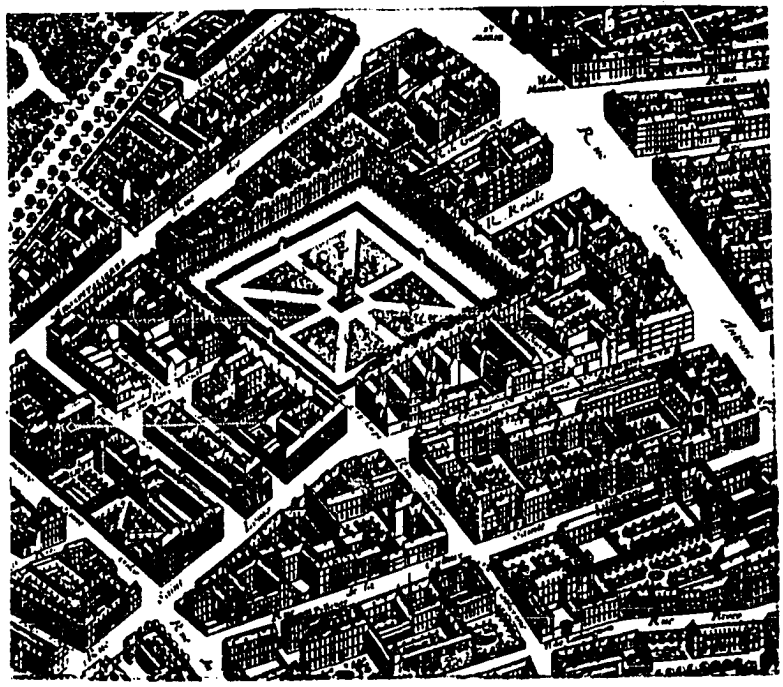


Figure II-1: Plan Turgot: 1734; Place Royale

While the facades of the townhouses on the square are uniform in design, the depth and arrangement of rooms varied from building to building, due to pre-existing streets creating irregular blocks adjacent to the *place.*[43] Plans of #24 when owned by Duras do not seem to survive, so we cannot precisely determine the performance conditions of *L'Amour Berger.* The pastoral probably appeared in one of the public rooms on the *premier étage* of

[43]Hautecoeur 1967, p. 675, fn 6. Hautecoeur explains various house types in "Les types d'habitation et leurs plans: Les Hôtels Parisiens," p. 666-681.

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such a building, probably in the pavilion facing the square.[44]

A floor plan of a typical mid-seventeenth-century *hôtel*, a project by Pierre Le Muet drawn in 1623, is shown in Figure II-2.[45] The largest room in this house, the *salle*, measures approximately seven by ten meters, dimension comparable to many apartments in the royal chateaux. Such a room may have accommodated a small, temporary stage or theater, which could have supported the maximum cast of ten dancers plus instrumentalists and a moderate-sized audience of fifty to one hundred spectators.[46]

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[44]I wish to acknowledge a conversation with Hillary Ballon, Paris, July, 1985. Ms. Ballon, of Columbia University's Department of Art History and Archaeology, has written the most comprehensive study on the Place de Vosges, *Architecture and Urbanism in Henri IV's Paris: The Place Royale, Place Dauphine, and Hôpital Saint-Louis,* Ph. D. Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1985. She supports my findings that no plans of the building survive. I thank her for explaining the general plan of rooms in the buildings on the Place Royale.

[45]See Dennis 1986, plate 75.

[46]The *Mercure's* report that even some of the best persons of quality could not find seats may have been because of the limited space in the *hôtel* and not because of an inordinate number of people. See the *Mercure*, April 1683, p. 139-40. A thorough study of fêtes including music such as this Carnival entertainment in royal apartments and private houses has yet to be written.

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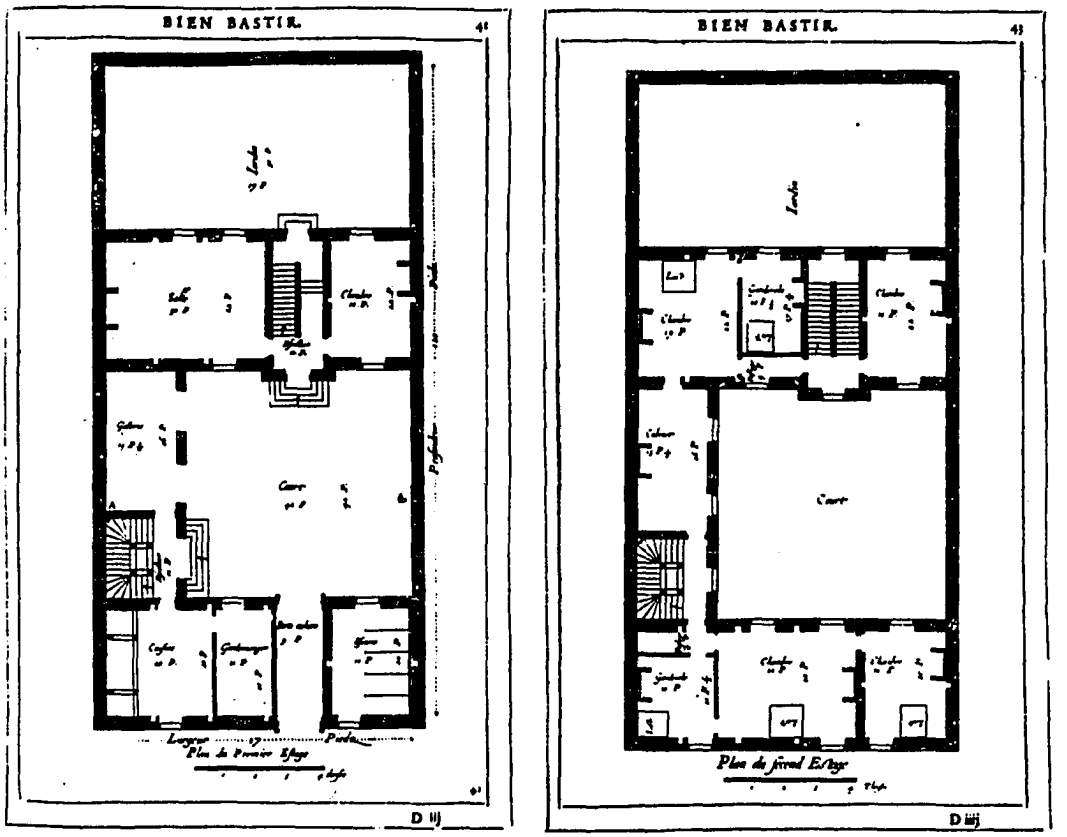


Figure II-2: Hôtel, Le Muet: 1623;
Dennis 1986, plate 75

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III. LES FONTAINES DE VERSAILLES

A. INTRODUCTION

Les Fontaines de Versailles was presented before the king on 5 April 1683 in his Grand Apartment at Versailles, perhaps as part of an *appartement.* The work possibly was repeated in July 1685 for the wedding of the Duc de Bourbon and Mademoiselle de Nantes, the king's elder daughter by Madame de Montespan. There appear to be no reports about *Fontaines* in seventeenth-century secondary sources and to date no other twentieth-century historians have examined the *concert* in detail.

Fontaines was probably commissioned by Madame de Thianges and/or Madame de Montespan. The subject matter of the *concert,* the fountains of the Versailles park, may have been chosen in part to help commemorate the court's recent move to Versailles and the subsequent expansion of its gardens. The work came during a crucial period of Delalande's career, during the 1683 competition for *sous-maître de la musique de la chapelle du roi,* which yielded the composer his first official court appointment. The *concert* was also Delalande's first secular work performed at Versailles.

The single musical source of the composition is important in that is one of only four surviving complete scores of the composer's secular works. This score was probably one of the earliest manuscripts prepared by André Danican Philidor, the king's copyist. Antoine Morel, a singer in the king's music, probably wrote the verse of the *concert.* The 1683 performance included voices and instruments, but no dance, costumes, or scenery. The list of singers and instrumentalists in the Philidor score indicates a relatively small number of performers.

The *Mercure* describes a *divertissement* by Morel and Delalande performed at Marly five days after the wedding of Mademoiselle de Nantes

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and the Duc de Bourbon in 1685.[47] The journal does not identify this work but calls it simply a *petit ballet.* If this reference is not to *Fontaines,* then the two artists must have collaborated on another unidentified work. If the reference is to *Fontaines,* the *concert* may well have been modified in 1685 to include dance.[48]

B. COURT BACKGROUND

While the title page of the Philidor score indicates that *Les Fontaines de Versailles* was performed for the return of the king, exactly which return is unclear. France had had troops in the Rhineland since September 1681, but there is no evidence that Louis had been on the front just prior to the performance of the *concert.*[49] Surprisingly, the *Mercure* says little about the king's activities in March and April 1683, except to mention the court's trip from Viller-Costerez on March 23, with a return to Versailles on the 24th.[50] The *Gazette de France* adds that the court was absent from Versailles from 13 March, visiting Compiègne. Louis certainly returned to Versailles by 30 March, for he held an audience for ambassadors from Venice and England on that date. Therefore, it appears that *Fontaines* celebrates not a specific re-entry of the king but instead a general return of both the monarch and of springtime to the château.

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[47]*Mercure Galant,* August 1685, p. 257. The use of the term *ballet* in written reports of the late seventeenth-century seems to be broad. See **Summary of Works. Genre Classification: 2. B.**

[48]See **Early Works. Epithalame: 3. V** for more on this wedding. The 1685 *Mercure* says that Madame la Duchesse de Bourbon (the bride) and Mademoiselle la Princesse de Conti danced the *intermèdes* of this unidentified 1685 work. While this description does not conform to the organization of the *concert* as found in the Philidor score, the term *intermède* in this case may simply refer to insertions of dance.

[49]My information here corrects record jacket notes by Henry Louis Sarlit on the only recording of this work, Microsillon Artistique Haute Fidelite LIL0009, which say that Louis had recently returned from battle.

[50]*Mercure Galant,* April 1683, p. 309.

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The performance of *Fontaines* occurred during a period when both large-scale musical theatrical productions and more intimate apartment entertainments were common. For example, Lully's opera *Phaeton* premiered at court in January, 1683 in the GrandeEcurie at Versailles, while in June the court heard a *petit opéra* by Claude Oudot which may have resembled *Fontaines*.[51] Among the many accounts of private fêtes is the one in the *Mercure* of an entertainement including music in the apartment of M. le Duc, with three ballrooms full of magnificent dancers.[52]

Thianges and Montespan are probable sponsors of *Fontaines*. Thianges supported several other musical entertainments in 1683, including a ball during Carnival and another *Sérénade* in July.[53] Thianges may have recruited Delalande again for *Fontaines* after his contribution to her 1682 *Sérénade*. We can only speculate on the extent to which Montespan and Thianges may have used *Fontaines* to promote Delalande's standing with Louis in the 1683 chapel competition, but it seems more than coincidental that *Fontaines* appeared when it did.[54]

The title page of the Philidor score of *Fontaines* identifies the author of the verse only as *M. Morel*.[55] This writer probably was Antoine Morel, a singer in the court for about forty years starting in 1671 and the author of

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[51]This work may have been *Le Banquet des Dieux*, which celebrated the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne.

[52]*Mercure Galant*, March 1683, p. 320-333.

[53]See the *Mercure*, March 1683, p. 335-338 and my previous essay on the 1682 *Sérénade*. The ball included *mascarades* by many courtiers, including the Dauphine and the king's two daughters. Louis was pleasantly entertained by several *divertisssements* at this ball.

[54]Louis announced the motet competition at the end of March and the contest occurred during most of April. See my **Biography. Early Years: 1. A** and Dufourcq 1957, p. 54.

[55]Confusion over the identification of Morel arises in part because of the various spellings of his name. For example, he is also called *Maurel*.

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texts for many other musical works in the 1680's and 1690's.[56] Additionally, Morel served as *valet de chambre* for the Dauphine.[57] Morel also sang the role of Ancelade in the 1683 performance of *Fontaines.*

C. SOURCES

Music: The surviving score of *Fontaines,* dated 5 June 1683, is important for a number of reasons. Copied by André Danican Philidor, with lettering by a M. Colleson, this score and that of *Le Concert d'Esculape* with which it is bound represent some of earliest and also the grandest of Philidor's scores of stage works.[58] The title pages of both *Fontaines* and *Esculape* are in colored inks and gold leaf. Additionally, red and black inks are used on the pages of the score. The binding does not contain the king's arms, but does include the familiar tag identifying the manuscript as part of the Philidor collection of 1702.[59]

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[56]Dangeau reported on 2 November 1686 that a new *petit opéra* performed at Fontainebleau was by Marais and Maurel "de la musique." (This work was *La Diane de Fontainebleau* by Desmarets, not Marais.) Morel, *ordinaire de la musique du roi,* wrote the words to Destouches' *Coronis* of 1698 and to Matho's *Tircis et Climène* in 1687. See the *Mercure,* October, 1698, p. 133. A Morel was named *Aumonier de Sa Majesté* in 1699. See the *Mercure,* October 1697, p. 268. See also Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 41, which indicates that he also sang in both chapel and chamber in 1683 and was listed as a *chantre extraordinaire* for the chapel for the July semester 1683. In the late 1680's he is named as a *taille* in the chapel music. See Benoit 1971 Musiques, 88-89. He also acquired a house near Delalande in Versailles in June 1685. He died around 1711.

[57]See the *Mercure's* 1685 report of the wedding in June, p. 322 and August, p. 257. Whether the Dauphine had anything to do with the creation of *Fontaines* is totally speculative. Her interest in music, dance, and theater is frequently mentioned in journals and diaries. See **Early Works. Esculape: 3. IV** following. After the death of the queen, the Dauphine occupied a particularly prominent place in court social life, which surely must have helped Morel's status and visibility.

[58]*Fontaines* is found in Pn Rés. F. 537 and *Esculape* in Pn Rés. F. 538. Philidor's earliest dated manuscript is Pn Rés F. 530 a-c of 1681, *Les Plaisirs troublé, mascarade dancé devant le Roy ... l'An 1657.*

[59]"Ce livre appartient à Philidor l'ainé, ordinaire de la musique de Roy & Garde de tous les livres de sa Bibliothèque de Musique, l'an 1702."

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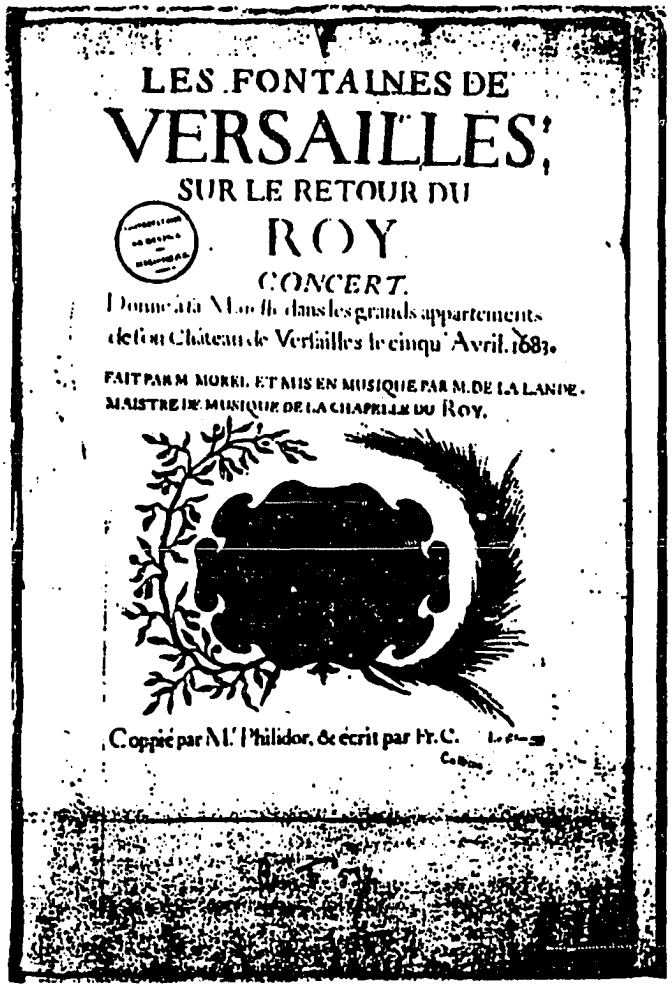


Figure III-1: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Pn Rés. F. 537: title page

Philidor's production of the score of *Fontaines* is atypical of the copying schedule of his workshop. He copied the work within a relatively short period after its premiere, perhaps only a month or two, in contrast to the prevailing retrospective approach of much of his work, such as the large group of

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compositions from the 1650's and 1660's copied in 1689 and 1690.[60] The identification of Delalande on the title page as *maistre de musique de la chapelle du Roy* indicates that this page was not copied until after Delalande's success in the chapel competition, which was announced on 16 May of that year.[61] The *Fontaines* score is also exceptional for its list of performers who participated in the 1683 presentation.[62] Additionally the score includes annotations for nine cuts and revisions, mostly in the instrumental music. These markings may be in the hand of Delalande, and so would represent a unique source of information about his process of composing and reworking his secular music.[63] He may have made these changes because of a different format required for the postulated 1685 revival of the *concert*, and not out of a need to correct technical mistakes or alter writing style. Most annotations include no specific corrections to the notes themselves but only directions

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[60]For example, see Rés. F. 519, *Extraits de Ballet de cour de Lully*, Rés. F. 523, *L'Amour médecin*, of 1665, or Rés. F. 526, *George Dandin* of 1668. Tessier maintains that Philidor copied about one thousand manuscripts during his thirty-year career, most between 1683 and 1697 and the majority during 1689-90. See Tessier 1931 Coll. The Philidor collection includes three categories of works: *ballets* of the sixteenth century, *ballets* of the early part of the reign of Louis XIV, and *ballets* and *comédie-ballets* by Lully. I thank Catherine Massip of the music division of the Bibliothèque Nationale for providing me with information from her survey of the Philidor manuscripts in the Paris collection. Philidor may also have been inspired to copy *Fontaines* so soon after its performance because he played in the work.

[61]Delalande's promotion may have influenced Philidor to copy the work. Philidor himself also may have been trying to gain status in the court at the time. See the **Biography. Introduction to Court: 1. A.** The lifelong relationship between Delalande and Philidor l'Aîné warrants further research.

[62]Such information about personnel is hardly ever found in scores of *tragédies lyriques* and *ballets* of the period. While vocalists, soloists, and choir members are commonly listed in texts of stage works, rosters of instrumentalists are rare, especially in scores. See the **Catalogue Raisonné** for names of performers.

[63]The manuscripts includes no alterations to the texts of the vocal movements. The cross-outs are the only instances of such editing in the Philidor scores which I have seen thus far.

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about which movement to play next.[64]

The two surviving versions of Supper Symphonies include a total of four instrumental movements from *Fontaines*. The "Air de Flore" and the "Chaconne," adjacent movements in the score, appear as the fourth and fifth airs of the fourth suite of 1703 and also in the second volume of the augmented anthology, while the "Ouverture" and the "Air d'Ancelade" are found only in Vm^{7}3077 and Rés. 581. Although annotations in the Philidor score indicate that the overture is to be completely redone, this Philidor version appears in the Symphonies.[65] None of the other three Supper movements include annotations in the score. The major difference between the 1683 score and the Supper movements appears in the "Chaconne," which is twenty-seven measures longer in both versions of the Supper Symphonies than in the score.

Text: The single copy of the text of *Fontaines* is one of only three extant manuscript texts of Delalande's secular works. This text is in the same hand and on the same paper as the verse for Delalande's *Epithalame* and so supports my argument that *Fontaines* reappeared during the same celebration in 1685 in which *Epithalame* played. Delalande's title on this text as *maître de musique de la chapelle* indicates that this copy could not have been prepared for the 1683 performance on 5 April. The manuscript text duplicates the verse in the Philidor score.

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[64]In only two cases do the changes consist not of complete substitutions of movements but instead of the deletion of a measure or two as if to alter the balance of phrases. An example occurs in the "Simphonie de Violons et Flûtes" in Scene 3, in the third measure from the end of page 11 in the score, a change which reduces the last phrase of this passage from seven to six measures. Conversely, the score of *Esculape*, a work never revived, contains no annotations. The score offers no clue about which music substituted for *Fontaines'* deleted passages.

[65]The only change is the use of triple meter (three quarters per measure, indicated with a meter signature of 3) rather than 3/2 meter in the contrapuntal section.

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D. ORGANIZATION OF MUSIC AND TEXT

The score of *Fontaines* provides the first comprehensive view of a secular work by Delalande in this study.[66] *Fontaines* consists of an overture followed by six continuous scenes. Its subject matter is typical of musical entertainments of the 1680's in its effusive praise of Louis, who allowed spring to return to the court. The *concert's* nine soloists represent the fountains of the garden and allegorical characters, who express their pleasure over the peace which France enjoys because of Louis' power.[67]

Delalande's compositional approach in *Fontaines* resembles the *tragédies lyriques* of Lully in its distribution of vocal and instrumental music as well as in many aspects of orchestration and melodic and harmonic vocabulary. Each scene consists of a variety of vocal and instrumental styles and forms. Scenes 3, 5, and 6 are the longest and most varied, each with one or more choruses. Delalande also employs Lully's five-part string writing for one violin, three violas, and bass (bass line and continuo) as the core of his ensemble, with woodwinds and percussion added as needed for coloristic effects. Harmonic movement is generally straight-forward, with a preference for triads and seventh chords which require few figures for the bass line. The *concert* does not appear to contain any overall harmonic plan: the first three scenes are in either D major or minor, while the fourth is in G minor, and the fifth and sixth modulate between tonal centers on G and D, ending in C major. The restrained melodic style is characteristic of Delalande's secular writing.

The Ouverture resembles the Lullian model in its five-part orchestration
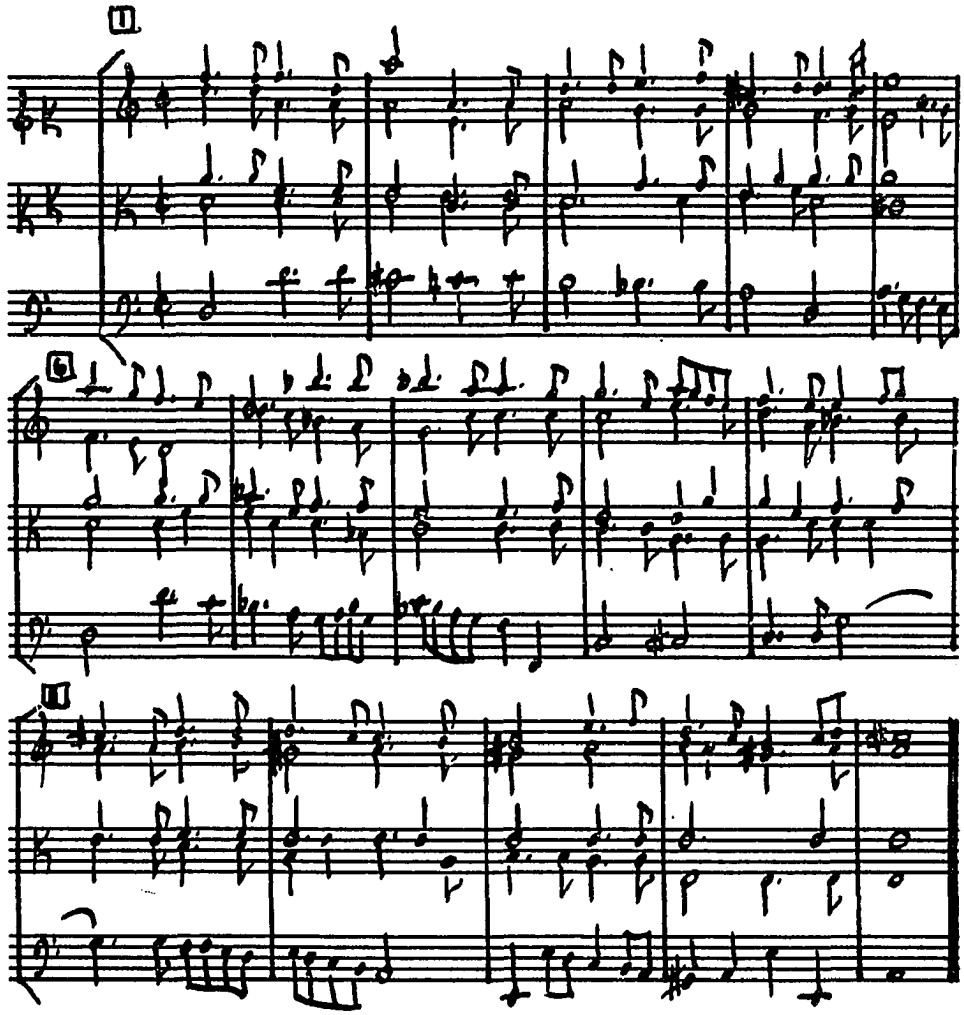
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[66] I have included many musical examples here in order to provide an impression of Delalande's compositional conventions in an early work and also to offer a comprehensive description of the contents of one of his *concerts.*

[67] Delalande may have been acquainted with similar works, such as *Ouvrage en musique sûr la dernière Campagne du Roy,* Po Liv 17 [R7(8), a concert work published by Ballard in 1678, whose characters duplicate several in *Fontaines* such as La Renommée and Flore.

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and two-part structure, in contrasting textures and meters. In the Philidor score annotations indicate that the first part of the movement "est changé, parce qu'elle n'est pas bonne," while the polyphonic section "est entièrement refaite." The irregular phrase structure of the opening section is typical of Delalande's secular style. For example, the fifteen measures of the opening duple meter subdivide into five plus ten measures.
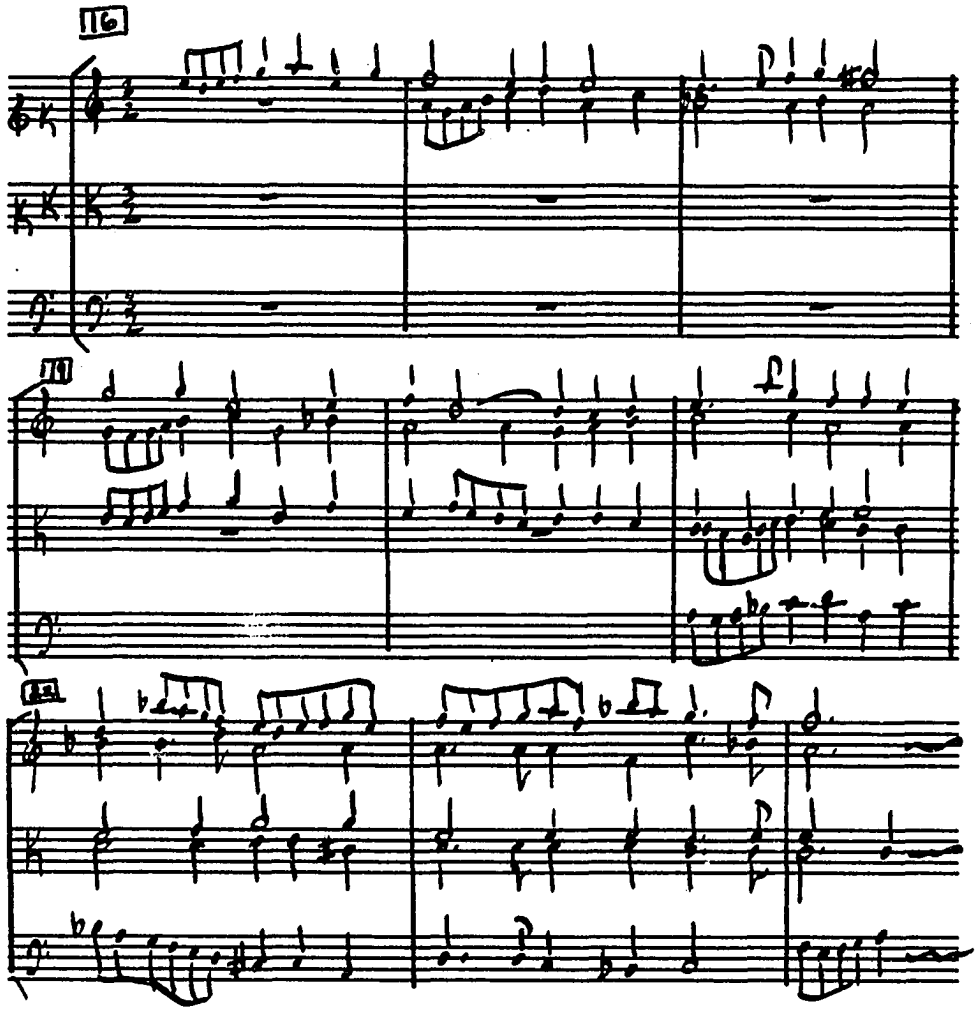


Example 3-1: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: "Ouverture," m. 1-15, Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 1

Harmonic movement in the polyphonic section of the overture is not clearly defined until all five voices have entered. The five-part texture continues the imitative style of the beginning of the section, reiterating the first portion of the opening motive throughout all five voices. Modulations to F major and A

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major and a return to D minor, each signaled by cadences including hemiola, occur in this polyphonic section.
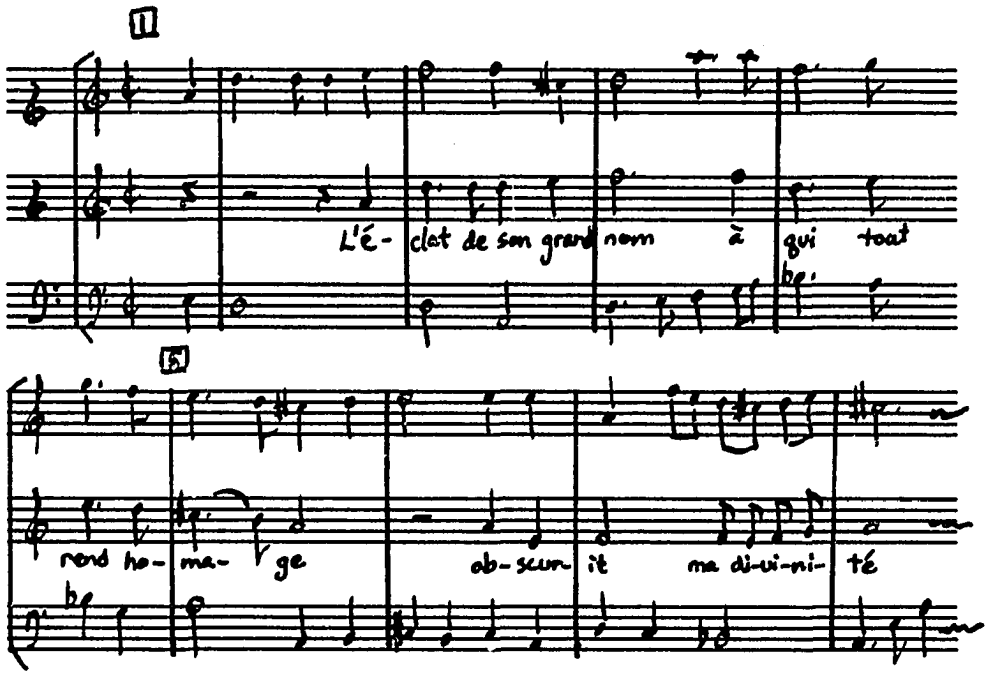


Example 3-2: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: "Ouverture," m. 16-24
Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 1-2

Also typical of the music of Lully are the instrumental *ritournelles*, which occur after the Ouverture and between Scene 1 and Scene 2. These *ritournelles* are in trio texture, the two treble parts generally moving in parallel thirds and sixths. All other instrumental passages in the *concert* are in five voices and presumably were played by the entire ensemble of strings, with supplementary support from the winds.

Scene 1 features Latone, the mother of Apollo and Diane, and Flore, the

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nymph presiding over flowers and possessing eternel youth. The two rejoice in short dialogue recitative and triple-meter airs over the new season, filled with love and pleasure, which accompanies the king's return to the court. Apollo joins them in Scene 2 to acknowledge Louis' greatness and sings a through-composed air with an unspecified treble instrument. This movement is typical of accompanied airs in Delalande's oeuvre: the vocal line is simple and generally in syllabic style, with little repetition of the text; the voice and obbligato instrument share musical material of comparable technical difficulty; and the bass line is unfigured, probably because of the relatively uncomplicated harmonies above.

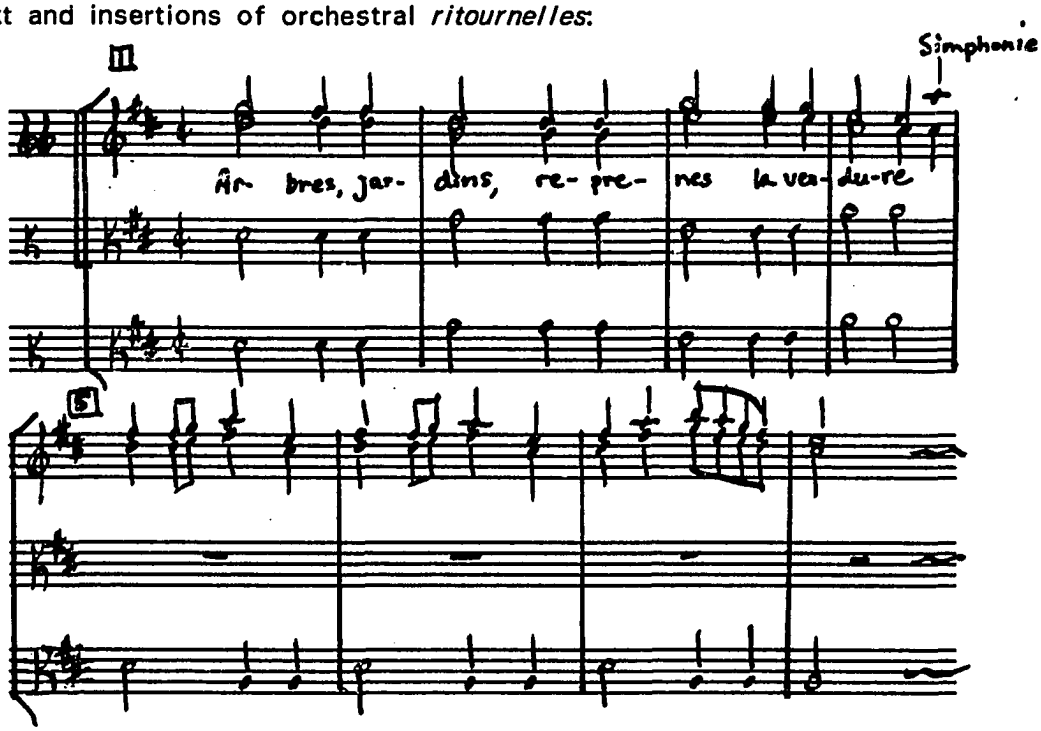


Example 3-3: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Scene 2: "L'éclat de son grand nom," m. 1-8; Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 6

Annotations indicate that another air for Apollo and a choral passage were inserted between this air and the following duet, sung by Latone and Flore, in which they encourage the fountains to celebrate the king's return. Additional annotations show that a violin air replaced the *ritournelle* after Scene 2.

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Ceres, goddess of agriculture and harvest, joins Latone and Apollo in Scene 3 to urge all creatures to celebrate the return of the brightest sun of all. Her first air is in ABA form, an organization Delalande commonly employed in the solo vocal music of his secular works. A three-voice *Simphonie* for flutes and violins follows this air. This is the first indication of instrumentation in the *concert* and the first use of wind instruments.[68] This movement functions as a prelude to the three-voiced chorus by the divinities, who declare their pleasure in the return of green plants to the gardens. This movement is typical of Delalande's choral writing in the secular works in its predominantly homophonic texture and frequent repetition of a small amount of text and insertions of orchestral *ritournelles*:



Example 3-4: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Scene 3: "Arbres, jardins," m. 1-8; Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 11-12
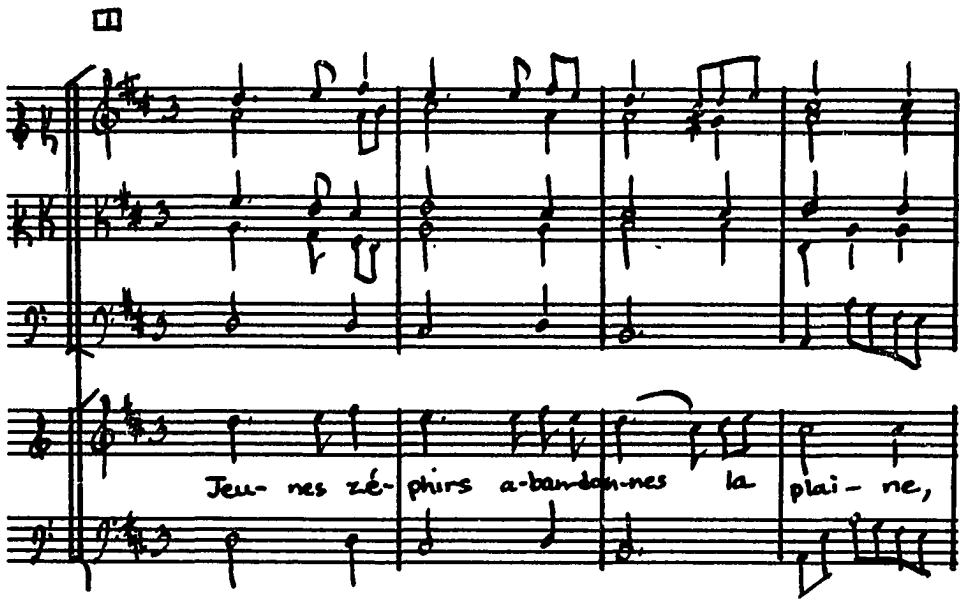
The "Air de Flore" is the first five-part instrumental movement after the overture. It is followed directly by a two-part reduction with text for voice
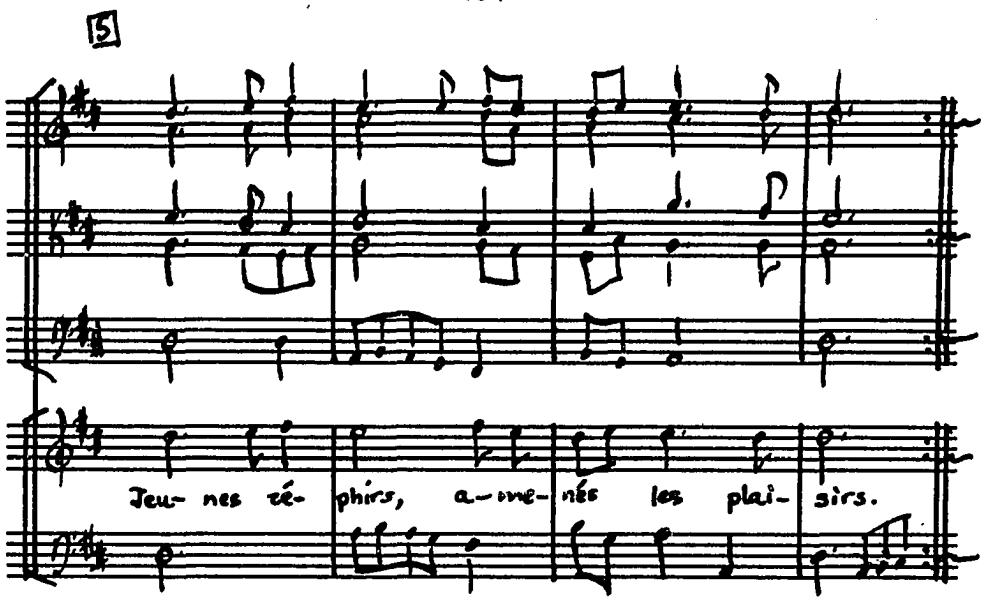
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[68]While the exact scoring is not indicated, presumably two flutes doubled violins on the two upper parts, both of which are scored in treble clef. The third voice, called *basse*, is in alto clef and was probably played on strings.

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and basso continuo, a convention also found in the operas of Lully. This two-part version also appears in the Supper Symphonies without text, under the title "Petit air tendre." These three movements offer a good example of how Delalande frequently derived a two-part vocal air from a five-voice instrumental passage simply by eliminating the three inner parts of the orchestral texture. The movement's appearance in the Supper Symphonies without text also offers one explanation of the genesis of many other movements in these anthologies. While not labeled with a dance title, the movement is an example of the many sung dances which appear in Delalande's stage works. Consisting of only twenty-four measures, the movement typifies Delalande's sung dances with its syllabic setting of the text, narrow vocal range, predictable harmonies, and simple melodic style.



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Example 3-5: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Scene 3: "Air de Flore," m. 1-8; a. instrumental; b. vocal; Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 15-16
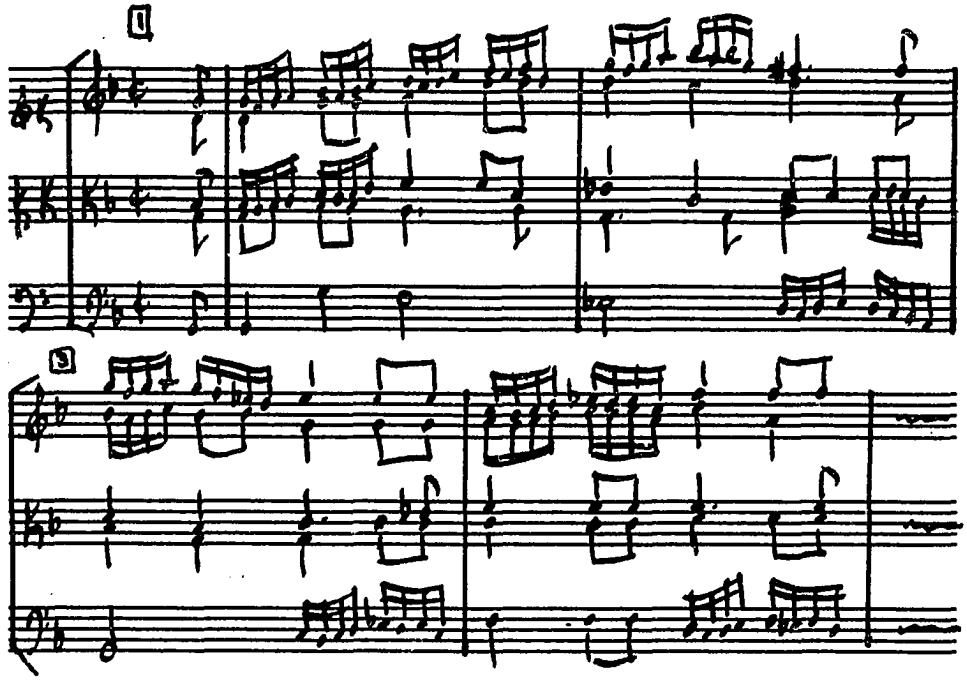
The 129-measure "Chaconne," the longest instrumental movement of the *concert*, concludes Scene 3.[69] The movement is typical of Delalande's chaconnes. Its eight-measure ground appears fifteen times, the thirteenth of these extended by eight measures during the movement's only modulation away from D major, to E minor. The repeating harmonic pattern is presented through a variety of instrumental textures which generally retain equality and balance among the five parts of the ensemble.

A furious orchestral passage in Scene 4 filled with agitated sixteenth-notes representing thunder marks the dramatic and musical climax of the *concert* as the Titan giant Ancelade makes his fiery entrance. His appearance shatters the celebratory atmosphere by shifting the key away from D major-minor to G minor for the first time. The special character of this movement probably explains its inclusion in the Supper Symphonies.

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[69]The score leaves no clue regarding how this movement may have functioned. Many chaconnes in French stage works of the period were danced. This chaconne may have been intended as an instrumental interlude between Scenes 3 and 4.

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Example 3-6: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Scene 4: "Air de Ancelade," m. 1-4; Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 23

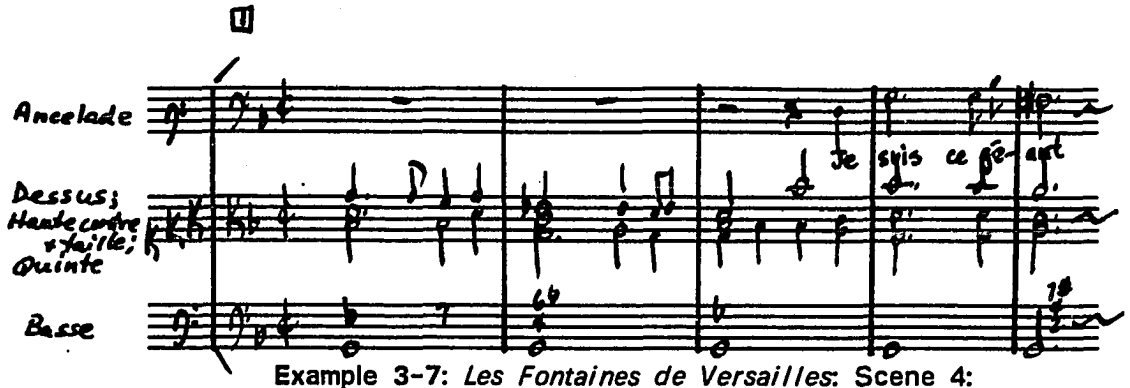
In the following vocal air Ancelade declares his intention to spout tremendous jets of water into the air to disrupt the celebration.[70] This is the first solo for bass voice in the work and also the first vocal solo accompanied by four-part orchestra, thereby increasing the element of surprise in Ancelade's entrance. The accompanying parts of this air include the most precise identification of instrumentation in the work and indicate a redistribution of the orchestra into four lines, designated respectively for *dessus de violon* on top (C^1 clef), *haute contre* and *taille* together on the second (C^2 clef), *quinte* on the third (C^3 clef), and *basse* (F^4) on the bottom.[71] This is the only movement in *Fontaines* to include figures with its bass line, probably needed here to inform the continuo player of the changing harmonies above the sustained notes.

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[70]The Ancelade fountain in the Versailles garden still does this, the water spout emerging through the giant's mouth, as can be seen during the several special fountain days in the park when all the fountains are activated by the same pumping system installed by Louis XIV three hundred years ago.
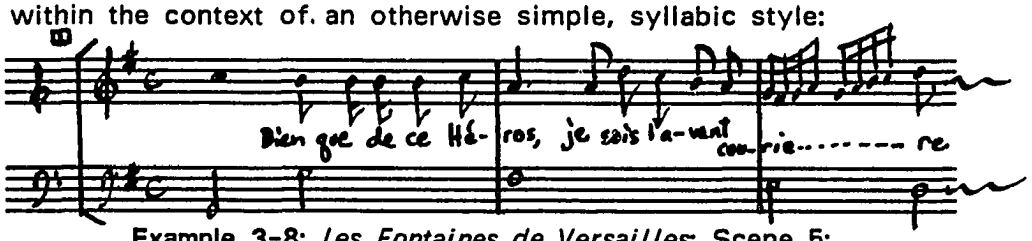
[71]This nomenclature indicates the type of clef use, i.e. C or F, and its placement on one of the five lines of the staff, from bottom to top.

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Example 3-7: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Scene 4: "Je suis ce géant," m. 1-5; Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 25

In Scene 5 tenor Bachus and soprano La Renommée restore the prevailing festive mood with their contribution of wine and a shift of tonality to G major. Bachus opens the scene with a recitative and triple-meter air, followed by La Renommée's recitative in support of the hero-king. Her passage illustrates Delalande's frequent use of melismatic flourishes on descriptive words within the context of an otherwise simple, syllabic style:



Example 3-8: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Scene 5: "Bien que de ce Héros," m. 1-3; Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 29

Another movement for choir and instrumental ensemble, identified as a "simphonie douce de flûtes et violons," returns to Ancelade's key of G minor, perhaps to support the sobering text "Plaintes regrets, inutiles allarmes."[72] The movement resembles the organization of other choral passages in the *concert* in is alternation of short phrases between choir and orchestra. Here the texture is for five instrumental lines, with no specific designation of flutes versus violins, and three-part choir, this one for soprano, tenor, and bass voices.

The following accompanied air by La Renommée declares the end of

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[72]Perhaps the mood of this chorus explains that "dans cet endroit les parolles et la musique sont changée." For the proposed 1685 wedding performance, the movement may have been too somber.

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sadness at this celebration. Delalande has divided this ten-measure movement into two phrases each of five measures. Here again a vocal air has been derived from a five-part instrumental movement by eliminating the three inner voices of the orchestral texture.

Annotations in the score indicate the addition of an unidentified violin air between the last two scenes. In the final scene, the most varied in the *concert*, all fountains join the god of the canal to honor Louis. The first air of the scene by baritone Comus declares that happiness and joy will prevail. A fifty-five measure choral movement then repeats many times over Comus' urging to "Rendons hommage à sa grandeur suprême." Again short musical phrases prevail, with frequent alternation between vocal passages and orchestral *ritournelles*. This full complement of four voices and five instrumental lines, not yet heard in the *concert*, is the scoring most frequently heard in Delalande's secular repertoire.[73]

The following five-voice instrumental "Menuet" recurs as a sung dance in La Renommée's solo "Heureux séjour agréables." Notations in the score offer one possible method for performing such a pairing: after the instrumental version and the vocal air have occurred once, the instrumental passage repeats, followed by both the vocal and the instrumental versions again, resulting in a five-sectioned unit.[74]

As the *concert* nears its conclusion, the god of the canal makes his final appearance. He sums up the theme of the entire composition by reminding us of the many concerts which have been made possible because of the return of the king. Again his solo is in the rhythmically flexible recitative style which
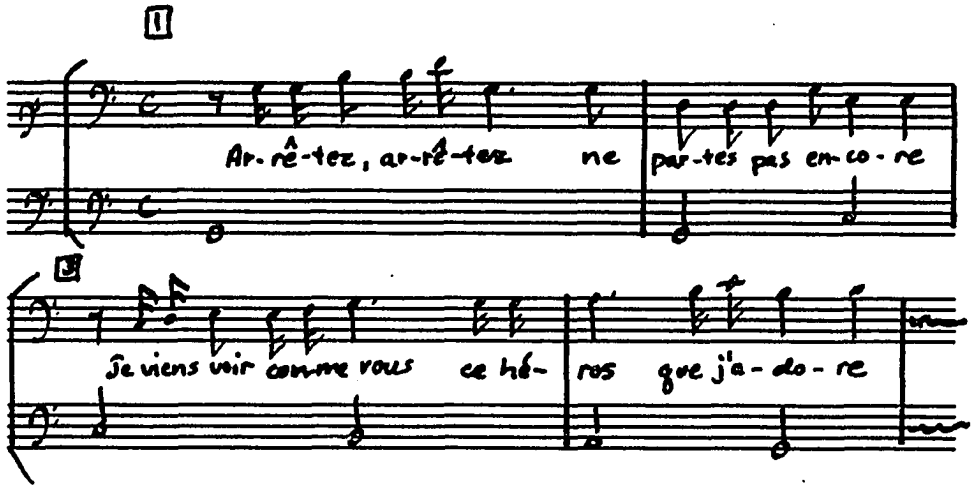
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[73]The score includes the bass line twice to accommodate the changing instrumentation between the full passages and the *ritournelles*. This full texture recurs in the final chorus of the work.

[74]Annotations indicate that the "Menuet," La Renommée's air, and the duet were redone.

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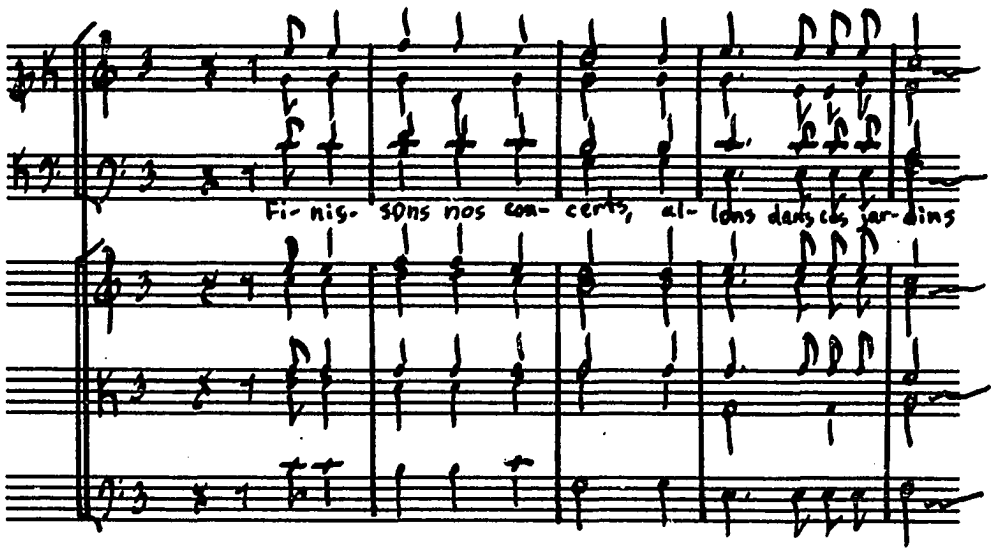
Delalande uses frequently for vocal solos bearing important messages or themes.



Example 3-9: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Scene 6: "Arrêtez," m. 1-4; Pn Rés. F. 537; p. 45

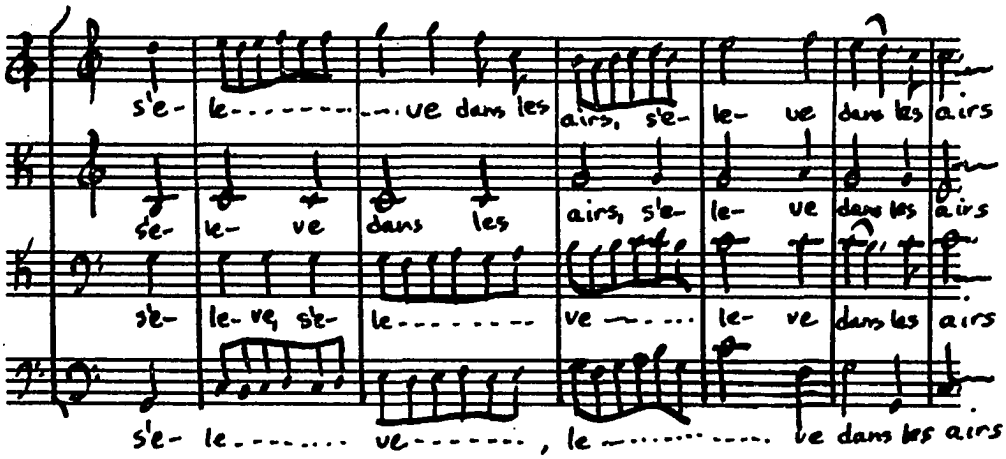
The final 150-measure chorus, the longest movement in *Fontaines*, returns to the full texture of four voices and five instruments. It calls for a conclusion to the *concert* so that all may enter the gardens to see the king. This movement, as the previous "Rendons hommage," typifies Delalande's full-voiced choral-orchestral writing in its alternation of short vocal and instrumental passages, its frequent use of trios in both voices and instruments, and its homophonic, syllabic text-setting throughout much of the work. Additionally, while the outer voices in both ensembles are doubled, Delalande has varied the distribution of notes among the inner voices of the choir and orchestra to achieve a full, massive texture in the chordal passages.

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Example 3-10: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Scene 6: "Finissons nos concerts:" m. 1-5; Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 47

For the first time in the *concert*, indications for two oboes and bassoon appear for some of the instrumental trios in this movement. Delalande has interrupted the homophonic, syllabic texture only at the end of the movement as both voices and instruments depict the final line of text, "s'élèvent dans les airs:"



Example 3-11: *Les Fontaines de Versailles*: Scene 6: "Finissons nos concerts," m. 144-150; Pn Rés. F. 537, p. 62

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E. PERFORMANCE

Performers: The score's roster names eight singers in the nine solo roles, a chorus of five men, and an orchestra of ten strings, four winds, one keyboard, and one lute: a total of thirty-one performers. Most of these musicians were members of the court music in 1683, many, such as Anne Rebel, in favored positions with the king.[75]

Among the lead female singers, Anne Rebel "la cadette" sang the role of Flore, while Rebel "l'ainé" sang both Ceres and La Renommée.[76] The third female vocalist is Mademoiselle Pluvigny, who also sang in the chorus of *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* in 1681 and in *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* in 1686. Among the male roles, the bass Ancelade is identified as Morel, surely the author of the *concert*. Male singers Morel, Guillegaut, and Gaye were all members of the court music from at least the early 1680's through the turn of the century. Only M. d'Aix, who sang Apollo, seems to be absent from music rosters.[77]

The Philidor score also identifies the sixteen instrumentalists in *Fontaines*. The ten string players --- its "choeur de divinitez" --- were members

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[75]Access to a number of fine performers may indicate Delalande's high standing in the court as early as 1683, and may also speak of the fine quality of the performance. Many of these musicians would perform in future Delalande works.

[76]For more on Anne Rebel, See the **Biographical Summary. Early Period: 1. A.** The second Rebel singer was Marie-Thérèse, who was born around 1670 and died in 1723. She and a third sister, Marie-Claude, were daughters of Jean Rebel and his second wife, Anne Nolson. See Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 206n. Evidently Marie-Thérèse enjoyed only a short career in court music, at least for Delalande's works, for her name appears again only in *Palais de Flore* in 1689. However, she is also mentioned in the *Mercure Galant*, November 1684, p. 240, along with her sister as the two female singers in *intermèdes* to Italian comedies at court. I thank Marcelle Benoit for her help in identifying this second Rebel sister, who is not included in the *New Grove* article on the family, nor discussed in La Laurencie 1906.

[77]See Benoit Musiques 1971 for references to all singers except D'Aix.

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of either the *25 Grands Violons du Roi* or the *Petits Violons* in 1681.[78] The four divinities playing oboe, flute, and bassoon consisted of two of the Philidors, "l'aine" (Andre Danican) and "la cadette" (Jacques Danican); M. Hotteterre (possibly Jacques); and a M. Nicolas, not named anywhere in Benoit's documents.[79] Jean Buterne, chapel organist from 1678 until 1727, played harpsichord in *Fontaines*, and Laurent Dupre, who also performed in *Palais de Flore* and *L'Amour Flechy*, served as lutenist.

There is no documentation of performers for the revision of *Fontaines* in 1685 which I have postulated except for Madame de Bourbon and La Princesse de Conty, who performed two of the principal dancing roles in that version.

A summary of the performers who appeared in the 1683 performance of *Fontaines* follows.[80]

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[78]See Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 77. I have not been able to determine how these ten strings divided for the five orchestral lines.

[79]Jacques Danican Philidor (b. Paris 1657, d. Versailles 1708) was Andre's younger brother. A "Hottere" is named in the roster for *Le Triumph de l'Amour*. The first time Jacques Hotteterre's first name appears in the court records included in Benoit is for 1689. See Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 121. The instrument or instruments each played is not specified. Since the number of wind instruments named in the score is greater than the four identified players, some musicians must have doubled instruments.

[80]I have included Performers Charts for the eight works considered in this study for which specific information regarding the indentity and number of performers survives. See also *Jeunesse, Palais, Mirtil, Fees, Inconnu, Cardenio,* and *Elemens.*

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Parts and Performers in
LES FONTAINES DE VERSAILLES

PARTS

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	9	5	4
Choir	6	6	----
Instrumentalists	16	16	----
TOTALS	**31**	**27**	**4**

PERSONNEL

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	8	5	3
Choir	6	6	---
Instrumentalists	16	16	---
TOTALS	30	27	3

Figure III-2: Performer Chart: Les Fontaines de Versailles

Performance Site: No documentation specifies the exact site of the performance of *Fontaines* in the king's Grand Apartment, which faces the gardens in the outer envelope of the northern arm of the château. (See **Figure III-2**).[81] This apartment included six rooms, as can be seen today. Beginning at the intersection of the western end of the apartment and the Grand Galerie, one passes in order through the Salon de la Guerre, the Salon d'Apollo, the Salon de Mercure, the Salon de Mars, the Salon de Diane, and the Salon de Venus.[82] The report on the use of these rooms most contemporary with the performance of *Fontaines* is that in the *Mercure*, December 1682. This article names the second of these rooms, the Salon d'Apollo (the throne room), as

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[81]This plan of the Versailles chateau is undated. It appears to have been drawn no earlier than the 1680's, since it includes the Galerie des Glaces, built in that decade. This plan will be referred to for the sites of *Fontaines*, *Esculape*, and *Jeunesse*.

[82]Descriptions of the Grand Apartment abound in histories and guidebooks of the château from the seventeenth century to the present. For example, see the *Mercure Galant*, December 1682, p. 17; Blondel 1752; and Verlet 1985.

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the one in which music and dance were played during the days of *appartement.*[83] This room measures approximately nine by eleven meters and easily could have accommodated the fourteen singers and sixteen instrumentalists in a concert such as *Fontaines* and additionally allowed seating for an audience of fifty to one hundred along the two walls next to the doorways and in the window bays.

On the other hand, there are numerous other indications that the Salon de Mars, two rooms away from the Apollo chamber, was used more frequently for musical performances and so may have been the site of *Fontaines.* The Mars chamber was better suited for performance since it was longer than the Apollo room by about four meters. It included three window bays for seating. Additionally, some musicians probably performed from the two tribunes on the mezzanine level, leaving more room on the floor for the audience to sit.[84] While my impressions of the arrangement and effect of the *concert,* in either site, are speculative, it seems certain that *Fontaines,* Delalande's first full-scale offering to the king, was performed without staging and scenery as a diversionary concert work for the entertainment of a relatively small, private court audience.

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[83]*Mercure Galant,* December 1682, p. 17ff: "Elle est destinée pour la Musique & pour la Danse, dans les trois jours que l'on joue." (*Appartement* was held three days a week during this time.)

[84]Dangeau indicates that for an unspecified musical entertainment in this room "toute la musique (est) dans les tribunes." See Dangeau 6 January 1685. The arrangement of this room for a ball in 1692 during wedding celebrations for the Duc de Chartres and Mademoiselle de Blois indicates a possible arrangement for the audience, with bleachers around three sides and an inner row of seats around all four sides, leaving the area in the center for the dancers. See Marie 1976, p. 611.

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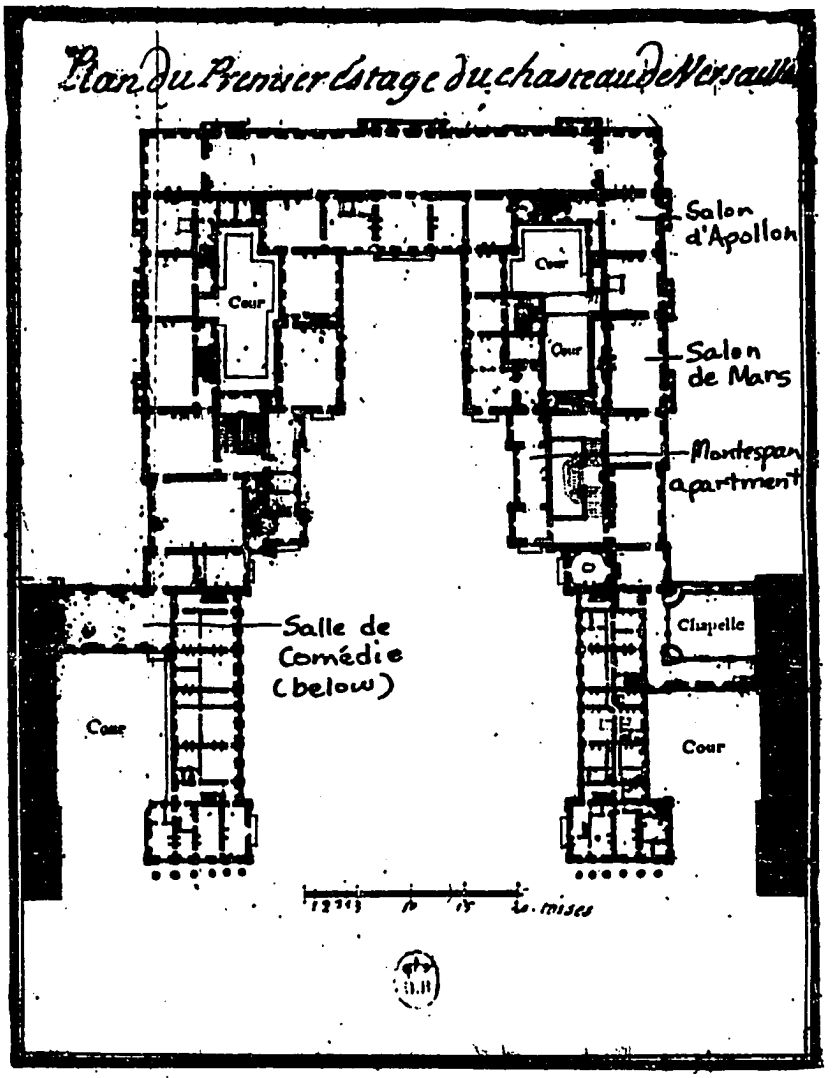


Figure III-3: Versailles: Central Courtyard:
premier étage: Pn Cab Est, Va 78e, Fol. tome 1: Les Yvelines

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IV. LE CONCERT D'ESCULAPE

A. INTRODUCTION

Le Concert d'Esculape was probably Delalande's first secular work for court after his appointment as *sous-maître de la musique de la chapelle.*[85] The manuscript score of the composition provides most of our information about this work. This score was also copied by André Danican Philidor and resembles that of *Les Fontaines de Versailles,* with which it was bound in the seventeenth century. A librettist is not credited, but the author may have been Antoine Morel, author of *Fontaines.* While some writers question Delalande's authorship, I accept the attribution to the composer, based on stylistic features of the music as well as evidence in the primary sources, as explained below.

No contemporary secondary accounts of the work exist, and the score does not contain a list of performers. Only the title page of the score offers some performance information: the composition is identified as a *concert,* performed once on an unspecified date in May 1683 under the patronage of Madame de Montespan for the king in her Versailles apartment. The smaller scale of production for *Esculape* compared with *Fontaines* may have been a factor of the site of presentation: the largest room in Montespan's apartment was less than half the size of any room in the king's Grand Apartment.

B. SOURCES

Philidor prepared this score with the assistance of the unidentified M. Collesson named on the title page of *Fontaines.* The layout and manuscript hand of the two scores are similar. Additionally, the title page of *Esculape* is dated 5 June 1683, two days after that of *Fontaines.* Therefore, it appears that the two works were not only prepared by Philidor during the same period but that they represent some sort of pairing in the copyist's and the composer's

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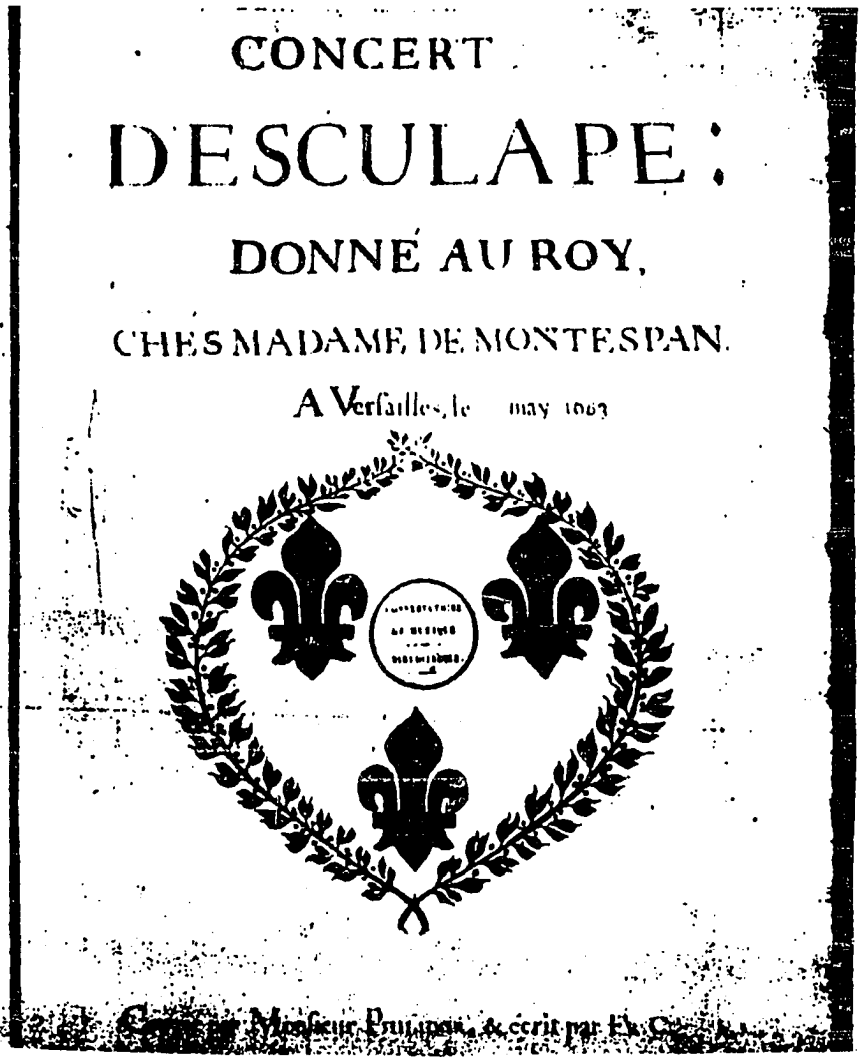
[85]The *brevet,* that is, the official certificate, for this appointment is dated 16 May 1683, but the competition for the post was completed by the end of April. See the Biographical Summary. Early Period: 1. A.

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production schedule. As was the case with *Fontaines*, Philidor may have copied *Esculape* to help gain support for his own promotion at court. *Esculape* is one of the few manuscripts produced by the copyist's workshop during the year of its composition, which is particularly surprising since the work played only once and apparently was relatively unknown among the courtiers. Additional evidence for Philidor's promotion of himself via the manuscript is the clear identification of his own name on the title page. (**Figure IV: 1**).[86]

[86]One of the principal differences between the two scores is that *Esculape* does not contain the cross-outs and corrections found in *Fontaines*. Because *Esculape* surely was never revived after May 1683, this contrast in corrections may support the argument advanced in the previous essay that the annotation in *Fontaines* resulted from a reworking for a repeat performance.

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CONCERT

DESCULAPE;

DONNÉ AU ROY,

CHES MADAME DE MONTESPAN.

A Versailles, le may 1683

Figure IV-1: *Le Concert d'Esculape*: Pn Rés. F. 538, title page

The title page of the score appears to contain no attribution to the creators of the *concert*.[87] However, miniscule writing at the top of this page declares that the work was "mis en musique par Monsieur Delalande." This banner also indicates that a "M. Morel" (or possibly "Moriau") wrote the text.[88] In view of the collaboration of Delalande and Morel on *Fontaines*,

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[87]The apparent absence of Delalande's name on the score after being recently named to a post in the chapel is Dufourcq's principal reason for not assigning the work to Delalande. See Dufourcq 1957, p. 255, fn 2.

[88]There is no explanation for this annotation, which also describes the author of the text as "medécin de madame la dauphine," a post which the Morel of the king's music did not also occupy.

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Esculape could represent another effort between the two young artists.

C. COURT BACKGROUND

My explanation for the genesis of *Esculape* is speculative. Neither the score's title page nor the verse set to music refers to any special occasion for a musical celebration, and it seems that no contemporary eyewitnesses recorded anything about the composition. Furthermore, during April and May no particular activities at court are recorded which could have commanded a work like *Esculape*. Therefore, by process of elimination, the most plausible explanation for the creation of the *concert* is that Montespan commissioned it for one of her musical entertainments as a way of honoring the king and possibly raising Louis' estimation of both herself and of Delalande.[89] While her support of the *concert* may have been motivated only from artistic needs, both the subject matter of the work and her unfavored position in spring, 1683, may suggest that she presented the performance to help regain Louis' good graces.[90] It is probably not coincidental that Madame de Thianges also commissioned several musical works for the court that same year.

Morel's association with the Dauphine as a *valet de chambre* may offer

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[89]Montespan fell from grace as Louis' favorite mistress sometime in the early 1680's. She moved from her apartment near his sometime in 1684 after his marriage to Maintenon, but was allowed to stay at court until 1691 in order to remain near her children. See Wolf 1968 p. 327. She continued to entertain the king at least as late as 1685, as documented by the *Mercure* in March of that year: "Le Roi estant entré un soir chez Madame de Montespan, fût surpris de voir que tout son appartement representoit la Foire de S. Germain. Ce n'estoit partout que Boutiques remplies de Marchands, & l'on voyoit mesme des Compagnies entières de Personnes qui se promennoient dans cette Foire... C'est ainsi qu'on doit surprendre pour bien divertir, & tous ces sortes de divertissements sont de bon goust." See also Dangeau on 15 February 1685 for a report on a ball in Montespan's apartment featuring beautiful *entrées* of *ballet* and musicians and dancers from the court and the Opéra.

[90]Joshua Rifkin's album notes to the only recording of the work (Nonesuch H-71039) indicate that *Esculape* was offered as a get-well entertainment for the king, even though there is no indication that Louis was sick during the spring of 1683. It is ironic that *Esculape*, one of Delalande's less influential and less known secular works, is one of the few works available on recording.

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one other explanation about the genesis of *Esculape*. The work may have been composed to offer good wishes to the Dauphine as she neared the end of a pregnancy in May 1683, particularly since the verses of the *concert* praise the healing powers of Esculape as god of medicine.[91] The dedication of a musical work to the Dauphine is reasonable, in view of her interest in the arts. She both performed and composed music herself.[92] She also sponsored many musical activities at Versailles, particularly after the death of the queen.[93]

D. ORGANIZATION OF MUSIC AND TEXT

Esculape's stylistic similarities with *Fontaines* help confirm Delalande as its composer. Structurally *Esculape* resembles *Fontaines* in that it includes a combination of vocal passages, both solos and ensemble, instrumental *ritournelles*, and instrumental movements in dance character. The instrumentation differs from that in *Fontaines* in that the fullest scoring

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[91]That these verses also associate Louis with the same god-like attributes is expected in a musical productions at court in the 1680's.
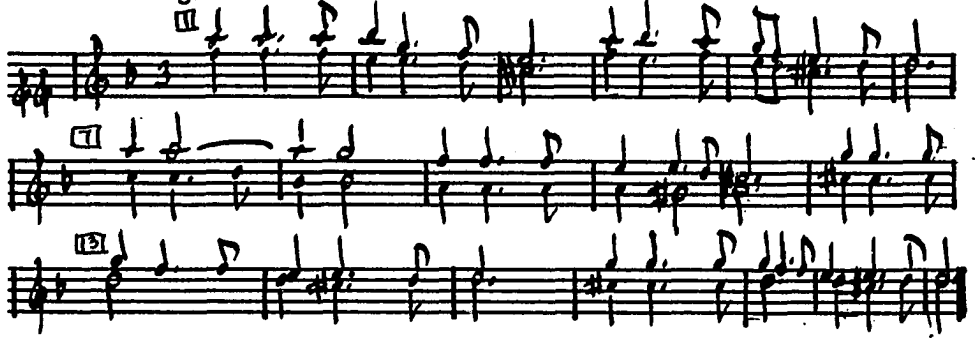
[92]In April 1688, p. 204, the *Mercure* describes her singing abilities: "Rien n'est si à la mode que la musique... peu y réussissent comme Madame la Dauphine. Cette princesse apprend à chanter depuis cinq ou six mois, avec un succes suprenant. Elle a la voix d'une grande douceur, très-légère ....." She chose Matho to teach her singing. Dangeau reported on 9 Decèmber 1688 that she composed airs on a text by Fontenelle to celebrate the return of Monseigneur to Marly. See also the *Mercure* "Extraordinaire" 1682, p.185: "Madame la Dauphine, qui se connoit parfaitement à la Musique, & qui la sçait comme ceux qui a sçavent le mieux..." and the *Mercure*, November 1687, p. 67: "Comme Madame la Dauphine aime extrêmement la musique, et qu'elle s'y connoist parfaitement...."

[93]The *Mercure*, April, 1688, p. 308, wrote: "Comme Madame la Dauphine aime beaucoup la Musique, qu'elle s'y connoist parfaitement, qu'elle a la voix belle, et qu'elle chante mesme en partie, chacun s'empresse à travailler pour la divertir. (Bolds mine.) C'est ce qui est causé qu'il y a eu souvent a Versailles de petits concerts en forme d'opéra, sans habits et sans théâtre." See also the *Mercure Galant*, February 1684, p. 234, for the description of another concert held in her apartment during Carnival that year. With music by S. Daches, also of the king's music, this concert was small like *Esculape* and consisted of voices, instruments, and dance movements featuring La Victoire and two sylvans. According to Dangeau, the Dauphine was also influential in arranging for Lully's *Armide* to finally play at court on 30 March 1686 in concert version.

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throughout the work is three-part, generally for two violins and bass, an orchestration which Delalande uses elsewhere only in the trio passages of his more common five-part instrumentation.[94] The *concert* includes two movements for two flutes and several trios for oboes and bassoon. Tonally, it is less varied than *Fontaines*: other than its F major overture, the entire composition is in D minor. In general, the harmonic movement is static and predictable. It contains a small amount of text, repeated frequently, compared to that in *Fontaines*.

The 141-measure overture is atypical of Delalande. It contains only one section and is built on a four-measure ground which appears thirty-two times, four of these extended to seven measures, plus one measure for the final cadence. Several occurrences of the ground are literal repetitions of their preceding units but with the two upper voices exchanged. The *ritournelle* following continues the scoring of the overture. Its structure of five plus six plus four measures exemplfies the asymetrical phrasing common to Delalande's instrumental writing.



Example 4-1: *Le Concert d'Esculape*: Ritournelle
m. 1-19; Pn Rés. F. 538, p. 4
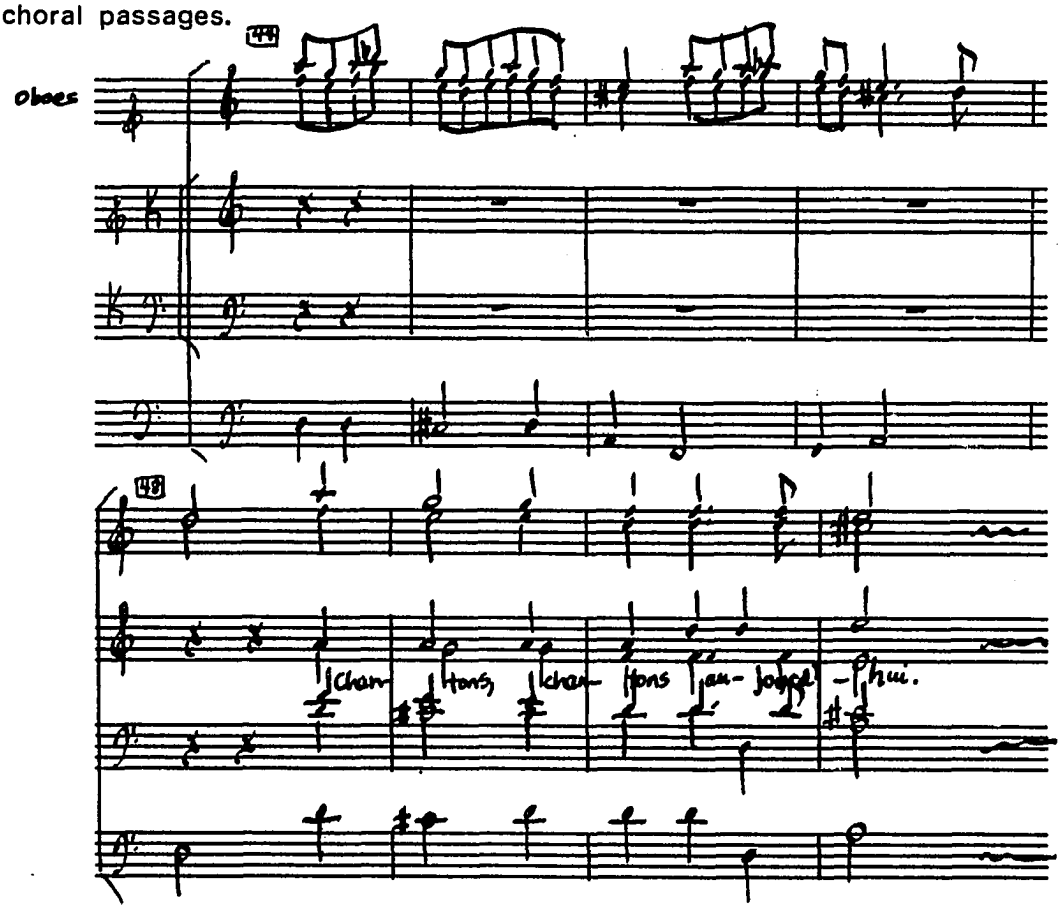
Throughout the work much of the text is assigned first to a solo voice,

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[94]This reduced scoring may have been required because of the small performing area, or because of the number of musicians available for the *concert*.

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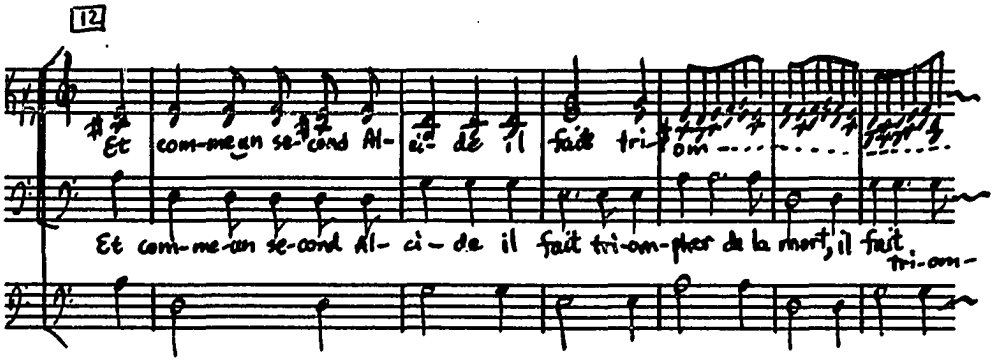
followed by a repetition of the last several lines of that text several times by the four-part choir. This structure is seen in the first bass solo, which is followed by a 112-measure chorus reminding its listeners of how Esculape has triumphed over the grave. The movement evinces Delalande's writing for several voices seen in *Fontaines*. Its short verse is repeated frequently. Vocal passages are separated by instrumental interjections of four to eight measures, which are sometimes scored for two oboes rather than violins, and which frequently move in parallel thirds. The chorus' texture is generally homophonic, in root-position and first-inversion triads. As in *Fontaines*, the voicing of the upper instrumental lines, the two violins in this case, generally differs from the two higher vocal parts, expanding the texture to six parts in most of the choral passages.



Example 4-2: *Le Concert d'Esculape*: "Chantons aujourd'huy," m. 44-51; Pn Rés. F. 538, p. 10

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Two vocal duets, for soprano and alto and soprano and baritone, respectively, repeat the text of the previous choir. A notation in the score then calls for the repetition of the entire choral movement, which is followed in turn by the "Symphonie de violons et flutes" found on the last page of the score. This *s'mphonie* ushers in the first alto soloist, whose short recitative introduces a thirty-nine-measure trio for alto, tenor, and bass voices, a combination not yet heard in the work. The trio compares Esculape to Alcide, who also triumphed over death. Again, a homophonic, syllabic style prevails.



Example 4-3: *Le Concert d'Esculape*: "Et comme un second Alcide," m. 12-17; Pn Rés. F. 538, p. 15

A second bass recitative praises the talents of Esculape. As in the previous movement for bass solo and chorus, the choir and orchestra reiterate the last two lines of this solo:[95]

> Après tant de bienfaits il est honteux de se taire.
> Recherchez à jamais le bonheur de lui plaire.
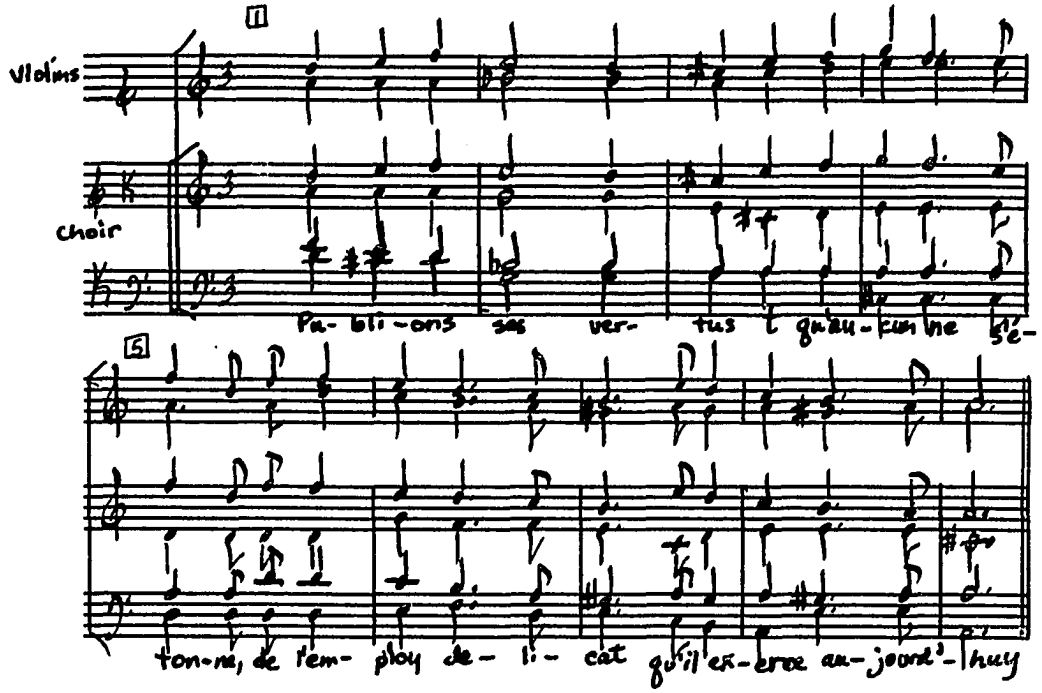
The *concert's* only sung dance, a "Menuet," follows the choir. It consists of four-part writing for voices accompanied by two violins and bass. The movement comprises two nine-measure phrases. Annotations in the score offer performance directions not found in Delalande's repertoire examined thus far: each strain is to be sung first by tenor solo, presumably on the tenor line, and repeated by four-part choir. Apparently all instruments play both

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[95] *Le Concert d'Esculape*: Pn Rés. F. 538, p. 19.

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times, although the score includes no directions as such.



Example 4-4: *Le Concert d'Esculape*: "Menuet," m. 1-9
Pn Rés. F. 538, p. 24

Esculape ends with a three-voiced "Menuet pour les hautbois," this one built on a more regular eight-plus-eight-measure phrase structure and a reliance on clearly defined tonic and dominant harmonies.[96]

E. PERFORMANCE

No performers are named in the score of *Esculape*. Thus, we can only estimate the number involved in a performance for Louis. A minimum of four singers could have performed the work if the four soloists also sang the ensemble passages. As indicated above, the instrumental writing never exceeds three voices, requiring two violins, two oboes, or two flutes plus bass. These melody instruments plus a chordal continuo such as harpsichord puts the minimum number of instrumentalists at eight, assuming that none doubled

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[96]The notes on the recording of *Esculape* (Nonesuch H-71039) suggest that the work included dancing, which would have probably occurred only with a movement such as this Menuet. Instead, these final movements were probably used as closing instrumental music.

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instruments. With this assumption, *Esculape* could have been performed with a minimum of twelve musicians.

The small site of performance may account for the fewer performers in this work than in *Fontaines*. During her more favored days with the king through 1684, Montespan occupied an apartment consisting of three long, narrow rooms on the inner courtyard of the central section of the Versailles château. (Figure III-2.)[97] It is not possible to determine in which room *Esculape* played, but even the largest of the three is quite restricted, measuring less than five by less than ten meters. During Montespan's tenure as favored mistress, this apartment served as the site for numerous festivities and celebrations, "d'un tour si particulier, si délicat, si fin."[98] While twelve musicians for *Esculape* could easily have performed in such a space, the area for spectators must have been limited. Surely not more than forty or fifty courtiers at the most heard Delalande's *Esculape* during its only performance in the seventeenth century.

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[97]Montespan's apartment became the Galérie de Mignard in 1685 after she moved to the ground floor of the château.

[98]Verlet 1985, p. 92.

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V. EPITHALAME SUR LES NOPCES DE MONSEIGNEUR LE DUC DE BOURBON ET MADEMOISELLE DE NANTES

A. INTRODUCTION

Delalande produced his *Epithalame* in 1685 for the marriage of the Duc de Bourbon and Mademoiselle de Nantes, the twelve-year-old daughter of Louis and Madame de Montespan and a former pupil of the composer. The work is Delalande's second known composition on a text by the Abbé Genest, whose "grands succès sont connus de tout le monde."[99] The wedding tribute was performed once in the Versailles apartment of M. le Prince, on 25 July, the third day of the lavish week-long nuptial celebration, and probably was never revived. *Epithalame* was Delalande's first secular work after his two appointments as *compositeur de la musique de la chapelle* and *compositeur de la musique de la chambre* acquired on 8 January 1685.[100] Because no music from *Epithalame* survives, only a general impression of its contents and the nature of its music can be developed, based on the two surviving copies of Genest's text. The single-section work appears to have consisted of vocal solos, choir, and instrumental music, along with at least three *entrées* of dance.[101] No choreographer is named for these dances, and there is no mention of scenery, costumes, or designers in the text. Additionally, neither copy of the text includes names of performers.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

A busy calendar of musical events in the months preceding the wedding stands as evidence of at least the appearance if not the reality of continuing

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[99] *Mercure Galant* July 1685, p. 263.

[100] See the *Mercure Galant*, January 1685 p. 256, Dufourcq 1957, 72-73, and Benoit 1971, 94. Coincidently, *Epithalame* was also his first secular work since his own marriage in 1684.

[101] The *Mercure's* report implies that the work was sung. "Le divertissement d'entendre chanter des Vers que l'Abbé Genest avoit composé." However, both sources of the text include indications of dancing.

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prosperity in the court throughout the winter and spring of 1684-85. For example, *entr'actes* of comedies at Fontainebleau in November included *ballets* featuring courtiers as well as professional dancers.[102] Lully's *Roland* played eight times in the Grande Ecurie during January, February, and March of 1685, as did a repeat performance of his *Amadis* on 5 March. The court's visit to Sceaux in July featured Lully's *Idylle de la Paix*.[103] Additionally, Carnival in 1685 included seemingly non-stop entertainments in the form of *appartementes*, balls, *mascarades*, and comedies.[104] In May music was played several times while the court visited Marly.

The *Mercure Galant* offers a detailed account of the wedding activities, which were attended by people "de la première qualité."[105] At least seven musical performances were included in the celebration. On the evening of 23 July a *promenade* on the Grand Canal included musicians on a barge playing airs from Lully's *Idylle de la Paix*, recently performed at Sceaux, and a dinner in the Trianon for 150 people included an accompaniment of *simphonies* by the king's violins.[106] The wedding ceremony in the Versailles chapel the next afternoon included several unnamed motets, and that evening a *divertissement*

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[102]*Mercure Galant*, Novem ber 1684, p. 229.

[103]*Mercure Galant*, January p. 317, July p. 295.

[104]See the *Mercure* during these three months, especially February, p. 1, and March, p. 202, for a detailed description of Carnival.

[105]*Mercure Galant*, July 1685, p. 254. The entire wedding is reported on p. 207-285. See also references in the **Catalogue Raisonné: Appendix II** to accounts in the *Gazette de France*, and diaries by Dangeau and Sourches. On 1 July Dangeau reported that a new "opéra" by Genest and Lalande would be performed for the wedding. Sourches includes the names of the seventy people who attended the dinner on the evening of the wedding and who may have formed the audience for the performance.

[106]See also the *Gazette de France*, July 1685, p. 446.

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on a grand marble stairway again included *simphonies.*[107] According to the *Mercure,* the performance of *Epithalame* occurred the following evening, in the apartment of M. le Prince.[108] The next day dinner in the apartment of the Dauphin included a replaying of excerpts from Lully's *Idylle de la Paix.* On Saturday 28 July the king and several ladies of the court traveled to Marly where the new Duchesse de Bourbon and the Princesse de Conty were applauded for their dancing in several *intermèdes* of a *petit ballet* presented before the Dauphine. The *Mercure* identified this work only as a piece by Delalande and Morel: it was probably the revised version of *Les Fontaines de Versailles* discussed previously. A fête by Monsieur at St. Cloud the following day concluding the wedding entertainments consisted of a collation, games, dancing, a comedy, and unspecified music.

C. SOURCES

No music from *Epithalame* is known to survive.[109] My description of the work is based only on the two surviving versions of the text, a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Versailles and a publication in the *Mercure Galant.*[110] The manuscript copy is bound with the surviving text of *Les Fontaines de Versailles.* They are in the same hand and format, suggesting that they were copied within a relatively short time of one another. I have not been able to determine the identity of the copyist and the reason for

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[107]This was probably the fabulous Ambassador's Staircase, which is no longer standing.

[108]The *Mercure's* wording is ambiguous: it implies that Madame de Bourbon dined alone with M. le Prince and then they together heard *Epithalame,* but surely more than just two people attended the performance of a work written by two important artists. See the *Mercure,* July, 1685, p. 255-256.

[109]If any music occurs in the Supper Symphonies, it is not identified as from *Epithalame.*

[110]The *Mercure* frequently printed such verse throughout the 1680's and 1690's. Most of it was not set to music.

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producing these texts.

The Versailles manuscript apparently was not the source of the text published by the *Mercure*, since the two versions differ both in organization of sections and details of wording. The most significant discrepancy is the omission in the *Mercure* of three instrumental movements named in the manuscript: the "Ouverture," a "Prélude" preceding the return of the gods midway through the work, and the "Chaconne" danced by the nymphs and sylvans. Furthermore, the order of events events after the chorus "Heureux Amans" is rearranged in the *Mercure*, although both sources end with three choirs together singing the verse beginning "Vivez heureux Amans." A few other minor differences can be attributed to misprints in the *Mercure*. The two sources of text do not suggest two different performances of the *Epithalame* but instead probably represent the work at different stages of its development.

D. CONTENTS AND PERFORMERS

Genest's text typifies wedding verse of the period in its praise of Louis and of the bride and groom, neither of whom is mentioned by name. The work is in one continuous section, with the vocal passages divided into five scenes by four instrumental movements. Each vocal section contains both solo and choral singing. In most choral movements the choir reiterates text sung first by one of the soloists, as heard also in *Fontaines* and *Esculape*.

Following the overture, the solo god and an unspecified choir invoke Hymen's name so that he may light the flame of love for the bride and groom. The section concludes with a "Menuet" which apparently is danced by the divinites of Versailles and is also sung to a text asserting the bonds of love:[111]

O sort heureux,
O douceur infinie!

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[111] *Epithalame*, V Ms. Mus 146, fol. 3[r].

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Quand ces Noeuds par l'Amour sont formez.

The solo nymph and two sylvans join the choir in expressing the problems as well as the pleasures of love:[112]

Noeuds Cruels!
Redoutables chaînes!

An instrumental prelude soothes the nymphs and sylvans and recalls the unnamed god, who suggests continuing the celebration:[113]

Cedez Nymphes, rendez-vous.
Unissons tous nos voix,
& chantez avec nous.
...C'est l'Ouvrage immortel
des Destins & des Dieux.

The festal spirit returns as nymphs and sylvans dance the "Chaconne," which possibly includes vocal passages declaring the beauty of this marriage:[114]

Jamais des noeuds plus beaux n'ont attaché deux âmes,
Jamais de plus beaux feux n'ont embrassé deux coeurs.

Once again these characters remind us that such a spectacle in an environment which can protect young lovers is possible only through Louis' strength and power:[115]

LOUIS est le Maistre des Rois,
Il soumet tout à l'Empire François,
On le crainte, on l'implore, on le revers, on l'aime.
Sa bonté seule arreste ses Exploits.

All dancers engage in one more dance of unspecified style before the conclusion of the work. The manuscript indicates that a "Gavotte" is sung by

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[112] *Epithalame*, V Ms. Mus 146, fol. 5[r].

[113] *Epithalame*, V Ms. Mus 146, fol. 5[v].

[114] *Epithalame*, V Ms. Mus 146, fol. 6[r].

[115] *Epithalame*, V Ms. Mus 146, fol. 7[r].

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one of the sylvans between two statements of the final chorus for the three choirs, on a text which becomes the theme of the finale. Neither source indicates whether this sung gavotte should also be danced:[116]

Vivez, vivez, heureux Amans
Qu'une flame si belle
Soit immortelle
Que ces vives ardeurs
A jamais, à jamais triomphent
Dans vos coeurs."

We can reconstruct very little about the performance of the *Epithalame* since we do not know in which apartment it was presented and since neither copy of the text specifies the performance environment. In light of the *Mercure's* detailed description of nearly every other wedding event involving courtiers, the lack of mention of performers in Delalande's production seems to indicate that courtiers did not perform. While the Duchesse de Bourbon and Madame la Princesse de Conty, among other courtiers, are cited for "bonne grace & la justesse" when dancing in the *petit ballet* at Marly on 26 July, the bride probably would not have danced in the more formal atmosphere of Versailles. Instead, professional dancers from the Opéra and musicians of the court probably entertained the king and the wedding party.

The roles included undefined numbers of divinities, nymphs, and sylvans. All three ensembles sang during the work, and apparently at least some members of each group danced, although it is unclear if any individuals both sang and danced. In view of Delalande's usual practice of four-part choral writing, and assuming that there was no overlap in the three choirs, *Epithalame* required a minimum of twelve choral singers in additional to the three soloists: an unspecified god, a young nymph, and a young sylvan. No information about the personnel in the orchestra survives. The group may have

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[116] *Epithalame*, V Ms. Mus 146, fol. 7^{v}.

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resembled the ensemble of sixteen players in *Fontaines*. One can not even speculate on the number of dancers in *Epithalame*. If dancing did occur, some scenery may have been used. In light of the large financial investment in the overall wedding celebration, elaborate costuming for all participants seems probable.[117]

[117]The *Mercure* included a detailed description of wedding costumes of the bride, the groom, and the king. See the journal, August, 1685, p. 243-247.

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LE BALLET DE LA JEUNESSE

A. INTRODUCTION

Le Ballet de la Jeunesse is one of Delalande's most spectacular secular productions and one of his most completely documented works. Serving as the court's principal musical entertainment for Carnival in 1686, *Jeunesse* was the composer's first full-scale stage work, his first court *ballet*, his first secular work to play at court for successive performances, and his first of several collaborations with three important artists, the choreographer Pierre Beauchamp, the designer Jean Bérain, and the librettist, Florent Dancourt.[118] Containing features of both opera and *ballet*, *Jeunesse* resembles Lully's *Idylle sûr la Paix* and *Le Temple de la Paix* of the 1680's in subject matter and organization. The king's choice of *Jeunesse* as a replacement for Lully's *Armide*, which was not finished in time for Carnival, offers concrete evidence of the challenge which Delalande posed to Lully's monopoly at court. *Jeunesse* played five times between 28 January and 25 February 1686.

Consisting of a prologue and three *intermèdes*, *Jeunesse* appeared with two different three-act comedies by Dancourt. The *ballet* played during a period in the 1680's and 1690's when the *ballet de cour* was undergoing a revival. It featured well over one hundred performers, including noblemen and professionals.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

The subject matter and historical significance of *Jeunesse* can be understood most clearly in light of the religious and political environment in France during the second half of 1685, when Louis "stood at the zenith of his

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[118]Dufourcq incorrectly names Morel as the author of *Jeunesse*. This attribution may have been based on a note assigning the work to Morel inscribed on the inside cover of the copy of *Jeunesse* in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. There is no doubt of Dancourt's authorship. The error is probably the result of confusing *Jeunesse* with *Les Fontaines de Versailles*. See Dufourcq 1957, p. 255.

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power."[119] Military engagements during the 1680's on the Mediterranean, in the Spanish Netherlands, and in the Lorraine had yielded only success and expansion for the French empire. Small wonder that the theme of peace, paraded under the image of the Sun King as peacemaker of the world, pervaded most entertainments at court during the winter of 1685-86. For example, Lully's *Le Temple de la Paix* recognized the security which Louis granted his enemies.[120] *Jeunesse* honored youth and love in Louis' realm, while Lully's *Armide* addressed the partnership between wisdom and glory.

In the early months of 1686 Louis' preoccupation with internal matters and tension among the nations of the League of Augsburg, combined with poor health, marked the beginning of a long and steady decline of monarchical power, a decline which contributed to his growing withdrawal from these musical entertainments honoring his might. Without the king's active participation, the number and scope of musical events at court diminished over the next several decades.

The fall and winter of 1685-86, however, remained relatively busy. Dangeau reported two rehearsals of *Temple*, on 8 and 14 October, and

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[119]Isherwood 1973, p. 279.

[120]See the preface to the Ballard score of the *ballet*, Vm^{2}87, where Lully refers to "la Pais que Votre Majesté a donnée si généreusement à ses Ennemis vaincus. Vos louanges SIRE en forment la principale partie; la joye que plusieurs Peuple différent y font esclatter, est causée par les biens dont ils vous sont redevables; tout y parle de vostre foire; tout y exprime la félicité de vostre règne." *Temple* followed by three months Lully's *Idylle* on the same subject performed at Sceaux. This ballet coincided with Louis' Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, an act which he justified as a way of ridding France of Protestant heretics.

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performances on 20, 23, 26, and 29 October and 3 and 6 November.[121] Contrary to the *Mercure's* report that *Temple* would play only at Fontainebleau, back at Versailles the work appeared four more times, on 3, 10, 19, and 31 December, in alternation with several French and Italian comedies.[122] Apparently Louis realised that *Armide* would not be ready for Carnival when he ordered two more performances of *Temple*, the ninth and tenth, for 14 and 21 January of the new year, allowing Delalande time to complete *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse.*[123] In addition to *Temple* and *Jeunesse*, the court continued its usual schedule of French and Italian comedies. Additionally, Montespan sponsored one *mascarade* in her apartment on 17 January and performances of acts from Desmaret's new opera *Endymion* appeared on 19, 21, and 23 February and 5 March, 1686. The Dauphine hosted a repeat of *Idylle sûr la*

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[121]Archival documents differ slightly, mentioning six rehearsals and nine performances at Fontainebleau and two rehearsals and four performances at Versailles. See A.N. O[1]2984 #7 and Benoit Musiques 1971, p. 103. The death of the Princesse de Conty on 9 November, 1685, meant the cancellation of additional performances of *Temple* at Fontainebleau. See Dangeau 9 November 1685 and the *Mercure Galant*, November 1685, p. 190. Most other musical events cited here are mentioned in Dangeau on the date of performance.

[122]*Mercure Galant*, October 1685, p. 352. Dangeau specifies these repeats of *Temple*. He also reports that the performance on the 19th was to be the last, but on that date the king ordered yet another for the end of the month, pointing out again the *ad hoc* nature of performances at court.

[123]It is difficult to assess the reasons for the delay of *Armide*. The *Mercure* blames Quinault's tardiness in completing the text, although Dangeau recorded on 12 December 1685 that Monseigneur and the Dauphine read the text to at least part of the work, implying that the work was well under way by then. See the *Mercure*, February 1686, p. 292. Isherwood says that Louis, on observing Lully's periodic illnesses during the fall and winter of 1685, feared that *Armide* would not be ready by Carnival, and so asked Delalande to prepare *Jeunesse*. See Isherwood 1973, p. 237. To Lully's dismay, *Armide* premiered not in the presence of the king but at the Paris Opéra, on 15 February, one of six of his *tragédies lyriques* to miss a court premier. (The others were *Alceste*, 1674; *Fêtes de l'Amour*, 1672; *Bellérophon*, 1679; *Persée*, 1683, and *Cadmus*, 1673. See Schneider 1982, p. 52-53; Ducrot, 1970; and the *Mercure Galant* in these years). According to Dangeau, on 5 April, 1686, Quinault asked to be relieved of his duties of writing texts. He died on 26 November 1688. Lully collaborated with Jean Gilbert de Campistron for his last theater work, *Acis et Galatée.*

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Paix on 7 March during her *appartement* and the court's premiere of *Armide* on 30 March.

Delalande's timetable in preparing *Jeunesse* will never be known in detail. He probably began the *ballet* at least by the beginning of January, 1686, and more probably by the time of the court's return to Versailles in November, 1685.[124] Furthermore, financial accounts about *Jeunesse* in the *Menus Plaisirs* are dated 1685. These entries are interspersed with similar records for *Temple*, emphasizing the similarity of the two works in schedule and scope and indicating that much of *Jeunesse* was planned by the end of 1685.[125] *Jeunesse* played on each of the five remaining Mondays in Carnival between 28 January and 25 February, in alternation with the usual French and Italian comedies and *appartement*.[126] While Louis' illnesses prevented his attending many affairs that winter, Dangeau's report of 11 February that the king could not hear *Jeunesse*

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[124]How much the king may have used Delalande against Lully cannot be determined, but Louis certainly held Delalande in high regard and considered him a good "backup" for Lully's delays. Louis may have lost patience with Lully's selfish behavior, especially since Louis himself had experienced a reform of his own personal values when he married Madame de Maintenon. James Anthony cites Dangeau's report of 1685 that Lully "was informed that (the king) had pardoned him in the past (for his overt homosexual behavior) but that in the future he must conduct himself properly." (Parenthesis mine). See Anthony, *New Grove*, "Lully," p. 317. Mélèse hints that the Lully faction initially spread the word that *Jeunesse* was not a pleasing work. See Mélèse 1934 Rep, p. 181. Robert Isherwood writes that "Lully's suspicion and rancor were not justified but were understandable in light of his habit of expecting preferential treatment from the king." See Isherwood 1973, p. 237.

[125]The *Mercure* reports that the king commanded several *divertissements* for Fontainebleau, yet only *Temple* played there. Since the Fontainebleau trip was cut short, possibly *Jeunesse* was one of those other intended works. The journal also indicates that the design of the dances for *Jeunesse* was planned at Fontainebleau, presumably meaning the plan and contents of the *entrées*. See the *Mercure*, February 1686, p. 292ff.

[126]For reports on the premiere see Dangeau on that date. See also the *Mercure*, January 1686, p. 290 and February 1686, p. 312-314. As with most other Delalande secular works, apparently *Jeunesse* was never revived. Could a *ballet* such as the one held at Marly on 28 December 1687 which Dangeau refers to without name have been a repeat of a work already in the repertoire?

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on that date may imply that he was present for at least the first two performances of the *ballet*, the diarist reporting the different or unusual circumstances for this third production.[127]

While *Temple* and *Jeunesse* resemble one another in nearly every category of cost listed in the payment records and also in the relative amounts of monies spent on each production, the higher total for *Temple* over that for *Jeunesse* can be explained in part by the greater number of performances of the Lully work.[128] These financial accounts include expenses for such items as the transportation of instruments, the housing and nourishment of performers, the design and construction of new costumes, shoes, and wigs, the refurbishing of costumes, and the costs of candles.[129]

C. COLLABORATORS

Choosing Delalande and Dancourt to collaborate with established artists like Beauchamp and Bérain on the creation of *Jeunesse* points out both the respect which the composer and librettist apparently had established with the

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[127]Dangeau offers a clue about the length of performance of *Jeunesse* and its accompanying comedy when he says that Louis would having trouble sitting for three hours if he attended on 11 February. Sourches wrote that Louis suffered from a tumor at this time. Dangeau recorded on 4 February 1686 that Louis did not go out much and on 22 February the *Gazette de France* reported that the king was confined to bed but by the 27th was again in good health, and by 22 March 1686 was back in bed with another tumor. Because the king's illness was prolonged but not very severe, Carnival activities continued uninterrupted.

[128]*Temple* cost approximately 50,000 *livres*, while *Jeunesse* totalled about 39,000 *livres*. Most accounts from the mid-1680's acknowledge that the grander Lullian *spectacle* is a thing of the past, and that the indoor theater *ballet*, while elaborate on its own terms, is a more practical genre for the court. For example, see the *Mercure*, February 1686, p. 293, regarding *Jeunesse*: "C'estoit le premier que l'on avoit destiné pour y paroistre. Quoy qu'il n'eust pas esté préparé sûr le pied des opéra, dont le Roy régale la Cour tous les Hyvers, comme on ne sçauroit rien faire en France qui n'ait du grand, quand mesme on a resolu de ne donner que de simple Mascarades, ce Balet parut si beau, & l'on trouva que M. de Lully avoit si bien reussi en tout ce qui estoit de luy dans cet Ouvrage."

[129]See AN $O^1$2821 and $O^1$2822.

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king by 1686, as well as the ease with which the king could disrupt Lully's monopolistic control over the court's music. As usual, we know little about the actual method of collaboration between Delalande and his choreographer and designer: there is no indication that their seniority placed them in command of the production.[130]

An examination of Delalande's relationship with Dancourt can provide a somewhat clearer idea of Delalande's relationship with one of his collaborators. Similarities between the professional status of Dancourt and Delalande made their partnership a logical one in the mid-1680's, when the court needed new talent and youthful spirit. Dancourt was only twenty-five in 1686 but, like Delalande, was also held in great esteem by the king.[131] By 1685 he had already gained experience in musical theater, having collaborated with Charpentier in the summer of 1685 on *Dialogue d'Angélique et de Médor* at the Comédie Française.[132] Dancourt may also have held some dislike for Lully. *Angélique*, which premiered on 18 July 1685, satirized Lully's *Roland*, which opened at court on 2 January 1685 and in Paris on 8 February. From that point of view, Dancourt may have jumped at the chance to contribute to

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[130]According to the *Mercure*, Beauchamp's *entrées* created pleasing variety. See the journal, February 1686, p. 293-94. Bérain's contribution included new costumes as well as the design for the title page of the Ballard text. It is not clear how much scenery Bérain designed for the *ballet*.

[131]Born 1 November 1661, the same day as the Dauphin, Dancourt studied law before joining the Comédie Française in February 1685, where he excelled in performaning comic roles. He wrote his first play for the company, *Le Notaire Obligéant*, later called *Les Fonds Perdus*, in June of that year, and created a total of over ninety works for the company during his lifetime, specializing in the comedy of manners. Voltaire said that what Molière is to comedy, Dancourt is to farce. See Dancourt *Oeuvres*, XIX, p. 91. The king honored him with a special benevolence, as well as special friendship.

[132]See Hitchcock 1982, p. 381, entry #506. Dancourt's involvement with music in his productions continued for the remainder of his life. His next work with Delalande after *Jeunesse* was *La Comédie des Fées* in 1699.

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Jeunesse, since it would substitute for *Armide*.[133]

Few critics refer to the play or plays by Dancourt which accompanied *Jeunesse*. Dangeau is the most explicit reporter, citing "d'Ancourt" as the author of the verse of the *ballet* and also of the accompanying comedy, "qu'on a trouvés bien plus jolies qu'on ne l'avoit cru." Dangeau also reported that for the fourth performance of *Jeunesse* a new but unnamed comedy by Dancourt appeared.[134] André Blanc suggests that only one play, *Le Notaire Obligéant*, played with *Jeunesse*, and that this work was used in part because it appeared previously at court only for a private audience at Marly in August, 1685. This play satirized Quinault's *La Mère Coquette* of 1665.[135] Since Dancourt had written only two other comedies by January of 1686 --- *Les Nouvellistes de Lille* in October 1683 and *Angélique et Medor* --- the possible choices for the other comedy which played with *Jeunesse* are limited.[136]

D. SOURCES

Music: *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* is Delalande's third stage work examined in this study to survive in full score. Surprisingly, excerpts from *Jeunesse* do

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[133]Dancourt's most recent biographer, André Blanc, notes the special opportunity for Dancourt to step in for Quinault, whom Blanc calls the official librettist of the court. See Blanc 1977, p. 56.

[134]Dangeau 28 January and 18 February 1686.

[135]See Blanc 1977, p. 56 ff. Blanc cites the research of the American scholar Robert Starr, which I have been unable to locate. *Le Notaire Obligéant* would have been a logical choice for court, since the work had already succeeded on the public stage and went on to become one of Dancourt's most popular works. Henry Lancaster summarizes the play. See Lancaster 1942, IV, p. 589-591.

[136]See Lancaster 1942, vol. IV, p. 579-583.

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not appear in any of the principal collections of *simphonies* by Delalande.[137]

Jeunesse is also the composer's only secular work existing in two different complete scores. The more important of these was copied by Philidor and is housed today in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Versailles; the other is found in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris.[138] The title page of the Philidor score clearly cites Delalande as the composer. (Figure VI-1.)[139]

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[137]The absence of any mention of *Jeunesse* in $Vm^6 5$ is particularly curious, since that manuscript includes movements from all the principal court productions of the mid-1680's. Three movements from *Jeunesse* are included in $Vm^6 5$ but are not labeled as such, since they also appeared in *Ballet de Mr. Delalande* of 1690/91. See the following essay, **Le Palais de Flore**, for more on the anthology $Vm^6 5$.

[138]I will refer to these sources as, respectively, the "Philidor manuscript" and the "Arsenal manuscript."

[139]By contrast, see the title pages to *Fontaines* and *Esculape*, on which Philidor's name looms larger.

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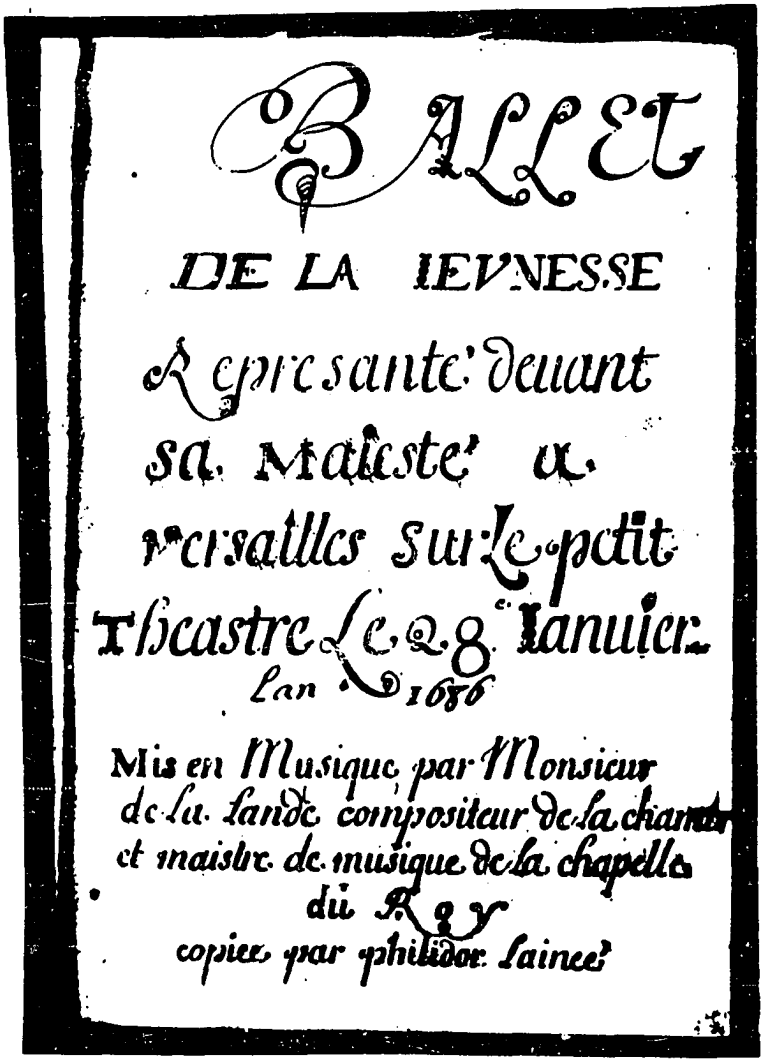


Figure VI-1: *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: V Ms Mus 79, title page

The date of the Philidor manuscript cannot be determined precisely. Certainly it was copied before 1702, the date of the inventory marker at the bottom of the first page of notation. Philidor probably produced this score before 1689, the year of Delalande's appointment as *surintendant* of the chamber music, a post which Philidor would have mentioned had he copied the score after that date.[140]

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[140]There is no evidence that *Jeunesse* was part of the large number of Philidor's copying projects in 1689 and 1690. The paper used for *Jeunesse* bears the watermark of a cluster of grapes, sometimes in a circle, found in many other Philidor copies. One page of the inner cover appears with a watermark of "BR."

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Without doubt the Arsenal manuscript was copied from the Philidor source. The number of pages and layout of each page in the Arsenal score matches the Philidor copy exactly, even down to the repetition of errors.[141] The Arsenal manuscript does not contain a title page. Additionally, many of the pencil markings and corrections in the Philidor score are matched in the Arsenal manuscript. The Arsenal source also includes a variety of hands, frequently arranged in such a way that a page could only have been produced by consulting a master copy. Finally, the Arsenal score is not nearly as grand as the Philidor manuscript: the copyists' hands are less clear and the binding of the score is less elaborate, indicating that it may have been produced for a private music library. The only indication of a date is the pencil inscription of 1690 on the inside front cover, which might refer to the year of the preparation of the score.

Texts: The printed texts of *Jeunesse* form two families, those published by Ballard at the time of the production and those printed at least a decade or more later in Amsterdam. The records of the Menus Plaisirs indicate that Ballard printed 2150 copies of the work. Several minor discrepancies among the Ballard copies examined thus far indicate that at least two runs of this text must have been printed. One version, as represented by F Pn Yf868, omits an exact date on its title page, while another copy, exemplified by F Po Liv 17[12, supplies a complete date of "28e janvier." The Dutch copies certainly were copied from the Ballard text. Many of these include the name of the Dutch publisher, Schelte. Apparently this Dutch version was also reprinted, possibly not by Schelte.[142]

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[141] See Bert 1957, p. 61.

[142] I also discuss these Dutch texts in my **Summary of Works. Sources: 2. E.**

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E. OUTLINE OF MUSIC AND TEXT

An understanding of the *ballet de cour* as a genre of musical theater in the 1680's can assist our evaluation of *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*. The "invention" of the *tragédie lyrique* in 1672 took its toll on the popularity of the *ballet de cour* after that date.[143] In the 1680's Lully wrote only two court *ballets*, *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* in 1681, in twenty *entrées*, and *Le Temple de la Paix* of 1685, in six *entrées*. Both works featured pastoral and exotic characters performing a variety of vocal and instrumental music and dance. Both evince the influence of the *tragédie lyrique* in their integration of vocal solos and dancing into the dramatic content of the *ballet* and in their greater emphasis on dramatic unity than had been used in earlier *ballets*.

Delalande's *Jeunesse* and *Le Palais de Flore* resemble late *ballets* by Lully in both subject matter and structure. Of the four *ballets* from the 1680's, *Jeunesse* differs most from the earlier format of the *ballet de cour* in that the Delalande work consists of only three *intermèdes* and a prologue alternating with a spoken comedy, while *Temple*, for example, includes the more typical succession of *entrées* uninterrupted by other stage action. Additionally, in each of *Jeunesse's* four sections the dance is relegated to a position of no greater importance than the music and drama.[144]

The surviving sources of *Jeunesse* make it possible to describe the work in detail. Generally, each *intermède* in *Jeunesse* is set to continuous or nearly continuous music which supports the dramatic unity of each section. The

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[143]As James Anthony points out, "by the 1680's the *ballet de cour* had lost most of its identity with the court," in part because Louis stopped dancing in public in 1671. See Anthony 1978, p. 44-45.

[144]Anthony 1978, p. 45, calls *Jeunesse* a "synthesis between opera and ballet" and an important predecessor of the *opéra-ballet*, a genre first produced by André Campra in 1697.

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instrumental writing is usually in five voices, although several three-voice passages do appear, generally to accompany a reduced choir or as connecting *ritournelles*. The orchestration of most instrumental movements is not specified except in several passages for pairs of flutes and one for pairs of oboes. The score also does not specify instrumentation for the bass line and figures rarely occur.[145] Vocal passages consist of solo airs in the simple style seen in *Fontaines*, a few duets, and a preponderance, at least in number of measures, of choruses, which are usually in homophonic texture of four or five voices accompanied by full orchestra. *Jeunesse* includes proportionately fewer passages of recitative than found in *Fontaines*. The complete composition containes no apparent overall tonal organization, emphasizing the dramatic as well as musical independence of each section.[146]

The overture and prologue together comprise the longest portion of the *ballet* (110 of the score's 290 pages). The "Ouverturre" is in two sections, of sixteen and forty-two measures respectively, the first in a slow duple meter and the second in a quicker triple meter (indicated with a signature of *3*) in six quarters per measure. This second section deviates from the Lullian model in that it starts with five of the six possible instrumental lines (the violins are divided and the bass has rests) playing a three-part, homophonic texture, rather
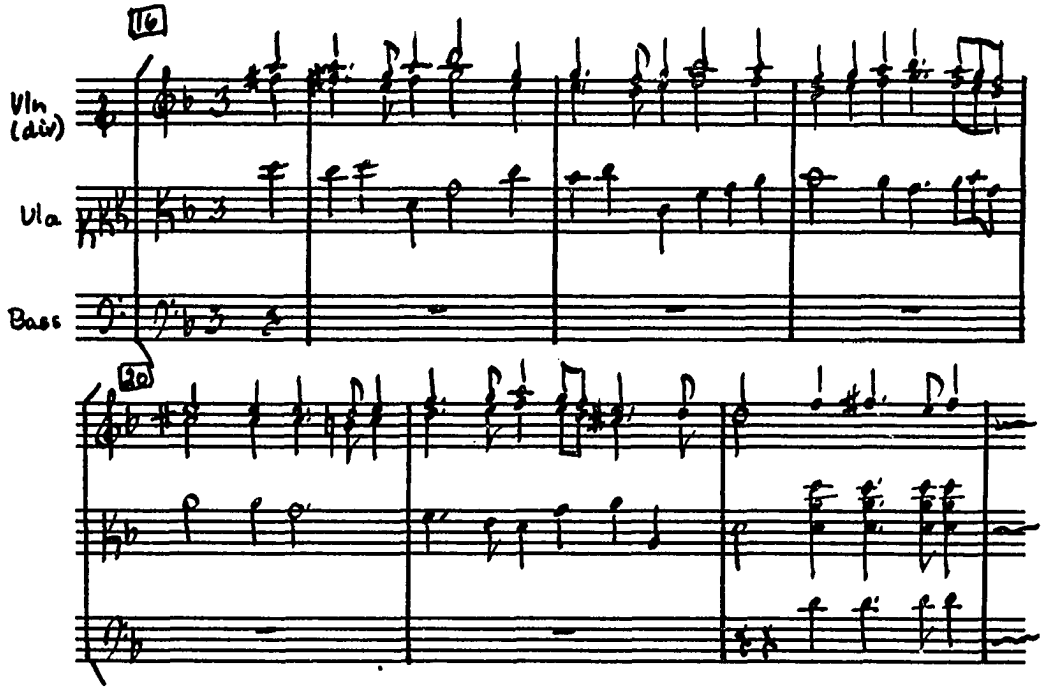
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[145]Figured bass is found only on p. 195 in the first six measures of the solo for the "Premier Homme de Crète."

[146]The prologue opens in the key of the "Ouverturre," G minor, but shifts to D major half way through. The first *intermède* remains totally in C minor, while the second is in A major after its two opening dances in C major, a key possibly chosen for the transition from the preceding *intermede*. The third *intermede* is the least homogenous, with key changes having no apparent dramatic associations: the first half moves between C major and F major, while the second half is in variously A major and D major.

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than successive imitative entries:[147]



Example 6-1: *Ballet de la Jeunesse*: "Ouverturre," m. 16-22
V Ms Mus 79, p. 2

In the manner of Lully's *tragédies lyriques* and late *ballets*, the prologue of *Jeunesse* contains the largest number of performers and the greatest variety of dramatic and musical content. From the prologue on, the stage represents the palace of Versailles, which Pales, goddess of the shepherds, and a chorus of thirty to forty shepherds, invite us to admire. Solos, duets, and choral movements by Pales and the shepherds in the first half of the prologue reiterate Louis' capacity to bring peace and freedom in order to engage in love:[148]

> Quand tout est calme sur la terre,
> Que tous les coeurs le soient sans cette heureuse Cour,
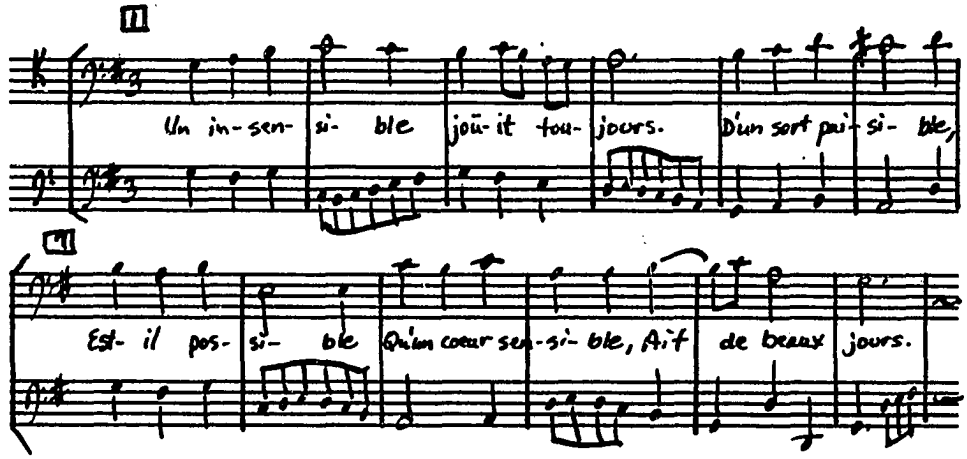
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[147]In this opening, the three viola lines are in unison. Throughout *Jeunesse* the violin line frequently divides into two, especially when the bass or an inner part or parts drops out. Sometimes the score includes two different lines for the violin parts, even in unison passages.

[148]*Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Prologue: V Ms Mus 79, p. 42.

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Un HEROS nous deffend des fureurs de la guerre,
Deffendons-nous des charmes de l'Amour.

The simplicity of most of the shepherds' music is illustrated by the air for the "Troisième Berger" located half way through the prologue. In ABA form, the song is marked by regular phrasing, a simple melodic line, and a mostly syllabic setting of the text. The forty-four measure movement does not modulate from G major.
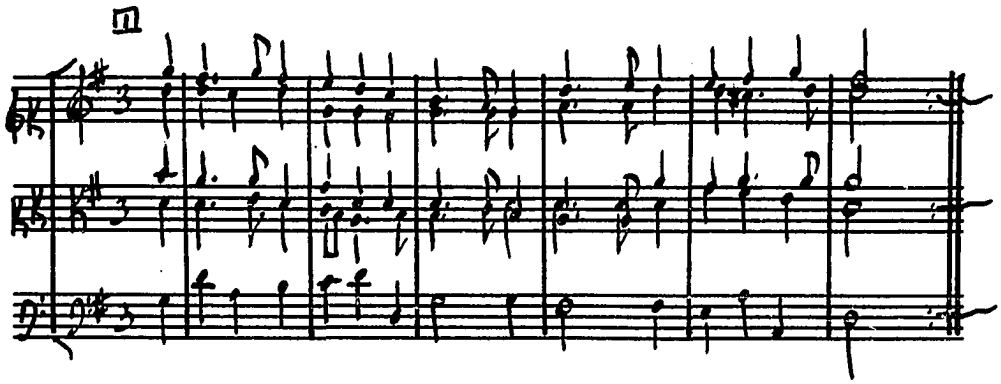


Example 6-2: *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Prologue: "Un insensible" m. 1-12
V Ms Mus 79, p. 59

The singing shepherds are interrupted by four dances performed by seven shepherdesses.[149] The opening of the last of these, the "2^{e} Air," illustrates Delalande's typical five-part scoring. This danced air is in binary form, of six plus eleven measures, with a modulation to the dominant by the end of the first section. The excerpt included here features Delalande's usual balance of activity in all voices and occasional crossing of parts. Again short phrases in homophonic style dominate.
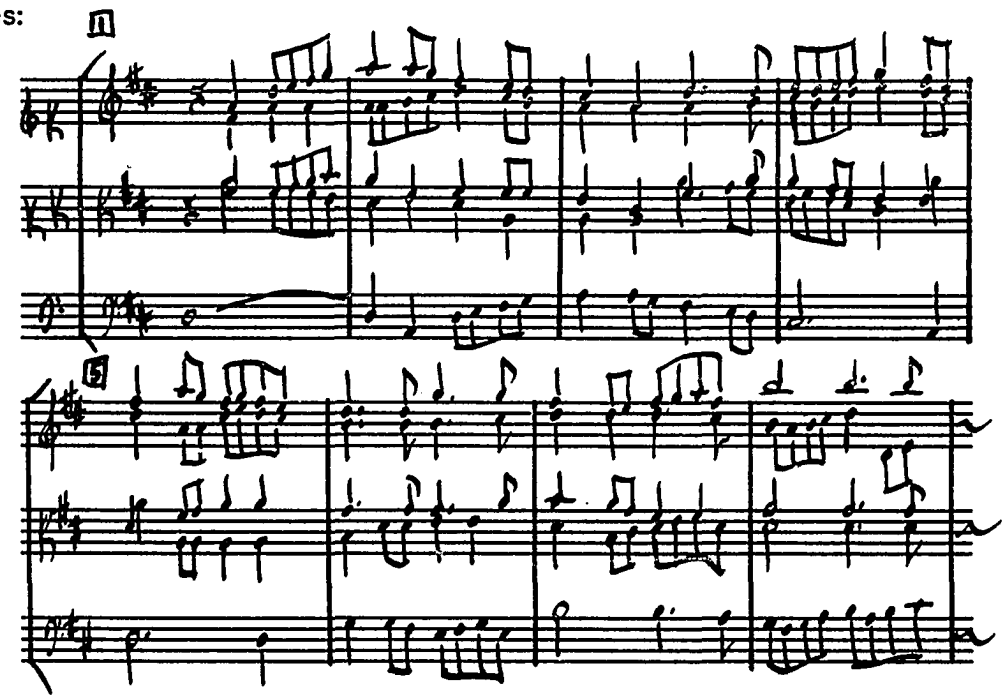
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[149]Philidor score, pp. 16 & 17, "Premier air des Bergers" and "2^{e} Air des Bergers," and p. 63 & 64, two "Airs."

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Example 6-3: *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Prologue: "2^{e} Air," m. 1-6; V Ms Mus 79, p. 64

The entrance of Mercure signals the second half of the prologue. His appearance is announced by a five-voice "Prélude" in the new tonal center of D major. This is the first instrumental movement in *Jeunesse* which apparently did not accompany dancing, this one functioning as an intermediate overture. Delalande's style in the twenty-nine measure movement differs from the dance music in the first part of the prologue by its through-composed form, less consistently homophonic texture, and overlapping phrases in many of the voices:



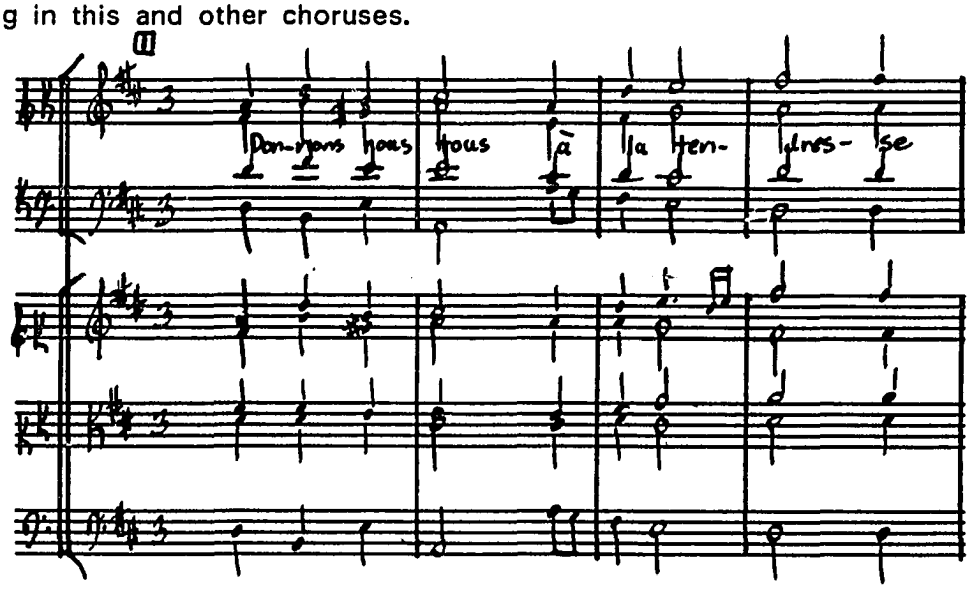
Example 6-4: *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Prologue: "Prélude," m. 1-8; V Ms Mus 79, p. 69

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Mercure, the shepherd choir, and the orchestra continue with a choral movement resembling the style of Mercure's "Prélude" as they introduce the *ballet's* principal character, Jeunesse, and her suite of four Graces:[150]
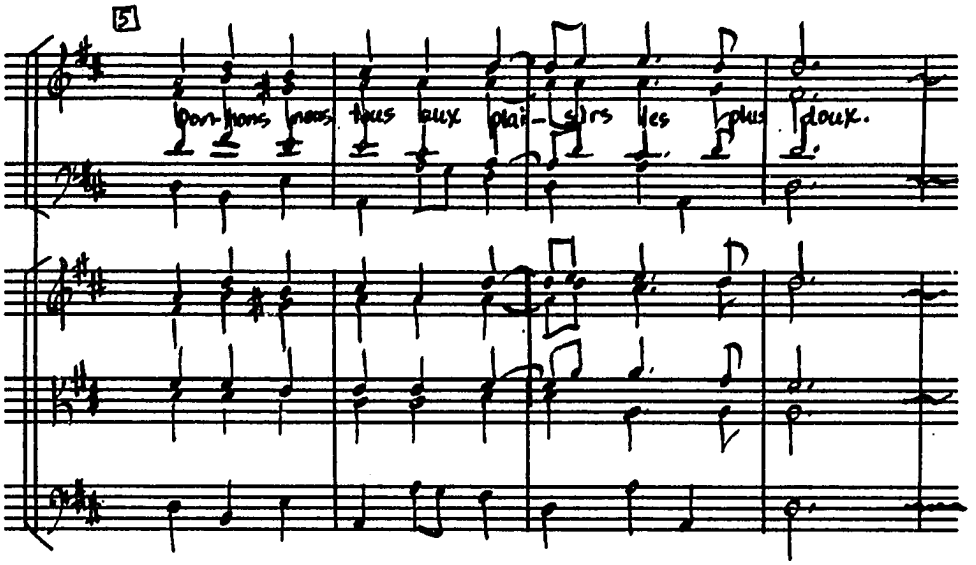
> Redoublons nos chants d'allégresse
> Les plus grandes Divinitez,
> Les Graces, l'aimable jeunesse
> Viennent dans ces lieux enchantez.

Jeunesse and her Suite respond with two dances, a "Passepied" and a "Gigue." A short air by Pales then reminds Jeunesse of Amour's devotion to her. An eighty-eight measure movement for four-part choir and five-part orchestra concludes the prologue as the assembled shepherds confirm that pleasure, love, and youth will flourish in the court of His Majesty. The movement is typical of Delalande's full choral writing observed in *Fontaines.* Passages for choir and orchestra together alternate with instrumental interludes. A short text is repeated several times over and the style of the choral passages is almost consistently homophonic. Generally the inner lines of the orchestra do not double the inner voices of the choir, adding to the expansive sound of choral writing in this and other choruses.



[150] *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Prologue: V Ms Mus 79, p. 72-84.

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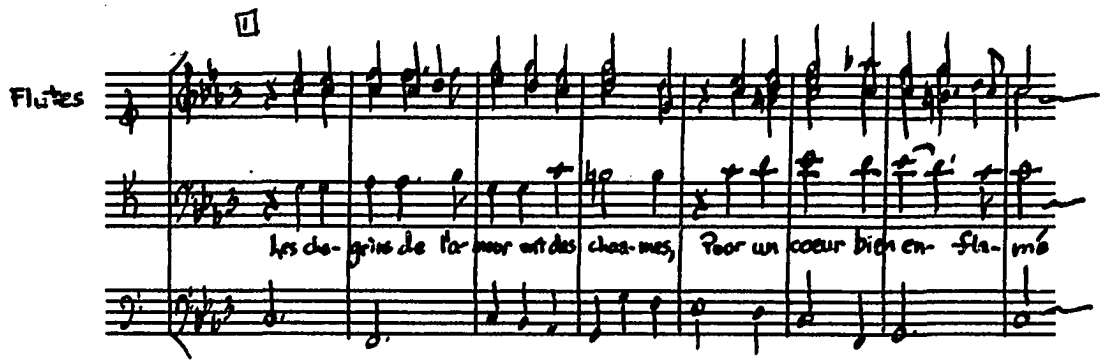
Example 6-5: *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Prologue: "Donnons nous tous à la tendresse," m. 1-8; V Ms Mus 79, p. 93

Jeunesse's three *intermedes* include subject matter typical of other *ballets* of the period.[151] *Jeunesse's* first *intermède* concerns a lovers' spat between shepherd Tircis (a tenor) and shepherdess Philis (a soprano), who spend most of the *intermède* in dialogue recitative discussing the cruelty of love, only to conclude that tenderness is the true master of all hearts. Tircis' solo at the conclusion of the *intermède* is one of the few movements in the *ballet* where the instrumentation is specified: two flutes accompany the voices. These instruments may symbolize the pastoral setting of this *intermède* and the resolution of troubled love.

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[151]The six *entrées* in *Temple* feature similar characters, such as singing and dancing nymphs and shepherds, Basques, Bretons, American savages, and Africans.

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Example 6-6: *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Intermède I: "Les chagrins de l'amour," m. 1-8 V Ms Mus 79, p. 123

The printed text of *Jeunesse* also lists four male and two female pantomimists in the first *intermède.*[152] The text provides no stage directions for these characters. Apparently they supplemented the action on stage while Tircis and Philis sang.

The second *intermède* contrasts with the first. It features a troop of Moors and contains a higher proportion of instrumental music. It also emphasizes the choir, which consisted of five women and twelve men. The five male and six female dancing Moors open the *intermède* with a "Contradanse" in C major and a "Sarabande" in A major. Both movements are in binary form, the first in twenty-one measures, the second in sixteen measures. Additional dancing occurs during the 497-measure "Chaconne," the centerpiece of both the *intermède* and the entire *ballet.* The subject matter of the "Chaconne" is announced in an introductory air exhorting the assembly to follow their hearts where love is concerned.[153] Scored for five-part chorus and five-part orchestra (the bass is written out twice in the choral sections), this movement differs from the "Chaconne" in *Fontaines* in its alternation of passages for full chorus and orchestra with vocal solos and ensembles and

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[152]The function and role of pantomime in French stage works of this period has not yet been carefully studied.

[153]The air is found in the Philidor score on p. 131-134. The "Chaconne" runs from p. 135 through 193.

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also with segments for instruments alone. Delalande has maintained variety and inventiveness of orchestration, harmonic movement, and figuration throughout the movement, whose sixty-one variations are built on the usual eight-measure theme.[154] The movement is in A major and contains five modulations to the parallel minor and three into C major. Occasionally the instrumental passages are reduced, as during the first vocal solo, accompanied only by the basso continuo, or during the second solo, when the instrumental writing is in three parts. In some instances the choral texture thins out to three voices, as during the text "N'attirons point les traits de sa vengence."[155] Dancing in the movement is unspecified, but the extended instrumental opening probably accompanied movement on stage. Because the dancers in this *intermède* included prominent courtiers and stars from the Opéra, the "Chaconne" may have featured several solos.

The third *intermède* presents the inhabitants of Crète, who honor Jupiter for sanctioning a marriage between two young gods. This final *intermède* approximates the scale of the second: its performers include a choir of eight men and three women, six other men and four other women vocalists, two soloists singing the roles of Hymen and Amour, and eight dancers. The scene divides tonally and topically into two sections. A five-part instrumental movement in C major introduces the characters, who remind us that under the Jupiter (i.e. Louis) love and peace will reign on earth and in the heavens.[156]

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[154]The chaconne's four passages for voices comprise twenty-seven repetitions of the ground, alternating with four instrumental sections built on thirty-five repetitions of the eight-measure pattern. Twenty-nine of these thirty-five patterns occur in the opening instrumental passage before the entrance of the choir, and the remaining six instrumental grounds form three interludes between vocal passages of two grounds each.
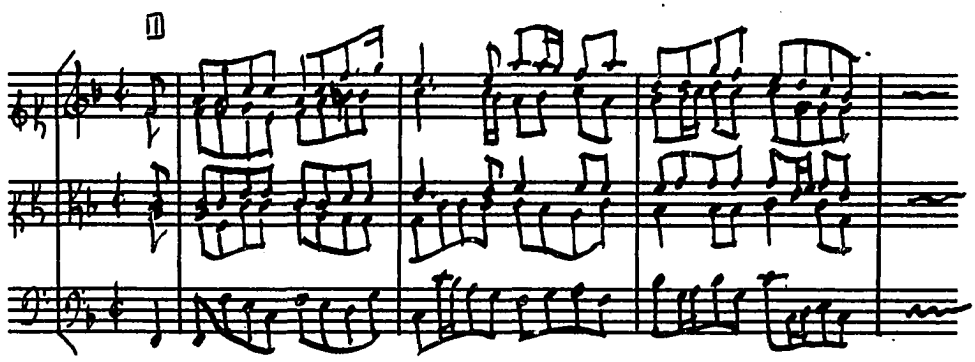
[155]Philidor score, Second Maure p. 155-158; Troisième Maure, p. 159; choir, p. 179-180.

[156]*Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Intermède III: V Ms Mus 79, p. 194-206.

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Que ces Amans sont heureux!
Les biens les plus charmans vont prevenir leurs voeux,
Au bonheur le plus grand Jupiter les élève,
Il ne commence rien que sa Bonte n'achève.

These vocal celebrations are enhanced by three instrumental movements accompanying eight dancers from Crète. The "Marche des Candiots" offers a rousing prelude for the entrance of the Troisième Homme de Crète, a baritone who declares that Jupiter can vanquish any monster. The following "Air de Candiot" continues the upbeat attitude through its disjunct melodic lines and energetic rhythms. This music may have accompanied descriptive movement on stage rather than actual dancing, for generally the phrasing is longer and less predictable than in the instrumental movements bearing conventional dance titles:
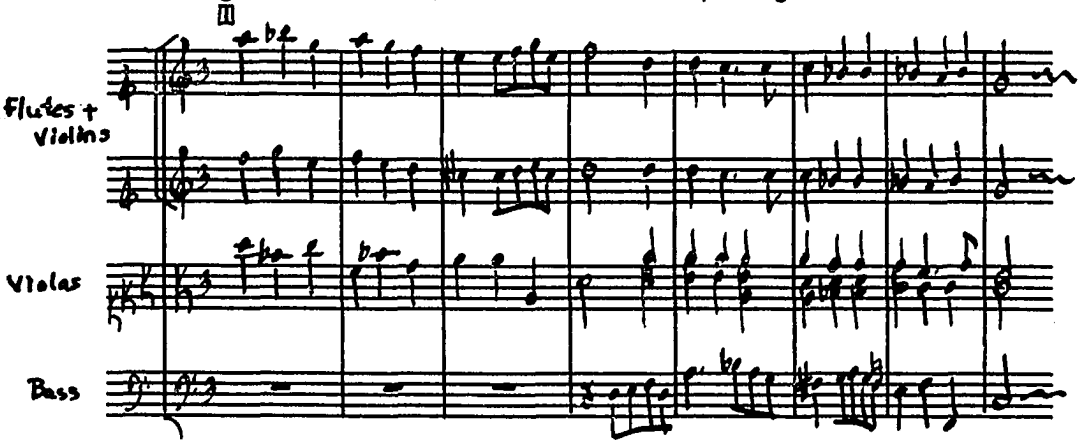


Example 6-7: *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Intermède III: "Marche des Candiot," m. 1-3; V Ms Mus 79, p. 231

The third air of the Candiot, an unidentified movement in triple meter, introduces the final vocal solo in the *intermède*, sung by the Quatrième Homme de Crète." This is the first example in *Jeunesse* of a sung dance. As in *Fontaines*, Delalande derived his two-part vocal version of this air from the five-voice instrumental movement simply by eliminating the three inner voices and, in this case, dropping the melodic line one octave for tenor soloist.

A shift to D minor with the five-voice "Simphonie de fluste" signals the second half of this final *intermède*, as Hymen, Amour, and their suites of three women and four men dancers descend from the heavens (or the sides of

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the stage in the Versailles Salle de Comédie). The lines played by flutes are not specified in the score, which indicates only "les violons fort doucement," implying that the flutes doubled the violin line. Frequently this violin part divides into two when the bass drops out and the three viola lines play in unison, creating a trio texture, as heard at the opening of the movement.



Example 6-8: *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*: Intermède III: "Simphonie de fluste," m. 1-8; V Ms Mus 79, p. 238

The second half of this *intermède* contains the highest proportion of dance music in the *ballet*, supporting a spectacular conclusion. Following an opening chorus, an *entrée* of contrasting dances consists of a "Sarabande," a pair of "Canaris," a repeat of the "Sarabande," and a concluding "Passepied."[157] All movements are in binary form, in four-measure phrasing. The second of the "Canaris," in three voices, is the only movement in the *ballet* to specify oboes. After such pleasant *divertissement*, Hymen and Amour agree to support the success of young lovers, Hymen's final verse sung to the accompaniment of two flutes.

Another "Sarabande," for three flutes in A major, introduces the three-voiced choral movement on the same music, which is sung and danced by the suites of Hymen and Amour. After this choir another "Prélude" shifts the

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[157]The "Sarabande" begins on p. 248, the "Canaris" on p. 250, and the "Passepied" on p. 252 in the score.

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tonality to D Major for the conclusion of the *ballet*. The finale for full chorus and orchestra extols the virtues of Jupiter and his control of love and peace in the world.

Heureux mortels qu'il favorise,
Que vostre sort est beau, qu'il est plain de douceurs,
Qu'elle gloire vous est acquise
D'avoir mérite ses faveurs.

F. PERFORMANCE

Performers: The detailed profile of performers available for *Jeunesse* can suggest what a court *ballet* may have looked like in the 1680's.[158] In view of the growing attrition in the court budget during the 1680's, the relatively large cast in *Jeunesse* speaks to Louis' effort to continue musical-theatrical presentations which recalled the mood if not the actual numbers of the *ballet de cour* of the past. As seen in many other stage works by Delalande, most of the dancers and solo singers performed more than one role. However, none was featured in different roles within one scene or *entrée*.

Jeunesse featured a total of ninety-nine singing assignments, thirty-two of these in the large choir.[159] The *ballet* also included fifty-six dancing roles, and an orchestra which probably numbered twenty-five, for a grand total of one hundred eighty assignments. The prologue contained the greatest number of assignments: fifty-three singers, including the large choir, twenty-four dancers, and the full orchestra. The performers required for the complete *ballet* probably totalled one hundred sixteen: fifty-six singers (forty-nine men, including thirty-two in the large choir, and seven women), thirty-five dancers (twenty men and fifteen women), and twenty-five instrumentalists.

As usual the least amount of information is known about the orchestra. Names of musicians are not listed in the text nor in payment records and

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[158]Many of these performers also appeared in Lully's *Le Temple de la Paix* several months earlier.

[159]Singers in the large choir never doubled as solo or ensemble performers.

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instrumentation is not specified. The singers included four principal soloists, who also sang in some of the *ballet's* ensembles and who figured prominently in other secular productions by Delalande.[160] Eighteen dancers were professionals, the other seventeen were courtiers. Generally the professionals played the more prominent roles and most danced in more than one role.[161]

The seventeen courtiers included eight men and nine women.[162] Most performed only in the larger ensembles of the prologue.[163]

The Performer Chart for *Jeunesse* summarizes data from the printed text of the *ballet* and from archival documents.

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[160]For example, Mademoiselle Delalande (Anne Rebel) performed the lead role of Pales in the prologue and Philis in the first *intermède* and Mademoiselle Ferdinand l'ainé appeared in the prologue as one of the six shepherdesses. Jean-Baptiste Matho sang opposite Mlle Delalande in the first *intermède* as Tircis, as one of the Moors in the second *intermède*, and as one of the men of Crète in the last. Antoine Dufour appeared as a shepherd in the prologue, a Moor in the second *intermède*, and Hymen in the last.

[161]Louis Pécourt, who became choreographer of the Académie de Danse in 1687 on Beauchamp's retirement, appeared in all three *intermèdes*; the young Jean Balon appeared in the Suite de l'Amour in the prologue and in the third *intermède*; choreographer Beauchamp danced in the second *intermède* as one of the Moors; and Mademoiselle Roland appeared in the Prologue as the solo shepherdess and in the first two *intermèdes*, as a pantomimist and a Moor, respectively. Balon served Delalande for the longest period of any of the dancers. He choreographed Delalande's three Regency ballets. Pécourt also continued to dance as late as the Regency works.

[162]It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to determine the position in court of the nobles who danced in Delalande's court works. Clearly there were political as well as artistic motivations behind the appearance of most courtiers in court productions. A profile of dancing courtiers would make an interesting sociological study of the connection between art and court politics.

[163]However, the thirteen-year-old Madame La Duchesse de Bourbon appeared in the prologue in the title role of Jeunesse, probably recalling her performance in that same role in the grander 1681 production of *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* at Saint-Germain-en-laye. She also danced with the Opéra dancers as a Moor in the second *intermède*, and in the Suite of Hymen in the third. The most important dancing male courtier was M. le Comte de Brionne, who appeared with the Moors and the Hommes de Crète in the second and third *intermèdes* respectively.

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LE BALLET DE LA JEUNESSE

SINGERS : Solo Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	21	14	7
Intermède I	2	1	1
Intermède II	22	16	6
Intermède III	22	15	7
TOTALS	67	46	21

DANCERS : Parts[164]

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	24-*17*, 7	12, *8*, 4	12, *9*, 3
Intermède I	6- *0*, 6	4- *0*, 4	2- *0*, 2
Intermède II	11- *2*, 9	6- *1*, 5	5- *2*, 3
Intermède III	15- *4*, 11	12- *3*, 9	3- *1*, 2
TOTALS	56-*23*, 33	34-*12*, 22	22- *12*, 10

GRAND TOTALS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	67	46	21
Choir	32	32	----
Dancers	56	34	22
Instrumentalists	25?	25?	----
TOTALS	180?	137?	43

GRAND TOTALS : Personnel

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	24	17	7
Chorus Singers	32	32	0
Dancers	35- *17*, 18	20- *8*, 12	15- *9*, *6*
Instrumentalists	25?	25?	----
TOTALS	116?	94?	22

Figure VI-2: Performer Chart: Le Ballet de la Jeunesse

Site: The Salle de Comédie at Versailles was constructed in 1685 within the passageway connecting the Cour des Princes in the front of the château with the Parterre du Midi behind. It was intended as a temporary theater until

[164]Italics indicate courtiers.

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a permanent opera house could be built in the north wing of the château. (**Figure III-3.**) However, this little theater served as the château's only permanent hall until 1770, when the opera house which still stands today was finally completed.[165] The hall was the smallest of the court theaters in which Delalande's stage works appeared. It measured approximately ten and one half by eighteen meters wall-to-wall and was probably three to four meters high. Unlike most French stages of the period, the stage in this theater was wider than it was deep, measuring approximately eight by five meters. The orchestra pit ran in front of the stage for a width of approximately one and one half meters.[166] The stage included no mechanical devices either above or below, and there seems to have been no space for flats because of the need to leave room to enter and exit the stage through the three doorways at the sides and rear. (**Figure VI-2.**)

The auditorium included nine rows of seatbanks on the floor level and six boxes on the mezzanine level between splays along the side walls. The royal box was in its usual central position on the mezzanine at the rear. The stairways to most boxes were narrow and the boxes themselves confining.[167] Henri LaGrave estimates that the seating capacity was about three hundred.[168] The theater must have served this *ballet* production well both visually and

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[165]The passageway on the site of the Salle de Comédie was restored in the nineteenth century.

[166]One surviving plan of this area indicates enough seats for the king's violins. See Lesure 1972, p. 20.

[167]In 1688 Dangeau reported that Madame de Mailly bumped her head very severely on leaving a box, while the Marquis de Luynes in 1735 complained that heat in the theater was cumbersome and the atmosphere unbreathable, often causing a breakdown in proper court etiquette.

[168]La Grave 1972, p. 134. My estimates of the area and the amount of space required for each spectator yield a figure between 200 and 250. Archival information says that over two thousand copies of the texts for *Jeunesse* were published. If many of these texts were used at performance, an average of four hundred would have been available for each of the five performances.

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acoustically, for no members of the audience were very far from the stage.

Stage direction in the printed text of *Jeunesse* help explain how the theater accommodated the large number of performers. The large chorus of thirty voices sang from two of the balconies, which would have reduced the seating capacity for spectators by approximately ten percent. Apparently the smaller choruses of ten and nineteen singers occupied the stage along the sides and rear, leaving room for solo singers and dancers in the center of the stage. No choreographies for *Jeunesse* survive, so an impression of the placement and movement of dancers can be based only on information in the text. The prologue included a total of twenty-four dancers: the largest ensemble in that section of the *ballet* consisted of seven shepherds and seven shepherdesses. In *entrées* of this size it is possible that some of the dancers, perhaps the courtiers, may have lined the sides of the stage while the lead dancers performed solos and ensembles in the center.

A theater of these intimate dimensions must have provided a much different environment for both *Le Temple de la Paix* and *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* than the court had been accustomed to in *spectacles* of former decades. *Jeunesse* must have achieved some measure of success, for three years later Delalande produced a similar *ballet*, *Le Palais de Flore*, in the Salle de Comédie of the Grand Trianon.

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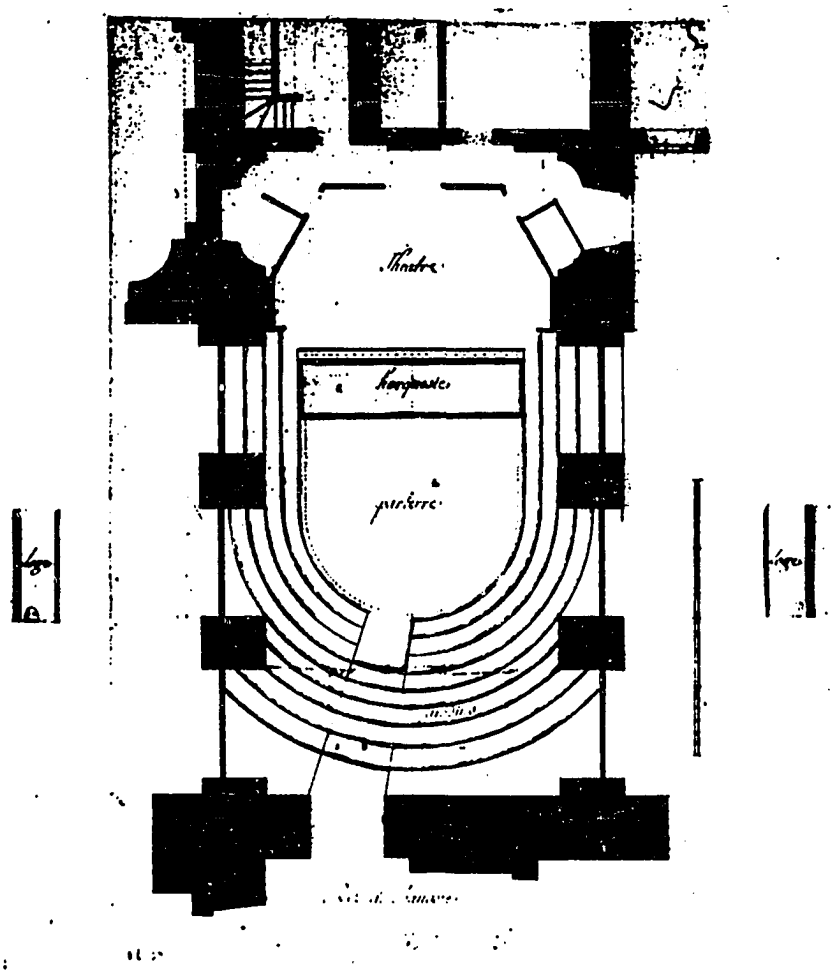


Figure VI-3: Versailles: Salle de Comédie: Pn Cab Est Va 361 VI

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VII. LE PALAIS DE FLORE

A. INTRODUCTION

Le Palais de Flore, also called *Le Ballet de Flore*, resembles *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* in scope of production, purpose and function in court, and general subject matter. Unlike *Jeunesse*, however, *Palais* did not accompany a spoken comedy. Containing features of both court and theater *ballet*, with both courtier and professional dancers, *Palais* enjoyed four public rehearsals in December, 1688, and eight performances in January and February, 1689. The work was created in response to Louis' request to celebrate the return of his son, Monseigneur, from a command of troops in the War of the League of Augsburg the previous December. The *ballet* also served as part of the court's Carnival entertainment in 1689. The text of the work was probably written by the Abbé Genest, with designs by Jean Bérain and choreography by Pierre Beauchamp. The production appeared in the Salle de Comédie of the newly rebuilt Trianon palace, whose patroness Flore, goddess of springtime, enabled flowers to return during the depths of winter for the celebration of Monseigneur's return. The work was Delalande's first production after his appointment as *surintendant de la musique de la chambre* on 9 January 1689.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

An understanding of France's military situation in 1689 is important for an accurate interpretation of *Palais*. The *ballet* celebrates the return of Louis' son to court after the Siege of Philipsburg, an early battle in Europe's nine-year War of the League of Augsburg, which pitted France against most of the other nations of Europe. Tensions mounted during the summer of 1688 as Louis contemplated the invasion of Germany through Philipsburg and Kaiserlautern in order to conquer the Rhineland. Finally on 10 September of that year, six thousand French soldiers entered Cologne, and within days the war had spread to Avignon, Belgrade, Rome, and England, involving France in

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what John B. Wolf calls the "First World War."[169]

Although Louis knew that France did not possess the resources for a major confrontation at that time, he entered the battlefield anyway because he thought that he could quickly and easily expand France's territories to the east.[170] This naive assurance of success, combined with intermittent illnesses, led the fifty-year-old king to put his son in active charge of the troops for the first time in Monseigneur's military career.[171] Monseigneur's effectiveness on the battlefield, as in most everything else, was minimal, lacking as he did both military experience and the strong will of his father. Fortunately, he had several competent generals, such as the Duc de Duras, "commanding under his orders."[172]

Monseigner left Versailles for the conflict on 25 September 1688.[173] News of France's defeat of Philipsburg reached the court during the first days of November, prompting preparations for a celebration as early as the 16th of

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[169]See Wolf 1968, Chapters 27 and 28.

[170]See Wolf 1968, p. 442-443.

[171]Monseigneur had previously served in battle only as ceremonial leader during Louis' brief illnesses during the 1680's. Dangeau reports that Louis is to have said to his son before leaving for battle: "You command my army: I am giving you the chance to prove your merits: go show them to all Europe so that when I die no one will notice that the king is dead." See Wolf 1968 p. 446. Monseigneur's substituting for his father continued throughout the 1690's in other areas of court activity less life-threatening than the battlefield, such as in entertainments at court. For example, the Dauphin with increasing frequency became the principal arbiter of musical events, while Louis attended fewer and fewer performances. See several of the **Middle Period Works**, in particular Delalande's **La Comédie des Fées: 4. XIII**, which is dedicated to Monseigneur.

[172]Wolf 1968 p. 446.

[173]Dangeau, 5 September 1688. See also various accounts of the war in the *Gazette de France* throughout the autumn of 1688.

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that month.[174] Monseigneur's return to court on 28 November was neither so immediate nor so joyous as the French predicted, for France subsequently endured a German retaliation which enraged and eventually weakened Louis' troops and subsequently prolonged the Rhineland stage of the war well into 1689. The battle left France and Louis psychologically and financially devastated. "Henceforth France's king could be expected to speak a little more softly."[175]

In spite of his questionable success, Monseigneur's return in 1688 was recognized by many celebrations throughout France. For example, comedies at court resumed their regular three-times-a-week schedule on 29 November after a hiatus of several months, and Lully's *Thesée* played in the Trianon's Salle de Comédie on 18 December.[176] Dangeau records four more rehearsals of *Palais*, on 20, 27, and 29 December and on 3 January.[177] The *ballet* played eight times, premiering on 5 January, with repeat performances on 8, 12, 17, 24, and

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[174]See Dangeau, 16 November 1688. Dangeau also reported that on the 24th the king visited Delalande, who was rehearsing music for what Dangeau then called a *petit ballet* prepared for Monseigneur.

[175]Wolf 1968, p. 457. Monseigneur returned to battle once more, between June and October 1690.

[176]Dangeau 29 November 1688. Elaborate musical productions at court had been significantly curtailed since the performances of *Jeunesse* in 1686, probably due to both the impending military conflict and the death of Lully in 1687. Apparently there were no major musical entertainments during the winters of 1687 and 1688 until *Thesée*, which was not staged but performed in concert. Thus, the staging of *Palais* in 1689 must have been all the more special.

[177]Additionally, see the previous reference in footnote 164 to the rehearsal on 24 November. These rehearsals in December mentioned by Dangeau were probably *répétitions générales*.

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31 of that month and on 7 and 14 February.[178] During the period of performances an Italian comedy also played for the court on 22 January and *Esther* appeared on 26 January.

In light of France's minimal successes in the Rhineland and Monseigneur's questionable effectiveness as a military leader, most reports of his return present a rather inflated impression of his prowess. For example, the account of the siege of Philippsburg in the *Gazette de France* may have helped maintain French morale, but ought to be evaluated with caution: "... on doit attribuer ce succez à sa [Monseigneur's] presence, à ses soins, à son exemple, et à ses libéralites envers les soldats, qui animoient extraordinairement les troupes."[179] Furthermore, the verse to *Palais* is the most tightly bound to its military and political environment of any texts in Delalande's works.[180] The use of the *ballet* as a piece of propaganda to help boost French morale is supported by the reprinting of its verse in the *Mercure Galant* in January 1689.[181] Additionally, the participation of dancing courtiers

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[178]See Dangeau on all these dates. According to the records of the Menus Plaisirs, the opera dancers additionally held sixteen rehearsals in Paris, but there is no mention of special rehearsals for courtiers. See **Performance: F** in this essay for more on the rehearsal schedule. Dangeau reports that Madame la Dauphine found the premiere "très agréable" and attended every performance except one. Apparently the king attended all performances, which usually began between 6:00 and 7:00 P.M. after the royal family had dined. Only Sourches mentions the 7 February performance. See Sourches 1689, p. 33. (This is this diarist's first mention of Delalande's secular works.) Eight performances are also listed in the archival documents. See AN KK214, fol. 28 and Benoit 1971 Musiques p. 115. A performance scheduled for 21 February as well as all remaining court balls and *mascarades* for the winter were canceled due to the death of the Queen of Spain, Monsieur's daughter. *Appartement* was suspended until 5 March. See Dangeau on 20 February and 5 March, 1689.

[179]*Gazette de France*, 2 November 1688, p. 618.

[180]For example, in the first *entrée* Minerva and Bellonne declare that "Le Nekre et le Rhine sont soumis."

[181]The last Delalande work to appear in the *Mercure* was the *Epithalame* of 1685. The *Mercure's* report as usual is full with superlatives.

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may have helped occupy the noblemen with artistic matters rather than military troubles.

While Louis may have used *Palais de Flore* as a vehicle for showing the court that France's finances were as sound as ever, surviving payment records indicate that the cost of *Palais* was lower than that of *Jeunesse.*[182] The differences can be explained partially by the contrast in personnel. Because no acted stage work accompanied *Palais,* fewer performers were involved in the total production. There is little surviving documentation about the scale of production in the Trianon Salle de Comédie, but it is possible that, despite the apparent potential for more varied scenery, *Palais* was even less elaborate than *Jeunesse.*

C. COLLABORATORS

Most contemporary reports about *Palais* acknowledge Delalande's important promotion to *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du roi* just prior to the performances.[183] The composer's new post may account for the omission of the names of his collaborators in most of these reports. Archival documents confirm that Jean Bérain created the sets and costumes and that Pierre Beauchamp arranged the choreographies. However, my attribution of the text to Genest is based largely on Dangeau's November 16th account of the *ballet.* According to Dangeau, in anticipation of Monseigneur's return, the court planned a *petit opera* for which "L'Abbé fera les paroles; la Lande fera la

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[182]The costs itemized in the Menus Plaisirs total ca. 7500 L. See AN KK214, fol. 28, O[1]2824, fol. 2, and 2[v], and Benoit 1971 Musiques p. 115-116. The listed expenses for *Palais* do not include items such as payment to a tailor for new costumes, candles, multiple pairs of shoes, carriages, and wigs, which in *Jeunesse* totalled 8825 *livres.* Costs for the two *ballets* that do not coincide are lodging and meals for the orchestra, supervision by Delalande for the preparation of the music, and the payment to Bérain for the design of costumes.

[183]See Dangeau, 8 January 1689; Sourches 7 February 1689, p. 33; *Mercure Galant,* February 1689, p. 82.

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musique."[184] Although Dangeau does not identify this work as *Palais*, some of his other comments strengthen this attribution. In any case, Delalande's collaboration with Genest for *Palais* is plausible in view of their previous joint efforts on *La Sérénade* and *Epithalame*.

D. SOURCES

Palais is the first of several of Delalande's stage works considered in this study whose surviving sources make it possible to reconstruct only a general outline of the complete work. These partial scores lack many of the details found in complete scores, such as those for *Jeunesse*. In particular, our rebuilding of *Palais* reflects the incomplete orchestral scoring and the absence of most of the vocal music.

Music: Although no complete score of *Palais* appears to survive today, archival records and an inventory of the king's music library dated December, 1765, indicate that the Philidor workshop prepared such a manuscript.[185] The only surviving music appears in three collections of *simphonies*, which contain a total of thirty-two movements from the *ballet*. The Supper Symphonies Rés. 582 and Rés. 581 both include the same eighteen movements, while a third collection, F Pn Vm^{6}5, contains thirty-two movements, seventeen of which

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[184]Here Dangeau uses the term "opéra" generically to mean "a piece of stage music."

[185]See Tessier 1931 Cat, p. 116. Tessier does not discuss this particular manuscript in his article and no other modern historian seems to acknowledge its existence, nor does he provide evidence regarding the fate of *Palais* and that of many other manuscripts named in the 1765 inventory.

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duplicate those in the supper anthologies.[186] While the different content of these *simphonie* collections may indicate alternate versions of *Palais*, more probably they point out that such anthologies were compiled by a selective process, suggesting again that Delalande's supper anthologies do not represent the composer's complete secular music.

The movements from *Palais* in the Supper Symphonies are in the usual format of two and three voices, but only the first violin part of $Vm^{6}5$ survives. Differences in the movements contained both in $Vm^{6}5$ and the supper manuscripts are low level, involving ornamentaion, rhythmic changes of eighth and sixteenth notes, and the use of first and second endings.[187]

A compilation of these *simphonie* collections allows one to reconstruct the placement of most of the instrumental movements and a few of the vocal airs in the *ballet*. In both collections, the movements are grouped tonally into five areas, probably representing the five *entrées* of the ballet.[188] The correspondence of several movements identified by specific titles with stage

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[186]See the **Summary of Works. Sources: 2. E** and the **Middle Works. Ballet de M. Delalande: 4. VIII** for more on this manuscript. Dufourcq does not include $Vm^{6}5$ in his bibliography of *Palais*. This manuscript contains vocal and instrumental airs from sixty-four French musical-theatrical works written between 1654 and 1691 and apparently all presented at court. The manuscript contains several different hands and irregular foliation and so may have been compiled over a period of time. Its contents are arranged chronologically and include most of Lully's *ballets, comédie-ballets,* and *tragédies lyriques,* as well as stage works by other prominent composers such as Campra, Destouches, and Lorenzani.

[187]For example, the "Air pour la Gloire" is in 3/8 in the Supper Symphonies and in 3/16 in $Vm^{6}5$. Additionally, "Sur les Autels" contains no text in Rés. 582 nor in $Vm^{6}5$ but is texted in Rés. 581; and the keys of movements #27 and #28, the "Gigue" and "Grand Air," are different in Rés. 581 and in the other manuscripts.

[188]A few discrepancies in ordering occur, such as in some of the dance movements in *Entrée* II, the placement of the "Air de Diane" in *Entrée* III, and that of the "Air pour la Gloire" in the fourth *Entrée*. I am basing my grouping of movements on the premise of one tonal area per *intermède* or *entrée* as I have seen in *Jeunesse* and in other complete works by Delalande and other composers of the period.

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action or identifiable characters in the five *entrées* helps confirm the accuracy of what is otherwise a somewhat tentative placement of many of these instrumental movements.

Texts: The surviving texts of *Palais* are more complete than are the sources of music. Like *Jeunesse*, *Palais* was printed twice, first by Ballard at the time of its performances, and again in the early eighteenth century by the Dutch publisher Schelte.[189] Ballard's title page includes the title of the *ballet* and an exact date of first performance, but it does not name any creators of the work.

The title page on the Schelte edition is less complete than the Ballard copy. It does not specify the date of the *ballet*, only the month, and omits the text "devant Sa Majesté." Its contents duplicate those of the Ballard version except for minor differences in personnel and text.[190] These differences may indicate changes for repeat performances of the *ballet* and so offer some evidence that Schelte based his publication on a second version of the Ballard text not known today.

The text of *Palais* also appeared in the *Mercure Galant* in January 1689. While the *Mercure's* version is probably based on the Ballard publication, the

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[189]Surviving archival records do not mention these Ballard prints. Given the similarities with *Jeunesse* in numbers of performances and scope of productions, it would follow that Ballard printed approximately as many copies of *Palais* as the 2150 texts for *Jeunesse*. The Ballard version again has been used as the principal text for this study.

[190]In the fourth *entrée* the Schelte version changes two words of Ulysse's air (page 21, line 3 in Ballard) from "mon coeur" to "mes yeux;" Schelte's Amazone Antiope in the fourth *entrée* is sung by Mademoiselle Varango rather than Mademoiselle Guignard as in the Ballard copy; and the Schelte version indicates that the Plaisir in the fifth *entrée* is sung by M. Dufour rather than M. Matho.

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journal duplicates neither the Ballard nor Schelte text exactly.[191] The three minor changes in the Dutch print cited above recur in the *Mercure.* Additionally the *Mercure* lists only the principal performers in each *entrée* and frequently summarizes stage action, possibly in an effort to save printing space, or else to provide only the most relevant information to its readers. The major difference between the two editions and the *Mercure's* version is that the journal indicates a sixth *entrée,* an *Entrée Générale,* which is part of the fifth and final *entrée* in the Ballard and Schelte versions.[192]

E. OUTLINE OF TEXT AND MUSIC

The opening *Argument* in the Ballard text summarizes the contents of the *ballet's* five *entrées.*[193] The king has offered this celebration to express his "satisfaction extrême" at the triumphant return of Monseigneur from battle. This celebration will be held in the Grand Trianon, the palace of Flore, after whom the *ballet* is titled. Here the climate can be transformed into eternal springtime, even in the middle of January. *Palais* resembles Lully's late *ballets* in that it consists of a succession of *entrées* each featuring different exotic or mythological characters who are topically related to one another through their

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[191]Apparently the journal was printed toward the end of the month. Since *Palais* premiered in mid-Jaunary, the Ballard text probably would have been prepared before the *Mercure* was issued.
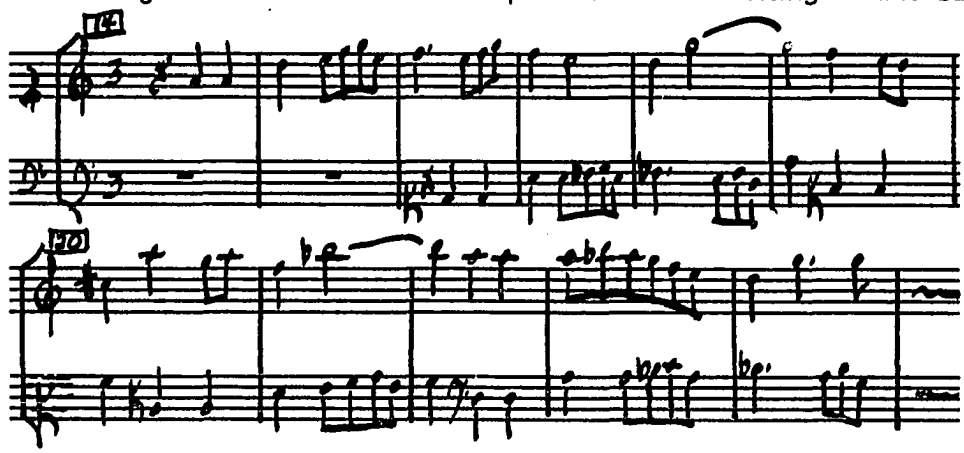
[192]While a detailed evaluation of the publication activites of the *Mercure* is beyond the scope of this study, the minor alterations to the text indicate that the journal at times took liberties in reproducing previously published material. A good history of the *Mercure,* especially in its reporting of musical activity, has yet to be written.

[193]I have used $Vm^{6}5$ as the deciding source in my reconstruction of *Palais* when discrepancies in order of music occur, since it contains the greater number of movements from the *ballet.*

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mutual celebration of Monseigneur's victory.[194]

The *ballet's* opening movement is more typically Lullian than is that in *Jeunesse*. Its second section features successive entries of the five voices in imitative texture. The first eleven measures of this polyphonic portion of the movement, as taken from Rés. 581, provide an impression of the complete musical information available even in the short-score format of the supper collections. While these *simphonies* lack inner parts, they usually indicate initial entrances of individual voices in a polyphonic texture by using different clefs, confirming Delalande's use of five-part orchestral writing in this *ballet*.



Example 7-1: *Le Palais de Flore*: "Ouverture," m. 14-24
Rés. 581: II, 74; Vm^{6}5: fol 310^{r}

The first *entrée*, the longest in the *ballet*, contains four scenes with four separate groups of characters. It resembles the prologue of *Jeunesse* in its fulsome praise of Louis and Monseigneur for the peace and security each brings to France. The choir of sylvans and naiads sets the stage for the entire *ballet*:[195]

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[194]The Ballard text of the *ballet* includes a description of the superb decorations of the new Trianon, which is distinguished by its marble and by the Peristile, the front facade seen from the gardens. On emerging from the building through this entrance, one sees the Trainon's fountains, gardens, and parterres, decorated with flowers, even in winter.

[195]*Palais de Flore*: *Entrée* I: Ballard Text, Po Liv 17 (R6(16), p. 9.

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C'est l'ordre de LOUIS, signalons nostre zèle
Au Retour du HEROS que son amour rapelle.
O doux momens! O favorable Jour!
Du DAUPHIN triomphant célébrons le Retour.

Throughout the *ballet*, the large backstage choir reinforces the message of the on-stage soloists, as in the second scene of the first *entrée* when announcing Monseigneur's success by singing of "Victoire, victoire, victoire." La Renommée reminds us of Monseigneur's ability to follow in his father's footsteps:[196]

Sur ces bords ou LOUIS triomphe mille fois,
Son Fils fuit aujourd'hui les traces de sa Gloire.

Minerve and Bellonne, goddesses of war (sung by Anne and Marie-Thérèse Rebel) also welcome Monseigneur to Flore's palace through their solo songs and duets. Minerve's opening solo contains the most topical references in the *ballet* to the current military situation:[197]

Reposons-nous, fière Bellone,
Le Nekre et le Rhin sont soumis.

To end the first *entrée* Minerve calls back the Nymphes de Flore, one of whom describes through song the charming features of the Trianon, with its "Fontaines, jardins, peristile, palais plain d'agrémens."

Mademoiselle de Blois, youngest daughter of Louis and Montespan, appears in the second *entrée* as Flore and offers a garland of flowers to crown Monseigneur. A dance set made up of two "Menuets" for Flore, a "Bourée" for two of her nymphs, and an "Air" for four zephyrs opens this *entrée*. Possibly another "Bourée" and two "Gavottes" precede the vocal music. A singing nymph and shepherd remind us of the richness which Flore can bring

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[196] *Palais de Flore*: *Entrée* I: Ballard text, Po Liv 17 (R6(16)p. 10.
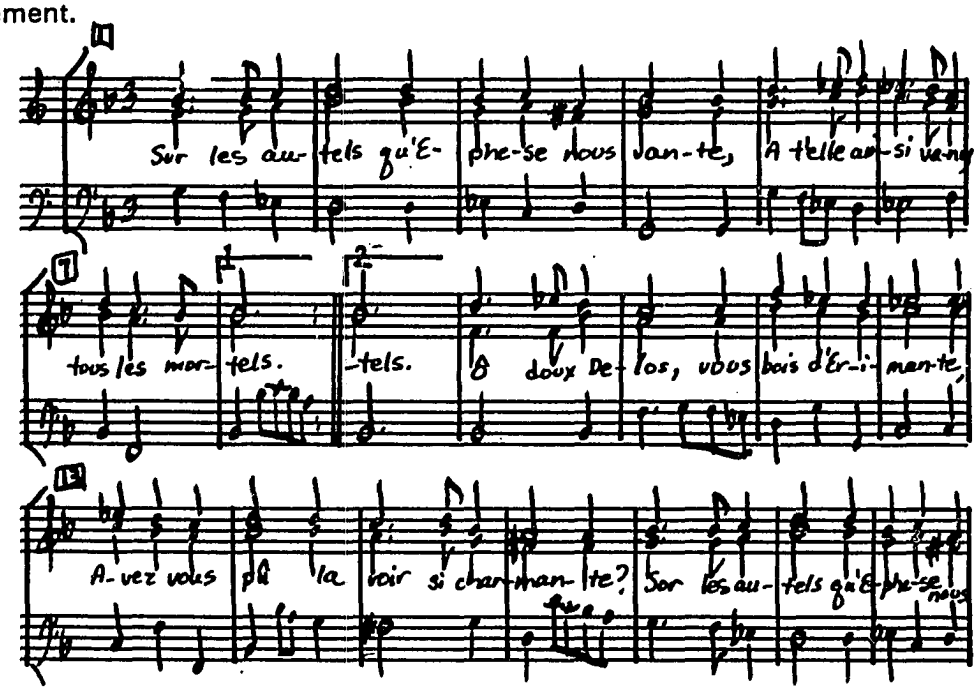
[197] *Palais de Flore*: *Entrée* I: Ballard text, Po Liv 17 (R6(16), p. 11.

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to the earth, just as Monseigneur brings victory to France, so that one may always live safely in springtime at Versailles.
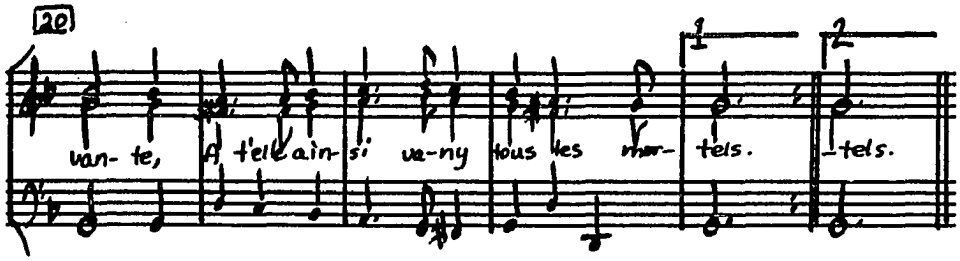
Diane, danced by Mademoiselle la Princesse de Conty, leads the third *entrée* as she invites fellow hunters to join the celebration for Monseigneur. The *entrée* may have opened with the eighty-five-measure "Air de Diane" in G minor, one of the most extended movements in the *ballet*.[198]

The hunter Endimion then tells of the honor Monseigneur has brought to the heavens, after which two Nymphes de Diane (again the Rebel sisters) sing the sarabande "Sûr les Autels" declaring the glory of Monseigneur's victory. Because this is the *ballet's* only vocal air which survives with text, it warrants reproduction in full here. The air is typical of vocal ensembles in Delalande's secular works: the two solo voices move largely in parallel thirds; ranges are narrow and the melodic lines simple; and four-measure phrasing pervades the movement.



[198]The "Rondeau Bourée" after this air is the only movement from *Palais* known to recur later. It appears in *Cardenio*.

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Example 7-2: *Le Palais de Flore*: *Entrée* III: "Sûr les Autels," Rés. 581: II, 169; $Vm^{6}5$: fol 312^{v} (without text)

The fourth *entrée* stars Madame la Duchesse as La Gloire. She brings additional honor to Monseigneur in what appears to be a solo dance, the "Air pour la Gloire." Possibly this dance is followed by two others, a "Gavotte" for three Amazones and a "Sarabande légère" for four heros. The singing Amazones Pentesilee and Antiope again remind us that honor is due both the son and the father:[199]

> Dans ce parfait HEROS
> Tu vois un tendre Père.
> Tu luy deviens encor plus chère
> Lorsque tu coutonnes son Fils.
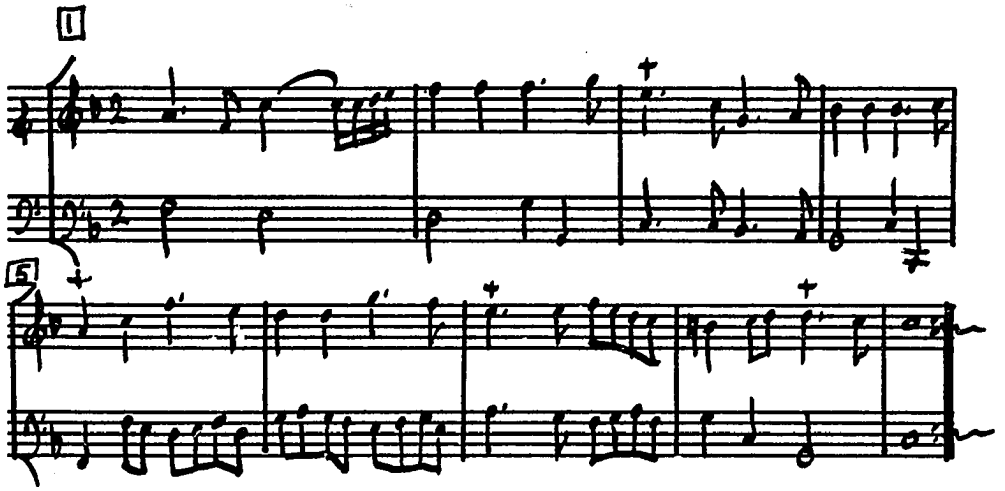
Probably both of the singing Héros, Ulysse and Cyrus, and the eight dancing Héros somehow participate in the following grand "Air des Héros." The *entrée* closes with what seems to be a majestic choral movement declaring that neither manmade nor natural obstacles can impede the success of Louis and his son.

The final *entrée* stars La Joye and a dancing Plaisir, the latter performed by the choreographer Beauchamp. According to the Ballard text, apparently Beauchamp danced to the following "Grand Air," a movement marked by more irregular phrasing than heard in most of Delalande's instrumental movements accompanying dancing. The two sections of the binary air contain nine plus eighteen measures, with phrases of varying lengths within these sections:

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[199] *Le Palais de Flore*: *Entrée* IV: Ballard text, Po Liv 17 (R6(16), p. 20.

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Example 7-3: *Le Palais de Flore*: *Entrée* V: "Grand Air," m. 1-9 Rés. 581: II, 49; Vm^{6}5: fol 313^{r}

These dancers then join La Gloire and La Victoire to celebrate their famous Héros. The final choral movement in the *ballet*, "La Joye & les Plaisirs," is labeled as the sixth *entrée*, the *Entrée générale*, in the *Mercure*, probably to indicate the return of most of the dancers from the first four *entrées*. These dancers apparently perform a final "Chaconne" or a "Passacaille."[200] This final choral movement sums up the theme of the ballet:[201]

> Vous GRAND ROY, vous DAUPHIN
> Digne Fils d'un tel Père
> Vivez toujours heureux
> Et triomphez toujours.

F. PERFORMANCE

Performers: There were slightly fewer performers in *Palais* than in *Jeunesse*. As in *Jeunesse*, the singers and instrumentalists in *Palais* were members of the court's music, while dancers included both professionals and

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[200] Vm^{6}5 includes both a "Chaconne" and a "Passacaille," but indicates the end of the ballet after the C-major "Chaconne". The Supper Symphonies contain only the "Passacaille," whose tonality of C minor might have proved to be an incongruous ending for the joyous celebration. While it cannot be determined here with any greater precision which movement ended the *ballet*, what does seem probable is that the work did not include both extended movements.

[201] *Le Palais de Flore*: *Entrée* V: Ballard text, Po Liv 17 (R6(16), p. 24.

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courtiers. *Palais* differs from *Jeunesse* in that all of the courtiers were women. Additionally, the payment records for *Palais* include the names of four members of the orchestra. Apparently the entire instrumental ensemble consisted of eighteen players, a group somewhat smaller than the orchestra for *Jeunesse.*[202]

Palais included 160 parts, in comparison with 181 in *Jeunesse,* performed by a total of 109 people, versus 116 in the 1686 *ballet. Palais* included eighty-nine singing assignments, compared with ninety-nine in *Jeunesse;* its large choir of twenty-eight was four voices smaller than that in *Jeunesse.* Again none of the choir singers doubled in solo or ensemble roles. *Palais* also contained fifty-three dancing roles versus fifty-six in the previous ballet. *Palais'* thirty-two dancing assignments for men and twenty-one for women approximates the proportion in *Jeunesse.* In both *ballets* the singing roles for men outnumbered those for women by about three to one, although prominent vocal solos are shared approximately equally between men and women. As in *Jeunesse,* nearly every solo singer and each dancer appeared in at least two different *entrées.* The twenty-seven dancers in *Palais* totalled eight fewer than in the 1686 *ballet,* but in a similar proportion of fifteen men and twelve women. One noteworthy difference between the *ballets* is the higher number of male professional dancers in *Palais* over *Jeunesse* (sixteen versus eleven), probably because no men from the court danced in the 1689 production. See the **Performer Chart** on the following page for complete data about *Palais'* performers.

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[202]This estimate is based on records of the Menus Plaisirs which cite only sixteen of the king's twenty-five violins, plus one player on cromhorn and flute and another on oboe. See **AN** KK 214, fol. 28 and Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 115.

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LE PALAIS DE FLORE

SINGERS : Solo Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Entrée I	21	8	13
Entrée II	3	1	2
Entrée III	13	11	2
Entrée IV	20	10	10
Entrée V	4	3	1
TOTALS	**61**	**33**	**28**

DANCERS : Parts[203]

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Entrée I	6- --, 6	6, --, --	6 --, --
Entrée II	7- *3*, 4	4- --, 4	3- *3*, --
Entrée III	10- *1*, 9	5- --, 5	5- *1*, 4
Entrée IV	8- *4*, 4	4- --, 4	4- *4*, --
Entrée V	22- *7*,15	13- --,13	9- *7*, 2
TOTALS	53- *15*,38	32- --,32	21-*15*, 6

GRAND TOTALS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	61	33	28
Choir Singers	28	28	---
Dancers	53	32	21
Instrumentalists	18?	18?	---
TOTALS	**160?**	**111?**	**49**

GRAND TOTALS : Personnel

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	36	22	14
Choir	28	28	---
Dancers	27- *8*, 19	15- *0*, 15	12-*8*, 4
Instrumentalists	18?	18?	---
TOTALS	109?	83?	26

Figure VII-1: Performer Chart: Le Palais de Flore

[203] Italics indicate courtiers.

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As in *Jeunesse*, some of the court's most prominent singers and dancers performed solo roles in *Palais*.[204] Archival accounts indicate that Beauchamp supervised a total of twenty dance rehearsals for *Palais* in Paris, apparently for the professional dancers. These rehearsals were probably in addition to the four general rehearsals which Dangeau cited on 20, 27, and 29 December and 3 January. No separate dance rehearsals for the courtiers are documented, but they must have required at least as much preparation time as the Opéra dancers. Typically, the records of the Menus Plaisirs include no information about rehearsals for singers and instrumentalists, except to name payment to wind players Nicolas Dieupart and Philipes des Jardins for thirty-eight days worth of food and lodging while at Versailles for rehearsals and performances. This suggests that their rehearsals started at least as early as 7 December, approximately three weeks after Dangeau's first announcement on 16 November of the planning of the *ballet*.[205]

Site: In addition to recognizing the return of Monseigneur from battle, *Le Palais de Flore* celebrated the opening of the recently rebuilt Trianon palace with its new theater. Louis may have asked for a theater in the Trianon to make up for the limited performing conditions at Versailles once he conceded

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[204]For example, the courtiers Mesdemoiselle de Blois, La Princesse de Conty, and Madame la Duchesse danced the lead roles of Flore, Diane, and La Gloire respectively, while the choreogapher Beauchamp appeared as a Plaisir in *Entrée* V. Louis Pécourt danced in the *ballet*'s last three *entrées*, as did Messiuers Du Mirail and Favier l'aisné, all of whom had also appeared prominently in *Jeunesse*. Anne Rebel once again occupied the most prominent female vocal roles, as Minerve in the first *entrée*, a nymph in the third, and an Amazone in the fourth. Other prominent vocal soloists included Mademoiselle Chappe in *Entrée* II as a nymphe and in *Entrée* V as La Joye, J.B. Matho in the second as a zéphyr, and Antoine Morel in the fourth as a héro.

[205]Since a performance was canceled on 21 February, these thirty-eight days could actually be shifted later by one week to begin on 14 December.

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that an opera house in the north wing would have to be delayed.[206] Lully's *Thesée* on 18 December 1688 was the first performance in the theater, but in concert version: *Palais* was the first staged work presented in the new hall.[207]

The Salle de Comédie was located on the north side of the courtyard of the Trianon. (**Figure VII-2.**) Entered from the octagonal Salon des Colonnes, the theater occupied nearly the same area as the Versailles Salle de Comédie, approximately ten by seventeen meters, but had much greater height, over seven meters. Surviving plans of the theater do not indicate its construction in great detail, but do show that the room divided approximately in half for audience seating and stage. Because no fixed benches apparently existed, estimates of the seating capacity are varied. The parterre may have accommodated fewer spectators than did the same area in the Versailles theater because of the use of movable benches rather than fixed seatbanks. However, the Trianon hall probably included more balcony seats because of the

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[206]Construction work on the Trianon is documented by Sourches on 22 July 1687. Pierre Verlet says that Louis started to use the new building in late 1687 and dined there for the first time on 19 January, 1688. See Verlet 1985, p. 197.

[207]Louis used the Trianon palace frequently during the next fifteen years for a variety of activities ranging from comedies and concerts, to his numerous dinners and collations, to walking in the gardens. For example, Colasse's *Thétis et Pélée* played in the theater on 16 February 1689. Dangeau reports comedies and collations on 25 July, 24 August, and 22 and 26 September of 1688 and frequently also refers to the king's walks, as on 30 April and 19 May 1694. See the **Calendar**, Appendix II, for a list of musical works in the Trainon. The Salle de Comédie was used regularly until 1703 when the sixty-five-year-old king, increasingly disinterested in musical entertainments, destroyed the theater and had the site remodelled into a new apartment for himself. Dangeau wrote about this remodelling as early as 11 March 1700: "... il (Louis) donna quelques ordres pour son appartement nouveau."

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room's greater height.[208]

The stage measured approximately eight meters deep and ten meters wide at its opening. Most surviving plans indicate three or four rows of flats, but no specific placement of an orchestra. The theater probably did not utilize any machinery either above or below the stage.[209] The stage led into a series of small rooms, as seen in **Figure VII: 2**, which could function as a backstage area for the performers, an area which was probably more spacious than backstage in the Versailles theater.

No visual documentation of performances in this hall survives, but the text of *Palais* indicates that "le théâter de Trianon ne scauroit avoir de plus superbe décoration que Trianon mesme."[210] The theater must have accommodated performers much as the one in Versailles did. The stage, while offering slightly more area than in Versailles, nevertheless allowed only limited space for movement for both musicians and dancers. Probably only principal soloists could occupy center-stage at any given moment. Larger vocal ensembles such as the several small choirs in *Palais* may have lined the sides of the stage or stood in the balconies. The Trianon stage probably accommodated the ensembles of dancers in *Palais* somewhat better than did the Versailles stage. Nevertheless, the twenty-two dancers in the last *entrée*

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[208]Most plans do not specify balconies, but Dangeau from time to time refers to the tribunes in the theater, as on 27 January 1702: "Comme le théâtre de Trianon n'est pas grand, l'on avoit placé les acteurs et les actrices qui ne chantent que dans les choeurs sous des portiques and dans des tribunes qui règnent tout autour du théâtre." No modern historians have yet treated this theater in any detail, probably because of its short life and the subsequent paucity of documentation about it. Henri La Grave offers only a short description of the theater. See La Grave 1972, p. 132.

[209]There is space in this part of the building for a mezzanine, which today houses offices for the Trianon museum. Given the economic and artistic concerns surrounding the erection of the theater in the late 1680's, surely elaborate machinery was never part of the plan for the theater.

[210]Ballard text, p. 7.

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of *Palais* probably could not all have danced at the same time. Only the placement of the large choir, behind the stage, is specified in primary sources. While seating for the audience in this theater may have offered somewhat more primitive conditions for comfort, the room's greater volume probably contributed to a generally more pleasant and breathable atmosphere than in the Versailles theater.

Le Palais de Flore represents the last flurry of musical-theatrical activity during Delalande's early period at court. During the remaining twenty-five years of Louis' rule, the composer would participate in more intimate productions indicative of the straitened finances and reduced spectacle which marked the ending to the long reign of an aged king.

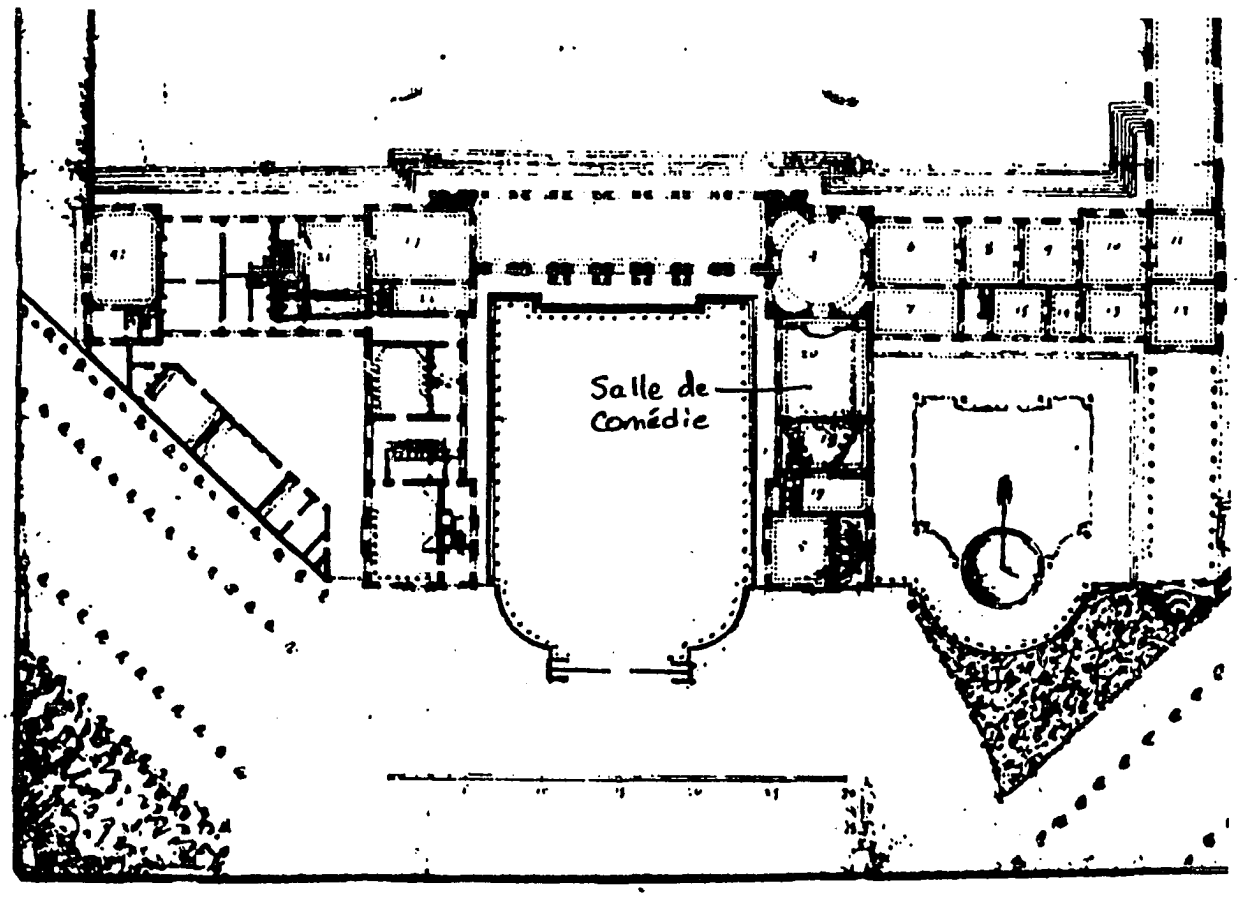


Figure VII-2: Grand Trianon: Pn Cab Est Va 78g, Tome 1: Les Yvelines

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CHAPTER 4. MIDDLE WORKS: 1689-1715

VIII. BALLET DE MR. DELALANDE
IX. BALLET DE SAINT LOUIS

A. INTRODUCTION

Ballet de Mr. Delalande and *Ballet de St. Louis* mark the beginning of Delalande's middle period of secular composition.[1] Little precise information about these compositions survives, but what can be pieced together reflects the general trend in the 1690's for smaller, more private musical entertainments at court than in the 1680's. The dates of these *ballets* are uncertain, but both works appeared before the end of October 1691, the date of the single source, the collection of violin airs Pn Vm^{6}5, which identifies them by name. The presence of the airs from these *ballets* in the Supper Symphonies assists our understanding of the contents and genesis of these anthologies.

We can develop only a general impression about the organization and function of these *ballets* and say little about their performance. The limited information about these works underlines the possibility that Delalande contributed music to similar entertainments about which we know nothing today. Additionally, there is the possibility that Delalande borrowed most of the music in these *ballets* from previous compositions, since he frequently recycled material during his middle years.

B. SOURCES

The contents of the anthology Pn Vm^{6}5, the collection of violin airs discussed previously in the essay on *Le Palais de Flore,* helps illuminate the function of these *ballets* at court. This manuscript contains airs from sixty-four musical-theatrical works written between 1654 and 1691, all apparently

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[1]Both works are called *Ballet de M. de Lalande* in the music manuscript, but the second includes the additional annotation, "qui se joue à Versailles au jour de St. Louis 1691," and so will be referred to in this study as the *Ballet de Saint Louis* to distinguish the two.

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performed at court. According to the annotation by a "Vernon" on folio 348^{v}, the copy was completed on the last day of October 1691. The Delalande works are the last two in the manuscript and are dated 1691, as is the sixty-first work in the collection, Theobald's opera *Coronis*.[2] The sixty-second composition, a *Ballet de petit Gervais*, is not dated. Presumably all dates in the manuscript indicate the year of first performance, which is usually the date of composition, but several errors in other works prompt one to question the reliability of the dating of the Delalande music.[3]

Additionally, the titles used in the latter half of the manuscript call into question the meaning of the term *ballet* in this anthology. The surviving contents of Delalande's *ballets* suggests that these works were not *ballets de cour* in the manner of *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* and *Le Palais de Flore*. Furthermore, they may not even have included dancing, for several other works in the second half of this anthology which are also named *ballet* are known to have excluded dance. For example, the anthology's three *Ballets de Sceaux* are called *Idylle de Sceaux* in other sources and contain no dances or dance music. Furthermore, Delalande's *Ballet de St. Louis* is listed in the index of the manuscript as a *Sérénade*, not a *ballet*.[4] This variability in classification may indicate a broadening of the term *ballet* in this manuscript to include a collection of instrumental movements which may not have originally accompanied dance but served instead as music to accompany other stage

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[2]*Coronis* played at the Paris Opéra in April 1691. There is no confirmation that it also appeared in court.

[3]For example, the index dates *Acis et Galatée* as 1687, but this work appeared at court in 1686. What is called the *Ballet de Sceaux* is presumably Lully's *Idylle de Sceaux*, which appeared in 1685, not 1683 as listed in the index, while the *Ballet de Chantilly* of 1688 is dated 1687 in the anthology.

[4]This work has no relationship with his *Sérénade* performed at Fontainebleau in 1682. See **Early Works. Serenade: 1. I.**

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movement, such as entrances and exits of performers or pantomime.[5] Additional support for the argument that the Delalande pieces were not danced is the absence of secondary references to any *ballets* at court during 1690 and 1691.

The number of airs from any given work in the anthology seems to reflect the relative length of the composition from which each group is taken. Most works called *ballet* in the manuscript contain fewer movements than found in the works which are known to be *tragédies lyriques.*[6] Furthermore, the anthology preserves thirty-one airs from Delalande's *Le Palais de Flore* but only fifteen from *Ballet de M. Delalande* and thirteen from *Ballet de Saint Louis,* suggesting that these later works were shorter than the composer's *ballets* of the 1680's. Because the anthology does include movements with text from many other works, the untexted nature of the music from the *Ballets* may indicate that these works were completely instrumental.[7]

Nineteen of the twenty-eight airs from the *Ballets* also appear in the Supper Symphonies. Surprisingly, the copious annotations in Rés. 581 indicate neither title, raising the possibility that this Supper anthology may contain music from other unidentified productions which are unknown because they do not exist in other sources.

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[5]By comparison, only ten of the thirty-five works in Vm^{6}5 performed before Lully's first *tragédie lyrique* in 1672 are called *ballet* in the manuscript, yet most of these appear to be extended works which emphasized dancing.

[6]For example, each *Ballet d'Anet* includes eleven airs and the *Ballet d'Oronthée* sixteen movements. The *Ballet de Petit Gervais* has three short sections, of nine, eleven, and eleven airs respectively.

[7]However, *Palais* is known to have included vocal music which does not appear in Vm^{6}5.

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C. COURT BACKGROUND

Artistic activity at court during the early part of the 1690's was drastically curtailed by the War of the League of Augsburg.[8] The stage works which did appear in 1690, such as the performance of *Roland* in January and *Atys* and *Enné et Lavinie* in November, were in concert version, reflecting the reduced resources available for productions.[9] In 1691 the repertoire was reduced even further: not one *tragédie lyrique* nor *ballet* is cited in accounts of the court's activities. This reduced frequency and scale of production continued through the end of the war in 1696, as indicated on my **Calendar: Appendix I.**

The two *ballets* by Delalande are not discussed in any writings about the court. However, two contemporary reports about other court entertainments suggest possible conditions under which Delalande's works may have appeared. The Marquis de Sourches described an otherwise unknown musical entertainment by Delalande at Fontainebleau on the evenings of 12 and 13 October 1690 in the presence of the former king and queen of England.[10] Sourches neither names nor describes this work other than to say that it

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[8]The war intensified in 1691. Even though the French enjoyed some victories at Mons and Nice in 1690 and 1691, these were only marginal and had no decisive effect on the strong coalition mounted against the French. To make matters worse, Louis' minister Louvois died on 16 July 1691, sinking the French militia into deeper trouble. See Wolf 1968, p. 457-462.

[9]Dangeau discusses these three productions, which took place in the Salle de Comédie in the Trianon. See 9 January 1690 and 7, 8, and 15 November.

[10]Sourches 12 October 1690. "Le soir il y eut grand jeu de portique, et après cela une petite pièce de musique sur le retour de Monseigneur de la composition du Sieur de Lalande, maître de musique de la Chapelle du roi." The French court was at Fontainebleau from 5 through 27 October. The English king, James, had been in France since his exile from England in 1689, when William was offered the throne for the house of Orange. James and his queen spent the rest of their lives in residence at the château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

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celebrated the return of Monseigneur from the battlefront.[11] The music in question may have been a repeat of *Le Palais de Flore*, which the English rulers did not hear in 1689. However, in view of Monseigneur's new "successes" and the court's practice of not reviving repertoire, Delalande may have produced another work, possibly the *Ballet de M. Delalande*. Some aspects of this new production may have resembled *Palais*, and so the work was called a *ballet* by the compilers of $Vm^{6}5$ even if it did not include dancing.

A second example of conditions under which these *ballets* may have appeared is Monseigneur's visit to Anet in February 1691.[12] Dangeau reported that on this trip four or five comedians, several Opéra dancers, and three or four singers accompanied the Dauphin to perform new *divertissements* each evening. Dangeau specifically drew attention to the small chamber in which these performances appeared, emphasizing their reduced scope of production. In such an environment one of Delalande's *Ballets* may have been performed.[13]

One final possibility concerning the nature of these *Ballets* remains. Rather than featuring both professional and noblemen dancers as did *Le Palais de Flore*, these productions may have been small performances entirely by courtiers as a way of keeping themselves occupied with matters other than the

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[11]Monseigneur fought in Germany from May through September 1690 and returned to Fontainebleau on 7 October. *Appartement* on 11 October was the first for the court since the death of the Dauphine on 20 April 1690. Dangeau also mentioned that music was played frequently during the visit of the English monarchs, but defines even less precisely than Sourches what music he heard.

[12]See Dangeau, 23-27 February 1691.

[13]If Delalande did produce a *ballet* for Monseigneur in 1690 or 1691, this partnership forecasts the increasingly prominent role which the Dauphin played in musical life during the 1690's.

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war.[14] Such "in-house" activities may explain the absence of printed texts and of payment records for hiring professionals for these two *Ballets.*

D. SURVIVING MUSIC

Ballet de Mr. Delalande: The fifteen airs from this *ballet* included in Vm^{6}5 divide tonally into two groups, the first eight in G minor, the remaining seven in A major/minor. No movements include words and each is named either as a dance title or as "Air." This tonal grouping may indicate that the work consisted of only two *entrées,* which could have been performed in conjunction with another work such as a comedy.

Ten of these fifteen movements recur in other sources of Delalande's secular music. Three appear in the score of *Jeunesse* and seven others in both collections of Supper Symphonies.[15] In view of the borrowing from *Jeunesse,* these seven Supper movements may also have been taken from a previous production unknown to us today.

Two of the three airs borrowed from *Jeunesse* are much simpler in Vm^{6}5 than in the 1686 score, possibly indicating that Delalande composed the Vm^{6}5 versions first, reworked them for *Jeunesse,* and used them for the 1690/91 *Ballet* in their original version. For example, the second movement in Vm^{6}5, an "Air," appears in the prologue to *Jeunesse* as the "Premier Air des Bergers." While both versions of this binary movement contain the same harmonic structure, the treble part in the *Jeunesse* version is more

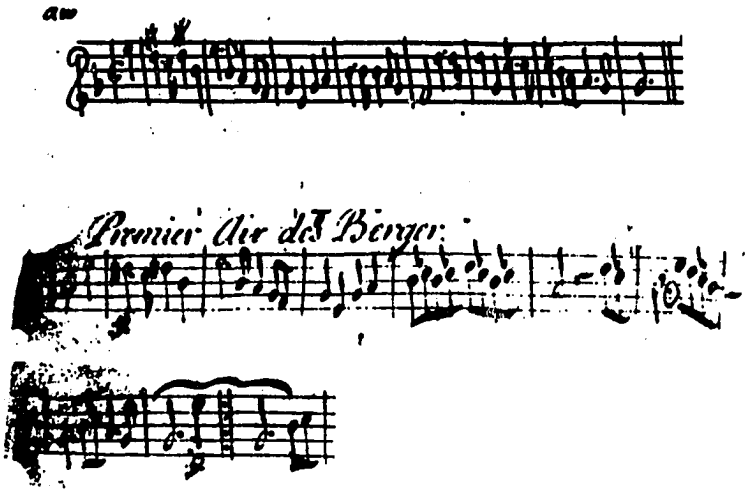
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[14]While historians debate the effectiveness of such ploys, Sourches describes an outing at Marly on 29 November 1691 "...où les courtisans jouerent un jeu effroyable et qui ne sentoit pas la misère où la meilleure partie du royaume étoit reduite en ce temps-la."

[15]The ballet's fourth movement, an "Air," appears in the fourth Supper Symphony of 1703; the sixth, the "Chaconne," in the second Supper Symphony, and five of the seven A minor movements as the first five airs in the seventh 1703 Supper Suite.

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ornamented:[16]

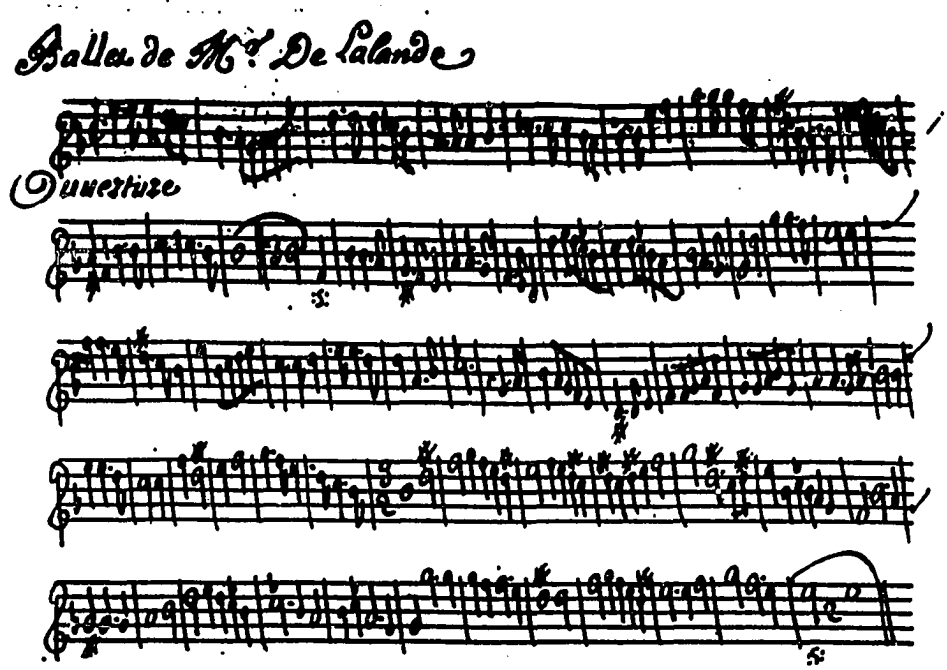


Example 8-1: *Ballet de M. Delalande*: "Air," m. 1-8
a. $Vm^{6}5$, fol. 344^{v}; b. V Ms. Mus. 79, p. 16

The five movemehts in $Vm^{6}5$ which appear in neither *Jeunesse* nor the Supper Suites are all in G minor and evince little stylistic individuality to explain their use. Only the "Ouverture" is unique with its organization into three rather than two sections: twelve measures in duple (cut time) meter, followed by thirty measures in triple (3/4) meter, and finally eighteen measures in 3/2 meter.

[16]Similar variants can be seen in the thirteenth movement of $Vm^{6}5$, another "Air," and the corresponding "Sarabande" from *Jeunesse*, score p. 248.

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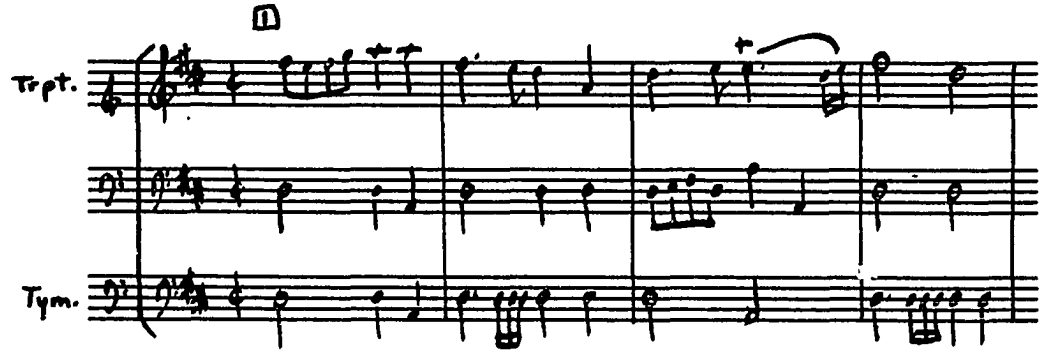


Example 8-2: *Ballet de M. Delalande*: "Ouverture"
Vm^{6}5, fol. 344^{v}

Ballet de Saint Louis: This work may have been comparable in scope to the *Ballet de Mr. Delalande*. Its thirteen movements group themselves into four tonal areas. All but the third movement recur in the Supper Symphonies: eight appear in the second suite of 1703 and five (one repeated from the second suite) are found in the *Concert de Trompettes*, a collection of pieces without suite number located between the seventh and eighth suites. The 1745 Supper anthology describes the *Concert de Trompettes* as "donnees sur le canal de Versailles," indicating that at some point these five *Trompettes* movements were performed outdoors.

The recurrence of all but one movement of the *Ballet de Saint Louis* in other sources may indicate that Delalande did not compose the work anew in 1691 but instead compiled it from pre-existing material. Since only five of

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the thirteen movements bear traditional dance titles ("Entrée," "Passepied," "Chaconne, and two "Menuets"), this work, like the *Ballet de Mr. Delalande*, may not have included dancing. Instead, its classification as a *Sérénade* may be more appropriate. The instrumentation for trumpets indicated in $Vm^{6}5$ and Rés. 581 is a suitable one for the musical style of these movements, a style more appropriate for an outdoor performance, possibly on the canals of Versailles, rather than an indoor chamber entertainment in the château.



Example 9-1: *Ballet de Saint Louis*:
"Trompette en rondeau," m. 1-4, Rés. 581, I: 99

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X. ADONIS

A. INTRODUCTION

Adonis marks a resumption of secular composition for Delalande after a five-year hiatus during the War of the League of Augsburg. The work is listed by several titles --- *Adonis, Divertissement en musique; Concert d'Adonis;* and *Venus et Adonis.* The *concert* was performed in 1696, probably during the court's trip to Fontainebleau in October in conjunction with celebrations for the arrival of the Princesse Adelaide of Savoy as the fiancée of the Duc de Bourgogne.

No information regarding collaborators and performers for this work survives, and its only extant music is seven airs in Rés. 581. However, the printed text seems to indicate that *Adonis* typifies Delalande's secular music of the 1690's in its reduced content and production forces. The *concert* consists of ten consecutive scenes of vocal and instrumental music without dance or other visual spectacle, and stresses the themes of love and peace.

B. ATTRIBUTION OF COLLABORATORS

Ballard's published text of *Adonis* includes no attribution to Delalande. However, the composer's authorship is confirmed by the recurrence of the air "L'Heureux séjour" in the first scene of the text and in Rés. 581. Additional although less conclusive evidence that the work called *Venus et Adonis* in Rés. 581 and the Ballard *Adonis* are the same is the movement in Rés. 581 after "L'Heureux séjour" called an "Air en écho," which could have been used at the end of the first scene, when shepherds sing about their echoing musettes.

The author of the verse for Delalande's work is not identified, but in view of the popularity of the Venus and Adonis story in the late seventeenth century, any number of writers could have contributed the text. The designation of the work in Rés. 581 as a *concert* corroborates my hypothesis that the production was not staged, and therefore did not require a choreographer or a

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designer. There is probably no direct connection between Delalande's *concert* and other contemporary productions of the Adonis story, such as the *tragédie lyrique* named *Venus et Adonis* which appeared at the Opéra in 1697.[17]

C. COURT BACKGROUND

By 1693 the War of the League of Augsburg in its several phases had permanently turned against Louis.[18] Realizing the need to end the conflict while his country remained reasonably intact, Louis secretly signed the Treaty of Turin with the Duc de Savoy on 30 June 1696 after months of negotiations.[19] Under this agreement the duke regained control of Italian lands acquired by France during the previous seventy-five years. The treaty also arranged for the duke's twelve-year-old daughter, Marie-Adelaide, to marry Louis' oldest grandson and heir to the throne, the Duc de Bourgogne. Their wedding contract was signed on 10 September and Adelaide left for France in October, never to return to her homeland. She arrived in Versailles in early November, although she and the Duc de Bourgogne did not marry until December 1697.[20]

The court sponsored only a few musical entertainments between Delalande's *Ballets* of 1690/1691 and 1696. No diarists report musical entertainments in any of the royal châteaux between February 1692, the date of the wedding of Mademoiselle de Blois and the Duc de Chartres, and June 1695, when Lully's *Acis et Galatée* appeared in concert version in the Trianon

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[17]This opera is on a text by J. B. Rousseau, to music by Henry Desmarets. The text is found in Pn Th^b 1414 and the score in Vm^2 132.

[18]See Wolf 1968, Chapter 28, p. 464-488. Additionally, the war years were plagued by internal financial problems and famine, and Louis suffered recurring attacks of gout between April and August, 1696.

[19]The *Mercure* did not announce the treaty until September. See p. 266.

[20]This royal wedding was considerably grander than Mademoiselle de Blois' in 1692. Delalande's next secular work may have been performed during the wedding celebrations. See the following essay on *L'Amour fléchy*.

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theater for the king and queen of England.[21] However, by Carnival of 1696, as rumors of peace filled the air even though war reports continued in the *Mercure*, musical entertainments resumed their former schedule, if not their elaborate scale.[22] A series of balls was held at Marly during January and February 1696, and Monseigneur sponsored a performance of Boisset's *Idille de Meudon* in April.[23] After the treaty of 1696 France had even better reason to rejoice, as signaled by performances of the pastoral *Le Triomphe de la Raison sûr l'Amour* by J. B. Lully fils at Fontainebleau in October, possibly in conjunction with Delalande's *Adonis*, and an *Egologue* by a M. Marchand for the king in December.[24]

It seems that *Adonis* was performed in response to the peace treaty and the anticipated marriage and therefore stands as a good example of how an awareness of contemporary events can help our interpretation of artistic activity in court. Delalande may have begun the *divertissement* in mid-October on learning of Adelaide's departure from Italy, and planned a performance to coincide with her arrival at court.[25]

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[21]Unidentified music by Lully was heard during the 1692 wedding celebration. The diminished scope of celebration for the marriage of Mademoiselle de Blois contrasts with the more lavish festivities for the wedding of her sister in 1685, for which Delalande composed his *Epithalame*.

[22]In Paris, "Jamais la foule n'a esté si grande aux divertissemens publics que depuis que l'hyver a commencé. Les trois théâtres ont toujours esté rempliis...." See the *Mercure*, January 1696, p. 333.

[23]Testimony to the trend toward smaller court entertainments after the peace appears in a collection of texts of *divertissements* for court, including *Adonis*, from the end of the seventeenth century. This collection is located today in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra. I have listed its contents in the Catalogue Raisonné for *Adonis*.

[24]Pastoral topics in musical works regained popularity after the war.

[25]However, Adelaide probably did not hear the work, since she arrived after the court left Fontainebleau. Adelaide's presence represented a revival --- of spirit, of life, and of peace --- for the court. She became a favorite of both Louis and Maintenon, and was praised for her skill as a musician and a dancer.

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The subject matter in *Adonis* parallels France's political situation in 1696. Love and honor prevail as the fair Adonis, representing the Duc de Bourgogne, gains support from his people in his resolve to fight the monstrous enemy Mars, a deification of the Duc de Savoy, who has lost Venus' love to Adonis. Adonis dies in Delalande's *divertissement*, but only after fighting for his honor. His people, the French, should not weep, but feel proud that Venus, the embodiment of beauty, has chosen to live in their land, in spite of temporary strife within.[26]

D. SOURCES

Music: Seven movements from *Adonis* are included in Rés. 581. These were added to the Supper collection during its expansion between 1722 and 1726. Of these seven, only the "Ouverture" also appears in Rés. 582, as the first movement of the tenth suite. Delalande reused this overture the most extensively of any movement in his secular repertoire: after *Adonis*, he repeated the movement in *La Comédie des Fées* in 1699 and *Hymen Champestre* in 1700 and then revised it for *Les Elémens* in 1722.[27]

One of the seven airs in Rés. 581 is texted. The other six movements may represent the complete instrumental music of the *concert*.[28] None of the annotations in Rés. 581 indicate how and where *Adonis* was used in court.

No other sources of music from *Adonis* are known today and none are

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[26]*Adonis* is more directly connected to contemporary court events than is *L'Amour fléchy* and most other works from Delalande's middle period. *L'Amour fléchy*, for example, alludes only occasionally to current events and more generally celebrates love and peace through conventional pastoral topics and characters.

[27]Res. 582 contains the earlier version. That for *Les Elémens* is in Rés. 581.

[28]Only the "Passacaille" bears a dance title. This small number of instrumental airs helps confirm that *Adonis* may have resembled *L'Amour fléchy*, a *divertissement* in eight scenes for which nine airs survive in Rés. 581. Seven of these nine are without text and comprise the complete instrumental music in that work.

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reported in the records of the king's music library. However, some additional source must have survived at least through the early 1720's, when the augmentations to the Supper Suites were made.

Text: Ballard printed the text of *Adonis* in 1696. Payment records do not indicate the number of copies in this printing, but the work probably existed in only one version, without revisions. Because this text contains a list of roles but no names of performers, the publication may have been hurriedly prepared.

E. MUSICAL ORGANIZATION

One can develop a general impression of the organization of *Adonis* from these few surviving primary sources and also by comparing this work with Delalande's other *concerts* such as *Fontaines*, *Esculape*, and *L'Amour fléchy*. The Ballard text indicates that vocal performers included two choirs and soloists. The absence of stage directions in the text supports the hypothesis that the *concert* did not stress visual effects. The reflective approach to the well-known story, offering comment on the relationship between Venus and Adonis rather than depicting actions such as the wounding of Adonis, rendered the work especially appropriate for a concert rather than a staged production.[29]
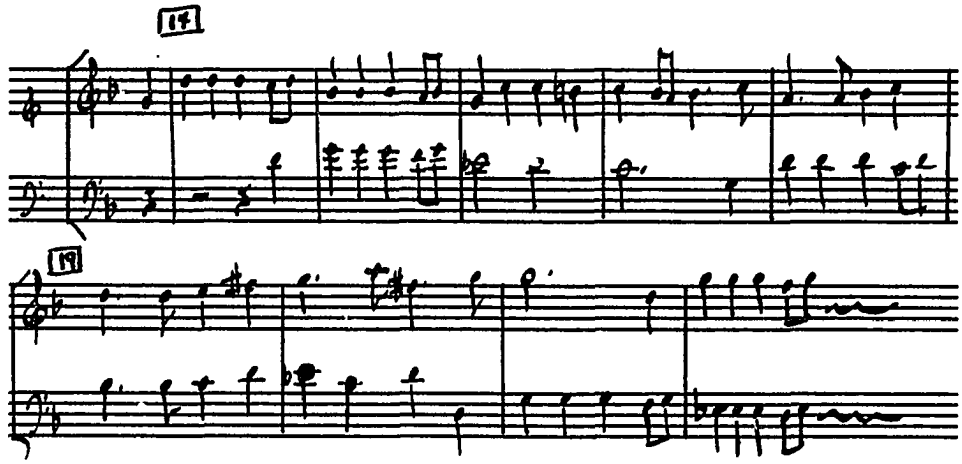
The version of the "Ouverture" in Rés. 582 consists of the usual two-part format, the first section in thirteen measures unified by a dotted motive and the thirty-three-measure polyphonic portion based on the reiteration of an imitative theme. In the polyphonic portion the surviving partbooks seem to indicate that this movement was written in four rather than the more common

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[29]The text calls for instrumental music twice in order to support the prevailing mood or activity: a "simphonie plaintive" is heard at the end of Scene 2 as Adonis realizes the possibility of a confrontation with Mars, and during Scene 6 a "simphonie guerrière" heralds the arrival of Mars.

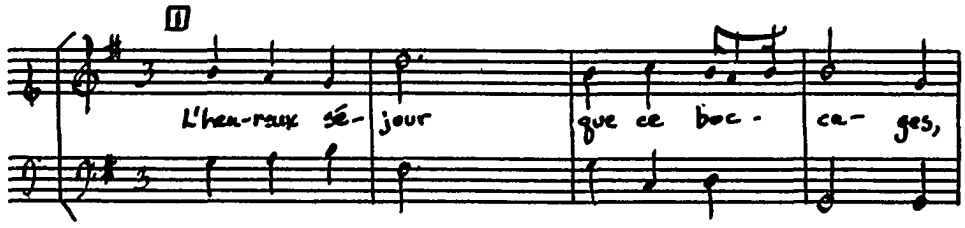
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five voices.[30]



Example 10-1: *Adonis*: "Ouverture," m. 14-23
Rés. 582, X: 106
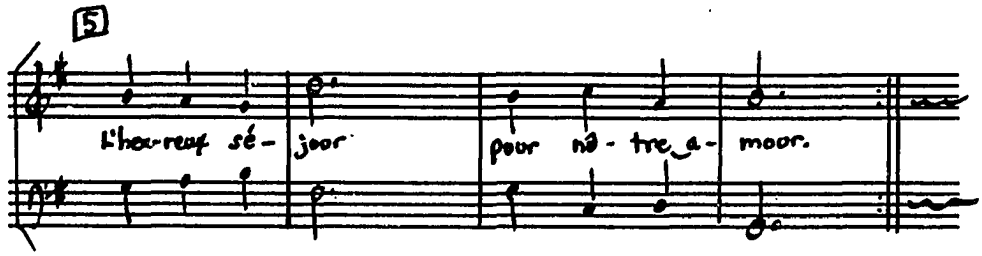
Adonis is set in a pleasant woods in Arabia, a world detached from the turmoil of western Europe. The first two scenes feature Eurial and Idas, companions of Adonis, and a choir of shepherds and shepherdesses, all of whom celebrate the arrival of Venus, who has left her home in the skies to join Adonis on earth.[31] While the text does not indicate where the second air in the Supper Suites appeared, the next air, "L'heureux séjour," was sung in the middle of the first scene by a shepherdess and a choir. This simple, twenty-four-measure air is dominated two-measure phrasing, common in much of Delalande's solo vocal music:



[30]See *Les Elémens* for a comparison of the revisions to this movement in the later work.

[31]This must be a reference to Adelaide's arrival in France.

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Example 10-2: *Adonis*: "L'heureux séjour," m. 1-8
Rés. 581: II, 191

The fourth movement in the Supper collection, the "Air en Echo," probably also appeared sometime in the first scene as the news of Venus' arrival echoes throughout the valley. In this scene, the shepherds encourage the handsome Adonis to win Venus for his own, even at the risk of a confrontation with Mars:[32]

> Hastez-vous, volez sur les pas
> De Bellone qui vous appelle:
> Allez, jeune Héros, allez dans les combats
> Couronner une ardeur si belle.

Better yet, adds a shepherdess, although winning a new love is nice, conquering an enemy in the process is even more glorious:[33]

> L'Amour a des faveurs:
> Mais leur douceur est cent fois plus touchante,
> Lorsqu'elle coûte quelques soins;
> Lorsqu'on en à ses Rivaux pour témoins.

A reference to the echoes in the woods again sounds as Adonis closes this first scene, consumed by sadness and anxiety.

The relation between the Adonis story and France's current military situation is reinforced in subsequent scenes. Scene 3 opens to the choir's reiteration of the text "Destin rigoureux, ravage effroyable" as Adonis prepares

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[32] *Adonis*: Scene 2; F Po Liv 17 [R4(3), p. 8.

[33] *Adonis*: Scene 2; F Po Liv 17 [R4(3), p. 9. Any courtier hearing the work must have recognized Adonis' obligation to satisfy the demands of both *gloire* and love.

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to fight Mars.[34] Venus' admonition to Adonis in Scene 4 to follow love rather than war supports our interpretation of Venus as a representation of Adelaide, who served in a similar capacity as peacemaker in the French court after the war. Adonis' commitment to fight when he declares "Ma gloire en gémiroit" echoes Louis' justification of France's involvement in the war. The choir reminds Adonis that confrontation can be acceptable if the net result is peace:[35]

> Aimez, goutez le fruit de vos tendres soupirs,
> Qu'une flamme toujours nouvelle
> Ranime, à tout moment, vos plus ardents desirs:
> Aimez, qu'une paix éternelle
> Fasse couler vos jours dans le sein des plaisirs.

Mars enters in Scene 7. His anger over Venus' infidelity turns to wrath against Adonis. Aegle, one of the Graces, urges Venus to go back to Mars, but these pleas go unheeded, in spite of Venus' realization of the danger Adonis faces. The *divertissement* concludes with the choir weeping for Adonis, who has died off-stage at the hands of the monstrous Mars:[36]

> Pleurons, pleurons, que de nos larmes
> Rien n'arreste le cours:
> L'impitoyable Dieu des armes,
> De l'aimable Adonis à fait trancher les jours.

The life of the fair young man is cut short as he fights for love and honor, just as the war in Europe arrested the power and growth of a well-intentioned France.

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[34]Could we interpret Adonis' pledge to take the situation into his own hands and stop the horrible Mars as an expression of France's self-deceived, or maybe self-inflated, image of herself as the savior of Europe, rather than as the perpetrator of its current ills?
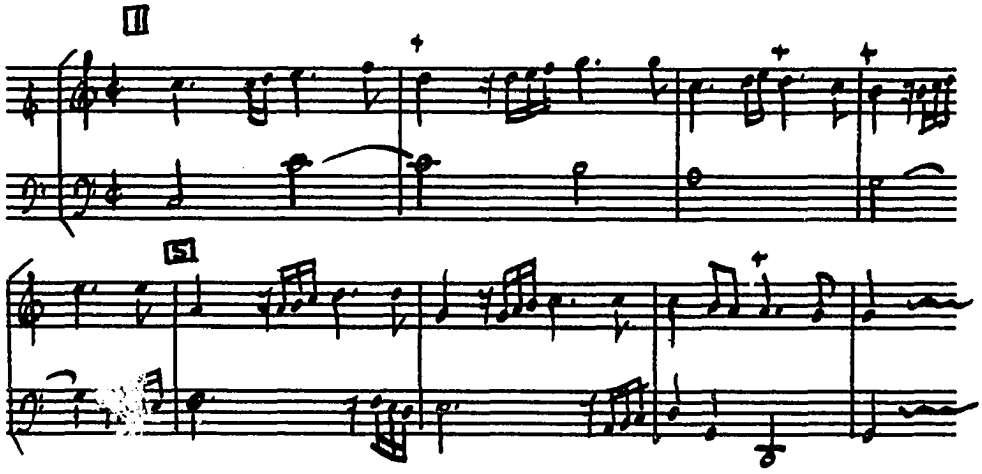
[35]*Adonis*: Scene 4; F Po Liv 17 [R4(3), p. 17.

[36]*Adonis*: Scene 7; F Po Liv 17 [R4(3), p. 30.

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The placement of the last three Supper airs in the *divertissement* is unclear. While the index in Rés. 581 usually lists the contents of any given work in program order, the fifth air, the "Passacaille," may have occurred at the end of the composition as an extended movement used to express regret over the death of Adonis.

The last two movements in the Supper collection, the "Prélude d'Adonis" and the following "Air," may have accompanied Adonis' entrance in Scene 2. The mood of the "Prélude" is suitable for acknowledging the entrance of a young hero.



Example 10-3: *Adonis*: "Prélude," m. 1-8
Rés. 581: II, 147

F. PERFORMANCE

The only source of information about the performance of *Adonis* is the Ballard text.[37] Probably only five of the eight identified characters --- Venus, Mars, Adonis, Aegle, and Adonis' friend Idas --- were singing roles. The other three characters may have supplemented the dramatic situation through gesture and pantomime. Neither the text nor the surviving music indicates the size of

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[37] *Adonis* appears to have resembled two other works for court cited above: the *Idille de Meudon* is also called a *divertissement en musique* and consisted of ten characters who sing; Marchand's *Egologue* included two singing satyrs and two dryads.

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the two choirs, identified as followers of Mars and as shepherds and shepherdesses. Judging from other secular works by Delalande for which the personnel in the choir is specified more precisely, the same group of singers may have sung both choir parts. Assuming that these choirs are in Delalande's usual four-part writing, a minimum of one singer per voice part raises the total number of vocalists in the work to nine.

Little can be said about *Adonis'* orchestra, which may have been at least as large as the ensemble of sixteen in *Fontaines*. Such a group places the total number of performers at twenty-five.

This vague picture of the performing forces in *Adonis* makes speculation about its performance location even more problematic, since several rooms in the château at Fontainebleau were used for performances of music. (See **Figure I-1**). In view of its limited scope, the *concert* could have appeared in a private apartment similar to that for Delalande's *Sérénade* of 1682. Additionally, the château's Salle de Comédie may have been used, although its staging facilities would not have been required.[38]

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[38]Most accounts of works resembling *Adonis* at Fontainebleau indicate performances elsewhere than in theaters. There are no confirmed reports of performances in the château's Salle de Comédie during the fall, 1696, although *Le Triomphe de la Raison sûr l'Amour* may have played there. I examine this theater more fully in the following essay on *Mirtil et Mélicerte*.

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XI. L'AMOUR FLÉCHY PAR LA CONSTANCE

A. INTRODUCTION

The organization of *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance* is the most definable of any middle-period stage composition by Delalande, for both a full manuscript score and a printed text of the work survive. On the other hand, the circumstances of the *concert*'s genesis and performance are unclear, for the composition is not cited in contemporary diaries and newspapers and is mentioned only sparingly in archival records.

L'Amour fléchy par la Constance played at Fontainebleau twice in 1697, probably during the court's fall visit after the signing of the Treaty of Ryswyck, which ended the War of the League of Augsburg. Louis probably sponsored the work for *appartement*, in part to entertain the self-exiled former king and queen of England. Possibly *L'Amour fléchy* was repeated with augmentations at Versailles for the wedding of the Duc de Bourgogne and the Princesse Adelaide in December.

The author of the text is not known and no literary or music critics have speculated on his or her identity.[39] The designer Jean Bérain and the choreographer Pierre Beauchamps may have worked on my suggested stage version at Versailles.

Based on similarities in the content of the respective texts, *L'Amour fléchy* probably resembles *Adonis* in organization, music, and scale of performance. On a theme of disrupted and then reconciled love among shepherds and shepherdesses, *L'Amour fléchy* differs from *Adonis* in that it makes fewer specific references to contemporary events than did *Adonis*, offering instead light entertainment to a royal audience recuperating from a

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[39]Delalande could have worked with an author such as Houdar de La Motte, who was in vogue at the time for musical works works such as *Issé* and *L'Europe Galant*. Delalande could also have returned to a familiar colleague such as the Abbé Genest or Dancourt.

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nasty war. *L'Amour flechy* consists of nine continuous scenes with solo and ensemble singing, several extended choruses, and several instrumental movements. Structurally the work evinces a more organic approach toward composition in its organization both of movements and of entire scenes than found in the composer's early-period works which can be reconstructed.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

While some phases of the war ended the previous year, the Peace of Reswyck in mid-September 1697 marked the conclusion of the conflict with its declaration of peace between Louis and the Prince of Orange, the King of Spain, and the Holy Roman Emperor.[40] As John Wolf writes, this devastating war "emphasized the great changes that had taken place in the structure of European politics."[41] While Louis was ready to accept peace at any price, he continued to represent this peace as something which France instigated, rather than received. The marriage of the Princess Adelaide to the Duc de Bourgogne represented the brighter side of peace negotiations for France.

Terminating the war meant the unbridled resumption of musical and social celebrations in Paris and the court in 1697.[42] The visit to Fontainebleau between 19 September and 24 October featured several musical-theatrical works on the theme of peace, supporting the suggestion that *L'Amour flechy*

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[40]Dangeau reported the treaty on 21 September. The peace dashed James' chances to return to England as reigning monarch. He and his queen continued to live at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. They probably attended the wedding celebrations for Adelaide in 1697, when they might have heard *L'Amour flechy*.

[41]See Wolf 1968, p. 488.

[42]Dangeau wrote a few days after the signing of the treaty that Louis "commanda qu'à la musique on ne chantat rien que eux rapport à la paix." See Dangeau, 25 September 1697. Also the *Mercure* in November 1697 discusses several works in Paris in honor of the peace.

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appeared during this fall series of performances.[43] Destouches' *Issé* was rehearsed four times in October, and J.B. Lully's *Egologue* appeared once sometime that month "chantée devant Sa Majesté" as *L'Amour fléchy* was.[44] Possibly the diarists did not specifically cited *L'Amour fléchy* and the *Egologue* by name because these works played only during *appartement* rather than as independent productions in the manner of *Issé*.[45]

A staged performance of *L'Amour fléchy* might have occurred during the wedding celebration of the Duc de Bourgogne and Adelaide, for several other musical events are documented during these festivities.[46] The marriage

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[43]Both the *Mercure* and the diarists report music, comedies, or *appartement* nearly every evening at Fontainebleau. Records of the Menus Plaisirs, AN O[1]2829, fol. 82, indicate that fifteen comedians spent thirty-seven days at Fontainebleau that fall.

[44]See Dangeau 7, 10, 19, and 20 October for the reports on *Issé*, which seems to have played in concert version, in segments. The text to the *Egologue* is included in the collection of court musical entertainment, Po Liv 17(R7 listed in my **Catalogue Raisonné** for *Adonis*. This work represents a companion piece to *L'Amour fléchy* in that both were concert works with limited numbers of pastoral characters, and both were written by the king's *surintendants*. The *Egologue* consists of a prologue and five scenes.

[45]Financial records for 1697 also support my suggestion that *L'Amour fléchy* appeared during *appartement*. See AN O'2829, *Comptes du Maison du Roi*, 1697, fol. 84. These documents cite a Sr. Brunet for assistance with works which played during *appartement*. Brunet was a *huissier du ballet*. This payment record indicates that he worked at Fontainebleau for thirty-seven days, the entire length of the court's stay, "pour avoir porté lesdits Instrumens tant aux répétitions faites sur le théâtre pour la musique des sieurs de la lande, Lully et Destouches, qu'aux appartements, (bolds mine) les jours qu'il y a eu appartement." This financial document also confirms the rehearsal and performance of works by Lully and Destouches at Fontainebleau, but does not distinguish between those in the theater and those in chambers.

[46]A Versailles performance probably did not happen until at least 21 November, when Monsieur and Madame returned from several days in Paris. Dangeau, 21 and 23 November, says that the king held comedies and *appartement* primarily for them. The *Mercure* confirms that at Versailles "les Appartemens consistent en Jeu et en Concerts de Musique," so *L'Amour fléchy* may have replayed there in a manner similar to the Fontainebleau show. See the *Mercure*, November 1697, p. 230. However, such a concert performance does not conform with the notation on the title page of the score describing the work as "représentée" at Versailles.

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occurred on 7 December. Fireworks, food, balls, and music lasted at least until the 17th. According to Dangeau, unspecified music occurred on the 8th and magnificent balls on the 11th and 14th.[47] *Issé*, "dont le roi fut fait content," appeared in staged version in the Trianon theater on the 17th.[48] While La Gorce maintains that a total of four major stage productions were planned for the wedding, only *Issé* is cited by those who attended the celebrations.[49] Possibly some of the wedding events were cancelled, *L'Amour fléchy* among them, for unexplained reasons. For example, the *Mercure's* report mentions *Issé* as one of the *divertissemens* "qui devroient suivre le mariage de Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne" (underlining mine), again implying that some plans did not materialize.

Changes to *L'Amour fléchy* for this intended stage version may have included the addition of dancing, as discussed in more detail in the contents below. A staged version could have occurred in a theater such as the Salle de Comédie in the Grand Trianon.

C. SOURCES

Music: *L'Amour fléchy* is Delalande's only middle-period secular work surviving in full score, and so provides valuable documentation about his compositional approach at the turn of the century. Additionally, the recurrence of nine airs from the *concert* in the Supper Symphonies offers an example of

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[47]The balls must have pleased Adelaide. On the 11th Sourches writes of the ball held in the Galérie des Glace that "tous ceux qui avoient vu autrefois de sembables spectacles avouerent qu'on n'avoit jamais poussé en France la magnificence jusqu'au point ou elle était allé ce jour-la, et les étrangères qui y assisterent durent être bien persuadés que, quand la guère auroit encore duré quelque temps, la France n'auroit pas succombé par la manque d'argent."

[48]According to the *Mercure*, December, p. 254, the opera featured all new costumes by Bérain and was well attended and very satisfying.

[49]La Gorce 1983, p. 395. The other works were *Roland, Armide,* and *L'Europe Galant.* La Gorce does not even mention *L'Amour fléchy.* La Gorce's information comes from the *Mercure Historique et Politique* and the *Gazette de Hollande.*

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what the music in these Supper Suites represents vis à vis the complete works from which they are taken.[50]

The copyist of the score and the circumstances of its production are not known. Clearly it is not a Philidor product. Its hastily assembled appearance indicates that it probably was not a presentation copy for the royal music library. It may have been prepared for the proposed wedding production at Versailles, since it includes several instrumental movements not indicated in the text published for Fontainebleau.[51] Misjudgements in planning are also evident by the many cross-outs on the title-page. (See **Figure XI-1.**) The inscription on this page names Versailles as the site of performance, correctly identifies Delalande as the *surintendant* of the king's music, and describes the work as "représentée" rather than "chantée," as on the printed text. The score includes no date. The original version of the title page implies that at one point the pastoral was intended to be staged before Louis and the queen of England, but cross-outs on this inscription imply that the work played before both English monarchs but not Louis. A presentation at Versailles without Louis probably did not coincide with the wedding festivities, offering the possibility that this title page may suggest yet a third setting for the pastoral.

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[50]The manuscript score of the pastoral is located in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyons. I wish to thank Lionel Sawkins for informing me of this manuscript, which Dufourcq did not know about when he compiled his catalogue. The circumstances of the score's presence there are unclear, but the document appears in a 1768 inventory of the *Académie du Concert*, a weekly concert series comprised primarily of amateur performers held from 1713 through 1773. Whether this academy ever performed the pastoral is not known. See Meunier-Loiseleur, 1977, p. 70.

[51]The score contains many errors, apparently the result of hurried copying, such as the ill-planned layout of pages, as on fol. 14^{r}. Sawkins feels that the manuscript was intended for a library: the absence of pencil markings probably indicates that it probably was not used in performance.

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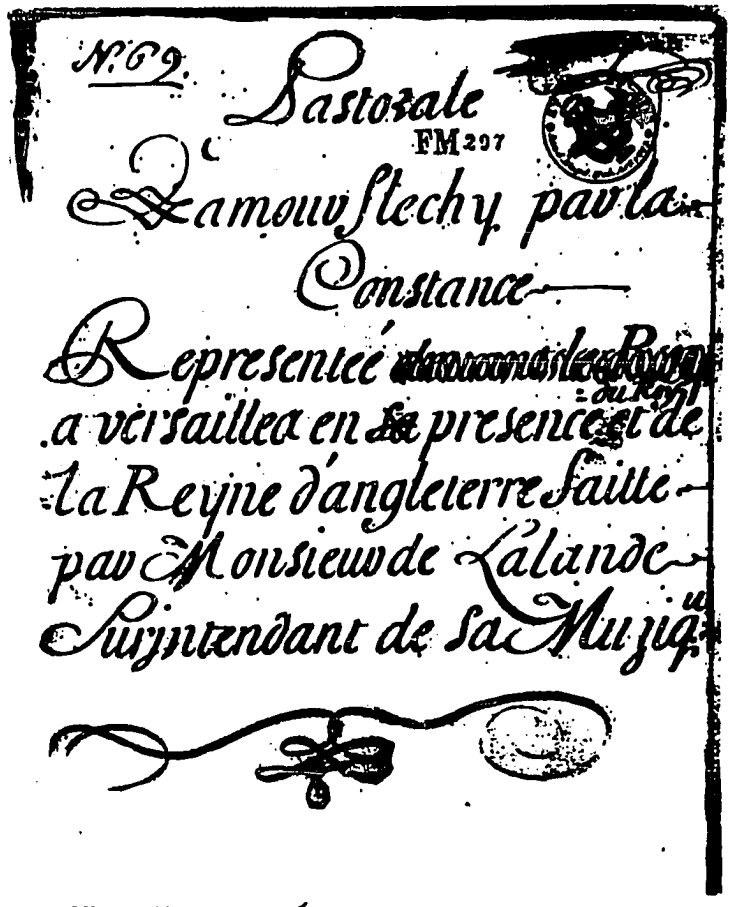


Figure XI-1: *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance*: title page
LY Ms 133.620

The score appears to have been intended for practical use: i.e., it was not a presentation copy for a private library. Its twelve staves are generally filled as completely as possible, as texture and numbers of voice parts change within successive movements, often sacrificing visual order for efficient use of space. The unidentified hand is distinguished by clefs which are usually placed before each staff and bar lines which do not connect adjacent staves. Performance directions are frequently indicated, and the bottom line is usually called "Basse Continue."

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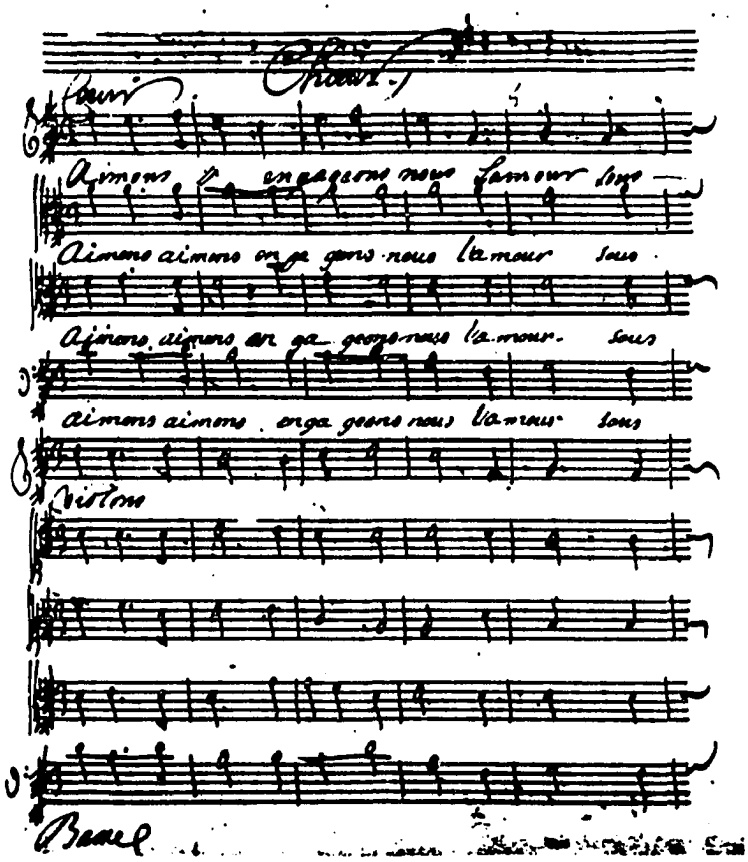


Figure XI-2: *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance*: sample of format and copyist hand, LY Ms 133.62: p. 51

The nine movements in Rés. 581 were added during the 1722-26 expansion of the Supper music. Seven of these nine movements are untexted and represent all the instrumental music included in the score. Rés. 581 contains the "Ouverture," four airs from Scene 2, and one each from Scenes 4, 5, 9, 10, respectively. Of the seven instrumental airs, five are not identified in the printed text.[52] Since the organization of the text and the score conform in nearly every other aspect, this discrepancy may offer important insights into the composition of the work. Three of these five unmentioned airs bear dance titles and so may have been added for the proposed stage performance

[52]Only the "Simphonie de Sommeil" in Scene 1 and the "Passacaille" in Scene 5 are labeled in the text.

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with dance. Even though dancing is specified nowhere in text or score, the presence of dancing conforms to the pastoral's subject matter, since shepherds and shepherdesses appear frequently as dancing characters in this period.[53] While *Adonis'* "Ouverture" is among Delalande's most frequently reused secular music, no movements from *L'Amour fléchy* seem to have been recycled.

The two vocal airs in Rés. 581 appear there just as in the full score, but the score's five-part instrumental airs expectedly are reduced to two and three parts in the Symphonies.[54] Other differences between the two sources consist of low-level rhythmic changes and the occasional addition of first and second endings to the Supper airs.

Text: Ballard prepared his text of *L'Amour fléchy* for Fontainebleau. The title page of this publication lists the date of performance only as 1697, leaving a blank where a month and day should appear. The front page also confirms that the *concert* played before Louis and lists Delalande's name and title, the only text from his middle period to do so. Such recognition may indicate the composer's growing stature in court, especially since very few printed texts of musical-stage works from this period identify composers.

D. ORGANIZATION

The scope of the pastoral is not grand. Consisting of nine short scenes performed without interruption, *L'Amour fléchy* could have provided light entertainment appropriate for *appartement*.[55] The pastoral emphasizes not visual spectacle or profound historical or mythological truths, but instead presents a gentle view of simple characters who delight in constancy in love, a theme

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[53]The addition of dance to *L'Amour fléchy* parallels my suggested changes to *Les Fontaines de Versailles*, which also may have been revised for a royal wedding. See **Early Works. Fontaines: 3. III.**

[54]The first vocal air, "Paissez en paix," is for one treble voice and bass, the second, "Tous doit aimer," for two treble voices and bass.

[55]Sawkins estimates the performance time to be one hour.

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which must have reminded the court of the recent peace treaty.[56]

L'Amour fléchy seems to resemble *Adonis* in general construction, subject matter, number of performers, and type of characters. It features four principal roles, the lovers Tircis and Philis, and Climene and Daphnis, and a choir of shepherds and shepherdesses. The setting for the entire work is a forest near a temple consecrated to Amour. The first, third, fourth, and seventh scenes consist largely of solo and dialogue singing, while primary musical interest centers on the choral movements with orchestral accompaniment in the second, fifth, and ninth scenes. The orchestra also plays independent instrumental movements such as two "Menuets" in Scene 2 or the descriptive "Simphonie de Sommeil" in Scene 1. The score is explicit about instrumentation: most instrumental passages utilize the customary five-part strings, with the lowest line unfigured but consistently labeled "basse continue." Frequently instrumentation for woodwinds is indicated.

L'Amour fléchy is marked by an organic unity in music and text not heard in Delalande's early *concerts*. In particular, ternary forms are prevalent, sometimes at several levels simultaneously, as in all of Scene 2, in Climene's air in Scene 3, and in Scene 5. Additionally, much of the writing in the pastoral reveals tighter thematic interplay, more clearly directed harmonies, and better balance of voice parts than in the composer's scores of the 1680's. Additionally, segments of recitative and air alternate much more freely than in previous works to accommodate better the changing requirements of the text.
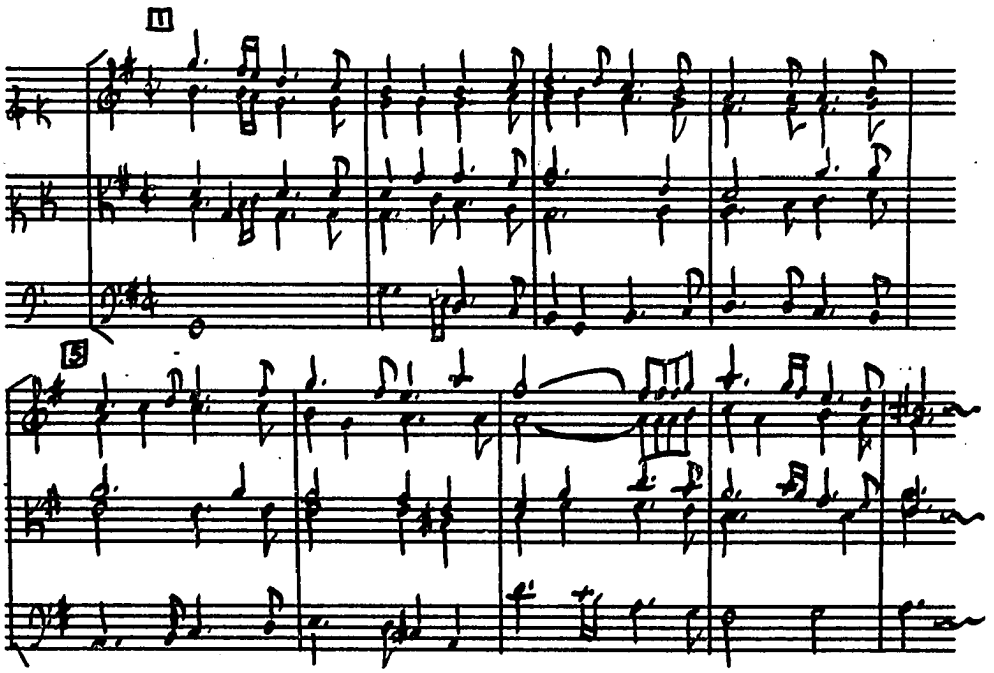
The pastoral opens with the customary two-part "Ouverture" in G major. The style of the opening duple-meter segment recurs at the end of the movement. These sections unify the overture through their dotted rhythms and

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[56]See Lancaster 1942, IV, p. 924 ff. Lancaster regards the pastoral as a rather unimportant French genre at the end of the seventeenth century and cites only four spoken plays of this sort, none of which was very successful.

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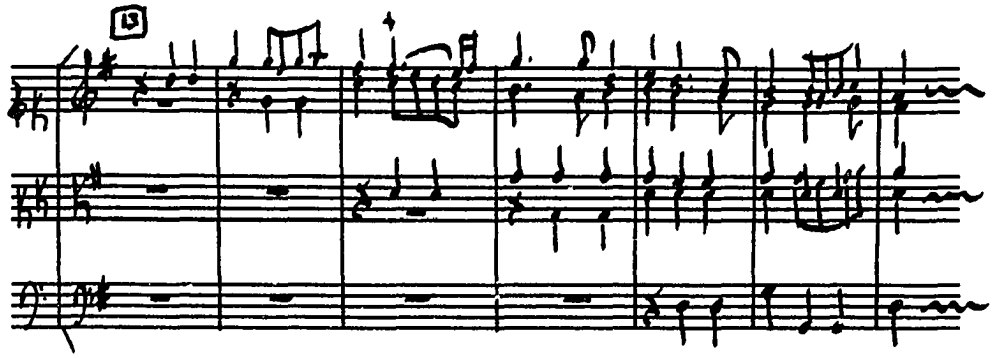
well-defined harmonic movement to the dominant. The frequent repetition of the one-measure melodic motive within the primarily homophonic texture, heard first in the violins in the first measure, contributes to the tight structure of these twelve measures:



Example 11-1: *L'Amour flechy par la Constance*
"Ouverture," m. 1-9; LY Ms 133.620, fol. 1[r]

The forty-two-measure contrapuntal portion of the "Ouverture" shows a similar clarity of harmonic direction, progressing by its mid-point to the dominant and returning to the tonic via the submediant, which anticipates the E minor "Simphonie" introducing Tircis' solo in Scene 1. All five voices here share all or part of the recurring two-measure theme, which clearly defines the tonic and dominant:

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Example 11-2: *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance*
"Ouverture," m. 13-19; LY Ms 133.620, fol. 1^{v}

Scene 1 features a monologue by lovesick Tircis, pained by his unremitting and unrequited love for Philis. Tircis longs for peace, just as the nations of Europe recently have searched. Tircis' lament, in two through-composed verses, illustrates Delalande's skillful intermingling of instrumental and vocal passages: the *Simphonie pour le sommeil* repeatedly interrupts Tircis' brooding and prods the sleeping shepherd with its gentle rocking motion. Throughout the scene, clarity of tonal direction assists dramatic ends: for example, this E minor lament moves only once into G major, at the point when he imagines the relief and peace which sleep can bring.

Scene 2 returns to G major with the entrance of the shepherds and shepherdesses celebrating their happy existence, just as France celebrates her peace. The length of this scene --- 290 of the 1464 total measures --- plus its variety of musical styles and ABA-form organization, enhances the dramatic content of the text. The scene's three sections are delineated by instrumental movements which may have been danced. In the first of these sections, the text of the simple air "Paissez en paix" probably carried an important message to Louis' court: a shepherdess reminds her sheep that they may graze in peace without fear of the wolves (probably a reference to William of Orange), because Amour (i.e., Louis) will watch over them.[57]
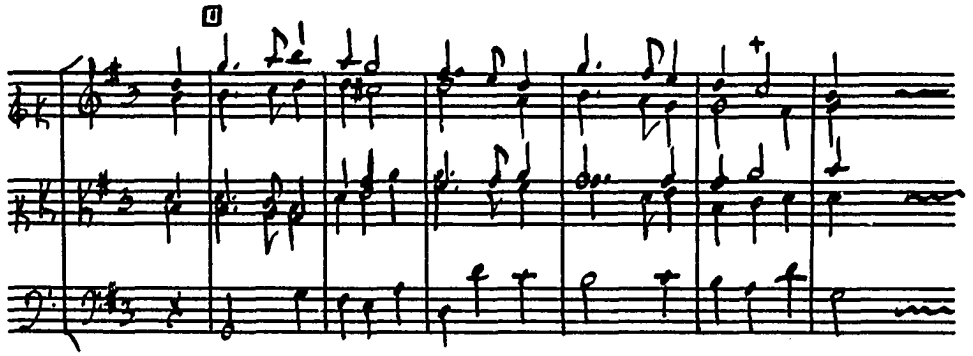
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[57] *L'Amour fléchy*, Ballard text, p. 5.

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Paissez en paix, dans ces retraites,
Heureux Moutons, ne craignez point les Loups:
L'Amour lui seul, puisqu'il prend soin de vous,
Vous gardera bien mieux que nous,
Avec nos Chiens, et nos houlettes.

The second section and centerpiece of Scene 2 is the 104-measure "Chantons ce Dieu vainqueur," the first of four choruses in the pastoral. The movement typifies Delalande's choral writing in alternating full and reduced choirs, the latter for divided sopranos and bass. The movement contains musical description to highlight important words. For example, only the small choir and reduced orchestra perform the several phrases "chantez petits oiseaux," and references to musettes are illustrated by oboe trios. Running streams are depicted by a winding eighth-note motif passed among the several voices throughout the triple-meter section. The movement modulates from G major only once, yet illustrates Delalande's more refined sense of harmonic rhythm than in many of his earlier movements for chorus and orchestra.[58]

The "Air très gay," a bi-partite movement of forty-one measures, separates the second and third parts of the scene and illustrates an equality of voicing typical of most of the instrumental passages in the pastoral:



Example 11-3: *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance*
"Air très gay," m. 1-6; LY Ms 133.620, fol. 16^{v}
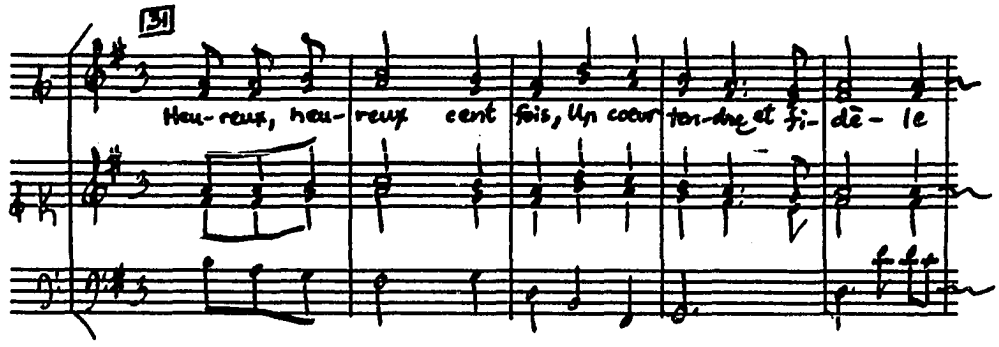
The concluding sixty-measure chorus, "Hâton-nous," urges Climene to follow

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[58]The movement is too long to illustrate here in detail. The passages referred to are found on fol. 8r-9v, 10r, and 14r, respectively.

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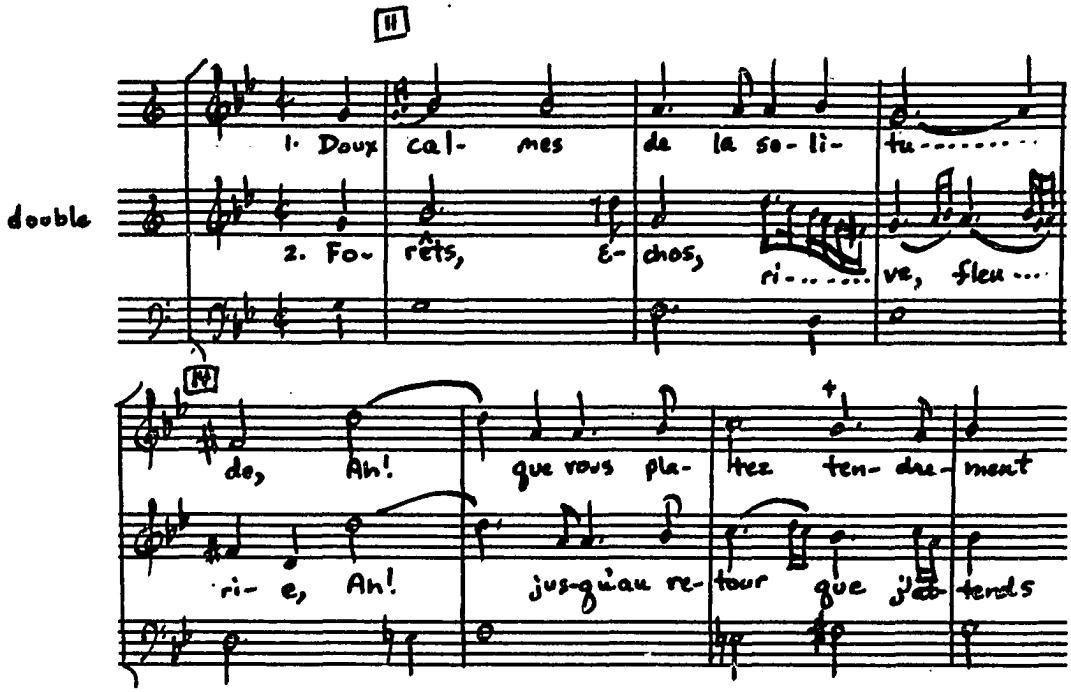
Amour to discover new happiness in a new lover. Delalande has again illustrated specific words with compositional techniques similar to those in the preceding chorus: for example, the small choir and orchestra alone highlight words such as "heureux cent fois, un coeur tendre et fidèle."



Example 11-4: *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance*
"Hâtons-nous:" m. 31-35; LY Ms 133.620, fol. 19r

In Scene 3 Climene's soulful air in G minor, "Doux calme," contrasts with the zestful abandon of the previous scene. The air is noteworthy for several reasons: Delalande's music illustrates conflicting emotions of consolation and anxiety, supported by the sustained tones in the five-part string accompaniment and by the solo violin which anticipates Climene's melody. Additionally, unique in the secular repertoire of Delalande is the written out *double* for the second verse of this air. This *double* appears not only in the tuneful opening and closing sections but also in the more speech-like middle. Even the solo violin anticipates the vocal *double* through its florid conclusion to the first verse.

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Example 11-5: *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance*
"Doux Calme," m. 11-17; voice and *double*: LY Ms 133.620, fol. 19^{r}, 23^{r}

Why did Delalande include this *double*? He may have written out this passage as a model for how singers might ornament this and other airs in his works.[59] The *double* required a singer with a flexible vocal technique.

Scene 4 is marked by a variety of musical styles illustrating changing emotions of the shepherds and shepherdesses. Climene and Tircis bemoan the absence of their lovers. However, as they declare that sometimes to arouse a partner's awareness one must feign interest in others, the music modulates to D major for the joyous "Simphonie gaie" to end the scene. This movement includes the first indications of instrumentation in the scene, for oboe trio.

Celebrating the triumph of love, Scene 5 is both the musical and spiritual centerpiece of the pastoral. Ternary structures pervade the scene on several levels simultaneously. The pastoral's third choral movement, "Aimons, engageons-nous," occurs both before and after the "Passacaille." Additionally,
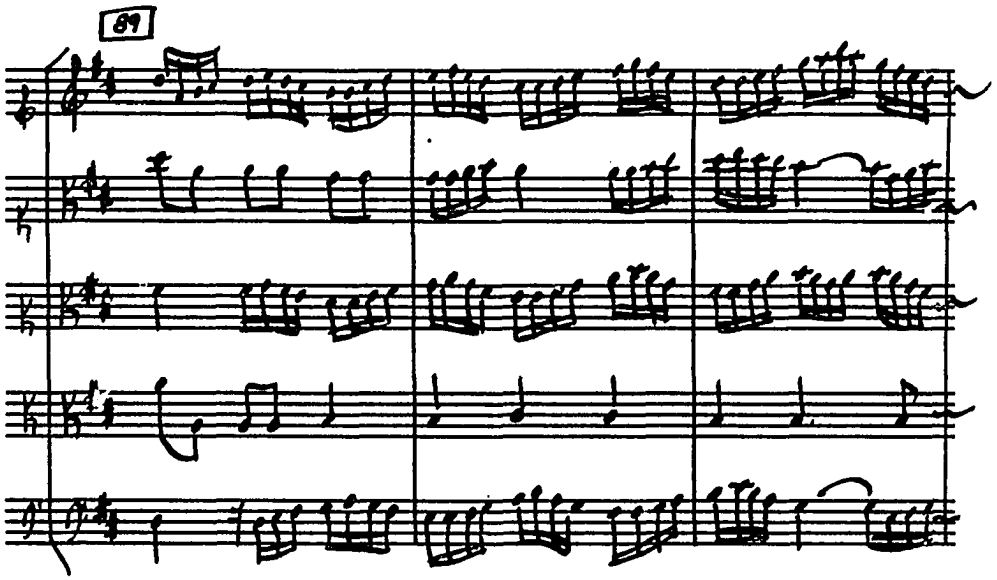
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[59]The *Mercure* of April 1699, p. 122, published an anonymous air entitled "L'Ingrate" with a *double*. Possibly the practice of ornamenting vocal solos was in vogue in the late 1690's.

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the choir itself is in ABA form. This chorus differs from the previous two in that the texture here is primarily homophonic, breaking down only at the words "fuyez, fuyez" into imitative eighth-notes to help accelerate the dismissal of suspicion and hardship.

The instrumental "Passacaille" complements the chorus surrounding it. The movement consists of twenty appearances of an eight-measure ground, the first five and last six in D minor and the middle nine in D major. The movement is marked by a balance of activity among the five voices, interrupted only by the five grounds for trios, which demonstrate a variety of instrumentation by sometimes assigning the lowest line to violas rather than cellos.[60] Additionally, the movement displays variety of motion in its steady build-up of rhythm, which culminates in the eleventh ground when all instruments but the *quinte* move in nearly continuous sixteenth-note motion.



Example 11-6: *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance*
"Passacaille," m. 89-91; LY Ms 133.620, Sc. 5, fol. 38^{v}

The return to D minor brings a recapitulation of the calmer rhythmic activity

[60]These five trios also emphasize the symmetrical structure of the movement: one trio is in the opening section, another in the closing, and the remaining three in the central D major segment.

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of the opening grounds.

Scenes 6 and 7 are totally in dialogue recitative, as Tircis, Philis, and Climene accept their love for their respective partners. The dialogue in Scene 6 is interrupted by four simple airs sung by either Philis or Tircis. Peace is all that one strives for, whether in a faraway wood, or in the real world of Europe.

Scene 8 is also ternary at the highest level of organization: on being united, Climene and Daphnis sing the twenty-three-measure duet "Ah plutôt mille fois" before and after the eighty-measure "Chaconne." Of grand proportions similar to the "Passacaille," the "Chaconne" consists of twenty appearances of the ground ordered with the same symmetry evident throughout the rest of the pastoral: instrumental passages two grounds long introduce and conclude the movement and serve as interludes between solos for Daphnis and Climene each based on a seven-fold recurrence of the chaconne pattern. The "Chaconne" does not display as much variety of figuration as in the "Passacaille" and remains totally in G major, with little variation in the harmonies from ground to ground.

All the characters return in Scene 9. This final segment offers the most concrete evidence that some rearranging of material occurred at some point in the life of the pastoral. On a scale comparable to Scenes 2 and 5, the 159-measure closing scene consists of two instrumental airs, a two-part vocal air, and a concluding grand choir. According to the Ballard text, the last scene begins and ends with the chorus "Amour, quelle langueur," with the air "Tous doit aimer" in between. By contrast, the score includes the choir only once, at the end. This air continues to express satifaction that love has endured: even the nightingale and the brook join the shepherds and shepherdesses in their celebration. The choir unites all participants in a reaffirmation of the

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importance of mutual love.[61]

E. PERFORMANCE

The absence of the names of performers in the Ballard text, combined with incompatible information about the circumstances of performance, makes our evaluation of the performance of *L'Amour fléchy* only speculative. While the suggested Versailles revival probably would have been of grander scope than a Fontainebleau performance, the conditions of neither performance are precisely definable.

Based on the vocal roles named in the text and the voicing of the choir in the score, the minimum number of singers for the work appears to have been four soloists and five choristers. The instruments required a minimum of six strings for the five-part orchestral scoring with trio passages, probably one continuo player, and two oboes and one bassoon for the wind trios, raising the minimum total number of performers to nineteen. This unstaged version of the work could have appeared in a number of rooms in the Fontainebleau château.

If dancing were included for a Versailles revival, the dancers were probably not courtiers, in view of the trend away from noblemen appearing in stage productions. Based on other middle-period works by Delalande, any possible *entrée* of dancing in *L'Amour fléchy* may have involved from two to ten dancers, raising the minimum total number of performers in a staged version to between twenty-one and twenty-nine. This number could easily have been accommodated in a variety of performance locations at Versailles used frequently during this period, such as the Salle de Comédie in the Trianon:

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[61]This is the only choral movement in the pastoral to change both meter and character, the first two lines of text being to a "gravement" in 3/4 meter, and the second two lines in a "très gai" in 6/4 meter. The movement displays more than the usual harmonic variety in Delalande's choruses, forming a fitting conclusion to a musical entertainment appropriate for the court's celebration of an important peace treaty.

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indeed, anyroom in the Grand Trianon, the palace of Flore, would have been an especially appropriate site for this pastoral celebrating peace and love.[62]

[62]The dimensions and staging possibilities of this theater have been discussed in detail in the essay on *Le Palais de Flore.*

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XII. INTERMÈDES POUR LA COMÉDIE DE MIRTIL ET MÉLICERTE

A. INTRODUCTION

In 1698 Nicolas Armand Martial Guérin, son of Gresinde Bejart, Molière's widow, revised and completed Molière's pastoral *Mélicerte*, which the older author left incomplete in two acts in 1666. Guerin's play, called *Mirtil et Mélicerte*, enjoyed two performances at Fontainebleau in October, 1698. New musical *intermèdes* for these performances were created by Delalande, Beauchamp, and Bérain, on a text probably not by Guérin as most historians report but by a M. Banzy.[63] *Mirtil* celebrated the peace and also honored the marriage of Mademoiselle Elizabeth Charlotte D'Orléans and Henri, Duc de Lorraine, another royal union resulting from treaty negotiations. After appearing in court, the play with yet other musical *intermèdes* appeared at the Comédie-Française nine times the following January and February before being banished from the repertoire forever. The text of these newest *intermèdes* was probably written by Guérin and the music composed by François Couperin, not Delalande as is generally assumed.

Our knowledge about Delalande's *intermèdes* to *Mirtil et Mélicerte* contrasts with information about *L'Amour fléchy*: only a general outline of the *intermèdes* can be reconstructed, since music survives only in the Supper Symphonies. On the other hand, from secondary accounts and financial records, we can develop a fairly complete picture of the work's genesis and performance at court. Part of postwar musical activity, *Mirtil* continued the general trend in the 1690's for stage presentations which were less spectacular than in the previous decade.

The musical portions of *Mirtil* resemble Delalande's *Ballet de la*

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[63]Nothing else is known about Banzy, except that he also wrote the text for the *Ballet Villeneuve Saint-George*, which was composed by Collasse and performed at court in 1692.

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Jeunesse of 1686 in their organization into a prologue and three *intermèdes*, which in *Mirtil* all directly support the story line of the spoken play. The musical style in *Mirtil* probably consisted of recitatives, airs, choruses, and instrumental music presented continuously in each of the four musical sections. A designation of this work as the Ballet *de Melicerte* in some sources is appropriate, in view of the apparent emphasis on dancing and visual effects. Probably all singers and dancers wore costumes, although the scenery for both the comedy and the *intermèdes* may have been minimal.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

By the summer of 1698 permanent peace in Europe seemed possible. Coming to grips with a new balance of power, Louis tried to placate his former enemies by signing several treaties so as to not further endanger the welfare of France, while at the same time exercising all his usual guile in order to regenerate his drive to dominate the continent. The major drawback to lasting peace during these last years of the century was the question of the Spanish inheritance. Charles II of Spain, the last male of the Hapsburg line, remained alive in 1698, against all odds. With peace imminent, Louis could again legitimately claim this Spanish throne for the Bourbons through the line of Marie-Thérèse on Charles' death. However, because France's claim to even part of the Spanish inheritance would surely elicit objections from some European leader, Louis attempted to work out compromises whenever possible. On 11 October 1698 he signed yet another treaty, this one with William of Orange. Louis was surprisingly compromising, for he feared the revival of concerted opposition again France: the agreement named the Elector Prince Joseph Ferdinand principal heir to the Spanish throne and determined how Italy

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was to be divided between Hapsburgs and Bourbons.[64] Clearly peace was of greatest concern to Louis in 1698.

Concurrent with the new treaties, in the fall of 1698 the court celebrated the marriage of Mademoiselle Elisabeth, daughter of Monseigneur and Liselotte, and Henri, Duc de Lorraine, a match confirming Louis' peace with the house of Lorraine. The couple was engaged on 12 October and married the following day.[65] During *appartement* on the evening of the engagement the court heard a rehearsal of the music for the new *intermèdes* for *Mirtil*. Whether these were composed with this marriage celebration specifically in mind is unclear, but their subject matter was not inappropriate for a wedding.

Louis' continued involvement with peace negotiations, coupled with ill-health, contributed to his growing detachment from most court entertainments in 1698.[66] Consequently, Monseigneur dictated much of the artistic decision-making and scheduling at the end of the century.[67] While the Dauphin's

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[64]Wolf 1968, Chapter 29 offers a much more complete discussion of the Spanish inheritance question. See p. 498, where Wolf quotes Louis' concerns: "It is certain that the disposition of the people of Spain and the measures that I have taken would give me just hopes for a successful outcome of the war, but one knows this when one begins (a war), and one does not know the finish. Nothing is more assured than the evils that it would bring the suffering of my people."

[65]The wedding was announced as early as 25 September. See Orléans 1970, p. 82. Saint-Simon, vol. VI, p. 1-15, cites this marriage as the thirty-third between the Bourbons and the house of Lorraine.

[66]In 1698 Dangeau frequently mentions that the king was not present for comedies and *appartement*, except when his favorite works were performed. For example, see Dangeau, 2 January 1698.

[67]Dangeau frequently mentions that when the Dauphin is away from Versailles, no *appartements* or comedies are held. Dedications of literary works to Monseigneur began as early as 1696. For example, see the *Mercure's* report in March 1696, p. 12, of the *Idille de Meudon*. Additionally the king's son sponsored *Acis et Galatée* in 1686 at Anet, Lorenzani's *Orontée* at Chantilly in 1688, and the *Ballet de St. George de Villeneuve* at Villeneuve in 1692. It seems that courtiers did not dance in these works, in part because Louis was not present.

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frequent attendance at the Paris Opéra and Comédie during the last decade of the century indicates that he was well versed in current theater repertoire, it is difficult to assess the extent of his critical acumen for musical works.[68] Clearly his interest in the performing arts was cultivated as much by social as esthetic motivations. The conditions under which he accepted a weak play like *Mirtil et Mélicerte* for court are not known, but he may have been influenced in part by the wishes of Madame la Princessse de Conty, his half-sister and the dedicatee of Guérin's 1699 publication of the play.

Although by the late 1690's the court had regained much of the festive atmosphere of former times, *spectacles* on a grand scale were financially impossible and also not as necessary if Louis did not attend performances. During the Fontainebleau visit of 1698, for example, *appartements* and comedies rather than musical-theatrical works dominated the entertainment calendar. The few musical works which did appear were frequently integrated into *appartement* and so presented by the act, without costumes and scenery. Only three other works on a scale similar to *Mirtil* appeared that fall. A new *divertissement* by J. B. Lully fils, *Apollon et Daphne*, played on 5 November.[69] Destouches' new opera *Amadis de Grèce* appeared three times in the Galérie des Cerfs in rehearsal, probably without costumes and scenery.[70] Two performances of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* with many of the same comedians and musicians who performed in *Mirtil* appeared in the Fontainebleau theater

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[68]The Dauphin apparently danced in *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* in 1681 and in *Le Temple de la Paix* in 1685.

[69]See Dangeau 5 November 1698 and Pn Yf 7814. The work was sung but not staged.

[70]The opera premiered at the Académie on 26 March 1699. Archival documents list rehearsals on 6, 8, and 19 October, while Dangeau includes others on 17 and 24 October and 7 November.

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on 30 October and 6 November, the second time in the presence of Louis.[71]

C. HISTORY OF THE MÉLICERTE PLAY

Mélicerte, one of five dramatic pastorals by Molière, never gained a very memorable place in the playwrite's oeuvre.[72] While Molière probably intended the work to be in five acts, he had completed only two when the king requested the play to appear with Lully's *Ballet des Muses* in 1666.[73] Molière's original play enjoyed only one performance, at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.[74] Subsequent performances of Lully's *ballet* during its three-month run at court in 1666 included other comedies by Molière.

Guérin, only twenty or twenty-one when he wrote *Mirtil et Mélicerte*, stated that he revised the play in order to honor Molière.[75] Essentially Guérin took a bad play and made it worse. Nevertheless, his commentary in the preface to the 1699 edition of the play indicates his naive sincerity to buck the criticism of his censors.

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[71]The records of the Menus Plaisirs also list rehearsals on 26, 27, and 28 October of a new work by "petit Gervais," for which no other documentation appears to survive.

[72]Lancaster 1942, III, p. 379.

[73]The *ballet* featured scenes with the nine muses, seven arts, and seven planets, and dancing shepherds, nymphs, and fauns, among others. A detailed description of the *ballet* can be found in Molière 1881, p. 4-5 and Christout 1967, p. 114-115. I thank James Anthony for telling me about the complete manuscript score of the *ballet*, copied in 1712 by Philidor and located today in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Versailles, MS 86.

[74]The play was not published until sixteen years after Molière's death and did not make it to the Paris stage until the nineteenth century. See Molière 1881, p. 557 for statistics regarding performances of Molière's plays. Lancaster 1942 summarizes the Molière original and its relevance to the court of 1666, vol. III, p. 381, 707-710.

[75]Guérin was never an actor, as was Dancourt. Most critics severely denounce these emendations. See Molière 1881, vol. VI, p. 145: "plus pieuse que prudent," and Parfaict 1734, vol. XIV, p. 113: "Rien n'est plus mediocre.... une foible copie."

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According to the brothers Parfaict, probably sometime in 1698 the Paris comedians refused Guérin's pastoral for performance, at that point only a spoken play in three acts with prologue.[76] However, a Mademoiselle La Raisin, one of the best actresses in the troup, took an interest in the play, as did Madame La Princesse de Conty, who persuaded Monseigneur to schedule the pastoral during the fall trip to Fontainebleau, 2 October through 12 November.[77] Apparently only after arranging for performances at court were the *intermèdes* added, perhaps in an attempt to add variety to the otherwise mediocre work. Probably the "accompanying" *ballet* rather than the play was the center of attention for the Fontainebleau performances: the aural and visual spectacle may have helped remind the courtiers of the grander *ballet de cour* of former times, when the original *Mélicerte* played at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

Mirtil seems to typify musical entertainments of the postwar period in its subject matter, preparation time, and personnel. The music and possibly the comedy appeared three times in rehearsal, on October 12, 16, and 23, and both were performed on October 18 and 25, on the latter date in the presence of

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[76]Parfaict 1734, vol. XIV, p. 113. Parfaict's report on the play was supplied by Grandval le père, apparently a reliable critic. Grandval (1676-1753) also seems to have written the Parfaict's biography of Guérin, vol. XIV, p. 366-68. Little else seems to be known about Grandval, although Lancaster reports that his sister became an actress with the Comédie-Française in 1700. See Lancaster 1942, IV, p. 24.

[77]La Raisin and La Princesse de Conty are discussed in the preface of the nineteenth-century edition of the play: "Il est probable que cette pastorale n'eut jamais été jouée si la princesse douairiere de Conty n'eut pris en affection le jeune Guérin d'Etriche." See Guérin 1882, p. VII. Lancaster reports that La Raisin also had become the Dauphin's mistress after her husband's death in 1693. Conty later commissioned Guérin to write *La Psyché de Village*, with music by Philidor, which survived only one performance. Guérin and Philidor also collaborated on *Egologue de Marly*, which also played once, in the presence of Monseigneur at Marly. See Lancaster 1942, IV, p. 15.

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Louis and the British monarchs.[78]

While most eighteenth-century critics reviewed the work unfavorably, in many ways the play was a timely one for the French court. While Guérin's changes improved little on the original pastoral, the added *intermèdes*, featuring muses and other elevated characters interacting with shepherds and shepherdesses, increased the relevance of the play for court audiences seeking pleasure and entertainment. Mirtil's unflagging love for the shepherdess Mélicerte was appropriate subject matter for a royal wedding. Just as the court could again indulge in celebrations, so Mirtil in the first *intermède* hosts a fête for Mélicerte, while the second *intermède* includes entertainments by fauns, sylvans, and gods of the waters and forests, characters who also appeared in *Ballet des Muses. Mirtil's* wise king, able to make sound decisions in matters of love, would certainly have pleased Louis, who is directly honored in the *ballet*'s prologue. The recognition of the true birthright of Mirtil in the spoken play must have reminded the court of the Bourbon's "rightful" claim to the Spanish throne.

Most of the unfavorable criticism about the performances at court was generated from a single source, François Gaçon's *Le Poète Sans Fard, ou Discours Satirique sûr toute Sorte de Sujets.*[79] While respectful of Delalande's motets, Gaçon panned the *intermèdes*, particularly in comparison with earlier

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[78]Dangeau and Sourches both speak of the rehearsal on the 12th in conjunction with wedding festivities, and Dangeau reports the two performance dates. Archival documents record the rehearsals on the 16th and 23rd, as well as the performances. Usually at Fonteinebleau rehearsals were held in the Galérie des Cerfs, but these for *Mélicerte* appear to have been in the Salle de Comédie.

[79]The work was published in 1698 and 1701. See Pn Ye 8882 and Ye 8881. Gaçon describes the book as "Un Livre qui tend à la Satire / Est le seul qu'on recherche et qu'on s'impresse à lire." Gacon reports on *Mélicerte* in "Le voiage de Fontainebleau," the twenty-fourth in a series of lengthy satirical letters, p. 97-104. Parfaict reprints the segment of the poem referring to *Mirtil et Mélicerte.* See Parfaict 1734, XIV, p. 134-135.

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efforts by Lully and Molière.[80] Gaçon's text is of particular historical value in that it represents the only surviving criticism of Delalande's secular oeurve by his contemporaries other than that found in diaries and journals:

> Nous sortîmes du lit mon camarade & moi,
> Sans le dessein d'aller à la Messe du Roy
> A grand peine etions-nous entrés dans la Chapelle,
> Qui suivi d'une cour aussi riche que belle,
> Le Roy se presenta dans cet air de fierté,
> Où régne la douceur avec la Majesté;
> Et pendant que mes yeux contemploient ces merveilles,
> La Lande (Maistre de la Musique du Roy) par ses tons enchantoient
> mes oreilles;
> Heuruex, si satisfait de nous plaite en Latin,
> Il n'eut point travaillé sur les vers de Guérin.
> Car dès le même soir la Cour a Mélicerte,
> De Lully, de Molière, éxagéra la perte,
> Et La Lande, & Guérin, sifles des courtisans,
> Même au sein des flatteurs, furent sans Partisans.
> Au sortir d'un spectacle, effet de l'ignorance,
> Nous fûmes voir souper les trois Enfans de France.[81]

Possibly because of the attention which *Mirtil et Mélicerte* received by playing at court, the Comedians finally accepted it for nine performances in Paris between 10 January and 4 February, 1699.[82] The new *intermèdes* for Paris differ in subject matter and musical content from the court version: apparently Guérin realized that the Paris stage included no room for the heroic muses and foreign kings nor the variety of dancers and spectacle seen at court.

Grandval le père's assertion that Couperin composed the music for these newest *intermèdes* is a plausible one, since Delalande probably had neither the

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[80]The editor of the 1882 publication of Guérin's play is somewhat more tolerant of the composer: "Gaçon assistait à la représentation, mais il ne fait pas, dans une de ses satires, un tableau flatteur de cette représentation, que le célèbre musicien Lalande avait pourtant soutenue de sa musique." (bolds mine)

[81]This last phrase is a reference to Louis' three grandsons.

[82]See Parfaict 1734, XIV, p. 108. Lancaster 1942, IV, p. 927 reports that the work was a "slight success." Guérin also managed to publish the pastoral and the Paris *intermèdes* with Pierre Trabouillet in April 1699.

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need nor the interest in writing music for Paris. Ballard published the Paris version of the *intermèdes* in his *Recueils d'Airs Sérieux et à Boire* in February, 1699, but included no identification of the composer. Therefore, my attribution to Couperin remains tentative until more information comes to light.[83] Couperin's authenticated secular vocal music appears to number only twelve airs, nine of which were published in Ballard's *Airs* between 1697 and 1712.[84] Since Ballard did identify Couperin's name on these nine airs, it seems curious that the publisher would leave the entire collection of *Mirtil's* airs unidentified if they were by the composer.

D. SOURCES

Texts: The Ballard text of the *ballet* seems to have been printed once, in a run of about four hundred copies.[85] Information on the title page of this text regarding the date and the location of the production at Fontainebleau concurs with other documentation about the work. Typically, this publication does not name any creators, but does enumerate the vocal and dance roles

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[83]The title page of this publication does confirm that the music for Paris is "nouvellement au Théâtre." It seems that if Delalande had composed the new version, as the king's *surintendent*, he would have been mentioned on the title page. An attribution of the airs to Couperin, or to anyone, based on stylistic features is difficult, given their simple style.

Christophe Ballard issued a volume of *Recueils d'Airs Sérieux et à Boire* at the beginning of each month from 1694 through 1715. The February 1699 issue, with only music from *Mirtil*, was unique for that year, since all other installments for 1699 are anthologies of a variety of songs. Composers for only about one-fourth of these airs are identified in the publication.

[84]See the bibliography in the *New Grove* article on the composer. The works are given a "humble place" in Couperin's repertoire. They can be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale: 1697: $Vm^7$530; 1701: $Vm^7$534; 1706: $Vm^7$539; 1711: $Vm^7$544; and 1712: $Vm^7$545.

[85]See the accounts of the Menus Plaisir $O^1$2830, fol. 83v. My conclusions about this publication are tentative, since I have seen only three known copies.

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and the performers who filled them.[86] The text of the *intermèdes* performed at court were also published by Schelte in Amsterdam in 1699.

Music: Thirty-one movements from the court version of *Mirtil* survive in Rés. 582 and Rés. 581. The contents of these collections are not identical, suggesting that at least two different versions of the *ballet* existed: Rés. 582 contains twenty-one airs and Rés. 581 includes twenty-five movements: sixteen movements are common to both sources.[87] Furthermore, neither musical source seems to conform exactly to the text printed by Ballard. Copius annotations in Rés. 581 provide important information about the organization and presentation of the *ballet*. The preparation of performance parts for *Mirtil* is confirmed by records of the Menus Plaisirs indicating that Delalande was reimbursed for hiring copyists for this job.[88]

The airs from *Mirtil et Mélicerte* in Ballard's *Airs Sérieux et à Boire* of February 1699 merit some comment here, since they are generally credited to Delalande. Clearly these fourteen songs from *Mirtil* were used in the Paris version of the play, for their texts correspond exactly with the Trabouillet text.[89] The poor reception of Guérin's play at the Comédie prompts one to question why Ballard published these airs. If the music is Couperin's, the publisher may have wanted to advertise these new works as soon as possible.

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[86]The text does not delineate the singers in the choir. Could the greater completeness of this text indicate that it was prepared further in advance of its performance than were the texts for *Adonis* and *L'Amour flechy*?

[87]The index of Rés. 581 includes a work named *Sérénade, ou Mirtil*, which is not connected with *Mirtil et Mélicerte*.

[88]See AN[1] 2830, fol. 86v. This payment record does not name Philidor as copyist, but notes that Fossart was paid 200 livres for copying music for *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *Amadis de Grèce*, as well as for *Mirtil*.

[89]The first *intermède* has five airs, the second, three, and the third, six. None of these texts appear in the Ballard version for court. The timing of this February issue coincides with Guérin's play at the Comédie.

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E. ORGANIZATION

The absence of a full score for *Mirtil* precludes the detailed description of organization possible for *L'Amour flechy*. Although a specific alignment of the music which does survive with dialogue in the *intermèdes* is not possible, musical and textual sources used in conjunction with secondary accounts do permit a general reconstruction of the music. All music apparently was newly written for *Mirtil*, and only two movements were reused in later works.[90]

My speculation that the *ballet* existed in at least two versions is supported by annotations in Rés. 581 indicating that eight movements were added, probably for a more spectacular version of the work in the presence of Louis. These added airs probably formed some sort of *entrée* of dance, since all movements except two are named after characters in the *ballet*, such as the "Siamois," the "Pastres," and the "Bergers fous."

The version of *Mirtil* for court resembles the genre of the comédie-ballet in that the musical portions support the dramatic action of the spoken comedy. The instrumental music which survives is some of Delalande's most descriptive stage music examined thus far and consequently will be highlighted in this discussion. Additionally, *Mirtil's* music also shows evidence of the tighter compositional technique which Delalande appears to have mastered by this point in his career.
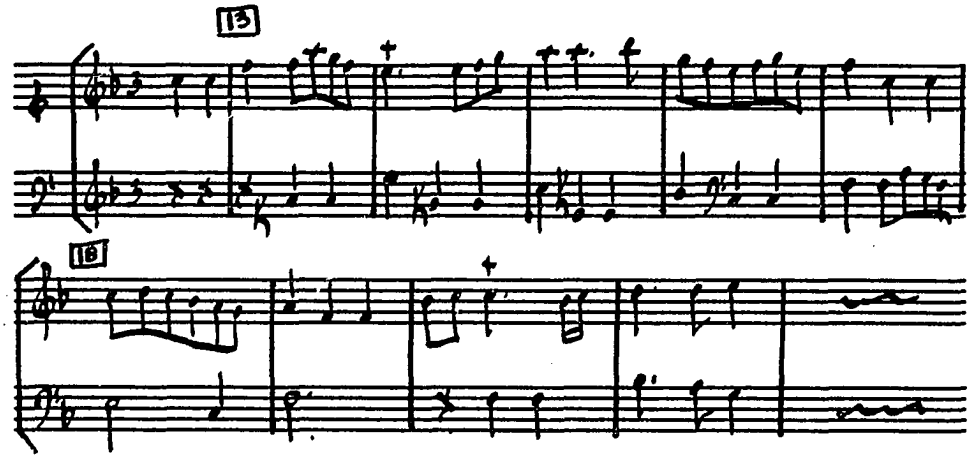
The *ballet* opens with an "Ouverture" in F major in two contrasting sections. The first twelve-measure portion is unusual in that it modulates first to the minor dominant before cadencing in C major. An eleven-measure passage in similar melodic and rhythmic style closes the movement. The thirty-six-measure polyphonic section of the "Ouverture" is unified by a single

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[90]The "Canarie," # 14 in the Catalogue Raisonné, appeared in 1700 in *Hymen Champestre* and the "2eme Air des Siamois," # 20, appeared in *Les Folies des Cardenio* in 1721.

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motive, introduced at one-measure intervals on the tonic and dominant, as in the overture to *L'Amour flechy*. Such organization sets up a tighter and more directional counterpoint than heard in overtures from Delalande's early works. The clefs used in Rés. 581 confirm the five-part texture for this movement and probably indicate the use of full orchestral scoring for the entire *ballet*.
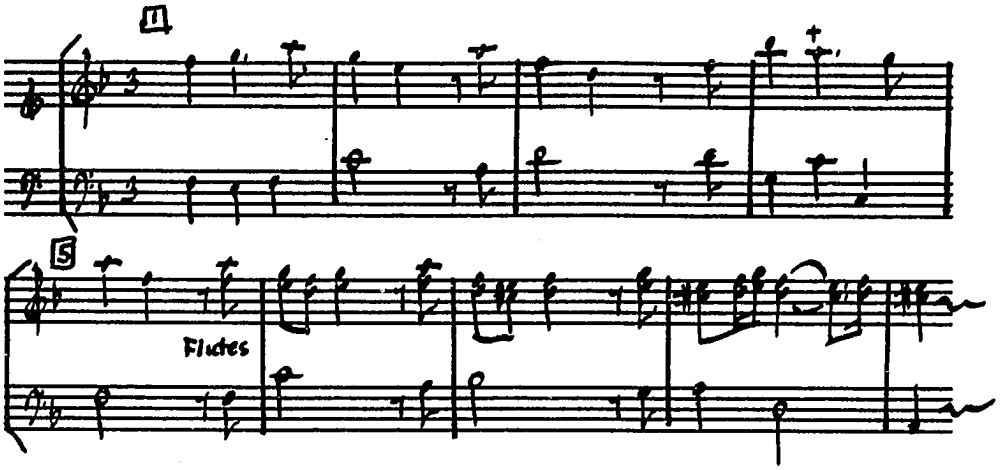


Example 12-1: *Mirtil et Mélicerte*: "Overture," m. 13-21
Rés. 581: II, 44

The thirty-two-measure "Prélude pour les muses" in F major provides majestic entrance music for characters in the prologue, a *divertissement* presented by the muses to honor Louis and the peace he brings.[91] Instrumentation in this air call for two flutes for the trio passages.
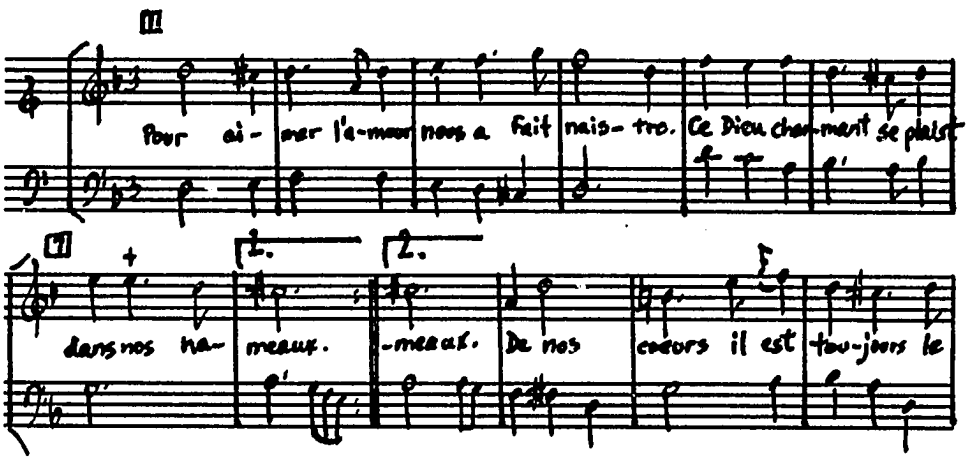
[91]See the Ballard text, p. 3. The *Argument* for this *intermède* describes the *divertissement*, which the muses have dedicated "à la France la durée de la Paix que le Roy vient de luy donner et gloire que le Ciel réserve à la posterité de ce Monarque."

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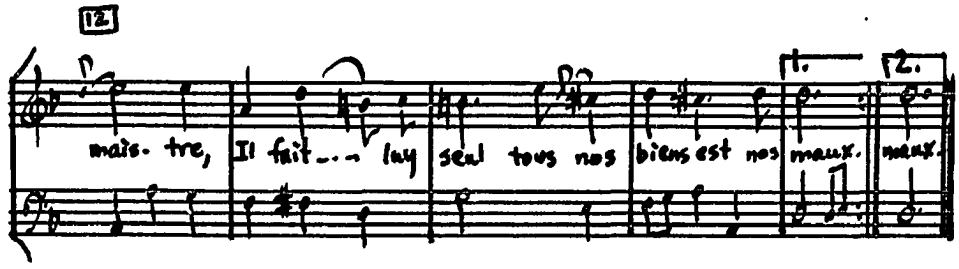


Example 12-2: *Mirtil et Mélicerte*: Prologue: "Prélude," m. 1-9; Res. 581: II, 46

Calliope, Euterpe, and the choir of muses appear first in the *divertissement*, which also includes three instrumental airs which probably accompanied dancing by the four Jeux and four Bergers.[92] This dancing is followed by an air for a shepherd which announces the theme of the entire celebration: "Pour aimer, l'Amour nous a fait naistre." This is the only texted movement from *Mirtil* included in Rés. 581. An oboe doubles the voice in this sung menuet, which is also distinguished by its predictable four-measure phrasing, typical of Delalande's solo vocal airs:



[92]These are an "Air légèrement" in F major, another "Air," and a "Passepied" in D minor. All three dances are in binary form.
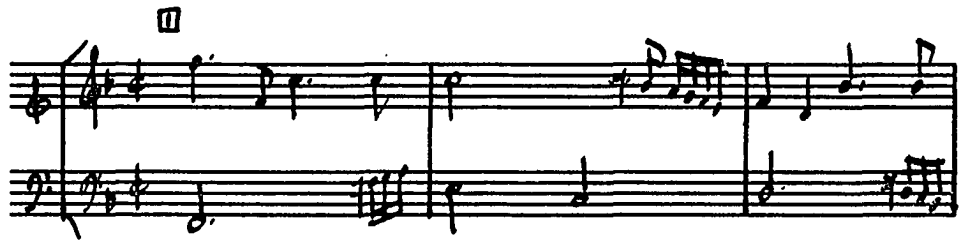
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Example 12-3: *Mirtil et Mélicerte*: Prologue: "Pour aimer;" Rés. 581: II, 228

Uranie and the choir of muses conclude the *intermède* singing praises to Louis.

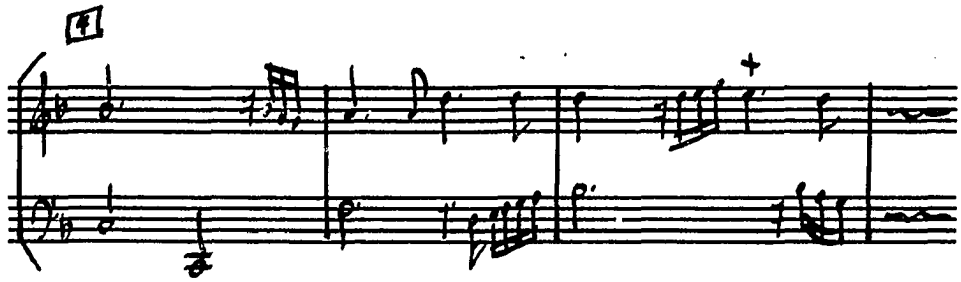
Both the play and the *ballet* are set in Thessaly. In the first act of the play the shepherdesses Daphne and Eroxene learn that they are rivals for the affection of the shepherd Mirtil, who steadfastedly loves a third shepherdess, Mélicerte. Just as the court indulged in celebration at Fontainebleau in the fall of 1698, so Mirtil in the first *intermède* entertains Mélicerte with dancing shepherds and herdsmen.[93] This first *intermède* may have opened with the processional-like "Prélude," a nineteen-measure through-composed air in F major whose structure and heraldic mood could have served well as entry music rather than as accompaniment to dancing.[94]



[93]Ballard text, p. 9: "Les louanges de Mélicerte et l'amour de Mirtil sont le principal sujet de ce qui est chanté dans cette Fête."

[94]See Example 13-1, entrance music in *Fées*, whose function is described in the text of that work for the entry of characters, rather than to accompany dancing. Also called a "Prélude," this movement in *Fées* resembles *Mirtil's* music in that it is also through-composed, has an irregular phrase structure, and exhibits no characteristics which define it as a particular French dance of the period.

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Example 12-4: *Mirtil et Mélicerte*: Intermède I: "Prélude," m. 1-6; Rés. 581: II, 5

Apparently none of the vocal music for this *intermède* survives, for the next five airs in the Supper Suites are clearly instrumental in style and probably accompanied the dancing in the *intermède's* two *entrées*, the first for two Bergers, three Pastres, and three Pastourelles, the second for three Pastres and three Pastourelles.[95] These *entrées* divide the *intermède* into three sections.

In the second act of the play, mystery arises over Mélicerte's birth as King Amasis of Egypt plans to marry her to a great lord. The second *intermède* includes an entertainment by water gods and sylvans to cheer another shepherd, Philemon, who also loves Mélicerte. The thirteenth movement in the Supper collection, the "Air des fleuves," may have also served as entry music, accompanying the appearance of the river god Penée and other water divinities.[96] The polyphonic, more academic style of this G minor air renders it atypical of Delalande's dance music and more like the introductory music of an overture.[97]
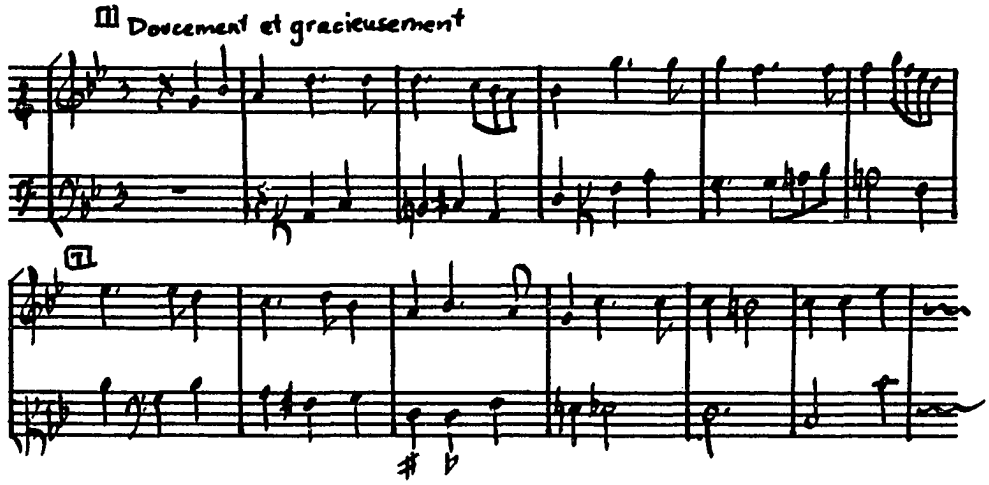
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[95]All five movements --- "Air," "Rondeau," "Air," and two "Rigaudons" --- are in B-flat major. An exact allignment of music with dance is not possible based on the information provided in the text of the *ballet*.

[96]The *Argument* of *Intermède II*, p. 16, says that "l'agitation & le murmure extraordinaire de l'onde annonçent que ce Dieu va paroistre."

[97]Rés. 582 names the movement "Air Grave," appropriate to the mood at the beginning of this *intermède*.

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Example 12-5: *Mirtil et Mélicerte*: Intermède II: "Air des fleuves," m. 1-12; Rés. 581: I, 74

Penée then arranges several entertainments to cheer Philemon, just as the performances of *Mirtil* enlightened the court, while the fauns and sylvans urge him to get a new love if the old one does not work out:[98]

> Changeons chaque jour,
> Pour aimer sans allarmes:
> Rien n'a tant de charmes
> Qu'on nouvel amour.

The fourteenth Supper air, a "Canarie" in G major, may have accompanied dancing by a solo faun and six sylvans of the forest.

Guérin's added third act of the play resolves the discontent of the second when Mélicerte discovers her true birthright as the daughter of King Amasis and Mirtil's as the son of a former Egyptian king. Mirtil and Mélicerte marry, become king and queen of Egypt, and live happily ever after, a resolution which must have appealed to pleasure-seeking, postwar French audiences. The concluding *intermède*, called a *fête générale* in the Ballard text, features shepherds and shepherdesses rejoicing with Egyptians over this union, as the court celebrates its own wedding. The troup of shepherds and shepherdesses open and close the *intermède* with a charge to the young

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[98] *Mirtil et Mélicerte*: *Intermède* II: Po Liv 17 (R7(7), p. 21

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lovers:[99]

Amans fideles,
Vivez heureux;
Que l'Hymen augmente vos feux;
Goutez des douceurs éternelles;
Que la gloire ni les Grandeurs
Ne vous fassent jamais oublier vos ardeurs.

Additionally, four solo airs by two Egyptians accompanying Mirtil's father declare the eternal sweetness of love. The *intermèdes'* three *entrées* of dance appear successively between these vocal segments, the first by eight men and four women Egyptians (the largest *entrée* in the ballet), the second by two women, and the third by a solo man (the choreographer Beauchamp) and two men in duet. A plausible assignment of dance music in this last *intermède* is that each of the three remaining instrumental movements accompanied one of the *entrées*, with the third of these, the 197-measure "Chaconne," the longest and most complicated movement in the *ballet*.

The eight movements in Rés. 581 added to the *ballet* could have formed a new *grande entrée* for the several exotic or comic characters indicated in the titles of these movements.[100] These dances may have included special visual effects, as suggested by descriptions in the accounts of the Menus Plaisirs for a series of highly decorated costumes which seem to correspond to the descriptions of most of the characters named in these extra airs.

The placement of the final six airs included in Rés. 582 but not in Rés. 581 is difficult to determine. These movements probably formed a unit somewhere in the *ballet*, since they share a common tonality of C major. Possibly they were included in an earlier version of the finale, which was

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[99]*Mirtil et Mélicerte*: *Intermède* III: Po Liv 17(R7(7), p. 27.

[100]These are # 18 - 25 in my Catalogue Raisonné: "Sarabande," "1ere & 2e Air des Siamois," "Rigaudon," " Air pour les Pastres," "Air pour les Bergers fous," "Entrée de faunes," "Entrée d'yrvogne."

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replaced by the more descriptive *grande entrée* suggested by Rés. 581.[101]

F. PERFORMANCE

The scope of *Mirtil* was much grander than that of *Adonis* and *L'Amour fléchy*. The Ballard text indicates fourteen solo vocal roles performed by seven singers and forty-five dancing roles performed by twenty dancers. While the chorus is not enumerated in the Ballard text, an entry in the payment records calling for forty plumes for headdresses can give us some indication of the size of that ensemble.[102] Additionally, the exact makeup of the orchestra is not known: only two violinists are named in the accounts of the Menus Plaisirs.[103] The orchestra may have consisted of the full twenty-five-piece ensemble, in view of the *ballet's* five-part scoring for strings and the use of continuo instruments and at least two flutes and two oboes. Information about parts and performers is summarized in **Figure XII-1.**

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[101]The titles of these six airs (#26 - 30 in my **Catalogue Raisonné**) --- "Air des Basques," "Menuet", "2e Air," "Passepied," and two "Rigaudons" --- offer little clue about their use in the *ballet*.

[102]I am assuming here, somewhat hesitantly, that the choir therefore consisted of forty singers: that is, one plume per vocalist.

[103]These violinists played for the *ballet*'s rehearsals. Claude Desmatins served as one of the court's more prominent members of the king's orchestra from at least 1664 until his death in 1709. He played for rehearsals of *Mirtil* in Paris at the Tuileries and at Beauchamp's home, and also for rehearsals of *Jeunesse* and *Palais*. Sébastien Huguenet, the other named violinist, appears in the orchestra roster as early as 1680. He played for rehearsals at Fontainebleau.

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MIRTIL ET MÉLICERTE

SINGERS : Solo Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	4	---	4
Intermède I	5	2	3
Intermède II	3	3	---
Intermède III	23	16	7
TOTALS	**35**	**21**	**14**

DANCERS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	8	4	4
Intermède I	14	8	6
Intermède II	7	7	---
Intermède III	17	11	6
TOTALS	**46**	**30**	**16**

GRAND TOTALS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	35	21	14
Dancers	46	30	16
Choir	40?	40?	---
Instrumentalists	24?	24?	---
TOTALS	**145?**	**115?**	**30**

GRAND TOTALS : Personnel

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	7	3	4
Dancers	20	15	5
Choir	40?	40?	---
Instrumentalists	24?	24?	---
TOTALS	91?	82?	9

Figure XII-1: Performer Chart: Mirtil et Mélicerte

The detailed financial records in the Menus Plaisirs corroborate most of

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the information about personnel printed in Ballard's text of the *ballet.*[104] The singers were members of the court's music establishment, while all dancers were professionals from the Opéra. These personnel lists reflect the continuing trend away from participation by courtiers in staged *spectacles* for court. The *ballet* included some of the most distinguished singers and dancers of the time, indicating a probable high quality of performance.[105] Many participants in *Mirtil* also appeared in Delalande's secular works in the 1680's and again in *Fées* in 1699.[106] The payment records document many magnificent costumes, supporting speculation that the production emphasized the visual aspect of the *intermèdes* rather than the dramatic content of the play.[107]

Schedule: By using the detailed archival accounts about *Mirtil*, we can reconstruct a reasonable impression of the schedule of preparation. The work can stand as a model for less documented productions at court from this period.

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[104]See the Catalogue Raisonné for references. The accounts included in Benoit 1971 Musique represent only a small portion of the surviving documents. Of the eight vocal soloists named in the text, only a M. de la Bisse and a M. Avineau are not mentioned in the archival accounts.

[105]For example, all four women soloists --- Mesdemoiselles Varango, Chappe, Bastaron, and Desenclos --- are named as past or present members of the king's chamber music in 1717. Jacques Bastaron, who performed the roles of Philene and Penée, acquired his post as singer for the chamber music in 1692 and played a prominent role in chapel and chamber music until his death in 1726. Both Beauchamp and Pécourt danced in the *ballet.* In 1698 Pécourt was Director of the Académie de Danse. Each dancer generally appeared in at least two roles. The four women dancers --- Mesdemoiselles Beauchamps (sister of the choreographer), Subligny, Dufour, and Longuefosse --- usually appeared together. The *ballet's* fourteen male dancers usually held the more prominent roles. Eight of these male dancers also appeared in *Jeunesse* and thirteen in *Palais.*

[106]For example, Vocalists Varango and Chappe sang solo roles in *Le Palais de Flore.* Jacques Bastaron also sang in *Palais* and Jacque Gaye fils, the solo sylvan in *Mirtil*, appeared in both *ballets* of the 1680's.

[107]For his solo as a faun in the second *intermède*, Pécourt wore a "grand coiffure vert et bleu." Beauchamp as the solo Egyptian in the final *entrée* wore a costume which included silk stockings and a magnificent headdress.

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We do not know exactly when Guérin rewrote Molière's play. However, in light of the fast pace of comedy production in the period, the revision probably appeared no earlier than the summer of 1698. The date on which the Comédie refused *Mirtil et Mélicerte* is also not known, nor can we define exactly when Monseigneur accepted the play for court. In view of the time frame in which the wedding was announced and prepared, it seems that the play was chosen for Fontainebleau without a consideration of the impending marriage, and that nuptial celebrations fortuitously coincided with rehearsals of the *ballet*.

When Delalande may have composed his music is somewhat clearer. Certainly he did not plan the *intermèdes* until after the play was accepted by Monseigneur. Payment accounts indicate that three copyists required twenty-four days to prepare their manuscripts, which means that Delalande must have completed his music by at least 18 September.

The rehearsal schedule for the singers and instrumentalists is also sketchy: the orchestra and choir probably were present for the rehearsals on the 16th and 23rd. The schedule for the comedians in unstated, but the fifteen actors who played in *Mirtil* and in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* stayed at Fontainebleau for the entire forty-two-day visit of the court.[108]

The schedules of the dancers are the most completely documented. Most traveled between Paris and Fontainebleau at least twice during October for rehearsals and performances. Most arrived at Fontainebleau on 15 or 16 October and returned to Paris after the performance on the 18th.[109] The dancers returned to Fontainebleau on 22 October, presumably in time for several rehearsals for the suggested new *entrées* added to the performance on

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[108]AN $O^1$2830, fol. 71.

[109]AN $O^1$2830, fol. 79v.

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the 26th. The dancers also rehearsed in Paris, in the Tuileries palace and at Beauchamp's residence.[110]

The creators of *Mirtil* were not in residence at Fontainebleau for the entire period of production. Banzy remained there for twelve days, possibly between 12 and 25 October.[111] Beauchamp was given lodging for a total of twenty-seven days between trips to Paris for rehearsals. Bérain spent a total of eighteen days at Fontainebleau, arriving first on the 15th and returning to aris four days later, and returning again on the 27th for eleven more days.[112] Presumably Delalande stayed at Fontainebleau as long as the court did, but his exact role in the preparation of the production is unclear.

Expenses: Exact costs for the *ballet* are difficult to ascertain, in part because records of the Menus Plaisirs for 1698 often lump *Mirtil* and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* together. For both works, documented expenses for transportation, lodging and food, copying music and printing texts, designing new and refurbishing old wigs and other headgear, cleaning costumes, and remodeling parts of the Fonteainbleau theater, reach approximately 24,000 *livres*. *Mirtil's* bills thus may have approached 12,000 *livres*, assuming that expenses were approximately equal for the two productions. Therefore, *Mirtil* cost roughly one-third the total of *Jeunesse*.[113] While an evaluation of the actual value of these cost differences between 1686 and 1698 is beyond the scope of this dissertation, generally these figures indicate that *Mirtil* was a much less elaborate production than *Jeunesse*.

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[110]While payment records for *Mirtil* indicate only that the dancers spent several days rehearsing, the records for *Palais* in 1689 are more specific: for that work twenty dance rehearsals were held. See AN O[1]2830, fol 88.

[111]AN O[1]2830, fol. 87.

[112]AN O[1]2830, fol 79v, 82.

[113]See my essay **3. VI. B: Early works, Jeunesse, Court Background**, which concludes that *Jeunesse* cost about 39,000 *livres*.

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Performance Site: At Fontainebleau small rehearsals and performances were generally held in rooms other than the Salle de Comédie, while both rehearsals of larger works and performances which the king did not attend were held in the Galérie des Cerfs, a long, narrow hall on the ground floor below the Galérie de Diane. (See **Figure I-1.**) Apparently the Galerie des Cerfs never had any permanent stage nor seating and could accommodate only minimal scenic effects.

Rehearsals of *Mirtil* may also have been in the Salle de Comédie. Originally called the Salle de la Belle Cheminée because of its magnificent fireplace, the room was accommodated as necessary throughout the mid-seventeenth century with a variety of temporary structures for musical-theatrical events. Not until 1682 did the hall acquire a fixed stage, but no permanent seating. Finally in 1725 a better equiped theater, which remained in use throughout the rest of the eighteenth century, was installed.

A plan of the remodeling in 1682 indicates that this gallery-like room measured approximately thirty-seven meters long and twelve meters wide, as wide as but much longer than the Salle de Comédie at Versailles. (See **Figure XII-1**). In this hall, the stage and audience area divided the room nearly equally, while the backstage was more spacious than in the Versailles and Trianon halls. On the 1682 plan, which probably depicts the room as it existed for *Mirtil*, there is no seating except for the king's armchair. My estimates of the floor area indicate a seating capacity of approximately 250. Apparently sometime in the late 1690's a balcony was installed, which would have increased the seating, although how much cannot be estimated since the dimensions of this balcony are unspecified.[114]

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[114]Dangeau does not mention the presence of the balcony until 25 September 1700: "Madame la Duchesse de Bourgogne et Monsieur étoient dans une tribune nouvelle, où l'on entre par chez Madame de Maintenon et d'où l'on voit et entend fort beau." Possibly the remodeling mentioned in the financial records for the fall quarter of 1698 refers to the installation of this balcony. See Rice 1982 for a more complete history of this hall.

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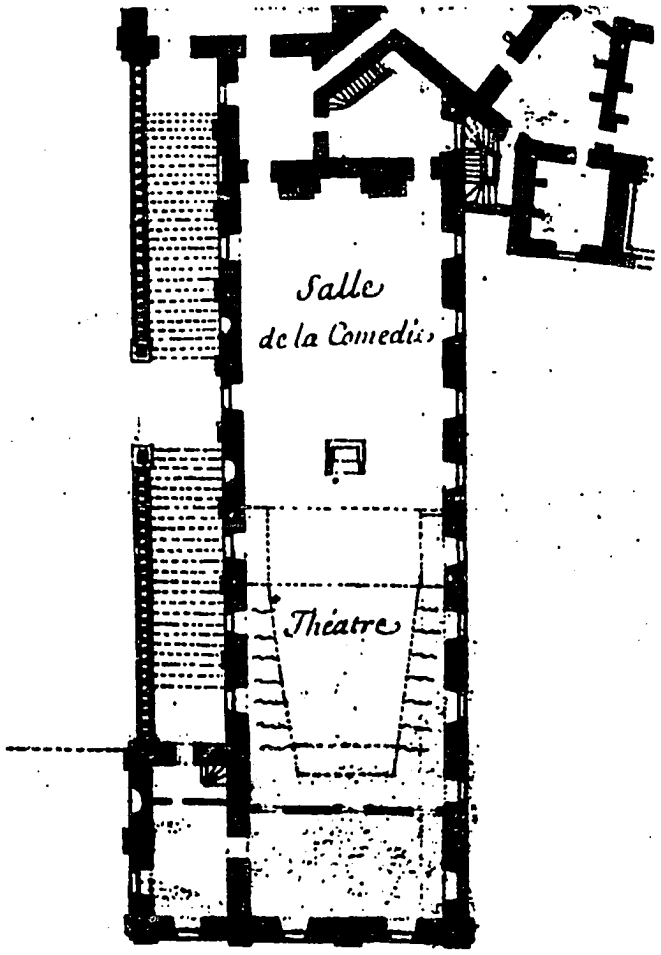


Figure XII-2: Fontainebleau: Salle de Comédie: AN NIII, 89

The long, narrow stage of the Fontainebleau theater must have resembled the stage in the Paris Opéra more closely than did most other theaters in court. Also, texts of works performed at Fontainebleau theater seems to indicate that this stage included machinery. The plan of 1682 indicates six pairs of flats for scenery. This stage easily could have accommodated the performers in *Mirtil*, for which the number of vocal soloists on stage never exceeds five and the largest dancing ensemble twelve at any given time. While the plan of the theater also delineates an area in

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front of the stage for the orchestra, the records in the Menus Plaisirs for *Mirtil* indicate that both the choir and orchestra performed from the balcony.[115]

While *Mirtil et Mélicerte* appeared during a period of temporary revitalization after the War of the League of Augsburg, the overall scope of production of the *ballet* remained smaller than were performances before the war. Nevertheless, the *ballet's* costumes and visual effects must have reminded Louis and the court of France's grander *ballets* of the past and consequently of the country's former glories.

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[115] $O^1$2830, fol. 74^v, fol 89, 99^v.

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XIII. LA COMÉDIE DES FÉES

A. INTRODUCTION

Delalande's *La Comédie des Fées* of 1699 resembles *Mirtil et Mélicerte*. Both consist of a prologue and three *intermèdes* of vocal and instrumental music and dance performed with a three-act comedy. Both played for the court at Fontainebleau as part of the fall musical-theatrical entertainment and then appeared in Paris for a short, unsuccessful run at the Comédie-Française. Unlike the revisions of *Mirtil* for Paris, however, Delalande's music for *Fées* was probably retained, marking the first known performance of Delalande's secular music on a Paris stage.

All of the collaborators on *Fées* worked with Delalande on previous productions: Florent Dancourt, author of *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*, wrote both the play and the *intermèdes*; Pierre Beauchamp returned as the choreographer, and Jean Bérain as the designer. While the theatrical aspects of *Fées* have been examined by several critics of Dancourt's work, its music and dance have not yet been fully defined. *Fées* illustrates Louis' withdrawal from court entertainments and the substitution of other members of the royal family as patrons of artistic events.

While the surviving sources for *Fées* generally resemble those for *Mirtil*, *Fées'* contents can be defined more precisely than the 1698 work, but its creation and production are somewhat vaguer because of the absence of payment records for stage productions for 1699. *Fées* probably played in the Salle de Comédie at Fontainebleau. Most of the performers also appeared in *Mirtil*.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

The political equilibrium established in Europe in 1698 continued throughout 1699. While the issue of the Spanish succession remained uppermost in Louis' mind, the king continued to place the "tranquility of

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Europe" above the Bourbon "just rights" to succession to which he felt his grandson honestly had claim.[116] Even after the intended successor to the throne, Joseph Ferdinand, died on 6 February 1699, Louis did not insist on the Bourbon claim, so desirous was he "to avoid another such war at almost any cost."

France's relative peace and prosperity in 1699 is reflected by the busier schedule of social and theatrical events at court than in 1698. For example, during the Fontainebleau visit the *Mercure* reported a comedy at least every three or four days (twelve different comedies in all) and *appartement* nearly as often, while back at Versailles, according to Dangeau, music was heard every two days.[117] At Fontainebleau four different stage works were presented wholly or in part in a total of ten performances: these included two rehearsals of Matho's new opera *Coronis* in the Galérie des Cerfs and four rehearsals of Destouches' opera *Marthesie*, also performed by the act. The three performances of *Fées* may have been the grandest production that fall.[118]

Although the court visited Marly and other châteaux more frequently during 1699, Louis' principal diversion from matters of state on these outings was walking in the woods and hunting, not attending the musical entertainments at which much of the royal family was present.[119] The

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[116]See Wolf 1968, p. 500. Liselotte wrote that "You don't need to be a prophet to see that there will be a war if the king of Spain dies without an heir." See Orléans 1970, 10 October 1699.

[117]Dangeau, 12 November 1699.

[118]According to a contemporary report in the *Histoire Journaliere* of 16 November 1699, "cette pièce a fait un des principaux divertissemens de la Cour pendant son séjour à Fontainebleau." See Mélèse 1934 Rep, p. 208.

[119]Dangeau and Sourches speak frequently of the king's walks in 1699, especially at Marly. The *Mercure* points out Louis' absence from Destouches' *Marthesie* on 11 October: "Le Roi n'y étoit point, mais toute la maison royale y étoit, homis Madame la Duchess de Bourgogne." For the performance of *Coronis* on 18 October 1699 "le Roy ny leurs Majestez Britanniques n'entendirent point cette Musique, qui fut trouvée fort belle."

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Dauphin's increasingly influential role in social and artistic activities at this time is illustrated by frequent reports in diaries that in his absence from Versailles neither *appartement* nor comedy was held.[120] Monseigneur continued to attend the Paris opera at least once a week and hosted entertainments in his apartment, such as a masked ball on 4 March which Dangeau reports was attended by over four hundred people. In evaluating Monseigneur's effectiveness as a patron of musical-stage productions, one must consider why he allowed a fairly mediocre play such as *Fées* to appear at court, as happened with *Mirtil*. Were Monseigneur's personal ties to Dancourt, as described below, stronger than his artistic discrimination?

As if in inverse proportion to Louis' withdrawal from social life, Madame de Maintenon's influence became stronger. With increasing frequency during the remainder of the reign, her apartments became the setting for small, private, often very informal musical and theatrical entertainments.[121] Unlike Monseigneur's more "public" events, Maintenon's were often attended only by Louis and a few favorite family members.[122]

Dance at court during 1699 also points out the growing division in artistic performance between courtiers and professionals. It seems that courtiers refrained from participating in the larger, more public works, but frequently performed in small groups for their own private entertainments, such as the numerous *mascarades* held in private apartments. Perhaps this renewed interest in dancing by the courtiers was instigated by the Duchesse de

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[120]For example, see Dangeau, 6 and 9 October 1699

[121]For example, two of the next three Delalande works, *Hymen Champestre* of 1700 and *Divertissement sûr la Paix* of 1713, seem to have been under her patronage.

[122]For example, see Dangeau, 28 February, 3 March, and 24 November 1699 for reports on balls at Maintenon's apartment. On 31 December 1699 Adelaide and other courtiers rehearsed *Alceste* in Maintenon's apartment at Versailles.

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Bourgogne, who may have grown tired of the indolent life of the French court and desired an avenue for her dancing.[123]

C. HISTORY OF THE PLAY LA COMÉDIE DES FÉES

The history of *Fées* is not recorded as completely as is that of *Mirtil*. Dancourt's dedication of the play to Monseigneur suggests that the king's son requested the work:[124]

> Par ton ordre je l'entrepris
> Plein d'une heureuse confiance
> Que l'ardeur de te plaire échauffant mes esprits
> Me serviroit d'art et de science.

On the other hand, Dancourt may have felt obliged to dedicate a play to the prince because of Monseigneur's intervention on the side of Dancourt in the affairs of the Comédie.[125] In either case it appears that Dancourt wrote *Fées* specifically for court in honor of the Dauphin, with whom he shared the same birth date, 1 November 1661.[126]

We do not know when Dancourt wrote *Fées*, but Lancaster claims haste in its composition.[127] In light of the renewed popularity of comedy during

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[123]See Dangeau for the numerous citations of dancing events for courtiers in 1699, such as on 23 Jaunary, and 4, 5, 18, 19, 20, and 28 February.

[124]*Fées*, Ribou print 1699, Pn Yf7262, p. aii.

[125]In December 1698 Monseigneur obtained places in the troup for Dancourt's two daughters, aged fourteen and thirteen. Dancourt alludes to these appointments in the dedication to *Fées*: "Tes faveurs, il est vray, ne me sont pas nouvelles."

[126]As early as 1696 Dancourt was writing the praises of the Dauphin. See the *Mercure's* report, February, p. 278, on the preparation of *La Foire de Saint Germain* for the Comédie: "Ce témoigne public de l'estime qu'il a pour le théâtre et de la protection dont il nous honore...Nous sommes redevables à cette protection glorieuse de la tranquilité, qui par ses ardres du Roy va desormis estre retablié dans les spectacles."

[127]Lancaster 1942, IV, p. 810. Lancaster sees many flaws in the play, possibly because Dancourt was working on another comedy for Paris at the same time.

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these last years of the century, Monseigneur may have suggested that Dancourt create a work specifically for the court's trip to Fontainebleau from 2 September to 22 October. Delalande's borrowing of *Adonis'* overture for *Fées* may suggest that his preparation time for the music was short. However, all other music appears to be newly composed.[128]

Fées enjoyed three performances at Fontainebleau, on 24 September and 1 and 8 October.[129] Apparently all were complete presentations of both play and *intermèdes*. Dangeau reports that Monseigneur, his sons, and Madame were present at the first performance, but that neither Louis nor the British monarchs attended. Louis probably never saw the production.

Dancourt was a logical choice to write this entertainment, personal association and indebtedness to Monseigneur aside. During the thirteen years since his debut at court with *Jeunesse*, he had become one of the most prominent authors and actors at the Comédie.[130] During the last decade of the seventeenth century he developed the one-act comedy of manners in prose, treating a variety of characters and subject matter. Additionally, several of his plays included *divertissements* of music.[131] Dancourt also wrote eight three-act plays, a format less typical of his comedies. These longer works included *Le Notaire Obligeant*, which probably played with *Jeunesse*. Most critics

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[128]Delalande's reuse of at least eight of *Fées'* airs in later works may indicate particular fondness for this music.

[129]Only Dangeau mentions the performance on 1 October.

[130]Lancaster 1942, vol. IV, p. 768, writes: "He seems to have felt his responsibility for supplying his troup with comedies as Molière had done a score of years before. Either alone or in collaboration he provided thirty plays in these eleven years (1690-1700) and many of them were so successful that, in 1695 and 1696, there were actually a larger number of performances at the Comédie-Française of his productions than there were of Moliere's or of plays by anyone else."

[131]Dancourt is credited with creating a genre he called the comédie-vaudeville. Whether Delalande had any voice in the selection of Dancourt is not known.

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find these longer works less tightly constructed, but cite *Fees* among the best.

Like *Mirtil*, *Fées'* appearance in court in part influenced its acceptance by the Comédie-Française, where it met with only limited success in its seven performances between 20 October and 14 November.[132] Surely a public which did not eagerly accept the shepherds and shepherdesses of *Mirtil* would think twice about tolerating the fairies of the Dancourt production.[133] Unlike *Mirtil*, *Fées' intermèdes* for Paris were not rewritten: Delalande's theater music finally played on a Paris stage.

La Comédie des Fées was revived at the Comédie for seven performances in October 1753, for which *intermèdes* were composed by Louis Francoeur and Jean-Féry Rebel, and new choreography created by the Sieur de Laval.[134] These new *intermèdes* appear to have employed nearly the same number of singers as did the 1699 version, but a greater number of dancers.

D. SOURCES

Music: The surviving sources of *Fées* are more complete than are those for *Mirtil*. Seventeen airs from *Fées* comprise the tenth suite of the 1703 Supper collection, complementing the ninth suite of music from *Mirtil*.[135] All

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[132]Lancaster 1942, vol. IV, p. 810: "Only the setting of Fontainebleau could make his production palatable. At Paris it found so little sympathy..." The title page of the printed text for Paris refers to the Fontainebleau performances. Lancaster dates the Paris run differently from other historians, between 29 October and 15 November.

[133]Blanc 1977 considers the play at the Comédie not so much a failure, for the box office receipts were good, but instead a work which unfortunately was withdrawn too early, perhaps because of a scandal over Dancourt's daughters.

[134]A copy of the 1753 version of the text is located in F Pn, Th^{b}4515. Blanc 1977 discusses the revival, p. 149. Rebel and de Laval performed in Delalande's Regency *ballets*.

[135]The position of these two suites at the end of Rés. 582 and the fact that they are the only suites in the collection to consist of music drawn entirely from one work each may indicate that they were added to the collection, which might otherwise have been compiled by 169.

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but one air, the prologue's "Prelude," recur in Rés. 581. Two of the airs in Rés. 581 are texted.[136] These Supper airs appear to represent all the instrumental music in the production, most of it used for dancing.

The absence of payment records for 1699 means that there is no evidence of the copying of a complete score and performing parts. However, such manuscripts were probably produced, particularly in light of the composer's reuse of music from *Fées* for *Hymen Champestre* four months later and for *L'Inconnu* in 1719.

Twenty-four vocal movements from *Fées* also survive in a publication by Ribou issued in 1699 in conjunction with the Paris performances.[137] The survival of this vocal collection provides a unique type of music from Delalande's stage works, as well as evidence that the composer's music did play in the public theater.[138] The survival of all or most of this music from *Fées* by virtue of its performance in Paris also reminds us of the large quantity of stage music by Delalande may have been lost because it did not play in Paris.

Texts: The title page of Ballard's text of *Fées* corroborates information about the performance and dedication of the work found in other sources. As in his text for *Mirtil*, Ballard lists all roles and performers for *Fées*. Based on the identical format of the three surviving copies of this publication located

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[136]See the **Catalogue Raisonné**. The texted airs are the fourth and the seventh. In Rés. 581 the ninth air is identified with a vocal air title, but has no text. Also a few instrumental airs in Rés. 581 have different names than in Rés. 582.

[137]Some reordering of these airs probably occurred between the performances at court and Comédie, although their exact placement in both productions is difficult to determine.

[138]While Delalande's name is not included on the Ribou print, his authorship of these vocal airs is confirmed by the duplication of three of them (# 2, 4, and 9 in the **Catalogue Raisonné**) in both collections of the Supper Symphonies.

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thus far, apparently only one run of this text was printed.

For the production at the Comédie-Française, Ribou also published at least two different editions of the text of *Fées*. One of these, dated 19 October 1699, consists of the *intermèdes* alone, the contents of which duplicate the Ballard edition except in the third *intermède*, which apparently was altered somewhat for Paris to include different characters and less verse. The second of these publications, dated 26 October 1699, includes the complete *intermèdes* and play together, as well as the music for the vocal airs.[139]

E. ORGANIZATION

Fées can be the most fully reconstructed of any of Delalande's stage works for which no full score survives: it therefore provides a model for the organization of similar works whose sources are less complete. The play and *intermèdes* are based on the same story. Furthermore, the many similarities in organization between *Fées* and *Mirtil* help corroborate our reconstruction of Delalande's contribution to each work.

The short-lived vogue for fairy stories in France in the 1690's probably served as the primary motivation for Dancourt's choice of subject matter. Dancourt undoubtedly knew Charles Dufresny's *Les Fées, ou les Contes de Ma Mère l'Oye* of 1697.[140] Dancourt also may have chosen fairies for their adaptability to visual spectacle and their appropriateness for the pleasure-

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[139]It seems that no Dutch version of *Fées*' text was produced. At least one reprinting of the play with *intermèdes* occurred in 1760, possibly because of the 1753 revival, but this edition contains the airs used in the 1699 production.

[140]See Lancaster IV, p. 672-75. The frequency of reports on fairies in the *Mercure* confirms the popularity of the subject. See February 1698, p. 238, for a report on a new book, *Les Genies Nouveaux, ou les Fées à la Mode*. April 1698, p. 209, reports that "les contes du Fées sont devenus à la mode;" in July 1698, p. 234, the paper says "les contes continuent d'estre en vogue et les contes nouveaux, ou *Fées à la Mode*, par Madame D*, sont du nombre de ceux qui on le plus reussi;" and December 1699, p. 221.

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seeking courtiers of the late 1690's.

While some have argued that *Fées* should be considered as a satire on the court, most critics interpret the work in simpler terms, as a lightweight entertainment.[141] The actual reception of the play in the seventeenth century may have been somewhere in between: the *intermèdes* do include several direct references to Louis, his son, his court, and his success in sustaining the peace, but within a context of fairies and their love affairs. Typically, the prologue is the most fawning in its praise of the king, as when the fairy of pleasure invokes the name of Louis and the peace he brings:[142]

> La voix de nôtre Souveraine
> Nous appelle en des Lieux charmans
> Et nous obéissons sans peine
> A de si doux Commandemens.

The play's final message, to aim for a balance between indulgence in and abstinence from pleasure, also may have reminded the court of Louis' moderation in handling the issue of the Spanish Succession and in maintaining the balance of power in Europe.

The play is set in the valley of Vatuegas in the kingdom of Asturies. Two women princesses are raised by two fairies, each of whom choses husbands for her ward. Each fiancé turns out to be more appropriate for the other sister. An exchange of intended mates allows everyone to live happily everafter. The *intermèdes* do not contribute to the advancement of the plot but do offer confirmation of the play's principal message, the beauty and goodness of mutual love.

Delalande borrowed the overture for *Fées* from *Adonis*. The placement of this movement just before the beginning of the prologue is confirmed in the
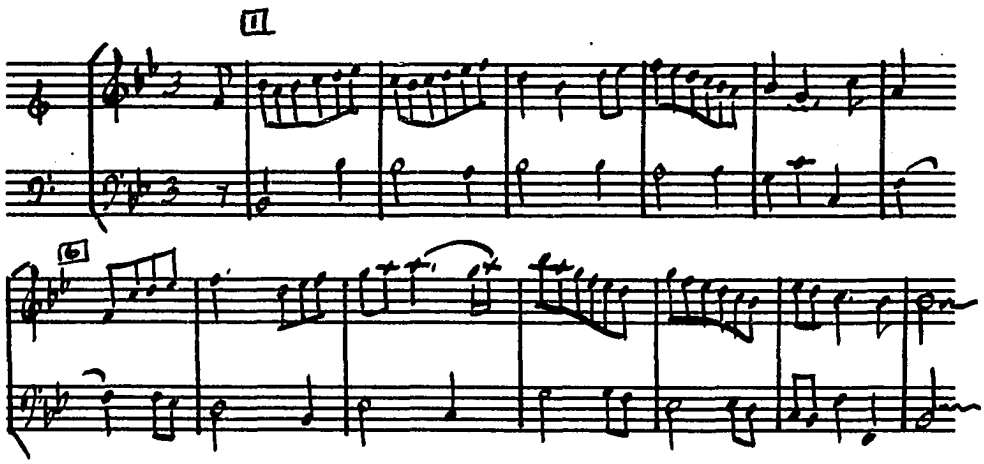
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[141] See Blanc 1977, p. 149, for his report about the opinions of C. Cleary.

[142] *La Comédie des Fées*, Po Liv 17 (R7(7), prologue, p. 6

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printed stage directions.[143] The prologue is the longest section, in three scenes with four instrumental and eight vocal airs. In the first scene the fairy presiding over the spectacle presents an extended monologue, probably in recitative, inviting the fairies to an entertainment made possible through the peace which Louis and Monseigneur have established. Stage directions after this verse may explain how the instrumental music which did not accompany dance was used: these directions indicate that several instruments play the following "Prélude" to allow time for the dancing fairies and pleasures to arrive onstage.[144] This through-composed movement of thirty-nine measures resembles much of *Mirtil*'s music which also functioned as entry music rather than to accompany dancing: its irregular phrase structure and style is not representative of any particular type of French dance of the period.



Example 13-1: *La Comédie des Fées*: Prologue "Prélude," m. 1-12; Rés. 582: IX: 108

Scene 2 of the prologue opens with three vocal airs by a fairy of pleasure and her follower, who encourage the assembly to engage in

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[143]Not many texts of Delalande's works specify the placement of the overture.

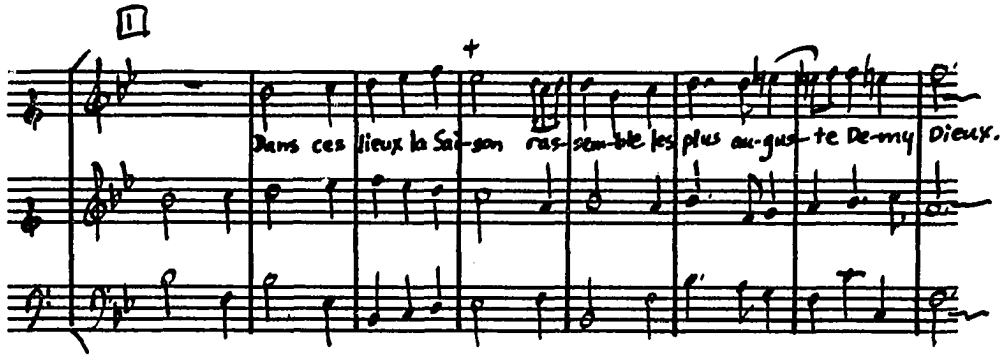
[144]See the Ballard text, p. 5: "Quand la Fée des Spectacles a cessé de parler, plusieurs Instruments de Musique se sont entendre, et jouent un Air qui donne le tems aux Fées et aux Plaisirs de se placer sûr le théâtre."

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celebration: for too long thoughts have been too serious.[145]

> Nous donnerons un jour tous nos soins à la Gloire,
> Donnons quelque tems aux Plaisirs.

The second vocal air in this scene, "Dans ces lieux," provides a model for estimating the original scoring of the monophonic airs in the Ribou print. This air is also included in the Supper Symphonies, there scored for solo voice, two oboes, one of which doubles the voice, and bass line. The two upper voices of this air imitate one another as the text calls for the everyone to join in celebration.



Example 13-2: *La Comédie des Fées*: Prologue: "Dans ces Lieux," m. 1-8; Rés. 581 II, 14
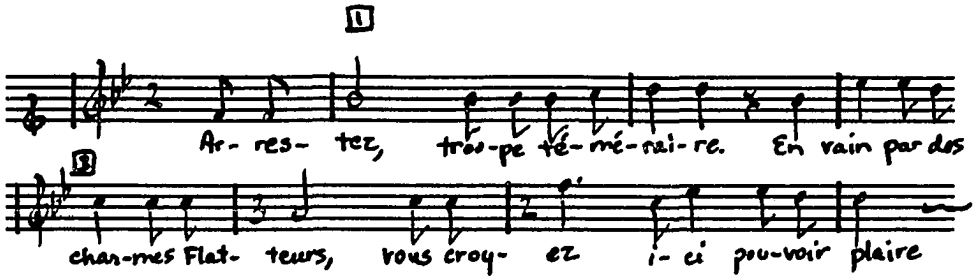
Additional fairies and pleasures dance a "Gigue" to conclude the scene.

Of the five vocal solos in Scene 3 of the prologue, two are recitative-like in their changing meter and attention to text declamation. Both are sung by La Sagesse, the fairy who urges moderation, as she tries to disuade the assembly from their celebration. It is unclear if a solo such as this would have been accompanied by bass line, or sung by La Sagesse alone, with no instrumental assistance.

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[145] *La Comédie des Fées*: Po Liv 17 (R7(7), prologue, p. 7.

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Example 13-3: *La Comédie des Fées*: Prologue: "Arrestez," m. 1-6, Ribou 1699, p. 52

A final choir reiterates that Louis has brought peace to the world "par ses soins vigilans, sa sagesse profonde." The movement is also danced by the fairies and pleasures.
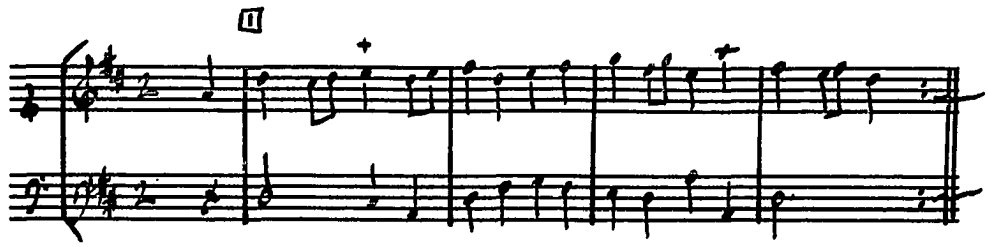
Act I of the play presents the two daughters of the fairy king, Astur, raised by their mother's sisters. Melisende, the fairy of prudence, has raised Inégilde strictly, while Blandione's ward Cleonide has led a frivolous life. Young Prince Zirphilin is selected as the husband for Cleonide and old Prince Astibel for Inégilde. The first *intermède* introduces the singing and dancing followers of Prince Zirphilin from the happy isle. The *intermède* is organized into three short scenes delineated by dances, a "Forlane," a "Saltarelle," and a "Contredanse."[146] Three of the five vocal movements in the *intermède* are for choir and solo voices in alternation, as illustrated by the opening air, which also appears in the Supper Symphonies, there for soprano solo doubled by oboe, and reduced choir.[147]

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[146]Preceding these three dances in the Supper Symphonies is another dance, a "Gavotte," which may have been used to open the scene, but may also have appeared in the play, Act I, Scene 10, as Zirphilin arrived on stage. Another instrumental movement appears in the play, Act III, Scene 11, on the disappearance of Inégilde. Possibly this music was some sort of improvised fanfare-like passage. No critic of Dancourt's work has commented thus far on the music used within his plays.

[147]Delalande twice reused the final dance of this *intermède*, the "Marche pour la Noce de Village," also labeled as a contradanse, in *Hymen Champestre* and *L'Inconnu*, both times associated with wedding preparations:

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Example 13-4: *La Comédie des Fées*: Intermède I
"Marche," m. 1-4; Rés. 581: II, 179

In the second act of the play Zirphilin finds himself in love with Inégilde rather than Cléonide. Realizing that his love is returned, he attempts to break his engagement. The following *intermède* features followers of Astibel's unknown isle trying to convince Inégilde that a life of moderation is best for her. The tonality of this second *intermède* shifts to E minor, possibly to enhance the forbidding entrance of Prince Astibel and his followers. Probably all three instrumental movements --- a "Grand Air" and two others "Airs" --- appeared as a short suite at the beginning of the *intermède* to accompany the entrance by the five inhabitants of the unknown isle. Eight vocal movements follow without interruption. The Ballard text indicates that three of these are for choir, although Ribou reproduced each in one voice part only. The first of these movements, for full choir, asserts that Sagesse should rule the lives of the fairies:[148]

> Que le sort d'un Sage est charmant,
> Que la sagesse plaît à qui sçait la connoître,
> Pour devenir Sage aisement
> Il faut chez nous apprendre à l'être.

The two movements for reduced choir argue that the best kind of *sagesse* is the indulgence in pleasure.[149]

> Sçavoir jouir des vrais plaisirs
> N'avoir ni besoin ni richesse,
> C'est le seul but de nos désirs,

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[148] *La Comédie des Fées*: *Intermède* II: Po Liv 17 (R7(7); p. 16.

[149] *La Comédie des Fées*: *Intermède* II, Po Liv 17 (R7(7); p. 17.

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Et l'objet de nôtre sagesse.
Heureux, heureux un coeur
Qui sçait gouter un tel bonheur.

In the final act of the play Inégilde refuses to marry Astibel. Consequently her mother, the fairy of reason, makes her disappear. Cléonide, jealous over Zirphilin's devotion to her sister, turns instead to Astibel. Inegilde returns and an exchange of partners is completed. The final *intermède* features fairies and pleasures honoring the two marriages. This last section offers the most musical variety and also the greatest discrepancies between the versions of the entertainment for the court and for Paris. As in the second *intermède*, this one probably begins with two instrumental movements: a "Légèrement" probably served as entry music, while a "Loure" could have been danced by the assembly. The final instrumental movement, the 109-measure "Chaconne," is listed both before and after the Italian air "Puo saggio cuore" in the Ballard text, but only once in the Ribou edition, before that air. The function of this "Chaconne" cannot be determined precisely from the text, but it probably accompanied dancing and also offered a grand conclusion of the *ballet*. Two choruses and one solo from the court production are omitted in the Paris copy. However, the choir "La Sagesse est trop sevère" ends both versions and presents a fitting conclusion to the fairies' dilemma: reason must be the final arbitrator between seriousness and indulgence in pleasure:[150]

La Sagesse est trop sevère
Le Plaisir trop dangereux.
Quand la Raison les modère,
Qu'ils ont de charmes tous deux!

[150] *La Comédie des Fées*: P Yf 7262; p. 83.

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F. PERFORMANCE

The absence of payment records for 1699 leaves us with a much less detailed picture of *Fées'* preparation time, personnel, and costs than that of *Mirtil*. Consequently, the Ballard text provides most of the known information about the performance. Generally the number of vocal and dance roles in each *intermède* of *Fées* approximates those in *Mirtil*, and the total number of performers is also similar: *Fées* included sixteen dancers and nine singers, compared with twenty dancers and seven singers in *Mirtil*.[151] Most singers are identified in the court's music and all dancers are from the Opéra. *Fées'* choir and orchestra are unspecified, but they may have resembled the ensembles in *Mirtil*. Based on the music in the Ribou print, none of the vocal roles proved very taxing for soloists or choir.[152] Performance information follows in **Figure XIII-1.**

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[151]The prologue involves four solo singers entertained by eight male and four female dancers; the first *intermède* features two men and one woman singer, plus five dancing men and five women of the isle of pleasure. Only one man and one woman sing in the second *intermède*, while five male dancers represent inhabitants of the unknown isle. The finale contains the greatest number of performers: four singers plus two sixteen dancers. Four singers and eleven dancers in *Fées* also performed in the 1698 *ballet*. Four of *Fées'* soloists sang two roles and the rest sang one role each, less doubling than in *Mirtil*. On the other hand, all sixteen dancers in *Fées* except for Pécourt and Beauchamp appeared in at least two or three *intermèdes*, while in *Mirtil* only half of the twenty dancers appeared twice.

[152]Performers in both the 1698 and 1699 works included some of the more prominent singers, such as Mesdemoiselles Chappe and Bastaron, and dancers such as Mademoiselle Subligny and Messieurs Balon and Pécourt.

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LA COMÉDIE DES FÉES

SINGERS : Solo Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	4	1	3
Intermède I	3	2	1
Intermède II	2	1	1
Intermède III	4	2	2
TOTALS	**13**	**6**	**7**

DANCERS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	12	8	4
Intermède I	10	5	5
Intermède II	5	5	---
Intermède III	15	10	5
TOTALS	**42**	**28**	**14**

GRAND TOTALS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	13	6	7
Dancers	42	28	14
Choir	----	----	----
Instrumentalists	24?	24?	----
TOTALS	**79+?**	**58+?**	**21**

GRAND TOTALS : Personnel

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	9	4	5
Dancers	16	11	5
Choir	---	---	---
Instrumentalists	24?	24?	---
TOTALS	**49+?**	**39+?**	**10**

Figure XIII-1: Performer Chart: La Comédie des Fées

The Salle de Comédie at Fontainebleau could have accommodated the performances needs of *Fées*. (See Figure **XII-1** and **Middle Works: Mirtil: Performance. 4. XII. F**) The placement of the choir and orchestra for *Fées* is not

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indicated in the Ballard text, but these groups, as in *Mirtil*, could have performed from the balconies of the theater. Because Louis probably did not attend *Fées*, the production may have been less spectacular than was *Mirtil*. Lacking payment records for the cost of the printing of the text, we can say little about the size of the audience, but it would appear that the king's absence generated less interest in musical-theatrical productions from the courtiers than if the monarch were present.

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XIV. HYMEN CHAMPESTRE

A. INTRODUCTION

The *mascarade Hymen Champestre* of 1700 is the last of five annual court musical entertainments which Delalande produced during the period of revitalized musical activity between the War of the League of Augsburg and the War of the Spanish Succession. *Hymen Champestre* was part of a series of Carnival entertainments that year based on the theme of a rustic village wedding.[153] Consisting of instrumental music and dance, the *mascarade* illustrates the renewed interest in dance by courtiers under the stimulus of both the Duchesse de Bourgogne and Madame de Maintenon.

The *mascarade* appeared twice, on 13 February at Marly and on 21 February at Versailles, during the most active Carnival celebration that the court had seen for years, a final celebration before the descent into an even more terrible military confrontation than the last. *Hymen Champestre* was the shortest of Delalande's middle period secular productions to that date. The work probably included no scenery or special costumes.

Because of the relative privacy of most *mascarades*, documentation about *Hymen Champestre* is the least complete of any of Delalande's productions since his *Ballets* of 1690/91. No text survives and the music consists only of fourteen movements from the Supper Symphonies, only three of which were probably newly composed for the *mascarade*. The one cited collaborator is the author of the verse, a M. Rousseau. The only performers named in the accounts are fourteen dancers.

The different titles of this *mascarade* led Dufourcq to catalogue it as two different works, a *Noce de Village* and *Hymen Champestre*. There is no

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[153]This mascarade is called *Hymen Champestre* only in Rés. 581. The *Mercure* and most diarists refer to it as one of the several *Noce de Village* that season. However, this essay will call the work *Hymen Champestre* to distinguish it from the other wedding pieces.

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doubt that these are the same composition, given their common musical material and dating.[154] Dufourcq also misinterpreted the sponsorship of the work, attributing it to Madame du Maine in the château at Sceaux.[155] Finally, Dufourcq assigned three airs to Delalande which are from Lully's *Noce de Village* of 1663.[156]

B. COURT BACKGROUND

The many social and musical activities in court during Carnival and for the remainder of 1700 may be viewed as Louis' indulgence in celebration while the peace remained. Entertainments in 1700 therefore should not be regarded uncategorically as signs of restored prosperity, but instead as the last calm before the deadliest conflict in his reign.[157]

Throughout 1700, Louis "played by the rules" in his dealings with other countries in order to keep the peace which France desperately needed. Consequently, Louis assumed that the appointment of the Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Leopold I, to the Spanish crown on the death of Charles

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[154]Dufourcq also omitted some reports about the work, including the performance on 13 February, which is cited in the *Mercure* and by Sourches and Saint-Simon. In none of these accounts is the *mascarade* mentioned by name. See Duvourcq 1957, p. 257.

[155]While Madame du Maine held a ball on the same evening as the second performance of *Hymen Champestre*, this entertainment occurred in her Versailles apartment, not her Sceaux palace. See the *Mercure Galant*, February, 1700, p. 231-232, as well as Dangeau, February 1700. The misidentification of the site is minor, but it could create a distorted picture of how Delalande served the court.

[156]See the manuscript F Pn Rés. F. 670: "Air," p.9; a "Gigue," p.29; and a "March," p.103. Harris-Warrick 1984 discusses the several *Noces de Villages* written in the seventeenth century. The only source other than the Supper Symphonies to include music from *Hymen* is the manuscript F Pn Rés. 1897, which Dufourcq correctly cited.

[157]The editor of the 1853 edition of Saint-Simon's diary compares this Carnival to the last spectacular celebrations which the court had known, in 1683 and 1685: "Dès avant la Chandeleur jusqu'au Carême, ce ne fût que bals et plaisirs à la cour." See Saint-Simon, vol. VII, p. 52.

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II, would be the wisest move for maintaining the peace. Louis therefore surprised many when he accepted the throne for his grandson, the Duc d'Anjou, when it was offered to him. This move became "the most influential decision of his reign," since in doing so he risked yet another European war.[158]

The influence of particular individuals also helps explain the court's musical activity that season. For one, Madame de Maintenon's patronage of music in her apartments in the several royal châteaux seems to have increased after 1700, as if in response to Louis' growing detachment from court life.[159] Also, Monseigneur appeared in several dancing roles that season.[160] Additionally, the influence of the Duchesse du Maine and Madame La Princess de Conty increased during the new decade as many more entertainments were disengaged from official functions involving the king.[161]

The courtier with the most influence on entertainments during this season was the fourteen-year-old Duchesse de Bourgogne, who was beginning to find her place in the court as an organizer of festivities and as the future queen of France. Adelaide possessed boundless energy for organizing dancing

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[158]Wolf 1968, p. 502. I discuss the war in the next essay on the *Ode* of 1704.

[159]For reports on Maintenon's entertainments see Dangeau, 16 January, a report on a ball at Versailles; 10 February, a rehearsal for Marly; and 20 February, a *divertissement*. Saint-Simon says that these popular "représentations intimes" started during this Carnival season "chez Maintenon." See Saint-Simon, vol. VII, p. 53.

[160]Sourches names him in the *mascarade Don Quichotte* on 5 February, during which he danced a courante "en ridicule."

[161]Dangeau documents balls at the Duchesse de Maine on 17 January and 11, 16, and 23 February. The *Mercure*, February 1700, p. 232, says she gave at least twenty balls during Carnival that year.

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at court.[162] Dancing at court was frequently canceled in her absence, such as during the winter of 1701 and during a pregnancy in 1704.[163]

The *Mercure* claims that the Comte d'Ayen, one of the dancers, hosted the second performance of *Hymen Champestre* since Maintenon was ill. St. Simon, who held no loving place in his heart for the king's wife, corroborates this report, maintaining that d'Ayen organized the entire production, but made it appear as if Maintenon were in charge.[164]

Dangeau and the *Mercure* together report no fewer than seventeen different *mascarades* performed on eleven evenings at either Marly or Versailles during Carnival in 1700.[165] Topics ranged from the exotic --- the king of

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[162]Even the Duc de Bourgogne learned to dance to please his young wife, appearing for the first time on 13 February in a *mascarade* at Marly. See Dangeau on that date. Hilton, 1981, p. 12, 17-20 discusses Adelaide's accomplishments as a dancer. Mitford 1968, p. 210, presents a less attractive view of her. Dangeau and St. Simon speak frequently of her. Several ballroom dances were dedicated to her, as was Feuillet's new dance "La Bretagne" of 1704, named after her first-born son. See Hilton 1981, p. 19, for a facsimile.

[163]See Dangeau, 3 February 1704. Many other courtiers also sponsored entertainments in honor of the princess. M. le Prince hosted a ball on 12 February 1700 which featured *entrées* of ballet and some of the best dancers of the Opéra. See Dangeau, 12 February 1700 and St. Simon 1853, VII, p. 57-58. Madame la Princesse de Conty entertained Adelaide two days later. On the same evening as *Hymen Champestre* at Versailles, Madame du Maine's ball marking the end of Carnival featured Adelaide, while Madame la Chandelière prepared an entertainment which St. Simon called "la feste la plus galante et la plus magnifique qu'il fut possible." See St. Simon VII, p. 60-61, and the *Mercure Galant*, February 1700, p. 256 ff.

[164]D'Ayen also hosted Delalande's *Divertissement sûr la Paix* in 1713, so his involvement in *Hymen* is plausible. See Saint-Simon, vol. VII, p. 57. The Comte d'Ayen was also a composer and singer. A motet of his composition was sung on 15 April at Meudon "chez Maintenon" by several courtiers (see Dangeau 15 April 1700) and Sourches reports that he sang in the courtier production of *Alceste* on 9 January 1700. D'Ayen received a duchy from his father, the Maréchal de Noailles, in January 1704, granting him the title of "Duc de Noailles.

[165]Most *mascarades* were short, so that several could be performed during one evening. For example, on 4 and 5 February, the *Mercure* reported that two *entrées* and one *mascarade* lasted from 8:00 until 10:15 P.M.

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China, Amazons --- to the rustic --- the several village weddings. Composers for all except *Hymen Champestre* and six *mascarades* by the Philidors remain unidentified, but Pécourt is most often named as director. Some of the *mascarades* appeared in conjunction with balls: in these *mascarades* the dancers were usually from the Opéra, apparently providing relief for the courtiers who danced in the balls.[166]

Three other *mascarades* about a village wedding appeared that Carnival season.[167] On 22 January a simple *mascarade* with only two dances was performed by noblemen at Marly.[168] The second *Noce de village*, with music by Philidor, was danced at Marly by some of the best dancers of the Opéra, including Mr. Balon, Mr. DesMoulins, and Mademoiselle DuFort.[169] The next day many of the same professional dancers appeared in *Le Lendemain de la Noce*, with music by one of Philidor's sons, presumably Michel, in conjunction with a ball and another *mascarade* on the subject of Don Quichotte.

Delalande's borrowing of a majority of *Hymen's* airs may indicate a short preparation time for the *mascarade*. On the other hand, recycling previous dance music may have been the most expedient means of compiling this entertainment which only a few people heard. Delalande borrowed most extensively from *Fées*, possibly because that work appeared only four or five months earlier and the courtiers may have recalled many of its airs. He may also have wished to invoke the 1699 production because its subject matter

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[166]Saint-Simon reported six masked balls at court during Carnival of 1700 and described one in detail. See Saint-Simon, vol. VII, p. 57.

[167]See Silin 1940, p. 204 fn.

[168]Harris-Warrick 1984, p. 12. She gives no source and no other information.

[169]Many of these Opéra dancers also participated in Delalande's *Mélicerte* and *Fées*. Texts for both Philidor works were published by Ballard. See F Po Liv 17 (R7 (10) and US Ca, Harvard Theater Collection, Recueil des Ballets III, #23. Sourches described the entertainment on 4 February as "fort ennuyeux" and the one the following evening "n'eut pas un heureux succès."

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was also marriage.[170]

C. COLLABORATORS

The *Mercure* is the only source to name a "Rousseau" as the author of the verse for *Hymen Champestre*. This is probably Jean-Baptiste, who wrote three plays for the Comédie-Française at the end of the seventeenth century. Having met with limited success with his first two of these comedies in 1694 and 1696, he may have welcomed the chance to contribute to an entertainment for court.[171] Rousseau also had experience in musical productions: he wrote the text to Colasse's *Jason* in 1696 and Desmarets's *Venus et Adonis* in 1697.[172] Rousseau also composed the verse to twenty-seven cantatas during the first decade of the eighteenth century, which his biographer has called "by far the finest examples of the form."[173]

Neither a choreographer nor a designer for *Hymen Champestre* is named. Louis Pécourt may have provided the dance, for his name is cited in several other *mascarades* that season.

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[170]The performance of *Hymen Champestre* on the 13th preceding its premiere before the king on the 21st parallels the preparation of the mascarade *Jeu de Cartes*, which also featured Adelaide and which was run at Versailles on 10 February before playing at Marly for Louis on the 19th.

[171]See Lancaster 1942, p. 848-853.

[172]Rousseau was referred to by many as "not a Quinault." See Grubbs 1941, Chapter 2. Rousseau expressed what he saw as the difficulty of writing an opera text: "La grande difficulté consiste, selon moi, dans le dialogue, qui doit être fort coupé, et dans la diction, qui ne souffre point ce que fait ailleurs les beautés de la poësie. De sorte qu'en faisant de beaux vers, vous courez risque de faire un mauvais opéra; et en faisant un bon opéra, vous ne pourrez faire des vers excellents."

[173]Grubbs 1941, p. 243 ff. Rousseau considered the cantata as the alternate genre to opera as a means of satisfying the prevailing taste for smaller musical works.

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D. SOURCES

Music: Rés. 581 is the principal source of music for *Hymen Champestre.* The annotations in this manuscript corroborate the little information about the work available in secondary sources. Additionally, two airs from *Hymen* also appear in the ninth suite of Rés. 582, borrowed from *Mirtil,* and eight airs appear in the tenth suite, borrowed from *Fées.*[174]

Texts: No text of *Hymen Champestre* survives. However, since Ballard published texts for the two village wedding *mascarades* by the Philidors that season, the possibility remains that Delalande's *mascarade* was also printed, particularly in view of the presence of Louis at one performance. The text of these Philidor entertainments can provide some impression of what the contents of Delalande's may have been.

E. POSSIBLE ORGANIZATION

Philidor l'aîné's *Le Noce de Village* consists of four *entrées* of music and dance and features the village bride and groom and their parents, residents of their village, and a drunken German peasant. The work is relatively short and has little vocal music: singing occurs only in the second and third *entrées.* The first *entrée* features the dancing bride and groom and the wedding occurs in the last.

The surviving Supper airs from *Hymen* tell us very little about that work. These fourteen airs probably represent the complete instrumental music and indicate an emphasis on dancing rather than singing. These airs offer little clue about the subject matter of the *mascarade,* for all but the second and third bear traditional dance titles and so do not offer specific references to a

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[174]The eight movements from *Fées* retain the same ordering in the *mascarade* as in the 1699 *ballet.* The four airs which are not in Rés. 582 do not seem to have been drawn from earlier sources. Only two of *Hymen's* airs, both borrowed from *Fées,* were reused in *L'Inconnu.*

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village wedding story or to its characters.[175]

F. PERFORMANCE

Both Dangeau and the *Mercure* identify *Hymen's* dancers. However, of the nine dancers Dangeau names in the performance on 13 February, only six reappear in the list of eleven names in the *Mercure*. In either case, all dancers were courtiers.[176] The Duc and Duchesse de Bourgogne held the lead roles as bride and groom.[177] Supporting them in both performances were the Duchesse de Villeroy, the Comtesse d'Ayen, Madame de Ravêtot, Mesdemoiselles de Melun and de Bournonville, and the Comte d'Ayen.[178] Three other men, M. de Coesquin, M. le Duc de Guiche, and M. le Chevalier de Sully, also danced on the second evening. These noblemen and noblewomen may have been among the most enthusiastic dancers of 1700, for their names appear repeatedly in

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[175]The movements consists of: "Overture," "Trio de hautbois," "Air," "Gigue," "Menuet," "Canarie," "Bourée," "Forlane," "Salterelle," "Menuet," "Canarie," "Contredanse," "Loure," and "Chaconne."

[176]Philidor's *mascarade* featured sixteen professional dancers, including Messieurs Pécourt and Desmoulins and Mademoiselle du Fort. The same dancers were equally marvelous the next day in *Lendemain de la Noce*. For most of these entertainments the distinction between courtier and professional dancer remained, although in a few *mascarades* the two are found dancing side-by-side.

[177]Liselotte in a letter of 24 January 1700 described Adelaide in the *Mascarade de Flore* of 1700: "... the Duchesse de Bourgogne came in, very prettily dressed as Flora. She was wearing a great many silk flowers which suited her beautifully. With her were a number of ladies to whom, in truth, this costume was rather less becoming.... When all the masks had taken their places we heard cymbals, a Samaritan entered followed by a camel carrying a negro who was striking the cymbals, then came a group of Amazons, and when this parade had passed everyone danced countless minuets." See D'Orléans 1970, p. 91.

[178]The editor of the 1853 edition of St. Simon's diary says that most of these courtiers were members of the Noailles family. See Saint-Simon, vol. VII, p. 53, fn. 5.

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other Carnival events.[179]

It is difficult to estimate the number of vocalists and instrumentalists in *Hymen.* Probably vocal roles were few, given the small scope of most *mascarades* and the limited performance space.[180] Surviving texts of other *mascarades* often specify names and numbers of instrumentalists, which generally range between five and ten and include a high proportion of woodwinds players.[181]

Sites: The two performance sites for *Hymen,* Maintenon's apartments at Marly and Versailles, certainly must have influenced the small scope of production. Most performances in private sites such as these generally played only once or twice and were attended by close family members and friends of the sponsor. Operas and *ballets* presented in such spaces were generally in concert version and frequently in excerpts only.

Most of the rooms in the main pavillion at Marly were much smaller than most chambers in the Versailles château. At Marly, Maintenon occupied one of the four three-room apartments on the first floor of the main pavil ion, the largest room in which measured approximately six by seven meters, an area which may have accommodated only the performers and one or two observers. (See **Figure XIV-1.**)

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[179]See the *Mascarade d'Espagnols* of 4 February. The *Jeu de Cartes* on 19 February included twelve courtiers. See the *Mercure,* February 1700 p. 227. We can only speculate on their level of proficiency.

[180]Harris-Warrick indicates that a choir of Chinese in *Le Roi de Chine* consisted of four male singers. See Po Liv 17(R7(13 and Harris-Warrick 1984, p. 5.

[181]For example, the Philidor *Noce* included six instruments, four oboes and two bassoons. See Po Liv 17(R7(10.

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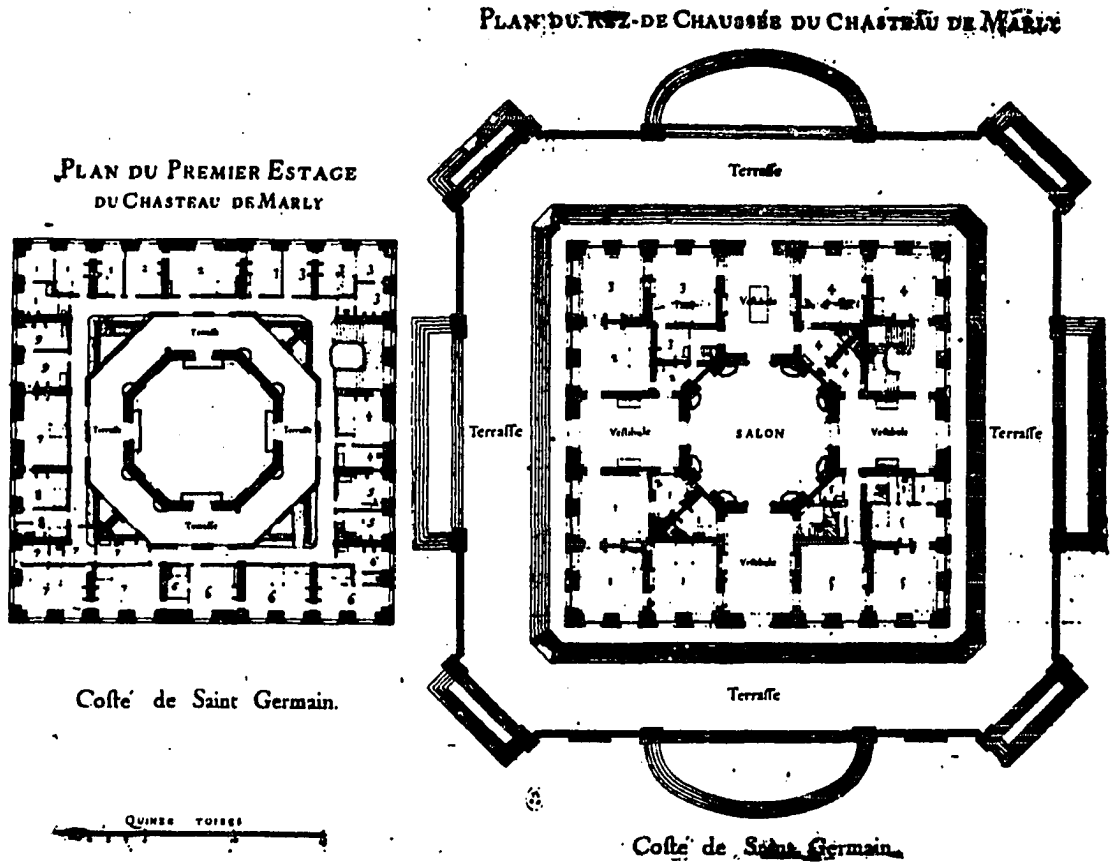


Figure XIV-1: Marly: central pavillon - first and second floor
Pn Cab Est Va 78a Fol, Tome III: Les Yvelines

In view of Maintenon's small quarters, the possibility remains that *Hymen* actually was danced in the pavilion's central salon, an octagonal room approximately fifteen by fifteen meters which ran through both stories of the building. Musicians for *mascarades* in this room may have played from the second story or from one of the four adjacent foyers. Based on the area of the floor, the salon might have accommodated up to two hundred seats, but whether Louis would have invited that many people to Marly on any one visit seems improbable.

At Versailles, the Grand Cabinet in Maintenon's apartment was used with increasing frequency for music and theater during the last twenty years of Louis' reign. This room measured approximately eight-and-one-half by six-and-

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one-half meters, slightly larger than the largest room in her apartment at Marly.[182] Probably more courtiers observed *Hymen Champestre* at Versailles than at Marly: Dangeau reports that the audience consisted of at least the king, Monseigneur, Monsieur, Madame, and "toutes les princesses."[183] It is not clear if such a production would have included scenery.

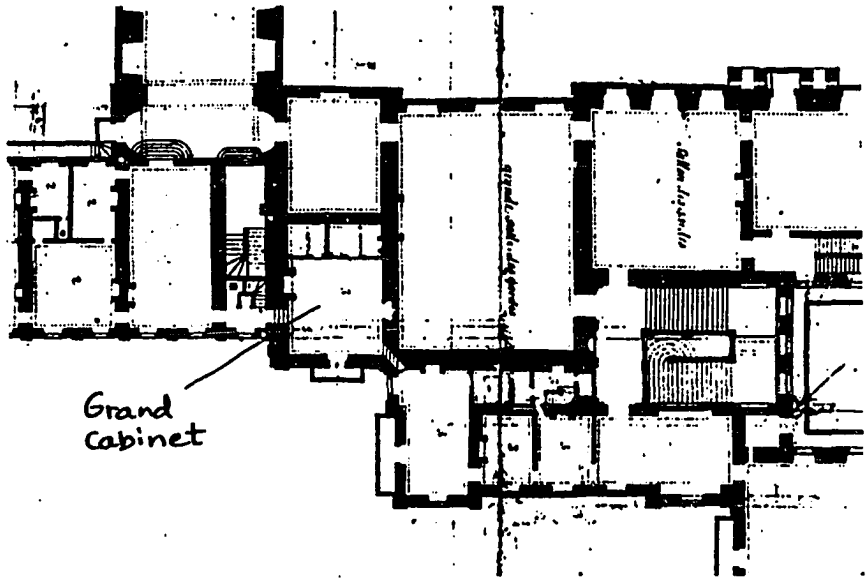


Figure XIV-2: Versailles: Apartment, Madame de Maintenon
Archives des Batiments Civiles, boite 26, #90

[182]In January, 1702, Dangeau reported that the room accommodated a temporary stage for ten actors and a seating area for thirty to forty spectators.

[183]Dangeau, 21 February 1700.

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XV. Ode

A. INTRODUCTION

The small scope of Delalande's *Ode* of 1704 typifies musical entertainments at court during the last fifteen years of Louis' reign. While singing the praises of France's military effort during the War of the Spanish Succession, the composition probably was intended to bolster the spirit of an aged king who realised that his country was headed for the worst military defeat of his long reign. The *Ode* was Delalande's first secular composition for court since *Hymen Champestre* and his fourth collaboration with the Abbé Genest. No music is known to survive: only Genest's text offers a view of the contents of the composition. The *concert* was performed once, on 24 October 1704, in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon in the château of Sceaux during the court's return from Fontainebleau. The number and names of performers are unspecified. Delalande apparently composed no secular works after the *Ode* until 1713, when peace was finally celebrated.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

Military developments in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century explain the context of Delalande's *Ode*. The peace which spawned lavish Carnival celebrations in 1700 was false and short-lived. Tension over the Spanish Succession turned into alliances among the major powers of Europe when Louis' grandson Philippe, the Duc d'Anjou, became king of Spain on the death of Charles II. While Louis realized the danger of re-igniting war tempers in accepting the crown for his grandson, he justified these actions through his belief in the divine right of the Bourbon family to govern Spain, and resolved to do anything to retain that right. By September 1701 a Grand Alliance between England, the Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire, and Denmark was formed against France and Spain with the intention of replacing Philippe with the Archduke Charles. By 1702 Louis realized that another European war was

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inevitable.[184] Louis' troubles were compounded by Huguenot unrest in southern France and by additional responsibilities for the governing of Spain in default of his teenage grandson's weak leadership. Little wonder that during the entire final fifteen years of his reign Louis hardly ever attended musical entertainments.

The year 1704 was marked by intense disillusionment. During August the French suffered a severe defeat in the capture of Blenheim, Bavaria, by the Anglo-Dutch forces.[185] Even though Louis realized the weak position of his country, he continued to declare France's strength, especially since the Duchesse de Bourgogne had given birth to a son in June of that year.[186]

The military situation went from bad to worse during 1704, followed by severe defeats for the French at Ramillies in 1706 and at Oudenarde in 1708.[187] Any hope of revitalization of the French forces when the enemy surrendered at Ghent and Brussels in 1708 was shattered the following year by one of the worst winters France had ever known: a two-month period of

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[184]Wolf 1968, Chapters 30 and 31. Louis remained optimistic that the war would be short.

[185]Wolf 1968, p. 538: "Louis had become accustomed to seeing his plans fail; he had even come to accept the loss of a fortress or even of a province, but this was the first time that one of his armies had been defeated and so badly used that it lost its ability to fight..... It was a catastrophe..."

[186]In Paris fireworks sounded and *Te Deums* were sung to celebrate a purported French victory in a naval battle in the Atlantic which, while initially favorable to the French, turned into a retreat for the Comte de Toulouse and opened the way for the English to capture Gibraltar. According to Dangeau, news of a temporary French advantage in the Atlantic on 24 August reached Fontainebleau on 13 September and reports of Toulouse's success continued at least through 16 October. Possibly Genest and Delalande did not begin work on their *Ode* until news of this French victory reached Fontainebleau, approximately four to five weeks before the performance. The text, with several references to the naval situation, certainly was not written before 5 June, the date of the birth of the Duc de Bretagne, who is also celebrated in the verse.

[187]See Wolf 1968, Chapter 31.

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extreme cold killed crops, instigated domestic riots, and triggered a sharp devaluation of the currency.

The decade was equally disastrous for Louis personally. Both his brother, Monsieur, and his close fiend, James II of England, died in 1701. While the Duchesse de Bourgogne remained a constant source of joy, Louis worried over her difficulty in producing healthy male heirs who could continue the Bourbon dynasty. Aged 66 in 1704, his teeth gone, his health deteriorating, his spirits low, and his wife disheartened, Louis had plenty of reason to worry.

The steadily decreasing number of social and artistic entertainments in this decade parallels the king's increasing pessimism. Never again would the court of Louis XIV witness the flourish of celebration seen during Carnival of 1700. While between 1701 and 1703 the court maintained the usual schedule of comedies and *appartements* and in 1702 held a series of balls, by 1704 the schedule was reduced to a new low. Adelaide's pregnancy that year curtailed most Carnival celebrations, and few performances other than comedies were reported.[188]

Renewed military conflict brought about changes in the content of opera and ballet as well, both at court and in Paris.[189] André Campra's *Les Muses* was the only new production at the Académie in 1703, while Desmarets'

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[188]AN O[1]2835: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs* and Benoit 1971 *Musiques*, p. 194-195. While in 1704 the usual group of fourteen comedians from Paris accompanied the court to Fontainebleau for forty-three days to perform sixteen different plays, these productions were not received with the same enthusiam as plays of former seasons. In 1704 Dangeau frequently reported that while comedies continue to be held, sometimes only one or two members of the royal family were present.

[189]Isherwood 1973, p. 346: "The War of the Spanish Succession brought an expected shift in emphasis to the music dramas: glory and valor replaced beneficience and peace..... Bucolic scenes gave way to the turbulence of battle, and the strident fanfare of victory."

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premature celebration of a French victory in his *Iphigénie en Tauride* of 1704 was poorly received by Académie audiences. The court enjoyed music dramas only at Fontainebleau: in 1702 Matho's *Coronis* was rehearsed twice in the apartment of Monseigneur; the following fall the court heard a concert production of *Atys*; Destouches' new *comédie-lyrique, Le Mariage du Carnival et de la Folie*, appeared once; and a new opera by the Duc D'Orléans and M. de la Fare played one time. In 1704 the only musical work at Fontainebleau was Gervais' new opera *Armide*, which appeared in rehearsal in the Galérie des Cerfs before Monseigneur.[190] From 1705 through the end of Louis' reign neither archival documents nor diary and newspaper accounts report any major musical-stage productions in any royal châteaux.[191] Louis attended no entertainments at Fontainebleau in 1704, making his presence at Delalande's *Ode* all the more special.[192]

The court first used Sceaux as a stopover on its voyage to and from Fontainebleau in 1703.[193] Similar visits also occurred in 1704, when the *Ode* and several other musical entertainments honoring the king were performed, probably through the patronage of the Duchesse de Maine. On the way to Fontainebleau on 11 September 1704 the court heard a concert of music on an Italian text by the Duc de Nevers, with music possibly by Jean-Baptiste Matho, sung by musicians of the Duc D'Orléans.[194] This was followed by a short

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[190]Archives $O^1$2835, fol. 74v, 75.

[191]Only a few comedies employing a limited number of musicians continued.

[192]Dangeau 9 October 1704: "Le roi ne va point à ces musiques publiques non plus qu'à la comédie." On 30 October 1704 Dangeau reported that the king was obliged to work hard all day even though he was ill.

[193]Sceaux is approximately sixteen kilometers from Versailles, fifty-five kilometers from Fontainebleau. In 1703 the Duc and Duchesse de Maine were still repairing and remodeling their recently-purchased château.

[194]See Dangeau, 11 September 1704.

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instrumental concert. The visit on the return from Fontainebleau included instrumental music in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon on 23 October, after which the Duchesse de Bourgogne entertained Louis with games.[195] The performances of the *Ode* occurred the following day. According to Genest, a second work, again by the Duc de Nevers and Matho, was sung after the *Ode*.[196] The Duchesse de Bourgogne then hosted Monseigneur and the princesses before supper.

These many private performances reflect the shifting emphasis of cultural life away from Versailles, as well as the growing patronage by members of the royal family other than Louis. The Duchesse du Maine was one of the most active of these new patrons. Married to the king's legitimized son in 1692, she found the atmosphere at Versailles stifling and so spent much of her time at Châtenay, the château of the poet Nicolas de Malezieu, a gathering point for many other courtiers interested in poetry, music, and good food and drink. After their acquisition of Sceaux in late 1699, the Duc and Duchesse de Maine moved their social activities to this château and its magnificent gardens.[197]

The Duchesse patronized many important poets and musicians. The Abbé Genest had previously served as the preceptor to the king's daughter Mademoiselle de Blois (later the wife of the Duc D'Orléans) and as secretary

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[195]See Dangeau, 23 October 1704; *Mercure Galant*, October 1704, p. 402. The concert was played by a M. Descoteaux, flute; M. Forcroy, viol; M. Vizée, lute; and M. Buterne, harpsichord. Possibly these same four instrumentalists also performed the concert on 11 September. This ensemble performed together as late as 1710. See Sourches, 7 January 1710.

[196]Genest 1712, p. 220-225. Neither Dangeau nor the *Mercure* report this work.

[197]The Duchesse's growing interest in grand *fêtes* culminated in the famous *Divertissements de Sceaux*. See Genest 1712 for the texts of works performed in these *fêtes*. The Duchesse's famous *Grandes Nuits* of 1714 and 1715 entertained her during her sleepless nights.

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to the Duc de Maine, so his association with the circle of artists and noblemen at Sceaux is not unexpected. Delalande's three previous collaborations with Genest makes the composer's entry into this group of artists understandable. Additionally, the Duchesse employed Matho as music director for her *fêtes* and appointed him as her *surintendant de musique* in 1708.[198] The Duchesse also included in her artistic circle several excellent amateur musicians.[199]

The Duchesse also employed many prominent professional musicians and dancers. On 3 August 1703, for example, vocal and instrumental music by Matho was performed by some of the king's best musicians and danced by Opéra stars Pécourt, Balon, Subligny, DuMoulin, and Allard.[200] Another entertainment the following year was performed in an outdoor theater by an orchestra of thirty-five directed by Matho: more than three hundred guests heard singers such as Mesdemoiselles Couperin and Bury sing airs by Genest, followed by a three-act *comédie-ballet* by Malezieu. In spite of the war, musical entertainments on a moderate scale did continue away from the official seat of government.

Apparently the Duc d'Orléans enjoyed the company of the Duchesse de Maine's literary circle.[201] Well-educated in a variety of subjects, he himself composed several music dramas for the court at the beginning of the

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[198]Anthony 1978, p. 150-151. Mouret and Marchand composed much of the music for the *Grands Nuits* of 1714-1715.

[199]Violliers 1939, p. 100. While the Duchesse has been critized by many for her unconventional social habits, she must be given credit for providing an alternative for the creative energies of many artists from the king's music and the Paris stage who might otherwise have been relatively inactive during the final years of Louis' reign.

[200]Genest 1712, p. 166.

[201]D'Orléans was the son of the late Monsieur and Liselotte, and the cousin of the Duc de Maine.

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eighteenth century.[202] D'Orléans's active involvement with music during the last fifteen years of Louis' reign forecasts the resurgence of musical life in Paris during the Regency.

C. SOURCES

No music nor printed text of the performance of the *Ode* survives. Fortunately Genest published the verse in his 1712 edition of the collection *Les Divertissments de Sceaux*, which allows us to evaluate the contents of the works, if not its performance conditions. An overview of the anthology can enlighten us about the *Ode*. Most of the verses are short, occasional in subject matter, and dedicated to the Duchesse de Maine.[203] Many were set to music.[204]

D. CONTENTS

The *Ode* includes many references to France's political situation in 1704. No longer concerned with bucolic shepherds or village peasants like the composer's works of the late 1690's, the *Ode* features the divinities of Sceaux, who invite the muses to celebrate Louis' glory, reminiscent of early works such as *Fontaines* and *Esculape*. However, the reception of the *Ode* must have differed from that of these early works: the 1704 composition could not have

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[202]See the Calendar: Appendix I for 1703, 1704 and 1712 for information about his operas, *Pentée* and *Jérusalem Deliverée*. D'Orléans studied composition with Charpentier.

[203]See Genest 1712, Preface: "La plupart des Ouvrages l'on trouver assemblez ici ne devroient pas vraisemblablement sortir du petit cercle où ils ont été renfermez d'abord. Ce sont de purs amusemens, des jeux inprevus, non pas des compositeurs inédites, et jusqu'aux divertissements qui paroissent le mieux suivis, ce ne sont a vrai du que des espèces d'impromptu, propres seulement pour les occasions qui les ont fait naître."

[204]Regarding the *Quatrième Fête de Châtenay* of August 1704, Genest wrote: "La Musique étoit charmante, expressive, naturelle, composée par M. Mattot qui avoit choisi pour l'exécution tout ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans la Musique du Roi." "Les scènes furent intremelées de Danses --- les Entrées varies par les differents habits des Danseurs --- M. Pécourt les avoient ordonne. M. Ballon, Mademoiselle Subligny, et M. du Moulin s'y surpassant." Genest 1712, p. 169.

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been an effective tool confirming France's might. At most, it probably expressed weak hopes for the power and strength which Louis knew his country could never again achieve.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the scope of the *Ode*. Its performance time was probably short, for according to Dangeau the king asked to hear the *concert* twice between his afternoon walk and dinner. Eight of the verses are for a choir of gods, and presumably the remaining ten sections for unspecified soloists. The opening verse exhorts the muses to celebrate the immortal glory of the most perfect conqueror:[205]

> Chantez, chantez, Vierge scavante...
> Prenez une force nouvelle,
> Pour chantez la gloire immortelle
> Du plus grand des Vainqueurs, du plus parfait des Rois.

Trying to turn every defeat into a victory, the *Ode* describes the French navy under the Comte de Toulouse as victorious in its Atlantic battle with the English. While Genest's text expresses the desire for justice and peace, its tone implies that France can be the controller of such a peace, rather than the grateful receiver:[206]

> C'est la justice qui l'inspire
> C'est à la paix qu'il aspire,
> Jusqu'à ses Ennemis, il veut tout rendre heureux.
> Jaloux Demons, disparoissez, fuyez
> Laissez en pais les Peuples effrayez...

The *Ode* also reinforces the hope for the continuation of the Bourbon dynasty with the birth of Adelaide's first son, the Duc de Bretagne, on 25 June 1704:[207]

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[205]*Ode*: Genest 1712, p. 214

[206]*Ode*: Genest 1712, p. 215

[207]*Ode*: Genest 1712, p. 216

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Pour le bonheur du Monde
Un nouveau Prince est né,
Pour transmettre à jamais ce Régne fortune

Reminiscent of Delalande's *Le Palais de Flore*, the *Ode* concludes by calling on the muses Flore and Zephire to support the good harmonies of this *concert* and sing Louis' praise to the world:[208]

Tendre Flore, jeune Zephire,
Ornez la Terre & parfumez les airs;
Qu'il se délasse, qu'il respire
Malgrè tant de soins divers.

E. PERFORMANCE

The *Ode* must have been much smaller than the outdoor entertainments at Sceaux described above. Indeed, Louis' presence probably dictated that the number of courtiers be restricted.[209] The audience could have included only Madame de Maintenon, the Duchesse de Bourgogne, and possibly the Duc D'Orléans and the Duc and Duchesse de Maine.

The scope of performance of the *Ode* seems to most resemble Delalande's *Esculape*. The surviving text indicates no assignments of singers other than the "Choeur," which feasibly could have consisted of a minimum of four singers who also performed the suggested solo passages. The text does not confirm that the *Ode* included instrumentalists; however, in view of the scoring of Delalande's other *concerts*, probably at least a few instruments,

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[208]*Ode*: Genest 1712, p. 218

[209]The performance was so private that Liselotte, who attended most affairs in these years, but often in the second rank of courtiers, did not go: "The king attended a private concert at Madame de Maintenon's and I amused myself in my rooms by playing backgammon, which I play very badly." Letter of 26 October 1704: D'Orléans 1970, p. 117.

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possibly only continuo and one or two melody instruments, played the *Ode*.[210] The work may have been performed by as few as eight musicians.

The location of Maintenon's apartment at Sceaux during these visits cannot be presently determined. However, knowledge of the exact location of the *Ode* is not essential for an evaluation of the performance. The *concert* appears to be typical of apartment performances, involving no costuming and staging.[211]

While the patrons of the *Ode* may have intended that it support Louis' war effort, as a piece of propaganda the work was probably ineffective, appearing as it did before an aging king suffering poor health and low spirits. Things could only go from bad to worse, as exemplified by the interruption in secular composition by Delalande until 1713.[212] John Wolf sums up the general environment of the period in which the *Ode* was presented:[213]

> In public Louis kept the proud pose of confidence, for he knew that a King must act like a King, but in the apartments of Madame de Maintenon the tears that were to flow so freely in the next few years already coursed down his cheeks. How far would God go in his punishment for the sins and the arrogance of the King.

That Louis attended the performance of the *Ode* during this bitter period of defeat speaks well of his respect for Delalande.

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[210]Such instrumentation could have been supplied by the quartet who performed at Sceaux.

[211]Most apartments in the château at Sceaux appear to have been of comparable size and facilities to apartments in other royal châteaux. Surely a musical entertainment here could have resembled one in Maintenon's apartment at Versailles or Marly.

[212]Anthony 1978, p. 130: "The court divertissements and chapel *Te Deums* designed to commemorate a happy event, a victory or a royal birth had an increasingly hollow ring."

[213]Wolf 1968, p. 543.

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XVI. DIVERTISSEMENT SÛR LA PAIX

A. INTRODUCTION

Delalande's *Divertissement sûr la Paix* of 1713 celebrates the Peace of Utrecht ending the War of the Spanish Succession. *Paix* was performed during a revival of musical entertainment during the final two years of Louis' reign. Commissioned by the Duc de Noailles, *Paix* played at Marly in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon on three evenings during the summer of 1713: on 14 July the first half only, on 15 July the second half, and on 19 July the entire work. *Paix* probably was presented before a small audience which included the king. Reminiscent of musical works decades earlier, the *Divertissement* is Delalande's final celebration of the *gloire* of Louis XIV, commemorating the peace for which Louis prayed might end his reign.

The surviving primary and secondary sources of the work permit a reconstruction of its contents and performance conditions. While referred to variously as the **Ballet** *de la Paix*, the **Divertissement** *sûr la Paix*, and the **Idylle** *de la Paix*, the work probably consisted of vocal and instrumental music but no dance. I have used the second of these titles, since it seems most indicative of the contents.[214] The only cited collaborator is the author the Baron de Longepierre.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

Louis visited Marly from 14 July to 30 August, after which he spent six weeks in Fontainebleau. In these months he came to the realization that his end was near, but also found a quiet satisfaction in knowing that he had managed to leave his country in peace, if not prosperity. France's disastrous defeats in the War of the Spanish Succession, coupled with internal strife

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[214]The four sections of the work are called *entrées* in the vocal score. This term should not be taken as an indication of dancing: the work certainly included only vocal and instrumental music. The reason for Philidor's use of *entrée* is unclear.

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caused by extreme cold weather and famine at the end of the first decade of the century, marked the low point of his reign. In 1711 and 1712 the sudden deaths of several members of the king's immediate family, including Monseigneur and the Duc and Duchesse de Bourgogne, added to his defeated spirit and made peace even more compelling in order to insure the continuation of the Bourbon dynasty.

The death of the Emperor Joseph of smallpox in 1711, coupled with French military victories at Denain and Douai in 1712, finally shifted the balance of power toward France. Seeing an opportunity to emerge from the war without most of the losses threatened in 1710, Louis began peace negotiations at Utrecht in 1712 and by the following summer reached an accord with most of his former enemies, including the leaders of Savoy and Portugal.[215] Final treaties with the Emperor in 1714 officially ended the war, from which Louis emerged neither a winner nor a loser: he gave up several territories around the world, but Bourbons remained on the thrones of France and Spain.[216]

During the war, theatrical entertainments and *appartements* at court were diminished drastically. For example, excerpts from operas were performed only three times between 1705 and 1715, and these were in concert version.[217] Other occasions for music included only a few private balls in apartments,

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[215]According to Dangeau, news of the Utrecht peace reached Marly on 14 July, the day of the first performance of Delalande's *Paix*.

[216]See Wolf 1968, Chapter 33. As a result of the peace, England claimed Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Gibraltar, while France kept her pre-war frontiers intact. Louis was obliged to recognize the Protestant successor to the England throne and to establish trade agreements with the English. The Duc de Savoy regained control of Savoy and Nice, and the Netherlands went to the Emperor. Louis agreed that the French and Spanish crowns would remain forever separate.

[217]See 9 and 10 January 1710, *Atys*; 17 February 1712, Marais's *Alcyone*; and 17 August 1713, another playing of music from *Atys*.

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comedies with three or four musicians, and unidentified occasional music. These activities were especially infrequent between 1709 and 1711.

Maintenon played an important role in affairs of state and art during and after the war.[218] The diarists frequently mention that Louis conducted business, ate meals, and enjoyed social entertainments in her apartments. While apartment entertaining meant performances of limited scope, these private locations probably encouraged Louis to attend social events in them more frequently than he would have in public settings.

While the peace signaled a more active schedule of music, performances continued on the small scale typical of the war years. At Marly in 1713, for example, Dangeau reported nine unspecified occurrences of "grande musique" and two of "petite musique" in Maintenon's apartment, plus two comedies.[219] The only presentations of larger proportions in 1713 seem to be Delalande's *Paix* and the prologue and first act of *Atys*.[220]

C. COLLABORATORS

The Baron de Longepierre's contribution to *Divertissement sûr la Paix* has not been evaluated, and the work is not cited in bibliographies of his works. However, in view of the many references to him in contemporary

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[218]See Wolf 1968, p. 599-603.

[219]Dangeau distinguishes between "grande" and "petite" musical events, but nevers explains the difference. Such designations probably refer to the scale of performance, including length, numbers of performers, and genre of music.

Le Grondeur played on 2 and 11 August, and on 25 August *Le Medécin forcé*. Nearly all comedies at court for the remainder of the reign included at least two or three instrumentalists.

[220]Dangeau reported that the Lully opera pleased Louis, since he knew the work quite well. No musical productions are mentioned on the Fontainebleau visit in 1713. Instead, during the forty days there, the Comédie-Française presented sixteen plays, and twenty-two more at Versailles during the remainder of 1713. The king attended only comedies performed by his musicians in Maintenon's apartments. See Dangeau, 4 September 1713.

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reports on the entertainment, his authorship of the verse is without question. Additionally, his long association with the royal family made him a logical choice to write a work in celebration of the peace. His collaboration with the Duc d'Orléans on *Jérusalem delivrée* and his probable acquaintance with the Duc de Noailles probably served as the direct catalyst for his contribution to *Paix*.[221]

Longepierre could have written the verse for *Paix* anytime during the year or two before the performances, since peace seemed more and more certain during that time and also since *Paix's* text includes no references to specific military affairs. In view of the diverse subject matter in the four *entrées*, Longepierre may have pieced together several shorter works to create the *divertissement*.

The absence of reports about other collaborators supports our hypothesis that the *concert* included no dance, costumes, or scenery.

D. SOURCES

Music: The instrumental and vocal music of *Paix* is preserved in two separate collections.[222] The vocal music appears in a manuscript by André Danican Philidor (Pn Ms 9354). This manuscript's 110 pages testify in part to the great length of the work, as mentioned by Saint-Simon and Dangeau. The title page of this manuscript calls the work **Divertissement** *sûr la Paix*, although one annotation in it also refers to the **Ballet** *de la Paix*. The reasons for the

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[221]Although we have no documentation of D'Orléans involvement with *Paix*, his influence on artistic matters at court at the end of Louis' reign seems certain. To write for the king would have been desiable for Longepierre, whose work had until that time received only moderate recognition. Additionally, Longepierre had personal connections with D'Orléans, serving as his *gentilhomme ordinare*. See Parfaict, vol. XV, p. 324.

[222]See also *L'Inconnu* for separate collections of vocal and instrumental music by Delalande. Other of Delalande's works may have originally been preserved according to this two-part system, but vocal portions may not have survived as often as the more commonly performed instrumental airs did.

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copying of the manuscript are unclear. Presumably the score includes all the vocal music from the *divertissement*. The manuscript is not as elegant as are Philidor's scores of *Fontaines, Esculape,* and *Jeunesse*: the short score of *Paix* usually indicates only the voice part and bass lines of the solo airs, and the treble and bass of the full choruses. The many cross-outs speak against its destination as a presentation copy for the king's library, and the occasional missing bass line precludes its use as a performing score.

Fifteen airs from the *Divertissement* appear in two versions of the Supper Symphonies. Three of these include text and are duplicated in the Philidor manuscript of vocal airs, and two others without text also appear in the Philidor collection. While only fifteen movements are included in Rés. 581, annotations in that manuscript indicate that the work originally included at least twenty-four airs. Only the "Ouverture" was borrowed, from the fourth Supper Suite in Rés. 582.[223] Rés. 581 repeatedly names the work Ballet *de la Paix.*

The listing of *Paix* in the *Table Générale* of Rés. 581 as the eleventh of the twelve original Supper Symphonies offers conclusive evidence of the compilation of a second version of this anthology sometime after 1713 but before the expended version of 1722-26.[224] This suite also differs from the others in Rés. 581 in that it contains a greater percentage of vocal movements and more movements in what is apparently their complete, original score.[225]

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[223]This overture was reworked for *Les Folies de Cardenio.* This movement seems to be the first case of Delalande's borrowing music not previously used in another stage work.

[224]See the **Overview of Works. Primary Sources: 2. D.** While the music from *Paix* is labeled in the index as the eleventh suite, the pagination in that missing source places it after the movements listed in the twelfth suite.

[225]Several instrumental airs are in three parts, and most of the texted movements include at least one obbligato instrumental line.

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Text: A manuscript outline of the contents *Paix* survives.[226] This document assists in the reconstruction of the work since it includes a list of the vocal airs and the characters who performed each, plus the placement of the instrumental airs. Apparently no printed text of the *Divertissement* was prepared.

E. CONTENTS

Divertissement sûr la Paix celebrates Louis and peace. The work combines subject matter reminiscent of Delalande's early and middle periods: mythological figures such as Apollo, allegorical characters such as La Paix, and shepherds and shepherdesses. In organization and method of performance, *Paix* resembles *Les Fontaines de Versailles* and *L'Esculape.* While expressing hope for immortality for the aged monarch, the work also reminds us that Louis' days are numbered.

Topically and tonally, *Paix* is less organic than Delalande's earlier *concerts.* While the theme of peace through victory pervades the entire work, each *entrée* features a different cast of characters, with no continuous dramatic development from *entrée* to *entrée.*[227] Also, the work does not reveal any tonal organization: the first *entrée* is in D major-minor, the second in A and E major-minor, the third in G major-minor, and the fourth in B-flat major, through G minor, and D major. The organization of each *entrée* is more typical of Delalande's *concerts* than of his *ballets.* Solo airs, extended recitatives, and choruses dominate, with instrumental movements probably serving as interlude music, not as accompaniment for dancing.

The "Ouverture" is in the usual two-section format, in five voices. This
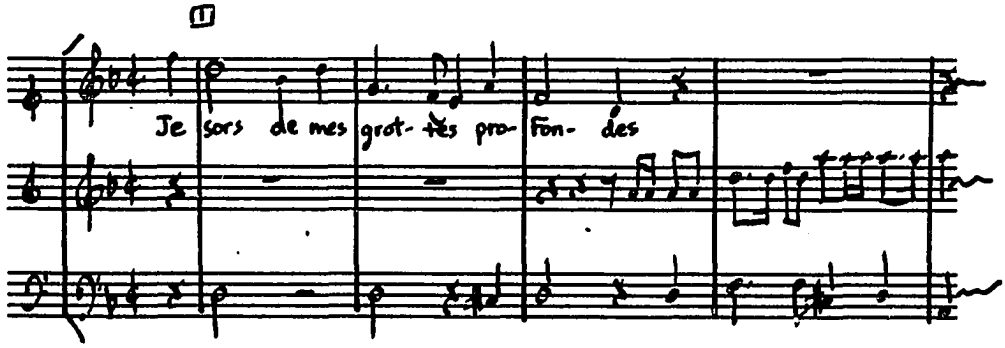
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[226]This is the only such outline of one of Delalande's works which I have located thus far. See the Catalogue Raisonné for a citation.

[227]Such organization resembles the *opéra-ballet,* a genre to which Delalande contributed only once, in *Les Elémens.*

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is the only movement in the *divertissement* which Delalande borrowed: its presence in the fourth Supper Suite of Rés. 582 indicates that it was composed before 1703.

The first *entrée* features La Nymphe de la Seine supported by a choir of shepherds and shepherdesses. The nymph emerges from her subterranean grotto declaring the theme of the entertainment, the return of peace and victory to France. The unspecified instrumental accompaniment enhances the fanfare-like character of the air.[228]
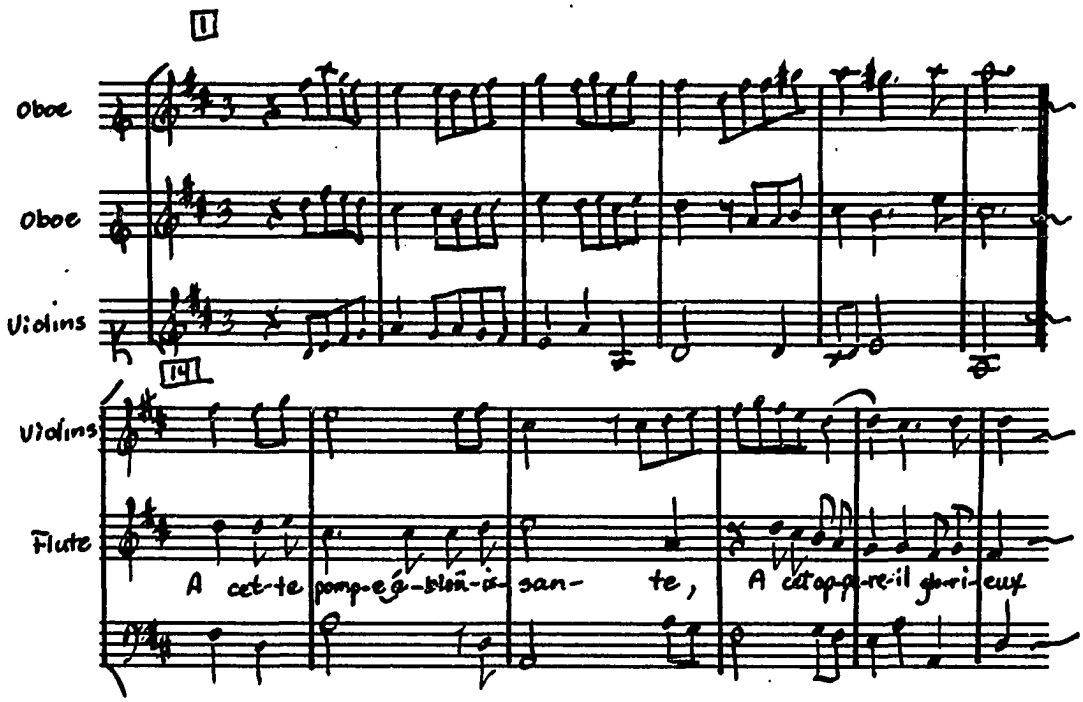


Example 16-1: *Divertissement sûr la Paix*: *Entrée* I "Je sors de mes grottes profondes," m. 1-5; Pn Ms. 9354, p. 1

"A cette pompe éblouissante," the nymph's second solo, appeared in both the Philidor manuscript and Rés. 581 and illustrates how airs in the Philidor manuscript might have been more fully scored. In Ms 9354 the song appears as a twenty-nine-measure bipartite movement for voice and bassline; in Rés. 581 the movement includes an additional thirteen-measure introductory symphony for two oboes and continuo, plus an obbligato violin part which accompanies the vocal line.

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[228]This is the only air in Ms 9354 to include an obbligato instrumental part.

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Example 16-2: *Divertissement sur la Paix*: *Entrée* I
"A cette pompe éblouisante," m. 1-6, 14-18;
Rés. 581: II, 79 (voice and bass also in Pn Ms. 9354, p. 4)

Apparently an "Air de violon" indicated in the manuscript outline of the work after this vocal air does not appear in Rés. 581, supporting the suggestion that the movements included in Rés. 581 do not represent the total instrumental music from *Paix*. An instrumental air such as this probably functioned as interlude music, not as accompaniment for dancing. The nymph and the shepherd chorus conclude the *entrée* calling for a victory celebration.

In the second *entrée* La Victoire joins the nymph and shepherds to continue the declaration of France's peace. Four instrumental airs divide the *entrée* into sections. In the first, the nymph welcomes La Victoire, who has not been seen for a long time, after which a gentle "Sarabande" confirms the peace which victory has brought. La Victoire reiterates in recitative that it was Louis who persuaded the gods of battle to abandon their weapons. The nymph and choir offer additional encouragement for celebration:[229]

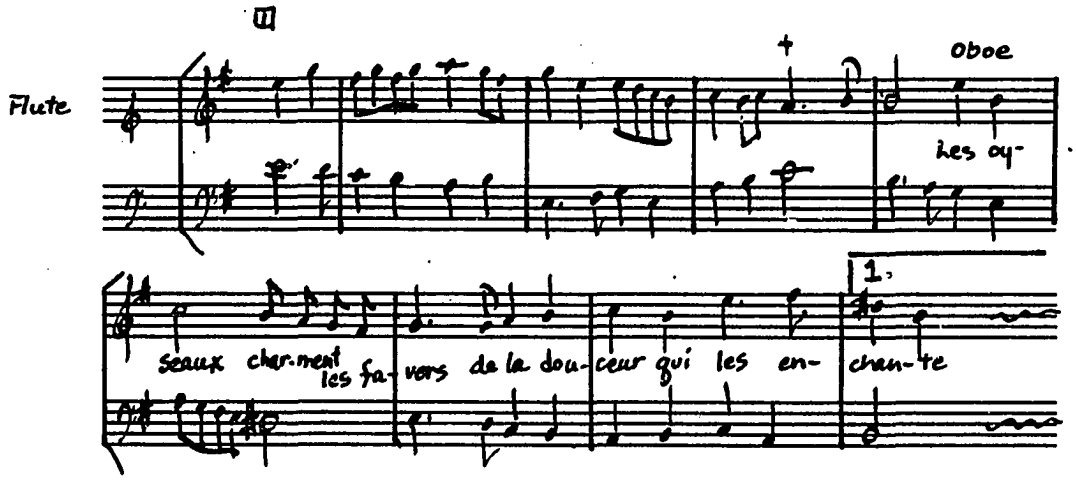
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[229]*Divertissement sûr la Paix*: *Entrée* II: Choir: "Chantons, célébrons; "Pn Ms. 9354, p. 29

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Chantons, célébrons tant de gloire
Qu'il règne triomphe heureux.
Consacrons l'auguste mémoire
D'un nom si digne de nos voeux.

A second instrumental air enhances the festive mood, after which La Victoire, again supported by the choir, asserts that Louis did not seek peace for himself but for the welfare of his people. After the third instrumental air, an "Air léger," the key changes to E major-minor. The nymph's air "Les oyseaux charmant les forests" offers hopes that peace will continue, so that birds may sing and all nature be restored. The recurrence of this air in Rés. 581 and Ms. Pn 9354 again illustrates the variety of orchestration in the *divertissement* not indicated through the Philidor score alone. The eleven-measure air for voice and bass in the Philidor source is expanded to nineteen measures in Rés. 581 through the addition of an introduction, an interlude, and a postlude for flute, which provide an obbligato accompaniment to the vocal passages. The Supper score also indicates that the voice is doubled by oboe, possibly used as a pastoral symbol.

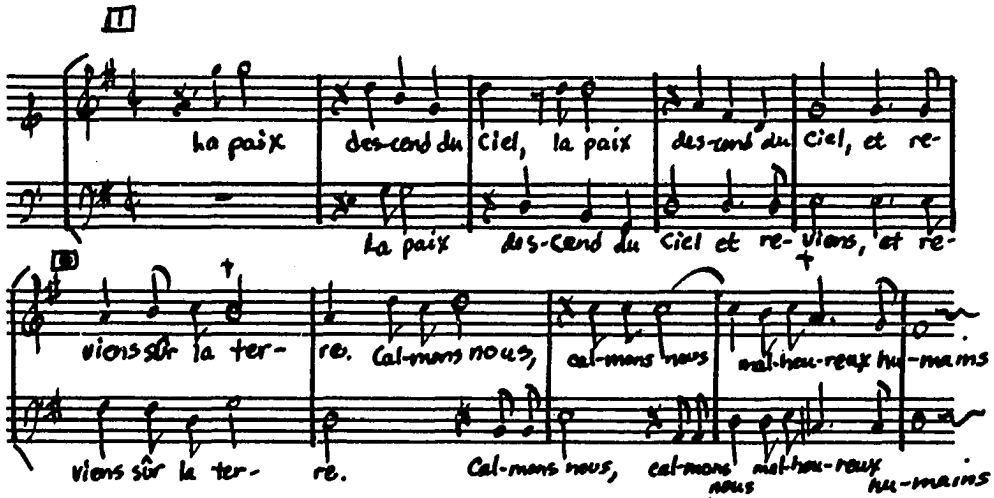


Example 16-3: *Divertissement sûr la Paix*: *Entrée* II
"Les Oyseaux," m. 1-8; Rés. 581: II, 26; (also Ms 9354, p 48)

The third *entrée* is the shortest and also the most tentatively reconstructed. A new character, La Paix, sings the four solo airs in this scene.

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Choral movements following the second and fourth reiterate the need for her to remain in this land. The music of the first air graphically depicts La Paix's announcement that she has just descended from the heavens, and that she can calm the thunder of the world, sentiments then repeated by the choir:



Example 16-4: *Divertissement sûr la Paix*: *Entrée* III
"La Paix descend," m. 1-10; Pn Ms. 9354, p. 46

La Paix again emphasizes that Louis has sought what is good for his people. The concluding choir expresses hope that Louis will live forever, its final words echoed many times over:[230]

> Que tout s'empresse pour luy plaire,
> Que rien n'ose troubler ses regards.
> Satisfaits au bonheur de la France encore si nécessaire,
> S'il se peut au bonheur de la France,
> S'il se peut qu'il vive à jamais.

The *entrée* probably concluded with two instrumental airs, a triple-meter "Vif" and a "Gigue," confirming the positive mood established by the peace.

The last *entrée* is the longest, the most musically varied, the least organically constructed, and the least related to the previous three sections of the *concert*.[231] In addition to the return of Apollo and La Paix, the *entrée*

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[230]*Divertissement sûr la Paix*, *Entrée* II, Ms. 9354, p. 53

[231]Possibly this *entrée* alone was heard by Louis on the second evening of performance.

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features the muses Melpomene, Clio, Polymnie, and Thalie, plus a choir of muses. Their praise of Louis commends him for the recent peace. La Paix's opening vocal air, "Mais quelle aimable melodie," signals the arrival of Apollo, and follows the pattern of previously cited airs duplicated in Rés. 581 and the Philidor manuscript, with orchestration in the Supper manuscript not found in the vocal collection. Instrumental passages for strings and two flutes include the forty-measure introduction, three interludes, and a five-measure closing, extending the twenty-one-measure vocal version to a lengthy fifty-eight measures in the Supper collection. According to Rés. 581, either a bassoon or a solo violin could double the voice.

La Paix's solo was probably followed by the "Air Grave," entrance music for Apollo, the first bass soloist in the work. Apollo's first solo offers hommage to Louis through a series of metaphors:[232]

> Je viens à ce héros comme vous
> Rendre hommage prodiguous pour luy nos trésors....
>
> Père de la Nature,
> Ame de l'Univers,
> Oeil du Ciel,
> Ornement du monde...

In G minor, Apollo and the choir of muses continue their hommage to Louis, who stands for justice and honor, and who is revered the world over. The muses Polymnie, Melpomene, and Clio then vie through recitative to be recognized as the one most representative Louis' attributes, inspiring as he does the laws, the arts, the virtues, and the pleasures. Apollo again reminds everyone to join in this *concert* to the king, after which the choir sings an extended hommage to Louis, which is concluded by the last instrumental "Air" of the work. Apollo, Thalie, and the choir present the finale of the *concert*, yet another reiteration that Louis will reign in their hearts forever.

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[232] *Divertissement sûr la Paix*: *Entrée* IV; Pn Ms. 9354, p. 59, 66.

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A son bonheur que tout conspire
De nos dons pour luy plaire assemblons les douceurs,
Qu'il règne encore longtems sur cet heureux Empire,
Qu'il règne à jamais dans les coeurs

F. PERFORMANCE

The private setting for *Paix* probably accounts for the lack of documentation about its scope of performance. The surviving music offers a general picture of the number of performers, and accounts in diaries provide some idea about the rehearsal schedule. However, the absence of a printed text and financial records leaves us with no specific information about names and numbers of performers.

Dangeau, Saint-Simon, and Sourches all indicate that the musical portions of many comedies held in Maintenon's apartments were performed by the king's musicians, who may also have played for *Paix*.[233] Annotations in musical sources offer some impression of the number of singers and instrumentalists required for the work. Assuming that a different singer was used for each role within any one *entrée*, vocalists must have numbered at least eight (six women and two men), required in the fourth and largest *entrée* of the *divertissement*. If these soloists did not double choral parts, a minimum of four additional singers was needed. Rés. 581 indicates an instrumentation of five-part strings, two oboes, two flutes, at least one bassoon, and continuo: a minimum of eleven instrumentalists. However, in view of the private conditions of the performance, the ensemble actually employed may have been smaller, possibly more like the quartet of flute, viol, lute, and harpsichord which may have played for Delalande's *Ode* in 1704.[234] The maximum ideal number of performers in *Paix* may have approximated twenty-

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[233]For example, see Dangeau 11 and 25 August and 4 September, 1713.

[234]See the **Ode. Performance: 4. XV. E.** Performances by that quartet are documented as late as 1710.

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seven, while the actual number probably was closer to twelve.

The audience for *Paix* must have been quite limited, especially in view of Louis' practice of meeting with only his most intimate associates in Maintenon's apartment. Dangeau observed that for one comedy performance in her chamber no one but Maintenon, her ladies, and the king was admitted. The audience may have been similar for *Paix*.[235]

The scope of *Paix* was also limited by the size of Maintenon's apartment at Marly, which has been discussed in the essay on *Hymen Champestre*. Such an apartment setting strengthens our suggestion that *Paix* included no dance. By 1713 the *surintendant's* secular music had come full circle, returning to the small scope and private reception of his earliest productions. The court and the composer would have to wait for the regency of the Duc d'Orléans for a resumption of musical entertainments on the grand scale known during happier periods of France's history.

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[235]Dangeau, 4 September 1713. By contrast, according to Dangeau, a procession around the canals at Fontainebleau on 20 September 1713 included more than one hundred carriages carrying all the most prominent courtiers, ambassadors, and ministers. This was observed by a huge crowd of spectators. See also the *Mercure Galant*, October 1713, p. 219-222. Neither Dangeau nor the *Mercure* mentions the purpose of this calvacade, but it probably honored the peace.

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CHAPTER 5: LATE WORKS: 1715-1726

XVII. L'INCONNU

A. INTRODUCTION

Delalande's *L'Inconnu* marks both a revival of the old and a beginning of new musical-theatrical activity in the court. Presented five times between 8 and 24 February 1720 in a temporary theater erected in the antechamber to the king's apartment in the Tuileries palace, *L'Inconnu* is Delalande's first work of the late period of composition, during the Regency of Louis XV. This was the shortest phase of the composer's career, but in many ways the most active and the one which brought him the most enduring recognition from the court and the public. Not since *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* and *Le Palais de Flore* of the 1680's had he participated in *ballets* such as *L'Inconnu* and not since the end of the previous century, with *Mirtil et Mélicerte* and *La Comédie des Fées,* had he worked with comedians of the Comédie-Française. The artistic and political importance of this and other Regency works by Delalande drew much attention from contemporary observers and modern historians: therefore, today we may study the contents and performance conditions of all three late *ballets* in much detail.

L'Inconnu signals a look backward at the *ballet de cour*, as well as a revitalization of this popular genre of the past. The *ballet* recalls the political motives behind many court *spectacles* under Louis XIV: the Duc de Villeroy, Louis XV's governor, sponsored the production in part to promote the image, power, and talent of the young king, who was to be viewed literally and symbolically as following in the footsteps of his great-grandfather.[1] The production also marked the return of courtiers and professionals to the dancing stage to celebrate the debut of Louis XV in a dancing role. *L'Inconnu's* subject

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[1]Saint-Simon maintained that Villeroy forced the *ballet* on the court. The diarist criticized the quality of the performance. See Saint-Simon vol. XXXVII, p. 133.

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matter of love, youth, and a village wedding reflects the redirected spirit of the Regency court away from military entanglements towards the arts and social entertainments. The many rehearsals and the large financial expenditure for the *ballet* likewise indicate a rejuvenation of the musical establishment. The choice of Delalande to compose the music for *L'Inconnu* points out the respect which the aging *surintendant* continued to enjoy in the court of Philippe D'Orléans and Louis XV.

Delalande's collaborators also recall the past and signal the future. Florent Dancourt, librettist of *Jeunesse* and *Fées*, wrote the 1720 version of the play and *intermèdes*, and the Bérain workshop apparently again provided the sets and costumes. On the other hand, the work was the first of three of Delalande's productions choreographed by Jean Balon, who had danced in the composer's *ballets* since the 1680's. The contributions of music from André Destouches and Jean-Féry Rebel forecast Delalande's eventual passing of the *surintendant's* baton to these colleagues.

L'Inconnu resembles *Mirtil et Mélicerte* and *Fées* in that Delalande again composed music for new *intermèdes* accompanying an old play. The original *L'Inconnu* was written in 1675 by Thomas Corneille and Donneau de Visé, with music by Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Delalande's 1720 *intermèdes* stressed dance and vocal music over the mechanical effects and scenery important to the original production. While the instrumental music in the *ballet* shows little evidence of evolution in compositional style over Delalande's early- and middle-period works, *L'Inconnu's* vocal airs are among some of the composer's most complex and virtuosic music for the stage.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

The death of Louis XIV in 1715 meant profound changes for France. Even though Louis had reigned as the most powerful of absolute monarchs,

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after his death most Frenchmen quickly dismissed him from memory.[2] If Louis XIV was remembered at all during the Regency, it was as the young king of the 1660's and 1670's, not as the weary, defeated septuagenarian whose court had nearly ground to a halt during the last fifteen years of his reign.

Louis XV was only five when his great-grandfather died. Consequently, France was ruled by Philippe d'Orléans, son of Louis XIV's brother, until Louis gained his majority in February, 1723. The final phase of Delalande's career coincided with Philippe's reign.

Historians disagree widely in their evaluation of Philippe. His reputation as a leader has been tarnished by his notorious life style, yet his accomplishments were significant, if not in terms of concrete results, at least in their impact on French life for the remainder of the century.[3] Philippe managed to maintain peace with neighboring countries during his rule: France entered a Triple Alliance with England and Holland in 1717 and a Quadruple Alliance with England, Savoy, and the Holy Roman Empire in 1718.[4] Heavily in debt after Louis' wars, France under the Regent inaugurated several new financial policies instigated by the Scotsman John Law. These reforms

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[2]Perkins 1920, p. 324: "The monarchical feeling was strong among the French, but it extended only to living sovereigns. It was the personal embodiment of royalty for which the people entertained respect and affection. No nation showed less regard for its rulers when the breath was out of their bodies. To this Louis XIV was no exception."

[3]An old-fashioned and rather negative view of the Regent is voiced by James Perkins, who wrote that the Regency was "a period whose importance in French history was out of proportion to the few years which it lasted and to the paucity of actual results which were then accomplished." See Perkins 1920, p. 569.

[4]Shennan 1979, p. 74: "By substituting for the policy of polarized alliances one of collective security, he effectively insulated the danger points which the Utrecht settlement had left exposed. Nor could there be any doubt that France needed a period of peace after the prolonged, financially exhausting and increasingly unpopular wars of Louis XIV's reign. She (France) had everything to gain and nothing to lose by a pacific policy."

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initially kept more money in circulation and encouraged exploration in the New World.[5]

Philippe also contributed to the arts and sciences: he was learned in chemistry and had an impeccable literary taste; he studied music with Charpentier for several years and composed several operas and texts for cantatas; and he learned painting from Noel Coypel, court artist and father of the author of Delalande's *Les Folies de Cardenio.*[6] Philippe chose to live not in bucolic Versailles but in bustling Paris, a city which prospered by the return of the court, so that it never again relinquished its artistic prominence to Versailles. Symptomatic of this activity during the Regency, public balls were begun at both the Opéra and the Comédie-Française, and public concerts inaugurating the Concerts Spirituels started in 1725, moving Paris' cultural life further and further away from the control of the monarch.

As part of the artistic revival of the city, Philippe's government used the production of four *ballets* at court --- *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* of 1718, *L'Inconnu* of 1719-20, *Les Folies des Cardenio* of 1720-21, and *Les Elémens* of 1721-22 --- in part as a means of displaying Louis XV to the court and the city. The termination of such *ballets* after *Les Elémens* when Louis refused to dance in any more productions indicates how the young king's tastes in art differed from his great-grandfather's and also how such *spectacles*, while helpful as political propoganda on one level, were largely controlled by the desires of the reigning monarch. These four *ballets* allowed for a temporary resurgence of artistic and social activity at court the likes of which had not

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[5]The Law system eventually proved unsuccessful. Speculation ran wild as instability struck.

[6]Shennan 1979, p. 16: "There is little in common between the debauched monster of contemporary myth and the amicable pleasure-loving man who inspired it." See also Perkin 1920, p. 556: "...the influence of scientific and economical investigation during the century was as important as that of pure literature, and such studies received a new impetus under the Regent."

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been known for decades. Each *ballet* appeared between two and ten times. *Les Elémens* also enjoyed a prosperous life at the Paris Opéra throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century.[7]

The small number of musical-theatrical events which actually occurred at court during the Regency seems to counter my assertion of reawakened musical life in France. This discrepancy can be explained in two ways. First, because of the court's proximity to several Paris theaters, fewer performances specifically for court were needed, since most courtiers could easily attend public events. Those productions which did appear at court were concerned with entertaining the young king, who naturally was more eager to see marionette shows and sword swallowers than the newest *tragédie lyrique*. Second, the special status accorded the four *ballets* cited above required the concentration of resources and preparation time on these events, often to the exclusion of all but a few comedy performances at court itself.[8] Certainly the five *répétitions générales* of *L'Inconnu* plus the many rehearsals for the courtiers during the winter of 1719-20 must have been one of the principal means of entertaining the courtiers participating in the *ballet* .

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[7]The music for *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* was composed by Hilaire Alarius and Jean-Baptiste Matho. Its text was by a M. Beauchamp (not the choreographer), and its choreogaphy by Jean Balon. (Dangeau, 16 February 1718, reported that Balon, in his new post as choreographer, no longer danced at the Opéra.) No courtiers danced in *Jeunesse*, probably because Louis was not ready for such a performance. Instead, dancers were from the Opéra. Singers included prominent court musicians. The *ballet* comprised four *entrées* and featured La Jeunesse, La Sagesse, and La Folie, as well as shepherds and shepherdesses, recalling Delalande's *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* of thirty-two years earlier. The site of performance in the Tuileries palace of the 1718 *Jeunesse* is not specified.

[8]For example, during the winter of 1719-20 only three theater productions other than *L'Inconnu* are reported: comedies *Crispin Medécin* and *Le Mariage Forcé* appeared in the antechamber to the king's apartment, the same site used for *L'Inconnu*; a new tragedy, *Artemire*, by Arrouet, was presented on Louis' birthday, 15 February, and on the 28th of the month.

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C. HISTORY OF THE PLAY L'INCONNU

L'Inconnu's success in the public theater and its adaptability for large-scale *spectacle* made it an appropriate choice for the dancing debut of Louis XV. The original *L'Inconnu* was one of three machine plays by Thomas Corneille and Donneau de Visé, who later became editors of the *Mercure Galant*.[9] This version included songs and dances within each act, to music by Charpentier.[10] The play premiered on 17 November 1675 by the Troupe de Guenegaud and was so successful that it saw thirty-five performances by June, 1676.[11]

Dancourt revised *L'Inconnu* for the Comédie-Française sometime before

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[9]Thomas was the son of Pierre Corneille. In addition to several other comedies, he also wrote the text for three operas, *Psyché* and *Bellérophon* by Lully and *Medée* by Charpentier. Apparently de Visé drew up the outline of the play and Corneille set it to verse and wrote the *divertissements*. See Reynier 1892, p. 51. Lancaster sees the machine play as the answer to the need for spectacle lacking in the tragedy. The machine play was eventually surpassed by opera.

[10]According to Lancaster, the original play included music in the following scenes: Act I, Sc. 7; Act II, Sc. 8; Act III, Sc 6; Act IV, Sc 6; and Act V, Sc. 3 & 4. Charpentier's music for the original production is lost. Only a borrowed overture and a suite of eleven airs for a 1679 revival survive. See Hitchcock 1982, p. 371, 374. According to Reynier, the Comédie surpassed its legal rights in these *divertissements* by using more dancers and singers than agreed to in the contract with Lully. Nevertheless, the exact scope of performance of these original *intermèdes* is still unclear. See Reynier 1892, p. 51.

[11]Lancaster 1942, vol. IV, p. 915. The play remained in the repertoire of the Comédie-Française for nearly a century. Lancaster estimates that it appeared twenty-three times in 1703 and fifty-six times between 1704 and 1715, and Reynier reports revivals in 1677, 1679, 1680, 1703, 1704, 1722, 1728, and 1746. Presumably all the productions after 1703 included the Dancourt additions. See Reynier 1892, p. 52.

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1703.[12] He left the plot essentially intact but updated the prologue by introducing some of the current actors of the Comédie-Française as characters. He also retained the subject matter of each of the five original *intermèdes* except for the last, for which he substituted a village wedding in place of the original play-within-the-play on the subject of Psyché. Similar to his earlier productions with extended music, such as *La Comédie des Fées*, Dancourt placed the music of *L'Inconnu* between the acts of the play and eliminated the reliance on costly machinery by emphasizing the music over scenic effects.

Apparently it was this 1703 revision of the play which appeared with Delalande's *ballet*. The text of the new musical *intermèdes* for the 1720 performance was probably also written by Dancourt. This production, even moreso than that in 1703, emphasized the musical *intermèdes*, which featured expanded vocal airs and dancing by the young courtiers. This third version of the productions was performed five times during Carnival, on February 7, 10, 17, 21, and 24, and was never revived.[13] Preparations for the *ballet* were extensive: the training of the young dancers, especially Louis, required numerous rehearsals.[14] To complicate matters, many courtiers who rehearsed the *ballet* could not dance in the performances because they contracted

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[12]Additionally, during the first years of the eighteenth century Dancourt revised two other visually-oriented plays, Corneille's *Circé* and Molière's *Les Amants Magnifiques*. Spectacle and music became an important component of Dancourt's work during the early eighteenth century. Nearly twenty-five of his plays from this period include music, much of it composed by Claude Gilliers (1667-1737), who contributed music to a total of more than seventy productions, and who also played bass for the Comédie for over thirty years. His music to *L'Inconnu* was published by Ballard in *Recueils d'Airs Sérieux et à Boire* in October, 1703. See Pn Vm^{7}536j, p. 182-204. See also Parfaict 1748, vol. XIV, p. 308-311, for comment on the play.

[13]Maupoint 1733 and Leris 1754 indicate a second performance date, in 1728, for which there is no other documentation.

[14]Dangeau reports a rehearsal as early as 7 December and in January the *Mercure* indicates that the king practiced nearly every day.

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measles at the end of January.[15]

D. SOURCES

The sources of *L'Inconnu* are among the most completely preserved of Delalande's stage works, and contemporary secondary accounts among the most numerous and detailed.[16] *L'Inconnu* was the first music from Delalande's stage works to be printed. Ballard published the vocal and instrumental music separately, in short score.[17] The relatively large number of copies of this printing probably accounts for the many sources surviving today.[18] Each publication includes enough annotations about the other to enable one to reconstruct the entire *ballet*. Surprisingly, neither publication credits Delalande as the composer, but in view of the recurrence of the instrumental airs in the Supper Symphonies and the many secondary acknowledgements of his contribution to the production, there can be no doubt of Delalande's authorship of this music.

Ballard's edition of the vocal music includes eight airs. These seem to

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[15]See Dangeu, 30 January 1720; Saint-Simon, vol. XXXVII, p. 132-134, and the *Mercure Nouveau*, February 1720, p. 182. Liselotte also reported the measles epidemic and attributed it to the bad Paris air, which permitted the proliferation of numerous other infectious diseases. See D'Orléans 1970, 28 January 1720. She worried that Louis might catch the disease during the rehearsals.

[16]This proliferation of sources has certainly influenced our acquaintance with the *ballet* in the twentieth century and consequently our perception of Delalande as a composer of secular music for the court.

[17]Separate arrangements of the vocal and instrumental music was typical of many eighteenth-century prints and indexes of stage works, as for Delalande's *Le Divertissement sûr la Paix*.

[18]Archival accounts indicate that Ballard printed one thousand copies of the vocal airs and five hundred fifty copies of the violin airs. How this music may have been used and by whom is difficult to evaluate, but the large run may indicate something about the size of the audience during the five performances. Both the vocal and instrumental airs include two- and three-voice scoring, as found in the Supper Symphonies and in other publications of stage music in the early eighteenth century.

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be the only vocal music in the *ballet*: no additional text, which might have been set in recitative style as in several other of Delalande's works, appears in this edition. Instead, these eight airs may have been performed within the context of the spoken dialogue in the *intermèdes*.[19] The many surviving copies of this vocal publication contain no variants, reflecting the absence of changes to *L'Inconnu* during its five performances at court, in contrast with *Cardenio*, which was modified twice for its ten appearances the following year. The Ballard edition of the vocal music also includes stage directions and the names and roles of the performers.

This edition of the vocal airs probably provided information for several summaries of *L'Inconnu* published during the eighteenth century. The earliest of these appeared in the *Nouveau Mercure* in February, 1720, making *L'Inconnu* the first of Delalande's stage works to command extensive coverage in the journal since *Le Palais de Flore*.[20] Later critics such as Parfaict and Beauchamps probably relied on both the *Mercure* and the Ballard publication for their lengthy reports about the *ballet*.

Ballard's edition of the forty violin airs probably comprises the complete instrumental music of the *ballet*.[21] The movements by Delalande and Jean-Féry Rebel included in the Supper Symphonies were probably copied

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[19]No separate publication of the text of the play or of the *intermèdes* was produced in 1720, probably because the work already existed in several earlier editions.

[20]In 1714 the *Mercure Galant* changed its name to the *Nouveau Mercure Galant* and in 1717 to the *Nouveau Mercure*.

[21]This edition includes five airs borrowed from Destouches' *La Carnival et la Folie*.

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directly from this publication.[22] Additionally, most of the annotations in this publication, such as the names of dancers or the directions for performance, are reproduced in Rés. 581, making *L'Inconnu's* among the most completely annotated music in the Supper anthology.

In spite of the popularity and accessibility of music from *L'Inconnu*, apparently no excerpts recur in other collections of *simphonies* and dance music of the period.[23]

E. ORGANIZATION OF MUSIC AND TEXT

The organization of *L'Inconnu* in some ways resembles court *ballets* of the mid-seventeenth century, but its musical and dance vocabulary is characteristic of stage works of the early eighteenth.[24] The subject matter of the 1720 *entrées* parallels those in the 1675 and 1703 production of the play, but its orientation has shifted from a machine play with occasional excerpts of music and dance to a production focusing on the singing and dancing rather than on the comedy. Indeed, one of the greatest attractions of the 1720 production was the presence of the many young dancing courtiers.

Additionally, the vocal solos in the *ballet* are among Delalande's most elaborate secular writing for voice, and therefore will be highlighted in this discussion. These airs, most of which are in Da Capo form, contrast with the

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[22]The five airs in *L'inconnu* by Destouches are not included in the Supper Symphonies. The one air by Rebel, "La Villaegoise," is in Rés. 581, with acknowledgement of Rebel's authorship. Rebel's music is the only four-part movement in the Supper collection. On the other hand, no vocal music from *L'Inconnu* is included in the Symphonies.

[23]I have not yet undertaken a systematic study of the dance manuals of the period for music by Delalande. Most dance collections do not identify the music which accompanies their choreographies, so the possibility remains that some of Delalande's music appears in these collections but has not yet been identified.

[24]The *ballet* includes the most extensive borrowings of any of Delalande's stage works, not only from himself but from other composers.

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simpler, direct style of most of the instrumental movements in the *ballet*, which are generally shorter and in the usual binary form. Each air but one includes one or two obbligato instruments, and their bass lines employ more figuration than in Delalande's other secular music. The first air is in Italian, possibly in imitation of the 1703 *L'Inconnu*, whose *intermèdes* also included songs in both languages.[25]

L'Inconnu can be viewed as an anthology of themes used by Delalande in his earlier *ballets*. Topics based on love, youth, and peace are reminiscent of *Jeunesse* and *Palais*, while the village wedding recalls *Fées* and *Hymen Champestre*. On the other hand, gone from this and his other Regency *ballets* is the unctuous praise of Louis disguised under cover of heroic gods and allegorical characters. Instead, *L'Inconnu* directly and without allusion presents the new king to his court and his country.

The play *L'Inconnu* concerns a widowed countess who cannot decide who her next husband will be. She has been attracted to a marquis, who devises a series of entertainments --- the five *entrées* of the *ballet* --- to win her over. Other characters include the marquis' valet, a female companion of the countess who marries a chevalier, and a boring viscount who wins the hand of no one. In the 1675 version, the marquis' true identity as the "Inconnu" is revealed in the *entrée* of the fifth act. In both the 1703 and the 1720 reworkings, this play is replaced by a village wedding, a subject which was probably more acceptable to eighteenth-century audiences and one more easily adaptable to the dance and music which these later versions
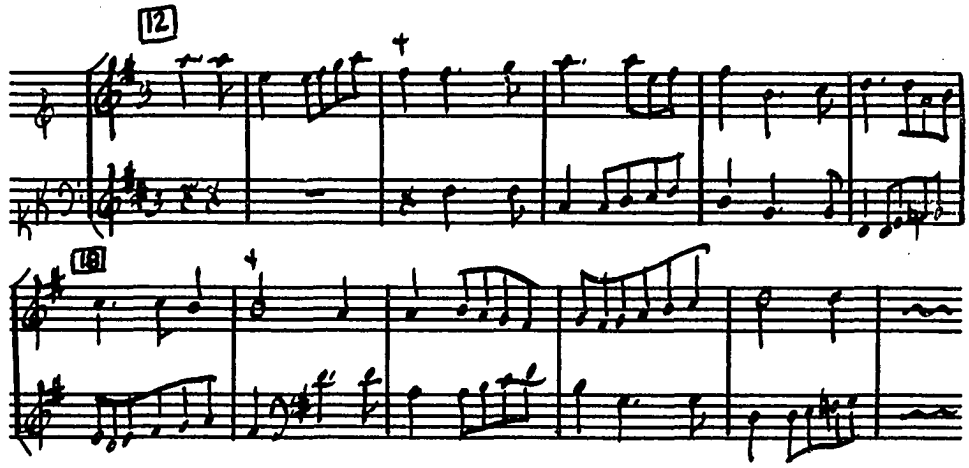
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[25]This use of Italian may also reflect the general influence of the Italian style on French music in the early eighteenth century.

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emphasized.[26]

Delalande borrowed the "Ouverture" for *L'Inconnu* from his first Supper Suite. The fifty-four-measure movement is in the typical two-part French overture form, and confirms a five-part orchestra for the *ballet* through its use of different clefs in the short score. The "Ouverture" is followed immediately by the first act of the play.



Example 17-1: *L'Inconnu*: "Ouverture," m. 12-22
Pn Vm^{6}26, p. 3; Rés. 581: I-1

The first four *entrées* occur in the marquis' garden. Opening the first, a "Marche" in D major heralds the entrance of the hosts for the *ballet's* festivities, the Duc de Villeroy and Jean Balon, who functioned in real life as the guardian of the king and of the dancers, respectively. *Haute-contre* Louis Muraire, a third host for the celebration, then sings the *ballet's* first vocal air,
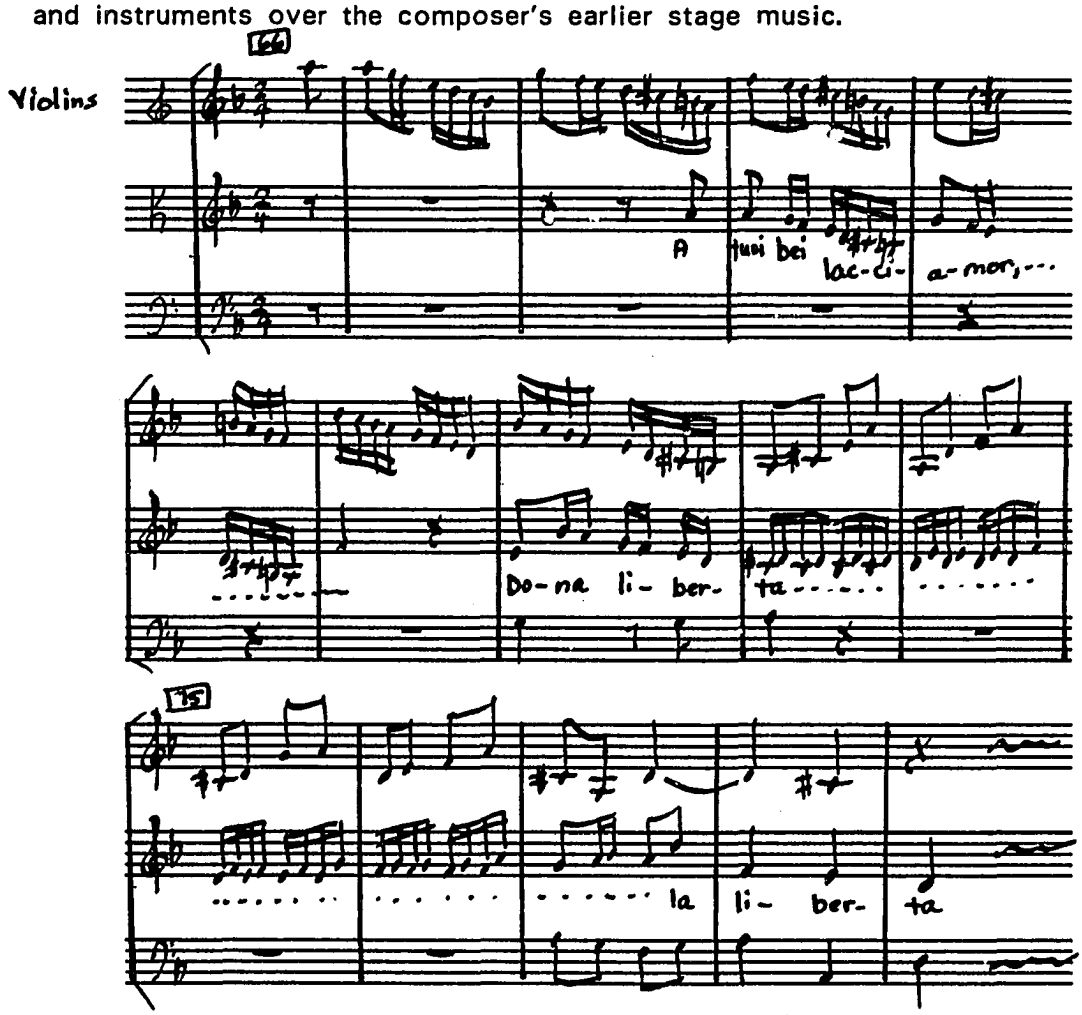
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[26]See Parfaict 1748, vol. XI, p. 424-429. The *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, 5 December 1675, commends the original version for its extraordinarily beautiful decorations and ornaments. However, Reynier 1892, p. 282-83 feels different about the work: "Ce n'est pas une pièce, ce n'est guere qu'un prétexte à divertissements ..... Il y a même dans les cinq longs actes de *l'Inconnu* moins de matière que dans les petits actes de Molière .... Les divertissements... nous paraissent d'une vulgarité rare."

The 1720 version contains no prologue. In the 1703 version the prologue was used to announce the play's actors.

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"Si lietto, si contento," in celebration of love, liberty, and peace.[27] This air is noteworthy for many reasons. It is on an Italian text, the first of Delalande's secular works to include an extended movement in a language other than French. Additionally, the dimensions of this and most other airs in the *ballet* are greatly expanded over vocal music in the composer's early and middle periods: the movement is in Da Capo form, with eighty-four measures in its first part and eighteen in the second. Many of the vocal passages are imitated in the violins and typify the expanded technical requirements for both voice and instruments over the composer's earlier stage music.
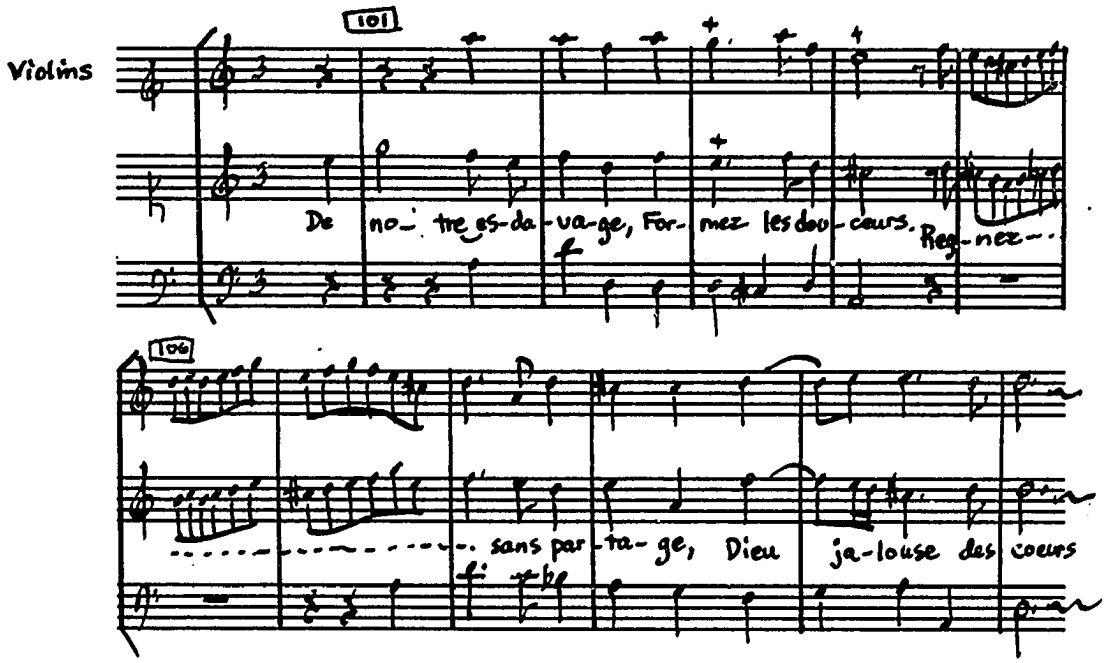


Example 17-2: *L'Inconnu*: *Entrée* I
"Si lietto, si contento," m. 66-78; Pn Vm^{6}25, p. 5

[27]The first *intermède* in the 1703 play also featured an Italian air at this point, for bass voice, two obbligato violins, and basso continuo.

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A second "Marche," in D minor, accompanies the entrance of the Plaisirs and Amours. The soprano Mademoiselle Bury, in the role of one of the followers of Jeunesse, sings the next air, "Régnez sans partage." While on a French text, this movement resembles "Si lietto, si contento" in scope and style: also in Da Capo form, its 121-measures include many figures in the bass, and a part for violins, which variously anticipates, imitates, and moves in parallel motion with the voice in the same ornamental style found in the Italian movement. In the air, Bury exhorts the gods to live together harmoniously, letting love regulate their lives:
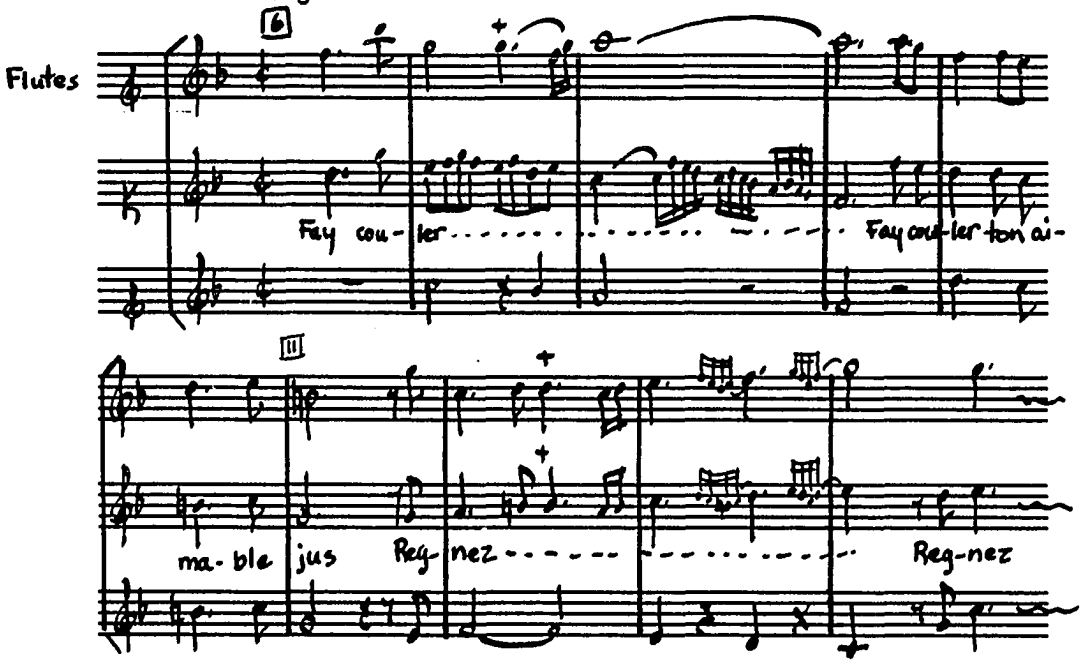


Example 17-3: *L'Inconnu*: *Entrée* I
"Régnez sans partage," m. 101-111; Pn $Vm^{6}26$, p. 17

The first *entrée* closes with several dances for the young king. A duple-meter "Air" in D major and a pair of "Menuets" are followed by a "Pas de Trois" in which Louis is joined by two young seigneurs. The first "Menuet" is repeated and is followed by a "Sarabande" in ABA form. The pair of "Menuets" are danced by the Plaisirs and Amours to conclude the *entrée*.

The second *entrée* of *L'Inconnu* features a buffet organized by Comus.

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Four dancing shepherdesses and three shepherds enter to the "Marche pour les Bergers et Bergères" in B^b Major. Soprano Marie Antier, the shepherdess soloist, sings the *entrée's* single air, "Amour, répand tes douces flames," as she asks Amour and Bacchus to provide peace and happiness for their subjects. Her air is only thirty-nine measures long, lacking the opening and closing instrumental passages found in the vocal solos of the first *entrée*, but it does resemble the earlier movements with its use of obbligato instruments, flutes in this case, running in parallel motion with the voice. The tessitura of all voices is high, the bottom line played by violins and never falling below Middle C. The vocal part enhances words such as "couler" and "régnez" with its melismatic writing.



Example 17-4: *L'Inconnu*: *Entrée* II:
"Amour, répand tes douces flames," m. 6-14; $Vm^6$25, p. 20

Dancers from the Opéra conclude the *entrée* with five selections. As in the first *entrée*, most of their dances are in binary form, in phases of eight measures and their multiples. François Marcel and Mademoiselle Menes

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perform a "Rondeau Gracieuse" played by violins and flutes.[28] Françoise Provôt dances the next "Air" alone, and is joined in the following "Musette" by Menes and Marcel. Dancers in the "Passepied" are unspecified, but the concluding "Air de Paysan" features one of the members of the Dumoulin family. This final air was also used as *entracte* music.

Tonally this *entrée* is more varied than the first. The opening "Marche" is in B^b major, but Antier's air follows in F major, while the first four dances are in G major or G minor. The final "Air de Paysan" returns to the opening tonality.

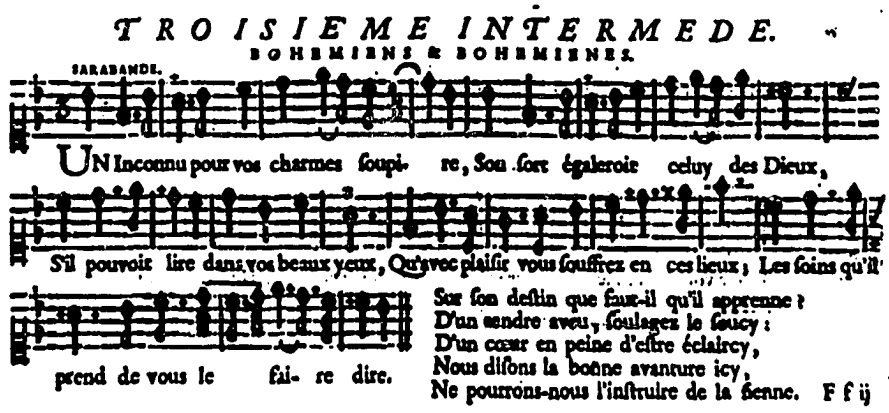
The third *entrée* is the only one to open with a movement other than a march: the sixteen Bohemians, characters who also appear in the 1703 *intermèdes*, enter dancing two "Bourées." These dancers were courtiers and featured the Duc de Chartres as soloist.

The third *entrée* contains three vocal airs, all sung by Mademoiselle Bury. The first, "Un Inconnu pour vos charmes soupire," conveys the theme of the play. Delalande apparently borrowed this sarabande from the 1703 production of *L'Inconnu*, since the air also appears in the publication of music from that date. However, the 1720 printing does not acknowledge Gillier's authorship.

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[28] Rés. 581 indicates that this and the previous air were borrowed from the eighth Supper Suite, presumably the post-1713 version, since the movements do not appear in Rés. 582. In the *ballet* the "Rondeau" is in G minor, in Rés. 581 in F minor.
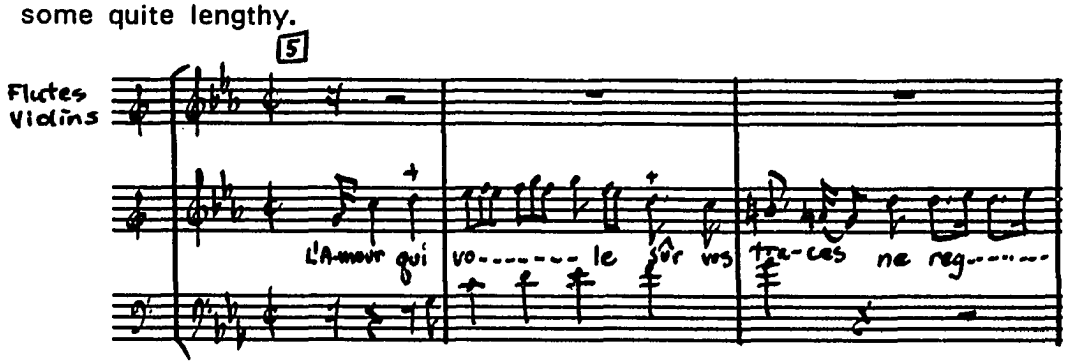
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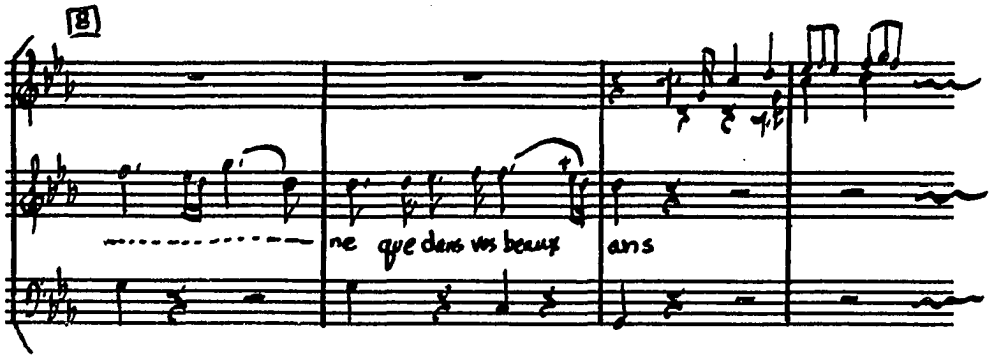


Example 17-5: *L'Inconnu*: *Entrée* III: "Un Inconnu"
Vm^{6}25, p. 25; Vm^{7}536, p. 193

Bury's second air, "Amant, si vous êtes constants," calls for the company to trust in love. Again in Da Capo form, Delalande has orchestrated its two accompanying instrumental lines for violins and flutes. The Ballard publication of the music labels the movements an "Ariette."

Courtiers perform the following "Sarabande léger," in C minor, before the *entrée's* final vocal movement, the eighty-three-measure ariette "L'Amour qui vole sur vos traces," which stresses the need to engage in love while one is young. This movement also includes flutes and violins as the obbligato instruments alternating with the voice. Typical of Delalande's vocal writing, words such as "vole" and "régne" are highlighted by melismatic passages, some quite lengthy.



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Example 17-6: *L'Inconnu*: *Entrée* III: "L'amour qui vole sur vos traces," m. 5-11; $Vm^{6}25$, p. 30

The "Sarabande" heard before this air is the concluding dance of the *entrée*, and the opening "Bourée" becomes the music for the *entracte*.
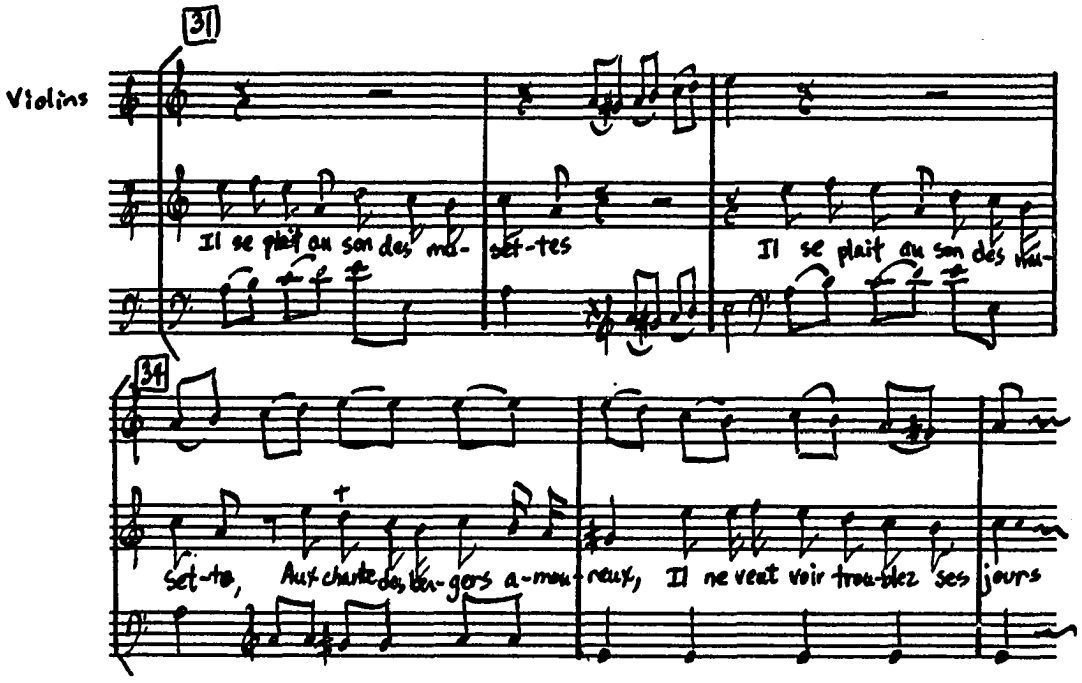
The fourth *entrée* features another troup of dancing shepherds and shepherdesses.[29] Delalande borrowed the five instrumental airs in this *entrée* from Destouches' *comédie-ballet*, *Le Carnaval et la Folie*.[30] This *entrée* also departs from a single tonality: the first dance is in G major and all others in G minor, while the two vocal airs are in B^{b} major and D minor respectively. The dancers enter to another "Marche" and perform the following "Gigue." The two noblemen in this dancing ensemble, the Marquis de Langeron and the Marquis de Bellegarde, together perform the following "Air," followed by Mademoiselle Guyot of the Opéra dancing the air alone. In the first of the two Da Capo vocal airs in the *entrée*, "Régnez Amour," Mademoiselle Antier as the shepherdess sings of love governing both kings and subjects. In the second, "L'Amour s'en vole," she cautions everyone that she prefers to live in peace, and flees at the sound of arms. Oboes join the voice briefly in the second air at the call for musettes.

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[29]The subject of this *entrée* was altered from the 1703 version, which concerned the rehearsal of a comedy.
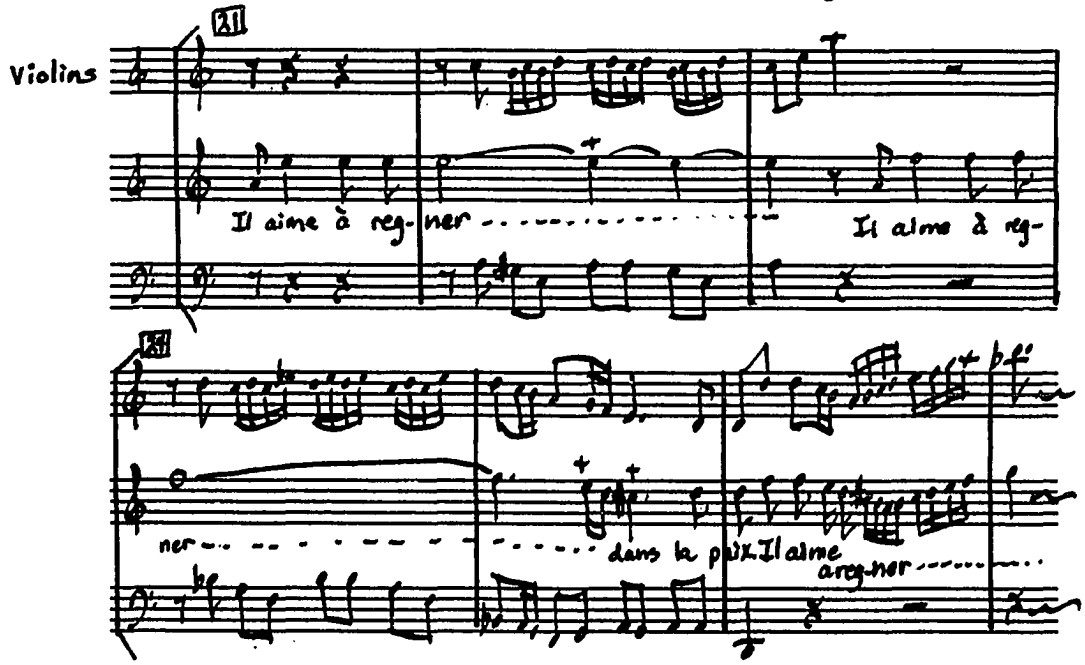
[30]I have identified all but one air as part of the fourth act of the Destouches work. This contribution by Destouches forecasts Delalande's collaboration with the composer on *Les Elémens* two years later.

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Example 17-7: *L'Inconnu*: *Entrée* III: "L'Amour s'en vole," m. 31-36; Vm^{6}25, p. 53

This second air also contains some of the most elaborate vocal and instrumental passages in the *ballet*, such as the following:



Example 17-8: *L'Inconnu*: *Entrée* IV: "L'Amour s'en vole," m. 21-27; Vm^{6}25, p. 49

The *Noce de Village*, reminiscent of the many court *masacarades* popular

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at the beginning of the century, forms the entire fifth *entrée*, which emphasizes dance and features the *ballet's* twelve professional dancers, with Mademoiselle Provôt and Jean Balon in the lead roles as bride and groom. The opening "Marche" provides entry and exit music for the wedding party. Seven duets, featuring each of the five pairs of village wedding characters, follow: the D minor "Rondeau pour les Paysans," by one of the Srs. Dumoulin and Mademoiselle de la Ferrière; two "Minuets" for the shepherd and shepherdess, by Sr. Dumoulin #4 and Guyot; a "Courante" and a "Bourrée," for the Gentilhomme and Dame de Campagne, by Blondy and Menes; an "Air" for the Nyais and Nyaise, by Marcel and Dupré; and an "Air" for the Vieux and Vieille, by Sr. Dumoulin and Mademoiselle de Lastre. The final air, "La Villageoise," is danced by the bride and groom.[31]

The concluding *Entrée Générale* marks the return of the courtiers who danced in the first and third *entrées.* As in the *Noce*, this finale contains no vocal music. Each of its six dances includes a solo appearance by either Louis or the Duc de Chartres, and minimum participation by most of the other twenty-four courtiers in the company. Louis and Chartres are recognized individually in the opening "Marche;" the king alone dances the following "Passepied," which is repeated by the Marquis de Villars and the Marquis de Renel; and Louis and Chartres alternate as soloists in the following "Air." Louis probably danced the forty-eight measure "Petite Chaconne," the following pair of "Rigaudons," and the concluding "Forlane," in which he was joined by all the courtiers for a grand finale to this, his dancing debut.

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[31]This little suite, by Jean-Féry Rebel, contains three sections: the first, in duple meter in four voices; the second, a triple-meter "Doucement" for oboes, violins, and continuo; and the last, a duple meter "Gayement" in two voices for oboes and violins with continuo. The circumstances of Rebel's contribution of music to the *ballet* are unclear. Rebel, Delalande's brother-in-law, conducted the performances of the *ballet* and consequently may have been asked to write this music. Prior to the performances of *L'Inconnu* Rebel had been named to succeed Delalande as *compositeur de la musique du chambre du roi.*

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F. PERFORMANCE

Performers: Not since *Le Palais de Flore* in 1689 had Delalande's stage productions featured the numbers of dancers who appeared in *L'Inconnu*: fifteen professionals and twenty-two courtiers. However, while these numbers are proportionate with the dancers in Delalande's earlier *ballets*, three facets of the production probably rendered *L'Inconnu* much different from these early works. One, most of the courtiers in the 1720 *ballet* were probably adolescents, whose dancing skills were probably much less refined than were those of the adult dancers who appeared in the composer's earlier works, consequently altering the overall scope of technical proficiency in the production.[32] Also, all of these young courtiers were men: ladies from the Opéra partnered the courtiers in the *ballet's* occasional couple dances. This roster of noblemen may have been employed in order to emphasize the youth and vitality of the king. Finally, the intermingling of court and professional dancers was more suggested than real: noblemen and Opéra dancers appeared together only in the first and third *entrées*, when Balon danced with the courtiers, and in the presentation by the troup of shepherds and shepherdesses in the fourth *entrée*.

Of the professional dancers, nine were men and six women. Several were *pensionnaires du roy* and so received no separate compensation for the *ballet*.[33] Most appeared in two or three different roles in the *ballet*. Among

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[32]Louis reached his tenth birthday during the production of *L'Inconnu* and the Duc de Chartres was sixteen at the time of performance. This proportion of noble versus professional dancers in *L'Inconnu* compares with *Cardenio*, in which twenty-eight of the sixty-nine dancers were courtiers. It seems that many of the courtiers were related to influential members of the Regency government. For example, the fifteen-year-old son of John Law appeared in the *ballet*. I have not yet identified these courtiers in detail: however, having a clearer idea of their relationship with the king could explain some of their motivations for appearing in the *ballet*.

[33]Only M. Laval, two of the DuMoulin family, and Mesdemoiselles Laferrière, De Lastre, and Dupre were compensated 120 *livres* for the three rehearsals and five performances which they attended. See AN $O^1$2851, fol. 171.

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the most prominent women dancers were Mademoiselle Provôt as the solo shepherdess in the second *entrée* and as the bride in the *Noce de Village* and Mademoisellelle Guyot as the solo shepherdess in the fourth *entrée* and in the village wedding. The choreographer Balon appeared the most frequently, leading the courtiers in the first and third *entrées* and soloing in the *Noce* as the bridegroom. Nine of *L'Inconnu's* fifteen professional dancers also danced in *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* of 1718, which included nine women and sixteen men, and all but one of the fifteen reappeared in *Cardenio* the year after *L'Inconnu*.

The emphasis on dance is reflected in the use of only three vocal soloists and no choir in the *ballet*. As described above, these soloists appeared in only eight airs, in four of the six *entrées*, in comparison with the thirty-seven dancers who performed up to thirty-nine movements throughout the work.[34] Mademoiselle Bury probably sang four of *L'Inconnu's* eight airs, Marie Antier three, and Louis Muraire one.[35]

Very little about the orchestra for *L'Inconnu* is specified. Based on annotations in the *ballet*'s instrumental airs, it seems that the twenty-four violins of the king could have played: orchestrations call for the usual five-part strings and continuo, at least two flutes, two oboes, and two bassoons. The only instrumentalist from the orchestra cited by name is Augustin Le

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[34]In comparison, Delalande's *Jeunesse*, included twenty-four vocal soloists, thirty-two choral singers, and thirty-five dancers.

[35]Bury and Muraire appeared in the 1718 *Jeunesse* and all three singers performed in *Cardenio*. Bury was named as one of the "Fille" and Muraire as a *haute-contre* in a list of court singers of 1717. Antier was given a *brevet de musicienne* in 1721 and appears to be associated with the court as late as 1730. Since both the text and score of the *ballet* indicate only solo vocal music sung by only three different singers, the entries in the records of the Menus Plaisirs which refer to the ladies of the choir are difficult to explain. See Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 313 and AN O[1]2851, fol. 157. This document cites these singers for attending rehearsals over a period of three months. Possibly a choir was originally planned and rehearsed, in keeping with Delalande's traditional format for court *ballets*, but canceled before the performances.

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Pintre, one of the violinists, who also served as Balon's assistant for dance rehearsals.[36]

Statistics about performers appear on the following chart.

[36]The Menus Plaisirs, $O^1$2851, fol. 147^v, says LePintre played for sixty rehearsals of *Jeunesse* and *L'Inconnu* combined. Probably the orchestra for *L'Inconnu* was not as large as the sixty-five-member ensemble for *Cardenio*, which was presented in a much larger performance site.

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Parts and Performers in L'INCONNU

SINGERS : Solo Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Entrée I	2	1	1
Entrée II	1	---	1
Entrée III	1	---	1
Entrée IV	1	---	1
Entrée V	---	---	---
Grand Entrée	---	---	---
TOTALS	5	1	4

DANCERS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Entrée I	9 [0, *9*]	9 [0, *9*]	------
Entrée II	7 [7, *0*]	------	7 [7, --]
Entrée III	17 [1,*16*]	17 [1,*16*]	------
Entrée IV	7 [5, *2*]	4 [2, *2*]	3 [3, --]
Entrée V	12 [12, *0*]	6 [6, *0*]	6 [6, --]
Grand Entrée	24 [1, *23*]	24 [1, *23*]	------
TOTALS	76 [26, *50*]	60 [10, *50*]	16 [16, *0*]

GRAND TOTALS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	5	1	4
Dancers	76	60	16
Instrumentalists	24?	24	----
TOTALS	105?	85?	20

GRAND TOTALS : Personnel

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	3	1	2
Dancers	37 [15,*22*]	31 [9,*22*]	6 [6,--]
Instrumentalists	24?	24?	------
TOTALS	64?[42,*22*]	56 [34,*22*]	8 [8,--]

Figure XVII-1: Performer Chart: L'Inconnu

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Preparation Schedule: Accounts of the Menus Plaisirs indicate that in addition to the five performances, there were at least three *répétitions générales* of *L'Inconnu*.[37] Apparently these were the only complete rehearsals for the vocal soloists and professional dancers. On the other hand, the courtiers required much more preparation. The records of the Menus Plaisirs imply that rehearsals for a group of unspecified dancers and also for the unexplained women's choir lasted three months, although the frequency of these is not stated. Dangeau first announced a rehearsal for the king on 7 December; by 20 January, eighteen days before the performance, the *Mercure* reported that Louis was rehearsing nearly every day. This intensive preparation by the courtiers may indicate that they were not dancing regularly, as were their counterparts of thirty years earlier, and so required more concentrated rehearsing when they did perform.[38]

Apparently Balon was assigned to choreograph the dances for *L'Inconnu* as early as 11 March 1719.[39] Assuming that all of the instrumental music had been written by the time of the first dance rehearsals, Delalande could have composed *L'Inconnu* anytime between March and November. The extent of Delalande's direct involvement in the preparation of the production is not known, but in light of his age, his illness since his last large-scale presentation at court, his borrowings from other composers, and the presence of Jean-Féry Rebel as conductor, the composer may have been more of a

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[37]See Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 313, $O^1$2851, fol. 159. These possibly included the rehearsals mentioned by Dangeau on 27 January and 3 and 7 February, 1720, since for the rehearsal on 24 January Dangeau reports that the work still had not been rehearsed with costumes.

[38]On 3 February Dangeau still reports that the *ballet* needed eight more young dancers, due to the measle epidemic. If replacements were recruited, they had only five days of preparation before the opening of the ballet on 8 February.

[39]See Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 301; AN $O^1$63, fol. 72.

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ceremonial than an active leader of the *ballet*.

At least fifty-seven days were required for decorating, mounting, and dismounting the temporary theater in Louis' antechamber, while the preparation of costumes required forty-two days of work from an unidentified number of tailors. All the workers together accumulated a total of 540 days to prepare the performance.[40] Based on records in the Menus Plaisirs, the total costs for the *ballet* and the new theater reached 44,471 *livres*, the most expensive of Delalande's productions to that date.[41]

Performance Site: *L'Inconnu* appeared in a temporary theater erected in the antechamber of the king's apartment specifically for this *ballet*. The use of this makeshift, restricted theater, rather than one of the larger, more commodious public theaters in Paris for the king's dancing debut could indicate that the court used *L'Inconnu* and Delalande's two other Regency *ballets* as a means of defining the domain of the new king, which was symbolically represented by the Tuileries palace rather than the public theater in the Palais Royal, the home of the Regent. The king's own apartment could offer the most definitive statement of Louis' territory.[42]

Apparently no plans of this theater erected in the antechamber to Louis'

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[40]See AN $O^1$2851, fol. 130, 148. These accounts are not reproduced in Benoit 1971 Musiques. The theater must have been completed by 20 Jaunary, as indicated by the *Mercure's* report that a comedy played there on that date.

[41]See AN $0^1$2851, fol. 163. Delalande's *Jeunesse* cost 37,000 *livres*. The rate of inflation must be factored into the total in order to obtain the relative costs.

[42]The Salle des Suisses in the Tuileries, site of the Concerts Spirituels which began in 1725, was near Louis' apartment. This larger room, seventeen by nineteen meters, would have been more accommodating for the king's *ballet*. There must have been reasons for not dancing there.

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apartment survive.[43] However, a consideration of the room itself in which the theater was erected can offer some general impression about how the theater may have influenced the scope of production. According to François Blondel, the antechamber to the king's chamber was on the first (French) floor of the Tuileries palace, between the Salle des Gardes and Louis' chamber, and so accessible from public portions of the palace.[44] (See **Figure XVII-2.**) One of the largest rooms in this part of the palace, the antechamber measured approximately ten by sixteen meters wall-to-wall, slightly smaller than the Salle de Comédie at Versailles, but the largest apartment site used for Delalande's secular productions. In view of the three windows in the room, a fireplace at the south end, and a doorway in both the north and south walls, useable area for the temporary stage and seating may have been minimal. A stage measuring approximately half of the area of the room, as in most of the theaters at court (the north half of the room is the more probable location), would have measured approximately ten by eight meters. None of the staging directions in the text of the *ballet* call for mechanical or scenic effects. The remaining area probably did not exceed the capacity in the Versailles Salle de Comédie of two to three hundred spectators. During the five performances, the number of spectators therefore could have reached one thousand to fifteen hundred, assuming a "full house" every evening.

An awareness of the capacity of this room is important for an accurate evaluation of *L'inconnu*. While reports of the production leave the impression

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[43]The *Mercure* and the diarists were much more concerned with reporting who was dancing rather than where the dancing was done. Plans or drawings of the room may exist, but they are not among the documents easily available in the principal collections of visual material in French libraries and archives.

[44]See Blondel 1754, Book VI (*Louvre et Tuileries*), p.77. "La pièce est un antechambre par huit croisees; elle est aussi revêtue de menuiserie et son plafond est orné de peintures qui fûrent faites en 1668, par Nicolas Layr, qui a peint aussi la pièce précédente."

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of a quite spectacular event, the conditions of this temporary theater certainly limited the general effect of the production. Restrictions in a chamber theater such as this one may have motivated the Regent to renovate the Salle des Machines for *Cardenio* the following year.

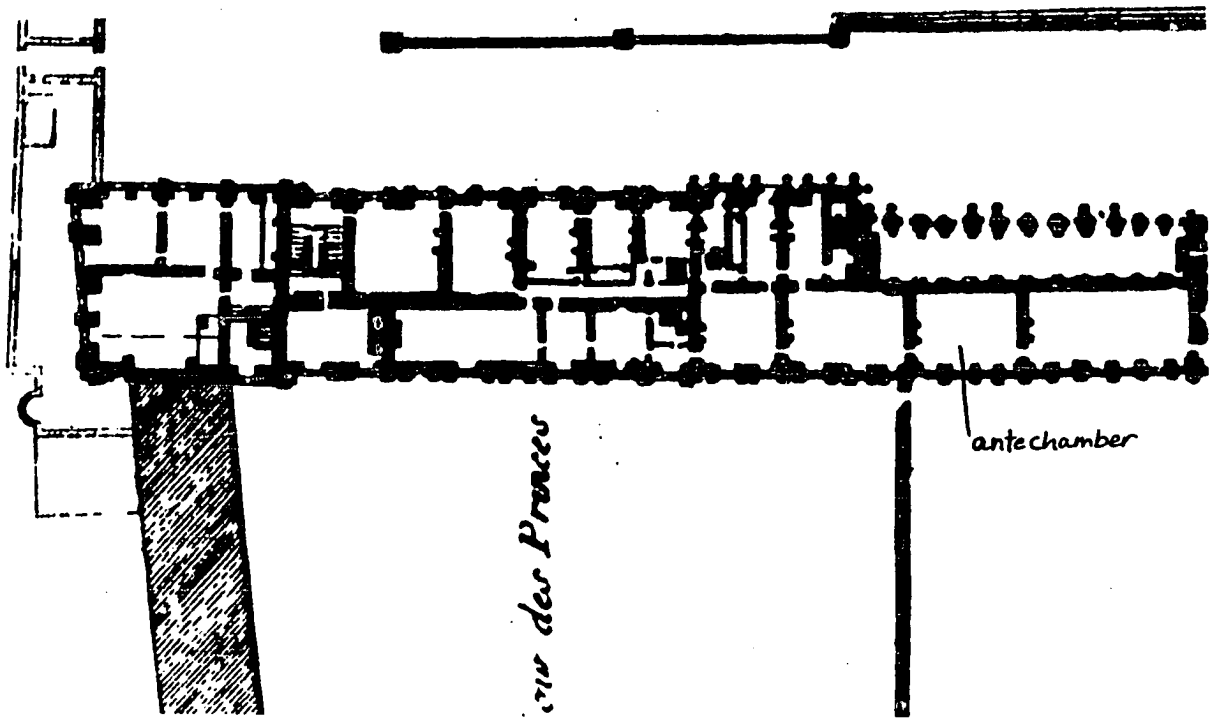


Figure XVII-2: Tuileries: *premier étage*
Blondel 1754, book VI, p. 77

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XVIII. LES FOLIES DE CARDENIO

A. INTRODUCTION

Les Folies de Cardenio was the Regency court's second *ballet* featuring Louis XV and the most elaborate by far of the stage works to which Delalande contributed music. Continuing the revival of courtier participation in stage dancing, the *ballet* appeared eight times between 30 December 1720 and 27 January 1721, in three different versions with three different comedies.[45]

Cardenio was performed in the Salle des Machines in the Tuileries palace, a theater known for its elaborate scenic effects, and remodeled in 1720 specifically for *Cardenio*.[46] Certainly the facilities of this site prompted the enlarged scale of production of the *ballet*, to include many important courtiers, most of the prominent members of the court's chamber and chapel music organizations, and singers, dancers, and instrumentalists from the Paris Opéra. Consequently, *Cardenio* was also the most costly of Delalande's productions and marks the culmination of the composer's productivity as a theater composer. The *ballet* symbolized well France's revitalization under the new king.

Once again Jean Balon choreographed the dances and the Bérain workshop planned the designs. The young playwright and painter Charles Antoine Coypel wrote the text of the first comedy and the *intermèdes*, and Jean-Féry Rebel, the future director of the Opéra, contributed some of the music.[47] The many contemporary critical reviews of the *ballet*, plus the

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[45]This essay will discusses the *ballet* primarily with the play for which it was conceived, *Les Folies de Cardenio*.

[46]*Cardenio* was the first of Delalande's works since *La Comédie des Fées* to appear in a permanent theater.

[47]The reasons for choosing Coypel, age twenty-six at the time of the *ballet* and not particularly known for his literary talent, are unclear. It seems that he enjoyed the support of the Regent, who employed his father as *premier peinture*, a post inherited by Charles in 1722.

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publication of its complete text, enable us to develop a detailed picture of the history and performance of the work, but the absence of an edition of the vocal music as survives for *L'Inconnu* permits only a general view of the organization of the work, which is based primarily on the surviving music, forty-seven *simphonies* included in the Supper anthologies. According to annotations in the printed text, the *ballet* probably employed the continuous format of Delalande's *Jeunesse* and *Palais*, and included recitatives, solo airs, vocal ensembles, and instrumental music.

B. COURT BACKGROUND

In 1721 France's political and military stability continued as the court prepared *Cardenio*. Only the pending doom of John Law's economic reforms and the further devaluation of the French monetary system threatened the vitality of Paris, but even a weakened currency did not deter the court from spending lavish sums on the *ballet*.

The relatively low number of musical events on the court's calendar in 1720 reflects both the concentration of effort on the preparation of *Cardenio* and the court's access to the public theaters.[48] Within this environment *Cardenio* appeared on a bi-weekly basis eight times. Coypel's play accompanied the first three performances, on 30 December and 4 and 8 January.[49] Apparently because Louis found the *Cardenio* play too heavy and sad and the production too long, the next three performances of the *ballet* appeared with

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[48]See my **Calendar**, which includes only Delalande's *ballets* during 1720. However, this schedule may not reflect the actual activities in the court, especially because diary sources are problematic during this year. Dangeau ended his reporting in August, 1720 (he died 9 September) and the accounts of Edmond Barbier and Mathiau Marais include gaps from January through March and April, respectively, of 1720.

[49]A payment record indicates that 30 December was a *répétition-générale*. The king developed a severe cold from overheating while dancing, canceling a performance planned for 3 January. See Marais 1863, vol. II, p. 63, and Buvat 1865, vol. II, p. 211.

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Scarron's comedy *Dom Japhet d'Arménie*, on 11, 13, and 18 January.[50] The last two presentations of the *ballet*, on 21 and 27 January, featured *Diane et Endimion*, a three-act pastoral of unknown authorship.[51] The king, the Duc de Chartres, and many other courtiers presumably danced in all performances of the *ballet*.

The *Cardenio* play and *ballet* were revived on 10 May 1721 to entertain the Turkish ambassador.[52] Louis probably did not dance in this production. However, the performance gained some notoriety because of an accident by the Chevalier de Fenelon, a Lieutenant in the Regiment of the Gardes Françoises, who fell on a spiked railing in the amphitheater during the performance and bled to death.[53]

Coypel's reasons for his choice of the Don Quichotte story as subject matter to accompany the king's second dancing performance are unclear. The play includes no specific references to contemporary court events, although, as with *L'Inconnu*, the Don Quichotte story was well-known and quite adaptable to stage spectacle. Coypel may have chosen this story because of his recent

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[50]There are many cuts in the *ballet* for this play. See my discussion of the Organization, below. Most scenes containing unpleasant characters, such as Chagrin in the prologue and the combattants in the first *entrée*, were withdrawn. It seems that *Dom Japhet* was a five-act play: I have not been able to determine how it was integrated with the *ballet*. AN O[1]2853, fol 246, indicates that there were three rehearsals for this comedy.

[51]Because this play was in Italian, the *Mercure*, January 1720, p. 132-144, included a detailed description of its subject matter.

[52]The ambassador was also entertained by a concert of voices and instruments by the king's musicians in Villeroy's *hôtel* on 19 April and by a masked ball on 21 June. See Buvat 1865 on these dates. Barbier 1847 says that the ambassador also attended *Thésée* at the Opéra on 27 April.

[53]Apparently the performance continued uninterrupted. Marais wrote that the Turks say that the French are more barbarous than they (the Turks) are. "C'est apprendre de bonne heure l'humanité au jeune roi." See the *Mercure* May 1721, p. 140; Buvat 1865, vol. II, p. 245; Barbier 1847, vol. I, p. 128; and Marais 1863, vol II, p. 129.

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designs for a series of tapestries on the same theme for the Gobelin factory in Paris.[54]

Cardenio's expenses of nearly 115,000 *livres* may help explain why the court sponsored no other entertainments during the winter of 1720-1721. Many of these costs included repairs to the Salle des Machines. This financial investment reflects the court's commitment to presenting the young king in the most magnificent environment possible. Ironically, neither the remodeled theater nor Louis' presence succeeded very well in reviving continuing interest in the *ballet de cour*: while the organizers of the *ballet* hoped to present Louis as a symbol of the strong political and artistic establishment of the court, many critics reported that neither the king nor most of the other young nobles danced very well.[55] Additionally, some voiced dissatisfaction with the young king for appearing on the same stage with women from the Opéra, and others objected to the callous manipulation of the monarch in an activity which he did not enjoy.

C. SOURCES

Music: In contrast with *L'Inconnu*, none of *Cardenio's* music was published, possibly because the *ballet* was revised twice during its ten performances and so never realized a definitive version. The surviving music

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[54]Coypel based his play on the five-act version by Pichou written in the 1630's. It seems probable that Coypel also also knew the Cervantes original.

[55]Official publications such as the *Mercure Nouveau* wrote favorably of the performance. See the *Mercure*, January 1721, p. 132: "Le Roy a dansé dans toutes ces Représentations, & a fait l'admiration & l'empressesment de toute la Cour & de la Ville, la grande Salle ayant toujours été remplié de tout ce qu'il y a de personnes distinguées, & tout s'y étant passé avec beaucoup d'ordre & de magnificence." Individual authors, however, were more critical. Barbier 1897, vol I, p. 105: "Il est fort delicat et il ne danse pas avec grande vivacité; il est sérieux. M. le duc de Chartres y dansa une entrée; il danse fort mal et de mauvais air." Marais 1863, vol. II, p. 31, is the most outspoken critic: "Ce ballet ne vaut rien pour les paroles, qui sont de Coypel le jeune, et il est trop trist pour un jeune roi. Ou êtes-vous, Quinault et Lully? Bonnes gens, je ne vous vois plus; j'ai beau chausser mes lunettes. O Français!"

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from *Cardenio* is contained only in the Supper Symphonies: these forty-seven movements represent the largest number of airs from any of Delalande's stage works in this anthology. This music consists of three vocal airs and probably all of the instrumental music from the *ballet*.[56]

The preparation of the music of *Cardenio* is confirmed by a payment record in the Menus Plaisirs of 562 *livres* to the Philidor workshop for parts as well as a score.[57] These accounts are especially important because they list all the vocal and instrumental parts which Philidor prepared, and so provide the most detailed view of the distribution of performers in the choir and orchestra in any of Delalande's stage works. The choral music included parts for *dessus, haute-contre, taille,* and *basse* voices, and solo *récits* for unspecified voices. Orchestra parts consisted of copies of the first and second *dessus* of the *petit choeur de simphonie,* as well as an unspecified number of parts for *flûtes, hautbois, violons, tailles, basses,* and *bassoons* in the *grand choeur de simphonie.*

Text: The records of the Menus Plaisirs indicate that Ballard published 3200 copies of the text of the *ballet,* by far the greatest number of any of Delalande's stage works for which such records survive. This large printing probably explains the survival of so many of these publications today. The examples examined thus far form three groups, indicative of the three versions of the *intermèdes* made to accommodate the three comedies.

The principal source for this study, Po Liv 18[332, includes only the *intermèdes* and represents the first version of the *ballet,* that used with the

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[56]The verse for only the first of these vocal airs, "Icy la Jeunesse," recurs in the printed text of the *ballet.* The absence of more vocal music may be explained by the two revisions to the work, which involved cuts primarily to the vocal passages rather than to the instrumental music.

[57]AN $O^1$2851, fol. 184; Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 315. The detailed annotations appearing in Rés. 581 may have been taken from this full score.

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original *Cardenio* play. The title page of this edition classifies the work as a "Pièce Héroi-Comique" and dates the performance generally, "au mois de Decembre 1720."[58] Additionally this text identifies all collaborators on the preparation of the work except the designer, and names all singers and dancers in each *entrée*. The eight copies of this version examined thus far include one minor variant, probably indicating that even the first version of the *ballet* underwent small adjustments from performance to performance.

This original version of the *intermèdes* recurs in total in the second group of texts, a publication of the *ballet* and the play together. This printing must have appeared later than the one described above, for its title page dates the premiere precisely, "le Lundy trentième jour de Decembre 1720." Coypel wrote in the *Avis* of this edition, dated 27 January 1721, that because the public had little opportunity to see his play, since it was withdrawn early, he decided to print the entire work.[59]

The third group of texts is again of the *intermèdes* alone. The title page of this version also dates the performance on 30 December 1721. Except for the title page, this publication may have been printed from the same plates used for the first collection, but with substantial modifications, substitutions, and deletions in the margins, which generally eliminate vocal passages, especially those probably in recitative style.[60] This abridged version of the *ballet* was probably used with the second and third comedies, *Dom Japhet* and *Endimion*. In this amended version, the lists of performers remain unchanged

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[58]This probably indicates advance preparation of the text before the first performance date was known.

[59]See F Pn Th[b]1994, p. 3: "Comme il a paru que dans les differents Représentations de ce Ballet, le Public n'a point entendu la Comédie, on a cru devoir en donner l'Impression." The Parfaict brothers may have derived their report of the *Cardenio* play and *ballet* from this edition.

[60]The deletions are marked "retr" (*retrenché*) in the text.

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from the first version and none of the king's dances is eliminated. Ballard may have not prepared a completely new copy of the abridged text if the revised version of the *ballet* was produced quickly.[61]

D. ORGANIZATION

The original version of the *ballet*, considered with the play *Cardenio* best illustrates Delalande's conception of the production. Most cuts to the original *ballet* were made for one of three reasons: to delete references to the character Cardenio after the play of his name was removed; to eliminate the "gloomy" portions, according to the wishes of the king; and to avoid much of the recitative, possibly because of the unsuitable acoustics in the Salle des Machines.

The forty-seven movements from the *ballet* included in Rés. 581 consist of one instrumental movement composed by Jean-Fery Rebel and five movements which Delalande reworked from his own earlier stage productions. The musical portions of the production appeared in the prologue and within the three acts of the original play, rather than between the acts as does the music in *L'Inconnu*.

The "Ouverture" to *Cardenio* first appeared in the fourth suite of Supper Symphonies in Res. 582 and again in *Le Divertissement sûr la Paix* in 1713. The movement was reworked for the 1721 *ballet*: for *Cardenio* Delalande reduced the opening duple-meter section from fifteen to twelve measures, extended the concluding duple section from ten to eleven measures, and lengthened the middle polyphonic section by one measure.

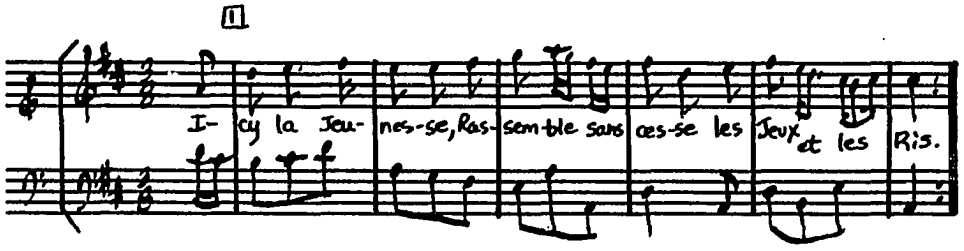
The prologue is set in the palace of the king. Le Chagrin (Louis Muraire) hopes to take over the empire of La Raison, in whose disguise he appears, in

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[61]The *ballet* may have been reworked between the last performance of *Cardenio* on 8 January and the first showing of *Dom Japhet* on the 11th. The financial accounts, O[1] 2853, fol 246, indicate that Ballard also printed three hundred copies of the play *Diane et Endimion*.

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order to oust all pleasure and joy from the world.[62] Le Plaisir (Mr. Boutelou) and his followers enter dancing a "Bourée" and then assert through song that youth, joy, and happiness --- all attributes of the young Louis --- will chase away sadness. This latter movement is the only vocal air in the Supper Symphonies whose verse also appears in the printed text of the *ballet*:
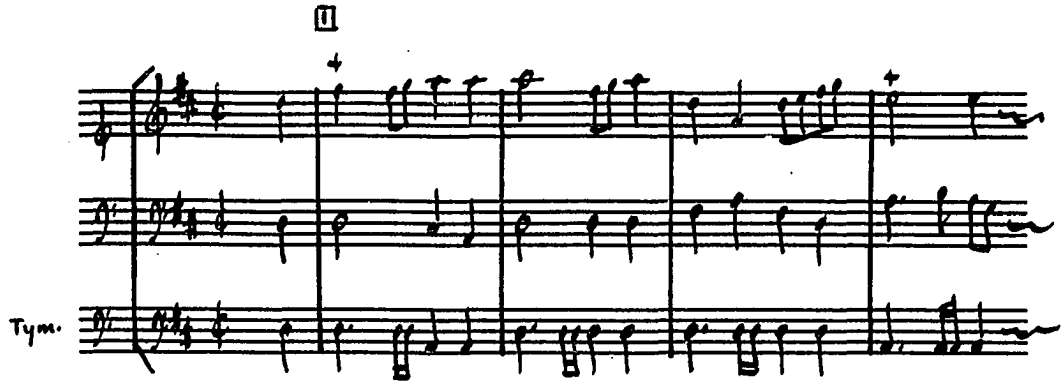


Example 18-1: *Les Folies de Cardenio*: Prologue
"Icy la Jeunesse," m. 1-6; Rés. 581: I, 17

The arrival of the real La Raison (Mademoiselle Bury) in the third scene of the prologue confuses Le Plaisir, after which the appearance of Minerva (Marie Antier) in the following scene helps dismiss Le Chagrin, whereupon the rear of the stage opens to reveal Louis seated on an elegant throne surrounded by twenty-two dancers --- his own courtiers --- representing his theatrical court. A choir of Jeux then proclaims the splendour of this spectacle and invites the court of the *ballet* to dance with the king to the "Air de Trompette" for violins, trumpets, oboes, and timbales.

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[62]The prologue is summarized in the *Mercure*, January, 1721, p.144 ff, and in Parfaict 1734, vol. XIV, p. 386 ff.

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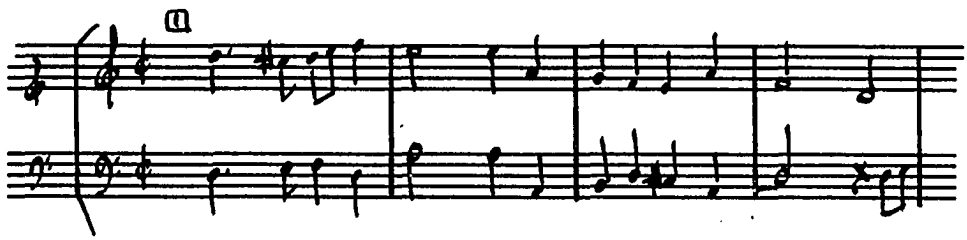


Example 18-2: *Les Folies de Cardenio*: Prologue: "Air de Trompette," m. 1-4; Rés. 581: II, 91

Minerva encourages the celebration to continue:[63]

> Chantez, que vos Concerts s'élèvant jusqu'aux Cieux,
> Célébrez des ce jour son destin glorieux.
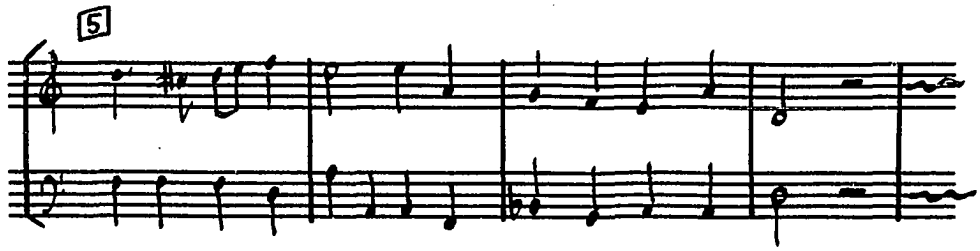
The king and his courtiers then perform five dances: an "Air," a "Loure" for Louis alone, a "Rondeau," an "Air léger," and a "Sarabande légère."[64] The remaining seven movements in the prologue, all *contradanses*, probably concluded the opening section of the *ballet*. In the fourth, fifth, and seventh dances --- a "Branle" and two "Menuets" --- the king again was singled out as soloist, while the young noblemen danced the remaining movements. All seven *contradanses* are melodically and metrically simpler than are most other dances in the *ballet*, as illustrated by the square four-plus-four-measure phrasing in the "Air sur la Cassandre:"



[63] *Les Folies de Cardenio*: Prologue; Scene 4; Liv 18 (332, p. 14

[64] The "Air léger" was borrowed from *Le Divertissement sûr la Paix*.

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Example 18-3: *Les Folies de Cardenio*: Prologue
"Air sûr Cassandre," m. 1-8; Rés. 581: II, 227
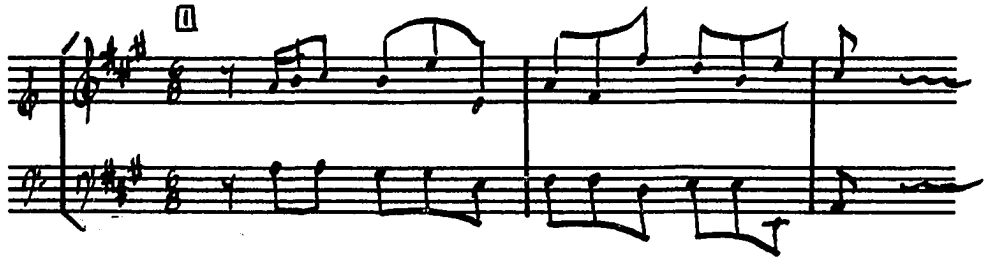
The first act of the Coypel play occurs in a ballroom prepared for the wedding of Lucinde and Cardenio, and, in turn, the entertainment of the Bourbon court. A wedding ball comprises the first *entrée* of the *ballet*, which appears in the fifth scene of the play. This ball consists of four quadrilles, by Spanish, Moor, Chinese, and Indian dancers respectively, followed by a dance for the combattants.[65] Each of the first three quadrilles was danced by four courtiers and four women from the Opéra, and the fourth by twelve men of the Opéra, while an additional eight dancers perform the combattants roles. The quadrille of Indians must have been the most special, since it included high-ranking courtiers such as Le Grand Prieur and Le Marquis de Villeroy (son of the sponsor of the *ballet*), as well as the four principal female dancers of the Opéra, Mesdemoiselles Guyot, Menes, Prévôt, and Dupré. Apparently all forty dancers in the quadrilles entered the stage together and each group in turn performed its own dances.[66] The Spaniards began with a "Sarabande" and a "Loure", followed by a "Chaconne" and two "Bourées" for the Moors. Their sixty-measure "Chaconne" is noteworthy for its meter of 6/8 rather than 3/4, on a ground of two rather than four measures:

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[65]In *Endimion* these same four quadrilles are used at the end of the first act as a dance of four nations, which takes place in a woods near Diana's palace. It is not clear if these are American or Asian Indians in this *entrée*. The dance of the combattants is omitted from later versions.
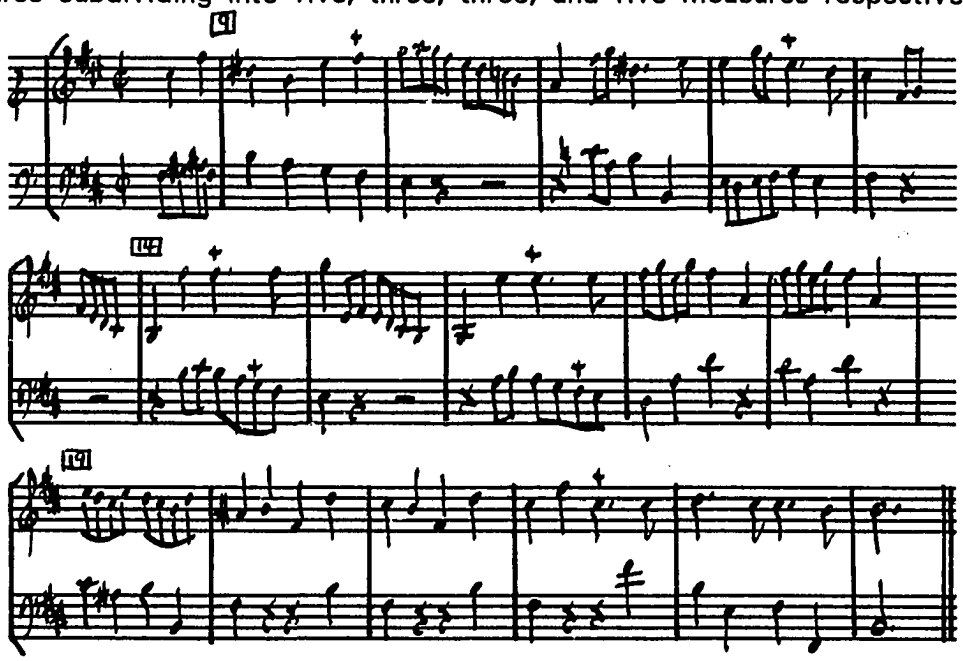
[66]None of the quadrille music is particularly descriptive of the four national types represented in the dancing, but it is all very suitable for dancing.

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Example 18-4: *Les Folies de Cardenio*: *Entrée* I
"Chaconne," m. 1-3; Rés. 581: II, 111

All eight Indians then danced an "Air," after which Le Grand Prieur was featured first alone in a "Bourée," then in a "Minuet" with Mademoiselle Guyot. Unlike the regularity of the "Bourée" and the "Menuet," the phrase structure of the second half of the Indians' "Air" is unpredictable, its sixteen measures subdividing into five, three, three, and five measures respectively:



Example 18-5: *Les Folies de Cardenio*: *Entrée* I
"Air d'Indien," m. 9-24; Rés. 581: II, 29
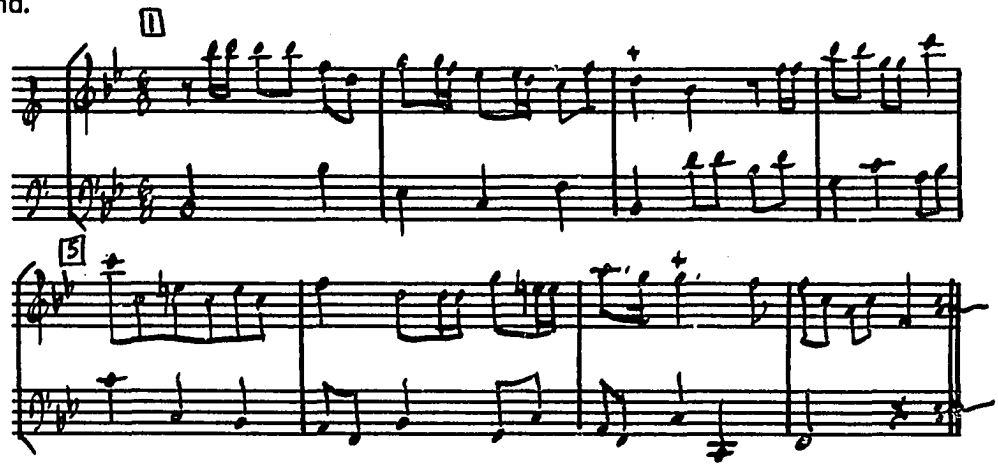
The twelve Chinese dancers then danced an "Air" in D major and two D minor "Menuets."[67] The last *contradanse* apparently was performed by all forty dancers as a finale to the quadrilles. With its three couplets and four refrains, the movement is one of the longest dances in the *ballet*.

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[67]The third dance appeared first as one of the added airs in *Mirtil*, where it is called an "Air des Siamois."

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Later in Act I masked dancers enter the wedding fete drawing their swords to the descriptive "Air des Combattants" in an attempt to divert Cardenio from the celebration so that Dom Fernand can escape with Lucinde. On learning of the abduction, Cardenio becomes distraught and threatens to kill Fernand.[68]



Example 18-6: *Les Folies de Cardenio*: *Entrée* I "Air des Combattants," m. 1-8; Rés. 581: II, 16

The *entrée* in the second act is a Feste Pastorale presented for Ignes and Marcelle, whose wedding occurs in the fourth scene of the act.[69] The setting of this act and *entrée* is in a woods, with the sea and a hutch of shepherds seen at the rear. Marcelle's friends have sent eight dancing shepherds and eight shepherdesses to the wedding celebration, as well as a shepherd chorus which begins the *entrée* by calling for a concert to honor the newlyweds:[70]

> Célébrons le bonheur de ces tendres amants:
> Que ce Bocage retentisse,
> De nos concerts les plus charmants;
> Et qu'à nos voix l'Echo s'unisse.
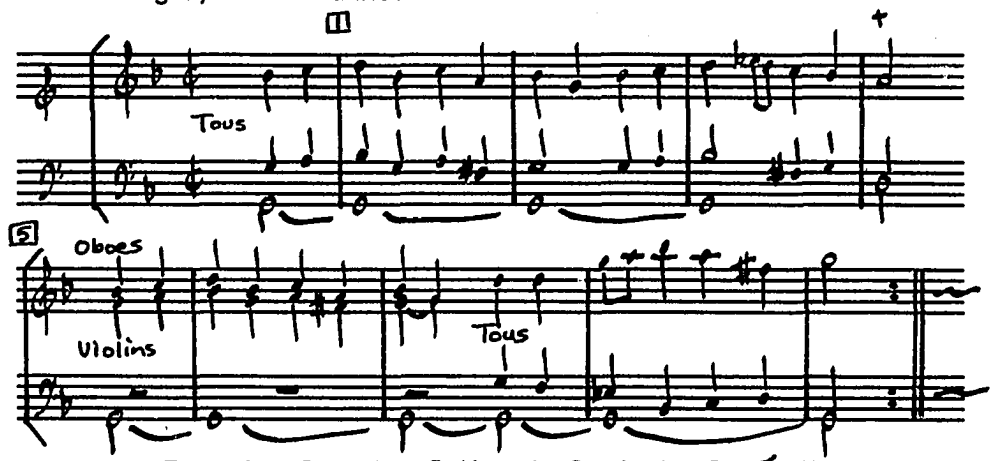
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[68]The meter of this air should read 3/4 and not 6/8. This *entrée* was omitted in later versions of the *ballet*, probably because of its violence.

[69]In *Endimion* the Feste Pastorale occurs at the end of Act II as general rejoicing by the nymphs and shepherds.

[70]*Les Folies de Cardenio*: *Entrée* II, Liv 18 (332, p. 21.

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Dancers enter to the "Marche des Bergers," which Delalande borrowed from the third *entrée* of *Le Palais de Flore.* These shepherds may also have danced the following "Sarabande" before the shepherd soloist, M. Boutelou, requests the following "Musette." The scoring of this "Musette" is unique in the Supper Symphonies because of its two different bass lines, identified respectively for bassoons and basso continuo. The several passages for oboe trio contribute to the pastoral imagery of the dance:



Example 18-7: *Les Folies de Cardenio*: *Entrée* II "Musette," m. 1-8; Rés. 581: I, 77
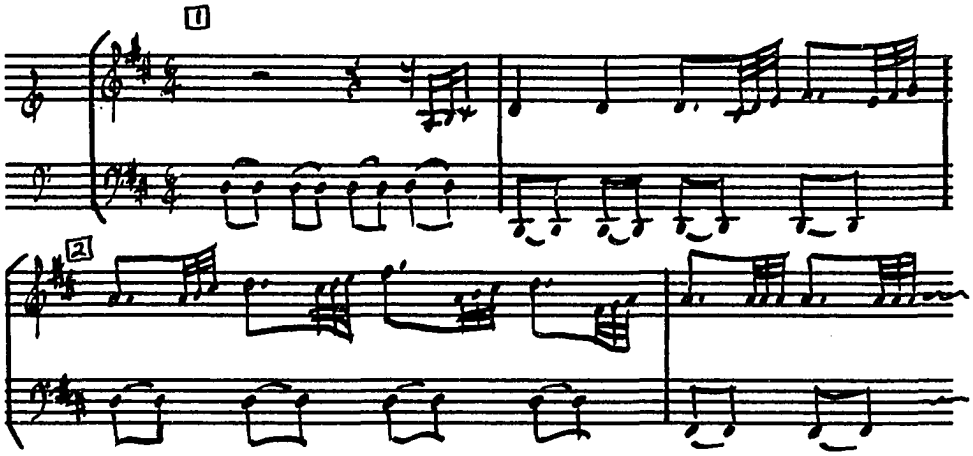
A duet between Marie Antier and Jean-Joseph Mouret calling for peace and love intervenes before the final "Passepied" and "Gavotte lente."[71] The second act concludes with Cardenio becoming increasingly mad over his loss of Lucinde. Several shepherds (Bury, Muraire, and Mouret) calm Cardenio with song, and others dance, but none can dissuade him from drawing his sword on Don Quichotte.

The third act opens with a tempest on the ocean, graphically described by "La Tempête," composed by Jean-Féry Rebel.

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[71]This "Gavotte" is one of the two movements in Rés. 581 with text which does not appear in the printed verse of the *ballet.* Annotations in Rés. 581 indicate that this text is by a M. Roy, possibly the author of *Les Elémens.*

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Example 18-8: *Les Folies de Çardenio*: *Entrée* III
"La Tempête," m. 1-4; Rés. 581: II, 230

The sea's unrest is paralleled by the turmoil of the main characters, which is resolved only when tangled love affairs are put in order. Three weddings ensue, between Marcel and Dorothée, Fernand and Ignes, and Cardenio and Lucinde. The singing and dancing shepherds celebrate these marriages in the *ballet*'s third *entrée*, "L'Union de l'Hymen et de l'Amour."[72] The *entrée* closes with a reminder of the importance of peace, unity, and love:[73]

> Amour, quelle langueur, quel trouble plein d'attraits,
> Verses-tu dans ces coeurs fidèles!
> Que tes coups sont charmants! non, la plus douce paix
> Ne vaut pas les transports des amours mutuelles!

A *Nouvelle Feste* paralleling the *Grand Entrée* of *L'Inconnu* closes the *ballet*. This scene recalls most of the dancers from earlier *entrées* and features the king as Amour and the Duc de Chartres as Hymen, each with his own suite of ten dancing courtiers. The first six dances feature solos for Louis and Chartres, after which another shepherdess (Marguerite Lisarde) again sings of

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[72]Much of the text in this third *entrée* was rearranged in subsequent productions.

[73]*Les Folies de Cardenio*: *Entrée* III; Liv 18 (332, p. 30.

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the charms of Amour (Louis). The original version of the *ballet* concludes with an air by a companion of Lucinde celebrating Amour's triumph over tyranical waves and fierce winds:[74]

> L'Amour par sa presence, embellit ce séjour,
> Volez, charmants Zéphirs, faîtes-luy vôtre cour;
> Et vous, petits Oyseaux, effrayez par l'orage,
> Revenez faire entendre icy votre ramage;
> Chantez, chantez, célébrez ce beau jour.

E. PERFORMANCE

Performers: Information in secondary accounts and archival records about *Cardenio's* performers corroborates that in printed texts. Additionally, the personnel named in these sources provides the most complete list of performers in any of Delalande's stage works. Of particular importance is the *ballet's* roster of the choir and orchestra.

Cardenio was by far Delalande's largest stage production, the one nearest in scope to Lully's *ballets* of the 1660's and 1670's, and the one with the most elaborate scenic effects. Perhaps such performing forces were assembled to satisfy the visual and acoustical demands of the Salles des Machines, but a large cast also served symbolically as a reminder of the power and strength of the court under its new king.

The performers included some of the most prominent courtiers, as well as professionals. The original version of the *ballet* included 238 parts filled by 173 individuals.[75] *Cardenio* brought together the greatest number of courtiers and professional dancers in the history of Louis XV's court: of the sixty-eight dancers, twenty-seven were courtiers (children and adults), most of whom played themselves (*seigneurs galois*). As in *L'Inconnu*, all of these courtiers

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[74] *Les Folies de Cardenio*: Nouvelle Feste; Liv 18 (332, p. 32

[75] These figures compare, for example, with 181 roles played by 116 performers in Delalande's *Jeunesse* and 162 roles played by 111 people in *Palais*.

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were men. Their separation from the professionals in all dances except the quadrilles of the first *entrée* probably indicates the continuing disparity in dancing abilities between the two groups. The courtiers, such as Louis, the Duc de Chartres, and the son of the Marquis de Villeroy, represented some of the most influential noble families. Additionally the twenty-nine men and twelve women professional dancers included the choreographer Balon and the six *pensionnaires* of the king: Blondy, Marcel, Dumirail 4, Prévôt, Guyot, and Menes, all of whom also appeared in *L'Inconnu*. Of note is the presence of Louis Pécourt, the aged ballet master and former choreographer of the Opéra, as one of the dancing shepherds of the second and third *entrées*.[76]

Of *Cardenio's* nine vocal soloists, Antier, Bury, and Muraire also sang in *L'Inconnu*. Significantly, the solos for these three prominent singers, plus those for Mouret, were not cut when the work was abridged.

The members of the choir and orchestra for *Cardenio* are enumerated. Opéra singers included nineteen men and twelve women. The sixty-five instrumentalists included eighteen from the court's chamber music, twenty-six from the Opéra orchestra, twelve from the Ecurie, five from the chapel, and four "external" players.[77] Augustin Le Pintre assisted Balon as rehearsal violinist, and Jean-Féry Rebel again directed the orchestra.

Information about the personnel in *Cardenio* is summarized in the following chart.

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[76]Pécourt appeared in all of Delalande's stage works involving professional dancers except *L'Inconnu*, and would dance the following year in *Les Elémens*. See the article on Pécourt in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, which states that he ended his dancing career in 1703. He was seventy when he appeared in *Cardenio*. He died in 1729 at the age of 78.

[77]Specific instrumentaion cannot be determined from these records, but the list of performing parts prepared by Philidor offers a view of the kinds of instruments which made up this massive orchestra. The cost of this orchestra for ten performances was approximately 6600 *livres*, about five percent of the entire financial outlay for *Cardenio*.

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Parts and Performers in LES FOLIES DE CARDENIO

SINGERS : Solo Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	4	2	2
Entrée I	---	---	---
Entrée II	5	3	2
Entrée III	5	4	1
Nouvelle Feste	1	---	1
TOTALS	**15**	**9**	**6**

DANCERS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	31 [8, *23*]	27 [4, *23*]	4 [4, *0*]
Entrée I	34 [12, *22*]	22 [--, *22*]	12 [12, *0*]
Entrée II	16 [16, --]	8 [8, --]	8 [8, *0*]
Entrée III	16 [16, --]	8 [8, --]	8 [8, *0*]
Nouvelle Feste	37 [13, *24*]	32 [8, *24*]	5 [5, *0*]
TOTALS	**134**[65,*69*]	**97**[28,*69*]	**37**[37,*0*]

GRAND TOTALS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	15	9	6
Dancers	144	97	37
Choir	31	19	12
Instrumentalists	65	65	----
TOTALS	**255**	**190**	**55**

GRAND TOTALS : Personnel

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	9	5	4
Dancers	68 [41, *27*]	56 [29, *27*]	12 [12, --]
Choir	31	19	12
Instrumentalists	65	65	----
TOTALS	**173**	**145**	**28**

Figure XVIII-1: Performer Chart: Les Folies de Cardenio

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Rehearsal Schedule: While a precise rehearsal schedule for *Cardenio* is not enumerated in any documents, a general picture of the *ballet's* preparation time can be developed from archival documents and secondary accounts. The planning of the king's second *ballet* may have begun as early as the production of *L'Inconnu* in January, 1720, when the *Mercure* reported that the Regent declared his intentions to remodel the Salle des Machines. In November of that year the journal announced that the theater was almost ready, and Marais reported rehearsals in the hall during December.[78]

The date on which the *ballet* and play were completed cannot be determined. As usual, we have little insight into Delalande's method or schedule of composition, but his borrowing of only one movement from another composer may indicate a longer preparation time for *Cardenio* than for *L'Inconnu.*

The number of dress rehearsals cannot be determined from surviving documents. Only one *répétition générale* is recorded, on 30 December, but this could not have been the only full rehearsal for such a large production in a newly-remodeled theater. Additionally, one dress rehearsal for the revised production with the play *Dom Japhet* occurred on 9 January.[79] Apparently some "sectional" rehearsals also were held, as indicated by a variety of payment

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[78]See the *Mercure* November 1720, p. 105, and Marais 1863, vol. II, p. 31. Also, payment records include bills to various carpenters for up to 108 days of work and to painters for ninety days, indicating that work on the hall continued during the late summer and fall. These records do not mention repairs to improve the bad acoustics in the hall. Apparently if there were an attempt to remedy this problem, it proved ineffective.

[79]AN O[1]2851, fol. 176, 213.

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records.[80] Nearly all performers are acknowledged for at least ten rehearsals and/or performances.[81]

Performance Site: The enormous capacity of the Salle des Machines certainly influenced the scope of production of *Cardenio*. The stage in this theater was the largest in France at the time and included some of the most elaborate scenic capabilities. Its entire area wall-to-wall measured nearly twenty-four meters wide and seventy-six meters long, and the auditorium totaled seventeen meters wide and thirty meters long, with a height of seventeen-and-one-half meters. Its raked stage was larger than the auditorium, measuring over forty-five meters deep and able to accommodate many pairs of scenery wings, which probably provided the variety of sets needed in *Cardenio*, from that of the king's palace in the prologue, to the ballroom in the first act, to the woods in act two, and the tempest on the sea in the last act. (See **Figure XVIII-1.**)[82] Certainly the immense stage could accommodate the large number of performers, which actually may have appeared slight in such a formidable space. The great size of the theater may have contributed to the many cuts in the solo portions of the original version of the *ballet* when it played with the second comedy.

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[80]For example, two *porteur d'instruments* of the Opéra and Chapelle are reimbursed for moving instruments to and from the Opéra for eighteen rehearsals. Additionally a Sr. Launes transported the women of the choir to rehearsals for forty-seven days through the end of December and three boys were paid for assisting with unspecified rehearsals in an apartment in the Louvre. AN $O^1$2851, fol. 175 and 216.

[81]The very detailed records of the Menus Plaisirs, $O^1$2851, provide complete coverage of the various craftsmen and types of work required for the remodeling of the theater.

[82]Additionally, AN $O^1$2853, fol. 228, says that a new set, a "village posé sûr l'horizon," was added for *Dom Japhet.*

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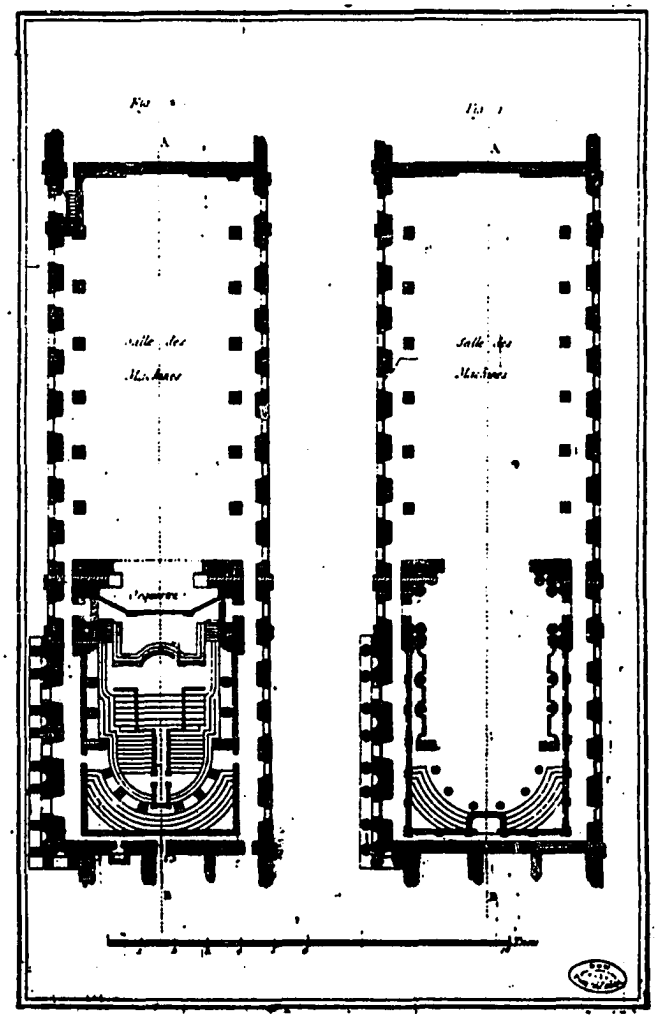


Figure XVIII-2: Tuileries: Salle des Machines:
Pn Cab Est Va 219c, Fol: Paris 1er quartier: Tuileries

The size of the auditorium allowed a large number of spectators to attend *Cardenio*. The records of the Menus Plaisirs indicate that Ballard published 2600 tickets for the *ballet*. If these functioned as tickets today do, that is, one ticket per performance, and if we believe Barbier's assessment that everyone who attended had a ticket, then an average of only 260 spectators attended each performance, a surprisingly low number given the theater's seating capacity, as well as the prestige of the production.[83] On the other hand, it is possible that the notation about the Ballard tickets mean that there were 2600 passes available for each of the ten performances, which

[83]Barbier 1847, vol. I, p. 105. Nearly that many spectators could have been crammed into the tiny Salle de Comédie at Versailles!

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would have created an audience worthy of such a splendid production featuring the young king in his second dancing role on stage.

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XIX. LES ELÉMENS

A. INTRODUCTION

Les Elémens marks the end of several eras. The *ballet* was the final composition for court to which Delalande contributed music, the last production in which Louis XV appeared, and the end of the short-lived revival of the *ballet de cour* in the eighteenth century. However, the *ballet* also looks forward, for most of its music was composed not by Delalande but by André Cardinal Destouches, the *surintendant's* successor at court. Additionally, the composition is Delalande's first *opéra-ballet*, a genre popular in the early eighteenth century which required no accompanying comedy, the first of the composer's works since *Le Palais de Flore* of 1689 to appear without another theater work. The text of the *ballet* was written by Charles Roy, with choreography by Jean Balon and designs by the Bérain workshop.

The attention which *Les Elémens* received in the eighteenth century is attested by the thoroughness of reports about its performance and by the number of its primary sources which survive today. Surprisingly, however, the *ballet* appears to have been performed only twice in court, on 31 December 1721 and 7 January 1722, and the second of these dates is not well documented. The *ballet* did reach the public stage, opening at the Académie Royale de Musique in 1725, possibly under the influence of Destouches as director at that time. This public production probably accounts for the publication of the music of the *ballet* in 1725, the first of Delalande's secular works to be printed in complete score. The work enjoyed many revivals at the Opéra during the next seventy years, generating new editions of music and text which in themselves form a history of musical-theater production in Paris in the eighteenth century.

At court the *ballet* was performed in a temporary theater in a gallery near the king's apartment in the Tuileries palace. The cost of erecting this

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theater and presenting a work nearly as elaborate as *Cardenio* pushed *Elémens'* costs close to those of *Cardenio*. Delalande's involvement with the production was minimal and should probably be viewed primarily as an honorary tribute to the aging *surintendant*, who had also shared the composition of *L'Inconnu* and *Cardenio* with colleagues of the court. Delalande composed only ten known movements of the *ballet* and apparently took no part in the direction of the production. Therefore, this essay examines the organization of the *ballet* very generally and considers in detail only the contributions by Delalande.

B. SOURCES

Music: While one of the best known of his stage compositions, *Les Elémens* is in many ways most atypical of Delalande's secular oeuvre because he contributed only a small portion of the music and apparently had little or no role in directing the production. However, the sources of the *ballet* are the most numerous of any composition in his repertoire because of its performances at the Opéra after playing in court.[84]

Ballard published the complete music from the *ballet* in short score in 1725. This edition represents only the third printing of Delalande's stage music during this lifetime. While the production at the Opéra which served as the source for Ballard's 1725 publication was modified somewhat from the 1721 production for court, sufficient musical and textual documentation survives to critically evaluate the organization of the original version. Generally the contents of the text of the *ballet* published for court in 1721 coincides with the organization of the work in the 1725 edition of music, except for the deletion of the king's dances in the public production. While the short-score format of the Ballard music does not offer as much information about the

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[84]This again points out how the confinement of Delalande's productions to court has influenced our twentieth-century impression of the composer. *Les Elémens* also received the most extended report in the *Mercure* of any of Delalande's works.

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compositional style of Delalande and Destouches as do their compositions surviving in full scores, the Ballard edition nevertheless allows one to assess Delalande's contribution in relation to the complete *ballet*.

Ballard's score does not identify the music written by Delalande. However, both copies of the Supper Symphonies, Vm^{7}3077 and Rés. 581, include the ten movements by the *surintendant*: the overture, four vocal solos, one choral movement, and four instrumental airs. All of these appear in the prologue and first *entrée*.[85] The airs from *Elémens* in Rés. 581 include much figured bass.

The records of the Menus Plaisirs imply that a manuscript score and performing parts were prepared for the court performances by the Sr. Lallemand (first name unknown).[86] The same document identifies reimbursement for many hours of work in the Ballard firm for "impressions necessaire pour ledit ballet," which seems to imply time beyond the normal requirements of text production.

Text: Ballard's edition of the text of *Les Elémens* published in 1721 offers the most complete impression of the contents of the work as produced in court. Variants in the title pages of the surviving copies examined thus far indicate uncertainty in dating the premiere: most copies list the opening date as 31 December, although one copy lists 29 December and another 22 December.[87]

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[85]*Les Elémens* is the latest of Delalande's works included in Vm^{7}3077, setting the earliest date of compilation of this anthology at 1722.

[86]AN O^{1}2853, fol. 190.

[87]See the Catalogue Raisonnê for complete transcriptions of the three versions of the title pages. The texts of the *ballet* in these three versions appear to be identical. Archival documents indicate four dress rehearsals: possibly the copies dated 22 and 29 December were used for two of these rehearsals.

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This text may have been widely distributed. The Menus Plaisirs documents indicate that Ballard published 3200 copies in 1721, probably late in the year. Additionally, the report of the work in the *Mercure* of January 1722 drew much of its information from the Ballard text, enabling many who did not attend the production to read about the work.

A comparison of Ballard's 1721 text with his new edition in 1725 provides a clear view of the changes which the production underwent to move from the court to the Académie Royale. Such a comparison as well as subsequent changes to the *ballet* throughout the eighteenth century is not undertaken here: however, a study of this nature could make a significant contribution to our history of French musical-theatrical works in the eighteenth century.

C. ORGANIZATION

The organization and subject matter of *Les Elémens* typify the genre of the *opéra-ballet* of the early eighteenth century. Each of its four acts depicts one of the elements --- air, water, earth, and fire. These are musically and dramatically independent of one another but related to the overall theme of the work. The four acts are preceded by a prologue, which represents chaos, before man conquered the elements. The work contains the most serious subject matter of Delalande's three Regency *ballets*, in contrast with the comic format of *L'Inconnu* or the historical setting of *Cardenio*. However, in part through its segmented organization, the works avoids the gravity of most *tragédies lyriques*.[88]

The prologue is shrouded in clouds and rubble.[89] From this chaos the

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[88]Roy wrote in the preface of Ballard's 1721 text that four separate stories are less fatiguing for the audience than are several consecutive, related segments such as found in *tragédies lyriques*. See Po Liv 18(245, p. 1. See also Anthony 1978, p. 130-146, for a discussion of the *opéra-ballet*.

[89]The text of the prologue is based on Virgil's *Aeneid*.

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four elements were born. At the moment of their birth, the destiny of France's young Prince Louis, who brings only goodness to his country, was also established. The gods of the four elements are recognized in this prologue. They acknowledge through their music the peace and order which can exist in the world. The featured soloist in the prologue is the king, who dances with twelve courtier heros.

The first *entrée*, "L'Air," set in Junon's palace, concerns the tragic love of Ixion for Junon, goddess of the air. This first section of the *ballet* also features Mercure and Jupiter, a choir of Aquilons and Zéphirs, and a *divertissement* by dancing Heures du Jour and Heures de la Nuit. The second *entrée*, "L'Eau," occurs in the palace of Nepture and includes singing sirens and tritons as well as dancing gods and goddesses of the sea. In the *entrée* Arion becomes shipwrecked, is then received into the company of Neptune and Thésée, and eventually marries a siren. "Le Feu," the third *entrée*, takes place in the Temple of Vesta, goddess of fire, and features singing and dancing priestesses of Vesta, as well as Roman lords who accompany her to her temple. The final *entrée*, "La Terre," according to the tradition of Ovid, features Vertumne and Pomone, plus all the gods who have at one time inhabited the earth, along with common characters such as hunters and shepherds who sing and dance. The *ballet*'s epilogue, in the manner of the *grand entrée* of *Palais* and *L'Inconnu*, sees the return of the dancing king representing the sun, with twelve courtiers as signs of the zodiac, plus eight other dancers representing the four corners of the world. When the elements are so ordered, the sun can begin his lifelong reign:[90]
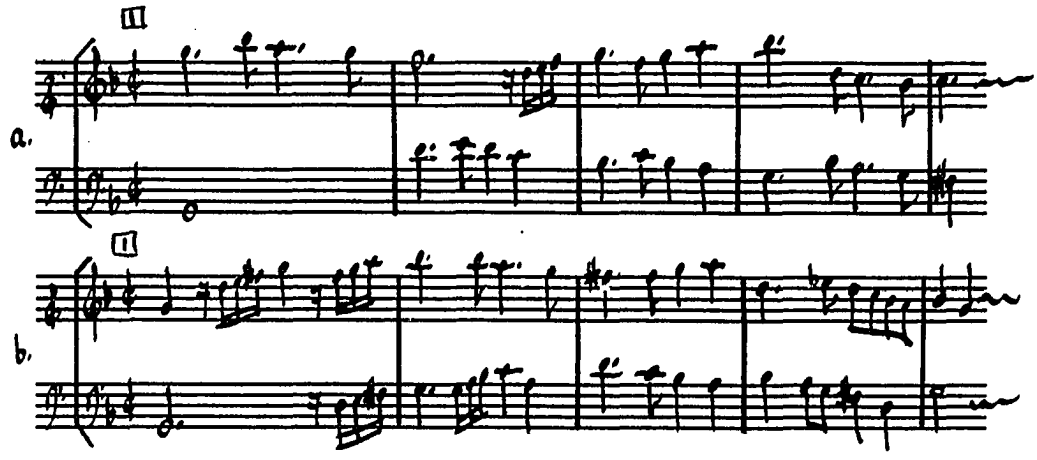
> Soleil, commence ta carrière,
> Tes regards sont des bienfaits;
> Poursuy ton cours sans t'égarer jamais;
> Tout languit loin de ta lumière,
> Tout brille par tes attraits.

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[90]*Les Elémens*, 1721: epilogue; Po Liv 18(245, p. 64.

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The ten movements Delalande contributed to *Les Elémens* appear in the Prologue and first *entrée*. Apparently none except the "Ouverture" were borrowed: this movement appeared previously in *Adonis, Fées,* and *Hymen Champestre,* but was substantially modified for *Les Elémens.* While retaining the length of the first section at twelve measures, Delalande reordered the harmonic and motivic structure of the opening, added ten measures in similar style after the middle section, and reduced this polyphonic portion from forty-three to thirty-three measures.[91]
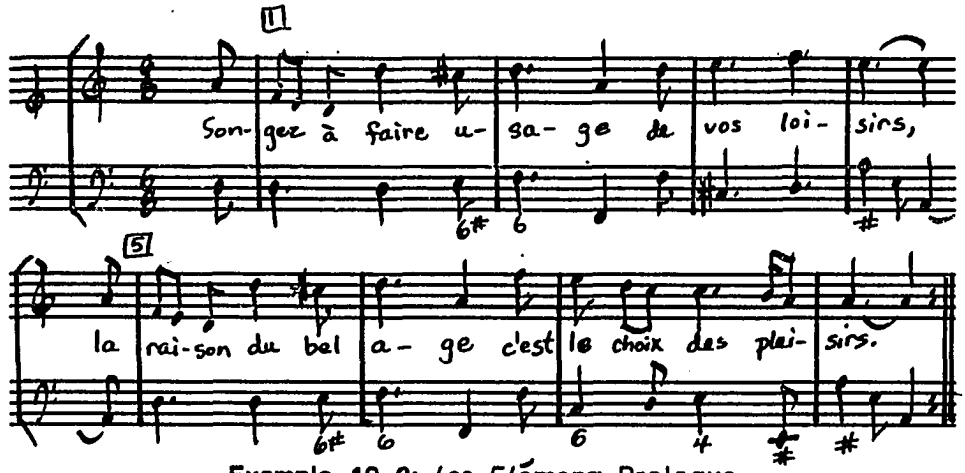


Example 19-1: *Les Elémens*: "Ouverture," m. 1-5
a. Rés. 582, p. 106, as used in *Adonis, Fées, Hymen*
b. Rés. 581: I, 127, as used in *Elémens*

Delalande's first movement in the *ballet* after the overture, an "Air de Trompettes," accompanied Louis' first dance after his reception by the choir. The remaining four movements which Delalande wrote for the prologue appear together near the end and feature the singing Venus and the dancing king: an "Air gai" in D minor ushers in Venus' ariette, "Songez à faire usage." This vocal movement is in binary form, in eight plus sixteen measures, and stylistically typifies the uncomplicated, syllabic, chordally-oriented vocal style

[91]See also Example 10-1, the opening of the polyphonic portion of the "Ouverture" to *Adonis.*

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found in most of the composer's stage works throughout his career:



Example 19-2: *Les Elémens*: Prologue
"Songez à faire usage," m. 1-8; Rés. 581: I, 150

After Venus' air, Louis dances two "Menuets" before Le Destin, Venus, and the chorus conclude the prologue with an accolade to the young king reminding us of how this Louis, as his great-grandfather before him, is master of the entire universe. This chorus, as the preceding air, represents the usual style of such movements heard throughout the composer's works: its short text is reiterated many times in homophonic texture to a simple harmonic structure:[92]
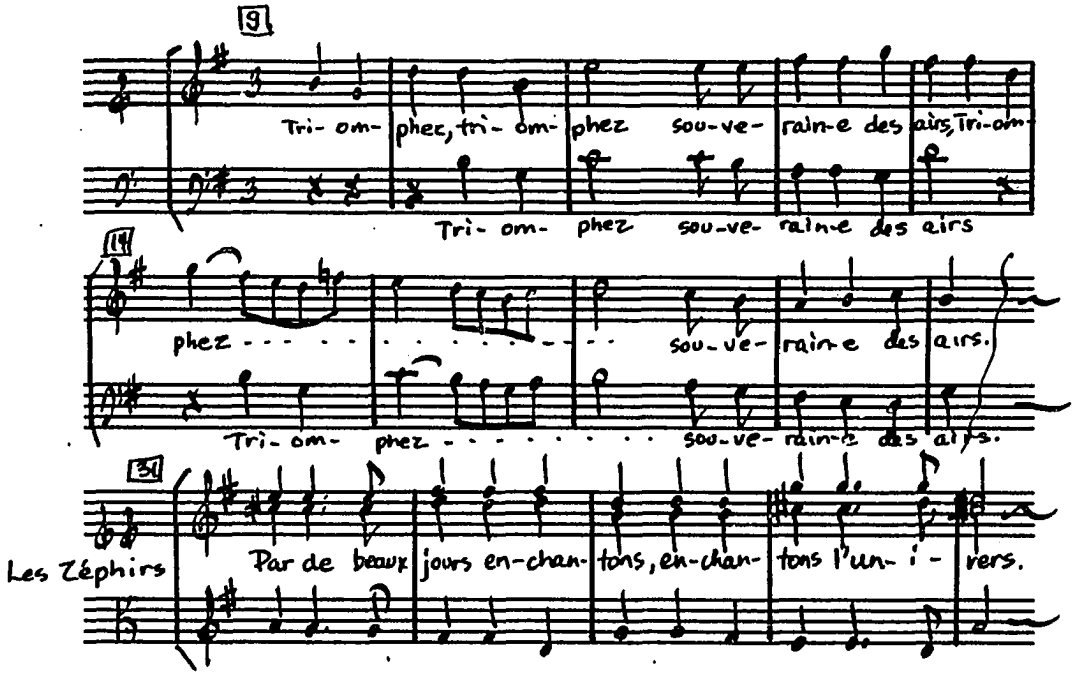
> Qu'il règne, qu'il triomphe, et que les Elémens
> Soient tributaires de sa gloire.

Delalande's four movements in the first *entrée* appear together in the third scene. His chorus "Triomphez, souveraine des airs," is one of the most triumphant movements in the *ballet*. Included in the Ballard edition of 1725 with full vocal score, the movement provides a view of the composer's choral writing in his late works: its texture alternates between passages for the full, four-voice choir and five-part orchestra, and those for three voice parts, representing variously the Zéphirs (two soprano parts and *haute-contre*) and Aquilons (sopranos, tenors, and basses). Generally the text is set syllabically, except on the word "triomphez."
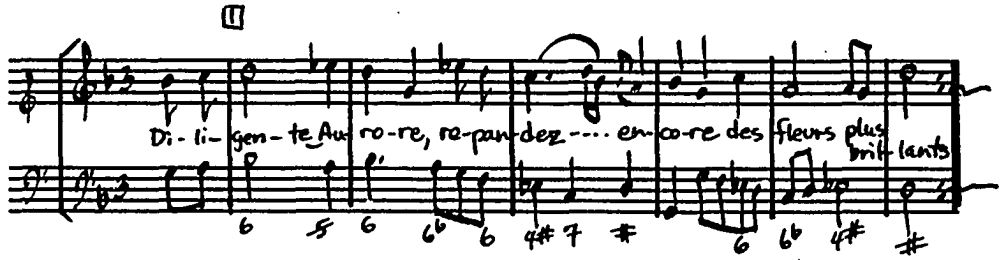
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[92] *Les Elémens*, 1721: prologue: Po Liv 18(245, p. 7

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Example 19-3: *Les Elémens*: *Entrée* I: "Triomphez," m. 9-18, 31-35; Rés. 581: I, 135, 136

Junon calls Aurore to light the earth in his simple, thirteen-measure air which follows this chorus:



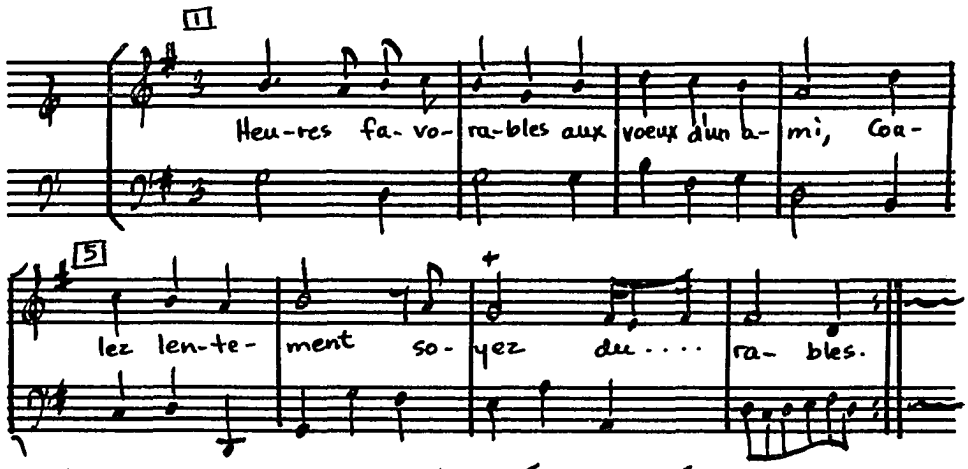
Example 19-4: *Les Elémens*: *Entrée* I: "Diligente aurore" m. 1-6; Rés. 581: I, 138

Following this movement, the Heures, Aquilons, and Zéphirs continue their dancing. For unexplained reasons, the text to Delalande's last air in the *ballet*, "Heures favorable," does not appear in Ballard's 1721 edition of the text, but is included in the Supper Symphonies.[93] In this movement the unidentified vocalists appeal to the "Heures" for a lasting and pleasant reign for the king.

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[93]The movement appears to be replaced in the text by a solo air for Junon.

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Example 19-5: *Les Elémens: Entrée* I
"Heures favorables," m. 1-8; Rés. 581: I, 139

D. PERFORMANCE

Performers: The number of performers and roles in *Les Elémens* is approximately thirty percent lower than those in *Cardenio* but nearly double the numbers of *l'Inconnu.*[94] Even though *Elémens* placed less emphasis on dance and visual spectacle than did *Cardenio,* the dancing roles still made up the largest component of the personnel because of the desire to include a large number of courtiers in the production.

As seen in *Cardenio,* the entire roster for the court production of *Les Elémens* can be reconstructed in detail. As usual, the Ballard text names the dancers and solo singers. Additionally, this edition itemizes the twenty-eight singers in the choir (twelve women and sixteen men), while the records of the Menus Plaisirs specify the thirty-five members of the orchestra. Many of these performers also appeared in Delalande's two previous Regency *ballets.* Of *Elémen's* eleven vocal soloists, eight sang in *Cardenio* and two in *L'Inconnu.*[95] As in the two previous ballets, all the dancing courtiers in *Les Elémens* were

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[94]The version for court consisted of 191 parts, performed by seventy-three musicians and fifty-nine dancers, twenty-five of whom were courtiers.

[95]Singers in *Les Elémens* included lead singers of the Opéra such as Marie Antier and Mr. Boutelou and Louis Muraire.

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male, while the Opéra dancers numbered eighteen men and sixteen women.[96] The distinction in dancing abilities between professionals and courtiers seems to have widened, for the printed text of *Les Elémens* indicates little interaction of these dancers on stage. For example, the prologue consists exclusively of the king and his nobles, whose limited dancing abilities may be implied by the absence of solos for them. Only in the second *entrée* and in the epilogue do women dancers from the Opéra perform couple dances with courtiers. The professional dancers again included important soloists, such as Prévôt, Guyot, Balon, and Blondy. Also, the aged Pécourt appeared, as a zéphir in the first *entrée.*

Statistics about personnel in *Les Elémens* follow:

[96]Twenty-one of the courtiers appeared previously in *Cardenio* and thirteen in *L'Inconnu.*

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Parts and Performers in LES ELÉMENS

SINGERS : Solo Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	2	1	1
Entrée I	4	3	1
Entrée II	5	3	2
Entrée III	3	1	2
Entrée IV	6	3	3
TOTALS	**20**	**11**	**9**

DANCERS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Prologue	13 [---,*13*]	13 [---,*13*]	----
Entrée I	22 [22,---]	12 [12,---]	10 [10,---]
Entrée II	11 [5, *6*]	5 [---, *5*]	6 [6,---]
Entrée III	16 [13, *3*]	9 [6, *3*]	7 [7,---]
Entrée IV	22 [18, *4*]	14 [10, *4*]	8 [8,---]
Epilogue	21 [17, *4*]	17 [---,*17*]	4 [4,---]
TOTALS	**105**	70	35

GRAND TOTALS : Parts

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	20	11	9
Dancers	105	70	35
Choir	31	19	12
Instrumentalists	35	35	---
TOTALS	**191**	**135**	**56**

GRAND TOTALS : Personnel

	TOTALS	MEN	WOMEN
Solo Singers	12	5	7
Dancers	59 [38,*21*]	43 [18,*35*]	16 [16,---]
Choir	31	19	12
Instrumentalists	35	35	----
TOTALS	**137**	**102**	**35**

Figure XIX-1: Performer Chart: Les Elémens

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Schedule: Information about the schedule of preparation of *Les Elémens* is less complete than is that for *Cardenio*, but enough documentation survives to suggest many similarities between the two works. *Les Elémens* was first announced in the *Nouveau Mercure* in August, 1721, in a short article which named only Destouches as the intended composer.[97] This report may indicate that Delalande contributed to the production only when and as much as he was able. The number of rehearsals for *Les Elémens* is specified less clearly than are those for many other productions in which Delalande took part. The accounts of the Menus Plaisirs indicate that four undated *répétitions générales* occurred in the theater.[98] Additionally, those records report that a *concierge* at the Louvre was paid for supplying bread, wine, and candles for some or all of the twenty-two earlier rehearsals "tant particulières que générales" for the courtiers and presumably sometimes for some or all of the Opéra dancers. Additionally, the violinist Augustin Le Pintre played for dance rehearsals held in the Louvre and in the theater. While the number of his rehearsals is unspecified, these must have reached at least ten, in view of his reimbursement of one hundred *livres*, a sizable amount of money compared to the payment most instrumentalists received for the *ballet*. The number of rehearsals for the professional singers is unclear.

The preparation time for costumes and the building of the new theater is better documented than is the rehearsal schedule. Apparently just after the production of *Cardenio*, the Salle des Machines was deemed unuseable for court *ballets*, as indicated by records indicating the erection between 17 February and 9 July of a smaller, temporary theater in the king's

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[97] *Le Nouveau Mercure*, August 1721, p. 109.

[98] An $O^1$2853, fol. 186^v; Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 323. The king danced for only two of these rehearsals.

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antechamber.[99] When the gallery theater for *Les Elémens* was begun is somewhat unclear, but surviving accounts imply several months of work. Advance preparation on the theater may have begun as early as September, 1721, as indicated by a payment record for 132 days of work from then through 10 January 1722 to oversee theater construction and transportation for rehearsals.[100] Similarly, Bérain's shop was on the payroll during these same dates for the production of sets, constumes, and wigs.[101]

The costs for *Les Elémens* reached nearly 74,000 *livres*, approximately two-thirds of the price of *Cardenio*, a substantial cost in view of the small number of performances and the relatively limited scope of production in comparison with the 1721 *ballet*.

Site: Reports about *Les Elémens* do not specifically identify the gallery in which the theater was constructed. This room probably was on the *premier étage* of the Tuileries palace not far from the king's apartment. (See **Figure XVII-1.**) No plans of the theater in this gallery seem to exist, making our assessment of the site only speculative. Verbal accounts indicate that the hall was one of the largest and best equiped sites of Delalande's productions at court except for the Salle des Machines.[102]

The *Nouveau Mercure* describes the theater in detail, since it was "très-ingénieusement construit & décoré."[103] According to the journal, a Sieur de Vace designed the hall, whose stage measured eight-and-one-half meters wide

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[99] AN $O^1$2853, fol. 225. This report says that the king ordered this alternate site because the Salle des Machines was too cold.

[100] AN $O^1$2853 fol. 195; Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 323.

[101] AN $O^1$2853, fol 65-68^v, 147 ff. The accounts of the Menus Plaisirs describe the costumes in great detail.

[102] I have not been able to determine how long the theater remained in use.

[103] *Nouveau Mercure*, January 1722, p. 93 ff.

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and high and fifteen meters deep. Decoration at the opening of the stage included a triumphal arch with caryatids, festoons of flowers, palms, and other ornaments. Representations of classical poets such a Sophocles and Euripides decorated the proscenium, while the ceiling, designed by Bérain, depicted Apollo. Two balconies were built on each side of the stage, one below the other, to accommodate the choir, ladies in the lower and men in the upper level. The location of the orchestra is unclear.

According to the *Mercure*, the auditorium included armchairs for the king and the princesses and ladies of the court, while tiered seatbanks filled the rest of the hall for other spectators. The journal does not mention balconies, nor the hall's seating capacity, although the auditorium certainly was smaller than that in the Salle des Machines. Payment records indicate that Ballard printed 3200 copies of the text of *Les Elémens*, which "esté distribues aux spectateurs."[104] If the *ballet* was performed only twice, approximately 1600 texts would have been used for each performance. That number of copies for spectator use would indicate a theater of comparable size to the Paris Opéra house in the Palais Royal.[105]

The *Mercure* describes rather ingenious scenic effects.[106] For example, the glistening rays of the sun enfolding Louis at the end of the *ballet* were

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[104]AN $O^1$2853, fol. 188. 200 of these texts were on special paper for the king and his seigneurs.

[105]The implications of these archival records are unclear. This entry also indicates that 6000 tickets were printed in order to enter the performances, 2000 for the theater and 4000 for the hall. "Pour avoir imprimé 6.000 billets pour entrer aux représentations, dont 2.000 pour le théâtre et 4.000 pour la Salle." See Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 322. How these tickets were used is unclear. Possibly the court adapted a ticket system similar to that enforced during these years by the Opéra. However, 6000 is an enormous number: if the gallery had been able to accommodate 3000 people per performance, it would have been as large as the Salle des Machines, clearly not the case. Also, the differentiation in ticket types is not explained.

[106]AN $O^1$2853, fol. 181-82, also offers a detailed description of decorations for the *ballet*.

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achieved by bright lights shining on glass pipes through which water circulated. The stage was lighted by 210 lanterns. Scenery could be changed quite quickly by a set of ropes attached to triangular decorations.[107] This apparatus was probably used for the many scene changes in the *ballet*, from the prologue, depicting chaos, to the four *entrées*, depicting the palaces of Junon and Neptune, the temple of Vesta, and the gardens of Pomone.

While *Les Elémens* marked the end of Louis XV's participation in musical-stage productions at court and consequently the end of the life of the *ballet de cour*, the *ballet*, with its elaborate mechanical sets, ornate costumes, and vast numbers of important performers, marks a triumphant culmination of Delalande's faithful service for over forty years to his king and to the court of France.

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[107] AN O[1]2853, fol. 186.

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SUMMARY OF DELALANDE'S MUSICAL STYLE

Delalande produced his nineteen surviving stage works to celebrate specific events in the life of the French court. Generally speaking, the makeup of these compositions reflects both the musical standards of the court and the aesthetic ideals of the period. While many musical sources of this repertoire are incomplete or lost, those which do survive, particularly the five complete scores, allows us to gain a reliable view of the musician's compositional approach to his secular oeuvre.

Most of Delalande's stage works are multi-section compositions consisting of vocal and instrumental music. On the broadest level, I have classified each as either a *ballet* or a *concert*: that is, a production with dance versus one without dance. Generally, one can observe a distinction in musical organization according to this categorization: many of the *ballets* emphasize dance and other instrumental music and limit the amount of recitative, while the *concerts* emphasize solo vocal music over choral and instrumental passages. On the other hand, Delalande demonstrates no substantive differences in approach within any one compositional type. For example, he apparently felt no distinction between the choral style for his *concerts* versus one for his *ballets*. Consequently, we can generalize about the musical style of his secular music by considering this oeuvre as a whole.

Delalande's stage music evinces the influence of Lully, and consequently contains few innovations in subject matter or compositional approach: Delalande created no new genres, nor did he radically alter the approach toward the established French genres of the period. This attitude may be explained in part by the occasional nature of his repertoire, most of which apparently was written on reasonably short notice and performed only a few times before a select audience of courtiers and noblemen desiring entertaining but not necessarily moralizing musical productions. In contrast, Delalande's

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capacity for innovation is evident in his contributions at the end of the seventeenth century to the *grand motet*, a genre less subject to the influence of contemporary social and political events.

Solo and ensemble vocal music dominates most of Delalande's stage compositions. While the distinction between recitative and air usually is less clear-cut in French than in Italian music of the period, the two styles in Delalande's repertoire generally are clearly delineated. Passages in recitative, which seem to be the least completely preserved of his vocal music, appear in monologues and dialogues to help develop the dramatic action on stage. The "functional" nature of the recitative --- to convey the text --- is evident in its musical style: most surviving passages are accompanied only by basso continuo, on harmonic progressions which consist largely of primary triads in root position and first inversion. Vocal lines contains few affective tricks to highlight text, consisting instead of a syllabic melodic style, with melismas generally only for the most descriptive or active words, in a limited melodic range with few wide or unexpected intervals. Most recitatives contain several changes of meter and their harmonic rhythm moves more slowly than does that in the solo airs.

As heard in the many examples presented in this dissertation, simplicity likewise characterizes Delalande's solo airs, which are differentiated from his recitative by their consistent meter, greater regularity of harmonic and melodic rhythm, and more controlled formal structure. The subject matter of most airs reflects or reacts to the surrounding dramatic situation. The majority of these airs are short, between sixteen and forty-eight measures, and many are in either binary or rondeau form. Only a few appear to be strophic, but verses of text subsequent to the first may often be omitted from many in manuscript sources. Many stylistic features of Delalande's recitative can also describe his airs: most text is set to music syllabically, with occasional melismas and a

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minimum of simple ornamentation highlighting important words. Phrasing is often quite regular and phrase lengths short, so much so that a four-plus-four-measure structure can dominate an entire air. Generally such predictable phrasing employs uncomplicated harmonies which modulate to only closely-related keys. Many airs are accompanied only by basso continuo, and obbligato melody instruments are heard in many others. Accompaniment by an entire orchestra occurs least frequently.

The number of ensembles, in which two or more characters sing simultaneously, is low: most of these are duets, a few trios. Generally these movements support the prevailing dramatic situation by demonstrating the unity of attitude of the characters in the ensemble. The musical style is even simpler than in the solos: the voice lines, even if they begin through points of imitation, often quickly settle into motion in parallel thirds and sixths. Usually the text is limited to a few lines. Often these ensembles provide transitions between solos and choral passages.

Delalande's choruses often reiterate text previously heard. Again, one finds the Lullian influence in Delalande's choral scoring: movements for full choir and orchestra usually consist of four vocal and five instrumental parts. Reduced textures also appear in many of the choral movements: these are generally in three parts, in a variety of voice combinations, the most common of which is divided sopranos and basses accompanied by divided violins and basso continuo. Delalande's approach in most choral passages is direct: most movements are based on a short amount of text repeated many times. Generally homophonic style prevails, emphasizing even more the repetition of the text, with contrapuntal writing occasionally highlighting descriptive words such as "couler," "fuyez," or "triomphez." Additionally, Delalande relies on the simplest of harmonies with a minimum of modulations, most often to closely-related keys. Usually the voicing of the choir differs from that of the

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accompanying orchestra, creating a maximum or near-maximum number of different pitches in any given vertical sonority and thus generating as full a sound as possible with the performing forces at hand, even in passages for reduced choir and orchestra.

Delalande's instrumental music in his stage works serves several functions, as does the orchestral music of Lully. Most of Delalande's instrumental passages accompanied movement on stage, most often dancing and sometimes pantomime. The construction of his dance movements typifies the style of the period: most are short, between sixteen and thirty-two measures, in binary form, in a prevailing homophonic texture of five instrumental lines dominated by string instruments which are equally or nearly equally balanced in activity and importance.

In addition to accompanying movement on stage, Delalande used some of his instrumental music to establish or support an atmosphere. Such passages include overtures, preludes, and *entracte* music, intended to prepare audiences for the beginning of the performance or for a new act; *ritournelles* and *simphonies* used to provide time for scene changes; and other *simphonies* to reinforce the drama on stage, such as the *Simphonie pour le Sommeil* from the first scene of *L'Amour fléchy*. All of Delalande's twelve known overtures except that in the *Ballet de M. Delalande* are in the Lullian format of a slow duple-meter followed by a faster triple-meter, in five-voice texture. Most of the other movements just cited are through-composed: the *ritournelles* and preludes are usually short, in simple, three-voice homophonic style; while the works labeled as *simphonie* are often the most expressive or affective instrumental passages in any given work. Irregular lengths of phrases mark much of Delalande's instrumental writing, even movements which accompanied dance, as has been heard in many of the examples in this study.

Orchestration of Delalande's instrumental music is usually indicated only

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generally in most primary sources. The complete scores usually imply a core of string instruments, even if not marked as such, and label individual entrances of winds and percussion, but the several anthologies of *simphonies* indicate instrumentation much less frequently. Such open-ended notation may simply indicate incompleteness on the part of either the composer or the copyist to supply information about instrumentation, but it may also mean that the exact performing forces for any given work were contingent on practical circumstances and may have even varied from performance to performance. The unidiomatic nature of most of Delalande's instrumental writing permits much flexibility in orchestration.

Under the most ideal performing conditions, Delalande's orchestra probably resembled Lully's ensemble of twenty-four or twenty-five instruments consisting of a core of strings in five voices supplemented by one or two flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, or occasionally trumpets. Delalande, as Lully before him, also wrote for a reduced orchestra, often consisting of divided violin parts, basso continuo, and occasional woodwind solos. Technical requirements for these smaller ensembles generally are no more demanding than are passages for the full orchestra.

Delalande's stage works typify many current practices in secular music composition in France at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. The secular genres which he wrote and the musical language employed therein are non-innovative and non-progressive, instead modeled on conventions in musical-theatrical composition established by Jean-Baptiste Lully. Delalande's conservative approach to this oeuvre may be explained best by the circumstances under which each production was created and performed: examining these nineteen works contextually within the artistic, social, and political environment in which they were created not only helps

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evaluate his repertoire but also enhances our view of the court which the composer served during a long and varied period of French history.

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THE STAGE WORKS OF MICHEL-RICHARD DELALANDE IN THE MUSICAL-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE FRENCH COURT, 1680-1726

by

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APPENDIXES

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APPENDIX I: MUSICAL-STAGE PERFORMANCES IN THE FRENCH COURT, 1680-1723

Appendix I consists of a calendar of musical-theatrical performances in the French court from the beginning of Delalande's tenure in 1680 through 1723, the end of the Regency. This calendar provides a context in which to evaluate the composer's secular oeuvre. Additionally, the chart provides a starting point for a more comprehensive investigation of musical life in the Bourbon court at the turn of the eighteenth century. Many of the works listed on this chart are referred to in more detail in the essays on Delalande's works.

The calendar is not necessarily comprehensive, but probably does include the most important performances at court during the period considered. Information about musical performances comes from a limited but important body of sources: the *Mercure Galant*; diaries by the Marquis de Dangeau, the Marquis de Sourches, and the Duc de Saint-Simon; and several important collections of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French music and text in the United States and France. The calendar includes only musical entertainments which were prepared as performances; that is, music which was primarily "background" music, such as during meals and *appartement*, is not listed. Only during the last decade of the reign of Louis XIV are some of these general celebrations listed because they served as the principal entertainments at court and often included concert performances of unidentified works. The chart also excludes balls, since their orientation was largely social rather than artistic. While most comedies performed at court included music, particularly for the *entractes*, these productions are also not included on this chart unless the musical portions of such works constituted major musical events at least as important as the comedies themselves, such as Delalande's *Le Ballet de la Jeunesse* of 1686 and *La Comédie des Fées* of 1699. The calendar does not distinguish between rehearsals and performances: any known references to

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rehearsals are included in footnotes. The footnotes also include additional comments intended to round out our picture of musical life at court.

The calendar includes the following information, when known: 1) the date of presentation, month and day when known, arranged chronologically: events for which the month is not known appear at the end of each yearly listing); 2) the title; 3) the composer of the music and author of the text (choreographers and designers are mentioned only in footnotes); 4) the genre, often a problematic category because of sparse documentation for many works; 5) the site of performance; 6) the reason for the performance (often this entry can specify nothing more than a description such as "fall entertainment; and 7) one or two sources of information for each entry. Speculative information appears in parentheses. A dotted line indicates the absence of information for that entry. Important events in the court which influenced the schedule of artistic entertainments are found at the end of the year in which they occurred.

References to sources are as concise as possible. A citation with no specific date refers to the same month and/or day as the date listed in the first column. For example, "MG 300" as a source of information about *Bellérophon* in January, 1680, can be found in the January issue of the *Mercure* on page 300. References in diaries include the date or at least the month of the performance.

The chart uses the following abbreviations:

Genres	*bc* = *ballet de cour* *cb* = *comédie-ballet* *divert* = *divertissement* entert = entertainment *tl* = *tragédie-lyrique*
Places	apart = apartment Font = Fontainebleau St.G.en.L. = Saint Germain-en-laye

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Sources

Dang = Dangeau
Gorce = La Gorce 1983
Marais = Marais 1863
Mel Rep = Mélèse 1934 Rep
MG = *Mercure Galant*
NM = *Nouveau Mercure*
NG = *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*
SS = Saint Simon

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MUSICAL-STAGE PERFORMANCES IN THE FRENCH COURT, 1680-1723

1680

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 2 or 3	*Bellérophon*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	St.G.en.L.	Carnival	MG 300
Feb 3	*Prosperpine*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	St.G.en.L.	Carnival	MG 7; Mel Rep 170
Mar	*Pastorale*[1]	-------	-------	-------	-------	MG I, 280

[1]No further identification is included in the *Mercure*

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1681

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31; Feb 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18	*Le Ballet du Triomphe de l'Amour*	Lully; Quinault	*bc*	St.G.en.L.	Carnival	MG 199;[2] Mel Rep 172
Sept	*Le Ballet des Muses*	Lorenzani; Duc de Nevers	*pastorale*	Font	fall entert	MG 366; Mel Rep 173
Dec	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme; Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*	Lully; Molière	*cb*	St.G.en.L.	-------	Sourches

[2]See Benoit Musiques 1971, p. 76 for rehearsal dates and names of musicians and dancers. The *Mercure* announces the *ballet* as early as October 1680, p. 280 and December p. 317, 335. See also *La Revue Musicale*, 1975, p.127, for comments on the rehearsals.

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1682

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 7; Feb	*Atys*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	St-G-en-L	Carnival	MG 278; Sourches[3]
July 7	*Persée*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Versailles Grands Ecuries	-------	MG 354 Mel Rep 174; Gorce 399[4]
Nov	*La Sérénade*	Delalande; Lorenzani; Genest	concert	Font	fall entert	MG 342-57
-------	*Le Banquet des Dieux*	Oudot; -------	-------	-------	Birth of Duc de Bourgogne	-------

[3]Sourches says the work begin on January 1.

[4]La Gorce indicates the date as July 21.

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1683

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 6	*Phaeton*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Versailles Grands Ecuries	Carnival	MG 319[5] Mel Rep 174[6]
Apr	*Le Noce de Village*	-------	*mascarade*	Versailles Dauphin Apartment	*Appartement*	MG 159
Apr 5	*Les Fontaines de Versailles*	Delalande; Morel	*concert*	Versailles Grand Apartments	-------	Pn Rés. F 537
May	*Le Concert d'Esculape*	Delalande; (Morel)	*concert*	Versailles Montespan Apartment	-------	Pn Rés. F 538
June	*Le Banquet des Dieux*	Oudot; -------	-------	(Versailles)	-------	MG 182

July 30: Death of the Queen[7]

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[5]"Sans machines."

[6]Mélèse dates the performance on January 9.

[7]See Dangeau, 21 June 1684, for example. The court interrupted most musical activities until September 1684.

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1684

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Feb	-------	Daches;[8] -------	*concert*	(Versailles)	Dauphine entert	MG 234
Sept 10, 22, 24	------- -------	------- -------	opera excerpts[9]	Marly	-------	Dang
Oct 22, 24	*Amadis* "Chaconne"	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Font	fall entert	Dang[10]
Nov	*Mithridate*	-------	*entractes*	Font	fall entert	Dang;[11] MG 228
Nov 13	-------	-------	*entractes*	Font	fall entert	Dang;[12] MG 228-42

[8]The *Mercure* names Daches as a member of the king's music, describes the work as a *concert* for voices and instruments, and reproduces two airs.

[9]According to the *Mercure*, played by "tout la musique du roi."

[10]Danced by Favier and Pécourt.

[11]Four courtiers danced in this performance.

[12]Seventeen dancers participated, fifteen of whom were courtiers, plus Pécourt and Favier.

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1685

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 8, 16, 24, 30; Feb 7, 13, 27; Mar 3	*Roland*	Lully Quinault	*tl*	Versailles Grands Ecuries	Carnival	Dang; MG Jan 327, Mar 202; Sourches; Mel Rep 178-79; Gorce 399[13]
Feb 15	-------	------- -------	*mascarade*	Versailles Montespan Apartment	Carnival	Dang
Mar 5	*Amadis*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Versailles Grands Ecuries	King entert	Dang; MG 222; Gorce 399[14]
June 29	*Idylle sur la Paix*	Lully; Racine	*cb*	Versailles	-------	Dang[15]
July 1, 23; Aug 9	*Jeux à l'Honneur de la Victoire*	E.C.J. de la Guerre	*ballet*	Versailles	Dauphin entert	Dang; Gorce, 400[16]
July 16	*Idylle sûr la Paix*	Lully; Quinault	*cb*	Sceaux	-------	Sourches; MG 295-96

[13]"Sans machines ni decors."

[14]"Sans machines ni decors."

[15]This appears to be a rehearsal.

[16]La Gorce lists the work as a *ballet* which was "chante."

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July 25	*Epithalame*	Delalande; Genest	*concert*	Versailles	Wedding Duc de Bourbon	MG Aug 207; Dang 1 July
Oct 20, 23, 26, 29; Nov 3, 6 14; Dec 3, 10, 19, 31	*Le Temple de la Paix*	Lully; Quinault	*bc*	Font	fall entert	Dang;[17] MG Oct 352-53, Nov 198-99; Sourches 29, 30 Sept; Mel Rep 180

[17]Dangeau reports rehearsals on 8 and 14 october.

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1686

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 14, 21	*Le Temple de la Paix*	Lully; Quinault	*bc*	Versailles	Carnival	Dang
Jan 17	-------	-------	*mascarade*	Versailles Montepsan Apartment	Carnival	Dang
Jan 28; Feb 4, 11, 18, 25	*Le Ballet de la Jeunesse*	Delalande; Dancourt	*bc*	Versailles Salle de Comédie	Carnival	Dang; MG Jan 290, Feb 292; Mel Rep 181
Feb 19, 21, 23; Mar 5	*Endymion*	Desmarest; -------	*tl*	Versailles King's Apartment	Carnival	Dang; MG Apr 172; Gorce 400[18]
Mar 7	*Idylle sur la Paix*	Lully; Racine	*cb*	Versailles Dauphine apartment	*appartement*	Dang
Mar 30; Apr 29; May 13, 25	*Armide*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Versailles Dauphine apartment	*appartement*?	Dang[19] Sourches[20]

[18]La Gorce indicates that the work was "chanté."

[19]Performers included "acteurs de Paris."

[20]Sourches says March 26.

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Sept 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13	*Acis et Galatée*	Lully; Campistron	*pastorale héroique*	Anet	Duc de Vendome entert	Dang; MG 285; Mel Rep 182-83
Oct 22, 25	*Alphée et Arethuse*	Boësset; Boucher	*tl*	Font	fall entert	Dang; MG Nov 317-19[21] Gorce 393
Nov 2	*La Diane de Fontainebleau*	Desmarets; Maurel[23]	(*tl*)	Font	fall entert	Dang[22]

[21]The *Mercure* describes the work as performed in one act per evening. Boësset was *surintendent de la musique de la chambre du Roy* for January.

[22]Antoine 1965, p. 37 supplied the title.

[23]This is the same Antoine "Morel" whom I discuss in the essays on *Fontaines* and *Esculape*.

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1687

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 18, 19 20; Feb 7	-------	-------	(*divert*)	Marly	-------	Sourches
July 16	*Le Canal de Versailles*	Philidor; -------	*cb*[24]	Versailles	-------	Gorce 394
Sept	*Idylle*	Lully,J.L.; Campistron	*divert*	Anet	Duc de Vendome entert	MG 245-54
Sept	*Idylle*	Lully, L.; Campistron	*divert*	Anet	Duc de Vendome entert	MG 256-64[25]
Sept	*Les Bergers de Marly*	Moreau; -------	*pastorale*	Marly	-------	Gorce 400
Oct 20, 29	-------	Luquenet; -------	(*tl*)	Font	*appartement*	Dang

[24]This classification is based on the article on Philidor in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.*

[25]The *Idylle* by Jean-Louis played five times and the one by Louis four times at Anet. Each was also sung before the king at Marly. Verses for both are in the *Mercure.* Both are represented in Pn $Vm^{6}5$, where they are called *Ballet d'Anet.* See #52, fol. 278, and #53, fol 279^{v}.

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Nov 19, 21; Dec 21	*Le Bourgeoise Gentilhomme*	Lully; Molière	*cb*	Marly	-------	Dang[26]
Dec 23, 28, 29	-------	-------	(*ballet*)	Marly	-------	Dang
-------	*Tircis et Climene*	Matho; Morel	*pastorale*	Marly	King entert	Gorce 400[27]

Mar 22: Death of Lully

[26]Three courtiers and Pécourt and Favier danced.

[27]The work was "chanté."

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1688

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan	*La Princesse de Crète*	A.D.Philidor; -------	*comédie-héroique*	Marly	Carnival	Gorce 400
Jan 28, 30; Feb 6, 14, 17, 27	-------	-------	(*ballet*)	Marly	Carnival	Dang[28]
Feb	-------	-------	(*concert*)	Versailles	Carnival	MG 100-10[29]
Feb 9	-------	------- -------	("petit spectacle")	Versailles Princesse de Conty apartment	Carnival	Dang[30]
Apr	-------	Matho; Moreau[31]	("petits concerts en forme d'opéra")	Versailles	Dauphine entert	MG 308-09

[28]For several of these *ballets* courtiers are named as dancers. It is not clear if the same *ballet* was performed on each of these dates. There are several possible works, such as BO Liv 17 [41, an anonymous *Divertissement*; and Philidor's *La Princesse de Crète*, BO Liv 17 (R7 (2). The comedy accompanying these *ballets* changed frequently: on 28 and 30 January, *La Jaloux*, on 6 February, *La Coquette*, on 14 February, *Jodelet maître et valet*, on 16 February, an unspecified Italian comedy, and on 27 February, *Don Bertrand*.

[29]"C'est une manière de Prologue d'Opéra." The text is included in the *Mercure*.

[30]The Menus Plaisirs documents for 1688, KK214, fol 27, in Benoit Musiques 1971, p. 115 list a *mascarade*, *Le Mariage de la Coustière*, for which Philidor copied the music. Such a work could possibly be one of the unidentified works performed in the winter of 1688.

[31]This is probably another spelling of "Morel."

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May	*(Tircis et Climene)*	Matho; Morel	*pastorale*	Versailles	Dauphine entert	MG 205-08[32]
July	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*	Colasse;[33] Molière	*cb*	Marly	Monseigneur entert	MG 50-65
Aug	*Feste de Chantilly*[34]	Lully, J.L.; -------	divert	Chantilly	Feste de Chantilly	MG Sept II 42-44
Aug	*Orontée*	Lorenzani; Le Clerc	*tl*	Chantilly	Feste de Chantilly	MG Sept II 98, 322; Mel Rep 186; Gorce 394[35]
Aug	-------	Lully, L; Du Boulay[36]	*(concert)*	Chantilly	Feste de Chantilly	MG Sept II 226
Aug	-------	Lorenzani	divert[37]	Chantilly	Feste de Chantilly	MG Sept II 280-86

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[32]The *Mercure* identifies this work only as the one which played before the king at Marly the previous year. The work played at Marly and in the king's apartment at Versailles. See this table for 1687.

[33]Colasse composed new music for the familiar *comédie-ballet*.

[34]The eight-day Feste de Chantilly is described in detail in a special issue of the *Mercure*, September 1688. NG indicates that Louis Lully collaborated on this work, which included choreography by Pécourt and designs by Bérain.

[35]This work was "représentée."

[36]Secretaire de M. le Grand Prieur.

[37]This work includes some airs by Lorenzani previously used in *divertissements* commissioned by the Duc de Nevers for the king at Fontainebleau. Dances were created by Pécourt.

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Dec 9	-------	Dauphine;	(*concert*)	Versailles	return of Monseigneur	Dang[38]
Dec 18	*Thesée*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	return of Monseigneur	Dang; Gorce 400[39]

September: France entered the War of the League of Augsburg
November 26: Death of Quinault
December 24: Death of Louis Lully.[40]

[38]Dangeau indicates a rehearsal. The work is unspecified.

[39]By musicians and dancers of Paris Opéra, with costumes.

[40]See the *Mercure*, December 1688, 304-05.

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1689

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 5, 8, 12, 17, 24, 31; Feb 7, 14	*Le Palais de Flore*	Delalande; Genest	*bc*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	Carnival	Dang;[41] Sourches Feb 7; Mel Rep 186-87
Feb 16	*Thetis et Pelée*	Colasse; Fontenelle	*tl*	Trianon (Salle de Comédie)	Carnival	Dang;[42] Gorce 400
June 21	-------	-------	(music)	Trianon Salle de Comédie	-------	Dang
Nov 23	*Atys*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	-------	Dang Gorce 400

February 20: Death of the Queen of Spain, daughter of Monsieur.

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[41]Rehearsals were held 24 November; 20, 27, and 29 December; and 3 January.

[42]"Représentée avec costumes."

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1690

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 9	*Roland*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	Carnival	Dang;[43] Gorce 400
(Oct 12, 13)	*Le Ballet de M. Delalande*	Delalande; -------	(*ballet*)	(Font)	return of Monseigneur	Sourches
Nov 8	*Atys*	Lully Quinault	*tl*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	-------	Dang; Gorce 400[44]
Nov 15	*Enée & Lavinie*	Colasse; Fontenelle	*tl*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	-------	Dang Gorce 400

April 20: Death of the Dauphine.[45]

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[43]Dangeau says nothing about the presentation, which was probably staged, although La Gorce lists it as a "représentation" and questions whether it included costumes.

[44]La Gorce questions if this performance was staged. Schneider 1982, p. 353 also lists an August performance.

[45]See Dangeau 20 April; MG April 1690, p. 290. No entertainments through the end of April.

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1691

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 17	*Roland*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	Carnival	Dang; Gorce 400[46]
Feb 21	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*	------; Molière	*cb*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	Carnival	AN $O^1$2826 fol 37[47]
Feb 23, 24, 25, 26	------	------	(*divert*)	Anet	Dauphin entert	Dang
Aug 15	*Le Ballet de St. Louis*	Delalande; ------	*ballet*	Versailles	Feste de St. Louis	$Vm^6$5 fol 344^v-346
------	*Le Ballet de petit Gervais*	Gervais; ------	(*ballet*)	------	------	Pn $Vm^6$5 fol 338-42

[46]Schneider 1982, p. 352, says the work was *Atys*.

[47]Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 130.

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1692

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Feb 17, 18	-------	Lully; -------	-------	Versailles	wedding Mlle de Blois, Duc de Chartres	Dang[48]
Sept 1	*Le Ballet Villeneuve Saint-George*	Colassse; Banzy	*ballet*	Villeneuve St-George	Dauphin entert	Dang[49]
Oct	*La Princesse d'Elide*	Lully; Molière	*cb*	Font	fall entert	MG 303

[48]Dangeau does not specify which music.

[49]See the text, BO Liv 17 (132), Liv 17 (R6(17).

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1693, 1694

There are no accounts of performances of stage music during these two years.

1695

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
June 15	*Acis et Galatée*	Lully; Campistron	*pastorale*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	King & Queen of Eng. entert	Dang; Gorce 400[50]

[50]La Gorce gives the date as June 20.

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1696

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Mar	*Idille de Meudon*	Boësset; Moreau	*divert*	(Meudon)	Monseigneur entert	MG 12
Oct 25	*Le Triomphe de la Raison sûr l'Amour*	Lully, J.B.; Coypel	*pastorale*	Font	-------	Dang 26 Oct
(Oct)	*Adonis*	Delalande; -------	divert	Font	-------	Po Liv 17 R4(3)
Dec	*Egologue*	Marchand[51] Mad de Xaintonge[52]	-------	Font	King's Supper	MG 4
Dec	*La Paix de Savoye*	-------	(*tl*)	-------	peace celebration	MG 132

[51] *Mercure*, p. 85, identifies him "de la musique du Roy.

[52] See the *Mercure*, Jan 329, Feb. 320, 1696.

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1697

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 27	-------	Lully	("petit opera")	Meudon	Monseigneur entert	Dang
June 10	-------	Campra; Genest	-------	Raincy	Monseigneur entert	Dang
Aug 9; Sept 3	*L'Amour Vainqueur*	Philidor; -------	*pastorale*	Versailles	-------	Gorce 401
Oct 7, 10, 19, 20	*Issé*	Destouches; La Motte	*pastorale*	Font	fall entert	Dang; Mel Rep 205
Oct 27	*L'Europe galant*	Campra; La Motte	*opéra-ballet*	Versailles	fall entert	Dang; Mel Rep 205
Oct	*Egologue*	Lully, J.B. -------	*pastorale*	Font	king entert	Po Liv 17 9R7(4)
(Oct)	*L'Amour, fléchy par la Constance*	Delalande; -------	*concert*	Font	fall entert	Po Liv 17 R7(5)
Dec 17	*Issé*	Destouches; La Motte	*pastorale*	Trianon Salle de Comédie	wedding Duc de Bourgogne, Adelaide de Savoie	Dang

September 20 : Peace with Spain

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1698

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 27	*Venus, Festes Galantes*	Campra; Danchet	*opéra-ballet*	Madame Duchesse de la Ferte	Monseigneur entert	Dang;[53] MG 274-82; Mel Rep 206
Oct 12, 15, 16, 18, 23, 25	*Mirtil et Mélicerte*	Delalande; Banzy	*ballet*	Font Salle de Comédie	fall entert	Dang 25;[54] MG 252-56, 264-66
Oct 17, 24; Nov 7	*Amadis de Grèce*	Destouches; La Motte	*tl*	Font Galérie des Cerfs	rehearsal	Dang;[55] Mel Rep 207-08; Gorce 401
Oct 26, 27, 28	———	Petit Gervais	———	Font	rehearsal	AN $O^1$2830[56]
Oct 30; Nov 8	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*	———; Molière	*cb*	Font	fall entert	Dang

[53]The text, Po Liv 17 (R7(6), indicates that the work was "chantée devant Monseigneur."

[54]12, 16, and 23 October are rehearsal dates, probably in the Galérie des Cerfs.

[55]The rehearsals on 6, 18, and 19 Oct. are known about only through the Menus Plaisirs, $O^1$2830. On the three dates which Dangeau cites, 17, 24 Oct. and 7 Nov., only some of the acts were rehearsed.

[56]This work is mentioned only in the accounts of the Menus Plaisirs. Thus far no text has been found to identify the work more specifically.

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Nov 5	*Apollon et Daphne*	J.B. Lully -------	divert	Font	fall entert	Dang[57]
-------	*Diane et Endymion*	A.D.Philidor; Babron	pastoral	Marly	-------	Gorce 401

[57]See Pn Yf Rés 1766, which describes the work as a "divertissement chanté à Fontainebleau."

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1699

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 21, 22, 23	———	———	(*mascarades*)	Marly Maintenon apartment	winter entert	Dang
Feb 19, 20	———	———	(*mascarades*)	Versailles	winter entert	Dang; MG Mar 126
Sept 18, 21	*Coronis*	Matho; Morel	*tl*	Font Galérie des Cerfs	fall entert	Dang; MG Oct 133-34; Mel Rep 208; Gorce 401[58]
Sept 24; Oct 1, 8	*La Comédie des Fées*	Delalande; Dancourt	*ballet*	Font Salle de Comédie	fall entert	Dang; MG Oct 135, 140-41; Mel Rep 208
Sept 25, 29; Oct 11, 17	*Marthésie*	Destouches; La Motte	*tl*	Font Gal. Cerfs	fall entert	Dang; MG 136-38;[59] MG Oct 267-68; Mel Rep 208-09; Gorce 400
Oct 30	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*	———; Molière	*cb*	———	fall entert	Sourches

[58]The *Mercure* again identifies Morel as "ordinaire de la musique du roi." Gorce identifies the work as "chanté."

[59]The *Mercure* reports that different segments of the opera were heard at each performance, starting with the prologue and Act I on 25 Sept., and again at the king's supper on 14 Oct. at Versailles. See the text, F Po Liv 18[R20 (2).

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Nov 18	*Le Temple de la Paix*	Lully; Quinault	*ballet*	Versailles	fall entert	MG 268[60]
Nov	*Marthésie*	Destouches; La Motte	*tl*	(Versailles)	king entert	MG 288
Dec 31	*Alceste*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Versailles Princess de Conty apartment	———	Dang[61]

[60]The *Mercure* describes this performance as "chanté."

[61]Dangeau indicates that the work was sung in rehearsal.

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1700[62]

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 2, 3, 4, 9, 16	*Alceste*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Paris Princesse de Conty	winter concert	Dang;[63]
Jan 7 8	*Le Roi du Chine*	A.D.Philidor -------	*mascarade*	Marly Salon	winter entert	Dang;[64] MG 154-55; Sourches;[65] Mel Rep 210
Jan 21	*Mascarade de Flore*	------- -------	*mascarade*	Marly Maintenon apartment	winter entert	Dang MG 156-58;[66]
Jan 21	*Mascarade les Amazones*	A.D.Philidor; -------	*mascarade*	Marly Mainterion apartment	winter entert	MG Feb 157
Jan 22	*Mascarade les Savoyards*	A.D.Philidor; -------	*mascarade*	Marly	winter entert	Dang; MG Fev 159-60; Sourches

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[62]During the winter of 1700, many balls, frequently in conjunction with *mascarades*, were held. Balls are not enumerated here, since they lie beyond the scope of this study in that they consist primarily of social rather than theatrical dancing. The *mascarades* are included.

[63]Rehearsals were held on the first three of these dates.

[64]Many of the *mascarades* for this Carnival season can be found in the Paris Opéra library, Liv 17(R7 (9-16). The *Mercure*, February 228, says they were "reglée par le Sieur Pécourt."

[65]Sourches mistakingly dates this *mascarade* 21 January.

[66]The *Mercure* classifies this work as a ball rather than a *mascarade*.

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Feb 4	*Mascarade des Espagnols*	------- -------	*mascarade*	Marly	winter entert	Dang; MG 164
Feb 4	*Mascarade de Vieux Maistre d'Ecole*	------- -------	*mascarade*	Marly entert	winter	MG 165
Feb 4	*Le Noce de Village*	A.D.Philidor; -------	*mascarade*	Marly	winter entert	Dang MG 166
Feb 5	*Le Lendemain de la Noce*	Philidor fils; -------	*mascarade*	Marly	winter entert	Dang; MG 167-68
Feb 5	*Mascarade de Don Quichote*	------- -------	*mascarade*	Marly	winter entert	MG 168-69
Feb 10, 19	*Mascarade Jeu de Cartes*	------- -------	*mascarade*	Versailles; Marly	winter entert	Dang; MG 227[67]
Feb 13, 21	*Hymen Champestre*	Delalande; J.B.Rousseau	*mascarade*	Marly; Versailles	winter entert	Dang; MG 231-33[68]

[67]The Versailles presentation was a rehearsal. The performance occurred at Marly.

[68]The Marly presentation was a rehearsal. The performance occurred at Versailles.

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Feb 18	*Mascarade du Ménagerie*	------- -------	*mascarade*	Marly	winter entert	Dang; MG 222-24[69]
Feb 18	*Mascarade La Feste Marine*	A.D.Philidor; -------	*mascarade*	(Versailles)	winter entert	Dang; MG Feb 224-26[70]
Feb 19	*Mascarade Jeu des Echets*	Philidor; -------	mascarade	Marly	winter entert	Dang; MG Feb 228; Sourches[71]
Feb 19	*Mascarade La Venitienne*	------- -------	*mascarade*	Marly	winter entert	MG 229-231; Sourches[72]
Feb 22	*Mascarade de Six Ifs et d'une Fontaine*	------- -------	*mascarade*	Versailles	winter entert	MG 279
July 18	*(Dieu de la Marine)*	Colasse; -------	*divert*	S. Maur	Monseigneur entert	Dang; MG 266-81[73]

[69]The *Mercure* dates the work 17 February.

[70]The work is called *Mascarade du Vaisseau Marchand* in the text, Po Liv 17 R7(14). Only the text, not the *Mercure* nor diarists, names Philidor as composer. The dancing was prepared by Bontemps. Sourches says this and the following "ne réussirent pas trop."

[71]According to the *Mercure*, the work was "préparé par M. Bontemps.

[72]Sourches says the work was "inventée" by the Duchesse de Bourgogne.

[73]Dances by Pécourt, designs by Bérain.

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Oct 10, 12, 17, 19, 22, 26, 28, 29; Nov 4	*Hercule et Omphale*	Destouches; *tl* La Motte	Font	fall entert	Dang[74] MG Oct 255, 258; Nov 209, 212, 213, 214, 220; Mél Rep 210-11

Nov 1: Death of the King of Spain[75]

[74]Dangeau reports that the work was rehearsed several acts at a time. The king heard the rehearsals on the 28 and 29 during his supper, probably in his apartment rather than the Galérie des Cerfs. The Menus Plaisirs, AN O[1]2832, fol 84[v], adds rehearsal on 8 November. See Benoit 1971 Musiques, p. 175.

[75]This death sparked the next European war, which seriously impaired court entertainments throughout the remainder of Louis' reign.

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1701

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Dec 16	*Danae*	A.D.Philidor; *tl* ———		Marly	winter entert	Dang[76]

June 9: Death of Monsieur.[77]

[76]Isherwood 1973, p. 345, summarizes this work, whose subject matter addressed the attempts of France and Spain to head off another war.

[77]According to Dangeau, music was interrupted until 9 August.

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1702

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 4	*L'Egologue de Marly*	A.D.Philidor -------	*divert*	Marly	winter entert	Gorce 401
Feb 27	*Omphale et Hercules*	Destouches; La Motte	*tl*	Trianon	winter entert	Dang; Sourches;[78] Gorce 396
Oct 18, 22	*Coronis*	Matho; Morel	*tl*	Font Monseigneur apartment	fall entert	Dang;[79]

[78]Sourches reports that the work was "très bien executé."

[79]An $O^1$2832, fol 393^v lists these as rehearsals.

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1703

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Apr 16	*Penthée*	D'Orléans; De la Fare	*tl*	Meudon	-------	Dang;
Oct 5, 13, 14	*Athys*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Font	fall entert	Dang;[80] MG 194
Oct 14	*Le Mariage du Carnaval et de la Folie*	Destouches; La Motte	*comédie-lyrique*	Font	fall entert	Dang; MG 183; Melese Rep 214; Gorce 396[81]
Oct 21	*Penthée*	D'Orléans; De la Fare	*tl*	Font	fall entert	Dang
Nov 25	*Apollon et Daphne*	------- -------	*pastorale-héroique*	Versailles; Marly	Monseigneur entert	Ben 189

[80]The prologue and first two acts were rehearsed on 5 April.

[81]"Chanté sûr le théâtre."

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1704

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Aug 6	-------	Delalande; Belloc	airs	Marly	birth Duc de Bretagne	Dang
Oct 9, 12	*Suite d'Armide, ou Jérusalem Délivrée*	D'Orléans; Longepierre	*tl*	Font Galérie des Cerfs	fall entert	Dang; Ben[82]
Oct 24	*Ode*	Delalande; Genest	*concert*	Sceaux	King entert	Dang; MG 232-33

June 25 : Birth Duc de Bretagne[83]

[82]Both presentations were rehearsals before Monseigneur. Both are described as "chanté."

[83]See Dangeau's Appendix of 1704 for the *Description d'une Fête donnée à Versailles sur la Naissance de Monseigneur le Duc de Bretagne*, held on 26 July, and also reported in the *Mercure*, July II, 1704, 221-237. Sourches adds that the fête was organized by Bontemps.

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1705[84]

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Feb 1	———	———	(music)	Versailles Princesse de Conty	winter entert	Dang[85]

February 8: Death of Beauchamp
April 13: Death of Duc de Bretagne

[84]Due to the intensification of the war, severe personal losses, and the advanced age of the King, from 1705 on performances of comedies, generally with three or four instrumentalists and sometimes with one or two dancers, gradually replaced opera, ballet, and other stage genres because the comedies required less elaborate production equipment and were thus less costly. Performances of comedies are not included in this chart unless they include substantial sections of music, such as in Delalande's *Mirtil et Mélicerte*. See Benoit 1971 Musiques for listings of the many comedies not included here. On the other hand, several works identified only as "musique" in the diarists accounts are included on this chart during the last ten years of Louis' reign since they were probably small-scale, formal *concerts*, not background music for other social events.

[85]The unnamed entertainment featured French and Italian singers and was lead by the Duc d'Orléans.

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1706

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 4	-------	-------	(music)	Marly	winter entert	Dang
Mar	*La Tarentole*	Matho; Malezieu	*cb*	Clagny	Carnival	MG 257-65
Nov 5	-------	-------	(music)	Marly Duchesse de Bourgogne apartment	fall entert	Dang

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1707

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 22	*Les Importuns de Châtenay*	Matho Malezieu	*cb*	Clagny	winter entert	Dang; MG Feb 374; Mel Rep 217
Mar 1	-------	-------	(music)	Marly	-------	Dang
Oct 2, 4, 5, 7[86] 16, 19	-------	-------	(music)	Font	Monseigneur apartment	Dang; MG 231, 244-45, 311, 317
Sept 27; Oct 3	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*	-------; Molière	*cb*	Font	fall entert	MG 413-14
Sept 30	*Phaeton*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Font	fall entert	MG Oct. 224-25
Nov 5	-------	-------	(music)	Marly	fall entert	Dang

[86]The October 7 concert was of Italian music, conducted by Delalande.

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1708[87]

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 17	-------	-------	*t/*	Versailles Monseigneur apartment	winter entert	Dang[88]

[87]Many balls for courtiers were held during the winter of 1708. See Dangeau, Sourches, and Benoit 1971 Musiques during this year.

[88]One act of an unspecified work was sung.

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1709

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 11	———	———	(music)	Versailles	winter entert	Dang[89]
Dec 19	———	———	(music)	Marly Maintenon apartment	———	Sourches

[89]In the presence of the king.

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1710

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 7	-------	-------	(music)	Versailles Duchesse de Bourgogne apartment	-------	Dang; Sourches[90]
Jan 9, 10	*Armide*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Versailles	winter entert	Sourches[91]

February 15: Birth of the Duc d'Anjou (future Louis XV)

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[90]Music by DesCosteaux, flute; de Vizé, théorbo; de Buterne, harpsichord; and Fourcroy, viol.

[91]The first two acts only. The work was "chanté."

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1711

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 5, 7, 21; Feb 13	-------	-------	(music)	Marly	winter entert	Dang

April 14: Death of Monseigneur

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1712

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Feb 17	"Le Tempête:" *Alcyone*	Marais; ———	*tl*	Versaillles	winter entert	Sourches:
Oct 17	*Le Jérusalem Délivrée*	D'Orléans; Longepierre	*tl*	Font Galérie des Cerfs	fall entert	Pn 8°YthY514
Oct 26; Nov 5; Dec 1	———	———	(music)	Versailles Maintenon apartment	———	Dang[92]
Dec 21; Jan 13	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*	———; Molière	*cb*	Versailles	King entert	Dang

February 12: Death of Dauphin
February 18: Death of Dauphine
March 9: Death of Petit-Dauphin
May 16: Peace with England, Holland, Savoy, and Prussia

[92]Music at Maintenon's apartment during these last few years of the reign is called as "grand" or "petit," but no explanation is ever given to distinguish the two. Dangeau wrote on 23 May 1714 that "grand" music would be held on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, and "petit" music on Tuesday and Thursday.

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1713

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
June 29	-------	-------	(music)	Rambouillet Maintenon apartment	-------	Dang
July 14, 15, 19	*Divertissement sûr a Paix*	Delalande; Longpierre	*concert*	Marly	peace celebration for king	Dang; SS XXIV, 63-64
Aug 17	*Atys*	Lully; Quinault	*tl*	Versailles	King entert	Dang[93]

[93]Only the prologue and Act I, in concert version.

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1714

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 24; Feb 7	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*	———; Molière	*cb*	Versailles Maintenon apartment	winter entert	Dang
Dec 2	*Les Nuits de Sceaux*	———	(*divert*)	Sceaux	Duchesse du Maine entert	Dang

May 4: Death of Duc de Berry[94]
November 15: Peace with Emporer

[94]No "petit" music after his death until May 13, no "grand" music until May 23.

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1715

September 1: Death of Louis XIV[95]

1716[96]

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Apr 22	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*	------; Molière	*cb*	Tuileries	Louis XV entert	MG 290
Aug 24	------	------	*concert*	Tuileries gardens	Louis XV entert	MG 280
Sept 2	------	------	*concert*	Duchesse de la Ferte	Louis XV entert	Dang

[95]Spectacles in Paris resumed on September 30.

[96]The lower number of entries of court musical entertainments on this chart from 1716 to the end, in comparison with an average year during the reign of Louis XIV, reflects not reduced activity in French music but instead less of a distinction between court and public performances, since the Regency court lived in Paris. Most entertainments for court were intended to entertain and display the young king. Comedies, many with musical *intermèdes*, become one of the most popular types of court entertainments.

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1717

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Apr	———	———	"petit concerts"	Tuileries	Louis XV entert	Ben 291[97]
Aug 25	———	———	*concert*	Tuileries garden	Louis XV entert	Dang
Oct 1	———	———	(dances)	Tuileries	Louis XV	Ben 291[98]
(Dec)	———	———	"petit divert"	Tuileries	Louis XV entert	Ben 291[99]

[97]AN $O^1$2846, fol 118.

[98]AN $O^1$2846, fol 111.

[99]AN $O^1$2846, fol 111^v.

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1718

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Feb 16, 19, 26; Mar 9, 19, 26	*L'Union de la Jeunesse avec la Sagesse*	Matho, Alarius; Beauchamps	*ballet*	Tuileries	Louis XV entert	Dang;[100] NM Feb 211-215
Apr 24	-------	-------	(*t/*)	Tuileries gardens	Louis XV entert	Dang
Oct	-------	-------	(music)	Chantilly gardens	Fêtes de Chantilly	NM 174

[100]Dangeau reports one rehearsal on 9 February. Archival documents report sixteen rehearsals for the *ballet*.

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1719

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Mar 11	*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*	———; Molière	*cb*	Tuileries	Louis XV entert	Dang; NM 183

April 15: Death of Madame de Maintenon

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1720

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Feb 8, 10, 17, 21, 24	*Le Ballet de L'Inconnu*	Delalande; Dancourt	*ballet de cour*	Tuileries Louis apartment antechamber	Carnival entert	Dang;[101] NM Dec 179; Jan 208-09, Feb 182-86
Dec 30;	*Les Folies de Cardenio*	Delalande; Coypel	*ballet de cour*	Tuileries Salle des Machines	Carnival entert	Dang; NM Jan 138, 144

16 August: Dangeau journal ends; 9 September: Death of Dangeau

[101]Dangeau reports a rehearsal on 7 December, 24 and 27 January, and 3 and 7 February. Archival documents report sixty rehearsals total for the *ballets Jeunesse* and *L'Inconnu*.

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1721

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 4, 8 11, 13 18, 21, 27	*Les Folies de Cardenio*	Delalande; Coypel	*ballet de cour*	Tuileries Salle des Machines	Carnival entert	Dang; NM Jan 138, 144
Mar 30	-------	Philidor; -------	*concert*	Tuileries terrace	Louis XV entert	NM
May 10	*Les Folies de Cardenio*	Delalande; Coypel	*ballet de cour*	Tuileries Salle des Machines	ambassador entert	Marais
Aug 25	-------	-------	*concert*	Tuileries gardens	Feste de St. Louis	Barbier
Aug 25	-------	-------	*concert & fête*	Vanvres: M. le Duc	King entert	Marais 8 Sept 1721
Dec 31	*Les Elémens*	Delelande, Destouches; Le Roy	*ballet de cour*	Tuileries Galérie	Carnival	NM 193

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1722

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	GENRE	SITE	EVENT	SOURCE
Jan 7	*Les Elémens*	Delalande, Destouches; Roy	*ballet de cour*	Tuileries gallery	Carnival	NM 80-93
Feb 15	-------	-------	*concert*	Tuileries	Louis XV birthday	NM 183
Nov	-------	-------	(music)	Chantilly	Feste de Chantilly	NM

1723[102]

Feb 15: Louis XV gains majority

Dec 2: Death of Duc D'Orléans

[102]Court musical-theatrical entertainments appear to have consisted only of comedies this year.

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APPENDIX II. CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

The Catalogue Raisonné is a reference tool for this dissertation. It provides the most relevant information about each of Delalande's secular works in outline format. Each catalogue entry includes information about the organization, performance, performers, and sources of each work. The evaluation of this information takes place in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, in the essays on the individual works. In the catalogue, I have placed unconfirmed or speculative information in parentheses. My estimates about the number of performers in some works is based on confirmed data about similar categories of performers in Delalande's productions which are better documented.

For each catalogue entry the following information is included when known: A: the genre; B: Delalande's collaborators; C: dates of rehearsals and performances; D: a short statement about the structure; E: the place of performance; F: a short statement about the reasons for composition and performance; G: the patron, that is the person most responsible for initiating the work; H: primary sources of music and text; I: secondary sources, pre-1800 followed by post-1800; J: surviving *simphonies* in the two principal collections of Delalande's Supper Symphonies and, for three works, Pn $Vm^{6}5$;[1] K: the names and numbers of roles and performers, arranged by singers, instrumentalists, and dancers; and L: an alphabetical list of performers. In a few cases commentary follows the last catalogue entry.

Printed primary sources which I have examined in multiple copies, primarily texts, are grouped according to families of editions in order to illustrate the relationship between known sources. In the case of multiple copies of an edition, I cite first the one which I have consulted most frequently in preparing this dissertation. I have included diplomatic

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[1]The Catalogue uses a page-numbering system for the Supper Symphonies explained in the **Introduction.**

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transcriptions of the title pages of primary sources in order to provide as much information as possible about these sources and also to serve as a basis for evaluating additional copies which may be uncovered in future research. I have arranged secondary sources chronologically from the earliest to the most recent and identified them according to the coding system established in the **Bibliography.**

The spelling of performers' names conforms to listings found in the principal textual source for that work. An index of all performers in the catalogue appears at the end, arranged alphabetically, first by courtiers (in italic font) and then by professionals. The index cites the pages on which each name appears in the various **Performer Lists** (section L). Through these page references in the index, the reader can locate the work(s) and role(s) in the catalogue entries in which the performers' names appear. Variant spellings of the names of performers who appear in several works are cross-referenced in this index through SEE references and are catalogued under a standardized spelling based largely on that found in Benoit 1971 Musiques. For the names of professionals who do not appear in Benoit, I use the most commonly found spelling in primary sources as the standard. For names which are spelled only one way in this catalogue but which do not conform with Benoit's standard spellings, no SEE reference appears here. Additionally, I have not included first names in this index: very few appear in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts and archival accounts, and it has been beyond the scope of my research to sort out many first names, particularly for the more extended families of noblemen. Courtiers are indexed by proper names rather than by titles: that is, Mademoiselle de Blois appears under "Blois," not "Mademoiselle." The many French surnames which include "Le" or "La" are generally alphabetized under "L."

The following abbreviations are used in entry "L" to indicate in which

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portion of the work each performer appeared or what instrument each played. (The absence of such an abbreviation, as is the case for most of the instrumentalists, means either that the performer appeared throughout the work, in the case of section identifications, or that his or her function or instrument in the work cannot be determined.)

1, 2, 3, etc = first, second, third, etc. *intermède, entrée,* etc.
E = Epilogue
Gr Ch = Grand Choeur
Gr E = Grand Entrée
NF = Nouvelle Feste
Op = Opéra
P = Prologue

Cl = Clavecin
H = Hautbois
Th = Theorbo
V = Violon

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Early Period: 1682-1689

I. SÉRÉNADE

A. **Genre:** *Sérénade en forme d'Opéra.*

B. **Collaborators**

1. **Music:** Paolo Lorenzani (Italian songs)

2. **Text:** the Abbé Genest (French songs)

C. **Dates of Performance:** November 1682, sometime after Toussaint on 1 November (probably one showing, in rehearsal).

D. **Structure:** Prologue plus unspecified number of scenes, apparently with a combination of spoken comedy and French and Italian songs.

E. **Place of Performance:** Fontainbleau apartment of Madame de Thianges, in a temporary theater.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Part of regular musical entertainement during court's fall visit to Fontainebleau, intended to persuade the king to stay longer at Fontainebleau rather than returning to Versailles.

G. **Patron:** Madame de Thianges, possibly assisted by Madame de Montespan.[2]

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:** No music from this work appears to survive. (See commentary at end of this catalogue entry.)

2. **Text:** Summary in *Mercure Galant*, November 1682, 342-57.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. *Mercure Galant*, November 1682, 342-57.

b. *Mercure Galant*, 9 July 1683, p. 152-56.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Prunières 1922.

b. Dufourcq 1957, p. 240, 255.

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[2]Thianges was Montespan's sister. Montespan was the former mistress of the king in 1682.

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c. Gurtelschmied 1980.

J. **Surviving Symphonies:** none confirmed.

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles** : Total: 6 vocal soloists, plus unspecified ensembles.

1. **Music** : Total : 6 vocal soloists, plus unspecified choir and orchestra.

a. **Singers** : Total: 6 solos, plus unspecified ensembles.

Prologue: Total: 3 solos, plus unspecified ensembles.
Apollo
Diane
Les Nymphes
Un Magicien
Les Furies
Les Ombres de l'Enfer
Les Géans
Les Heures du point du jour

Opera: Total: 3 solos, plus ensembles unspecified.
Les Nymphes
Dieux des Eaux de Fontainebleau
Dieux des Bois de Fontainebleau
L'Amour
Chevalier du Soleil
La Princesse Claridiane
Les Géans

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: unspecified

L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** unspecified.

Commentary: Since the distinction between Thianges' *Sérénade* of 1682 and the work named *Mirtil, ou la Sérénade* listed in the index to Rés. 581, the eight Supper airs from this latter work are listed here: future evidence may indicate some association between these two works. These *symphonies* also appear in the **Thematic Catalogue** in this study, attributed to *Mirtil, ou la Sérénade.*

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	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581
1.	A	Ouverture	II, 105
2.	a	Petit air tendre: "J'entens la tourterelle"	II, 125
3.	d	Rondeau	II, 47
4.	d	Air	II, 222
5.	d	Trio	II, 175
6.	d	Menuet suivant: "Nos troupeaux sur les tendres"	II, 175
7.	d	Petit air tendre: "Mirtil gémit sous ma loy"	II, 134
8.	C	Chaconne	II, 135

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II. L'AMOUR BERGER

A. **Genre:** *Opéra en pastorale.*

B. **Collaborators: Text:** Le Marquis de Lomagne.

C. **Dates of Performance:** Carnival of 1683, probably in March; number of performances uncertain.

D. **Structure:** Prologue and three acts, probably all sung, with an *entrée* of dance before each act.

E. **Place of Performance:** Hôtel de Duras, Place des Vosges, Paris.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Carnival entertainment in private home of Duc de Duras (only secular work by Delalande not performed at court), in celebration of Carnival, of the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne, and of the son of the Duc de Duras.

G. **Patron:** Duc de Duras.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:** Only two surviving songs: *Mercure Galant*, May 1683, p. 176, 204.

2. **Text:** *Mercure Galant*, April 1683, p. 138-55; May 1683, p. 176-209.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. Maupoint 1733, p. 20.

b. Beauchamps 1735, vol. III, p. 184.

c. Léris 1754, p. 22.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Boysse 1880.

b. Lambeau 1915.

c. Mélèse Rep 1934, p. 176

d. Lancaster 1940, vol. IV, p. 924 fn.

e. Dufourcq 1957, p. 255.

f. Rialland-Barbarin 1972.

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J. **Surviving Symphonies:** none.

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: 44 singers and dancers, plus unspecified vocal and instrumental ensembles.

1. **Music:** Total: 16 singers, plus unspecified vocal and instrumental ensembles.

a. **Singers:** Total: 16, plus unspecified ensembles.

Prologue: Total: 8 solos, plus unspecified ensembles.

Amour	---
Tircis	---
Celadon	---
Berger	---
Bergère	---
Deux bergères	---
Un berger	---
Choeur des bergers	---

Opera: Total: 8 solos, plus unspecified ensembles.

Daphnis	*Le Comte de Téride*
Philiste	---
Aminte	---
Lisandre	*Le Comte de Duras*
Janot	---
Cloris	---
Céladon	*M. de la Martellière*
Amour (cru Tircis)	---
(Role unspecified)	Mlle Laurens
(Role unspecified)	Mlle Le Clerc

b. **Instrumentalists:** unspecified.

2. **Dance:** Total: 28, plus unspecified ensembles.

Prologue: Total: 5, plus unspecified ensembles.

Bergers	*Le Comte de Duras* *Le Marquis de Grignan* *Le Comte de Téride* *M. de la Martellière* M. Huet
Bergères	---

Intermède I: Total: 2 solos, plus unspecified ensembles.

Plaisirs	*Le Marquis de Grignan* M. Janot (Unspecified ensemble)

Intermède II: Total: 2 solos

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Amour	---
---	Janot

Intermède III: Total: 19 roles

8 Jeux	---
---	*Le Comte de Duras*
5 bergers	---
5 bergères	---

L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** Total: 11 identified, plus unspecified ensembles.

1. **Singers:** Total: 5 specified.

Duras, Le Comte de	Op
Martellière, M. de la	Op
Laurens, Mlle	Op
Le Clerc, Mlle	Op
Téride, Le Comte de	Op

2. **Dancers:** Total: 6 specified.

Duras, Le Comte de	P
Grignan, Le Marquis de	P, 1
Huet, M.	P
Janot, M.	1, 2
La Martellière, M. de	P
Téride, Le Comte de	P

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III. LES FONTAINES DE VERSAILLES

A. **Genre:** *Concert* of voices and instruments.

B. **Collaborators: Text:** (Antoine) Morel

C. **Dates of Performance:** 5 April 1683; possibly replayed in July, 1685.

D. **Structure:** Overture and six scenes, of vocal and instrumental music.

E. **Place of Performance:** Versailles Grand Apartment of the king; possible 1685 revival at Marly, probably in main pavilion.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Musical entertainment honoring the return of both the king and of spring to Versailles, the characters representing fountains in the Versailles gardens.

G. **Patrons:** Probably Madame de Montespan and Madame de Thianges.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music**

a. F Pn Rés. F.537 : Les Fontaines de / Versailles / sur le Retour du / Roy / Concert / Donné à sa Majesté dans les grands appartements / de son Château de Versailles, le cinqu. Avril, 1683. / Fait par M. Morel et mis en musique par M. de la Lande / Maistre de musique de la Chapelle du Roy / Coppié par M. Philidor, & écrit par Fr. Collesson le 3 Juin 1683. (insert p. 1: Ce livre appartient à Philidor l'ainé, Ordinaire de la musique de Roy & Garde de tous les livres de sa Bibliothèque de musique, l'an 1702.)

b. F Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies du M. Delalande*: assorted movements (see "J" below).

2. **Text:** F V Ms Mus 146: Les Fontaines de Versailles / sur le retour du Roi par Mr / Morel, et mises en musique par Mr / de la Lande, maistre de musique de / la Chapelle de sa Majesté.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800:** *Mercure Galant*: August 1685, p. 257.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Dufourcq 1957, p. 255.

b. Antoine 1965, p. 37.

J. **Surviving Symphonies**

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	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582
1.	d	Overture	II, 160	------
2.	D	Petit air tendre	II, 166	IV : 34
3.	g	Air pour Ancelade	II, 214	------
4.	D	Chaconne	II, 99	IV : 36[3]

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: 31 musicians.

1. **Music:** Total : 31 singers and instrumentalists.

a. **Singers:** Total : 15 soloists and choir.

Latone	Mlle Pluvigny
Flore	Mlle Rebel, la cadette
Apollon	M. D'Aix
Céres	Mlle Rebel, l'ainé
Ancelade	M. Morel
Bachus	M. Miracle
La Renommée	Mlle Rebel, l'ainé
Comus, dieu des Festins	M. Guillegaut
Le Dieu du Canal	M. Gaye
Cheour de Divinitez	Messieurs Anthoine
	Fernon
	Le Maure
	Valanti
	Sebret
	Pluvigny

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: 16

Choeur de Divinitez: violons	Messieurs La Quaisse
	Marchand père
	Marchand fils
	Le Peintre
	Huguenet l'ainé
	Huguenet le cadet
	Faussart
	La Fontaine père
	La Fontaine fils
	Charlot
Choeur de Divinitez: Hautbois, flûtes, et bassoons	Messieurs Philidor l'ainé
	Philidor le cadet
	Nicolas
	Hotteterre
Clavecin	M. Buterne
Théorbo	M. Dupré

[3]The four supper symphonies appear in the score, Pn Rés. 537, on the following pages: Ouverture, p. 1; Petit Air, p. 15; Air pour Ancelade, p. 23; Chaconne, p. 36.

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L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel: Total: 31.**

1. **Singers: Total: 15**

Anthoine, M.	Ch
D'Aix, M.	S
Fernon, M.	Ch
Gaye, M.	S
Guillegaut, M.	S
Le Maure, M.	Ch
Miracle, M.	S
Morel, M.	S
Pluvigny, M.	Ch
Pluvigny, Mlle	S
Rebel l'ainé, Mlle	S
Rebel la cadette, Mlle	S
Sebret, M.	Ch
Valanti, M.	Ch

2. **Instrumentalists: Total: 16**

Buterne, M.	Cl
Charlot, M.	V
Dupré, M.	Th
Faussart, M.	V
Hotteterre, M.	H
Huguenet l'ainé, M.	V
Huguenet le cadet, M.	V
La Fontaine père, M.	V
La Fontaine fils, M.	V
La Quaisse, M.	V
Le Peintre, M.	V
Marchand père, M.	V
Marchand fils, M.	V
Nicolas, M.	H
Philidor l'ainé, M.	H
Philidor le cadet, M.	H

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IV. LE CONCERT D'ESCULAPE

A. **Genre:** *Concert* for voices and instruments.

B. **Collaborators: Text:** (Antoine) Morel

C. **Date of Performance:** May 1683 (exact date unspecified).

D. **Structure:** Overture and one scene of vocal and instrumental music.

E. **Place of Performance:** Versailles apartment of Madame de Montespan.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Musical entertainment presented to the King by Montespan, possibly as part of *Appartement*, recognizing Esculape, who has triumphed over death.

G. **Patron:** probably Madame de Montespan.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:** F Pn Rés. F. 533 : Concert / d'Esculape : / donné au Roy / Chès Madame de Montespan / A Versailles, le (blank) May 1683 / (insigna) / Coppié par Monsieur Philidor & écrit par Fr. Collesson.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800:** none.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Dufourcq 1957. p. 255.

b. Nonesuch Recording, H-71039, *Le Concert d'Esculape*, album notes.

J. **Surviving Symphonies:** none

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: unspecified; 9 musicians minimum.

1. **Music:** Total: unspecified; minimum of 9 vocalists and instrumentalists.

a. **Singers:** Total: unspecified; minimum of 4 (soprano, alto, tenor, bass)

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: unspecified; minimum of 5: 3 strings, 2 flutes/oboes.

L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** unspecified.

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V. EPITHALAME SUR LES NOPCES DE MONSEIGNEUR LE DUC DE BOURBON ET MADEMOISELLE DE NANTES

A. **Genre:** *Concert*, possibly with *entrées* of dance.

B. **Collaborators: Text:** the Abbé Genest.

C. **Date of Performance:** 25 July 1685.

D. **Structure:** Overture and one section containing solo and choral vocal music, instrumental movements, and possibly dancing.

E. **Place of Performance:** Versailles, unspecified apartment of M. le Prince during wedding visit.

F. **Circumstances of Performance:** Musical entertainment on the third of a seven-day wedding celebration for the Duc de Bourbon and Mademoiselle de Nantes, the King's elder daughter by Montespan.

G. **Patron:** Probably the king, possibly M. le Prince.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:** None appears to survive.

2. **Text**

a. *Mercure Galant*, August 1685, pp. 234-263.

b. **F V Ms. Mus. 146:** Epithalame / sûr les Nopces / De Monseigneur le Duc de Bourbon / Et / Mademoiselle de Nantes.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. Dangeau 1854, 1 July 1685.

b. Sourches 1882, 23 - 25 July 1685.

c. *Mercure Galant*, August 1685, pp. 234-263. (entire wedding reported on p. 207-285.)

d. *Gazette de France*, #28, 1685, pp. 441-452.

2. **Post-1800:** Dufourcq 1957, p. 240, 255.

J. **Surviving Symphonies:** none.

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: unspecified; minimum of 4 vocalists, plus

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unspecified choir, orchestra, and dancing ensembles.

1. **Music:** Total: unspecified; minimum of 4 vocal soloists, plus unspecified choir and orchestra.

   a. **Singers:** Total: 4 solos, plus unspecified ensembles.

      Un Dieu
      Une Jeune Nymphe
      Un Silvain
      Un autre Silvain
      Troupe des Divinitez de Versailles
      Troupe de Jeunes Nymphes
      Troupe de Jeunes Silvains

   b. **Instrumentalists:** unspecified (possibly similar to those in *Fontaines*).

2. **Dance:** unspecified; minimum of 6, if used.

L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** unspecified.

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VI. BALLET DE LA JEUNESSE

A. **Genre:** *Ballet de cour.*

B. **Collaborators:**

1. **Text:** Florent Dancourt.

2. **Choreography:** Pierre Beauchamp.

3. **Designs:** Jean Bérain.

C. **Dates of Performance:** 28 January; 4, 11, 18, 25 February 1686.

D. **Structure:** Prologue and three scenes, performed in conjunction with two different three-act comedies, also by Dancourt.

E. **Place of Performance:** Versailles, Salle de Comédie.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Carnival entertainment for court, to replace Lully's *Armide*, which was not finshed by Carnival; celebrates peace and youth through Louis'strength, in scenes featuring pastoral characters, Moors, and citizens of Crete.

G. **Patron:** Louis XIV.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. F V Ms. Mus. 79: BALLET / de la Jeunesse / Représenté devant /sa majesté à / Versailles sur le petit / Théâtre le 28e Ianvier 1686 / l'an 1686 / Mis en Musique par Monsieur / de la Lande compositeur de la chamber / et maistre de musique de la chapelle / du Roy / copiée par philidor l'ainée.

b. F Pa Ms. 896: Ballet de la Jeunesse, anné 1690. (inside cover: extra note, not part of copyist writing: "musique Lalande, paroles Morel, ce ballet na jamais été joué, Morel a compose les paroles dequelques autres opéras non joués que j'ay quant à mr Delalande fameux par ses motets. Il a fait quelques musiques de ballets pour le Roy mais aucun opéra joue pour le public")

2. **Text**

a. **Group 1:** Ballard

1) F Po Liv 17 (12 : BALLET / de / LA JEUNESSE / Divertissement / Meslé de Comédie et de Musique / Représentée devant Sa Majesté à Versailles le 28 /

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Janvier 1686 [ ] A Paris, / Par Christoph Ballard, seul Imprimeur / du Roy pour la Musique, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, / au Mont Parnasse. / M.DC.LXXXVI. / Avec Privilege de Sa Majesté.

2) **F** Pn Yf 868: same print as 1) above, but with a few minor changes in details of text.

3) **US** CA: TS, C13, v. 3: same as 1) above

b. **Group 2**: Amsterdam

1) **F** Po A.I.D. 3224 : BALLET / de la / JEUNESSE / Divertissement Meslé de Comédie et de musique / Représentée devant Sa Majesté à Ver / sailles le janvier 1686 [ ] Suivant la copie imprimée à Paris / cI I c lxxxvi.

2) **F** Pn Thb 2740 : same as 1) above.

3) **F** Pn Rés. Yf 4622 : same as 1) above.

4) **US** CA *FC7 / D1967 / 686bb : same as 1) above.

5) **F** Pn X1702(2) : BALLET / DE LA / JEUNESSE / Divertissement / meslé de Comédie & de Musique / Représenté devant Sa Majesté à Versailles au mois de Janvier 1686. [ ] A Amsterdam / chez Antoine Schelte, Marchand Li / brarie près de la Bourse. / CI I c xcvii.

6) **F** Pn Yf 7782-88 : same as 5) above.

7) **US** NYp *MZF R31 1703 : probably same as 5) above (misattributed to Lully in catalogue)

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. Dangeau 1854, 28 January; 4, 11, 15, 18, 23, 25 February 1686.

b. Sourches 1882, 18 January 1686.

c. *Mercure Galant*, January 1686, p. 290; February 1686, p. 292-294; 312-314.

d. Maupoint 1733, p. 51.

e. Beauchamps 1735, vol. III, p. 186.

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f. Léris, 1754, p. 53.

g. Archival: F AN

1) O[1]2821: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs: 1685*: fol. 16v, 17, 19v, 21v, 22, 22v, 76v, 77v, 78, 82, 82v, 83, 84, 85, 86.

2) O[1]2822: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs: 1685*: fol 16v, 30v, 40v, 42v, 43, 182, 183, 184, 187, 188v, 191, 191v, 192, 192v, 193, 193v.

3) O[1]2984: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: 1685*: fol 2v-12.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Barthelemy 1882, p.14-15

b. Lancaster 1942, vol. IV, p.768-771.

c. Bert 1957.

d. Dufourcq 1957, p. 255.

e. Wolf 1968, p. 402-425.

f. Isherwood 1973, p. 237, 333.

g. Moynet 1976, p. XX.

h. Blanc 1977, p. 56.

i. Anthony 1978, p. 45.

j. La Gorce 1983, p. 394.

J. **Surviving Symphonies:** none.[4]

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: probably 180: 124 musicians, 56 dancers.

1. **Music:** Total: probably 124: 99 singers, 25 instrumentalists.

a. **Singers:** Total: 99: 67 soloists and ensemble singers, 32 choir.

---

[4]Three airs from the *ballet* are reused in *Le Ballet de Mr. Delalande*. See the Catalogue Raisonné for that work, # VIII following.

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Grand Choeur, Bergers: Total 32	Messieurs Gaye père
	Gaye fils
	Clédière
	Gingan
	Moreau
	Arnouil
	Fernon
	Puvigny
	Tiphaine
	Bernard
	Antonio
	Favalis
	Thomasseau
	Joseph
	Pietro
	Aubert
	Thomier
	du Fay
	Philippe
	Bury
	Deuelois (later "Beuelois")
	Desplanis
	Tonnier
	Gilet
	Tiphaine cadet
	Devil
	d'Ache
	Valency
	Antequille
	Langlois
	Marcandier
	Fontaine
Prologue: Total: 21	
Pales, Déesse des Bergers	Mlle de Lalande
Six Bergères	Mesmlles Ferdinand l'aisnée
	Ferdinand cadette
	Rebel
	Puvigny
	Piesche
	Moreau
Quatre Bergers	Monsieur de Roye
	Messieurs Dufour
	Cebret
	Mattau
Dix Berger Choeurs	Messieurs Guillegaut
	le Maire
	le Roy
	Miracle
	Frizon
	Godonesche
	Lafilard

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	Brossard
	Arnoult (later out)
	Lombard

Intermède I: Total: 2

Tircis	M. Mattau
Philis	Mlle de Lalande

Intermède II: Total: 22

Quatre Moors	Monsieur de Roye
	Messieurs Morel
	Dufour
	Jonquet
Femme	Mlle Ferdinand l'aisnée
Cinq Femmes Maures	Mesmlles Ferdinand cadette
	Rebel
	Puvigny
	Piesche
	Moreau
Douze hommes Maures	Messieurs Mattau
	Cebret
	le Roy
	Guillegaut
	Godonesche
	le Maire
	Miracle
	Lafilard
	Brossard
	Lombard
	Frizon
	Arnoul

Intermède III: Total: 22

Six Hommes de Crète	Monsieur de Roye
	Messieurs Morel
	Guillegault
	Mattau
	Cebret
	Jonquet
Quatre Femmes de Crète	Mesmlles de Lalande
	Ferdinand l'aisnée
	Ferdinand cadette
	Rebel
Trois femmes de Crète	Mesmlles Puvigny
	Piesche
	Moreau
L'Hymen	M. Dufour
L'Amour	Page de la Musique
Huit Hommes de Crète[5]	Messieurs Le Maire
	Miracle

[5]Only 7 performers are listed in the Ballard text.

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Godonesche
Frizon
Le Roy
Lafilard
Brochard

b. Instrumentalists: unspecified: probably 25 Violons du Roi

2. Dance: Total: 56

Prologue: Total: 32

Sept Bergers	*Monsieur le Marquis de Moi*
	Monsieur le Marquis de Villequier
	Monsieur le Prince de Rohan
	Monsieur le Prince d'Enrichemont
	Monsieur le Chevalier de Sully
	Monsieur le Chevalier de Murce
	Monsieur le Chevalier de Saucourt
Sept Bergères	Mlle Rolland
	Madame la Marquise de Moi
	Madame de Leuvestain
	Mlle d'Usez
	Mlle de Pienne
	Mlle d'Estrées
	Madame la Marquise de Lafare
La Jeunesse	*Madame la Duchesse de Bourbon*
Les Graces &	*Mlle de Chasteauneuf*
la Suite de la Jeunesse	Mesmlles le Peintre
	Fernon
	Laurent
L'Amour	*M. le Marquis de Chasteauneuf*
Suite de l'Amour	Les petits Magny
	Lallemand
	Charpentier
	Ballon

Intermède I: Total: 6

Quatre hommes Pantomines	Messieurs Favier
	Lestang
	Pécourt
	Dumirail
Deux Femmes Pantomines	Mlle Rolland
	Mlle Lafontaine

Intermède II: Total: 11

Cinq Femmes Maures	*Madame la Duchesse de Bourbon*
	Mlle Rolland
	Mesmlles Lafontaine
	Desmatins
	Bréard
Six Hommes Maures	*M. le Comte de Brionne*

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	Monsieur Beauchamp
	Messieurs Favier
	Lestang
	Pécourt
	Monsieur Raisin

Intermède III: Total: 15

Habitans de Crète	*Monsieur le Comte de Brionne*
	Monsieur le Marquis de Moi
	Messieurs Favier
	Lestang
	Faure
	Magny
	Pécourt
	du Mirail
Trois Divinitez de Hymen	*Madame la Duchesse de Bourbon*
	Mesmlles le Peintre
	Laurent
Suite de l'Amour	*M. le Marquis de Chasteauneuf*
	Les petits Magny
	Lallemand
	Ballon

L. Characters and Performers: Personnel: Total: 117.

1. Singers: Total: 56

Antequille, M	Gr Ch
Antonio, M.	Gr Ch
Arnouil, M.	Gr Ch
Arnoult, M.	P, 2
Aubert, M.	Gr Ch
Bernard, M.	Gr Ch
Brossard, M.	P, 2, 3
Bury, M.	Gr Ch
Cebret, M.	P, 2, 3
Clédière, M.	Gr Ch
D'Ache, M.	Gr Ch
De Lalande, Mlle	P, 3
De Roye, M.	P, 2, 3
Desplanis, M.	Gr Ch
Deuelois, M.	Gr Ch
Devil, M.	Gr Ch
du Fay, M.	Gr Ch
Dufour, M.	P, 2, 3
Favalis, M.	Gr Ch
Ferdinand l'aisnée, Mlle	P, 2, 3
Ferdinand cadette, Mlle	P, 2, 3
Fernon, M.	Gr Ch
Fontaine, M.	Gr Ch
Frizon, M.	P, 2, 3
Gaye fils, M.	Gr Ch
Gaye pere, M.	Gr Ch
Gilet, M.	Gr Ch

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Gingan, M.	Gr Ch
Godonesche, M.	P, 2, 3
Guillegaut, M.	P, 2, 3
Jonquet, M.	2, 3
Joseph, M.	Gr Ch
Lafilard, M.	P, 2, 3
Langlois, M.	Gr Ch
Le Maire, M.	P, 2, 3
Le Roy, M.	P, 2, 3
Lombard, M.	P, 2
Marcandier, M.	Gr Ch
Mattau, M.	P, 1, 2, 3
Miracle, M.	P, 2, 3
Moreau, M.	Gr Ch
Moreau, Mlle	P, 2, 3
Morel, M.	2, 3
Page de la Musique	3
Philippe, M.	Gr Ch
Pièsche, Mlle	P, 2, 3
Pietro, M.	Gr Ch
Puvigny, M.	Gr Ch
Puvigny, Mlle	P, 2, 3
Rebel, Mlle	P, 2, 3
Thomasseau, M.	Gr Ch
Thomier, M.	Gr Ch
Tiphaine cadet, M.	Gr Ch
Tiphaine, M.	Gr Ch
Tonnier , M.	Gr Ch
Valency, M.	Gr Ch

2. **Instrumentalists:** Total: probably 25: unspecified.

3. **Dancers:** Total: 36

Ballon, petit	P, 3
Beauchamp, M.	2
Bourbon, Madame la Duchesse de	P, 2, 3
Bréard, Mlle	2
Brionne, Monsieur le Comte de	2, 3
Charpentier, petit	P
Chasteauneuf, Mlle de	P
Chasteauneuf, Monsieur le Marquis de	P, 3
D'Enrichemont, Monsieur le Prince	P
Desmatins, Mlle	2
D'Estrées, Mlle	P
Dumirail, M.	1, 3
D'Usez, Mlle	P
Faure, M.	3
Favier, M.	1, 2, 3
Fernon, Mlle	P
Lafare, Madame la Marquise de	P
Lafontaine, Mlle	1, 2
Lallemand, petit	P, 3
Laurent, Mlle	P, 3

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Lestang, M.	1, 2, 3
le Peintre, Mlle	P, 3
Leuvestain, Madame de	P
Magny, petit	P, 3
Moi, Madame la Marquise de	P
Moi, Monsieur le Marquis de	P, 3
Murce, Monsieur le Chevalier de	P
Pecourt, M.	1, 2, 3
Pienne, Mlle de	P
Raisin, M.	2
Rohan, Monsieur le Prince de	P
Rolland, Mlle	P, 1, 2
Saucourt, Monsieur le Chevalier de	P
Sully, Monsieur le Chevalier de	P
Villequier, Monsieur le Marquis de	P

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VII. LE PALAIS DE FLORE

A. **Genre:** *Ballet de cour.*

B. **Collaborators:**

1. **Text:** the Abbé Genest.

2. **Choreography:** Pierre Beauchamp.

3. **Designs:** Jean Bérain.

C. **Dates of Performance:** 5, 8, 12, 17, 24, 31 January; 7 (Sourches), 14 February, 1689. (21 February canceled due to death of the queen of Spain, Monsieur's daughter)

D. **Structure:** Five *entrées* of music and dance.

E. **Place of Performance:** Grand Trianon, Salle de Comédie.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Court *ballet* celebrating both Carnival season and the return of Monseigneur, the King's son, from the War of the League of Augsburg; likens the return of Monseigneur to the return of springtime into the Palace of Flore, the Grand Trianon; Monseigneur is welcomed in turn by naiades and sylvans, Flore, Diane, Gloire, and Joy and Pleasure.

G. **Patron:** Louis XIV.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. F Pn $Vm^{6}5$: *(Recueil de Ballets d'auteurs divers,* no title), 1691: assorted movements (see "J" below).

b. F Pn Rés 582: *Les Symphonies de M. De La lande,* 1703: assorted movements (see "J" below).

c. F Pn Rés 581: *Les Symphonies de M. Delalande,* 1745: assorted movements (see "J" below).

2. **Text**

a. **Group 1:** Ballard

1) F Po Liv 17 (R6 (16) : Le Palais / de Flore / Ballet / Dansé à Trianon / devant sa Majesté le 5 Janvier 1689 / ... / A Paris / par Christophe Ballard, seul Imprimeur du Roy / pour la Musique / M DC LXXXIX / Par exprès Commandement de SM. 26 pp.

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2) F Pn Thb 524b : same as 1) above

3) F Po Liv 17 (51 : same as 1) above

4) US CA TS, c43 (*Recueil de ballet*) : same as 1) above

5) US CA TS, c13, t. 4 (*Recueil de ballet*) : same as 1) above

b. **Group 2:** Amsterdam

1) F Pn X. 1702 (2) : Le / Palais / de / Flore, / Ballet / dansé à Trianon / Le Janvier 1689 / ... / A Amsterdam / chez Henri Schelte / MDCCII.

2) F Pn ThB 524A : (no title page; *argument* begin on p. 23)

c. *Mercure Galant*, January 1689, p. 57-82.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. Dangeau 1854, 16, 24 November; 20, 27, 29 December 1688; 3, 5, 8, 12, 17, 24, 31 January; 14, 20 February 1689.

b. *Mercure Galant*, January 1689, p. 53-84; February 1689, p. 296.

c. Sourches 1882, 7 February 1689.

d. Maupoint 1733, p. 51.

e. Beauchamps 1735, III p.189.

f. Léris 1754, p. 55.

g. La Vallière 1760, p.109.

h. Archival: F AN

1) KK 214: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi. Menus Plaisirs*, 1688: fol. 27, 28.

2) O[1]2824: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi. Menus Plaisirs*, 1688: fol. 2, 2v.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Dufourcq 1957, p. 256.

b. Wolf 1968, p. 426-445.

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c. Isherwood 1973, p. 335.

J. Surviving Symphonies

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582	Vm^{6}5
1.	d	Overture	II, 74	VI : 54	310^{r}
	Entree I				
2.	A	Prélude	---	---	310^{r}
3.	A	Choeur de Silvains	---	---	310^{r}
4.	A	Choeur	---	---	310^{r}
5.	A	Prélude	---	---	310^{v}
	Entree II				
6.	d	Menuet	---	---	310^{v}
7.	d	Menuet	---	---	310^{v}
8.	d	Menuet	II, 98	VI : 55	---
9.	D	Menuet	II, 99	VI : 55	310^{v}
10.	D	Bourée	II, 81	VI : 55	310^{v}
11.	d	Air des Zéphirs	I, 41	VI : 56	310^{v}
12.	D	Bourée	---	---	311^{r}
13.	D	Gavotte	---	---	311^{r}
14.	D	Gavotte	---	---	311^{r}
	Entree III				
15.	g	Air de Diane	I, 6	VI : 56	312^{r}
16.	g	Rondeau Bourée[6]	II, 138	VI : 57	312^{v}
17.	g	Sarabande: "Sûr les Autels"	II, 169	VI : 58	312^{v}
18.	g	Air de Nymphe	II, 170	VI : 58	312^{v}
19.	g	Gavotte	II, 168	VI : 58	312^{v}
20.	G	Gigue	I, 8	VI : 59	313^{r}
	Entree IV				
21.	D	Prélude	---	---	312^{v}
22.	D	Air pour la Gloire	II, 91	VI : 60	311^{v}
23.	d	Gavotte	II, 78	VI : 60	311^{r}
24.	d	Sarabande légère	II, 179	VI : 60	311^{v}
25.	D	Air des héros	I, 141	VI : 59	311^{v}
26.	D	Air	---	---	311^{v}
27.	D	Gigue	II, 202 (C Major)	VI : 61	311^{v}
	Entree V				
28.	G	Grand Air	II, 49 (F Major)	VI : 61	313^{r}

[6]Reused in *Cardenio.*

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29.	G	Canarie	---	---	313[r]
30.	C	Fantasie Particuliere[7]	---	---	313[r]
31.	C	Chaconne	---	---	313[r]
32.	c	Passacaille	II, 153	VI : 62	309[v]

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: probably 162: 109 musicians, 53 dancers.

1. **Music:** Total: probably 109: 89 vocalists, 20 instrumentalists.

a. **Singers:** Total: 89: 61 soloists and ensemble singers, 28 choir singers.

Grand Choeur: Total 28

Messieurs Antonio
Favalli
Tomasso
Joseph
Pièche
Touvier
Aubert
Dufay
Moussard
Bury
le Maire
la Bisodière
Desplanis
Rebel
Valency
Gingant
Develois
le Mire
Bernard
Tiphaine L
Tiphaine C
Langlois
Marcandière
de Brienne
Duhamel
Gaye
Antequil
David

[7]Questionable attribution to *Palais*

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Entrée I: Total: 21

Une Nayade	Mademoiselle Brion
Huit Nayades	Mesdemoiselles Ferdinand l'aisnée
	Ferdinand cadette
	Moreau
	la Traverse
	Turpin
	Pièche
	Dorothée
	Levesque
Huit Silvains	Messieurs le Roy
	Philippe
	Cledière
	Miracle
	Brossart
	Moreau
	Lombard
	Guillegaut
La Renommée	Mademoiselle Varango
Minerve	Mademoiselle de la Lande
Bellonne	Mademoiselle Rebel
Une Nymphe de Flore	Mademoiselle Guignard

Entrée II: Total: 3

Une Nymphe	Mademoiselle Guignard
Un Zéphir	Monsieur Matho
Une Nimphe	Mademoiselle Chappe

Entrée III: Total: 13

Trois Chasseurs	Messieurs
Endimion	Jonquet
Cephale	Godoneche
Hypolyte	du Four
Deux nymphes	Mesdemoiselles de la Lande
	Rebel
Huit Chasseurs	Messieurs Gillert
	de Ville
	la Fuillard
	Arnoult
	Colin
	Antoine
	Frison
	Bastaron

Entrée IV: Total: 20

Deux Amazones	
Pentesilée	Mesmlles de La Lande
Antiope	Guignard
Huit Amazones	Mesmlles Ferdinand l'aisnée
	Ferdinand cadette
	Moreau
	la Traverse

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	Turpin
	Pièche
	Dorothée
	Levesque
Deux héros	
Ulisse	Monsieur Morel
Cyrus	Monsieur Cebret
Huit Héros	Messieurs le Roy
	Philippe
	Cledière
	Miracle
	Brossard
	Moreau
	Lombard
	Guillegaut
Entrée V: Total: 4	
La Joye	Mademoiselle Chappe
Trois Plaisirs	Messieurs Jonquet
	Matho
	Cebret

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: unspecified: probably 18: 16 of *25 Violons du Roi* plus 2 wind players.

Violins	Pierre Joubet
	François Marrilet de Bonnefons
	(plus 16 colleagues)
Flute & cromhorn	Nicolas Dieupart
Oboe	Philipes des Jardins

2. **Dance:** Total: 53

Entrée I: Total: 6	
Six Silvains	Messieurs Faure
	Favier cadet
	Bouteville
	Germain
	Baraze
	la Montagne
Entrée II: Total: 7	
Flore	*Mademoiselle de Blois*
Deux Nymphes de Flore	*Mademoiselle d'Armagnac*
	Mademoiselle de la Vrillere
Quatre Zéphirs	Charpentier fils
	Balon
	Magny fils
	Blondy
Entrée III: Total: 10	

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Diane	*Madame la Princesse de Conty*
Quatre Nymphes	Mesdemoiselles la Fontaine
	le Sueur
	Subligny
	du Rieux
Cinq chasseurs	Messieurs Favier l'aisné
	L'estang
	Pécourt
	du Mirail
	Germain

Entrée IV: 8

La Gloire	*Madame la Duchesse*
Trois Amazones	*Madame de Valentinois*
	Madame de Florensac
	Mademoiselle d'Usez
Quatre Héros	Messieurs Lestang
	Favier l'aisné
	Pécourt
	du Mirail

Entrée V: Total: 22

Un Plaisir	Monsieur Beauchamp
Quatre autres plaisirs	Messieurs Faure
	Bouteville
	Germain
	Baraze
Flore	*Mademoiselle de Blois*
Diane	*Madame la Princesse de Conty*
La Gloire	*Madame la Duchesse*
Suite de Flore	*Mademoiselle d'Armagnac*
	Mademoiselle de la Vrillere
Quatre Zéphirs	Balon
	Blondy
	Magny
	Charpentier
Suite de Diane	Mesdemoiselles de la Fontaine
	Durieux
Deux Chasseurs	Messieurs du Mirail
	Favier l'aisné
Suite de la Gloire: 2 Amazones	*Mesdames de Valentinois*
	d'Uzes
Deux Héros	Messieurs Pécourt
	Dumirail

L. Characters and Performers: Personnel: Total: 111

1. Singers: Total: 64

Antequil, M.	Gr Ch
Antoine, M.	3
Antonio, M.	Gr Ch
Arnoult, M.	3
Aubert, M.	Gr Ch

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Bastaron, M.	3
Bernard, M.	Gr Ch
Brion, Mlle	1
Brossard, M. (Brossart)	1,4
Bury, M.	Gr Ch
Cebret, M.	4, 5
Chappe, Mlle	2, 5
Cledière, M.	1,4
Colin, M.	3
David, M.	Gr Ch
De Brienne M.	Gr Ch
De Ville, M.	3
Desplanis, M.	Gr Ch
Develois, M.	Gr Ch
Dorothée Mlle	1, 4
Dufay, M.	Gr Ch
Du Four, M.	3
Duhamel M.	Gr Ch
Favalli, M.	Gr Ch
Ferdinand l'aisnée, Mlle	1, 4
Ferdinand cadette, Mlle	1, 4
Frison, M.	3
Gaye, M.	Gr Ch
Gillert, M.	3
Gingant, M.	Gr Ch
Godonesche, M.	3
Guignard, Mlle	1, 2, 4
Guillegaut, M.	1, 4
Jonquet, M.	3,5
Joseph, M.	Gr Ch
La Bisodière, M.	Gr Ch
La Fuillard, M.	3
La Lande, Mlle de	1, 3, 4
Langlois, M.	Gr Ch
La Traverse, Mlle	1,4
Le Maire, M.	Gr Ch
Le Mire, M.	Gr Ch
Le Roy, M.	1,4
Levesque, Mlle	1, 4
Lombard, M.	1,4
Marcandière, M.	Gr Ch
Matho, M.	2, 5
Miracle, M.	1,4
Moreau, M.	1,4
Moreau, Mlle	1, 4
Morel, M.	4
Moussard, M.	Gr Ch
Pièche, M.	Gr Ch
Pièche, Mlle	1, 4
Philippe, M.	1, 4
Rebel, M.	Gr Ch
Rebel, Mlle	1, 3
Tiphaine L., M.	Gr Ch

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Tiphaine C., M.	Gr Ch
Tomasso, M.	Gr Ch
Touvier, M.	Gr Ch
Turpin, Mlle	1, 4
Valency, M.	Gr Ch
Varango, Mlle	1

2. Instrumentalists: Total: 20

Bonnefons, François Marrilet de:	violin
Des Jardins, Philipes:	oboe
Dieupart, Nicolas:	flute, cromhorn
Joubert, Pierre:	violin
16 unspecified violinists	

3.Dancers: Total: 27

Balon, M.	2, 5
Baraze, M.	1, 5
Beauchamps, M.	5
Blois, Mlle de	2, 5
Blondy, M.	2, 5
Bouteville, M.	1, 5
Charpentier, M. (Charpentier fils)	2, 5
Conty, La Princesse	3, 5
D'Armagnac, Mlle	2, 5
Duchesse, Mad la	4, 5
Du Mirail, M.	3, 4, 5
Du Rieux, Mlle	3, 5
D'Usez, Mlle	4, 5
Faure, M.	1, 5
Favier cadet, M.	1
Favier l'aisne, M.	3, 4, 5
Florensac, Madame de	4
Germain, M.	1, 3, 5
La Fontaine, Mlle de	3, 5
La Montagne, M.	1
La Vrillere, Mlle de	2, 5
Lestang, M.	3, 4
Le Sueur, Mlle	3
Magny, M. (Magny fils)	2, 5
Pécourt, M.	3, 4, 5
Subligny, Mlle	3
Valentinois, Mad de	4, 5

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Middle Period: 1690-1715

VIII. BALLET DE MR. DELALANDE

A. **Genre:** *(Ballet).*

B. **Collaborators:** none identified.

C. **Dates of Performance:** probably sometime in 1690 or in 1691 before the end of October.

D. **Structure:** unspecified; surviving 15 *simphonies,* which form two groups by tonality, possibly indicative of two *entrées.*

E. **Place of Performance:** probably Versailles (exact site unspecified).

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** unspecified; possibly in celebration of Monseigneur's return from the German front during the War of the League of Augsburg.

G. **Patron:** unspecified (probably Louis XIV).

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. F $Vm^{6}5$: (*Recueils de Ballets*), 1691, fol 344^{v}-346^{r} (see "J" below).

b. F Pn Rés. 582: *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1703: assorted (see "J" below).

c. F Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. Delalande*: 1745: assorted (see "J" below).

d. F V Ms Mus. 79: *Ballet de la Jeunesse*: p. 16, 130, 248 (3 airs) (see "J" below).

2. **Text:** none surviving.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. Dangeau 1854, 23-26 February 1691; general court environment: all of 1690-1691.

b. Sourches 1882, 12-13 October 1690; general court environment: all of 1690-1691.

c. *Mercure Galant,* October 1690, p. 290-295.

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2. **Post-1800:**

a. Dufourcq 1957, p. 256.

b. Wolf 1968, p. 446-488.

J. **Surviving Symphonies**

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582	Vm^{6}5
1.	g	Overture	---	---	344^{v}
2.	g	Air	---	---	344^{v8}
3.	g	Sarabande	---	---	344^{v}
4.	g	Air	II, 173	IV: 38	344^{v}
5.	g	Gavotte	---	---	344^{v}
6.	g	Chaconne	I, 27	II: 15	345^{r}
7.	g	Menuet	---	---	345^{v}
8.	g	Menuet	---	---	345^{v}
9.	a	Allemande	II, 121	VII: 66	345^{v}
10.	a	Rondeau	I, 45	VII: 66	345^{v}
11.	a	Passepied	II, 89	VII: 67^{9}	346^{r}
12.	a	Air	I, 46	VII: 67	346^{r}
13.	A	Air	---	---	346^{r10}
14.	A	Sarabande	---	---	346^{r11}
15.	a	Passacaille	II, 125^{12}	VII: 68	346^{v}

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** unspecified.

L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** unspecified.

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[8]This "Air" is also found in *Ballet de la Jeunesse*, ms score p. 16, "Premier Air des Bergers."

[9]This air is called a "Rondeau in Rés. 582. The next air in *Ballet de Mr. Delalande*, #12, is called a "Trio" in both Rés. 581 and Rés. 582.

[10]This air is called a "Sarabande" in *Jeunesse*, ms score p. 248.

[11]This air is another sarabande from *Jeunesse*, ms score p. 130.

[12]The movement is called a "Chaconne" in Rés. 581 and Rés. 582.

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IX. BALLET DE SAINT LOUIS

A. **Genre:** *(Ballet)*; called both a *ballet* and a *sérénade.*

B. **Collaborators:** none identified.

C. **Date of Performance:** 25 August 1691 (Feste de Saint Louis).

D. **Structure:** unspecified; surviving 13 *simphonies* tonally form four groups, possibly indicative of four *entrées.*

E. **Place of Performance:** Versailles (possibly on the canal).

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** unspecified, other than being some type of celebration for the Feast of Saint Louis.

G. **Patron:** unspecified (probably Louis XIV).

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. F $Vm^{6}5$: *(Recueils de Ballets)*, 1691: fol 347^{r}-348^{v} (see "J" below).

b. F Pn Rés. 582: *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1703: assorted (see "J" below).

c. F Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. Delalande*: 1745: assorted (see "J" below).

2. **Text:** none surviving.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. Dangeau 1854, 11 July 1691; general court environment: all of 1690-1691.

b. Sourches 1882, 12 July 1691; general court environment: all of 1690-1691.

c. *Mercure Galant*, October 1690, p. 290-295.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Dufourcq 1957, p. 256.

b. Wolf 1968, p. 446-488.

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J. Surviving Symphonies

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582	Vm^{6}5
1.	g	Overture	II, 210	II: 13	347^{r}
2.	g	Air Suivant	II, 212	II: 15	347^{r}
3.	g	Mesme	---	---	347^{r}
4.	g	Mesme Viste	I, 131	II: 14	347^{r}
5.	A	Trompette en rondeau	I, 99	Tromp: 78	347^{v}
6.	A	Mesme	I, 98	II: 18 Tromp: 78	347^{v}
7.	a	Escot	II, 82	II: 20	347^{v}
8.	a	Entrée	I, 43	II: 21	348^{r}
9.	a	Passepied	I, 48	II: 22	348^{r}
10.	a	Air	I, 44	II: 21	348^{r}
11.	D	Chaconne	---	Tromp: 79	348^{v}
12.	D	Menuet	I, 101	Tromp: 80	348^{v}
13.	D	Menuet alternative	I, 102	Tromp: 80	348^{v}

K. Characters and Performers: Roles: unspecified.

L. Characters and Performers: Personnel: unspecified.

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X. ADONIS

A. **Genre:** *Divertissement en musique.*[13]

B. **Collaborators:** unspecified.

C. **Date of Performance:** 1696 (exact date unspecified, but probably in October).

D. **Structure:** Overture and ten consecutive scenes sung by soloists and chorus.

E. **Place of Performance:** unspecified; probably Fontainebleau apartment.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** unspecified; probably part of court fall entertainment welcoming Princesse of Savoy to France; takes place "dans un Bocage de l'Arabie heureuse," another version of the Venus and Adonis story, perhaps in anticipation of the wedding of the Princesse and the Duc de Bourgogne.

G. **Patron:** unspecified; probably Louis XIV.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. **F** Pn Rés. 582: *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1703: assorted entries (see "J" below).

b. **F** Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1745: assorted entries (see "J" below).

2. **Text**

a) **F** Po Liv 17 [R4 (3) : ADONIS / divertissement / en musique / chanté / devant sa Majesté / en 1696 / ..... / a Paris, / par Christophe Ballard, seul Imprimeur du Roy / pour la Musique, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, / au Mont-Parnassse. / M.DC.XCVI.[14]

b) **F** Pn Yf 1681: same print as 1) above.

c. **US** CA: TS, C43, #3: same as 1) above

I. **Secondary Sources**

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[13]The designation of this work differs in various sources. The title page of the Ballard text calls it a *divertissement en musique,* while Pn Rés. 581 refers to the work variously as *Concert d'Adonis* and *Venus et Adonis.*

[14]This text is included in a collection of little-known court *divertissements* written at the end of the seventeenth century. See the end of this catalogue entry for a listing.

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1. **Pre-1800**

   a. Dangeau 1854, 10 September 1696.

   b. Sourches 1882, 22 October, 1696.

   c. *Mercure Galant*, October 1696, p. 304-305; November 1696, p. 234.

2. **Post-1800**

   a. Dufourcq 1957, p. 256.

   b. Wolf 1968, p. 345-346, 480-488.

   c. La Gorce 1983, p. 394, 400.

J. **Surviving Symphonies**

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582
1.	g	Overture	I, 127[15]	X: 106
2.	g	Air	II, 143	---
3.	g	"L'heureux séjour"	II, 191	---
4.	g	Air en écho	II, 145	---
5.	c	Passacaille	II, 205	---
6.	C	Prélude	II, 147	---
7.	C	Air	II, 200	---

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles: Total: unspecified; at least 21.**

1. **Music: Total: unspecified: at least 21: 8 vocal soloists, plus unspecified choir of at least 8, and orchestra of at least 5.**

   a. **Singers: Total: unspecified: at least 16: 8 solos, plus unspecified choir.**

Venus	Amante d'Adonis
Adonis	Amant de Venus
Mars	Rival d'Adonis
Aegle	----------
Euphrosine	3 Graces
Thalie	----------
Euriale	Ami d'Adonis
Idas	Ami d'Adonis

[15]Rés. 581 indicates: "Cette ouverture a servi au Concert d'Adonis, au Ballet de l'Hymen Champestre, et est retouché pour les Eléments." It was also used for *La Comédie des Fées*. The version in Rés. 582 is probably the one used in *Adonis*.

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Choeur des Suivants de Mars
Choeur de Bergers & de Bergères

b. **Instrumentalists:** unspecified; probably some or all of the king's 25 Violins.

2. **Dance:** none.

L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** unspecified.

Commentary Following is a list of the title of court *divertissements* with which the copy of *Adonis* in the Bibliothèque de L'Opéra is bound, in the collection Po Liv 17 [R4.

1. *Ballet de la Raillerie.* February, 1659.
2. Philidor. *La Princesse de Crète.* Comédie héroique. Marly January 1688.
3. Delalande. *Adonis.* Divertissement en musique. 1696.
4. Lully. *Egologue, ou Pastorale.* Fontainebleau, October 1697.
5. Delalande. *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance.* Pastoral, Fontainebleau 1697.
6. *Venus.* Feste galante. January 1698.
7. Delalande. *Intermèdes des Comédies de Fées.* Fontainebleau, September, 1699.
8. *Ouvrage en musique sur la dernière Campagne du Roi.* 1678.
9. Philidor. *Mascarade des Amazones.* Marly, 1700.
10. Philidor. *Le Noce de Village.* Philidor, Marly, 1700.
11. *Impromptu.* St. Maur. July 1700.
12. *Les Jeux Séculaires de la France sous Louis le Grand.* 1700.
13. Philidor. *Le Roi de Chine.* Marly, 1700.
14. Philidor. *Mascarade du Vaisseau.* Marly, February 1700.
15. Philidor. *Le Lendemain de la Noce de Village.* Marly, 1700.
16. Philidor. *Mascarade des Savoyards.* Marly, 1700.

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XI. L'AMOUR FLÉCHY PAR LA CONSTANCE

A. **Genre:** *Pastorale.*

B. **Collaborators:**

1. **Choreography:** unspecified; probably Pierre Beauchamp, if used.

2. **Designs:** unspecified; probably Jean Bérain, if used.

C. **Dates of Performance:** twice in October or November 1697; possibly repeated between 11 and 17 December 1697.

D. **Structure:** Overture and nine consecutive scenes featuring vocal solos, duets, and choruses with orchestra, plus independent instrumental movements.

E. **Place of Performance:** Fall: Fontainebleau: exact site unspecified, but probably in private apartment or in Salle de Comédie; December: Versailles: exact site unspecified, but possibly in the Trianon Salle de Comédie.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Fontainebleau performances part of regular musical entertainment during fall visit to château during peace celebrations after War of the League of Augsburg, in the presence of the king and queen of England; hypothesized December performance at Versailles for the wedding of the Princesse de Savoy and the Duc de Bourgogne; set in a wood near the temple of Love, to the theme of disrupted and then reconciled love among two couples.

G. **Patron:** unspecified, but probably Louis XIV.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. **F** LY Ms 133.620: Pastorale / L'Amour fléchy par la / Constance / Représentée (devant le Roy) / à Versailles en (sa) presence <du Roy> et de / la Reyne d'angleterre faitte / par Monsieur de Lalande / Surintendant de Sa Musique.[16]

b. **F** Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1745: assorted entries (see "J" below).

2. **Text**

a. **F** Po Liv 17 [R7 (5): L'AMOUR / FLECHY / PAR LA CONSTANCE / PASTORALE / MISE EN MUSIQUE / par Monsieur DE LA LANDE, / Sûr-Intendant de la Musique du Roy / ET CHANTEE A FONTAINEBLEAU / devant Sa Majesté, le (blank) 1697 / (insigna) / A PARIS / Par CHRISTOPHE BALLARD, seul Imprimeur du Roy /

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[16]The text given here in ( ) is crossed-out, text given here in < > is inserted.)

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pour la Musique, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, au Mont-Parnasse / M.DC.XCVII.

b. F Pn Rés. Yf 1730: same as 1) above.

c. US CA: TS, C43, # 7: same as 1) above

d. I Tn F.11.192 (2): same as 1) above.

I. Secondary Sources

1. Pre-1800

a. Dangeau 1854, general court background: 21 Sept-17 Dec 1697.

b. Sourches 1882, 24 September; 13, 25 October; 9 November; 7 December 1697.

c. Saint-Simon, III-132; IV-211, 306-17, 322-23.

d. *Mercure Galant*, December 1697, p. 205-255.

e. Beauchamps 1735, vol. III, p. 191.

f. La Vallière 1760, p. 120

g. Archival: F AN $O^1$2829: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs: 1697*: fol. 84, 92.

2. Post-1800

a. Lancaster 1942, vol. IV, p. 924-27.

b. Dufourcq 1957, p. 256.

c. Wolf 1968, p. 480-488.

d. Isherwood 1973, p. 338-341.

e. Sawkins 1976.

f. Meunier-Loiseleur 1977, p. 70.

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J. Surviving Symphonies

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	LY Ms133.620
1.	g	Overture	II, 188	1^{r}
	Scene 2			
2.	G	1^{er} Menuet	I, 26	7^{r}
3.	G	2^{e} Menuet	I, 26	7^{v}
4.	G	"Paissez en paix"	II, 194	7^{v}
5.	G	Air loure	II, 195	16^{v}
	Scene 4			
6.	D	Rondeau	I, 48	28^{v}
	Scene 5			
7.	d	Passacaille	II, 181	36^{r}
	Scene 9			
8.	g	Air grave	I, 104	51^{r}
9.	g	"Tout doit aimer"	II, 172	53^{r}

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: unspecified; at least 19: minimum of 9 vocalists and 10 instrumentalists, plus possible dancers.

1. **Music:** Total: unspecified; minimum of 19: 9 singers, plus 10 instrumentalists.

a. **Singers:** Total: unspecified: at least 9: of 4 solos, plus 5 in choirs.

Tircis, Amant de Philis (alto)
Philis, Bergère aimée de Tircis (soprano)
Daphnis, Amant de Climene (baritone)
Climene, Amante de Daphnis (treble)

Troupe de Bergers
Troupe de Bergères

b. **Instrumentalists:** unspecified: part or all of 25 Violons du Roi: minimum of 10: 5 strings, 1 continuo, 2 flutes-oboes, 2 bassoons.

2. **Dance:** Total: unspecified.[17]

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[17]The presence of dance is not confirmed, but some dancing may have occurred, or at least was scheduled for the possible Versailles performance; possibly some of the troups of shepherds and shepherdesses were dancers, possibly some of these courtiers.

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L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** unspecified.

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XII. INTERMÈDES DE MUSIQUE ET DE DANSE POUR LA COMÉDIE DE MIRTIL ET MÉLICERTE

A. **Genre:** *Ballet.*

B. **Collaborators:**

1. **Text:** play: N. A. M. Guérin; *intermèdes* for court: M. Banzy.

2. **Choreography:** Pierre Beauchamp.

3. **Designs:** Jean Bérain

C. **Dates of Performance:** rehearsals: 6, 8, 12, 16, 19 October 1698; performances 15, 18, 23 October 1698.

D. **Structure:** Prologue and three *intermèdes*, performed with three-act comedy.

E. **Place of Performance:** Fontainebleau Salle de Comédie.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** part of festivities celebrating the marriage of Mademoiselle and the Duc de Lorraine; also part of usual court fall musical entertainment at Fontainebleau during heyday of peace after War of the League of Augsburg.

G. **Patron:** Monseigneur, Madame la Princesse de Conty

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. F Rés. 582 : *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1703: assorted (see "J" below).

b. F Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. Delalande*: 1745: assorted (see "J" below).

c. F Pn Vm^{7} 532: RECUEIL D'AIRS / SERIEUX ET A BOIRE / DE DIFFERENT AUTEURS / pour l'année 1699 / A Paris / Chez Christophe Ballard, seul imprimeur du Roy pour / la Musique, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, au Mont-Parnasse / M DC XCIX / Avec Privilege de Sa Majesté. INTERMEDES / DE MIRTIL ET MELICERTE, / pastorale héroique / IMPRIME AU MOIS DE FEVRIER, 1699. (These airs are probably not by Delalande.)

d. F Pn Vm^{7} 519: INTERMEDES / EN MUSIQUE / DE MIRTIL ET MELICERTE / PASTORALE HEROIQUE / Nouvellement au Théâtre / ( ) / A PARIS / chez CHRISTOPH BALLARD, seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique / rue S. jean de Beauvais au Mont-Parnasse / M.DC.XCIX / Avec Privilege de Sa majsté. (same as "c" above.)

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2. **Text**

a. **Group 1:** Ballard

1) **F Pn ThB 2388:** INTERMEDES / DE MUSIQUE / ET DE DANSE / POUR LA COMEDIE / DE / MIRTIL ET MELICERTE / REPRESENTEE / A Fontainebleau, le (blank) Octobre 1698. / (insigna) / A PARIS, / Par CHRISTOPHE BALLARD, seul Imprimeur du Roy / pour la Musique, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, / au Mont-Parnasse. / M.DC XCVIII / Par exprès Commandement de Sa Majesté.

2) **F Pn Rés Yf 2281:** same as 1) above

b. **Group 2:** Amsterdam

1) **F Pn X. 1702 (4) :** INTERMEDES / DE MUSIQUE / ET DE DANSE / POUR LA COMEDIE / DE / MIRTIL ET MELICERTE / représentée A FONTAINEBLEAU / le (blankspace) Octobre 1698 / A AMSTERDAM, / Chez HENRI SCHELTE / M DC XCIX.

2) **F Pn Yf 7815:** same as "1" above.

3) **US Ca TS C13, vol. 7 :** same as "1" above.

c. Group 3 : Paris (probably not set to music by Delalande)

1) **F Pn Yth 20400:** Myrtil / et / Melicerte / pastorale heroique / (insigna) / à Paris / chez Pierre Trabouillet, au / Palais, dans la Gallérie des Presonniers / à l'Image S. Hubert / M.DC.XCIX / Avec Privilege du Roi.

2) **F Pn Yth 20401 (1) :** same as "1" above

3) **F Pn Yth d 12493 :** same as "1" above

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. Dangeau 1854, 12, 25 October 1698.

b. *Mercure Galant*, October 1698, p. 252-256, 264-266.

c. Sourches 1882, 12 October 1698.

d. Saint-Simon 1853, vol. VI: p. 1-15.

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e. Orléans 1970, 25 September; 1, 15, 25 October; 5 November 1698.

f. Maupoint 1733, p. 204.

g. Beauchamps 1735, vol. III, p. 192.

h. Léris 1754, p. 220, 226.

i. La Vallière 1760, p. 121.

j. Archival: F AN O[1]2830 : *Comptes de la Maison du Roi. Menus Plaisirs*, 1698: fol. 71, 74v (16 October), 75v (18 October), 75v (23 October), 75v (25 October), 80r (15 October), 81r (22 October), 82v (9 November). (fol 71-100 assorted comments about *Mirtil et Mélicerte* and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.)

2. **Post-1800**

a. Annales 1810, vol. VI, p.302.

b. Molière 1881, vol. VI, P. 145-149, 557.

c. Guérin 1882, preface.

d. Lancaster 1942, vol III, p. 379; vol IV: p. 926-28; 944; 949; 926.

e. Dufourcq 1957, p. 256.

f. Isherwood 1973, p. 341.

J. **Surviving Symphonies**

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582
1.	F	Overture	II, 44	IX : 94
		Prologue		
2.	F	Prélude pour les Muses	II, 46	IX : 95
3.	F	Air	II, 6	IX : 95
4.	d	Air	I, 39	IX : 95
5.	d	Passepied suivant	II, 229	IX : 95
6.	d	Menuet: "Pour aimer"[18]	II, 228	IX : 96
		Intermede I		
7.	F	Prélude	II, 5	IX : 96
8.	B^b	Air[19]	I, 12	IX : 97

[18]Called "Petit Air" in Rés 582.

[19]Called "Grand Air" in Rés. 582.

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9.	B^b	Rondeau	II, 56	IX : 97
10.	B^b	Air	II, 62	----
11.	B^b	1^{ere} Rigaudon	I, 72	----
12.	B^b	2^e Rigaudon: Trio des hautbois	I, 73	----
		Intermède II		
13.	g	Air des fleuves[20]	I, 74	IX : 99
14.	g	Canarie[21]	II, 219	IX : 98
		Intermède III		
15.	g	Loure	II, 144	IX : 98
16.	G	Air	I, 111	----
17.	G	Chaconne	I, 86	IX : 100
		Grand Entrée		
18.	g	Sarabande	II, 216	----
19.	g	1^{ere} Air des Siamois	II, 217	IX : 103
20.	g	2^e Air des Siamois[22]	II, 218	IX : 103
21.	C	Rigaudon	II, 152	IX : 105
22.	g	Air pour les Pastres	II, 168	----
23.	d	Air pour les Bergers fous	II, 178	----
24.	g	Entrée de faunes	II, 211	----
25.	G	Entrée d'yrvogne	II, 196	----
		Unspecified Intermède[23]		
26.	C	Air des Basques	----	IX : 104
27.	C	Menuet	----	IX : 104
28.	C	2^e Air	----	IX : 104
29.	C	Passepied	----	IX : 105
30.	C	Rigaudon	----	IX : 105
31.	C	Rigaudon	----	IX : 105

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: unspecified: at least 60: 14 vocal soloists and 46 dancers, plus a choir of up to 40 and an orchestra of up to 25.

1. **Music:** Total: unspecified: 14 vocal soloists, plus a choir of up to 40 and an orchestra of up to 25.

a. **Singers:** Total: 14 soloists, plus unspecified choir of up to 40.

---

[20]Called "Air Grave" in Res. 582.

[21]This air was reworked for *Hymen Champestre.*

[22]This air was reworked for *Les Folies de Cardenio* as the "Air de Pagode."

[23]Entries 19 through 25 are notated in Rés. 581 as "ajouté au ballet de Mélicerte," probably indicating that they were used for the revised version of the ballet for the king.

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Prologue: Total 4 soloists, plus unspecified choir

Calliope, Muse Heroique	Mlle Varango
Euterpe, Muse Pastorale	Mlle Desenclos
Uranie, Muse de l'Astrologie	Mlle Chape
Une Bergère	Mlle Bastaron
Les Arts	--------
Les Jeux	--------
Troupe de Bergers	--------

Intermède I: Total : 5 soloists

Tircis	M. de la Biffe
Philene	M. Bastaron
Cloris	Mlle Chappe
Aminte	Mlle Varango
Silvie	Mlle Desenclos

Intermède II: Total: 3 soloists, plus unspecified choir

Philemon	M. Aubineau
Penée	M. Bastaron
Un Silvain	M. Gaye fils
Troupe de Divinitez des Eaux	--------
Troupe de Faunes et de Silvains	--------

Intermède III: Total: 2 soloists, plus unspecified choir

Un Egiptien	M. Aubineau
Une Egiptienne	Mlle Chape
Troupe de Bergers	--------
Troupe d'Egiptiens	--------

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: probably 25 Violons du Roy

Violin	Sr. Desmatins
Violin	Sr. Huguenet

2. **Dance:** Total: 46

Prologue: Total: 8

Quatre Jeux	Messieurs Favre
	Magny
	Balon
	DesMoulins
Quatre Bergères	Mesmlles Beauchamps
	Subligny
	Du Faur
	Longuefosse

Intermède I: Total: 14

Première Entrée

Deux Bergers	Messieurs Favier L.
	Lestang
Trois Pastres	Messieurs Magny
	Bouteville

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	Des Moulins
Trois Pastourelles	Mesmlles Beauchamps
	Subligny
	Du Faur
Seconde Entrée	
Trois Pastres	Messieurs Magny
	Bouteville
	Des Moulins
Trois Pastourelles	Mesdemoiselles Beauchamps
	Subligny
	Du Faur

Intermède II: 7

Un Faune	M. Pécourt
Six Silvains	Messieurs Faure
	Magny
	Blondy
	de Rouen
	Bouteville
	Balon

Intermède III: 17

Première Entrée	
Huit Egiptiens	Messieurs Favier L.
	Pécourt
	Lestang
	Dumirail
	Germain
	Baraze
	Favier Cadet
	Joubert
Quatre Egiptiennes	Mesmlles Beauchamps
	Subligny
	Du Faur
	Longuefosse
Seconde Entrée	
Deux Egiptiennes	Mesmlles Beauchamps
	Subligny
Troisieme Entrée	
Un Egiptien	M. Beauchamps
Deux Autres Egiptiens	M. Faure
	Balon

L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** Total: as many as 94; 30 specified: 8 singers, 2 instrumentalists, 21 dancers; plus unspecified choir of up to 40 and up to 23 more instrumentalists.

1. **Singers:** Total: 8, plus unspecified choir

Aubineau, M.	2, 3
Bastaron, Mlle	P
Bastaron, M.	1, 2
Chappe, Mlle	P, 1, 3
Desenclos, Mlle	P, 1

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Gaye fils, M.	2
La Biffe, M. de	1
Varango, Mlle	P, 1

2. **Instrumentalists:** Total: 2, plus probably 23 more unspecified.
   - Desmatins, Sr.
   - Huguenet, Sr.

3. **Dancers:** Total: 21.

Balon, M.	P, 2, 3
Baraze, M.	3
Beauchamps, M.	3
Beauchamps, Mlle	P, 1, 3
Bouteville, M.	1, 2
Blondy, M.	2
Des Moulins, M.	P, 1
Du Faur, Mlle	P, 1, 3
Dumirail, M.	1
Faure, M.	P, 2, 3
Favier Cadet, M.	3
Favier L., M.	3
Favre, M.	P
Germain, M.	3
Joubert, M.	3
Lestang, M.	1, 3
Longuefosse, Mlle	P, 3
Magny, M.	P, 1, 2
Pécourt, M.	2, 3
Rouen, M. de	2
Subligny, Mlle	P, 1, 3

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XIII. INTERMÈDES DE LA COMÉDIE DES FÉES, MELÉE DE MUSIQUE ET DE DANSES

A. **Genre:** *Ballet.*

B. **Collaborators:**

1. **Text:** play and *intermèdes*: Florent Dancourt.

2. **Choreography:** Pierre Beauchamp.

3. **Designs:** Jean Bérain.

C. **Dates of Performance:** 24 September; 1, 8 October 1699.

D. **Structure:** *Intermèdes* for prologue and three acts of comedy.

E. **Place of Performance:** Fontainebleau (Salle de Comédie).

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Part of regular court fall musical-theatrical entertainment at Fontainebleau; entertainment on topic of fairies, a theme in vogue for casual entertainments at the end of the seventeenth century, with allusions to France's maintainance of peace during growing tensions related to the Spanish Succession.

G. **Patron:** Monseigneur, possibly Madame de Maintenon.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. F Rés. 582 : *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1703: assorted (see "J" below).

b. F Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. Delalande*: 1745: assorted (see "J" below).

c. F Pn Yf 7262: LES / FEES / Comédie / de / Mr. Dancourt / (Insigna) / A Paris / Chez PIERRE RIBOU , proche les / Augustins, à la descente du Pont-neuf / à l'image S. Louis / M.DC.XCIX / Avec privilege du Roy.

d. F Pn Th 3205: LES FEES / Comédie / Représentées pour la première fois, le 29 Octobre 1699; same as "c" above.

2. **Text**

a. **Group 1:** Ballard

1) F Po Liv 17 [R7 (7): INTERMEDES / DE / LA COMEDIE /

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DES FEES, / MELEE DE MUSIQUE / ET DE DANSES, / Représentée / POUR MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, / A Fontainebleau au mois de septembre 1699 / (Insigna) / A PARIS, / Chez CHRISTOPHE BALLARD, seul Imprimeur / du Roy, pour la Musique, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, / au Mont-Parnasse. / M.DC.XCIX. / Par exprès Commandement de Sa Majesté.

2) F Pn Yf 2201: same as above.

3) US Ca TS, C43, #15: same as above.

b. Group 2: Ribou

1) US Ca TS, C43, #14: LES FEES / COMEDIE / de Mr. DANCOURT / MELEE DE MUSIQUE / ET DE DANSE / REPRESENTEE / POUR MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, / A Fontainebleau pendant le sejour que la Cour y a fait / en l'année 1699 / (insigna) / A PARIS / Ches PIERRE RIBOU, sûr 6 quay des Augustins, / à la déscente du Pont Neuf, à l'image S. Louis / M.DC.XCIX. / AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY (*intermèdes* only). 19 October 1699.

2) F P Yf 7262: LES / FEES / Comédie / de / Mr. Dancourt / (Insigna) / A Paris / Chez PIERRE RIBOU , proche les / Augustins, à la descente du Pont-neuf / à l'image S. Louis / M.DC.XCIX / Avec privilege du Roy (play and *intermèdes*).

3) F Pn ThB 3205 : LES FEES / Comédie / Représentées pour la première fois, le 26 Octobre 1699; same as "2" above (play and *intermèdes*), but with different pagination.

a. Group 3: Paris

1) F Pn Th^{b} 4515: PROGRAME / DES FEES / Comédie / en trois actes / par le Sr Dancourt / Avec trois Intermèdes / Représentées devant le Roy à Fontainebleau / le 23 Octobre 1753 / de l'Imprimerie / de Ballard, seul Imprimeur du Roi pour la Musique, & Noteur / de la Chapelle de Sa Majesté, rue Saint-Jean-de-Beauvais, a Sainte Cecile. / Par esprès Commandement de Sa Majesté.

I. Secondary Sources

1. Pre-1800

a. Dangeau 1854, 24 September; 1, 8 October, 1699.

b. *Mercure Galant*, September 1699, p. 135, 140-41.

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c. Saint-Simon 1853, 13 January, 5 February 1699.

d. Orléans 1970, 1 October 1699.

e. Maupoint 1733, p. 130.

f. Parfaict 1734, vol XIV, 134-35.

g. Beauchamps 1735, vol III, p. 192-93.

h. Léris 1754, p. 141.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Lancaster 1942, vol IV, p.6, 768-81, 809-10, 915, 817.

b. Dufourcq 1957, p. 256-57.

c. Wolf 1968, p. 491-508.

d. Isherwood 1973, 342-43.

e. Blanc 1977, p. 147-51, 198, 301, 304-07, 828.

J. Surviving Music

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582
1.	g	Overture *[24]	I, 127	IX : 107
	Prologue			
2.	B♭	Prélude	------	IX : 108
3.	B♭	Air *	II, 13	IX : 108
4.	B♭	Trio "Dans ces lieux"	II, 14	IX : 108
5.	B♭	Gigue *	II, 63	X : 109
	Intermède I			
6.	d	Gavotte	II, 165	X : 109
7.	d	Gavotte "Cette l'amour"	II, 164	X :109
8.	d	Forlane * +[25]	I, 52	X : 110
9.	D	Air Grave[26]	II, 163	X : 111
10.	D	Salterelle *	I, 50	X: 111
11.	D	March pour la Noce * +	II, 179	X: 112

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[24]"*" indicates re-use of air in *Hymen Champestre in 1700.*

[25]"+" indicates re-use of air in *Ballet de l'Inconnu.*

[26]Called "Sarabande" in Rés. 582, and set to the text "L'Amour favorise" in Ribou.

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de Village

Intermède II

12.	e	Grand Air	II, 33	X: 112
13.	E	2eme Air Suivant	II, 34	X : 113
14.	e	3eme Air Suivant	II, 35	X : 113

Intermède III

15.	d	Légèrement	II, 174	X : 114
16.	D	Loure *	II, 229	X: 114
17.	D	Chaconne *	I, 55	X : 116

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: unspecified: at least 120: 13 vocal soloists, 42 dancers, instrumentalists of up to 25, and an unspecified choir.

1. **Music:** Total: unspecified: 13 vocal solos, plus an orchestra of up to 25 and an unspecified choir.

a. **Singers:** Total: 13 soloists, plus unspecified choir.

Prologue: Total : 4

La Fée, préside aux Spectacles	Mlle Desmarres
Une Fée des Plaisirs	Mlle Chappe
Un Suivant de la Fée des Plaisirs	M. Jonquet
La Sagesse	Mlle Tiphaine

Intermède I: Total : 3

Premier Habitant de l'Isle Fortunée	M. Brossard
Second Habitant	M. Gaye
Une Habitante de l'Isle Fortunée	Mlle Desenclos

Intermède II: Total: 2

Habitant de l'Isle Inconnue	M. Bastaron
Habitante de l'Isle Inconnue	Mlle Bastaron

Intermède III: Total: 4

Un Habitant de l'Isle Inconnu	M. Bastaron
Une Fée des. Plaisirs	Mlle Chappe
Une Habitante de l'Isle	Mlle Desenclos
Un Suivant de la Fée des Plaisirs	M. Jonquet

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: unspecified: possibly 25 Violons du Roy.

2. **Dance:** Total: 42

Prologue: Total: 12

Quatre Plaisirs	M. Favier l'aîné
	M. Favier cadet
	M. Germain
	M. Dumirail

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Deux Fées	Mesmlle Desplasses Godefroy
Quatre Plaisirs Burlesques	M. Faure Boutteville Ballon Mercier
Deux Fées Burlesques	Mlle Beauchamps Mlle Dufort

Intermède I: Total: 10

Habitans de l'Isle Fortunée	M. Ballon Messieurs Germain Dumirail Favier cadet Lestang
Habitantes de l'Isle Fortunée	Mlle Subligny Mesmlles Beauchamps Dufort Desplasses Godefroy

Intermède II: 5

Plusieurs Habitans de l'Isle Inconnue	M. Pécourt Messieurs Favier l'ainé Boutteville Faure Dumirail

Intermède III: 15

Plusieurs Habitans de l'Isle Inconnue	M. Beauchamps Messieurs Favier l'ainé Boutteville Germain Lestang Dumirail Favier cadet Mercier
Habitans & Habitantes de l'Isle Inconnue & de l'Isle Fortunée	Messieurs Faure Ballon Mlle Beauchamps Mesmlles Godefroy Desplaces Subligny Dufort

L. Characters and Performers: Personnel: Total: unspecified: at least 50: 9 singers, 16 dancers, 25 instrumentalist; plus unspecified choir.

1. Singers: Total: 9, plus unspecified choir

Bastaron, M.	2, 3
Bastaron, Mlle	2
Brossard, M.	1
Chappe, Mlle	P, 3

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Desenclos, Mlle	1, 3
Desmarres, Mlle	P
Gaye, M.	1
Jonquet, M.	P, 3
Tiphaine, Mlle	P

2. Instrumentalists: Total: unspecified: possibly 25.

3.Dancers: Total: 16

Ballon, M.	P, 1, 3
Beauchamps, Mlle	P, 1, 3
Beauchamps, M.	3
Boutteville, M.	P, 2, 3
Desplasses, Mlle (Desplaces)	P, 1, 3
Dufort, Mlle	P, 1, 3
Dumirail, M.	P, 1, 2, 3
Faure, M.	P, 2, 3
Favier l'ainé, M.	P, 2, 3
Favier cadet, M.	P, 1, 3
Germain, M.	P, 1, 3
Godefroy, Mlle	P, 1, 3
Lestang, M.	1, 3
Mercier, M.	P, 3
Pécourt, M.	2
Subligny, Mlle	1, 3

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XIV. HYMEN CHAMPESTRE

A. Genre: *Mascarade*

B. Collaborators:

1. Text: Jean-Baptiste Rousseau.

2. Choreography: (Louis Pécourt).

C. Dates of Performance: 13 (rehearsal), 21 February 1700.

D. Structure: undefined; probably one or more *entrées* of dance.

E. Place of Performance: Apartments of Madame de Maintenon at Marly and Versailles.

F. Circumstances of Performance and Theme: part of Carnival festivities during year of active courtier involvement in social dancing.

G. Patron: Madame de Maintenon; possibly the Comte d'Ayen for 21 February.

H. Primary Sources

1. Music:

a. F Rés. 582 : *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1703: assorted (see "J" below).

b. F Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. Delalande*: 1745: assorted (see "J" below).

d. F Pn Rés. 1897: one air, p. 151.

2. Text: none survives

I. Secondary Sources

1. Pre-1800

a. Dangeau 1854: 4, 5, 13, 21 February; additionally many reports of musical entertainments during January and February 1700.

b. *Mercure Galant*, February 1700, p. 232-33; additionally many reports of musical entertainments, p. 151-233, 276-84.

c. Sourches 1882, 13, 21 February; in general, 6 January-23 February, 1700.

d. Saint-Simon 1853, vol VII, p. 52-62.

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f. Parfaict 1735, vol XIV, p. 191-215.

h. Archival: F AN $O^1$2832: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs*, fol. 63^v, 64^v, 67^v.

2. Post-1800

a. Grubbs 1941, particularly p. 243ff.

b. Lancaster 1942, vol IV, p. 847-55.

c. Dufourcq 1957, p. 257.

d. Wolf 1968, p. 501-508.

e. Isherwood 1973, 310-316, 344-346.

f. Harris-Warrick 1984.

J. Surviving Symphonies

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582
1.	g	Overture *[27] #[28]	I, 127	10 : 106
2.	g	Trio de hautbois[29]	II, 3	------
3.	B^b	Air #	II, 13	10 : 108
4.	B^b	Gigue #	II, 63	10 : 109
5.	B^b	Menuet	II, 17	------
6.	D	Canarie	II, 180	------
7.	D[30]	Bourée ^[31]	II, 204	9 : 104
8.	d	Forlane #	I, 52	10 : 110
9.	D	Salterelle #	I, 50	10 : 111

[27]"*" indicates borrowed from *Adonis*.

[28]"#" indicates borrowed from *La Comédie des Fées*.

[29]This is the only air from *Hymen Champestre* found in a source other than the Supper Symphonies, in the ms. Rés 1897, p. 151.

[30]C Major in Rés. 581.

[31]"^" indicates borrowed from *Mirtil et Mélicerte*. This movement is called "2. Air" in Rés. 582, in C Major, the last air of the 9th suite.

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10.	D[32]	Menuet	II, 204	------
11.	D	Canarie ^	II, 219	9 : 98
12.	D	Marche, ou Contredanse #	II, 179	10 : 112
13.	D	Loure #	II, 229	10 : 114
14.	D	Chaconne #	I, 55	10 : 116

K. **Characters and Performers:** Total: unspecified; at least 14 dancers; musicians unspecified.

1. **Music:** Total: unspecified.

a. **Singers:** unspecified.

b. **Instrumentalists:** unspecified.

2. **Dance:** Total: 14.

Dancers named in *Mercure Galant*, February 1700.
Madame la Duchesse de Bourgogne
Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne
Mademoiselle de Bournonville
Monsieur de Coesquin
Monsieur le Comte d'Ayen
Madame la Comtesse d'Ayen
Duc de Guiche
Mademoiselle de Melun
Madame de Revêtot
Monsieur le Chevalier de Sully
Duchesse de Villeroy

Additional dancers named in Dangeau, 13 February 1700.
La Comtessse d'Estrées
Le Duc de la Baume
Le fils de Tallard

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[32]C Major in Rés. 581. There is no indication from where this work was borrowed. Possibly it is one of the airs from *Mirtil* retrenched from the original production.

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XV. ODE

A. **Genre:** *Concert.*

B. **Collaborators: Text:** the Abbé Genest.

C. **Date of Performance:** 24 October 1704.

D. **Structure:** one scene, probably vocal and instrumental music.

E. **Place of Performance:** Château of Sceaux, apartment of Madame de Maintenon.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** private entertainment for king during stopover at Sceaux on return from Fontainebleau.

G. **Patron:** Probably Madame de Maintenon; possibly the Duchesse du Maine also.

H. **Primary Sources: Text:** Genest, l'Abbé. *Les Divertissements de Sceaux.* Paris: Trevoux, 1712. p. 213-219.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. Dangeau 1854, 24 October 1704; also many reports of court activities during September and October 1704.

b. *Mercure Galant*, October 1704, p. 396-405.

c. Sourches 1882, vol IX, p. 102-103.

d. Saint-Simon 1853, XII, p. 308.

e. Orléans 1970, 26 October 1704.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Peipape 1910.

b. Viollier 1939.

c. Lancaster 1942, IV, 211-217.

d. Dufourcq 1957, p. 257.

e. Wolf 1968, p. 509-554.

f. Isherwood 1978, p. 345-347.

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J. **Surviving Symphonies:** none

K. **Characters and Performers:** Total: unspecified.

1. **Music:** Total: unspecified.

a. **Singers:** Total: unspecified.

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: unspecified.

2. **Dancers:** none.

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XVI. LE DIVERTISSEMENT SÛR LA PAIX[33]

A. Genre: *Concert.*

B. Collaborators: Text: Hilaire-Bernard de Roqueleyne, Baron de Longepierre

C. Dates of Performance: 4, 15 July 1713 (partial), 19 July (complete).

D. Structure: four successive scenes of vocal and instrumental music, called *entrées* in the musical source, but probably without dance.

E. Place of Performance: Marly, apartment of Madame de Maintenon.

F. Circumstances of Performance and Theme: Summer musical entertainment for king at Marly in celebration of the peace after the War of the Spanish Succession; mythological and attribute characters praise Louis for obtaining the peace.

G. Patron: Duc de Noailles

H. Primary Sources

1. Music:

a. F Pn Rés. 582 : *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1703: assorted (see "J" below).

b. F Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. Delalande*: 1745: assorted (see "J" below).

c. F Pn Ms. 9354: *Le Divertissement sûr la Paix.*

2. Text: F Pn Ms Fr 24,353 (Ballets et Operas): *Le Divertissement de la Paix*: fol 301-305.

I. Secondary Sources

1. Pre-1800

a. Dangeau 1854, 14, 15, 19 July 1713.

b. Saint-Simon 1853, vol. XXIV, p. 63-64.

c. Parfaict 1734, vol. XV, p. 323-324.

2. Post-1800

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[33]The work is also referred to as *Le Ballet de la Paix* and *Idylle de la Paix.*

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a. Portalis 1905.

b. Lancaster 1942, vol. IV, p. 358

c. Dufourcq 1957, p. 243, 257.

d. Wolf 1968, p. 578-595.

e. Isherwood 1973, p. 348-349.

J. Surviving Symphonies

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582	Ms 9354
1. (#1)[34]	D	Overture[35]	I, 35	IV: 32[36]	----
	Entrée I				
2. (#3)	D	Trio: "A cette Pompe"	II, 79	----	p. 4
3. (#7)	D	Air	I, 122	----	----
	Entrée II				
4. (#8)	A	Sarabande	II, 108	----	----
5. (#11)	A	Air	II, 109	----	----
6. (#13)	A	Air	II, 122	----	----
7. (#14)	E	"Les Oiseaux"	II, 26		p.40
8. (#15)	E	Rondeau	II, 27	----	----
	Entrée III				
9. (#16)	g	Air vif	II, 140	----	----
10. (#17)	g	Gigue	II, 141	----	----
	Entrée IV				
11. (#18)	B^b	Trio: "Mais quelle aimable"	II, 51	----	p. 58
12. (#19)	B^b	Air Grave	II, 59	----	----
13. (#20)	B^b	Trio: "Père des jeux"	II, 57	----	----
14. (#21)	g	Trio: "Chantons"	I, 107	----	p. 71

[34]Number in parenthesis is identification of number of movement in Supper Suite, as given in Rés. 581.

[35]Used previously in the fourth Supper Suite and revised for *Les Folies de Cardenio* in 1719.

[36]All of the airs in Rés. 581 also appeared in the second, now lost version of the Supper Symphonies, pp. 131-145, proof that this second compilation was made after 1713.

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15. (#24) D Air I, 142 ---- ----

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: unspecified; at least 13 musicians (vocal solos), plus unspecified choir and instrumentalists.

1. **Music:** Total: unspecified: at least 13 vocal solos, plus unspecified choir and instrumentalists.

a. **Singers:** Total: 13 solos, plus unspecified choir.

Entrée I: Total: 1 soloist, plus unspecified choir
La Nimphe de la Seine
Choeur des Bergers & Bergères

Entrée II: Total: 2 solos, plus unspecified choir
La Nimphe de la Seine
La Victoire
Le Choeur

Entrée III: Total: 2 solos, plus unspecified choir
La Paix
La Victoire
Le Choeur

Entrée IV: Total: 8 solos, plus unspecified choir.
La Paix
La Victoire
La Nimphe de la Seine
Apollon
Un Suivant d'Apollon
Polymnie
Melpomene
Thalie
Choeur des Muses
Choeur des Jeux et des Plaisirs

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: unspecified.

2. **Dancers:** none.

L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** unspecified: minimum of 16: 12 singers, 4 instrumentalists.

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Late Period: 1715-1726

XVII. L'INCONNU

A. **Genre:** *Ballet de cour.*

B. **Collaborators:**

1. **Music:**

a. André Destouches (Entrée IV)

b. Jean-Féry Rebel (Entrée V)

2. **Text:** *intermèdes* and revised text of play by Florent Dancourt; original play by Thomas Corneille.

3. **Choreography:** Jean Balon.

4. **Designs:** (Bérain workshop).

C. **Dates of Performance:** rehearsals: 7 December 1719; 24, 27 January; 3, 7 February 1720; performances: 8, 10, 17, 21, 24 February 1720.

D. **Structure:** five *entrées* of dance, which served as *intermèdes* for five-act comedy.

E. **Place of Performance:** Tuilleries palace, antechamber to king's apartment.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Carnival entertainment for court, used principally to exhibit Louis XV; the theater represents a garden, with scenes based on themes of a buffet, Bohemians, shepherds and shpeherdesses, and a village wedding.

G. **Patron:** Duc de Villeroy; Regent.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. **Instrumental airs**

1. **F** Rés. 582 : *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1703: assorted (see "J" below).

2. **F** Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. Delalande*: 1745: assorted (see "J" below).

3. **F** Pn $Vm^{6}26$: Airs de Violons / de l'Inconnu / premier ballet / dansé par le Roy / Dans son Palais des Tuilleries / au mois de Fevrier 1720. / Ces airs sont de la

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Composition de Mr. De Lalande / Sur-Intendant de la Musique du Roy et Maître de / Musique Ordinaire de la Chapelle & de la Chambre / de Sa Majesté. / Et les Entrées du Ballet sont de la Composition / de M. Balon, Maître à Danser de Sa Majesté. / ( ) / De l'Imprimerie / de Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard / Seul Imprimeur de Roy pour la Musique / A Paris, au Mont-Parnasse / M.DCC.XX / par Exprès Commandement de Sa majesté.

4. F Po (treble clef) 1349: same as #3 above.

5. F Pn D. 6545: same as #3 above.

6. F Pn Lf. 709: same as #3 above.

7. F Pn Rés Yf 2190bis: same as #3 above.

b. Vocal airs

1. F Pn Vm^{6}25: L'INCONNU / premier / ballet / dansé par sa Majesté / dans son Palais des Tuilleries / au mois de Fevrier 1720. / de l'imprimerie / de Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, / seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique, / A Paris, au Mont-Parnasse, / M.DCC.XX / Par esprès Commandement de sa Majesté.

2. F Pn D. 11533: same as #1 above.

3. F Pn Vm^{6}78: same as #1 above.

4. F Pn L. 709: same as #1 above.

5. F Pn Rés Yf 2188: same as #1 above.

6. F Pn Rés Yf 2190: same as #1 above.

7. F Pn Rés 1560: same as #1 above.

8. F Pn Rés Yf 2189: L'Inconnu / Premier Ballet Dansé / par sa Majesté / dans son Palais des Tuilleries / au mois de fevrier 1720 (ms copy of instructions and words of songs).

2. Text[37]

a. 1675 version

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[37]There appears to have been no separate printing of the text of the *ballet* alone. The text of the play which the *ballet* accompanied is found in the complete works of Corneille and subsequently of Dancourt.

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1) F Po Rés Yf 417, 706, 707: L'Inconnu, comédie meslée d'ornemens, par T. Corneille, représentée par la troupe du roy, etablie au fauxbourg S. Germain. Paris, au Palais, dans la Salle royale. 1675.

2) F Pn Yf 649: 1676 ed.

3) F Pn Rés Yf 69: 1676 ed.

4) F Pn Rés Yf 3087: 1692 ed.

b. **1703 version**

1) F Th^{b}3270: 1703 ed.

2) F Pn Rés. Yf 3289-3295: 1711 ed.

3) F Pn Yf 8843-8851: 1729 ed.

I. **Secondary Sources**

1. **Pre-1800**

a. Dangeau 1854, Dangeau: 7 December 1719; 24, 27, 30 January; 3, 7, 8, 10, 15, 17, 21, 23, 24 February 1720.

b. *Mercure Nouveau*: December 1719, p. 179; January 1720, p. 208-09; February 1720, p. 182-86. (for report on earlier version of the play, see also: *Mercure Galant*, January 1679, p.330; October 1679, p. 349; January 1687, p. 319; January 1710, p. 283.)

c. Saint-Simon 1853, vol. XXXVII: p. 131-34; 401-02.

d. Orléans 1970, p. 219.

e. Gazette d'Amsterdam: 5 December 1675; 9 February 1720.

f. Maupoint 1733, p. 174.

g. Parfaict 1734, vol XI, p. 424-29; vol. XIV, p. 308; vol. XV, p. 369-374.

h. Beauchamps 1735, III p. 197-198.

i. Léris 1754, p. 187

j. Archival AN O^{1}2851: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi, Menus Plaisirs*: fol. 130-161.

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2. Post-1800

a. Reynier 1892, p. 55-59, 283-284.

b. Mélèse Thea 1934, p. 244, 293, 305.

c. Mélèse Rep 1934, p.162.

d. Lancaster 1942, vol IV: 912-24; Sunset: 171, 176-77.

e. Dufourcq 1957, p. 257.

f. Blanc 1977, p. 161, 168-71, 175, 181, 191, 304, 306-7, 369, 459, 569, 584-85, 640, 724, 728

g. Collins 1966, p. 189-191.

h. Hitchcock 1982, p. 371, 374.

J. Surviving Symphonies

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582	Vm^{6}26
1.	G	Overture	I, 1	I : 1	3
	Entree I				
2.	D	Marche pour les Ordonnateurs	II, 163	----	6
3.	d	Rondeau pour le Roy	I, 142	----	8
4.	D	Air Grave	I, 18	----	18
5.	d	1^{ere} Meneut	I, 42	----	12
6.	D	2eme menuet	I, 42	----	14
7.	D	Air gai	I, 144	----	14
8.	D	Sarabande légère	I, 145	----	16
	Entree II				
9.	B^{b}	Marche	I, 70	----[38]	18
10.	g	Rondeau gracieux	II, 66[39]	----	20
11.	G	Air léger	II, 216	----	22
12.	G	Musette	I, 112	----	24
13.	g	Passepied	I, 140	----	26
14.	B^{b}	Air de Paysan	II, 18	----	27
	Entree III				
15.	C	1^{ere} Bourée	II, 149	----	29
16.	C	2eme Bourée	II, 150	----	30

[38]Catalogue Entries 9 and 10 are listed in the index of the post-1713 version of the Supper Suites in the eighth suite, but do not appear in Rés. 582.

[39]In F minor in Rés. 581.

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17.	C	Loure	II, 199	----	30
18.	C	Passepied	II, 152	----	34
19.	C	Sarabande légère	II, 151	----	35
	Entrée IV[40]				
20.	G	Marche	----	----	37
21.	g	Gigue	----	----	38
22.	g	Air	----	----	40
23.	g	Menuet	----	----	42
24.	g	Passepied	----	----	43
	Entrée V				
25.	D	March[41]	II, 179	IX: 112	44
26.	d	Rondeau des Paysans	II, 114	----	45
27.	d	1ere Menuet	II, 179	----	46
28.	D	2eme Menuet	II, 120	----	47
29.	D	Courante	II, 117	----	48
30.	D	Bourée	I, 147	----	49
31.	d	Air pour un niais	II, 116	----	50
32.	d	Air pour an vieux	II, 116	----	51
33.	D	La Villageoise-Doucement-Gayement[42]	I, 152	----	52
	Grand Entrée				
34.	d	Marche	11, 113	----	60
35.	D	Passepied	???[43]	----	62
36.	g	Air	II, 215	----	64
37.	G	Petite Chaconne-Bourée-Loure	II, 220	----	65
38.	d	1ere Rigaudon[44]	II, 201	----	68
39.	D	2eme Rigaudon	II, 202	----	69
40.f		Forlane[45]	I, 52	X: 110	70

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: possibly 105: 5 vocal solos and 76 dancing roles, plus an orchestra of up to 24.

1. **Music:** Total: possibly 29: 5 vocal solos, plus an orchestra of up to 24.

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[40]The music from this *entrée* is taken from Destouches' *La Carnival et la Folie.*

[41]Delalande used this Marche previously in *Fées* and *Hymen.*

[42]Written by Jean-Féry Rebel.

[43]No page number is given in the Rés. 581 index. The air has not yet been located in the collection.

[44]This and the following Rigaudon are in C Major in Res. 581.

[45]Delalande used this movement previously in *Fées* and *Hymen.*

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a. **Singers:** Total: 5 soloists.

Entrée I: Total: 2

Un des Conducteurs de la Fête	Sr. Muraire
Une Suivante de la Jeunesse	Mlle Burry

Entrée II: Total : 1

Bergère	Mlle Antier

Entrée III: Total: 1

Une Bohemienne	Mlle Bury[46]

Entrée IV: Total: 1

Une Bergère	Mlle Antier

Entrée V: No singing

Grand Entrée: No singing

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: unspecified; probably 24 Violons du Roy; only Augustin Le Pintre named.[47]

2. **Dance:** Total: 76.

Entrée I: Total: 9.

Ordonnateurs de la Fête	*Le Marquis de Villeroy*
	Le Sr. Balon
Plaisirs Suivants de la Jeunesse	*Le Marquis de Gondrin*
	Le Marquis de Châteauneuf
	Le Marquis de Crussol
	Le Marquis de Maulevrier
Amours	*Les Marquis de Bellefond*
	Le Marquis de la Chaise
Suivants de la Jeunesse	------
(Soloist)	*Louis XV*

Entrée II: Total: 7

Bergère seule	Mlle Prévot
Bergers	Sr. Marcel
	Sr. Du Moulin
	Sr. De Laval
Bergères	Mlle Menes

[46]Bury's name occurs in two different spellings, "Bury" and "Burry."

[47]Named *Joueur de violon de la chambre*, 16 February 1716.

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	Mlle de la Ferrière
	Mlle de Lastre
Entrée III: Total: 17	
(Soloist)	*Monsieur le Duc de Chartres*
Troupe de Bohemiens	*Le Prince de Turenne*
	Le Marquis de Villeroy
	Le Marquis d'Alincourt
	Le Marquis de Lorge
	Le Marquis de Cosse
	Le Marquis de Villars
	Le Marquis de Coigny
	Le Marquis de Charlu
	Le Marquis de Beson
	Le Marquis de Renel
	Le Marquis de Langeron
	Le Marquis de Croissy
	Le Marquis de Bellegarde
	M. de Chambona
	M. Law
	Le Sieur Balon
Entrée IV: Total: 7	
Bergers	*Le Marquis de Langeron*
	Le Marquis de Bellegarde
Bergères	Mlle de la Ferrière
	Mlle de Lastre
Bergère seule	Mlle Guyot
Bergers	Le Sr. DuMoulins
	Le Sr. Laval
Entrée V: Nopce de Village: Total: 12	
Le Marié	M. Balon
La Mariée	Mlle Prôvot
Gens de la Nopce	
Berger	Le Sr. Dumoulin 4
Bergère	Mlle Guyot
Nyais	Le Sr. Marcel
Nyaise	Mlle Dupré
Gentilhomme de Campagne	Le Sr. Blondy
Dame de Campagne	Mlle Menes
Paysan	Le Sr. Dumoulin 2
Paysanne	Mlle de la Ferrière
Vieux	Le Sr. Dumoulin 3
Vieille	Mlle de Lastre
Grand Entrée: Total: 24	
(Soloists)	*Louis XV*
	M. Le Duc de Chartres
	Les Seigneurs de la Première & la Troisième Entrée

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L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel:** Total: probably 65: 3 singers, 25 instrumentalists, and 37 dancers.

1. **Singers:** Total: 3

Antier, Mlle	2, 4
Bury, Mlle	1, 3
Muraire, Sr.	1

2. **Instrumentalists:** Total: unspecified: probably 25

Le Pintre, Sr.

3.**Dancers:** Total: 37

Balon, Le Sr.	1, 3, 5, Gr E
Bellefond, Le Marquis de	1, Gr E
Bellegarde, Le Marquis de	3, 4, Gr E
Beson, Le Marquis de	3, Gr E
Blondy, Le Sr.	5
Chaise, Le Marquis de la	1, Gr E
Charlu, Le Marquis de	3, Gr E
Chambona, Mr. de	3, Gr E
Chartres, M. Le Duc de	3, Gr E
Châteauneuf, Le Marquis de	1, Gr E
Coigny, Le Marquis de	3, Gr E
Cosse, Le Marquis de	3, Gr E
Croissy, Le Marquis de	3, Gr E
Crussol, Le Marquis de	1, Gr E
D'Alincourt, Le Marquis	3, Gr E
De Laval, Sr.	2, 4
Dumoulin, Sr.	2, 4
Dumoulin 4, Sr.	5
Dumoulin 2, Sr.	5
Dumoulin 3, Sr.	5
Dupré, Mlle	5
Gondrin, Le Marquis de	1, Gr E
Guyot, Mlle	4, 5
La Ferrière, Mlle de	2, 4, 5
Langeron, Le Marquis de	3, 4, Gr E
Lastre, Mlle de	2, 4, 5
Law, M.	3, Gr E
Lorge, Le Marquis de	3, Gr E
Louis XV	1, Gr E
Marcel, Le Sr.	2, 5
Maulevrier, Le Marquis de	1, Gr E
Menes, Mlle	2, 5
Prôvot, Mlle	2, 5
Renel, Le Marquis de	3, Gr E
Turenne, Le Prince de	3, Gr E
Villars, Le Marquis de	3, Gr E
Villeroy, Le Marquis de	1, 3, Gr E

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XVIII. LES FOLIES DE CARDENIO

A. **Genre:** *Ballet de cour.*

B. **Collaborators:**

1. **Text:** *intermèdes* Charles Antoine Coypel, to a play by Coypel.

2. **Choreography:** Jean Balon.

3. **Designs:** (Bérain workshop).

C. **Dates of Performance:** 30 December, 1720; 4, 8, 11, 13, 18, 21, 27 January, 1721; 10 May 1721.

D. **Structure:** prologue and three *intermèdes* of music and dance.

E. **Place of Performance:** Tuileries palace, Salle des Machines

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Carnival entertainment for court; Louis XV's second appearance in a court *ballet*, the theater setting representing the palace of the king in the prologue, a ball for the first *intermède*, and a forest for the second and third *intermèdes.*

G. **Patron:** Duc de Villeroy; Regent; Duc D'Aumont, and Duc de Montemart.

H. **Primary Sources**

1. **Music:**

a. F Rés. 582 : *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande*: 1703: assorted (see "J" below).

b. F Pn Rés. 581: *Les Simphonies de M. Delalande*: 1745: assorted (see "J" below).

2. **Text:**

a. **Ballard** *intermèdes* **alone**

1) F Po Liv 18 [332: LES FOLIES / de / CARDENIO, / Pièce Héroi-Comique: DEUXIEME BALLET / DANSE PAR LE ROY, / Dans son Château des Tuilleries / Au mois de Decembre 1720. / de l'imprimerie / de Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard / Seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique. / MDCCXXI / Par exprès Commandement de sa Majesté.

2) F Pn Yf 877: same as 1 above.

3) F Pn Liv 18 [R2(1): same as 1 above.

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4) F Pn Yf 1383: same as 1 above.

5) F Pn Th^{b}4505: same as 1 above.

6) F Pn Rés Yf 781: same as 1 above

7) F Pn Rés. Yf 1252: same as 1 above.

8) F Pn Yf 223: same as 1 above

b. Ballard abridged *intermèdes* alone

1) F Pn Th^{b}4501: Deuxième / Ballet / dansé par le Roy / Dans son Château des Tuilleries / Le Lundy trentième jour du mois / de Decembre 1720. ( ) de l'Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique / MDCCXX / Par exprès commandement de sa Majesté.

2) F Po Liv 18 [726: same as 1 above.

3) F Pn Yf 878: same as 1 above.

4) F Pn Yf 1070: same as 1 above.

c. Ballard *intermèdes* and play

1. F Pn Th^{b}1994: LES FOLIES / DE / CARDENIO / Piéce Héroi-Comique: / DEUXIEME BALLET / DANSE PAR LE ROY / Dans son Château des Tuilleries, / Le Lundy trentième jour de Decembre 1720.

2. F Pn Yf 879: same as 1 above.

3. US Ca TS 5238.140: same as 1 above.

I. Secondary Sources

1. Pre-1800

a. *Mercure Nouveau*: November 1720, p. 165; December 1720, p. 190; January 1721, p. 131-150; June 1721, p. 140.

b. Buvat 1865, p. 211-212, 245.

c. Marais 1863, vol. II, p. 31-32, 38-39, 47-48, 129.

d. Barbier 1887, vol. I, p. 105-106, 127-128.

e. Maupoint 1733, p. 144.

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f. Parfaict 1734, vol. XIV, p. 385-394.

g. Beauchamps 1735, III p. 91.

h. Léris 1754, p. 157.

i. La Vallière 1760.

j. Archival

1. **AN** $O^1$2851: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs*: fol. 63^r-85^r; fol 166^r-219^r.

2. **AN** $O^1$2852: *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs*: (copy of 1 above) fol. 56^r-79^r; fol 174^r-234^r.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Babeau 1895.

b. Jamieson 1931.

c. Dufourcq 1957, p. 257.

J. **Surviving Symphonies**

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582
1.	D	Overture[48]	I, 35	IV : 32
	Entree I			
2.	D	Bourée	I, 17	----
3.	D	Air: "Icy la Jeunesse"	I, 17	----
4.	D	Air de Trompette	I, 114	----
5.	D	Air	II, 91	----
6.	D	Loure[49]	II, 97	----
7.	d	Rondeau	I, 38	----
8.	d	Air[50]	I, 15	----
9.	d	Sarabande légère	II, 118	-----

[48]Borrowed from *Le Divertissement sûr la Paix*, reworked for *Cardenio*.

[49]Same as #18 below.

[50]Occurs twice in Rés. 581, II, 122, in A minor as in *Paix*, and in the D minor version for *Cardenio*.

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	Petite Contredanses			
10.	d	Contredanse	II, 224	----
11.	d	1ere Menuet	II, 225	----
12.	d	Air sûr les Tricotets	II, 225	----
13.	D	Branle de Bourges	II, 226	----
14.	D	2eme Menuet	II, 226	----
15.	d	4eme Air sur Cassandre	II, 227	----
16.	D	3eme Menuet	II, 227	----
	Entrée II			
17.	A	Marche pour les masques	II, 107	----
18.	d	Sarabande pour les Espagnols	II, 223	----
19.	D	Loure[51]	II, 97	----
20.	A	Chaconne légère pour les Maures	II, 111	----
21.	A	1ere Bourée pour les Maures	II, 124	----
22.	a	Bourée pour les mesmes	II, 125	----
23.	b	1ere Air d'Indien	II, 29	----
24.	A	2eme Air pour M. le Grand Prieur	II, 110	----
25.	A	3eme Menuet pour le meme	II, 123	----
26.	D	1ere Air Chinois	I, 120	----
27.	d	Menuet pour des Chinois	I, 52	----
28.	d	3eme Air pour les Pagodes[52]	I, 121	----
29.	G	Contredanse	I, 84	----
30.	B♭	Air des Combattants	II, 16	----
	Entrée II			
31.	g	Marche des Bergers[53]	II, 138	VI: 57
32.	G	Sarabande: "Quitté icy tes ailes"	I, 111	----
33.	G	Musette	I, 77	----
34.	g	Passepied	I, 80	----
35.	b	Gavotte lente: "Dans cette aimable retraite"	II, 30	----
36.	F	Air pour les flûtes	II, 31	----
	Entrée III			
37.	A	La Tempête	II, 230	----
38.	B♭	Marche des Bergers[54]	II, 13	X: 108
	Nouvelle Feste			
39.	G	1ere Bourée	I, 81	----
40.	g	2eme Bourée	I, 82	----
41.	g	1ere Menuet	I, 75	----
42.	G	2eme Menuet	I, 76	----
43.	d	Loure pour le Duc de Chartres	I, 148	----

[51]Same as #6 above.

[52]Another version of this movement occurs in II, 218.

[53]Borrowed from *Palais de Flore*, where it is called a Bourée.

[54]Used previously in *Fées* and *Hymen*.

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44.	d	Bourée	I, 40	----
45.	d	Entrée des Matelots	I, 51	----
46.	D	Tambourin	I, 54	----
47.	D	Rondeau	I, 118	----

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles: Total: 255**

1. **Music:** Total: 111: 15 soloists, 96 choir and orchestra.

a. **Singers:** Total: 15 soloists, plus a choir of 31.

Choir: Hommes des choeurs de l'Opéra Total: 19	Srs. Corbie Lemire Chassé Dautrep Gourgeon du Chesne Flamand Morand St. Martin Deshayes Buzot du Plessis Jassier Corail Sr. Fouassier Sr. Renard Sr. Maillard Sr. Herbé Sr. Bremont
Filles des choeurs de l'Opéra Total: 12	Mlles Tetalet La Roche Milon Charlard Perignon Constance Antier la cadette St. Gerys Souris l'ainée Castelnau Marion Souris la cadette Persson Catin

Prologue: Total: 4

Minerve	Mlle Antier
La Raison	Mlle Burry
La Chagrin, sous la figure de La Raison	Le Sr. Muraire
Le Plaisir	Le Sr. Boutelou

Entrée I: no vocalists

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Entrée II: Total : 5 solos, plus choir

Trois Bergers	Les Srs. Boutelou Muraire Mouret
Deux Bergères	Mlles Bury Antier
Choeur de Bergers & Bergères	

Entrée III: Total: 5 solos plus unspecified choir.

Une Bergère	Mlle Lisarde
Deux Bergers	Les Srs. Mouret Muraire
L'Hymen	M. Legrand
L'Amour	Le Sr. Dangeville
Choeur de Bergers	

Nouvelle Fête: Total: 1 solo

Une Compagne de Lucinde	Mlle Hermance

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: 65

Musiciens de la Chapelle du Roy: Total: 5	Ferriere l'aisné Ferriere le cadet Charpentier le cadet Huguenet le cadet Le Rou fils aisné
Externes: Total: 4	Sr. Le Roux le cadet Desjardins le fils Antonio Paressa Salentin
24 Violons Ordinaires de la Chambre: Total: 18	Baudy le père Francoeur l'aisné Brunet La Lande père Le Clerc Goupy Rebel le fils Le Clerc Marchand Gilber le père Manuary Francoeur père Converset Joly Senailles Moyen père Roc père du Chesne

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Hautbois des Mousquetaires et de l'Ecurie et Flûtes: Total 12	Hoctere le Romain
	Toulon
	Balois
	Desjardins l'aisné
	Desjardins Monlery
	Desjardins Fauchon
	Desjardins Hale
	Thuillier le filz
	Tuillière le père
	Philidor (timbalie)
	Sabaye (trompette)
	Gillier (tambour)
Orchestre de l'Opéra: Total: 26	Faure
	Caral
	Pelsy
	Monteclair
	Francoeur le cadet
	Matieu
	Quentin l'aisné
	Moyen fils
	Quentin le cadet
	La Lande fils
	Mercier
	Baudy le filz
	Dervois
	Merge
	Le Clerc le cadet
	Paris le père
	Le Cointre
	Le Large
	Gilbert le filz
	Bernier
	Mangot
	Chedeville l'aisné
	Philidor le cadet
	De Bar
	Pierrepont
	Desjardins

2. Dance: Total: 144

Prologue: Total: 31

Premiere Entrée	
Plaisirs	Les Sr. Dumoulin
	Laval
	Marcel
	Blondy
	Mlles Prévot
	Guyot

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Menes
Dupré

Deuxième Entrée

Seigneurs Gaulois	*Louis XV*
	Monsieur le Duc de Chartres
	M. le Marquis de Villeroy
	M. de Coigny
	M. de Mirepoix
	M. de Cosse
	M. de Francine
	M. de Beson
	M. de Croissy
	M. de Renel
	M. de Langeron
	M. de Tonnerre
	M. Balon fils
Suite de cette Entrée	*M. le Duc de la Trémoille*
	M. le Duc de Bouflers
	M. de Crussol
	M. de Ligny
	M. de Brancas
	M. le Ch de Maulevrier
	M. de Gondrin
	M. de Saint Florentin
	M. de Rupermonde
	M. de Lasuse

Entrée I: Le Bal: Total: 44

Quadrille d'Espagnols	*Mr. de Coigny*
	M. de Mirepoix
	M. de Villars
	M. de Lorges
	Mlle Leroy
	Mlle Lemaire
	Mlle Duval
	Mlle Mangot
Quadrille de Maures	*M. le P. de Turenne*
	M. de Besons
	M. de Chambona
	M. de Maulevrier
	Mlle Delisle
	Mlle Corail
	Mlle Labatte
	Mlle Laferrière
Quadrille d'Indiens	*M. le Grand Prieur*
	M. le Marquis de Villeroy
	M. le Duc de Montmorency
	M. le Marquis d'Alincourt

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Mlle Guyot
Mlle Menes
Mlle Prévot
Mlle Dupré

Quadrille de Chinois

M. Balon
Les Srs Blondy
Marcel
Les Srs Ferrand
Dupré
Dumirail
Mion

La Pagode

Le Sr Dumoulin 2

Petites Pagodes

Paris
Boiseau
Lamotte
Alin

Combattants

Les Srs. Laval
Malterre l'ainé
Malterre cadet
Duval
Deshayes
Marcel cadet
Javillier
Pierret

Entrée II: Total: 16

Les Srs. Dumoulin 4
Laval
Marcel l'ainé
Dumirail
Dangeville
Pécourt
Dumoulin 2
Dumoulin 3
Melles Prévot
Guyot
Menes
Dupré
Deslisle
Corail
Laferière
Labatte

Entrée III: Total: 16 (same as Entrée II)

Nouvelle Feste: Total: 37

Amour de la Suite du Roy:

Le Roy
M. l.Duc d.l.Tremoille
M. le Ch de Maulevrier

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	M. le Duc de Bouflers
	M. de Gondrin
	M. de Crussol
	M. de Saint Florentin
	M. de Ligny
	M. de Rupermonde
	M. de Brancas
	M. de Lasuse
Hymen	*M. le Duc de Chartres*
Suite de l'Hymen	*M. le Grand Prieur*
	M. l.Duc d.Montmorecy
	M. de Langeron
	M. de Mirepoix
	M. de Lorges
	M. de Villars
	M. de Coigny
	M. d'Alincourt
	M. le P. de Turenne
	M. le Marq.d.Villeroy
	M. de Besons
	M. de Croissy
Entrée des Matelots	M. de Tonnerre
	M. d'Hostager
	M. de Francine
	M. Balon fils
	Mlles Lemaire
	Leroy
	Duval
	Mangot
	Mr. Balon
	Mlle Prévot
	Le Sr. Dumoulin
	Les Srs. Blondy
	Dupré

L. Characters and Performers: Personnel: Total: 174

1. Singers: Total: 40: 9 solos, 31 choir

Antier, Mlle	P, 1, 2
Antier la cadette, Mlle	Ch
Bury, Mlle	P, 1, 2
Boutelou, Le Sr.	P, 1, 2
Brémont	Ch
Buzot, Sr.	Ch
Castelnau Marion, Mlle	Ch
Charlard, Mlle	Ch
Chassé	Ch
Constance, Mlle	Ch
Corail, Sr.	Ch
Corbie, Sr.	Ch

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Deshayes, Sr.	Ch
Dangeville, Le Sr.	3
Dautrep Sr.	Ch
du Chesne Sr.	Ch
du Plessis	Ch
Flamand, Sr.	Ch
Fouassier, Sr.	Ch
Gourgeon, Sr.	Ch
Herbé, Sr.	Ch
Hermance, Mlle	NF
Jassier, Sr.	Ch
La Roche, Mlle	Ch
Legrand, M.	3
Lemire, Sr.	Ch
Lisarde, Mlle	3
Maillard, Sr.	Ch
Milon, Mlle	Ch
Morand, Sr.	Ch
Mouret, Le Sr.	1, 2
Muraire, Sr.	P, 1, 2, 3
Perignon, Mlle	Ch
Persson Catin, Mlle	Ch
Renard, Sr.	Ch
St. Gerys, Mlle	Ch
St. Martin Sr.	Ch
Souris l'ainée, Mlle	Ch
Souris la cadette, Mlle	Ch
Tetalet, Mlle	Ch

2. Instrumentalists: Total: 65

Antonio Paressa, Sr.
Balois
Baudy le filz
Baudy le père, Sr.
Bernier
Brunet, Sr.
Caral
Charpentier le cadet, Sr.
Chedeville l'aisné
Converset, Sr.
De Bar
Dervois
Desjardins
Desjardins Fauchon
Desjardins Hale
Desjardins l'aisné
Desjardins le fils, Sr.
Desjardins Monlery
du Chesne, Sr.
Faure
Ferrière l'aisné, Sr.
Ferrière le cadet, Sr.
Francoeur le cadet

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Francoeur l'aisné, Sr.
Francoeur père, Sr.
Gilber le père, Sr.
Gilbert le filz
Gillier
Goupy, Sr.
Hoctere le Romain
Huguenet le cadet
Joly, Sr.
La Lande fils
La Lande père, Sr.
Le Clerc, Sr.
Le Clerc le cadet
Le Cointre
Le Large
Le Pintre, Sr.
Le Roux fils aisné, Sr.
Le Roux le cadet, Sr.
Mangot, M.
Manuary, Sr.
Marchand, Sr.
Matieu
Mercier
Mergé
Monteclair
Moyen fils
Moyen père, Sr.
Paris le père
Pelsy
Philidor
Philidor le cadet
Pierrepont
Quentin l'aisné
Quentin le cadet
Rebel le fils, Sr.
Roc père, Sr.
Sabaye
Salentin, Sr.
Senailles, Sr.
Thuillier le filz
Toulon
Tuillière le père

3.Dancers: Total: 69

Balon, Le Sr.	P, 1, NF
Balon, fils	NF
Bellegarde, le Marquise de	5
Beson, le Marquis de	P, 1, NF
Blondy, Le Sr.	P, 1, NF
Boufflers, M. le Duc de	P, NF
Boiseau, M.	1,
Brancas, M. de	P, NF
Charlu, Le Marquis de	3

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Chambona, Mr. de	1,
Chartres, M. le Duc de	P, NF
Coigny, Le Marquis de	P, 1, NF
Corail, Mlle	1, 2, 3,
Cosse, Le Marquis de	P,
Croissy, le Marquis de	P, NF
Crussol, Le Marquis de	P, NF
D'Alincourt, Le Marquis	1, NF
Dangeville, Le Sr.	2, 3,
Delisle, Mlle	1, 2, 3,
De Laval, Sr.	1, 2, 3,
Deshayes, Sr.	1,
D'Hostager	P, NF
Du Moulin, Sr.	P,
Du Moulin 4, Sr.	2, 3, NF
Du Moulin 2, Sr.	1, 2, 3,
Du Moulin 3, Sr.	2, 3,
Dumirail, Sr.	1, 2, 3,
Dupré, Mlle	P, 1, 2, 3, NF
Dupré, M.	1,
Duval, Mlle	1, NF
Duval, M.	1,
Ferrand, Le Sr.	P, 1,
Francine, M. de	P, NF
Gondrin, Le Marquis de	P, NF
Grand Prieur, M. le	1, NF
Guyot, Mlle	P, 1, 2, 3,
Javillier, Le Sr.de	1,
Lamotte	1,
Langeron, Le Marquis de	P, NF
Labatte, Mlle de	2, 3,
Laferrière, Mlle de	1, 2, 3,
Lasuse, M. de	P, NF
Law, M.	3
Leroy, Mlle de	1, NF
Lemaire, Mlle	1, NF
Ligny, M. de	P, NF
Lorge, Le Marquis de	1, NF
Louis XV	P, NF
Malterre l'ainé	1,
Malterre cadet	1,
Mangot, Mlle	1, NF
Marcel, Le Sr.	P, 1, 2, 3,
Marcel cadet, Le Sr.	P, 1,
Maulevrier, Le Marquis de	P, 1, NF
Menes, Mlle	P, 1, 2, 3,
Mirepoix, M.	P, 1, NF
Montmorency, M. le Duc de	1, NF
Pécourt, Le Sr.	2, 3,
Pierret, Le Sr.	1,
Prôvot, Mlle	P, 1, 2, 3, NF
Rupermonde, M. de	P, NF

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Renel, Le Marquis de	P,
Saint Florentin, M. de	P, NF
Tonnerre, M. de	P, NF
Tremoille, M. le Duc de	P, NF
Turenne, le Prince de	1, NF
Villars, Le Marquis de	P, 1, NF
Villeroy, Le Marquis	1, NF

Commentary

Acteurs de la Comédie

Lucinde	Mlle Duclos
Dorothée	Mlle Desmarres
Cardenio	Le Sr. Baron
Dom Fernand	Le Sr. Poisson, fils
Dom Diegue	Le Sr. Legrand, père
Dom Quichot	Le Sr. Lavoy
Sancho	Le Sr. de la Thorillière
Thérèse	Mlle Gautier
Ignes	Mlle Quinault
Marcelle	Le Sr. Quinault, le jeune
Lopes	Le Sr. Defontenay
Premier Page	Le Sr. Legrand fils
Second Page	Le Sr. Duclos
L'Amour	Le petite Dangeville
L'Hymen	M. Legrand
Un Matelot	Le Sr. Duchemin

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XIX. LES ELÉMENS

A. **Genre:** *Opéra-Ballet.*

B. **Collaborators:**

1. **Music:** André Destouches (majority of ballet).

2. **Text:** Charles Roy

3. **Choreography:** Jean Balon.

4. **Designs:** (Bérain workshop).

C. **Dates of Performance:** 31 December 1721, 7 January 1722.

D. **Structure:** Prologue and four *entrées.*

E. **Place of Performance:** Tuileries palace, unspecified gallery.

F. **Circumstances of Performance and Theme:** Carnival entertainment for court, third *ballet* featuring Louis XV; each of the four acts depicts one of the four elements.

G. **Patron:** Duc de Villeroy; M. le Duc de Mortemar (*première gentilhomme de la chambre du Roy*)

H. **Primary Sources**[55]

1. **Music:**

a. **F V MSD Ub 4° 107:** LES ELEMENS / troisième Ballet / Dansé par le Roy / dans son Palais des Tuilleries, / Le lundy vingt-deuxième jour de Decembre 1721 / Remis au théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique / à Paris le vingt-neuvième May 1725 / de l'Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique / à Paris, rue Saint Jean-de-Beauvais, au Mont-Parnasse / MDCCXXV / Avec Privilege du Roy.

b. **F Pn Rés. Vm²97:** same as 1 above.

c. **F Pn Rés. 581:** *Les Simphonies de M. Delalande*: 1745: assorted (see "J" below).

2. **Text**

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[55]Surviving copies of primary sources of *Les Elémens* are far more plentiful than are other works by Delalande. This catalogue entry will not attempt to be comprehensive, but will include only a sample of the most important or the most accessible material.

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a) F Po Liv 18 [245: LES / ELEMENS / TROISIEME BALLET / DANSE PAR LE ROY, / Dans son Palais des Tuileries, / Le Lundy vingt-neuvième jour de Decembre 1721 / (insigna) / DE L'IMPRIMERIE / DE JEAN-BAPTISTE-CHRISTOPHE BALLARD , / Seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique / M.DCC.XXI / Par esprès Commandement de Sa Majesté.

b) F Les / ELEMENS / troisième ballet / dansé par le Roy, / Dans son Palais des Tuilleries, le Lundy vingt-deuxième jour de decembre 1721. / (insignia) / de l'imprimerie Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard / Seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la musique / MDCCXXI / Par exprès commandement de sa Majesté.

c) F Pn ThB 1758: Les / ELEMENS / Troisième Ballet / Dansé Par le Roy / Dans son Palais des Tuilleries / Le Mercredy trente-unième jour de Decembre 1721 / De l'imprimerie / de Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, / Seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique / MDCCXXI / Par exprès Commandement de Sa Majesté.

d) F Pn ThB 4356: same as (4) above.

e) F Pn ThB 1940: same as (4) above.

f) F Pn ThB 4484: same as (4) above.

g) F Pn Rés Yf 1140: same as (4) above.

h) F Pn Rés Yf 1142: same as (4) above.

i) F Pn Rés Yf 2028: same as (4) above.

j) F Pn Rés Yf 2029: same as (4) above.

I. Secondary Sources

1. Pre-1800

a. *Mercure Nouveau*, August 1721, p. 103; December 1721, p.193; January 1722, p. 80-93.

b. Marais 1863, vol. II, p. 215.

c. Maupoint 1733, p. 113

d. Beauchamps 1735, vol. III, p. 241.

e. La Vallière 1760.

f. Annales 1810, p. 357.

g. Léris 1754, p. 124.

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h. Archival: AN $O^1$2853, *Comptes de la Maison du Roi, Menus Plaisirs*: fol. 185-195.

2. **Post-1800**

a. Anthony 1978, p. 133-34, 138, 141.

b. Dufourcq 1957, p. 257.

J. **Surviving Symphonies**

	Key	Name of Movement	Rés 581	Rés 582
1.	g	Overture	I, 127	X: 106
	Prologue			
2.	D	Air de Trompettes	I, 116	
3.	D	Air gay	I, 149	
4.	D	"Songez à faire usage"	I, 150	
5.	D	1ere Meneut	I, 151	
6.	D	2eme Menuet	I, 152	
	Entree II			
7.	g	Choeur: "Triomphez"	I, 136	
8.	g	"Diligente aurore"	I, 138	
9.	g	Air pour les Heures	I, 138	
10.	G	"Heures favorables"	I, 139	

K. **Characters and Performers: Roles:** Total: at least 191.

1. **Music:** Total: unspecified: 86: 20 vocal solos, plus a choir and orchestra of 66.

a. **Singers:** Total: 51: 20 solo roles; 31 in choir.

Choir:

Mlles Constance
Laroche
Catin
Tetelet
Souris L.
Perignon
Souris C.
Charlard
Antier C.
Ducoudray
Demons
Lemaure

Srs. Flamand
Jaciers

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Bremond
Corbie
Herbet
Lemir
Moran
Renard
Deshayes
Dautrep
Corail
Gourgeon
Buzeau
Duchesne
Duplessis
Lapierre
Jerosme (Sagiolino)
Francisque
Dominique (Flavoni)

Soloists

Prologue: Total: 2 solos, plus choir.

Le Destin	Le Sr Thevenard
Venus	Mlle Lizarde
Choeur des Mariniers	
Choeur des Moissonneurs	

Première Entrée: Total : 4 solos, plus choir

Ixion	Le Sr. Thévenard
Junon	Mlle Antier
Mercure	Le Sr. Muraire
Jupiter	Le Sr. Dubourg
Cheours d'Aquilons, de Zéphirs,	
Les Heures du Jour et de la Nuit	

Deuxième Entrée: Total: 5 solos, plus choir.

Leucosie	Mlle Hermance
Doris	Mlle Souris
Triton	Le Sr. Dun fils
Arion	Le Sr. Boutelou
Neptune	Le Sr. Dubourg
Cheours de Tritons et de Syrennes	

Troisième Entrée: Total: 3 solos, plus choir.

Emilie	Mlle Antier
Valere	Le Sr. Thévenard
L'Amour	Mlle Lemaure
Cheour de Prêtresses de Vesta	
Cheour de Chevaliers Romains	

Quatrième Entrée: Total: 6 solos, plus choir.

Pomone	Mlle Antier
Vertumne	Le Sr. Boutelou
Plutus	Le Sr. Muraire
Pan	Le Sr. Dun fils

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Deux bergers	Mlle Constance Mlle Catin
Cheour de chasseurs	

b. **Instrumentalists:** Total: 35.

Joueurs de violons	Mrs. Francoeur Faure Quentin Lalande Beaudy Brunet Le Roux fils aisné Le Clerc Moyen fils Huguenet fils Gilbert père Manoury Francoeur père Converset Le Clerc Jolly Gibert fils Moyen père Duchesne Roch Senalier Goupy
(Director)	Le Sr. Rebel
(Rehearsal violinist)	Le Sr. Le Pintre
Joueurs de hautbois	Srs. Hauteterre le Romain Bernier Desjardins l'ainé Desjardins (2) Desjardins (3) Halle Le Roux cadet
Bassoons	Srs. Desjardins 4 Desjardins 5 Debar Pierrepont

2. **Dance:** Total: 105 roles.

Prologue: Total: 13 roles.

(Soloist)	*Louis XV*
Troupe de Héros	*M. le Duc de la Tremoille*

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de la Suite de Sa Majesté	*M. le Chevalier de Maulevrier*
	M. le Prince de Tonnay-Charente
	M. le Comte de la Suse
	M. le Marquis de Gondrin
	M. le Comte de Saint Florentin
	M. le Comte de Ligny
	M. le Marquis de Rupermonde
	M. le Marquis de Brancas
	M. le Marquis de Livry
	M. le Marquis de la Chaise
	M. le Comte de Salles

Entrée I: Total: 22 roles.

Les Heures du Jour	Mlles Menes
	Dupré
	Laferrière
	Emilie
	Lemaire
	Leroy
Les Heures de la Nuit	Mlles Delisle
	Lantier
	Isec
	Roland
	Mangot
	Duval

Suite du Divertissement:

Aquilons	Les Srs. Blondy
	Dumirail
	Mion
	Dumoulin
	Pieret
Zéphirs	Les Srs. Dumoulin
	Laval
	Pécourt
	Malterre
	Duval

Entrée II: Total: 11 roles.

Tritons	*M. le Marquis de Villeroy*
	Mr. de Coigny
	Mr. de Besons
Nereides	Melle Menes
	Mr. de Renel
	Mr. de Croissy
	Mlle Prévost
	Mlles Leroy
	Lemaire
	Mlle Mangot
	Duval

Entrée III: Total: 16 roles.

Prêtresses de Vesta	Mlle Guyot

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	Melles Emilie
	Laferrière
	Isec
	Dupré
	Delisle
	Lantier
Seigneurs Romains	Mr. de Tonnerre
	Mr. de Villars
	Mr. de Cosse
	Mr. le Marquis d'Alincourt
	Mr. le Duc de Bouflers
	Mr. le Duc de Montmorency
Esclaves	Les Srs. Blondy
	Marcel
	Dupré

Act IV: Total: 22 roles.

Chasseurs	Le Sr. Balon
	Mr. de Langeron
	Mr. de Mirepoix
	Mr. de Coigny
	Mr. de Renel
Bergers	Mrs. de Besons
	de Croissy
	Balon
	d'Hostager
	Chambonna
	de Francine
Bergères	Mlles Emilie
	Laferrière
	Delisle
	Isec
	Mangot
	Duval
	Le Sr. Marcel
	Mlle Menes
	Mlle Petit
Deux Paysans Comiques	Les (2) Srs. Dumoulin

Epilogue: Total: 21 solos, plus choir.

Le Soleil	*Louis XV*
Les Signes du Zodiaque	*Mr. le Duc de la Tremoille*
	Mr. le Chevalier de Maulevrier
	Mr. le Prince de Tonnay-Charente
	Mr. le Comte de la Suze
	Mr. le Marquis de Gondrin
	Mr. le Comte de Saint Florentin
	Mr. le Comte de Ligny
	Mr. le Marquis de Rupermonde
	Mr. le Marquis de Brancas
	Mr. le Marquis de Livry

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	Mr. le Marquis de la Chaise
	Mr. le Comte de Salles
Les Quatre Parties du Monde	
Aise	*Mr. le Marquis de Villeroy*
	Mlle Lantier
l'Europe	*Mr. le Marquis d'Alincourt*
	Mlle Dupré
l'Afrique	*M. le Duc de Montmorency*
	Mlle Labatte
L'Amèrique	*Mr. le Grand Prieur*
	Mlle Prévot

L. **Characters and Performers: Personnel: Total: 132: 38 singers, 35 instrumentalists, 59 dancers.**

1. **Singers: Total: 38: 11 solos, 31 choir (4 doubling)**

Antier, Mlle	1, 3, 4
Antier, Mlle C.	Ch
Boutelou, Le Sr.	2, 4
Brémond	Ch
Buzeau, Sr.	Ch
Catin, Mlle	Ch, 4
Charlard, Mlle	Ch
Constance, Mlle	Ch, 4
Corail, Mlle	Ch
Corbie, Sr.	Ch
Dautrep Sr.	Ch
Demons, Mlle	Ch
Deshayes, Sr.	Ch
Dubourg, Le Sr.	1, 2
Duchesne M.	Ch
Ducoudray, Mlle	Ch
Dun fils, M.	2, 4
Duplessis M.	Ch
Flamand, Sr.	Ch
Flavoni M.	Ch
Francisque, Sr.	Ch
Gourgeon, Sr.	Ch
Herbet, Sr.	Ch
Hermance, Mlle	2
Jaciers, M.	Ch
Lapierre, M.	Ch
Laroche, Mlle	Ch
Lemaure, Mlle	Ch, 3
Lemir, Mlle	Ch
Lizarde, Mlle	P
Moran, Sr.	Ch
Muraire, Sr.	1, 4
Perignon, Mlle	Ch
Renard, Sr.	Ch
Sagiolino, M.	Ch
Souris, Mlle	2

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Souris, Mlle	2
Souris, Mlle C.	Ch
Souris, Mlle L.	Ch
Tetelet, Mlle	Ch
Thévenard, M.	P, 1, 3

2. **Instrumentalists:** Total: 35

Beaudy, M.	V
Bernier, M.	H
Brunet, M.	V
Converset, M.	V
Debar, M.	B
Desjardins, M. (2)	H
Desjardins, M. (3)	H
Desjardins 4, M.	B
Desjardins 5, M.	B
Desjardins l'aisné	H
Duchesne, M.	V
Faure, M.	V
Francoeur, M.	V
Francoeur père, M.	V
Gibert fils, M.	V
Gilbert père, M.	V
Goupy, M.	V
Halle, M.	H
Hauteterre le Romain, M.	H
Huguenet fils, M.	V
Jolly, M.	V
Lalande, M.	V
Le Clerc, M.	V
Le Pintre, Sr.	V
Le Roux cadet, M.	H
Le Roux fils aisné, M.	V
Manuary, M.	V
Moyen fils, M.	V
Moyen père, M.	V
Pierrepont, M.	B
Quentin M.	V
Rebel, Sr.	V
Roch, M.	V
Senalier, M.	V

3.**Dancers:** Total: 59: 38 professionals, 21 courtiiers.

Balon, Le Sr.	4
Beson, M. de	2, 4
Blondy, Le Sr.	1, 3
Bouflers, M. le Duc de	3
Brancas, M. le Marquis de	P, E
Chaise, M. le Marquis de la	P, E
Chambonna, M. de	4
Coigny, M. de	2, 4
Cosse, M. de	3

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Croissy, M. de	2, 4
D'Alincourt, M. le Marquis	3, E
Delisle, Mlle	1, 3, 4
D'Hostager, M.	4
Dumoulin, Le Sr.	1, 4
Dumirail, Le Sr.	1
Dupré, Mlle	1, 3, E
Dupré, Le Sr.	1, 3
Duval, Mlle	1, 2, 4
Duval, Le Sr.	1
Emilie, Mlle	1, 3, 4
Francine, M. de	4
Gondrin, M. le Marquis de	P, E
Grand Prieur, M. le	E
Guyot, Mlle	3,
Isec, Mlle	1, 3, 4
Labatte, Mlle de	E
Laferrière, Mlle	1, 3, 4
Langeron, M. de	4
Lantier, Mlle de	1, 3, E
Laval, Le Sr.	1
Lemaire, Mlle	1, 2
Leroy, Mlle	1, 2,
Ligny, M. le Comte de	P, E
Livry, M. le Marquis de	P, E
Louis XV	P, E
Malterre, Le Sr.	1
Mangot, Mlle	1, 2, 4
Marcel, Le Sr.	3, 4
Maulevrier, M. le Chevalier de	P, E
Menes, Mlle	1, 2, 4
Mion, Le Sr.	1
Mirepoix, M. de	4
Montmorency, M. le Duc de	3, E
Pécourt, Le Sr.	1
Petit, Mlle	4
Pieret, Le Sr.	1,
Prévost, Mlle	2
Prévôt, Mlle	E
Renel, M. de	2, 4
Roland, Mlle	1
Rupermonde, M. le Marquis de	P, E
Saint Florentin, M. le Comte de	P, E
Salles, M. le Comte de	P, E
Suse, le Comte de la	P,
Suze, le Comte de la	E
Tonnay-Charente, M. le Prince de	P, E
Tonnerre, M. de	3
Tremoille, M. le Duc de	P, E
Villars, M. de	3
Villeroy, M. le Marquis de	2, E

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APPENDIX III: THEMATIC CATALOGUE

The thematic catalogue contains the incipits of the surviving music composed by Delalande in the nineteen stage works discussed in this dissertation. These incipits are arranged "alphabetically:" that is, all themes are transposed to C major or C minor and are arranged according to the order of pitches in the treble line.[1] Bass lines are included when known to help identify tunes, but are not used in the "alphabetizing" of an entry. For example, a melody whose first four transposed pitches in the treble are "C-D-E-F" comes before one which begins "C-D-G-F," etc. Additionally, flats precede naturals, which precede sharps. Rhythmic values are not considered in the ordering, nor is octave displacement. In the case of different versions of a melody in multiple sources, I have included here the melody as found in the principal source used in my research, which is listed first under "Source" in the catalogue entry for that melody.

This alphabetical system makes it possible to identify Delalande's music in other, unlabeled sources, such as the many dance manuals of the period, by comparing those anonymous melodies with the composer's known repertoire. Additionally, this catalogue of his music can help identify both music in Delalande's Supper Symphonies which is not labeled there as part of the stage works, as well as movements in the dozens of other *simphonie* collections of the period whose composers have never been identified.

Each catalogue entry includes the following information, when known: 1) the "BC" (Barbara Coeyman) thematic catalogue number; 2) the "Duf" (Dufourcq) catalogue number if the incipit recurs in the thematic catalogue in Dufourcq 1957; 3) the source or sources of the music, principal source first, according to the following abbreviations (the titles of these source are listed more completely in the **Catalogue Raisonné** and in the **Bibliography**):

---

[1]Dufourcq arranged his thematic catalogues of Delalande's secular and sacred music by the contents of each work. See Dufourcq 1957.

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581	F Pn Rés. 581: *Simphonies de M. De la lande,* 1745
582	F Pn Rés. 582: *Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande,* 1703
Ms 9354	F Pn Ms. 9354: *Divertissement sûr la Paix,* sd.
Ms 133.620	F LY ms 133.620: *Pastorale, l'Amour fléchy par la Constance,* sd.
Ms Mus 79	F V Ms. Mus. 79: *Ballet de la Jeunesse,* 1686.
Rés 537	F Pn F. 537: *Les Fontaines de Versailles,* 1683.
Rés 538	F Pn F. 538: *Le Concert d'Esculape,* 1683.
Th^b3203	F Pn Th^b3203: *Intermèdes de la comédie des Fées.* Paris: Ballard, 1699.
$Vm^6 5$	F Pn $Vm^6 5$: (Recueil de Ballets d'auteurs divers,) 1691.
$Vm^6 25$	F Pn $Vm^6 25$: *L'Inconnu* (vocal airs). Paris: Ballard, 1720.
$Vm^6 26$	F Pn $Vm^6 26$: *Airs de Violon de l'Inconnu.*Paris: Ballard, 1720.

4) the name, in capital letters, and section, in Roman numerals, of the work from which the incipit is taken (i.e. "FEES II") and below that, in lower case letters, the title of the movement in the case of the instrumental music (i.e. "Allemande"), with abbreviations matching those in the **Catalogue Raisonné** (P = Prologue, FG = Feste Generale, GE = Grand Entree, etc.); 5) the music for the soprano and bass parts, when surviving, to include approximately ten notes in the soprano; 6) the words for any movements occurring with text in any of the sources consulted; 7) the date of first performance of the work; 8) the original key, capital letters for major, lower case for minor; 9) the original scoring in the principal source, using the following abbreviations:

Vocal	
S	soprano
A	alto (or *haute-contre*)
T	tenor
Bar	baritone
Bs	bass
Ch à 2, etc.	choir
Instrumental without specific orchestration	
Tr	treble
B	bass
BC	basso continuo
orch à 3, etc.	orchestra
Instrumental with orchestration	
V	violin family
F	flute
O	oboe
Tpt	trumpet
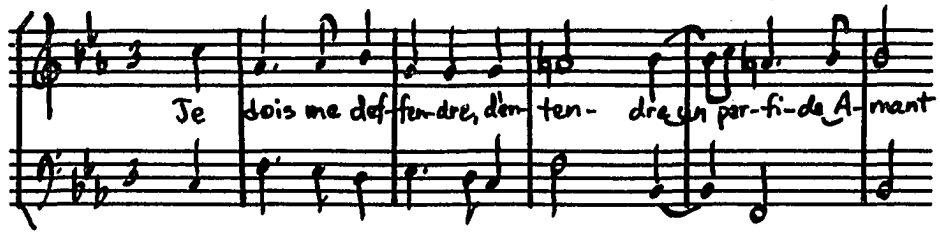
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10) whether the movement was danced; 11) the number of measures in the movement; and 12) supplementary remarks.

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BC # 1 **Duf # --** **Source:** Ms Mus 79, p 120

JEUNESSE I

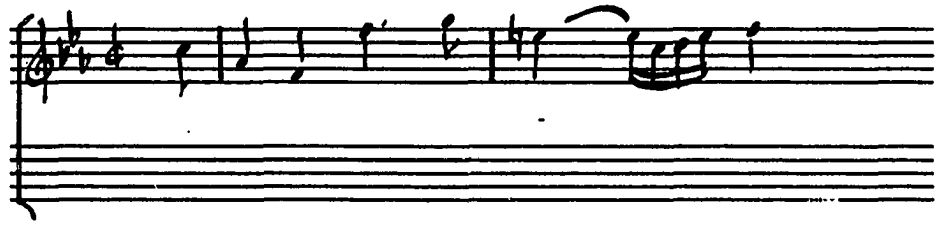


Date: 1686
Original Key: C Minor
Original Scoring: S, T, B
Danced: no
Length: 16 m
Remarks: duet within recitative

BC # 2 **Duf # 167** **Source:** Vm^{6}5, 348; 581: I,43; 582: II : 10

BALLET DE ST. LOUIS

Entrée
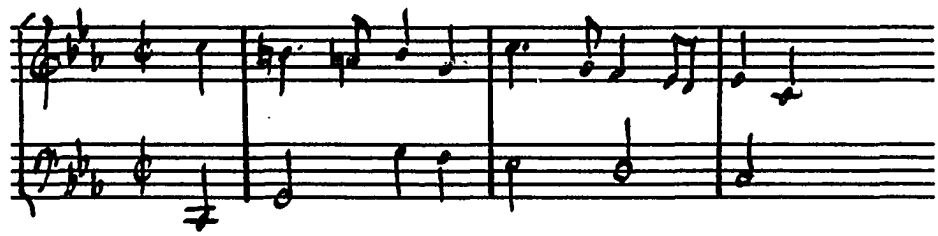


Date: 1691
Original Key: a
Original Scoring: V
Danced: probably
Length: 22 m

BC # 3 **Duf # 45** **Source:** Ms Mus 79, p 16

JEUNESSE I

Première Air des Bergers

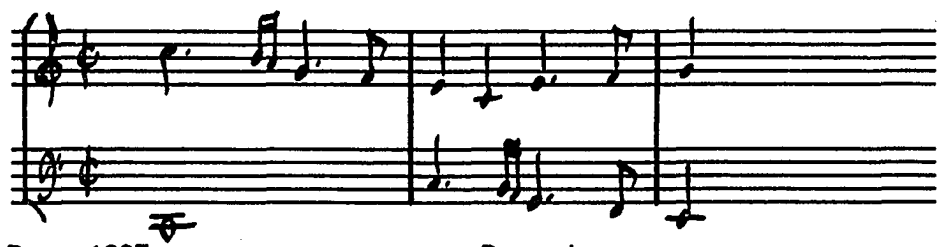


Date: 1686
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: orch a 5
Danced: yes
Length: 17 m
Remarks: re-written in *Ballet de M. DLL*, Vm^{6}5, 344^{v}

BC # 4 **Duf # 210** **Source:** Ms 133.620, f 1^{r}; 581: II, 188

L'AMOUR FLECHY

Overture

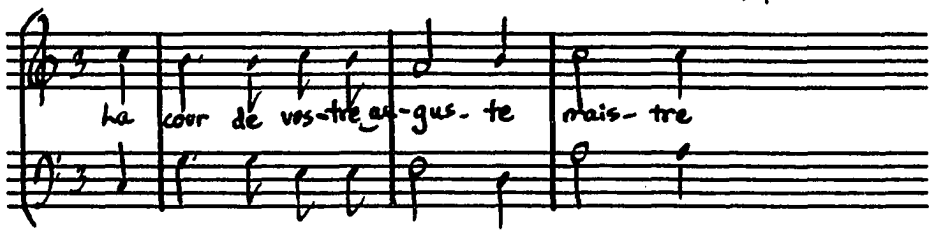


Date: 1697
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: orch a 5
Danced: no
Length: 22 m

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BC # 5 **Duf # 73** **Source:** Ms Mus 79, p 96

JEUNESSE P
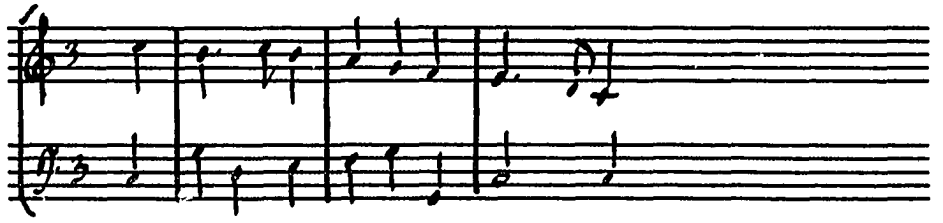


Date: 1686 **Danced:** no
Original Key: D **Length:** 88 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

BC # 6 **Duf # 59** **Source:** Ms Mus 79, p 64

JEUNESSE II

Air
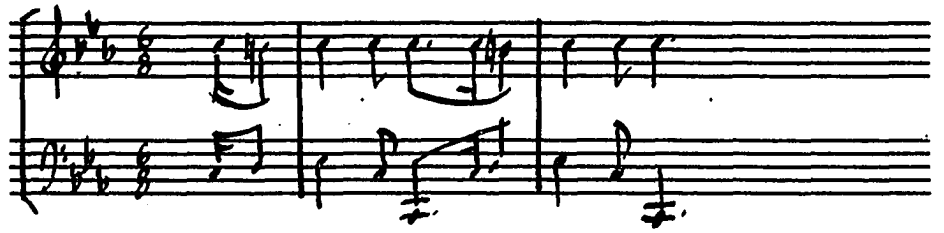


Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: G **Length:** 17 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 7 **Duf # --** **Source:** Vm^{6}26, p 38

L'INCONNU IV

Gigue
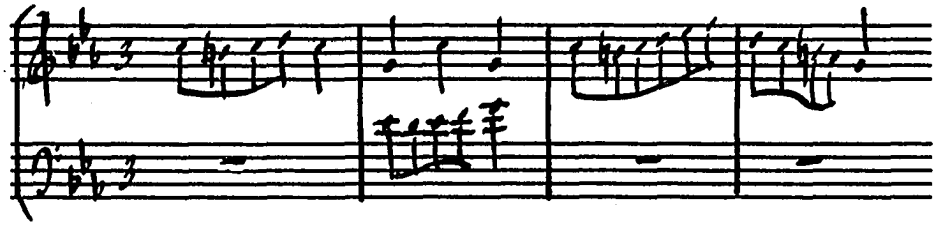


Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g **Length:** 22 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: from Destouches' *Le Carnaval et la folie*

BC # 8 **Duf # --** **Source:** Vm^{6}26, p 42

L'INCONNU IV

Menuet
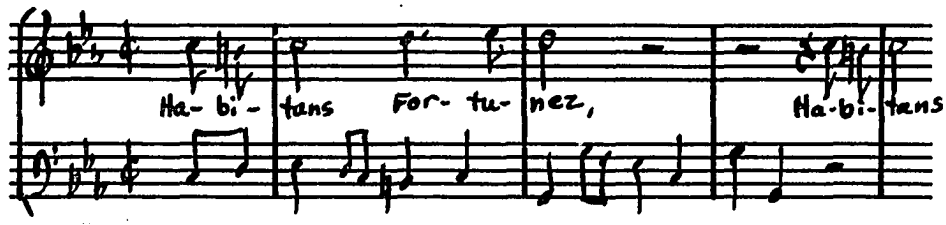


Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: 2 F
Remarks: from Destouches' *Le Carnaval et la Folie*

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BC # 9 **Duf # 286** **Source:** Ms 9354, p 5

PAIX I
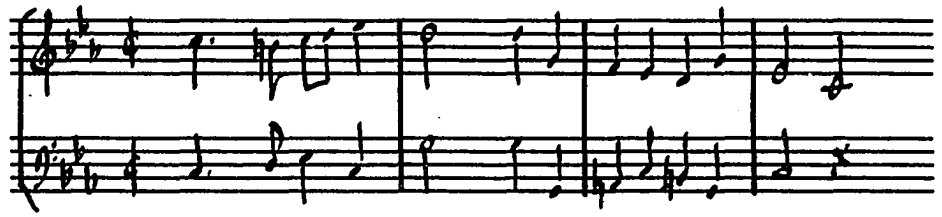


Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 37 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 10 **Duf # 394** **Source:** 581: II, 227

CARDENIO I

Air
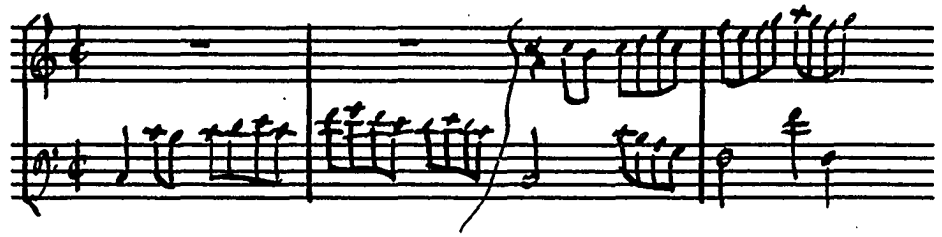


Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: d **Length:** 16
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 11 **Duf # 87** **Source:** Ms Mus 79, p 207

JEUNESSE III

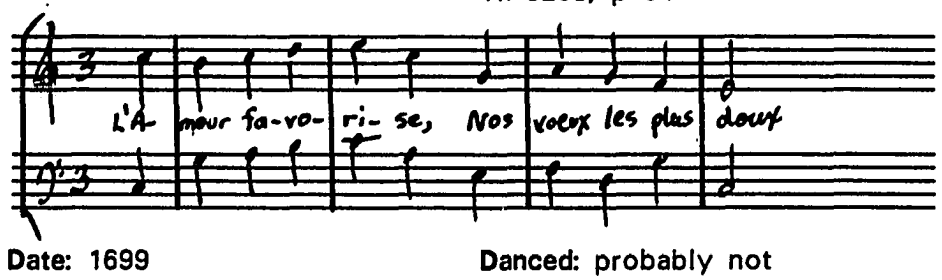
Prélude



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: F **Length:** 17 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 12 **Duf # 266** **Source:** 581: II, 163; 582: X:111; Th^{b}3203, p 64

FEES I
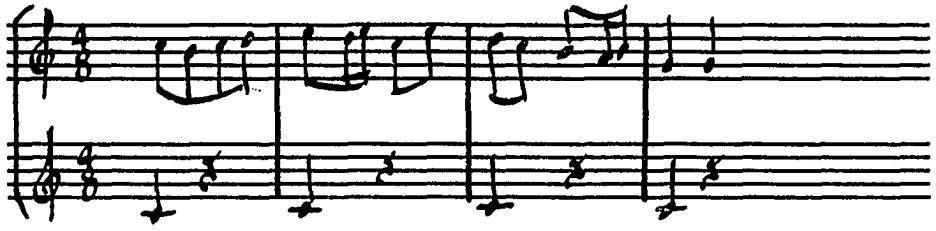


Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: called "sarabande" in 582; text only in Th^{b}3203

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BC # 13 Duf # 421 **Source: 581: I, 54**

CARDENIO NF

Tambourin
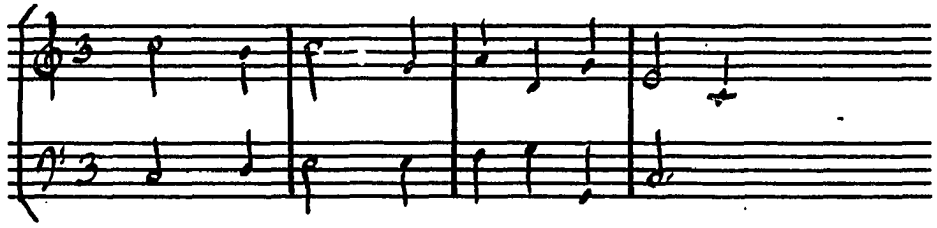


Date: 1721 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 30 m
Original Scoring: F, V

BC # 14 Duf # 270 **Source: 581: II, 34**

FEES II

2e Air

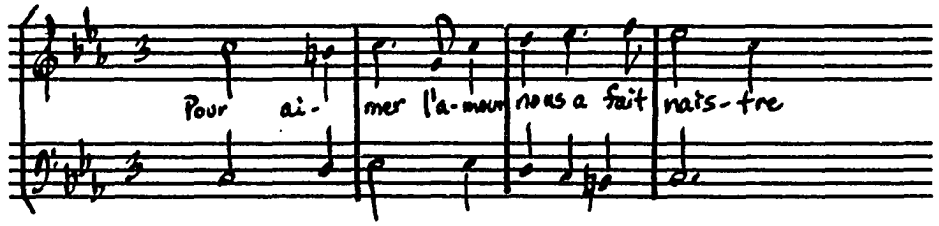


Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: E **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 15 Duf # 239 **Source: 581: II, 228; 582: IX, 96**

MIRTIL P

Menuet
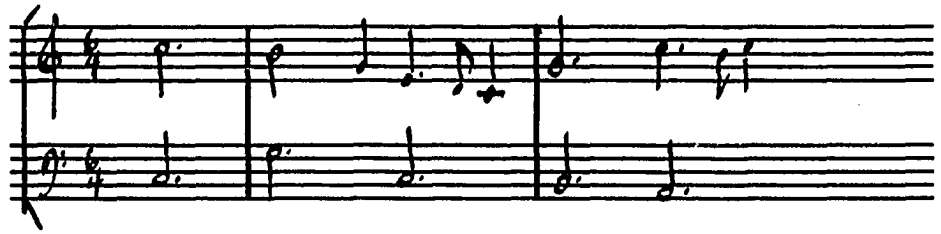


Date: 1698 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: d **Length:** 16m
Original Scoring: S, O, B
Remarks: sung dance; in 582 called "petit air"

BC # 16 Duf # 267 **Source: 581: I, 50; 582: X, 111**

FEES I

Salterelle
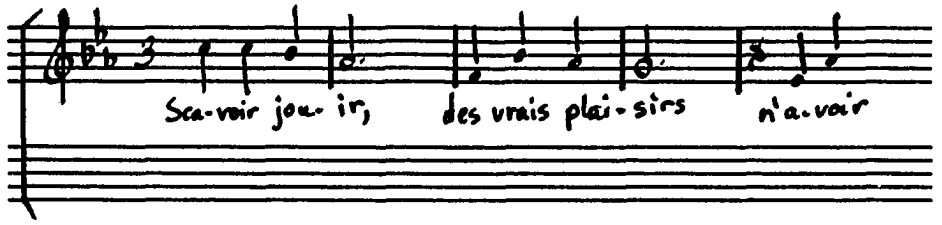


Date: 1699 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 22 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 17 Duf # -- **Source: Th^{b}3203 p 72**

FEES II
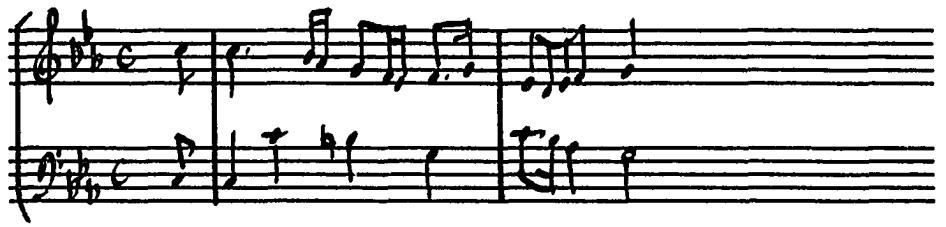


Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: e **Length:** 22 m
Original Scoring: small choir (unspecified)

BC # 18 Duf # 155 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 345^{v}; 582: VII: 66; 581: II, 121**

BALLET DLL

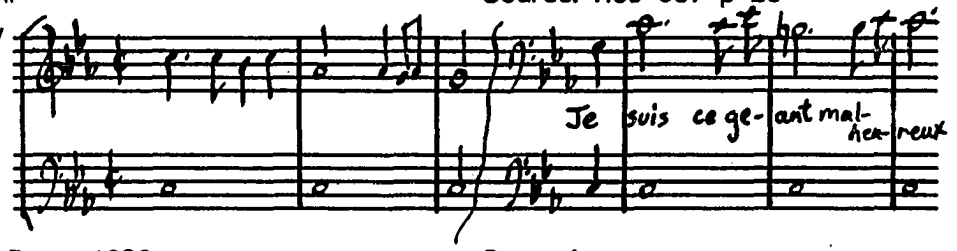
Allemande



Date: 1690-91 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: a **Length:** 19 m
Original Scoring: Tr (Vm^{6}5); Tr B (581, 582)
Remarks: dotted rhythms in 581, 582

BC # 19 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 537 p 25**

FONTAINES IV
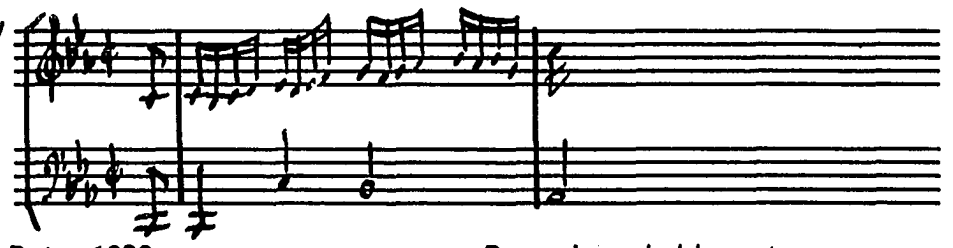


Date: 1683 **Danced:** no
Original Key: g **Length:** 39 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5
Remarks: prelude to Ancelade's air

BC # 20 Duf # 26 **Source: Rés 537 p 23; 581: II, 214**

FONTAINES IV

Air de Ancelade



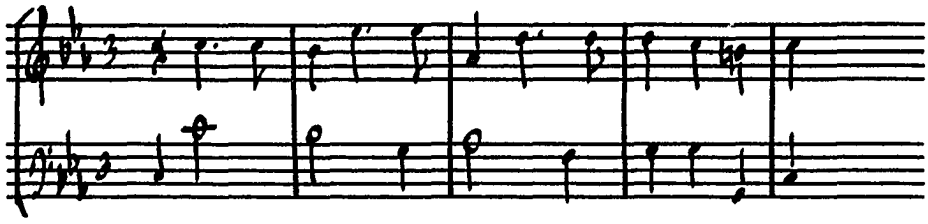
Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

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BC # 21 Duf # 159 — **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 346^{v}; 582: VII: 68; 581: II, 125

BALLET DLL

Passacaille
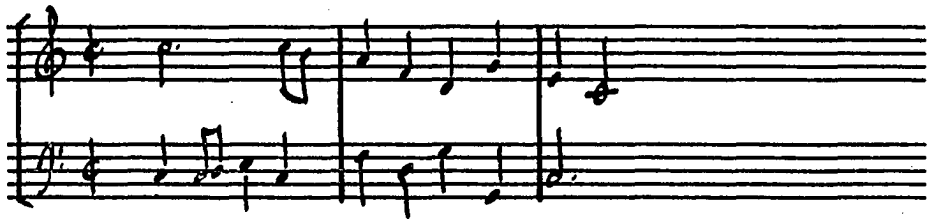


Date: 1690-91 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: a — **Length:** 161 m
Original Scoring: Tr (Vm^{6}5); Tr B (581, 582)
Remarks: called "Chaconne in 581, 582

BC # 22 Duf # 257 — **Source:** 581: II, 196

MIRTIL

Entrée d'yvrogne
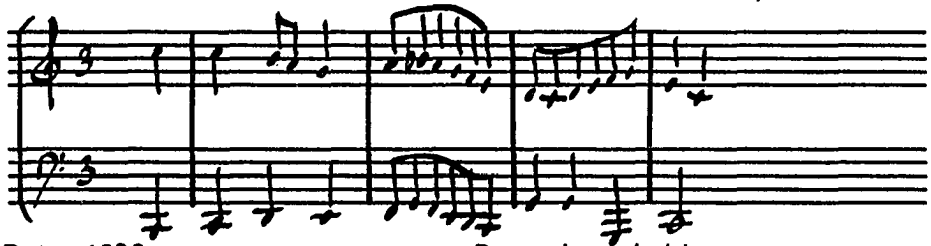


Date: 1698 — **Danced:** probaby
Original Key: G — **Length:** 25 m
Original Scoring: Tr B

BC # 23 Duf # 101 — **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 252

JEUNESSE III

Passepied
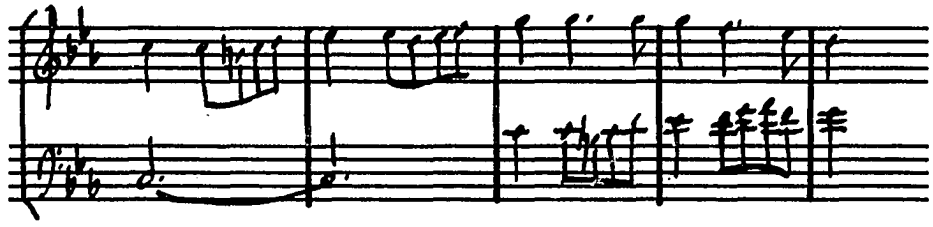


Date: 1686 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: A — **Length:** 32 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 24 Duf # 158 — **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 346^{r}; 582: VII: 67; 581: I, 46

BALLET DLL

Air
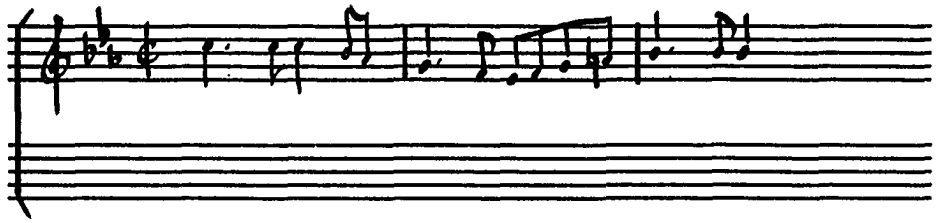


Date: 1690-91 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: a — **Length:** 26 m
Original Scoring: Tr (Vm^{6}5); Tr B (581, 582)
Remarks: rhythmic variants among sources; "Trio" in 581, 582

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BC # 25 Duf # 148 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 344^{v}**

BALLET DLL

Ouverture
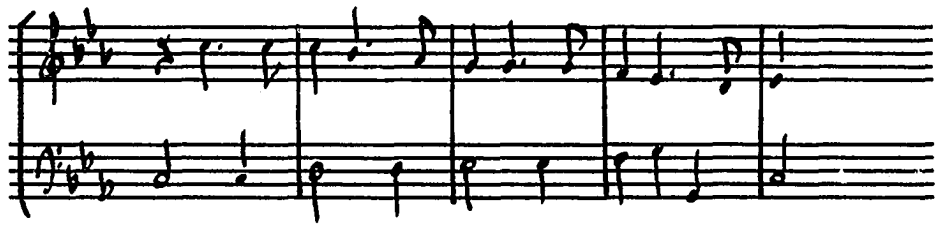


Date: 1690-91
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr
Remarks: 1st part of overture

Danced: possibly
Length: 12 m

BC # 26 Duf # 152 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 345^{r}; 582: II: 15; 581: I, 27**

BALLET DLL

Chaconne
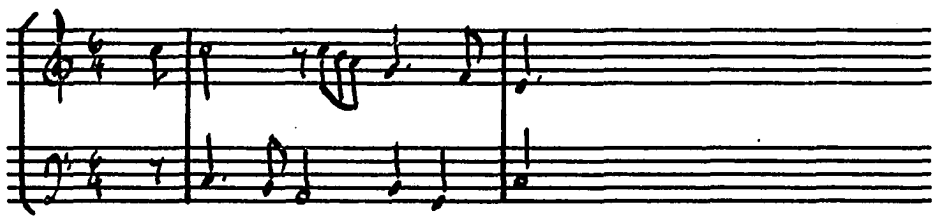


Date: 1690-91
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr (Vm^{6}5); Tr Tr B (581, 582)

Danced: probably
Length: 128 m

BC # 27 Duf # 369 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 48; 581: II, 117**

INCONNU V

Courante
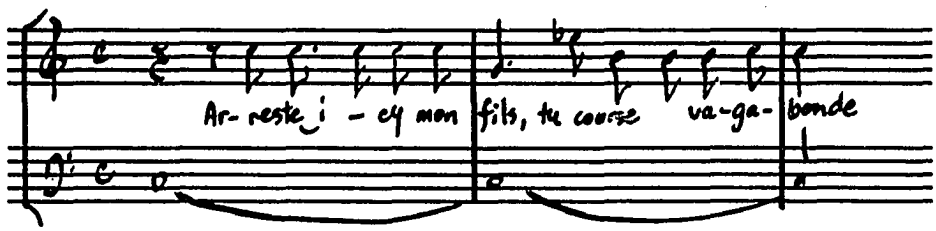


Date: 1720
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: T B

Danced: yes
Length: 12 m

BC # 28 Duf # 17 **Source: Rēs 537 p 6**

FONTAINES II



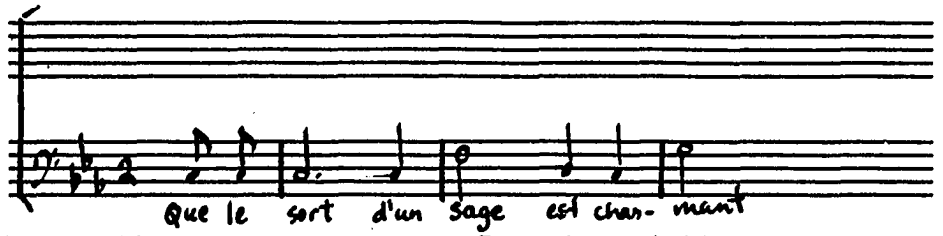
Date: 1683
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: S B

Danced: no
Length: 8 m

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BC # 29 Duf # — **Source: Th^{b}3203 p 68**
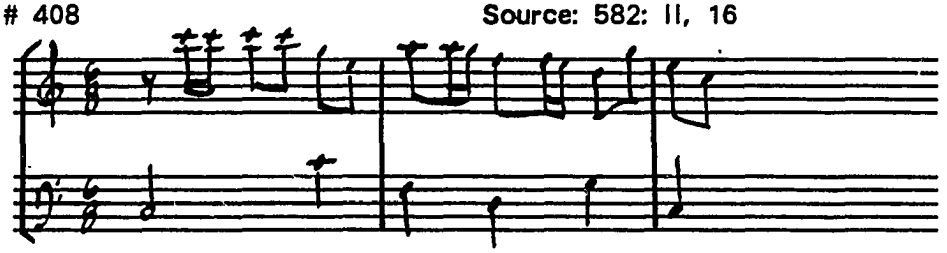
FEES II



Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: e **Length:** 17 m
Original Scoring: Bs

BC # 30 Duf # 408 **Source: 582: II, 16**

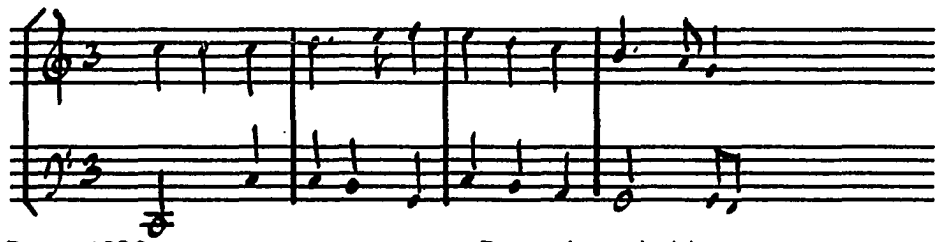
CARDENIO I
Air des Combattants



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: B^{b} **Length:** 22 m
Original Scoring: Tr B

BC # 31 Duf #90 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 222**

JEUNESSE III
Marche des Candiots

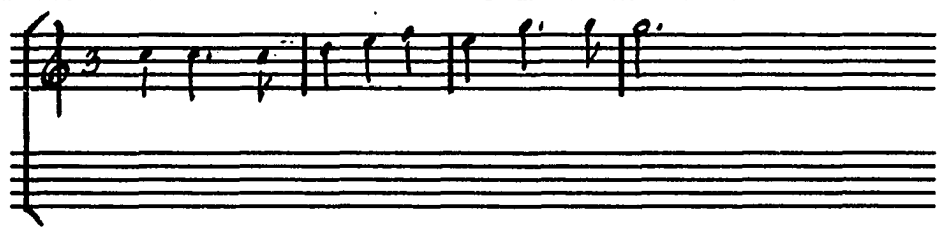


Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: F **Length:** 10 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 32 Duf # 118 **Source: Vm^{b}5 f 310^{r}**

PALAIS I

Prélude
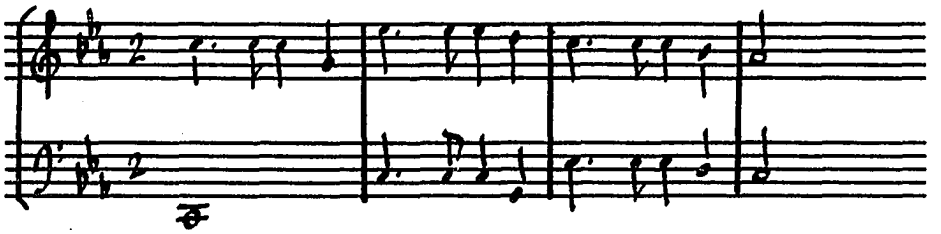


Date: 1689 **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: A **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr

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BC # 33 Duf # 116 Source: 581: II, 74; 582: VI: 54; $Vm^{6}5$ f 310^{r}

PALAIS

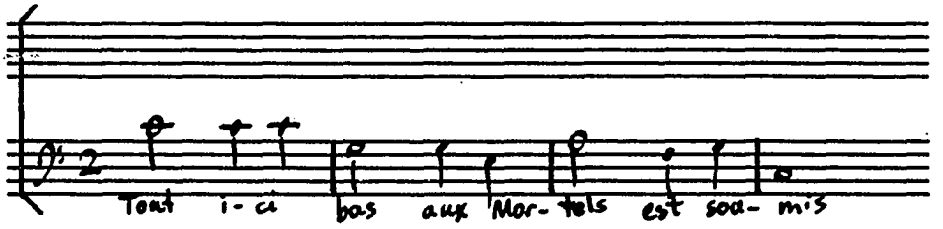
Ouverture



Date: 1689 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 13 m
Original Scoring: Tr B (581, 582); Tr ($Vm^{6}5$)
Remarks: 1st half of overture

BC # 34 Duf # -- Source: $Th^{b}3203$ p 80

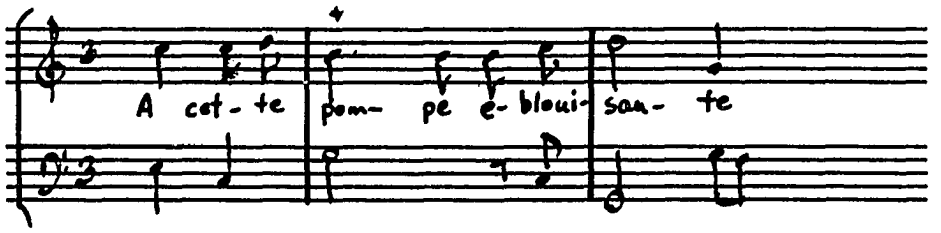
FEES III



Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 37 m
Original Scoring: Bs

BC # 35 Duf # 285 Source: Ms 9354 p 4; 581: II, 79

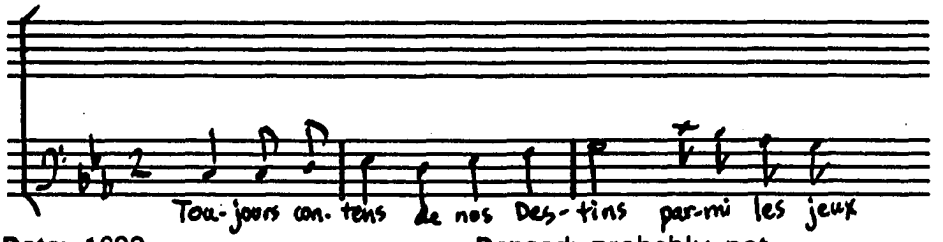
PAIX I



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: D **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: S; V V O B
Remarks: instrumental prelude in 581

BC # 36 Duf # -- Source: $Th^{b}3203$ p 74

FEES II
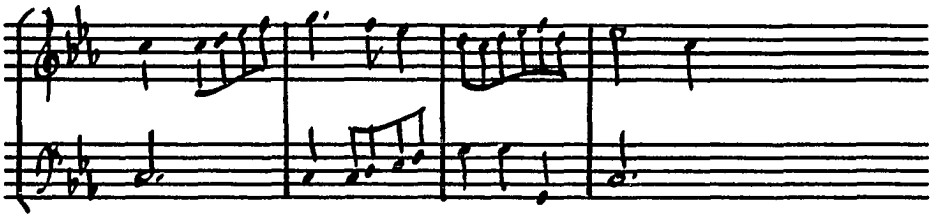


Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: e **Length:** 8 m
Original Scoring: Bs

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BC # 37 Duf # 166 Source: Vm^{6}5 f 347^{v}; 582: II: 20; 581: II, 82

BALLET
ST LOUIS
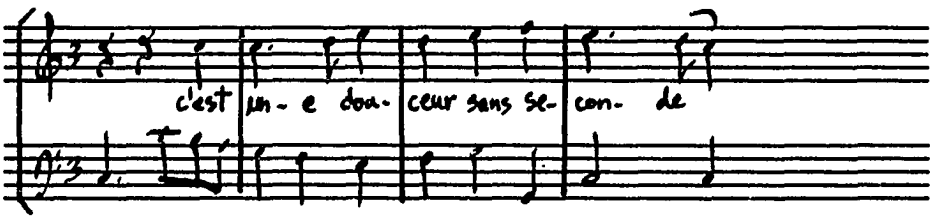
Escot



Date: 1691 **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: d **Length:** 84 m
Original Scoring: T (Vm^{6}5); T T B (581, 582)
Remarks: titled "concert" in 581, 582

BC # 38 Duf # 11 Source: MG May 1683 p 204

AMOUR
BERGER
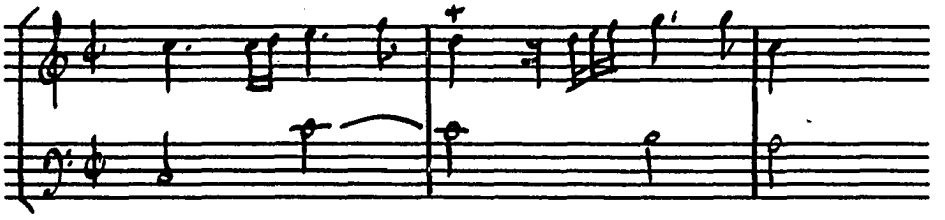


Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: C **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: S B

BC # 39 Duf # 208 Source: 581: II, 147

ADONIS

Prélude
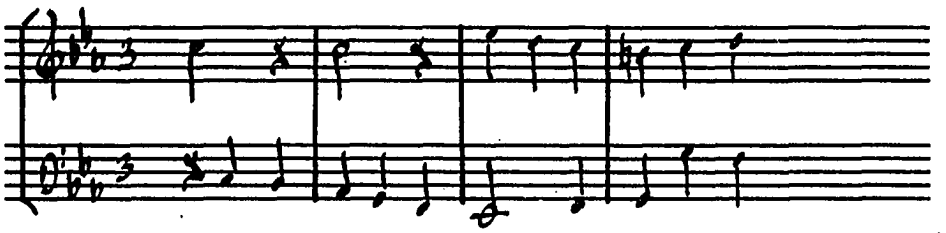


Date: 1696 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: C **Length:** 19 m
Original Scoring: Tr B

BC # 40 Duf # 430 Source: 581: I, 138

ELEMENS I

Air pour
les heures



Date: 1722 **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: g **Length:** 39 m
Original Scoring: Tr B

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BC # 41 **Duf # 308** **Source:** Ms 9354 p 65

PAIX IV

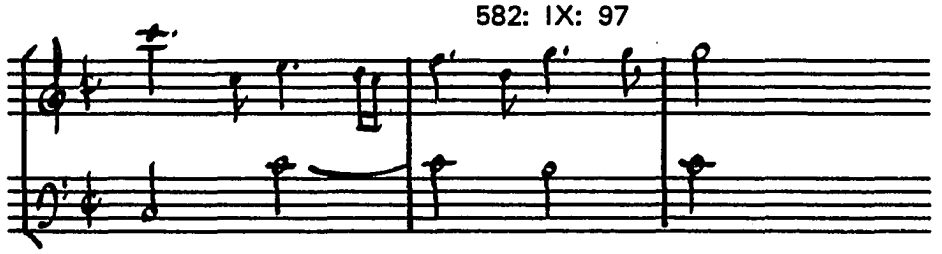


Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: g **Length:** 31 m
Original Scoring: Bar B

BC #42 **Duf # 242** **Source:** 581: II, 12;
582: IX: 97

MIRTIL

Air
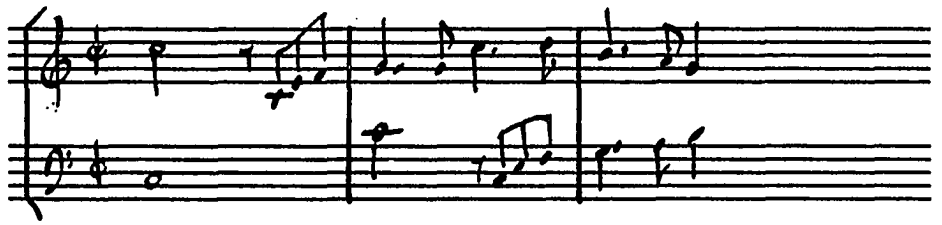


Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: B^b **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: Tr B

BC # 43 **Duf # 1** **Source:** 581: II, 105

SERENADE

Overture
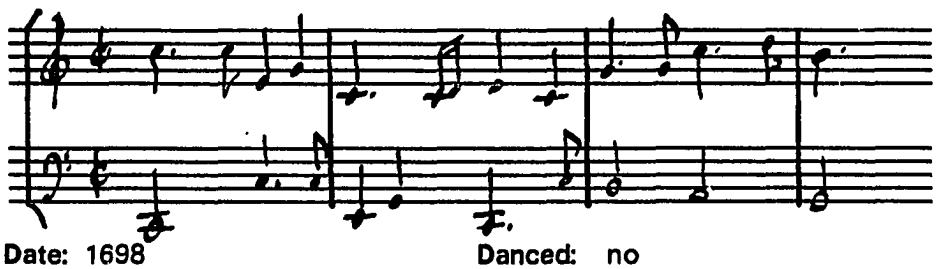


Date: 1682 **Danced:** no
Original Key: A **Length:** 14 m
Original Scoring: Tr B
Remarks: first part of overture

BC # 44 **Duf # 234** **Source:** 581: II, 44;
582: IX: 94

MIRTIL

Overture

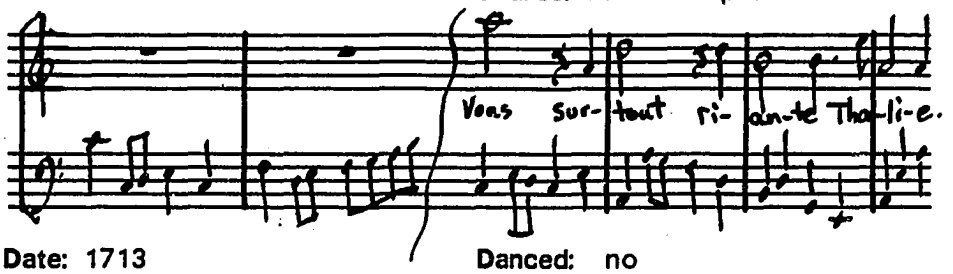


Date: 1698 **Danced:** no
Original Key: F **Length:** 12 + 11 m
Original Scoring: Tr B
Remarks: beginning and ending section of overture

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BC # 45 Duf # 321 — **Source: Ms 9354 p 97**
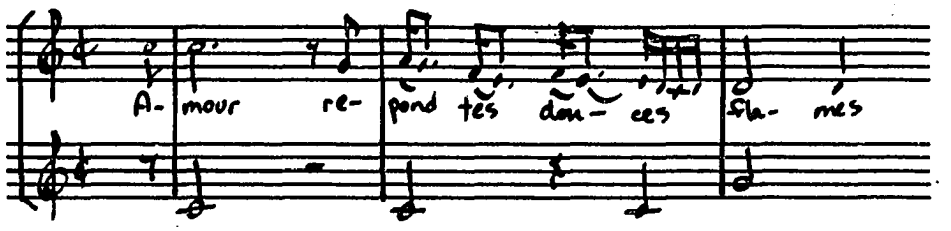
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 — **Danced: no**
Original Key: D — **Length: 49 m**
Original Scoring: Bar B

BC # 46 Duf # 341 — **Source: Vm^{6}25 p 20**

INCONNU II
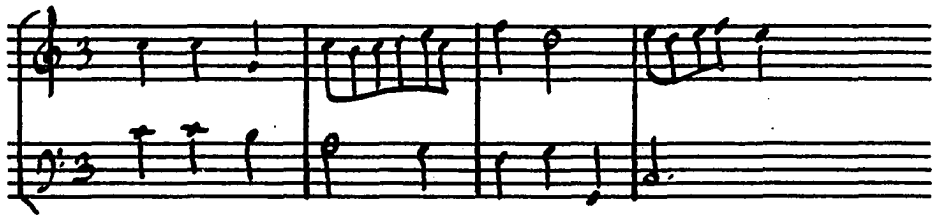


Date: 1720 — **Danced: no**
Original Key: F — **Length: 39 m**
Original Scoring: S F B

BC # 47 Duf # 280 — **Source: 581: II, 17**

HYMEN

Menuet

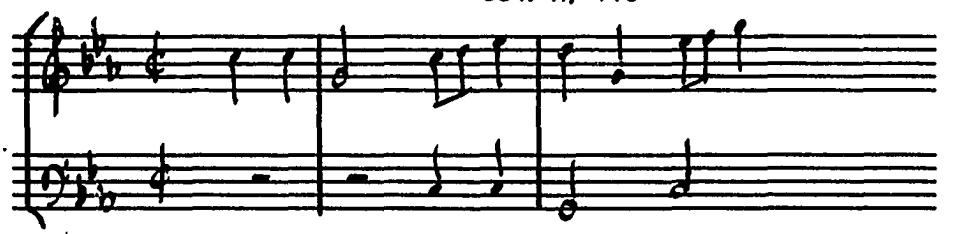


Date: 1700 — **Danced: yes**
Original Key: B^{b} — **Length: 24 m**
Original Scoring: Tr B

BC # 48 Duf # 371 — **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 50; 581: II, 116**

INCONNU V

Air
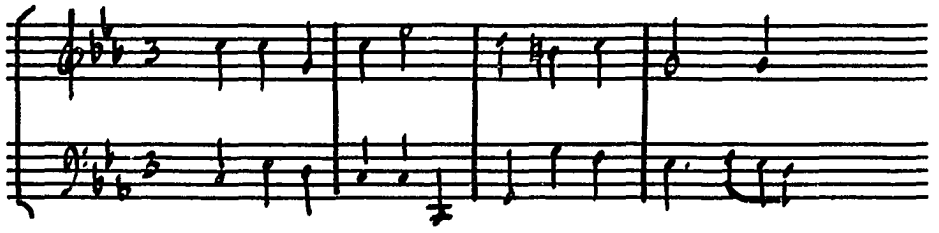


Date: 1720 — **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d — **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: T B

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BC # 49 Duf # 405 **Source: 581: II, 225**

CARDENIO I
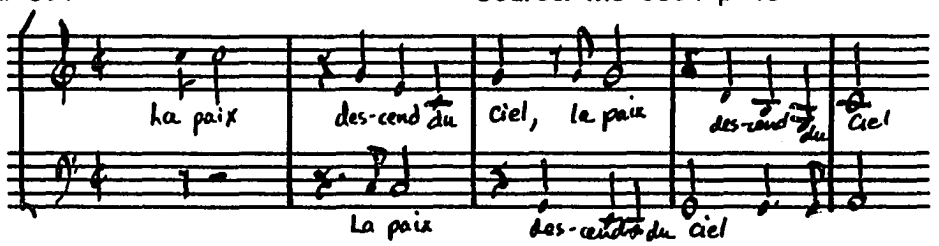
Menuet



Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 16**
Original Scoring: Tr B

BC # 50 Duf # 301 **Source: Ms 9354 p 46**

PAIX III

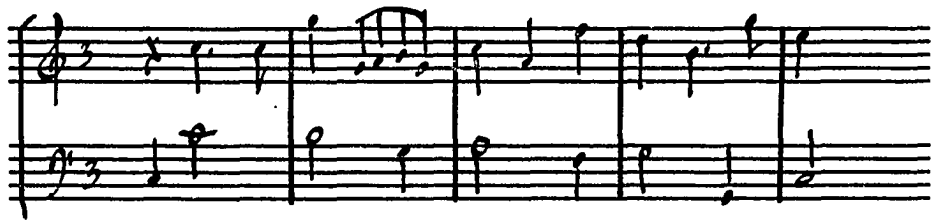


Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: G **Length: 44 m**
Original Scoring: S Bs

BC # 51 Duf # 274 **Source: 581: I, 55;**
582: X: 116

FEES III;
HYMEN

Chaconne
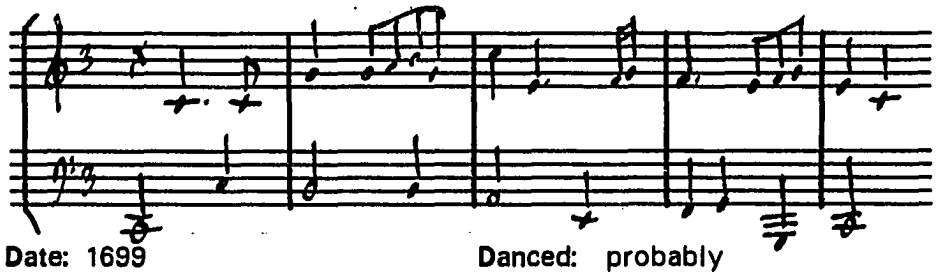


Date: 1699 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: D **Length: 109 m**
Original Scoring: Tr B

BC # 52 Duf # 250 **Source: 581: I, 86;**
582: IX: 100

MIRTIL III

Chaconne



Date: 1699 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: G **Length: 197 m**
Original Scoring: Tr B
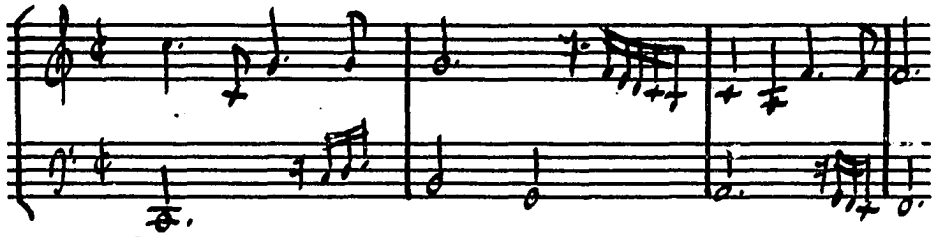
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BC # 53 Duf # 240

Source: 581: II, 5;
582: IX: 96

MIRTIL I

Prélude



Date: 1698
Original Key: F
Original Scoring: Tr B
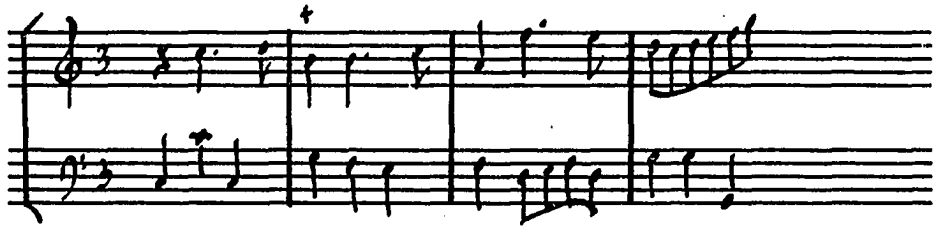
Danced: probably not
Length: 19 m

BC # 54 Duf # 9

Source: 581: II, 135

SERENADE

Chaconne



Date: 1682
Original Key: C
Original Scoring: Tr B
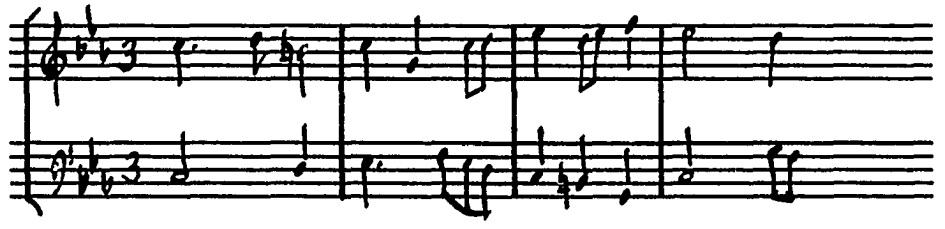
Danced: undetermined
Length: 189 m

BC # 55 Duf # 367

Source: Vm^{6}26 p 46;
581: II, 119

INCONNU IV

1^{ere} Menuet



Date: 1720
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: Tr B
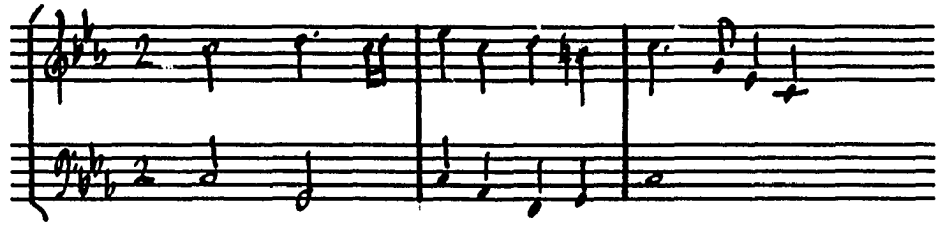
Danced: yes
Length: 26 m

BC # 56 Duf # 271

Source: 581: II, 35;
582: X: 113

FEES II

3eme Air
Suivant
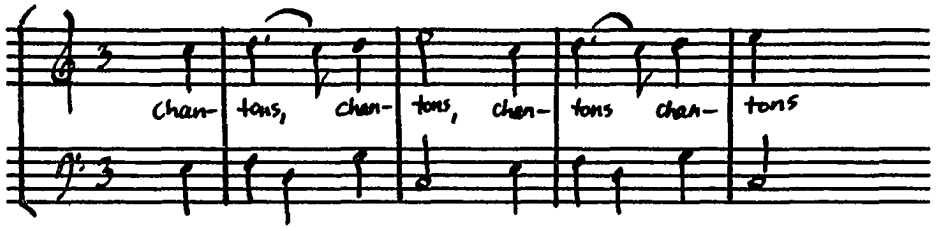


Date: 1699
Original Key: e
Original Scoring: Tr B

Danced: probably
Length: 22 m

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BC # 57 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 9354 p 29**
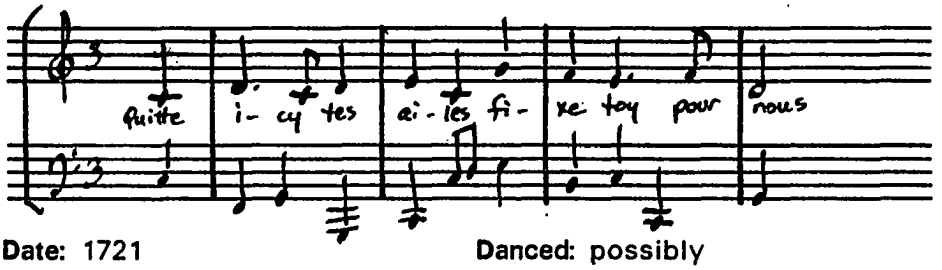
PAIX II



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: A **Length: 35 m**
Original Scoring: S B

BC # 58 Duf # 409 **Source: 581: I, 111**

CARDENIO II
Sarabande

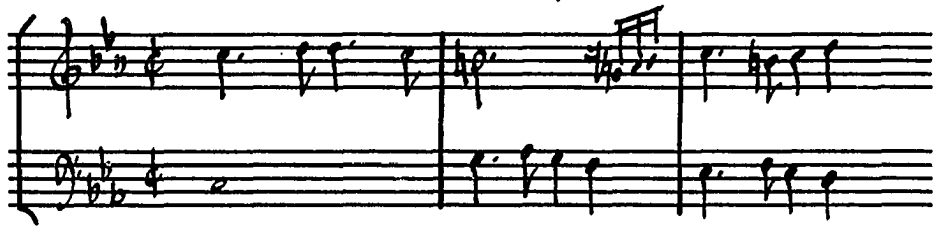


Date: 1721 **Danced: possibly**
Original Key: G **Length: 1.6 m**
Original Scoring: S B
Remarks: text not part of Cardenio

BC # 59 Duf # 202 **Source: 582: X: 106;**
581: I, 127

ADONIS,
FEES,
HYMEN;

Overture
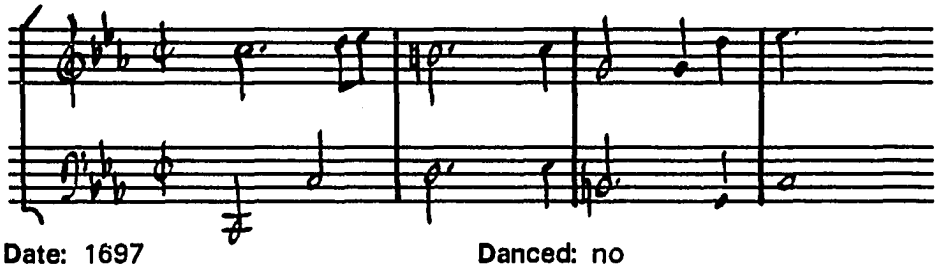


Date: 1696 **Danced: no**
Original Key:g **Length: 9 m**
Original Scoring: T B
Remarks: revised for Elémens

BC # 60 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 2^{v}**

AMOUR
FLECHY

Air
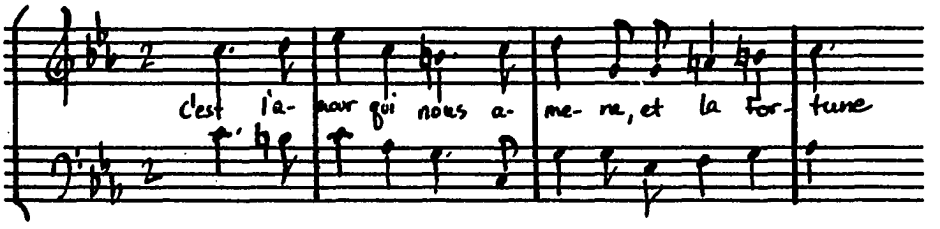


Date: 1697 **Danced: no**
Original Key: e **Length: 108 m**
Original Scoring: Ten, orch a 5

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BC # 61 Duf # 264 Source: 581: II, 164; 582: X: 109; Th^{b}3203 p 60

FEES I

Gavotte
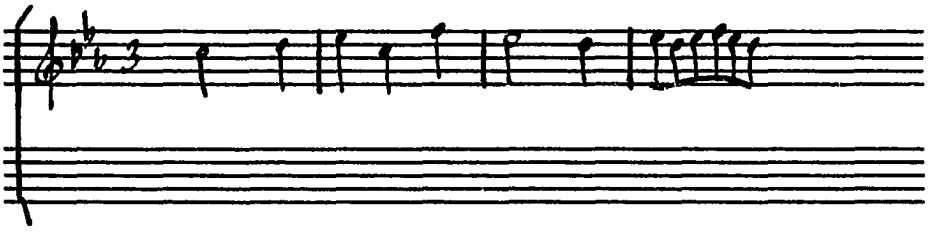


Date: 1699 Danced: possibly
Original Key: d Length: 24 m
Original Scoring: S O B
Remarks: no text in 582

BC # 62 Duf # 123 Source: Vm^{b}5 f 310^{r}

PALAIS II

Menuet
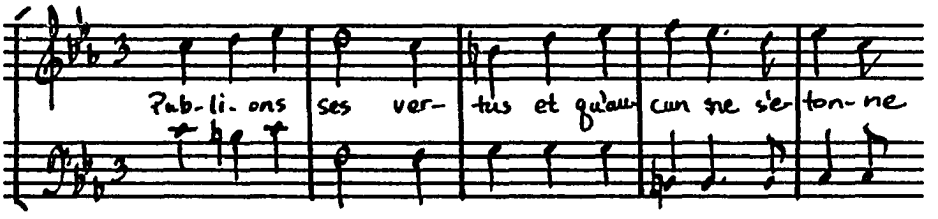


Date: 1689 Danced: probably
Original Key: d Length: 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 63 Duf # -- Source: Rés 538 p 24

ESCULAPE

Menuet
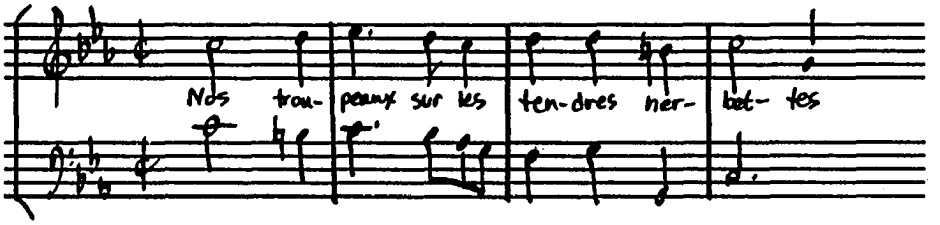


Date: 1683 Danced: probably not
Original Key: d Length: 18 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 3
Remarks: sung dance; alternates between solo & choir

BC # 64 Duf # 7 Source: 581: II, 176

SERENADE

Menuet



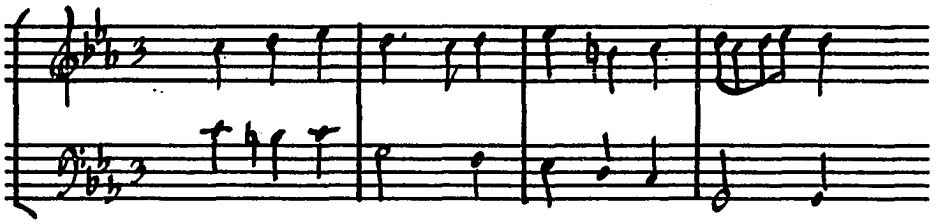
Date: 1682 Danced: undetermined
Original Key: d Length: 16 m
Original Scoring: S, O, B
Remarks: sung dance

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BC # 65 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 538 p 25**

ESCULAPE

Menuet
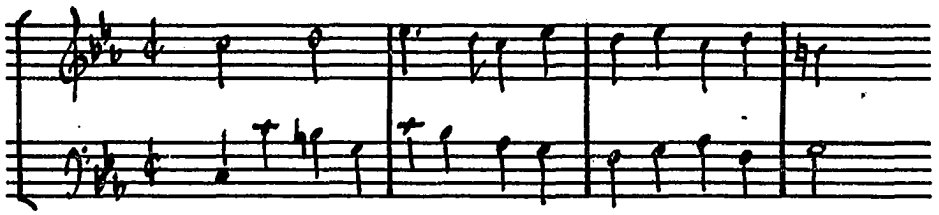


Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: orch a 3

BC # 66 Duf # 419 **Source: 581: I, 40**

CARDENIO NF.

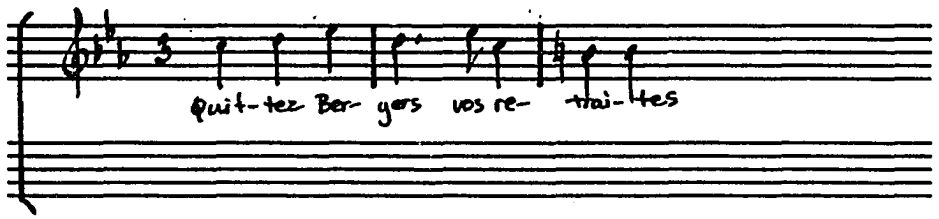
Bouree



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: d **Length:** 22 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 67 Duf # -- **Source: Th^{b}3203 p 78**

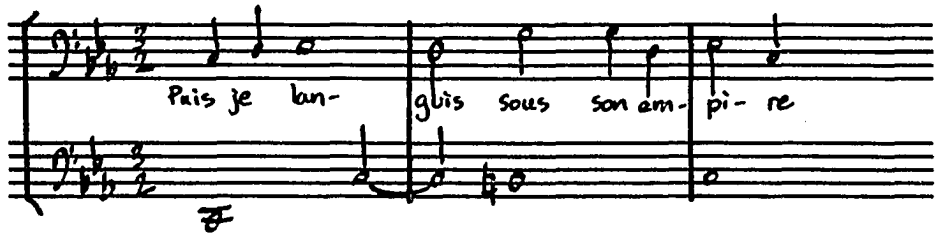
FEES III



Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 22 m
Original Scoring: S

BC # 68 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 26^{r}**

AMOUR FLECHY IV
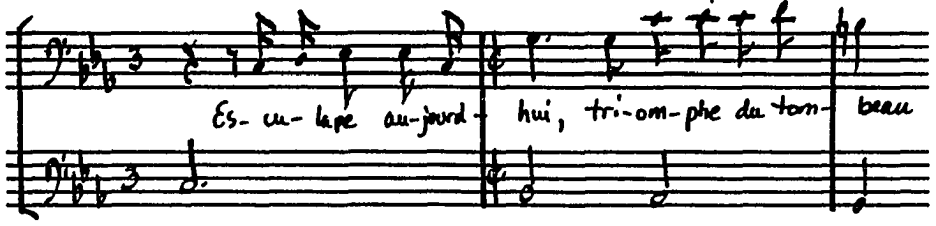


Date: 1697 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 22 m
Original Scoring: A, orch a 4

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BC # 69 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 538 p 5**
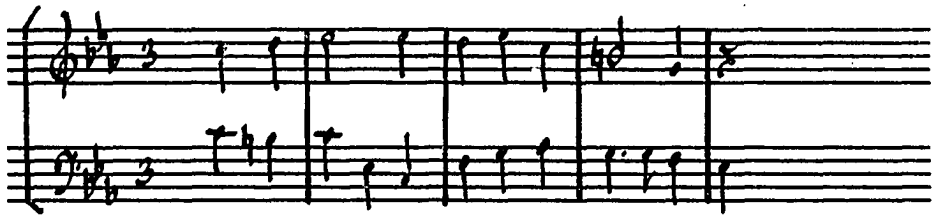
ESCULAPE



Date: 1683 **Danced: no**
Original Key: d **Length: 17 m**
Original Scoring: Bar, B

BC # 70 Duf # 397 **Source: 581: II, 223**

CARDENIO I
Sarabande
légère
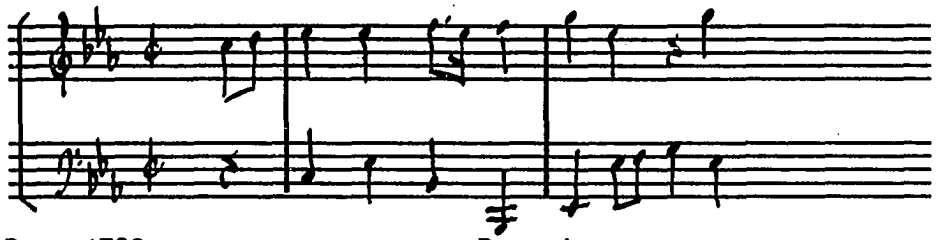


Date:1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 40 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 71 Duf # 372 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 51; 581: II, 116**

INCONNU V
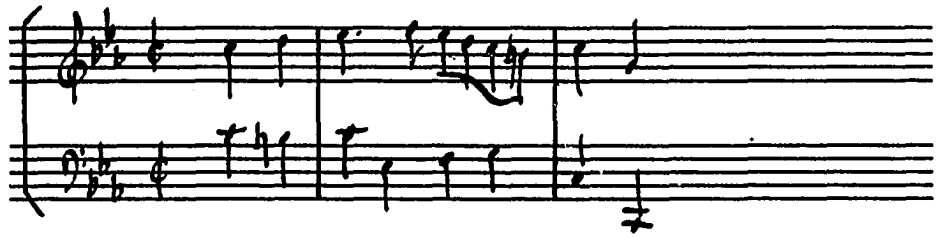
Air



Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 20 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 72 Duf # 349 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 8; 581: I, 142**

INCONNU I
Rondeau pour
le Roy
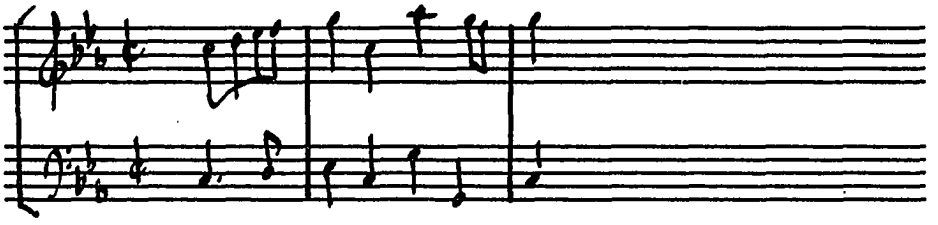


Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 36 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 73 Duf # 357 **Source:** $Vm^{6}26$ p 22; 581: II, 216

INCONNU II

Air
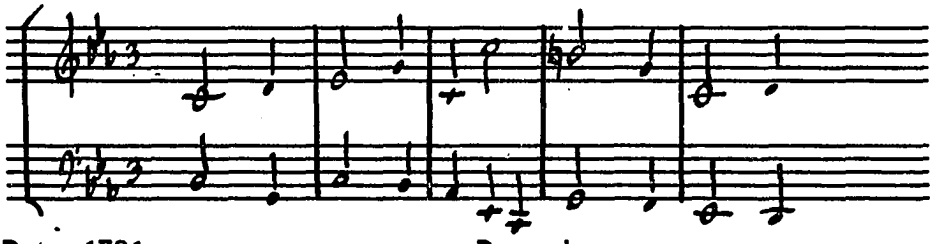


Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g **Length:** 20
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 74 Duf # 406 **Source:** 581: I, 121

CARDENIO I

La Pagode
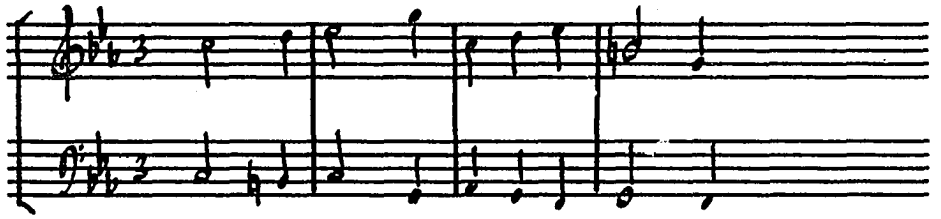


Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: d **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: reworked from BC 75

BC # 75 Duf # 252 **Source:** 581: II, 218

MIRTIL GE

2^{eme} Air
des Siamois
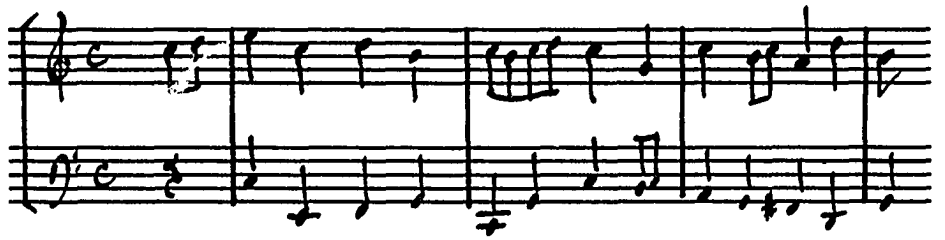


Date: 1698 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: g **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: T, B
Remarks: original version of BC 74

BC # 76 Duf # 378 **Source:** $Vm^{6}26$ p 65; 581: II, 221

INCONNU GE

Bourée



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: G **Length:** 19 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
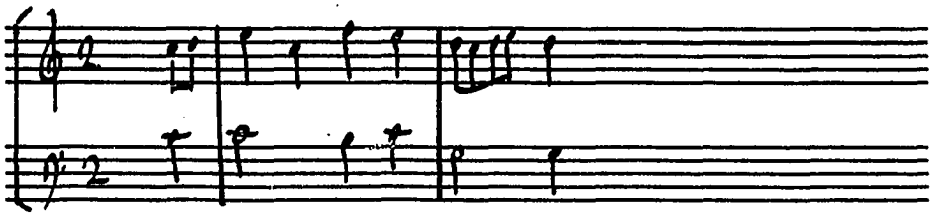
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BC # 77 Duf # 282

Source: 581: II, 204; 582: X: 104

MIRTIL, HYMEN

Bourée



Date: 1698
Original Key: C; D (Hymen)
Original Scoring: Tr, B
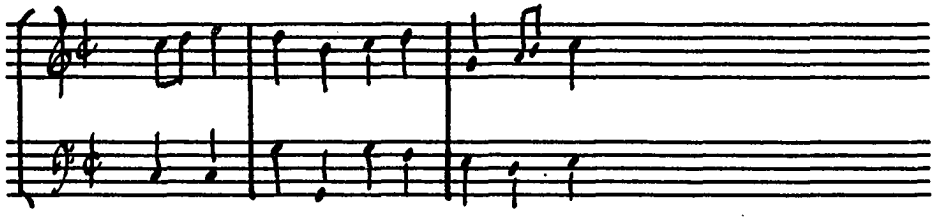
Danced: yes
Length: 16 m

BC # 78 Duf # 414

Source: 581: I, 81

CARDENIO NF

Bourée



Date: 1721
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: Tr, B
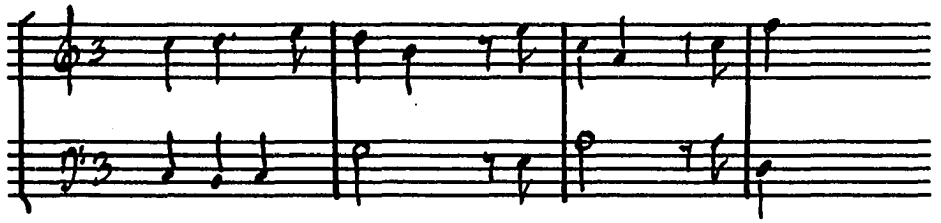
Danced: yes
Length: 40 m

BC # 79 Duf # 236

Source: 581: II, 46; 582: IX: 95

MIRTIL P

Prélude



Date: 1698
Original Key: F
Original Scoring: Tr, B
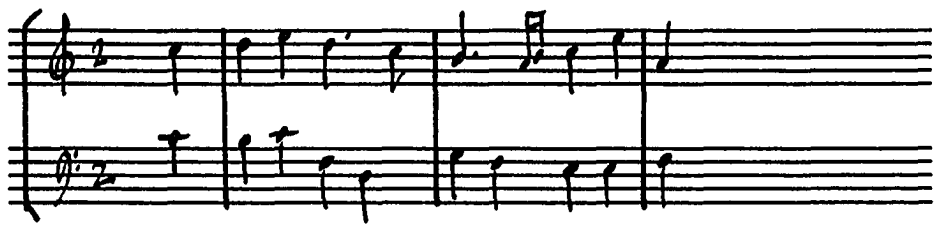
Danced: probably not
Length: 32 m

BC # 80 Duf # 124

Source: Vm^{6}5 f 310^{r}; 581: II, 81; 582: VI: 55

PALAIS II

Bourée



Date: 1689
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: Tr, B
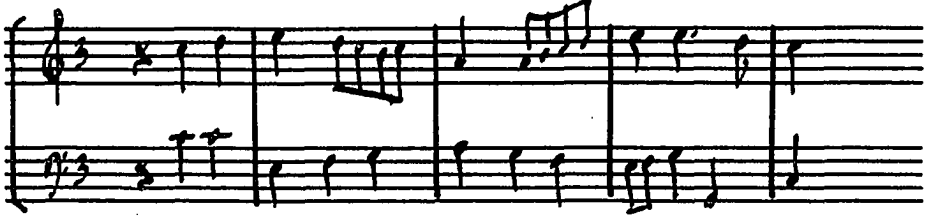
Danced: probably
Length: 25 m

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BC # 81 Duf # 98 **Source: Rés 537 p 248; Vm^{6}5 f**

JEUNESSE III;
BALLET DLL

Sarabande
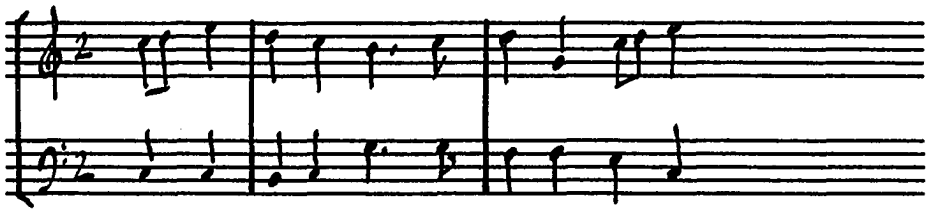


Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: A **Length:** 25 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5 (537); T (Vm^{6}5)
Remarks: reworked for Ballet DLL

BC # 82 Duf # 392 **Source: 581: II, 226**

CARDENIO I

Air
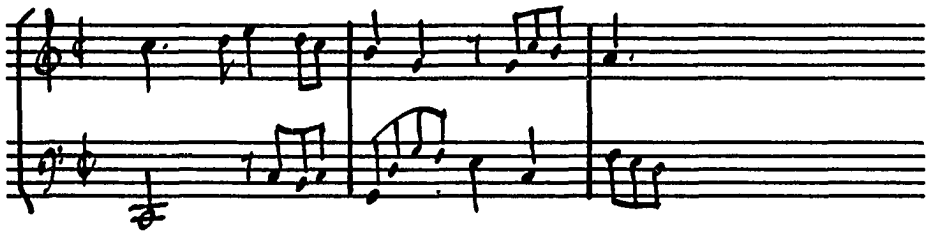


Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 83 Duf # 345 **Source: 581: I, 1;**
Vm^{6}26 p 3; 582: I: 1

INCONNU

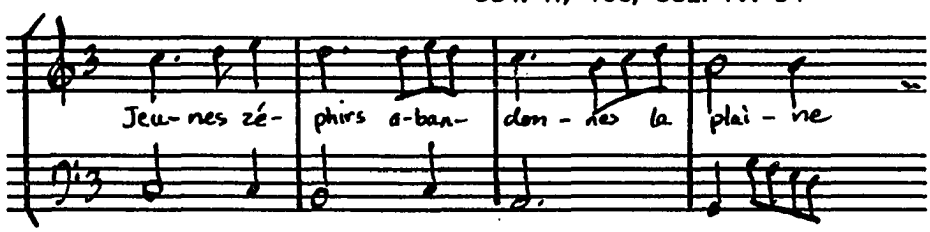
Overture



Date: 1720 **Danced:** no
Original Key: G **Length:** 12 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: 1st half of overture; version in 582 revised

BC # 84 Duf # 24 **Source: Rés 537 p 15;**
581: II, 166; 582: IV: 34

FOUNTAINES
III

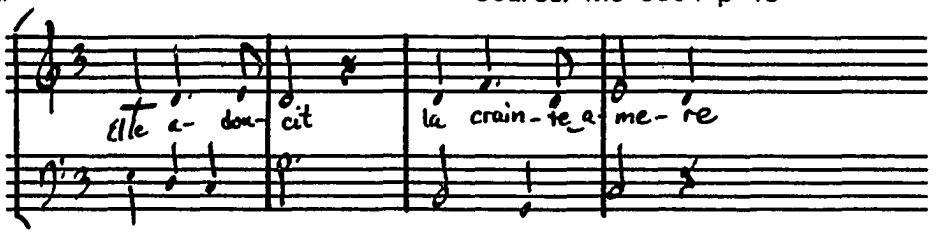


Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: S, orch a 5; Tr, B

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BC # 85 Duf # -- Source: Ms 9354 p 18

PAIX I
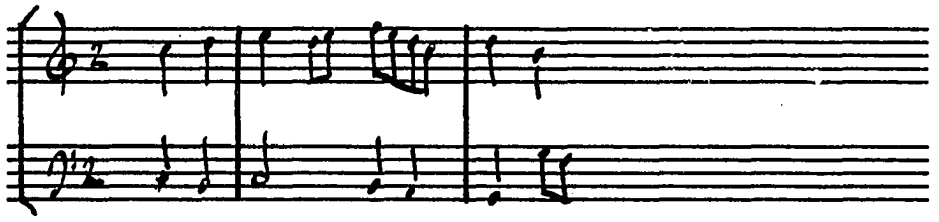


Date: 1713 Danced: no
Original Key: D Length: 24 m
Original Scoring: A, B

BC # 86 Duf # 4 Source: 581: II, 47

SERENADE

Rondeau
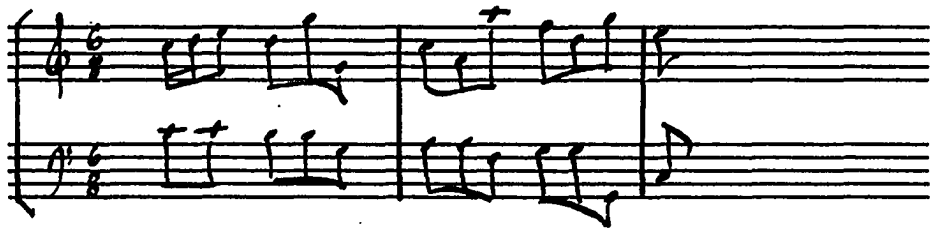


Date: 1682? Danced: undetermined
Original Key: F Length: 40 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC #87 Duf # 398 Source: 581: II, 111

CARDENIO I
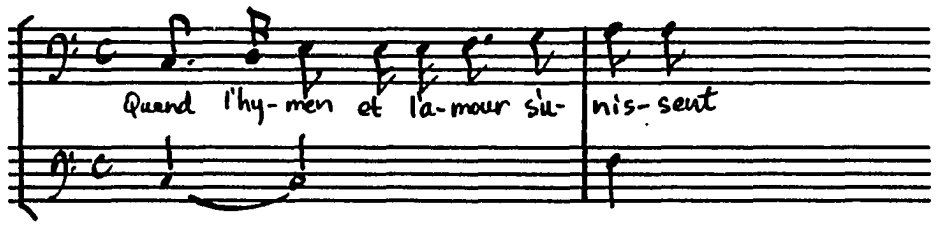
Chaconne
légère



Date: 1721 Danced: probably
Original Key: A Length: 61 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 88 Duf # 112 Source: Ms Mus 79 p 267

JEUNESSE III

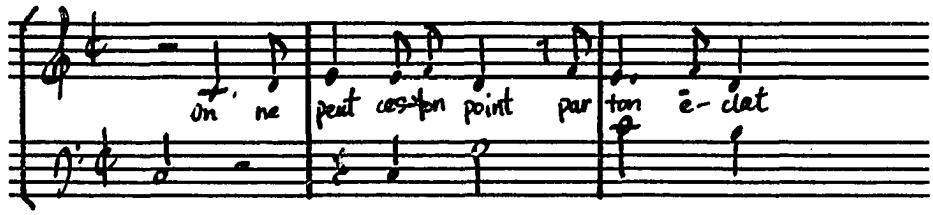


Date: 1686 Danced: probably not
Original Key: D Length: 16 m
Original Scoring: Bar, B

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BC # 89 Duf # 309 **Source: Ms 9354 p 67**

PAIX IV
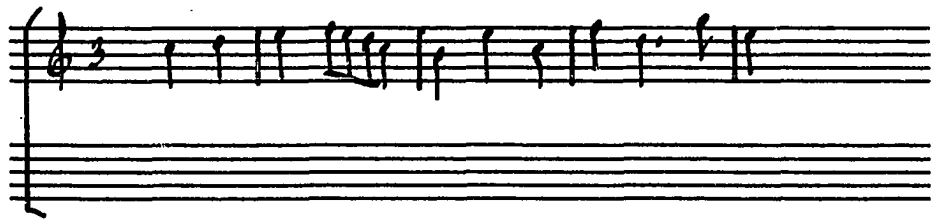


Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: B^{b} **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: A, B

BC # 90 Duf # 147 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 313 ^{v}**

PALAIS V

Chaconne

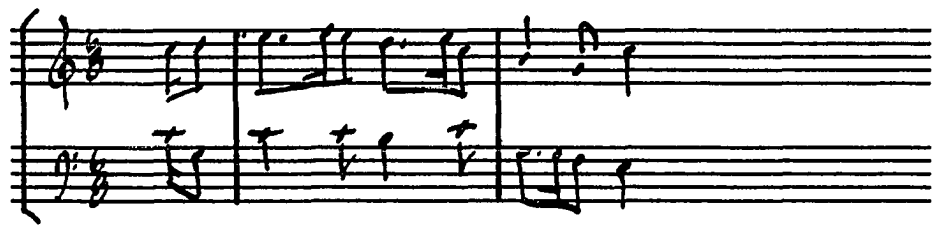


Date: 1689 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: C **Length:** 228 m
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 91 Duf # 262 **Source: 581: II, 63;**
582: X: 109

FEES P;
HYMEN

Gigue
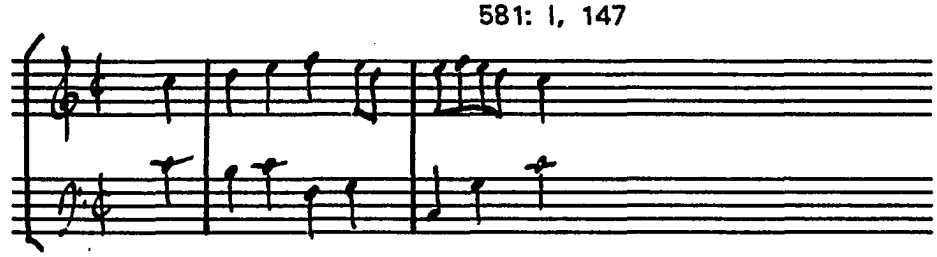


Date: 1699 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: B^{b} **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 92 Duf # 370 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 49;**
581: I, 147

INCONNU V

Bourée
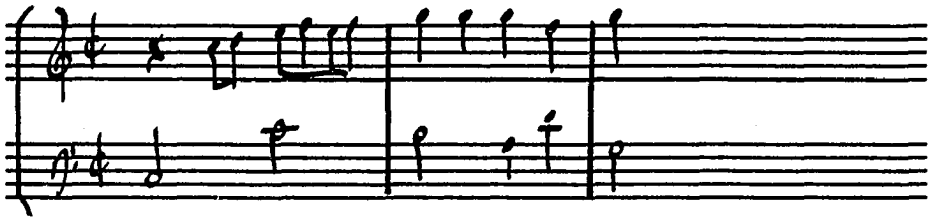


Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 93 Duf # 109 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 264**

JEUNESSE III

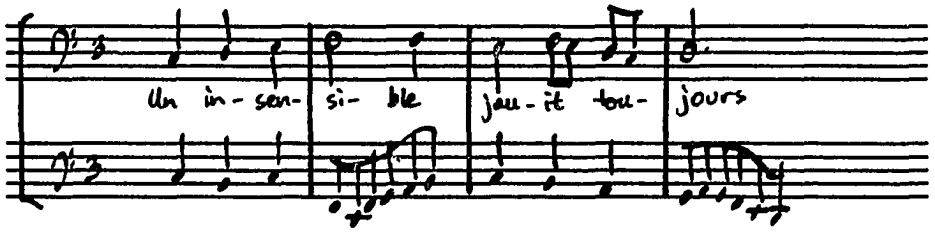
Prélude



Date: 1686 **Danced: possibly**
Original Key: D **Length: 7 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 94 Duf # 55 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 59**

JEUNESSE I
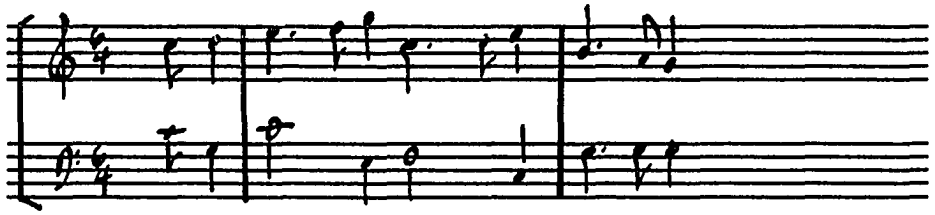


Date: 1686 **Danced: prob not**
Original Key: G **Length: 27 m**
Original Scoring: Ten, B

BC # 95 Duf # 247 **Source: 581: II, 144;**
582: X: 98

MIRTIL III
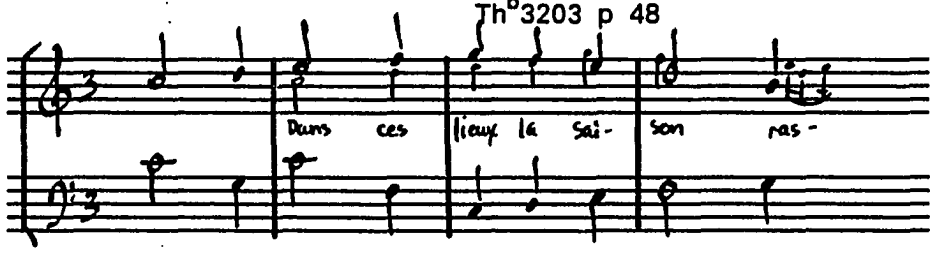
Loure



Date: 1698 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: G **Length: 22 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 96 Duf # 261 **Source: 581: II, 14;**
Th^{b}3203 p 48

FEES P
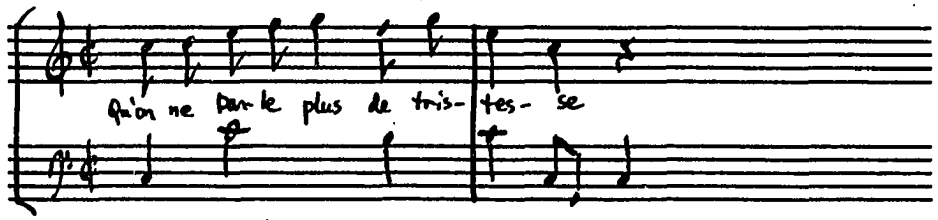


Date: 1699 **Danced: no**
Original Key: B^{b} **Length: 34 m**
Original Scoring: S, O, B

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BC # 97 Duf # 32 **Source: Rés 537 p 33**

FONTAINES V

Air pour Renommée
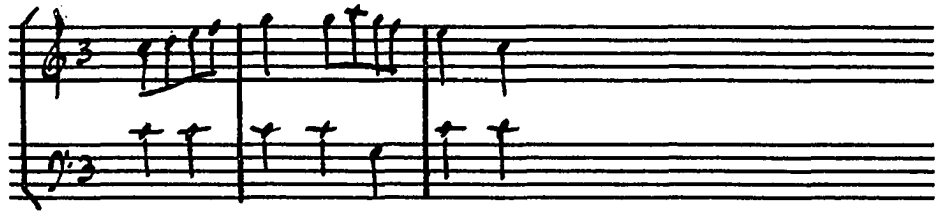


Date: 1683 **Danced:** prob not
Original Key: C **Length:** 10 m
Original Scoring: S, B; orch a 5
Remarks: vocal & instrumental versions

BC # 98 Duf # 170 **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 348^{v}; 582: Tr Conc: 79

BALLET ST LOUIS

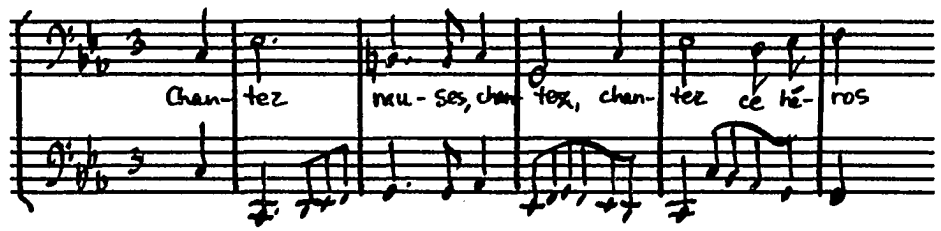
Chaconne



Date: 1691 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 93 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 99 Duf # 310 **Source:** Ms 9354 p 69
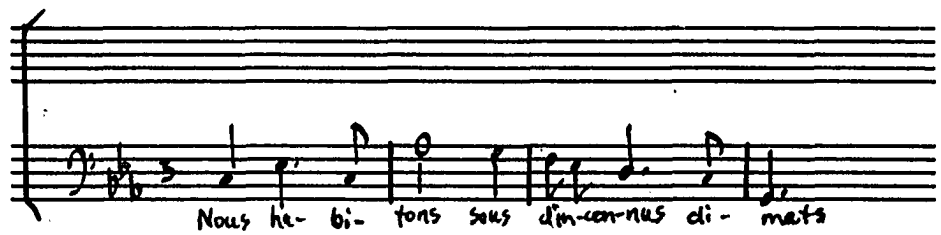
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: g **Length:** 30 m
Original Scoring: Bar, B

BC #100 Duf # -- **Source:** Th^{b}3203 p 69

FEES II

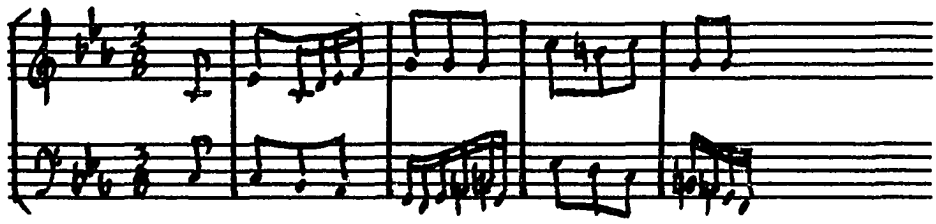


Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: e **Length:** 25 m
Original Scoring: Bs

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BC # 101 Duf # -- **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 43**
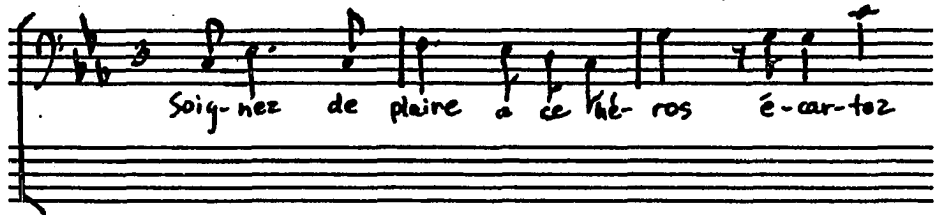
INCONNU IV
Passepied



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: from Destouches' *Le Carnaval et la Folie*

BC # 102 Duf # 319 **Source: Ms 9354 p 90**
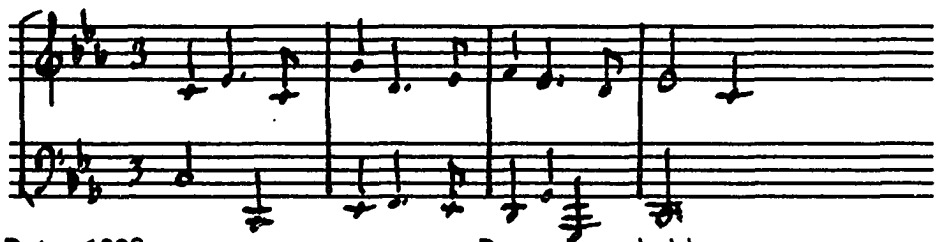
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 35 m
Original Scoring: Bar

BC # 103 Duf # 254 **Source: 581: II, 216**
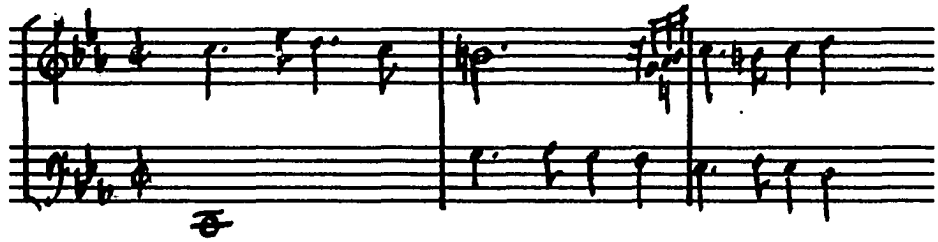
MIRTIL GE
Sarabande



Date: 1698 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: g **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 104 Duf # **Source: 582: X: 106**

ADONIS,
FEES,
HYMEN
Overture

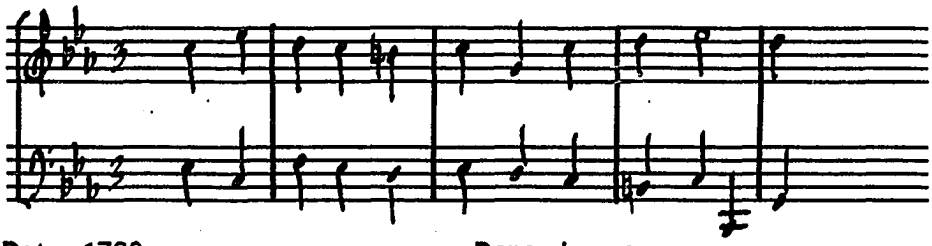


Date: 1696 **Danced:** no
Original Key: g **Length:** 13 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: first part of overture; reworked version in BC #137

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BC # 105 Duf # 365 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 35; 581:II,151**

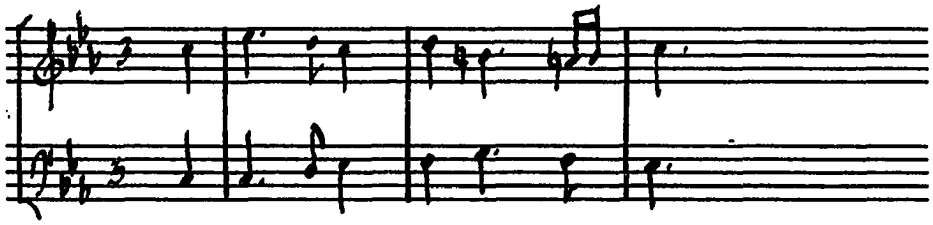
INCONNU III
Sarabande
légère



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: c **Length:** 36 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 106 Duf # 333 **Source: 581: II, 140**

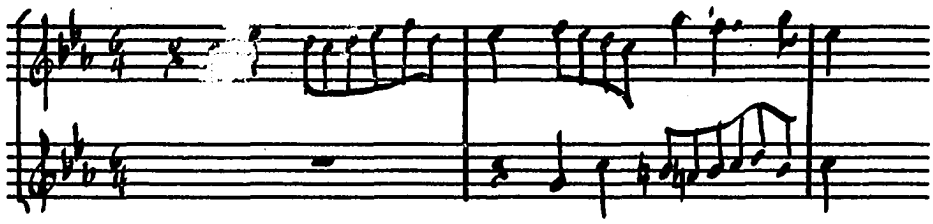
PAIX III
Air



Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 32 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 107 Duf # 325 **Source: 581: I, 35**
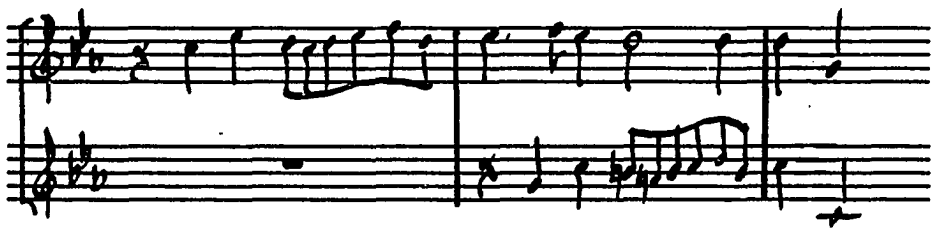
CARDENIO
Overture



Date: 1721 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 26 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: mid-section of overture; reworked from BC #108

BC # 108 Duf # 325 **Source: 582: IV: 32**

PAIX
Overture
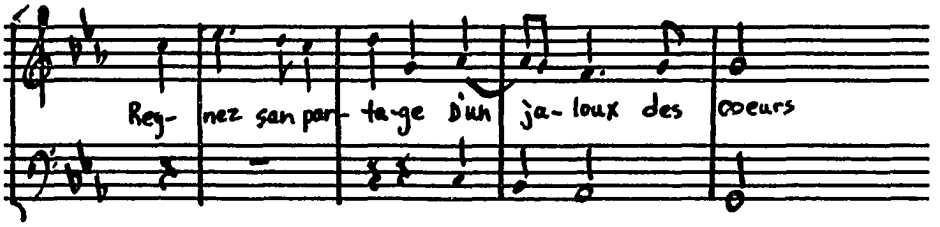


Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 25 m
Original Scoring: T, B
Remarks: mid-section of overt; reworked for BC #107

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BC # 109 Duf # 340 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 11**
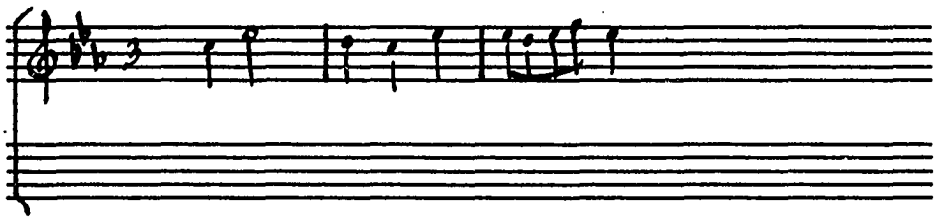
INCONNU I



Date: 1720 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 121 m
Original Scoring: S, V, B

BC # 110 Duf # 122 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 310 ^{v}**
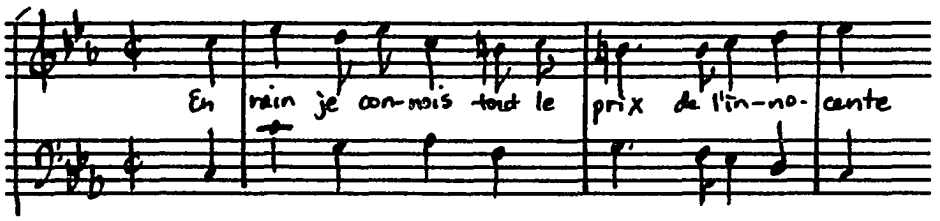
PALAIS II
Menuet



Date: 1689 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: d **Length:** 15 m
Original Scoring: V

BC # 111 Duf #-- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 43^{v}**

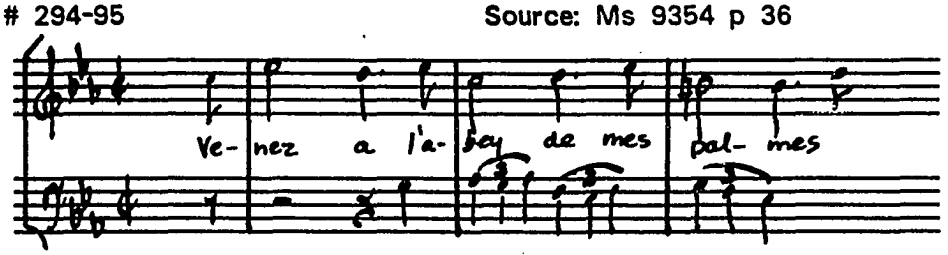
AMOUR
FLECHY VI



Date: 1697 **Danced:** no
Original Key: a **Length:** 12 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 112 Duf # 294-95 **Source: Ms 9354 p 36**

PAIX II
Air
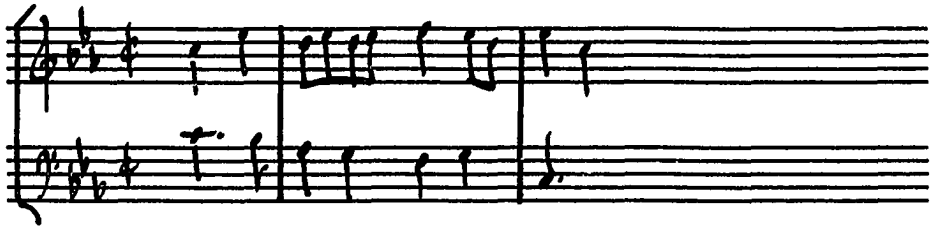


Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: a **Length:** 32 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remakrs: instrumental portions; vocal see # 136

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BC # 113 Duf # 298, 331 **Source: 581: II, 26**
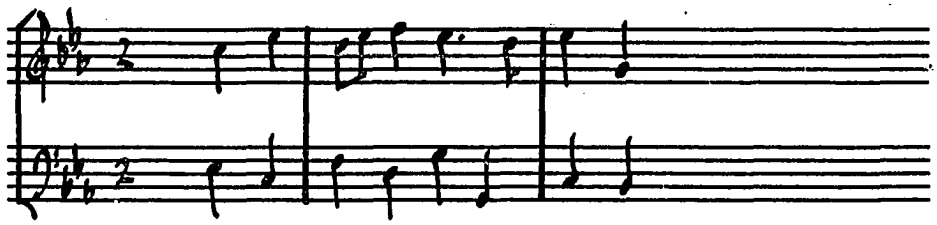
PAIX II
Air



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: e **Length: 19 m**
Original Scoring: F, O, S, B
Remarks: instruments and voices in 581; see also BC #136

BC # 114 Duf # 391 **Source: 581: II, 225**
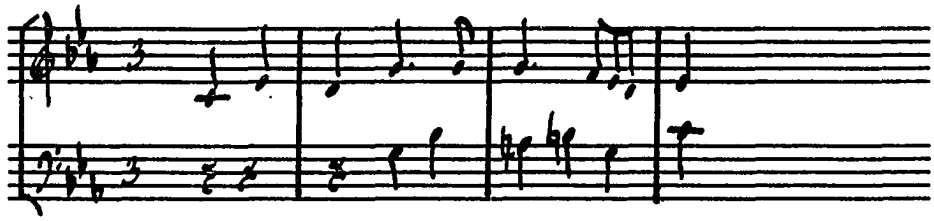
CARDENIO I
Air



Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 8 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC #115 Duf # 249 **Source: 581: I, 74; 582: IX: 99**

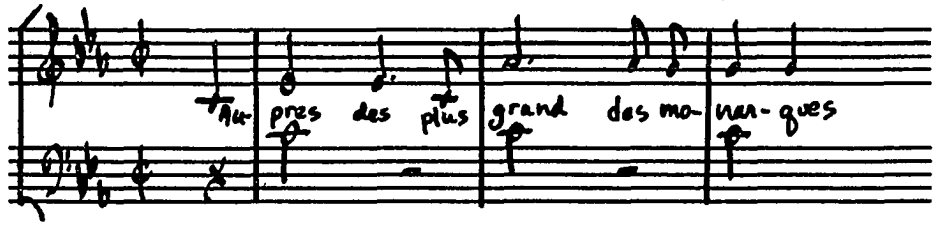
MIRTIL II
Air des fleuves



Date: 1698 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: g **Length: 43 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 116 Duf # 302 **Source: Ms 9354 p 49**

PAIX III
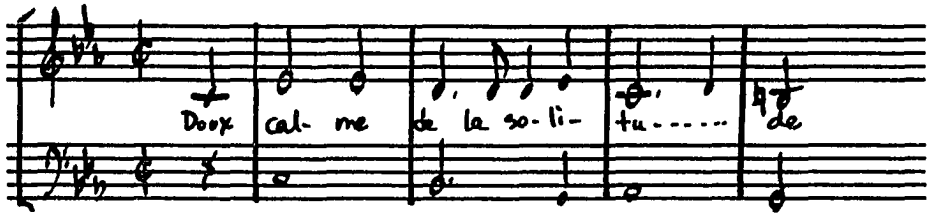


Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: g **Length: 23 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

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BC # 117 Duf #-- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 23 r**
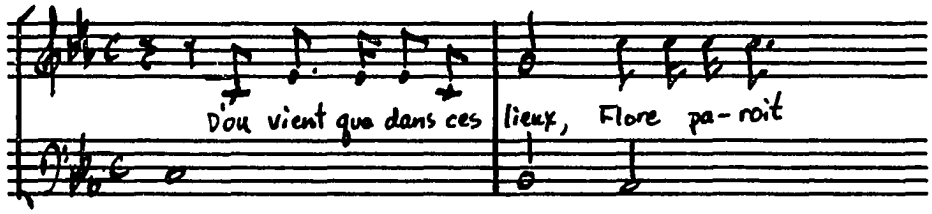
AMOUR
FLECHY III



Date: 1697 **Danced:** no
Original Key: g **Length:** 55 m
Original Scoring: S, orch a 5

BC # 118 Duf # 15 **Source: Rés 537 p 4**
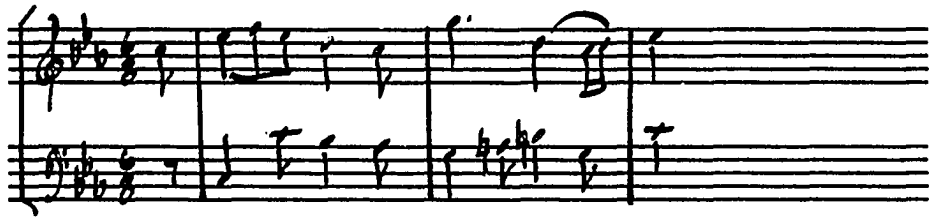
FOUNTAINES
IV



Date: 1683 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 9 m
Original Scoring: S, Ten, B

BC # 119 Duf # 424 **Source: 581: I, 49**

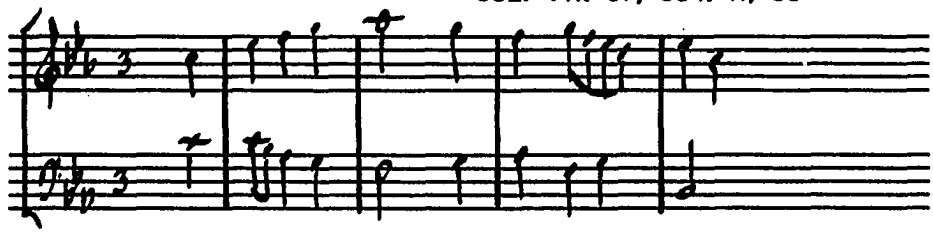
ELEMENS P
Air Gay



Date: 1722 **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: d **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: V, B

BC # 120 Duf # 157 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 346 r;**
582: VII: 67; 581: II, 89

BALLET DLL
Passepied
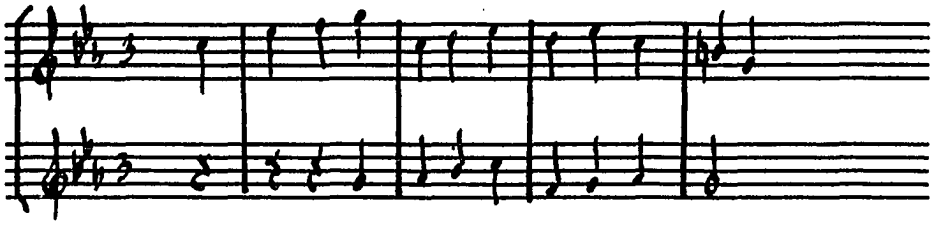


Date: 1690-91 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: a **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: rhythmic variant among sources; "Rondeau" in 581

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BC # 121 Duf # 413 **Source: 581: II, 31**
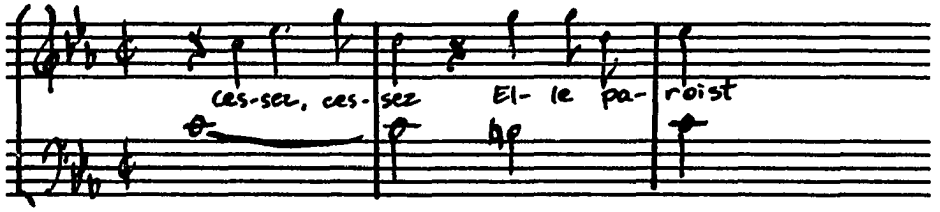
CARDENIO II
Air pour
les flûtes



Date: 1721 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: F **Length: 41 m**
Original Scoring: F, V

BC # 122 Duf # 291 **Source: Ms 9354 p 22**
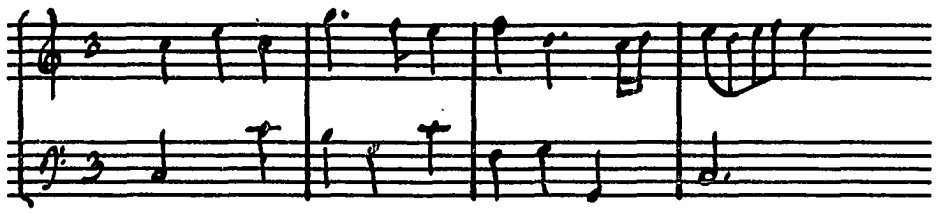
PAIX II



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: a **Length: 14 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 123 Duf #--- **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 91**
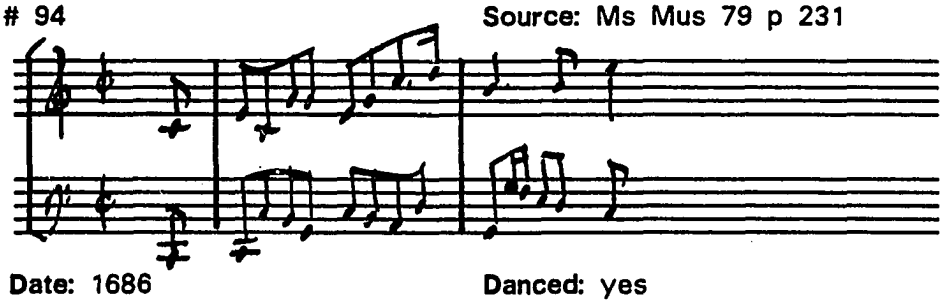
JEUNESSE P
(untitled)



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: D **Length: 24m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 124 Duf # 94 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 231**

JEUNESSE III
Air des
Candiots
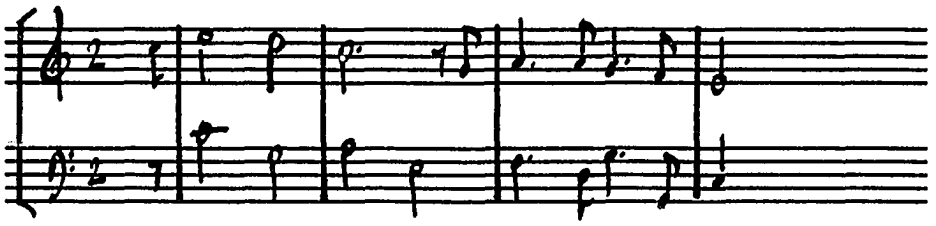


Date: 1686 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: F **Length: 8m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5

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BC # 125 Duf # 348 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 6; 581: II, 163**
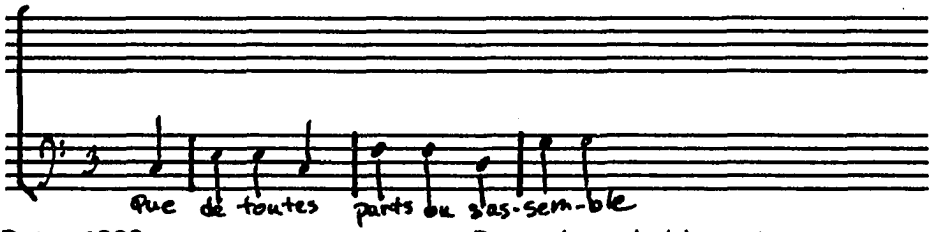
INCONNU I
Marche pour les Ordonnateurs



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 22 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 126 Duf # -- **Source: Th^{b} 3203 p 77**
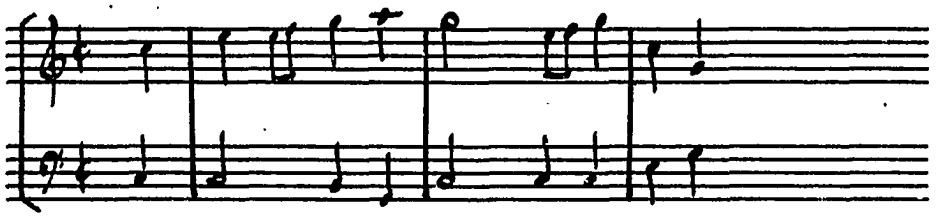
FEES III



Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 11m
Original Scoring: Bs

BC # 127 Duf # 384 **Source: 581: I, 114**

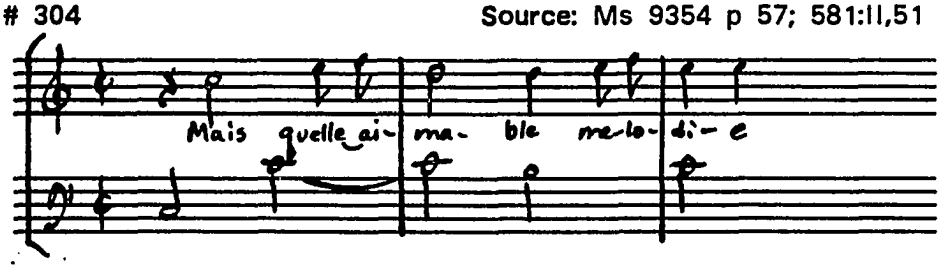
CARDENIO I
Air gay



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 32 m
Original Scoring: V, Tpt, O

BC # 128 Duf # 304 **Source: Ms 9354 p 57; 581:II,51**

PAIX IV
Air
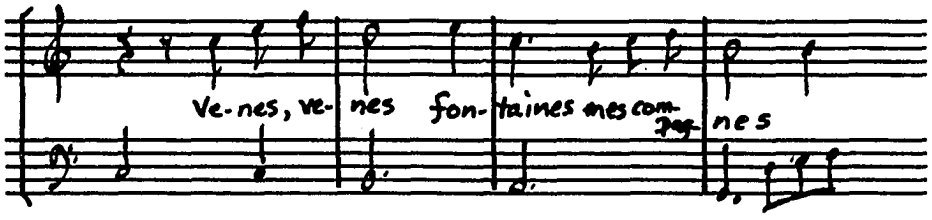


Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: B^{b} **Length:** 37 m
Original Scoring: S, V, B
Remarks: instrumental interludes in 581

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BC # 129 Duf # 14 **Source: Rés 537 p 8**
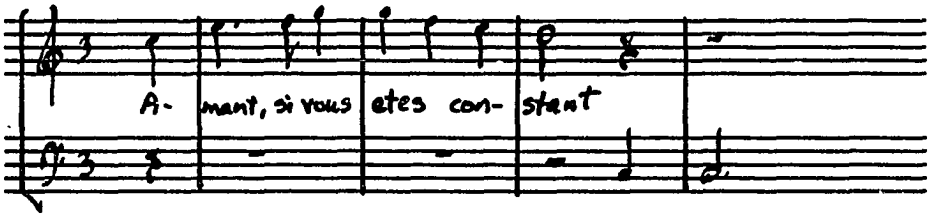
FOUNTAINES
I



Date: 1683 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: d **Length: 35 m**
Original Scoring: S, S, B

BC # 130 Duf # 342 **Source: Vm^{6}25 p 26**
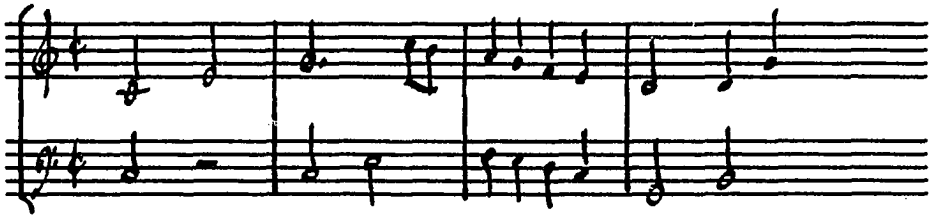
INCONNU III
Ariette



Date: 1720 **Danced: no**
Original Key: C **Length: 55 m**
Original Scoring: S, Ten, Ten, B

BC # 131 Duf # 404 **Source: 581: I, 120**

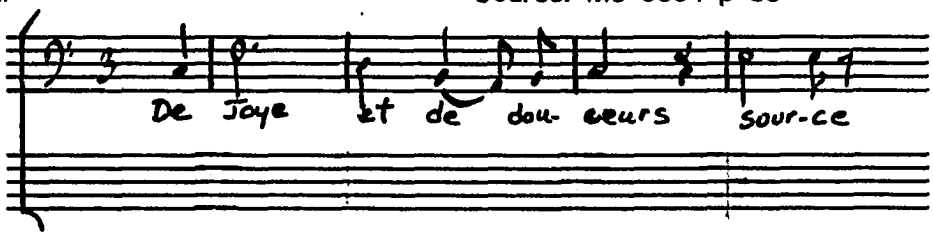
CARDENIO I
Air



Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 17 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 132 Duf # --- **Source: Ms 9354 p 88**

PAIX IV
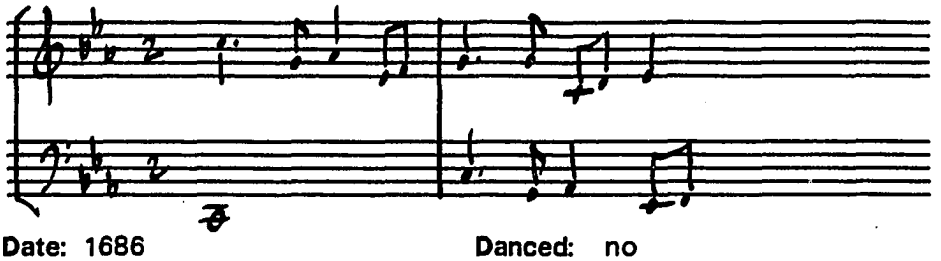


Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: G **Length: 29 m**
Original Scoring: Bar

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BC # 133 Duf # 40 — **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 1

JEUNESSE
Overture

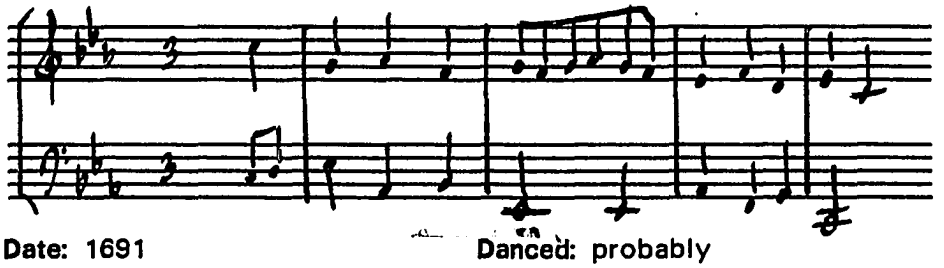


Date: 1686 — **Danced:** no
Original Key: g — **Length:** 17 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5
Remarks: first part of overture

BC # 134 Duf # 168 — **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 348^{r}; 582: II: 22; 581: I, 48

BALLET
ST LOUIS

Passepied
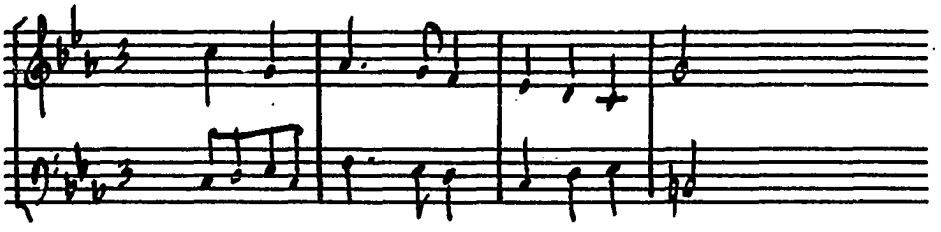


Date: 1691 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: a — **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 135 Duf # 161 — **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 347^{r}

BALLET
S. LOUIS
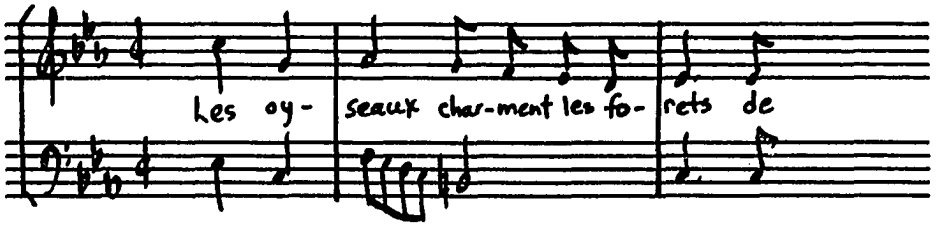
Air
Suivant



Date: 1691 — **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: g — **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 136 Duf # 298, 331 — **Source:** Ms 9354 p 40

PAIX II

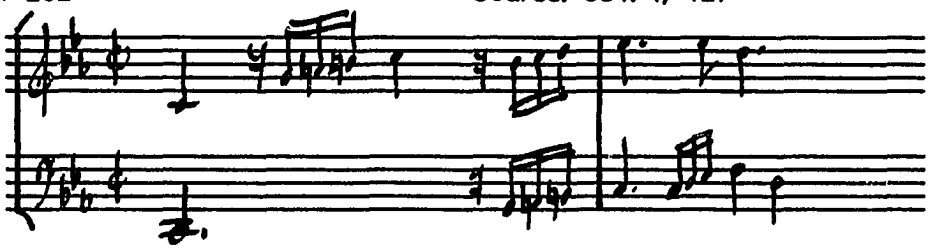


Date: 1713 — **Danced:** no
Original Key: e — **Length:** 19 m
Original Scoring: F, O, S, B
Remarks: instrumental segments in BC #113

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BC # 137 Duf # 202 **Source: 581: I, 127**
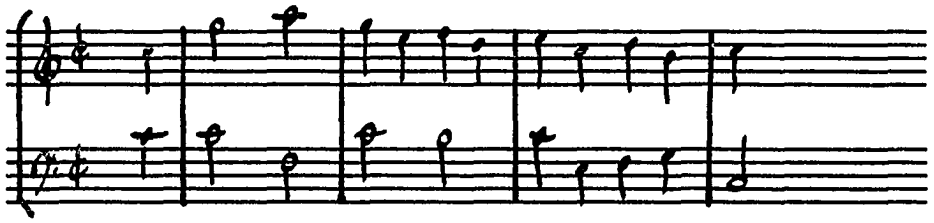
ELEMENS
Overture



Date: 1722 **Danced:** Overture
Original Key: g **Length:** 13 m
Original Scoring: T, B
Remarks: reworked from Adonis, Fées, Paix; see BC #59

BC # 138 Duf # 245 **Source: 581: I, 72**
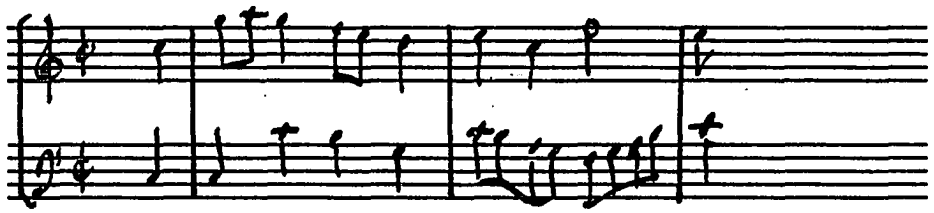
MIRTIL I
1ere Rigaudon



Date: 1698 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: B♭ **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 139 **Duf # 111** **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 266**
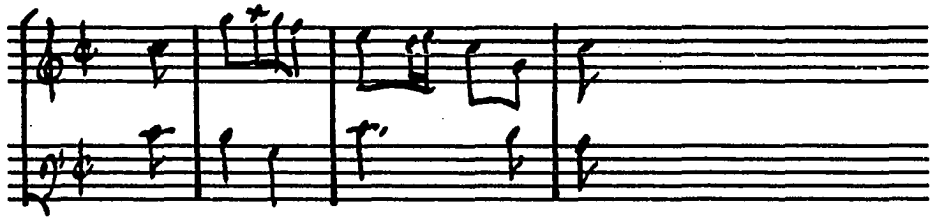
JEUNESSE III
Bourée



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 140 Duf # 360 **Source: Vm⁶26 p 27; 581: II, 18**

INCONNU II
Air de
Paysan
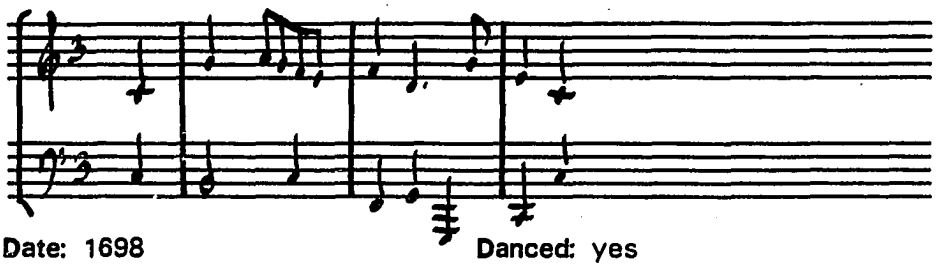


Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: B♭ **Length:** 30 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 141 Duf # 253 **Source: 581: I, 111**

MIRTIL III

Air gay
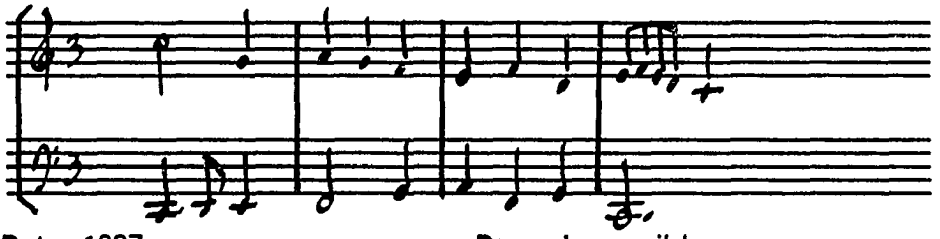


Date: 1698 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: G **Length: 27 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 142 Duf # 212 **Source: Ms 133.620 f 7^{r}**

AMOUR FLECHY II

Menuet

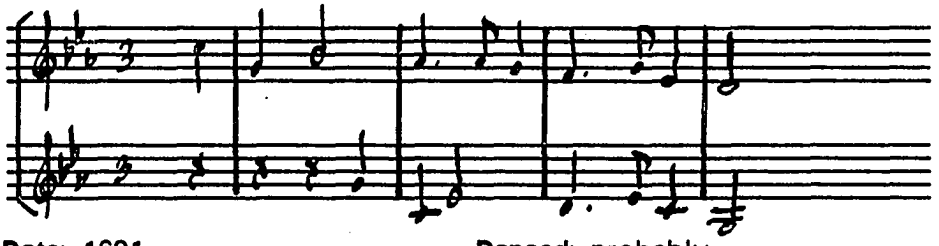


Date: 1697 **Danced: possibly**
Original Key: G **Length: 24 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 143 Duf # 169 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 348^{r};**
582: II: 21; 581: I, 44

BALLET ST LOUIS
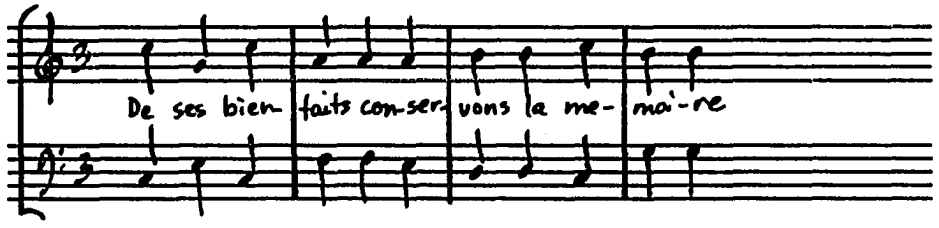
Air



Date: 1691 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: a **Length: 42 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 144 Duf # 19 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 218**

JEUNESSE III
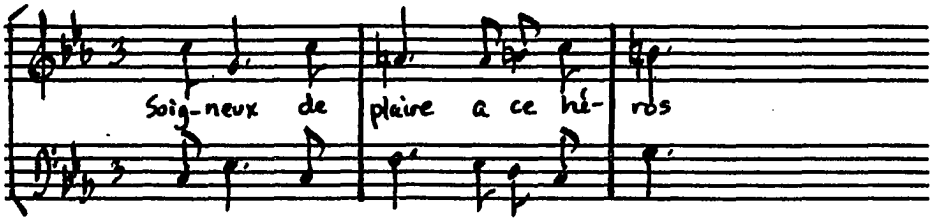


Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: F **Length: 24 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5, ch a 4

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BC # 145 Duf # 320 **Source: Ms 9354 p 93**
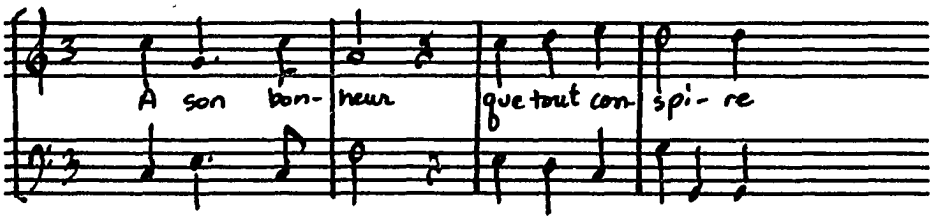
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 68 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 146 Duf # 323 **Source: Ms 9354 p 101**

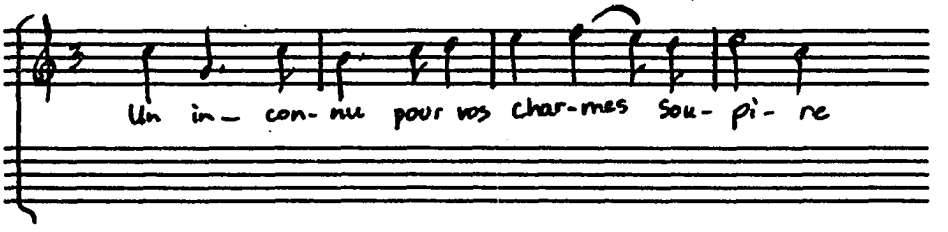
PAIX IV
Air



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: D **Length:** 83 + 67 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 147 Duf #-- **Source: Vm^{6}25 p 25**
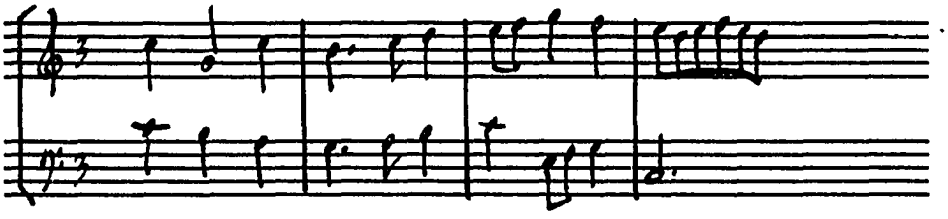
INCONNU III
Sarabande



Date: 1720 **Danced:** no
Original Key: B^{b} **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: S
Remarks: Delalande attributrion doubtful (possibly Gilliers)

BC # 148 Duf # 283 **Source: 581: II, 204**

HYMEN
Menuet
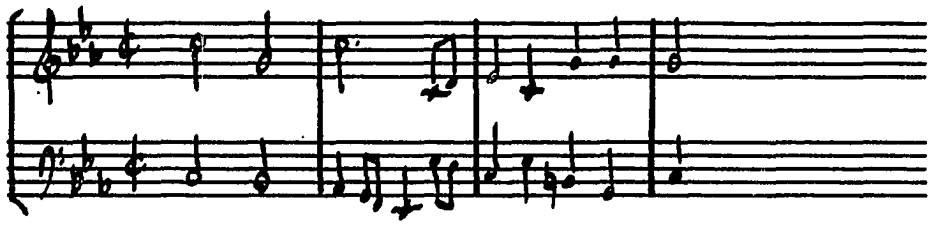


Date: 1700 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: C **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: C major in 581 score, D major in Hymen

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BC # 149 Duf # 420 **Source: 581: I, 51**
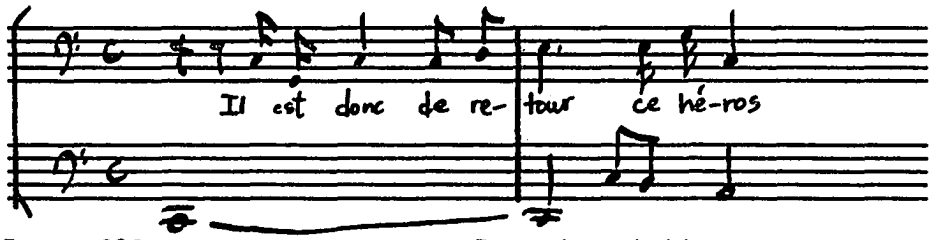
CARDENIO FN
Entrée des
Matelots



Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 27 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 150 Duf # 27 **Source: Rés 537 p 28**
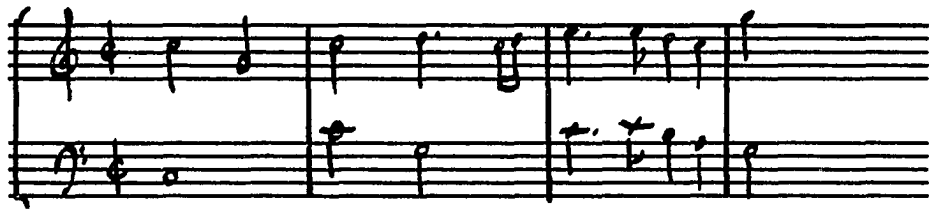
FONTAINES
V



Date: 1683 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: G **Length: 14 m**
Original Scoring: Ten, B

BC # 151 Duf # 244 **Source: 581: II, 62**
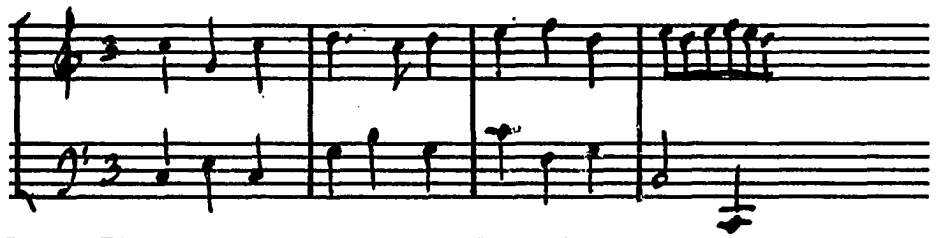
MIRTIL I
Air



Date: 1698 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: B^b **Length: 29 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 152 Duf # 395 **Source: 581: II, 227**

CARDENIO I
Menuet
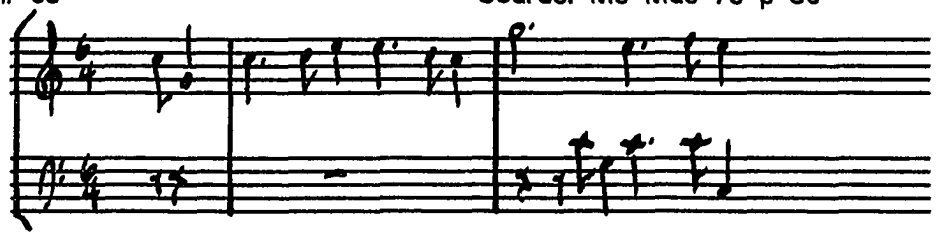


Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 153 Duf # 68 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 86**

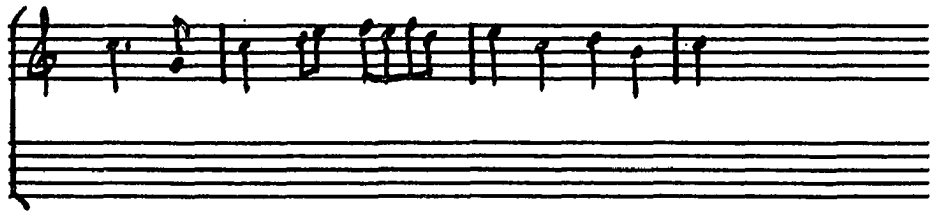
JEUNESSE P
Gigue



Date: 1686 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 25 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 154 Duf # 128 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 311^{r}**
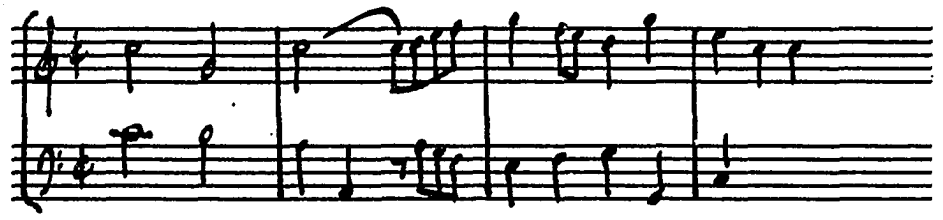
PALAIS II
Gavotte



Date: 1689 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 12 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 155 Duf # 350 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 10; 581: I, 18**

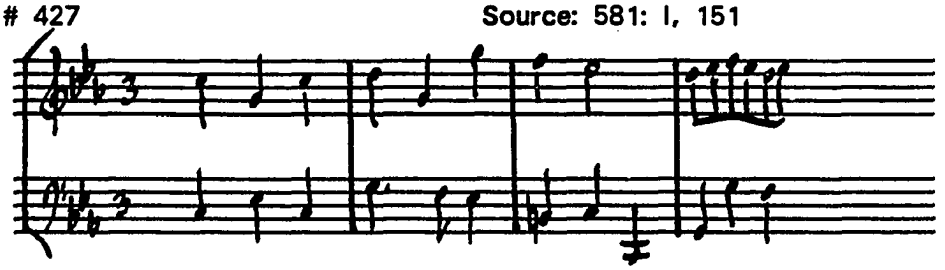
INCONNU I
Air pour
le Roi



Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 26 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 156 Duf # 427 **Source: 581: I, 151**

ELEMENS P
2eme Menuet
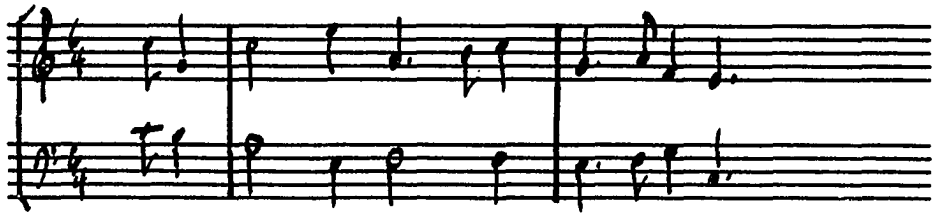


Date: 1722 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: d **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 157 Duf # 273 **Source: 581: II, 229; 582: X: 114**

FEES III;
HYMEN
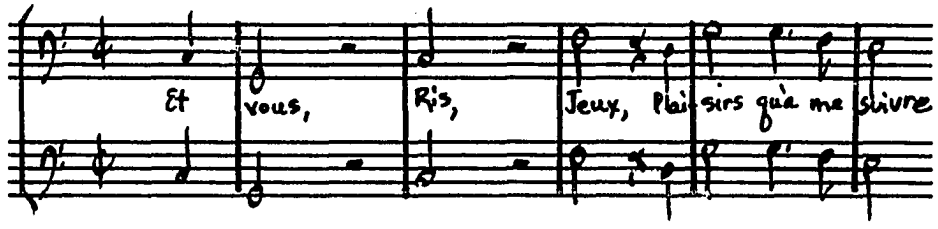
Loure



Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 15 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 158 Duf # 317 **Source: Ms 9354 p 86**
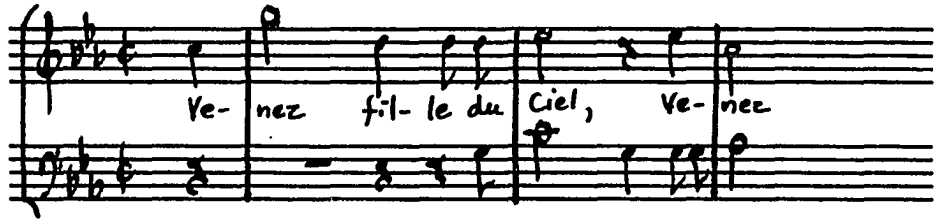
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: G **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Bar, B

BC # 159 Duf # 293 **Source: Ms 9354 p 33**

PAIX II
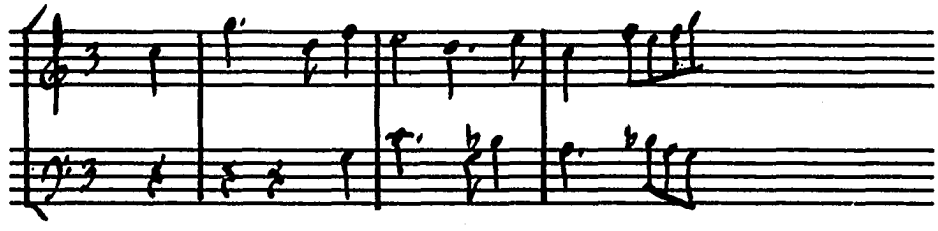


Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: a **Length:** 27 m
Original Scoring: S, Bs

BC # 160 Duf # 336 **Source: 581: II, 59**

PAIX IV

Air Grave
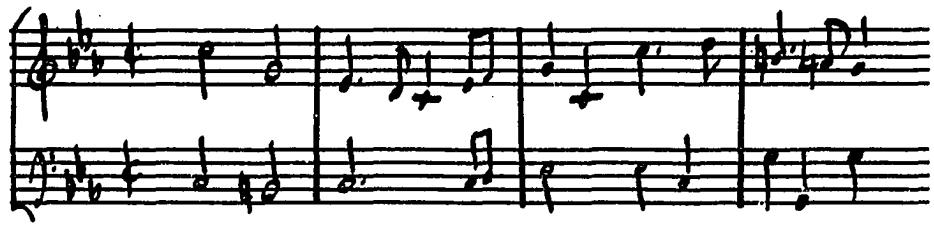


Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: B^b **Length:** 31 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 161 Duf # 376 **Source: Vm^{6}26, p 64**
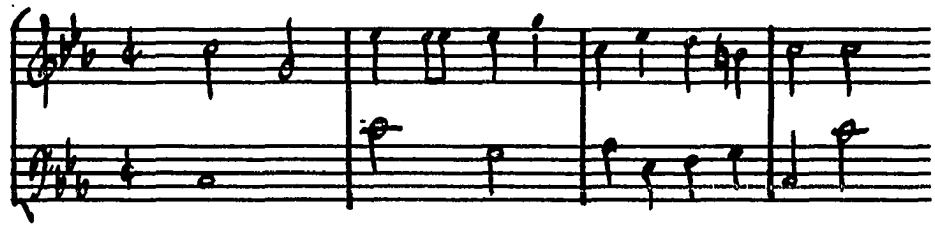
INCONNU GE
Air



Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: g **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 162 Duf # 251 **Source: 581: I, 217; 582: IX: 103**
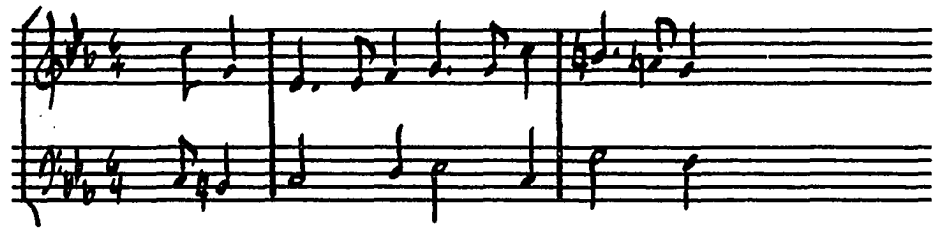
MIRTIL GE
Entrée des
Siamois



Date: 1698 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: g **Length: 30 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 163 Duf # 418 **Source: 581: I, 148**

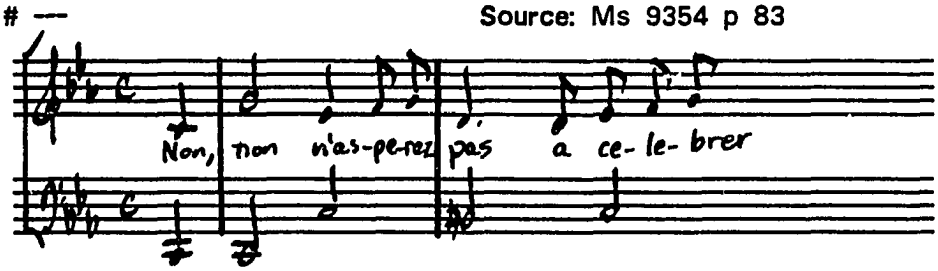
CARDENIO NF
Loure



Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 18 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 164 Duf # — **Source: Ms 9354 p 83**

PAIX IV

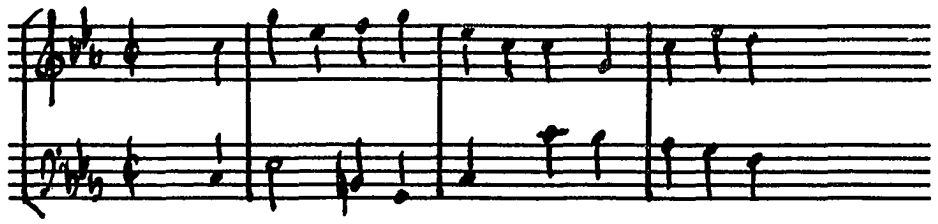


Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: g **Length: 20 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

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BC # 165 Duf # 380 **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 68; 581: II, 20

INCONNU GE
Rigaudon
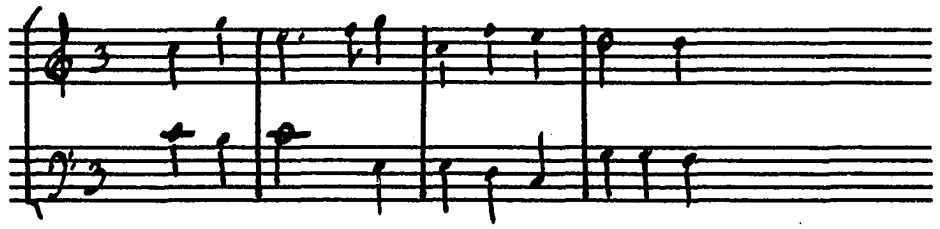


Date: 1720
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: C minor in 581

Danced: yes
Length: 16 m

BC # 166 Duf # 243 **Source:** 581: II, 56; 581: IX: 97

MIRTIL I
Légèrement
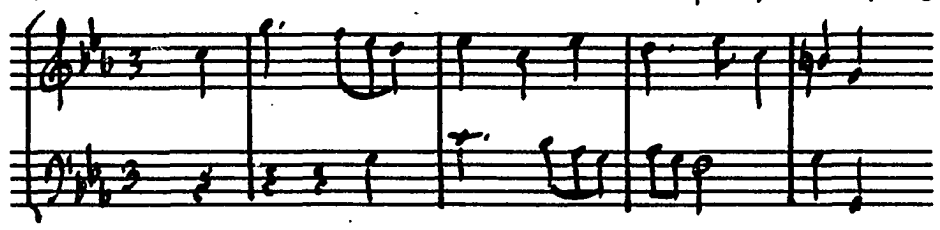


Date: 1698
Original Key: B^{b}
Original Scoring: T, B

Danced: probably
Length: 40 m

BC # 167 Duf # 374 **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 60; 581: II, 113

INCONNU GE
Marche
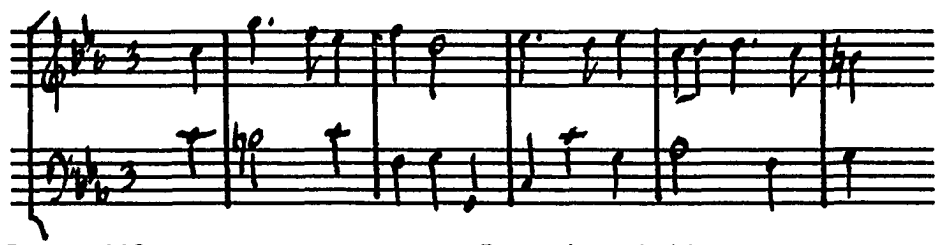


Date: 1720
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: yes
Length: 48 m

BC # 168 Duf # 237 **Source:** 581: I,39; 582: IX: 95

MIRTIL P
Air
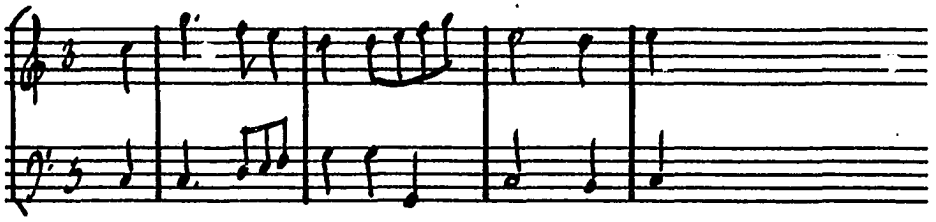


Date: 1698
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: probably
Length: 26 m

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BC # 169 Duf # 165 — **Source:** Vm^{6}5 349^{v}; 581: I, 98; 582: II: 78

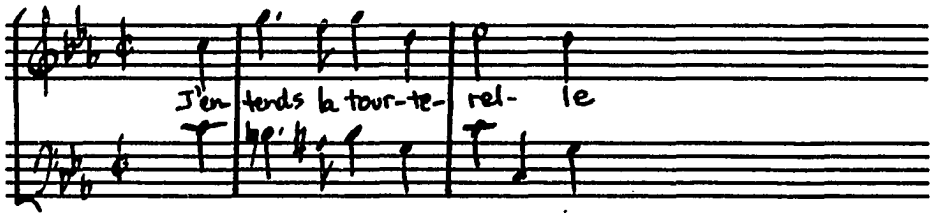
BALLET
ST LOUIS
"Mesme"



Date: 1690 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D — **Length:** 26 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: 6/4 meter in 581; Tr only in Vm^{6}5

BC # 170 Duf # 3 — **Source:** 581: II, 123
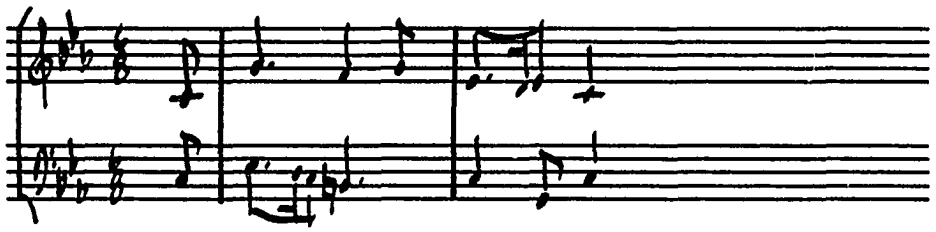
SERENADE
Petit
air tendre



Date: 1682 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: a — **Length:** 14 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 171 Duf # 334 — **Source:** 581: II, 141

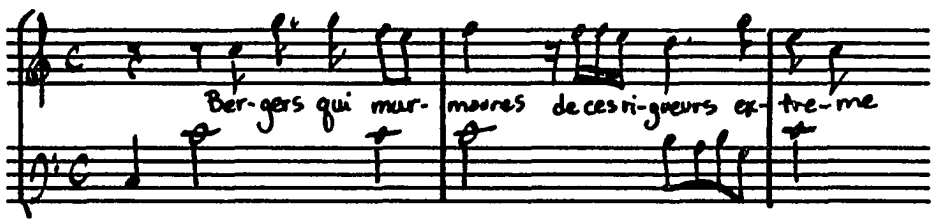
PAIX III
Air
Légèrement



Date: 1713 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g — **Length:** 35 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 172 Duf # 10 — **Source:** MG May 1683 p 175

AMOUR
BERGER
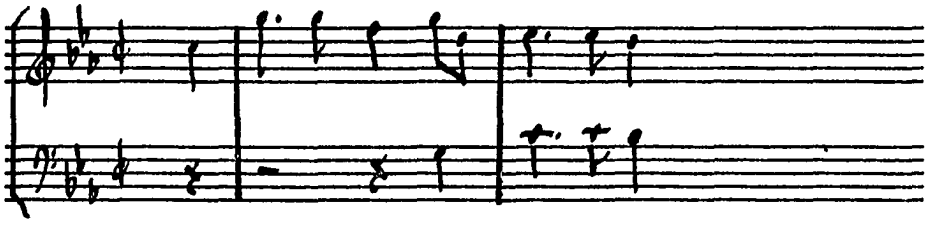


Date: 1683 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G — **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: S, B

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BC # 173 Duf # 5 **Source: 581: II, 222**
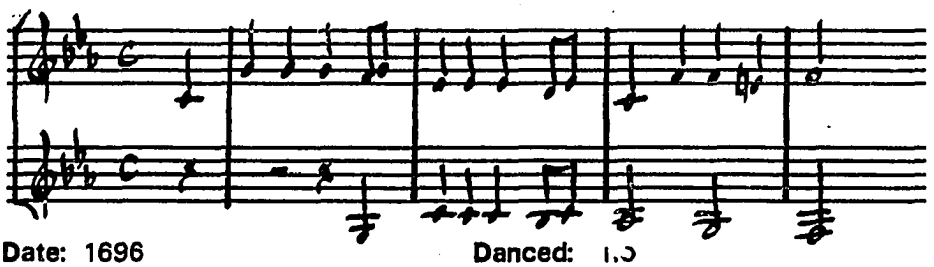
SERENADE
Air



Date: 1682 **Danced: undetermined**
Original Key: d **Length: 21 m**
Original Scoring: V, B

BC # 174 Duf # -- **Source: 582: X: 106**

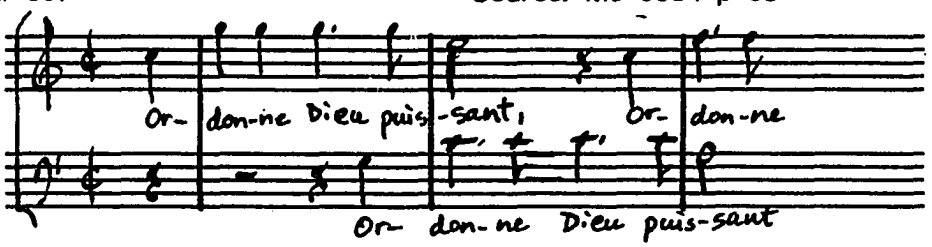
ADONIS;
FEES;
HYMEN
Overture



Date: 1696 **Danced: [illegible]**
Original Key: g **Length: 13 + 43**
Original Scoring: T, B
Remarks: reworked for Elémens: see Bc #186

BC # 175 Duf # 307 **Source: Ms 9354 p 63**

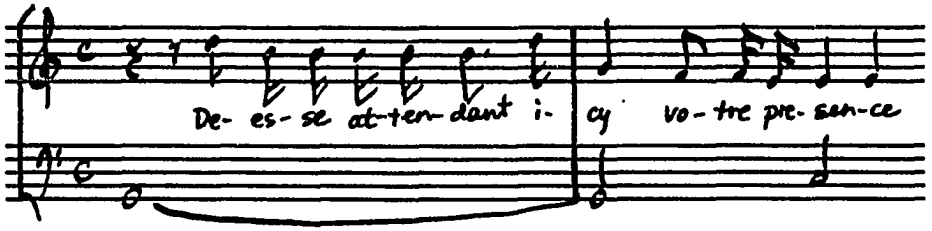
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: B^b **Length: 26 m**
Original Scoring: S, Bs

BC # 176 Duf # 21 **Source: Rés 537 p 9**

FOUNTAINES
III
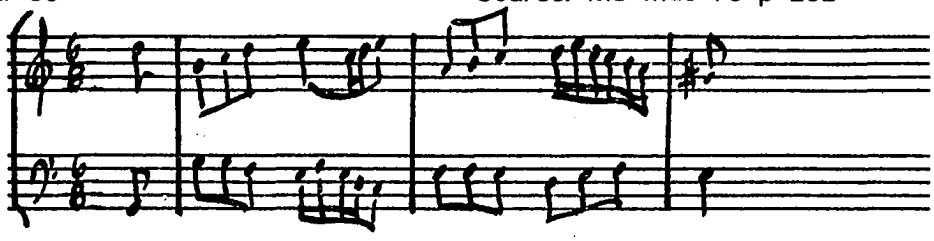


Date: 1683 **Danced: no**
Original Key: D **Length: 5 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

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BC # 177 Duf # 95 **Source:** Ms mus 79 p 232
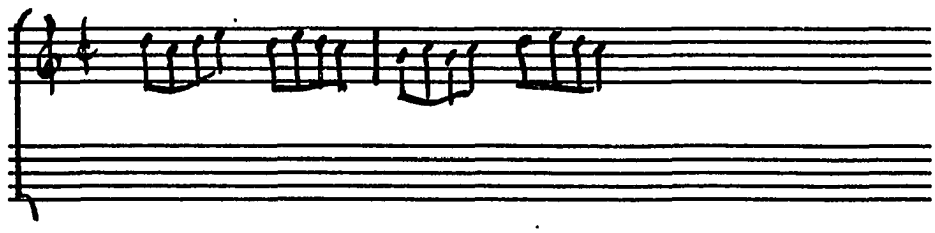
JEUNESSE III
Air des
Candiots



Date: 1686 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: F **Length:** 12 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 178 Duf # 121 **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 310^{v}

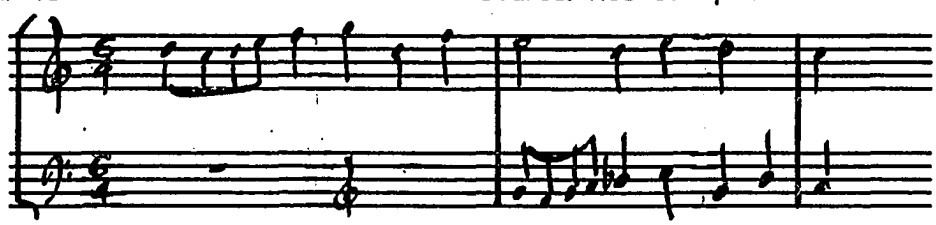
PALAIS I
Prélude



Date: 1689 **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: A **Length:** 7 m
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 179 Duf # 13 **Source:** Rés 537 p 1

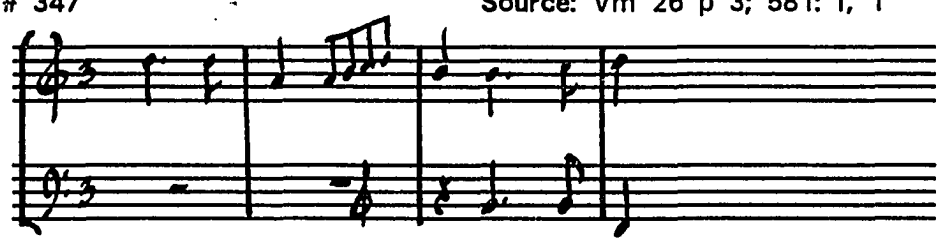
FOUNTAINES
Overture



Date: 1683 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 23 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5
Remarks: 2nd half of overture

BC # 180 Duf # 347 **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 3; 581: I, 1

INCONNU
Overture
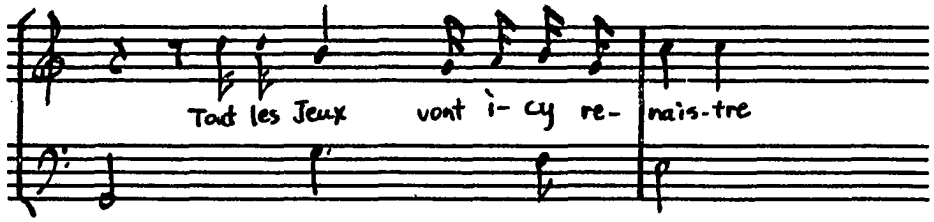


Date: 1720 **Danced:** no
Original Key: G **Length:** 43 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: 2nd half of overture

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BC # 181 Duf # 72 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 95**
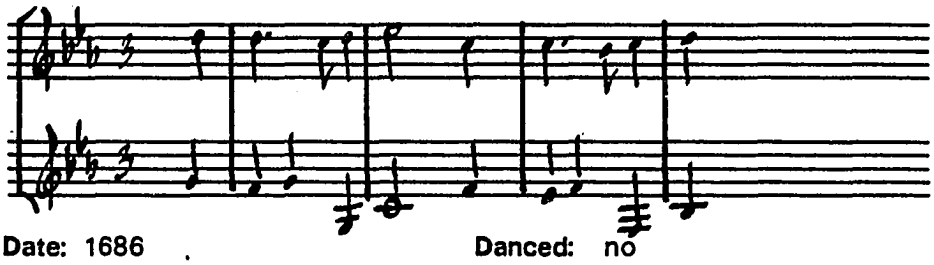
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced: no**
Original Key: D **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 182 Duf # 41 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 2**

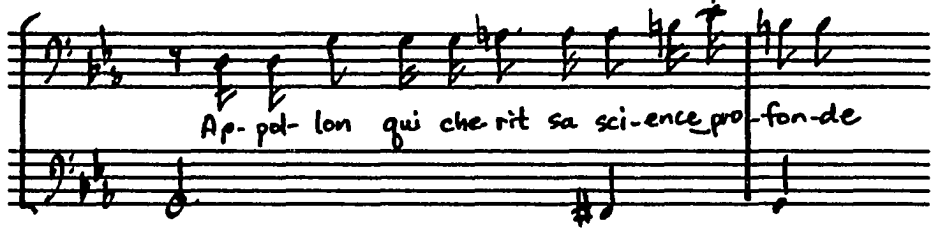
JEUNESSE
Overture



Date: 1686 **Danced: no**
Original Key: g **Length: 57 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5
Remarks: 2nd half of overture

BC # 183 Duf # — **Source: Rés 538 p 6**
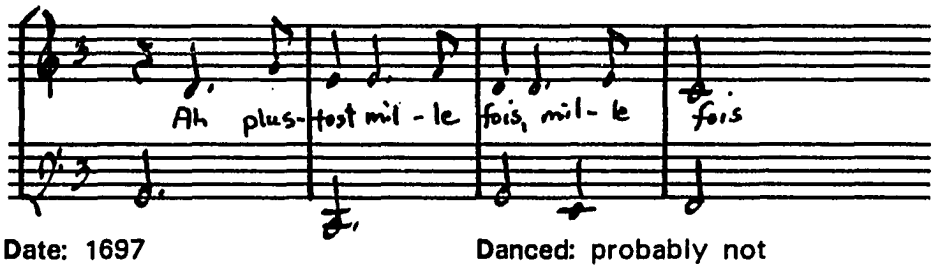
ESCULAPE



Date: 1683 **Danced: no**
Original Key:d **Length: 4 m**
Original Scoring: Bar, B

BC # 184 Duf # — **Source: Ms 133.620 f 46[r]**

AMOUR
FLECHY VIII
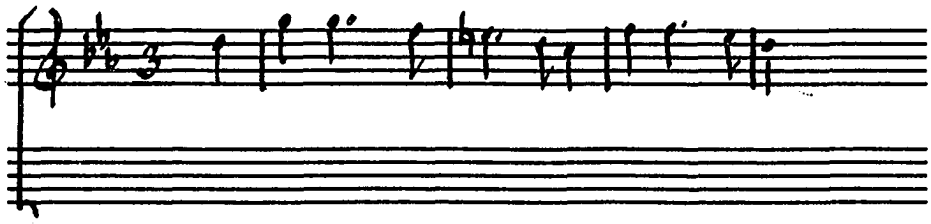


Date: 1697 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: G **Length: 23 m**
Original Scoring: S, Bar, B

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BC # 185 Duf # -- **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 344^{v}**

BALLET DLL
Overture
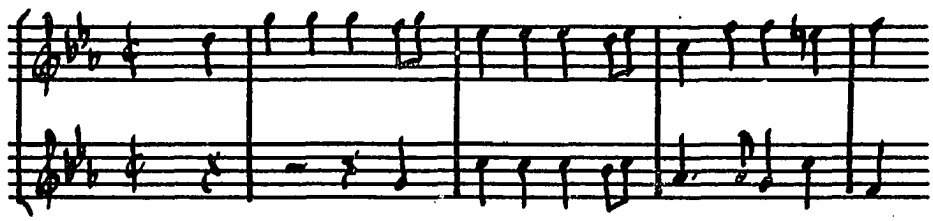


Date: 1690-91
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr
Remarks: 2nd half of overture

Danced: no
Length: 30 + 18 m

BC # 186 Duf # 203 **Source: 581: I, 127; 582: X: 106**

ADONIS;
FEES;
HYMEN
Overture
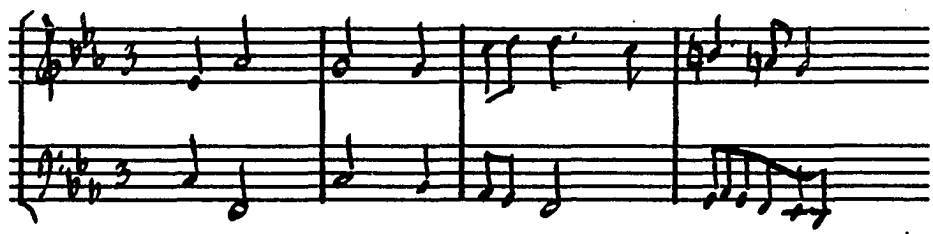


Date: 1696
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: 2nd half of overture; reworked in BC #174

Danced: no
Length: 33 m

BC # 187 Duf # 136 **Source: 581: I, 6;**
582: VI: 56; Vm^{6}5 f 312^{r}

PALAIS III
Air de
Diane

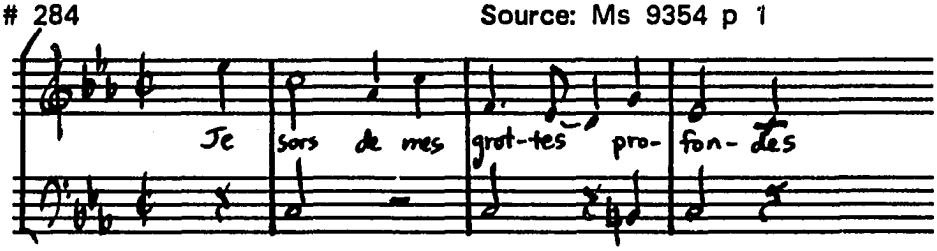


Date: 1689
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: also named "choeur de Diane"

Danced: probably
Length: 13 m

BC # 188 Duf # 284 **Source: Ms 9354 p 1**

PAIX I



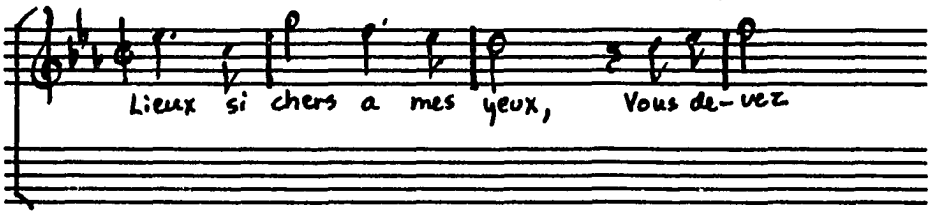
Date: 1713
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: S, T, B

Danced: no
Length: 28 m

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BC # 189 Duf # --- **Source: Ms 9354 p 25**
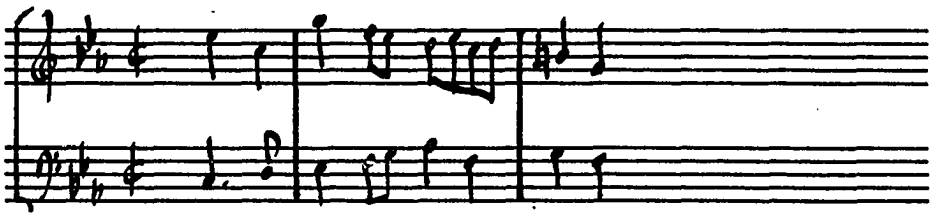
PAIX II



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: a **Length:** 53 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 190 Duf # 131 **Source: 581: II, 78;**
582: VI: 60; Vm^{6}5 f 311^{r}
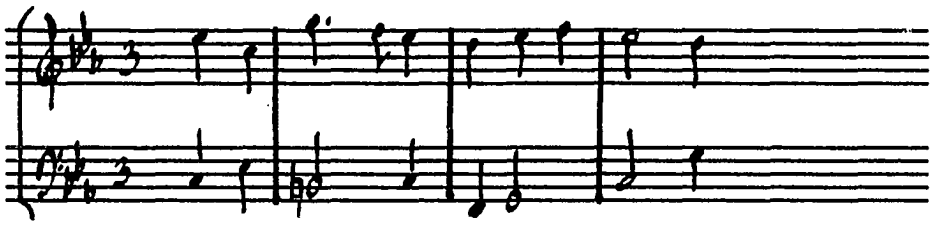
PALAIS IV
Gavotte



Date: 1689 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: d **Length:** 12 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 191 Duf # 272 **Source: 581: II, 174; 582: X: 114**
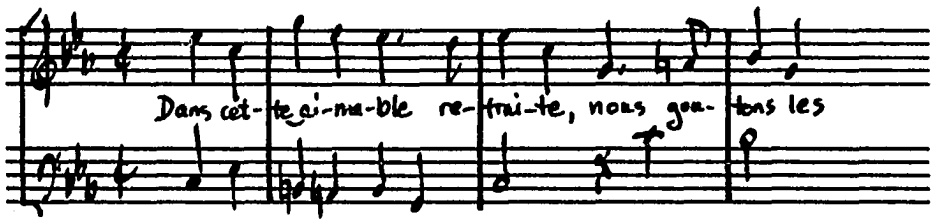
FEES III
Légèrement



Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: d **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 192 Duf # 412 **Source: 581: II, 30**

CARDENIO III
Gavotte
lente
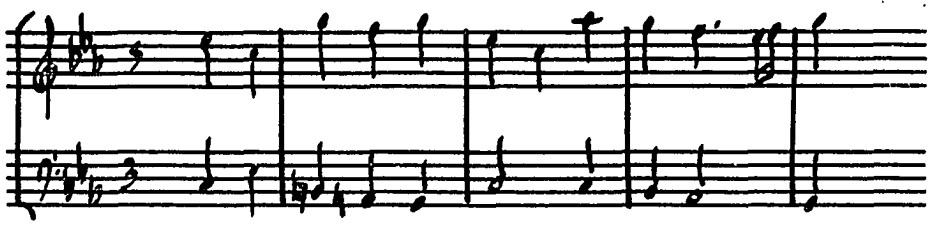


Date: 1721 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: b **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: verse not in printed text of *Cardenio*

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BC # 193 Duf # 388 **Source: 581: II, 118**

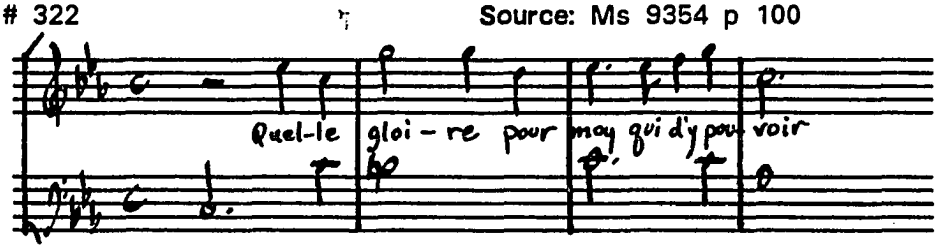
CARDENIO I
Sarabande
légère



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: d **Length:** 52 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 194 Duf # 322 **Source: Ms 9354 p 100**

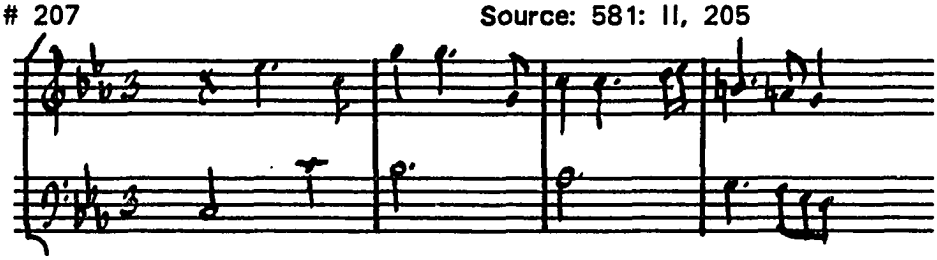
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: b **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 195 Duf # 207 **Source: 581: II, 205**

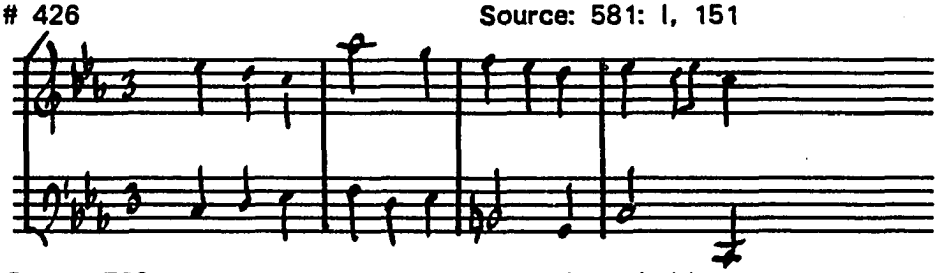
ADONIS
Passacaille



Date: 1696 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: c **Length:** 129 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 196 Duf # 426 **Source: 581: I, 151**

ELEMENS P
1ere Menuet

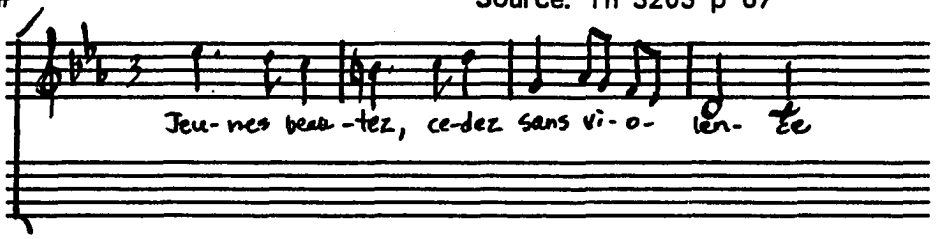


Date: 1722 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: d **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 197 Duf # -- **Source: Th^{b}3203 p 67**

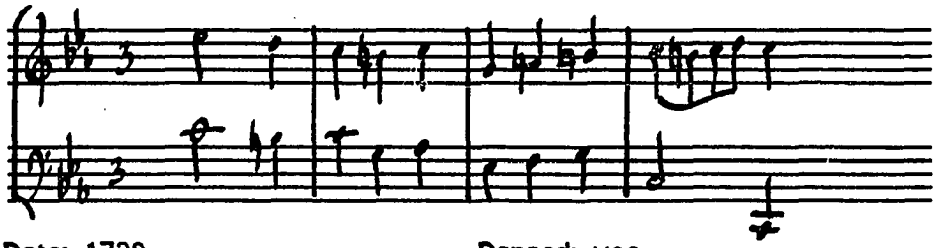
FEES I



Date: 1699E
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: S
Danced: probably not
Length: 19 m

BC # 198 Duf # 351 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 12; 581: I, 42**

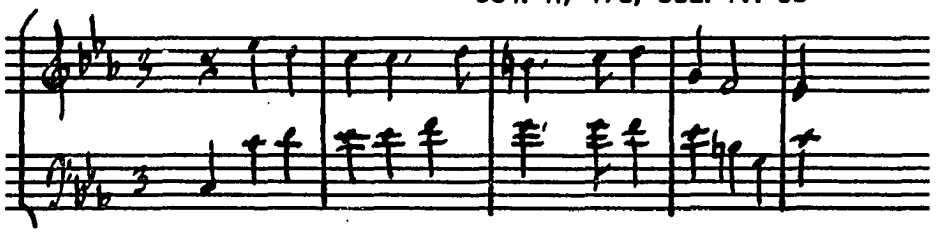
INCONNU I
1^{ere} Menuet



Date: 1720
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Danced: yes
Length: 24 m

BC # 199 Duf # 150 **Source: Vm^{6}4 f 344 ^{v}; 581: II, 173; 582: IV: 38**

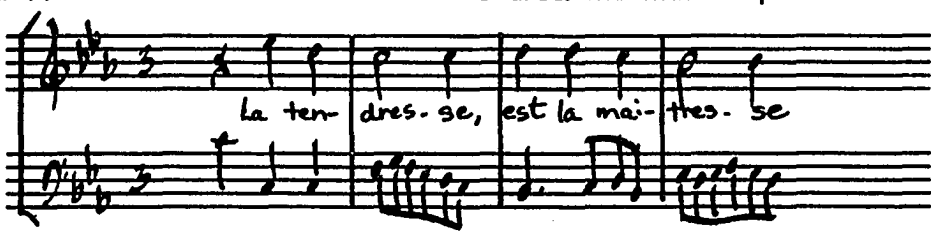
BALLET DLL
Air



Date: 1690-91
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: slightly rewritten in 582
Danced: probably
Length: 25 m

BC # 200 Duf # 77 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 125**

JEUNESSE I
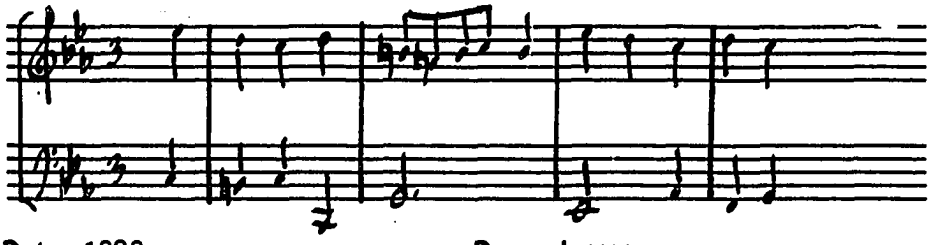


Date: 1686
Original Key: c
Original Scoring: S, Ten, B
Danced: no
Length: 52 m

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BC # 201 Duf # 46 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 17**
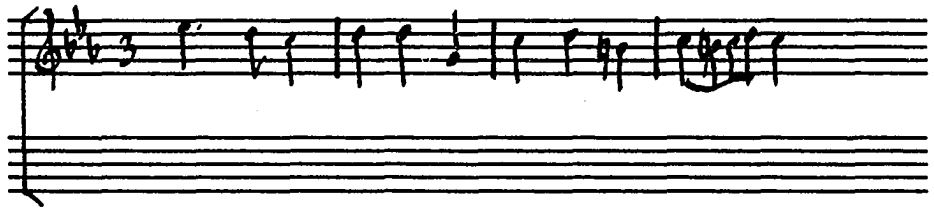
JEUNESSE I
Entrée
des Bergers



Date: 1686 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g **Length:** 41 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 202 Duf # 153 **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 345^{v}

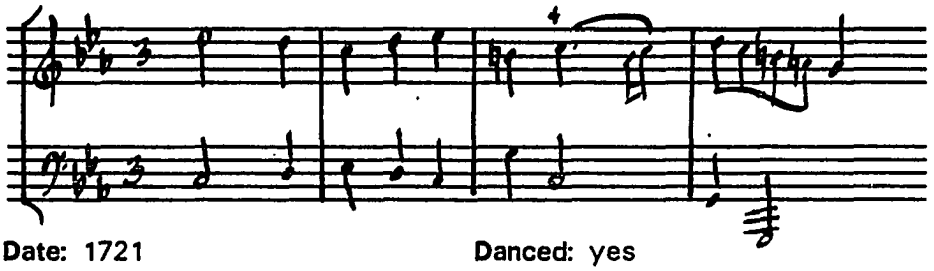
BALLET DLL
Menuet



Date: 1690-91 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: g **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 203 Duf # 416 **Source:** 581: I, 75

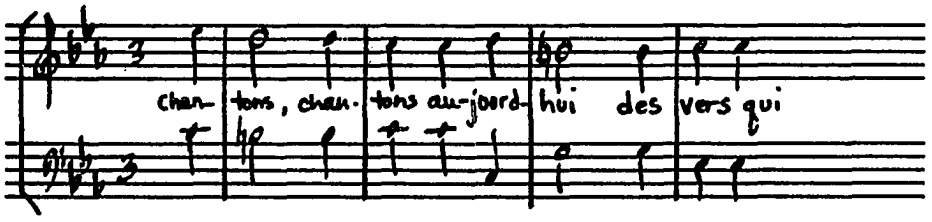
CARDENIO NF
1^{ere} Menuet



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

BC # 204 Duf # -- **Source:** Rés 538 p 14

ESCULAPE

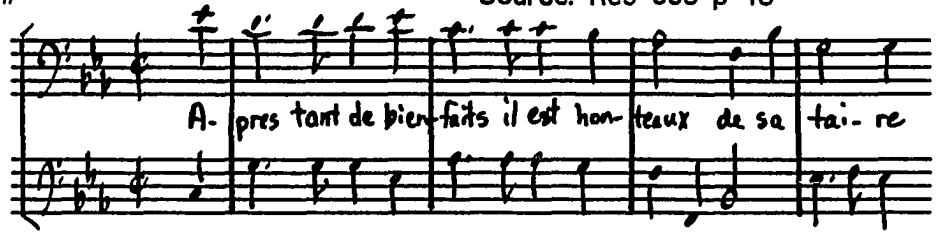


Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: S, B

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BC # 205 Duf # — **Source: Rés 538 p 18**
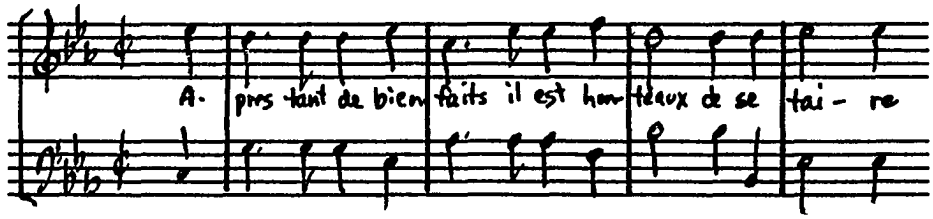
ESCULAPE



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 22 m
Original Scoring: Ten, B

BC # 206 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 538 p 19**
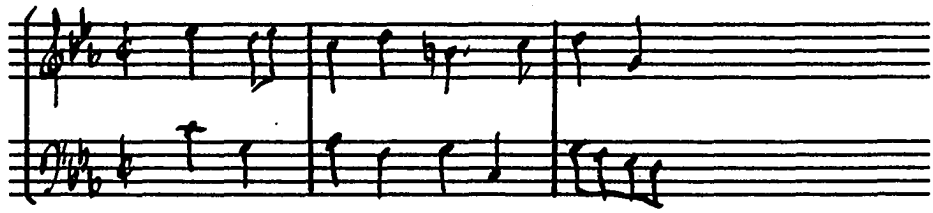
ESCULAPE



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 67 m
Original Scoring: orch a 3, ch a 4

BC # 207 Duf # 387 **Source: 581: I, 38**
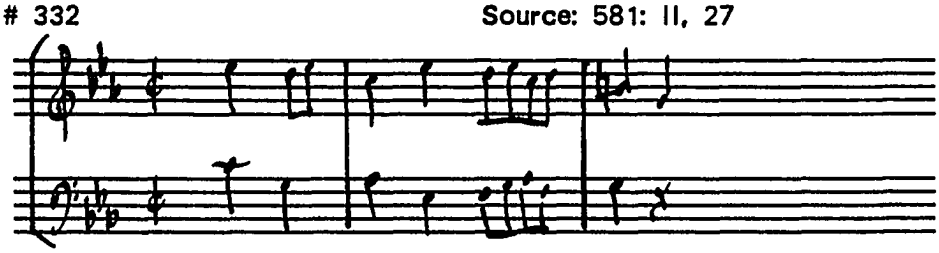
CARDENIO I
Rondeau



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: d **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 208 Duf # 332 **Source: 581: II, 27**

PAIX II
Rondeau

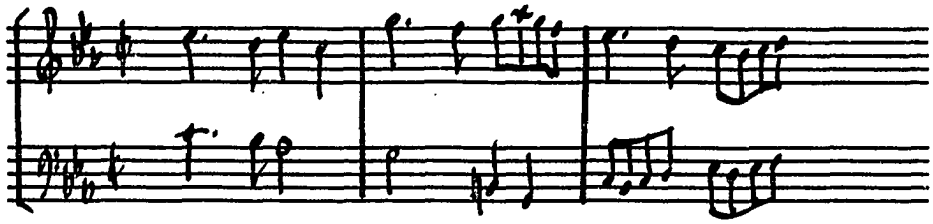


Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: e **Length:** 36 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 209 Duf # 256 **Source: 581: II, 178**
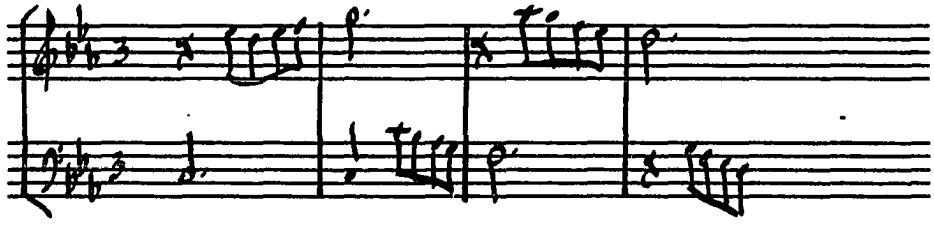
MIRTIL GE
Air pour
bergers fous



Date: 1698 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: d **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 210 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 538 p 26**
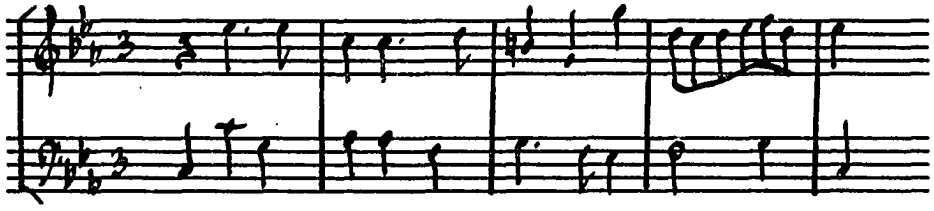
ESCULAPE
Simphonie



Date: 1683 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: d **Length: 62 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 3

BC # 211 Duf # 217 **Source: Ms 133.620 f 40^{v}**

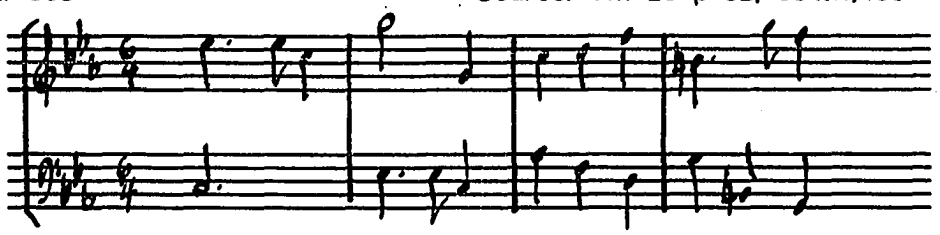
AMOUR
FLECHY
Passacaille



Date: 1697 **Danced: possibly**
Original Key: d **Length: 116 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 212 Duf # 363 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 32; 581:II,199**

INCONNU III
Loure
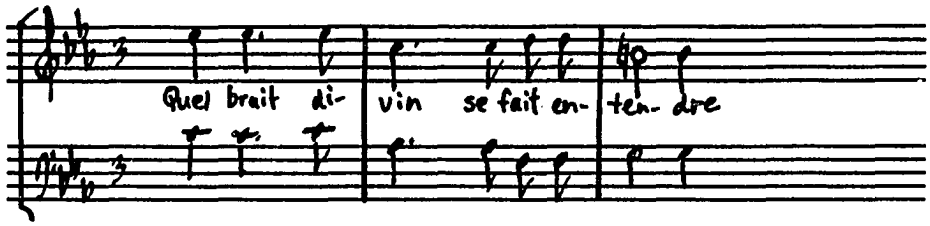


Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: c **Length: 26 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 213 Duf # -- **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 241
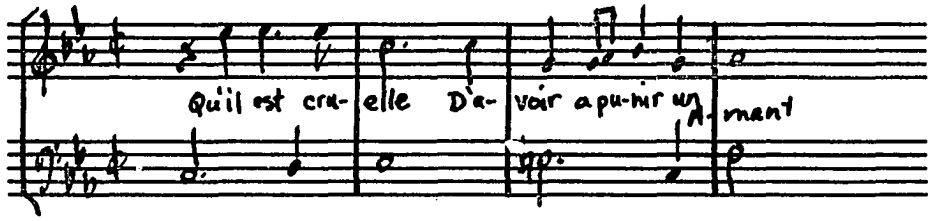
JEUNESSE III



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 35 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

BC # 214 Duf # 74 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 111
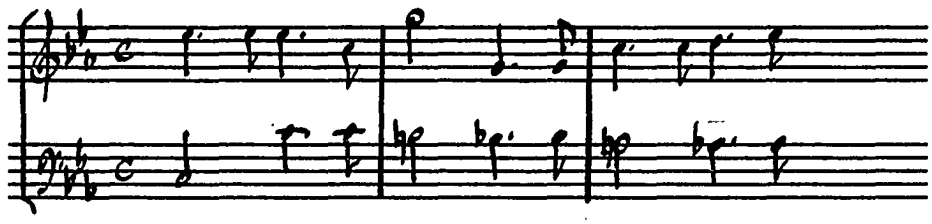
JEUNESSE I



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: c **Length:** 73 m
Original Scoring: S, orch a 5

BC # 215 Duf # 12 **Source:** Rés 537 p 1; 581: II, 16
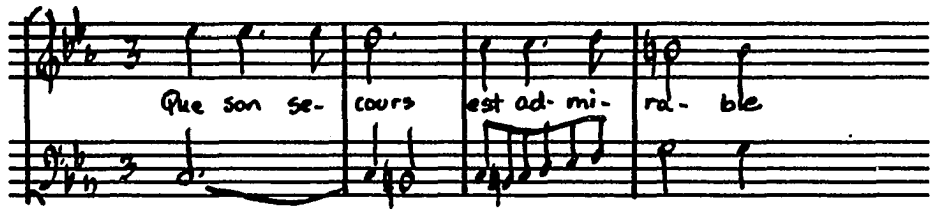
FOUNTAINES
Overture



Date: 1683 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 15 + 8 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5
Remarks: 1st part of overture

BC # 216 Duf # -- **Source:** Rés 538 p 13

ESCULAPE
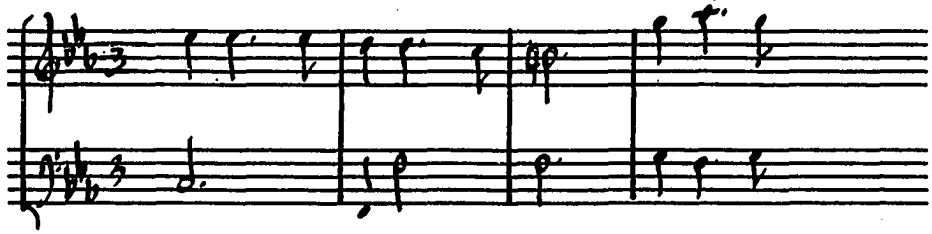


Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 27 m
Original Scoring: S, A, B

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BC # 217 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 538 p 4**

ESCULAPE
Ritournelle
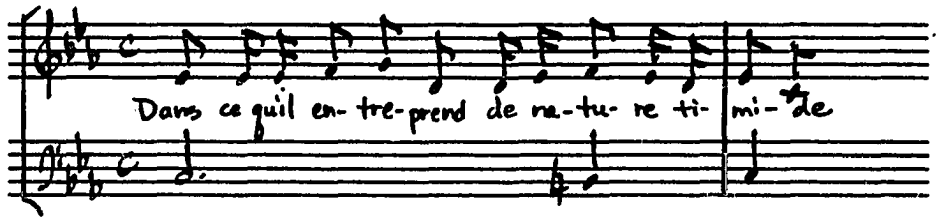


Date: 1683
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: orch a 3

Danced: probably not
Length: 19 m

BC # 218 Duf #--- **Source: Rés 538 p 5**

ESCULAPE

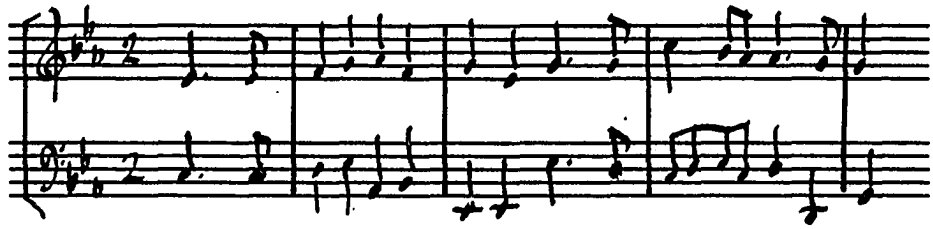


Date: 1683
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: A, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 4 m

BC # 219 Duf # 140 **Source: 581: II, 168;**
582: VI: 58; Vm^{6}5 f 312^{v}

PALAIS III
Gavotte
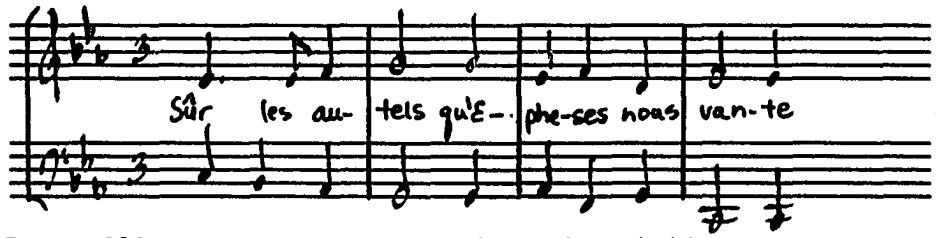


Date: 1689
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: probably
Length: 12 m

BC # 220 Duf # 135 **Source: 581: II, 169;**
582: VI: 58; Vn^{6}5 f 312^{v}

PALAIS III
Sarabande



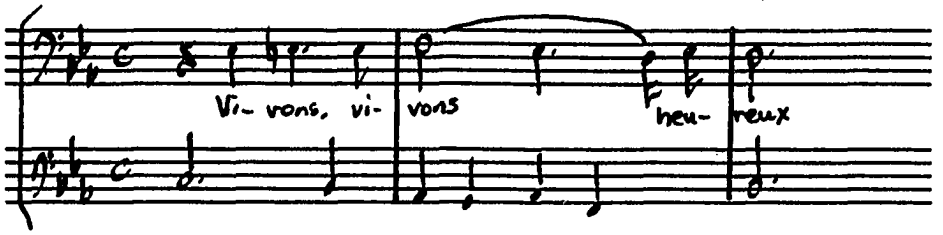
Date: 1689
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr, S, B
Remarks: sung dance

Danced: probably
Length: 24 m

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BC # 221 Duf # -- **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 15**

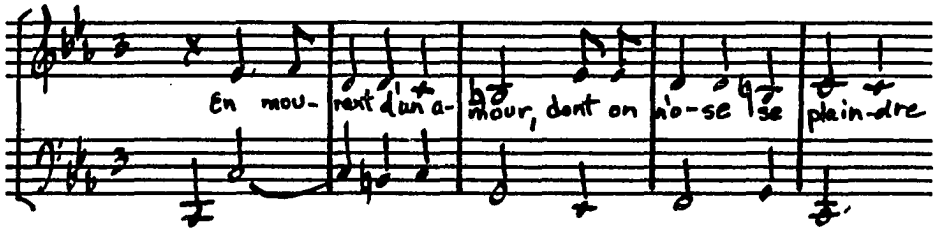
JEUNESSE I



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: g **Length: 12 m**
Original Scoring: Ten, B

BC # 222 Duf # --- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 27[r]**

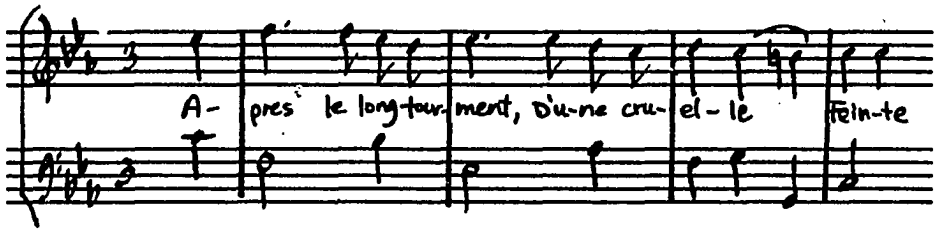
AMOUR FLECHY IV



Date: 1697 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: g **Length: 25 m**
Original Scoring: S, A, B

BC # 223 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 44[v]**
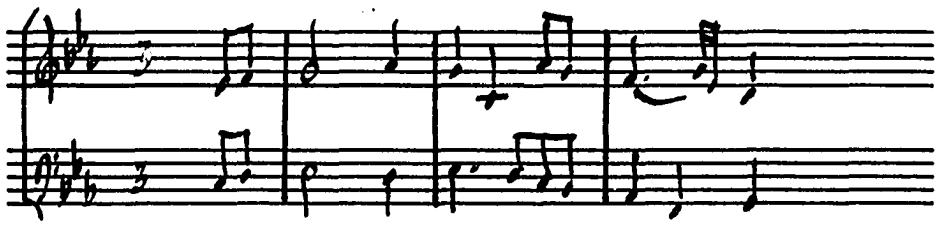
AMOUR FLECHY III



Date: 1697 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: a **Length: 39 m**
Original Scoring: S, A, B

BC # 224 Duf # 429 **Source: 581: I, 138**

ELEMENS
Air tendre
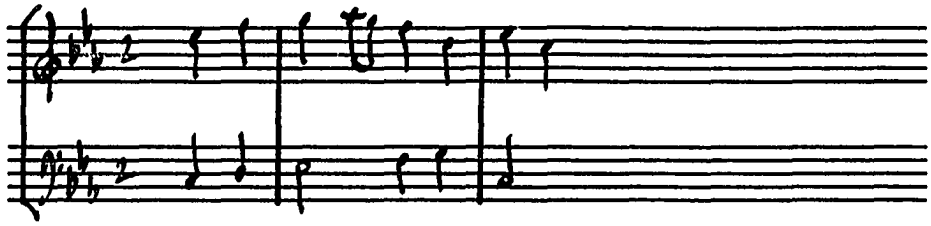


Date: 1722 **Danced: possibly**
Original Key: g **Length: 14 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 225 Duf # 263 **Source: 581: II, 165; 582: X: 109**

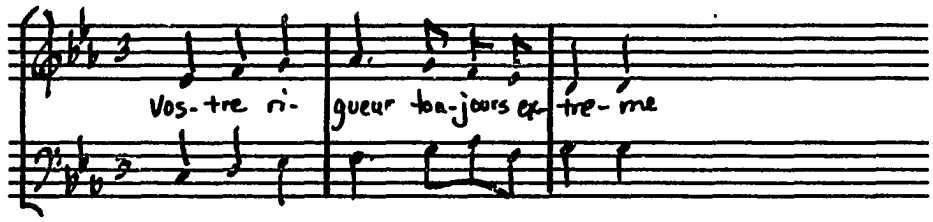
FEES I
Gavotte



Date: 1699 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: d **Length: 12 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 226 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 44 r**
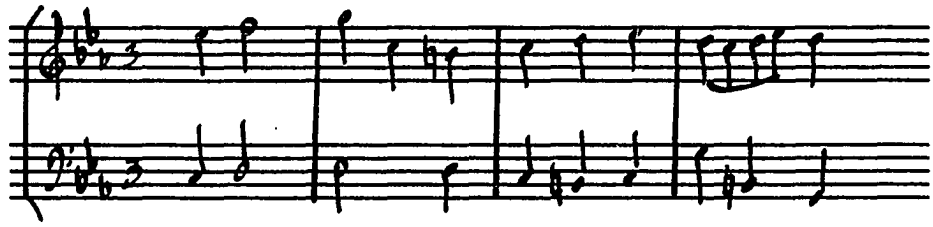
AMOUR
FLECHY VI



Date: 1697 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: a **Length: 17 m**
Original Scoring: A, B

BC # 227 Duf # 390 **Source: 581: II, 225**
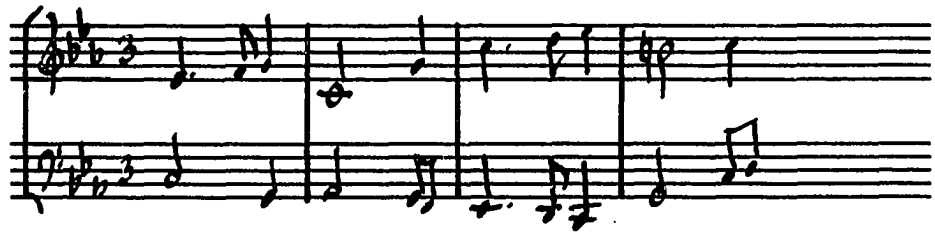
CARDENIO I
Menuet



Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 228 Duf # 255 **Source: 581: II, 168**

MIRTIL GE
Air pour
les pastres

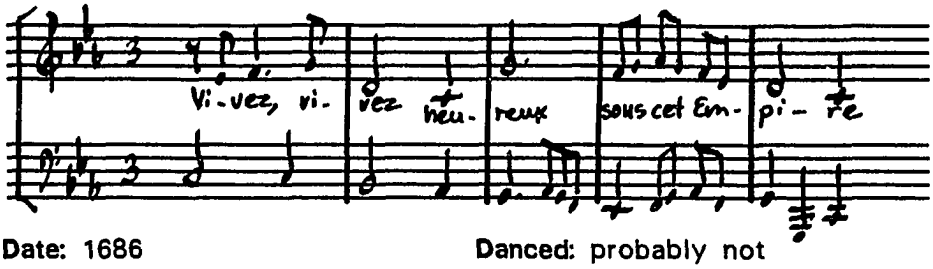


Date: 1698 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: g **Length: 24 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 229 Duf # 29 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 23**
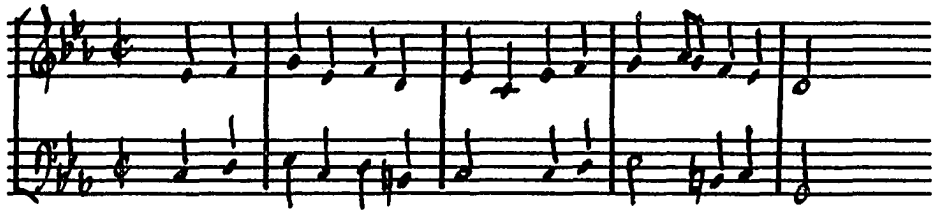
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: g **Length: 22 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 230 Duf # 410 **Source: 581: I, 77**
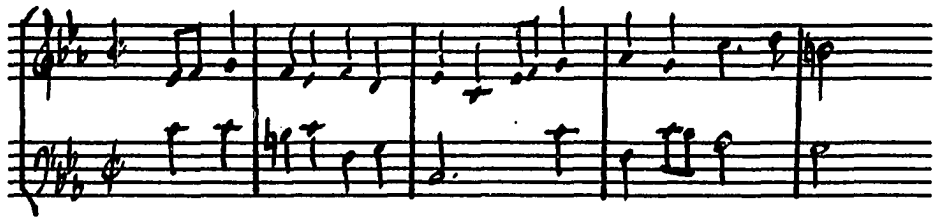
CARDENIO II
Musette



Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: g **Length: 40 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B, B

BC # 231 Duf # 415 **Source: 581: I, 82**
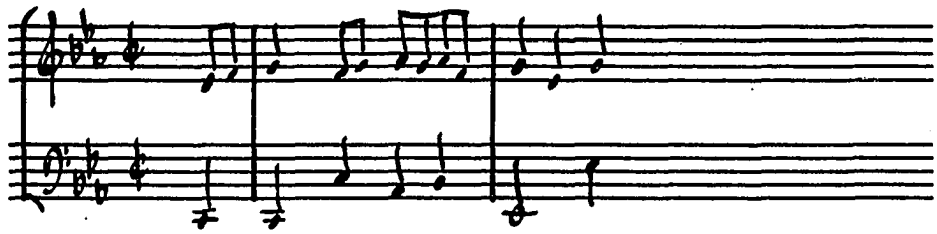
CARDENIO NF
2eme Bourée



Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: g **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

BC # 232 Duf # 279 **Source: 581: II, 3;**
Res 1897 p 151

HYMEN
Trio
d'hautbois
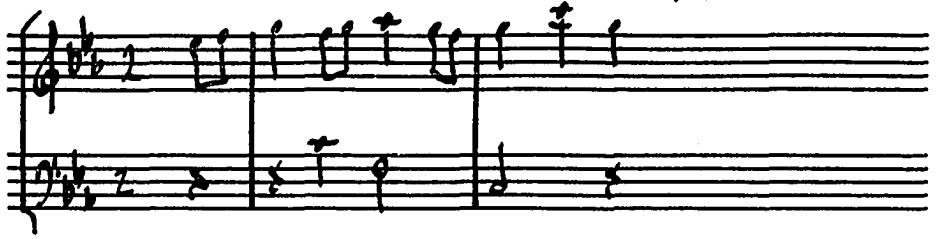


Date: 1700 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: g **Length: 12 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

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BC # 233 Duf # 400 **Source: 581: II, 125**
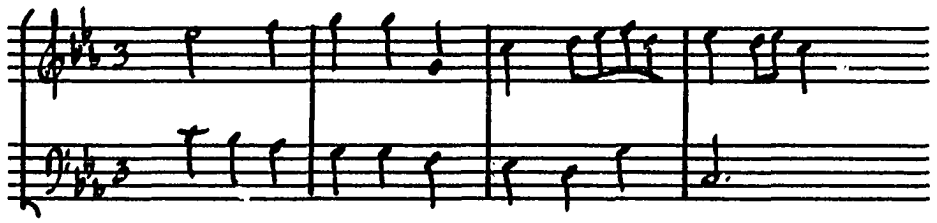
CARDENIO I
2eme Bourée



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: a **Length:** 8 m
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

BC # 234 Duf # -- **Source: 581: II, 98; 582: VI: 55**
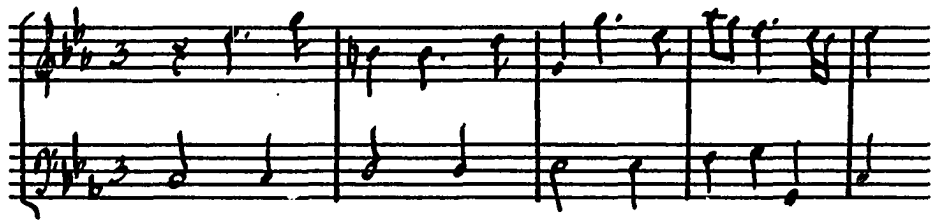
PALAIS II
Menuet



Date: 1689 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: d **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 235 Duf # 145 **Source:** 581: II, 153;
582: VI: 62; $Vm^{6}5$ f 309^{v}

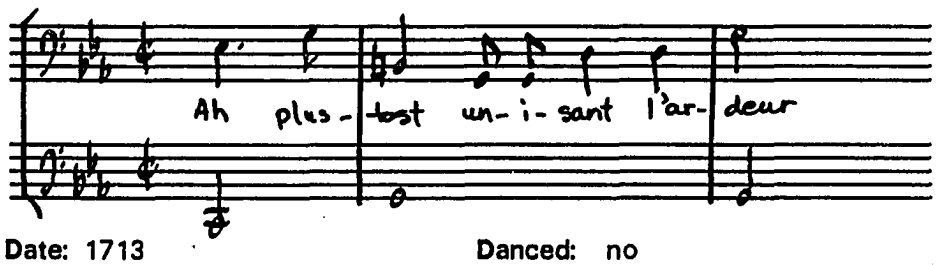
PALAIS V
Passacaille



Date: 1689 **Danced:** probably
Original Key:c **Length:** 225 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 236 Duf # 316 **Source:** Ms 9354 p 85

PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: g **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Bar, B

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BC # 237 Duf #-- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 16^{r}**

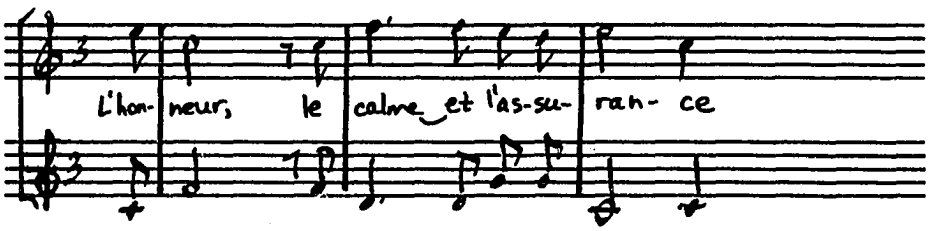
AMOUR
FLECHY II



Date: 1697 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 103 m
Original Scoring: ch a 3, ch a 4, orch a 5

BC # 238 Duf # 289 **Source: Ms 9354 p 14**
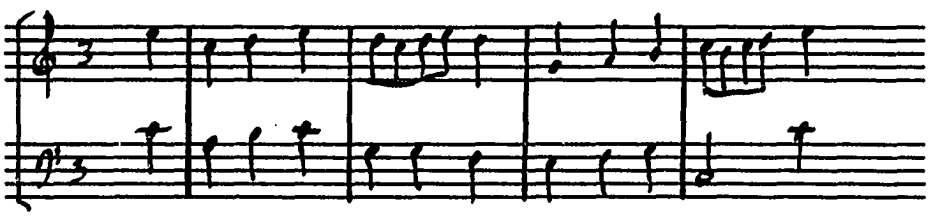
PAIX I



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: D **Length:** 23 m
Original Scoring: S, S, B

BC # 239 Duf # 67 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 85**
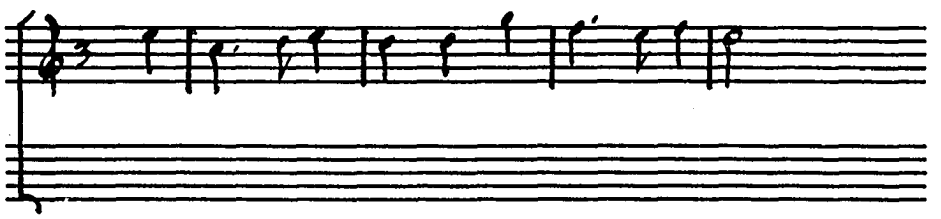
JEUNESSE P
Passepied



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 240 Duf # 134 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 311^{v}**

PALAIS IV
Air



Date: 1689 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 26 m
Original Scoring: Tr

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BC # 241 Duf # 127 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 311^{r}**
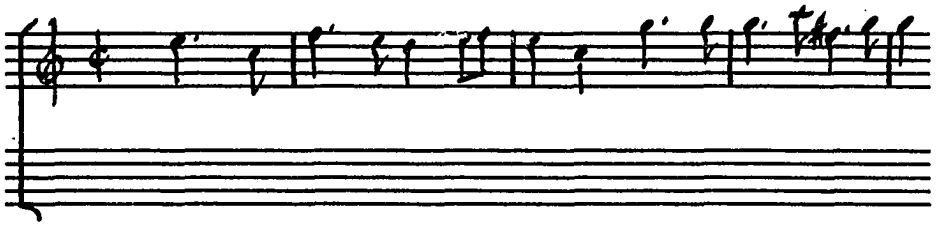
PALAIS II
Bourée



Date: 1689 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 24 m**
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 242 Duf # 141 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 312^{v}**
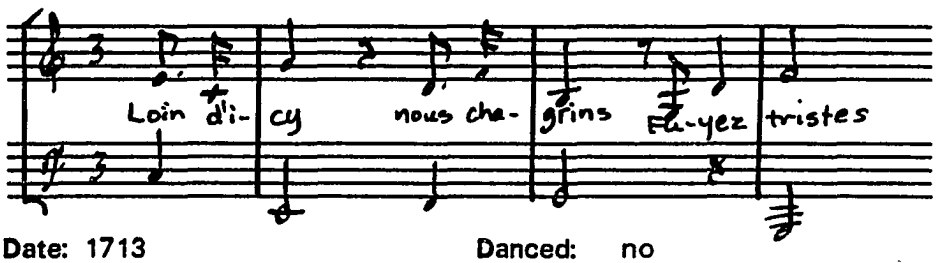
PALAIS IV
Prélude



Date: 1689 **Danced: possibly**
Original Key: D **Length: 10 m**
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 243 Duf # 300 **Source: Ms 9354 p 43**

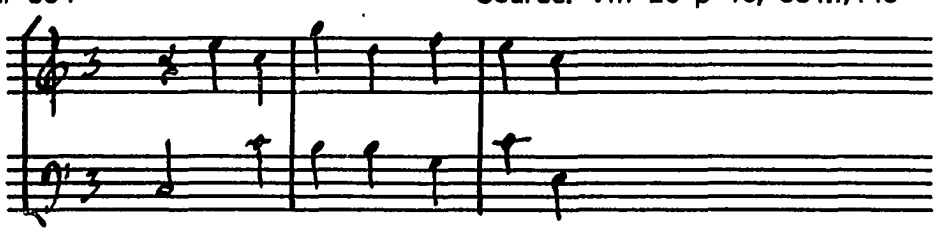
PAIX III
Air



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: G **Length: 51 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 244 Duf # 354 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 16; 581:I,145**

INCONNU I
Sarabande
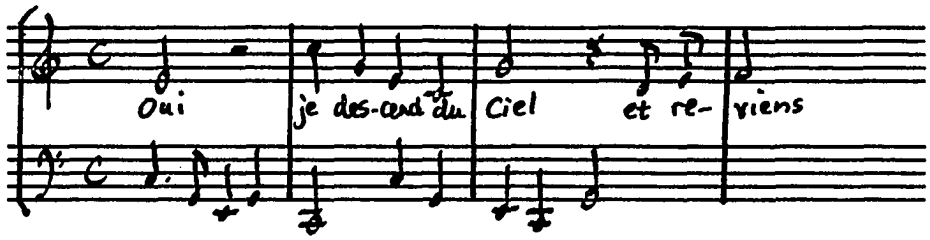


Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 49 m**
Original Scoring:Tr, B

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BC # 245 Duf # 299 **Source: Ms 9354 p 41**
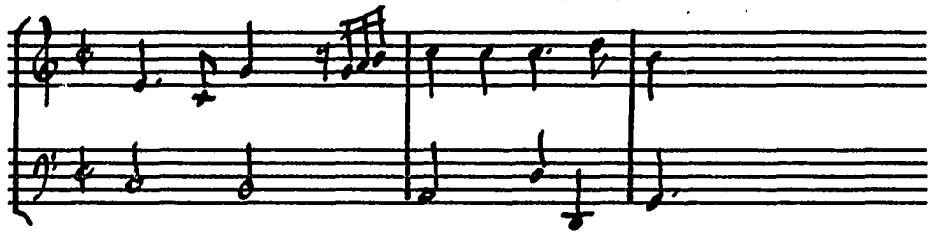
PAIX III



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: G **Length: 20 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 246 Duf # 142 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 313^{r}; 581: II, 49; 582: VI: 44**

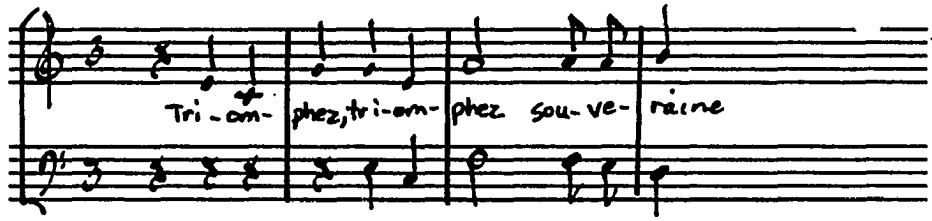
PALAIS V
Grand Air



Date: 1689 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: G **Length: 28 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 247 Duf #428 **Source: 581: I, 135**
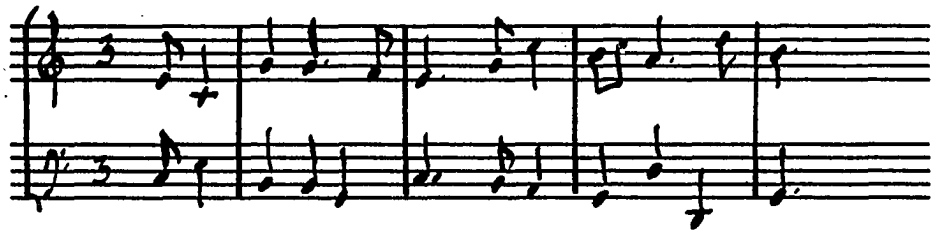
ELEMENS P



Date: 1722 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: G **Length: 78 m**
Original Scoring: S, Tr, Bs

BC # 248 Duf #379 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 67; 581:II,222**

INCONNU NF
Loure
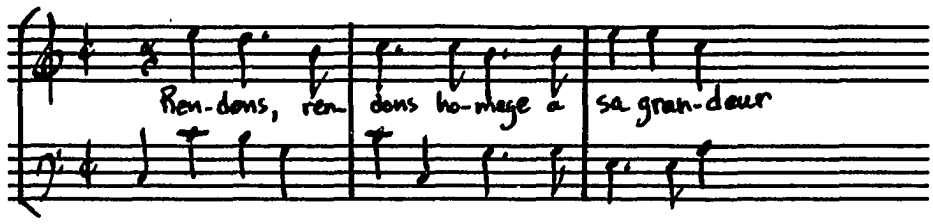


Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: G **Length: 8 m**
Original Scoring:Tr, B

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BC # 249 Duf # 35 **Source: Rés 537 p 36**
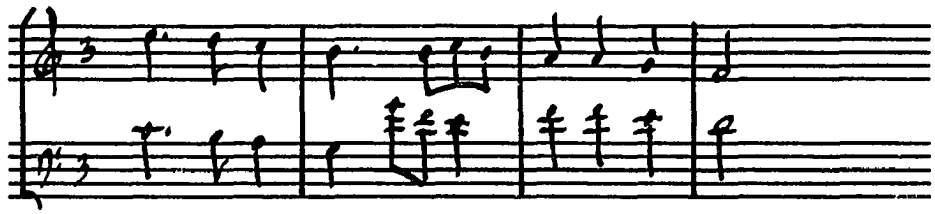
FOUNTAINES
VI



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: C **Length:** 55 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

BC # 250 Duf # 96 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 234**
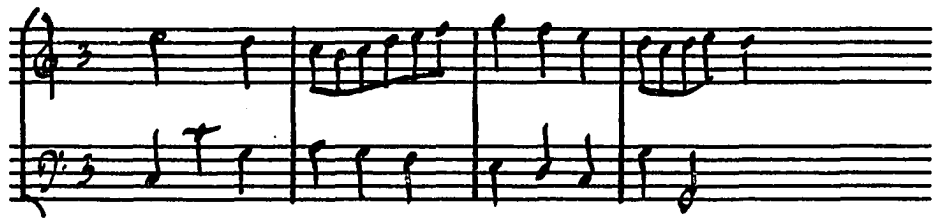
JEUNESSE III
Air des
Candiots



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: F **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 251 Duf # 403 **Source:** 581: II, 123
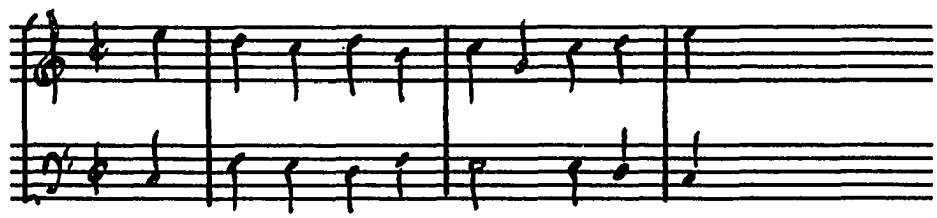
CARDENIO I
Menuet



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: A **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 252 Duf # 381 **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 69; 581:II,202

INCONNU NF
Rigaudon
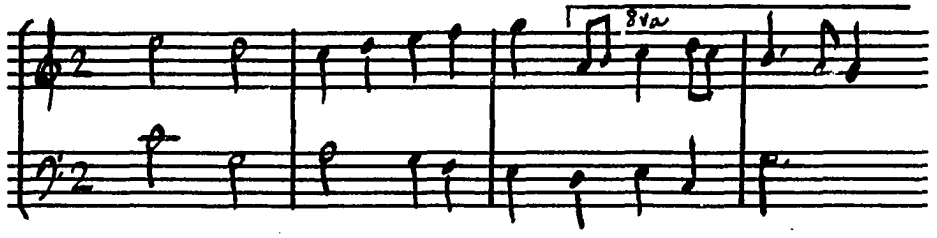


Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 12 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 253 Duf # 396 **Source: 581: II, 107**
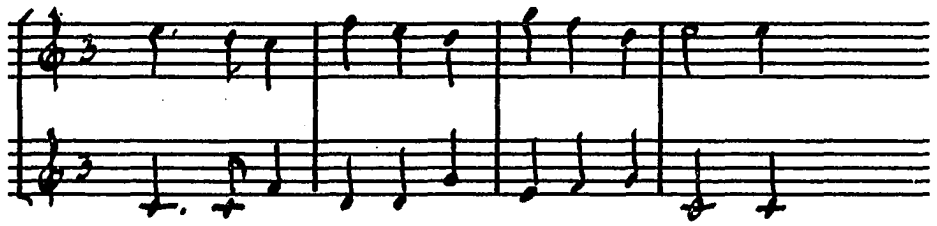
CARDENIO I
Marche



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: A **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 254 Duf # 108 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 262
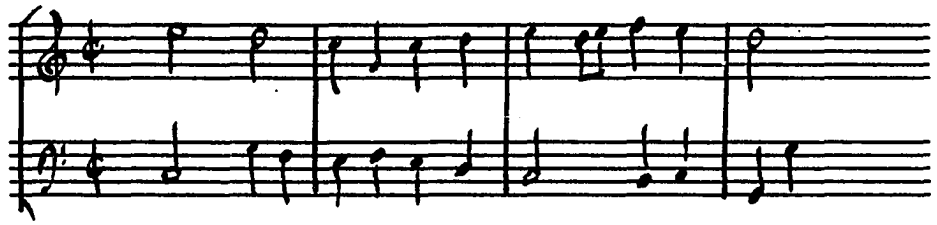
JEUNESSE III
Sarabande



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: A **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 255 Duf # 353 **Source:** Vm°26 p 14;
581: I, 144
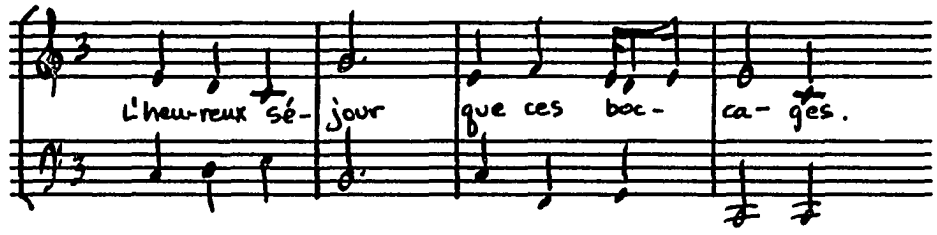
INCONNU I
Bourée



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 40 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 256 Duf # 205 **Source: 581: II, 191**

ADONIS
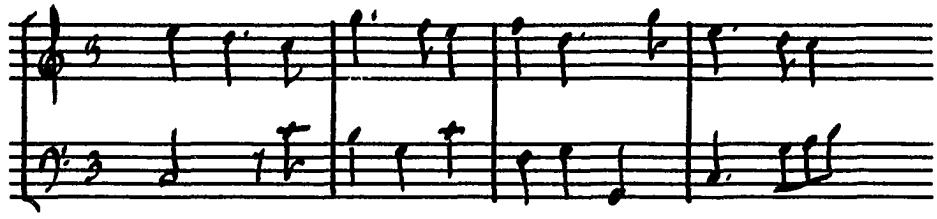


Date: 1696 **Danced:** no
Original Key: G **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: T, B

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BC # 257 Duf # 328 **Source: 581: II, 108**
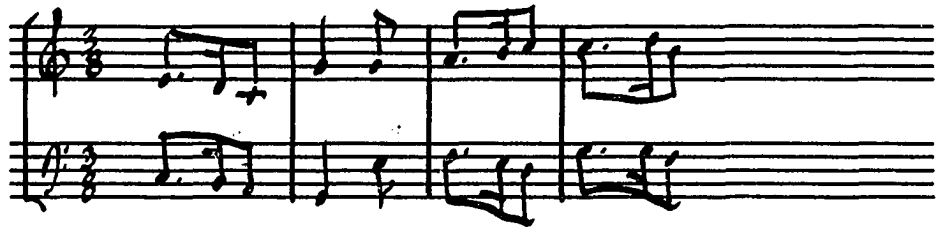
PAIX II
Sarabande



Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: A **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 258 Duf # -- **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 37
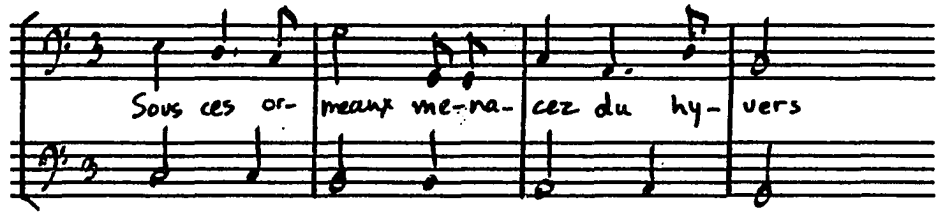
INCONNU IV
Marche



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: G **Length:** 35 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 259 Duf # -- **Source:** Ms 133.620 f 47^{r}
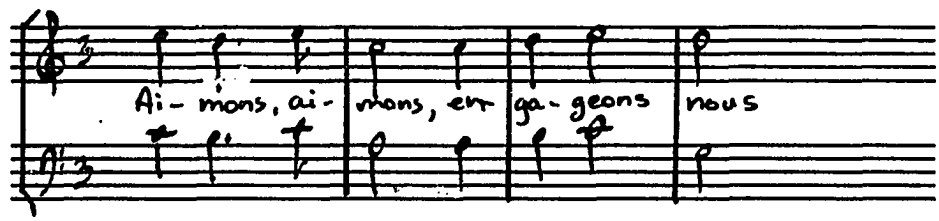
AMOUR
FLECHY VIII



Date: 1697 **Danced:** no
Original Key: D **Length:** 80 m
Original Scoring: Bar, orch a 5

BC # 260 Duf # -- **Source:** Ms 133.620 f 29^{r}

AMOUR
FLECHY V
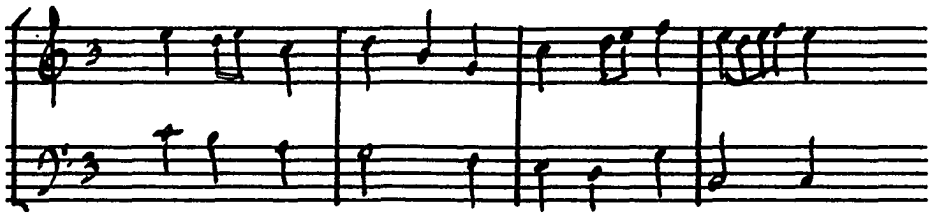


Date: 1697 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 100 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

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BC # 261 Duf # 125

Source: 581: II, 98;
582: VI: 55; Vm^{6}5 f 310^{v}

PALAIS II
Meneut



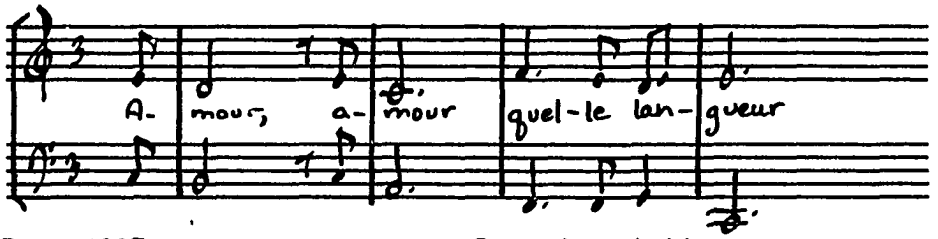
Date: 1689
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: probably
Length: 16 m

BC # 262 Duf # --

Source: Ms 133.620 f 54^{r}

AMOUR
FLECHY IX
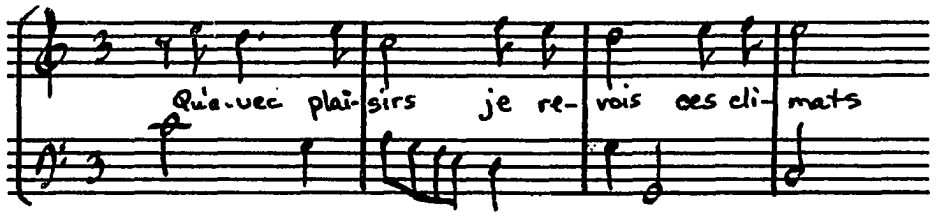


Date: 1697
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

Danced: probably not
Length: 82 m

BC # 263 Duf # 292

Source: Ms 9354 p 23

PAIX II
Air



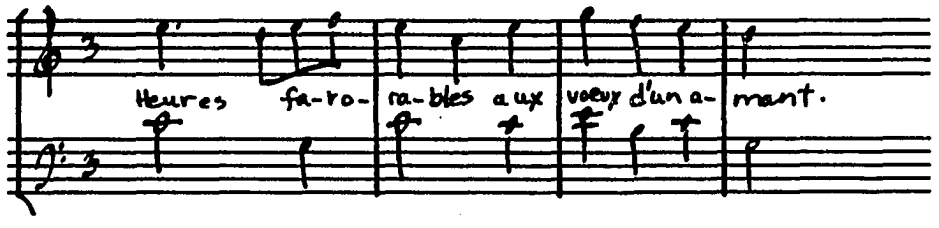
Date: 1713
Original Key: A
Original Scoring: S, B

Danced: no
Length: 26 m

BC # 264 Duf # 431

Source: 581: I, 139

ELEMENS I



Date: 1722
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: S, B
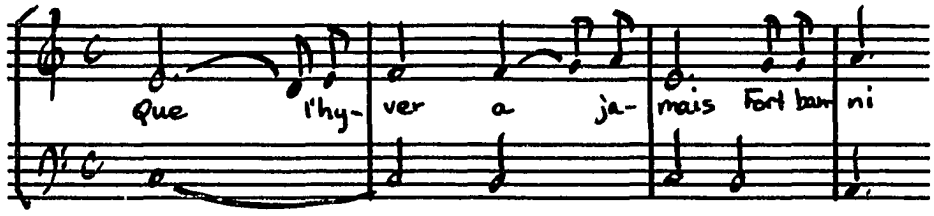
Danced: probably not
Length: 30 m

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BC # 265 Duf # --

Source: Rés 537 p 10

FOUNTAINES III



Date: 1683
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: S, B
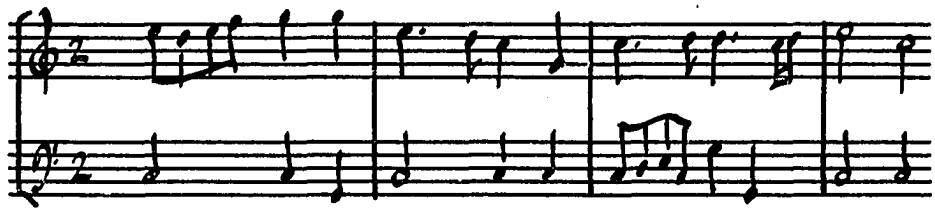
Danced: no
Length: 42 m

BC # 266 Duf # 164

Source: Vm^{6}5 f 347^{v}; 581: I, 99

BALLET ST LOUIS

Trompette en rondeau



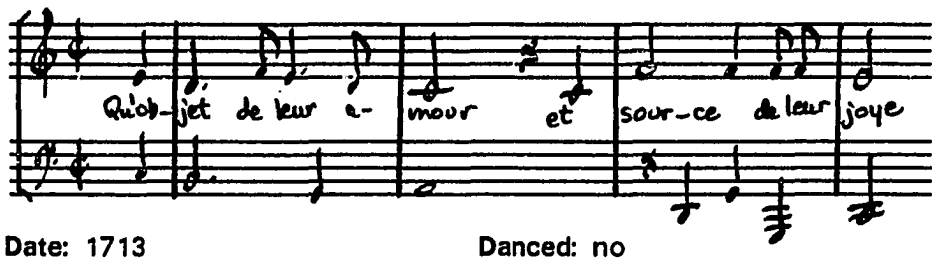
Date: 1691
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: probably
Length: 40 m

BC # 267 Duf # --

Source: Ms 9354 p 51

PAIX III



Date: 1713
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: S, B

Danced: no
Length: 31 m

BC # 268 Duf # 315

Source: Ms 9354 p 82

PAIX IV
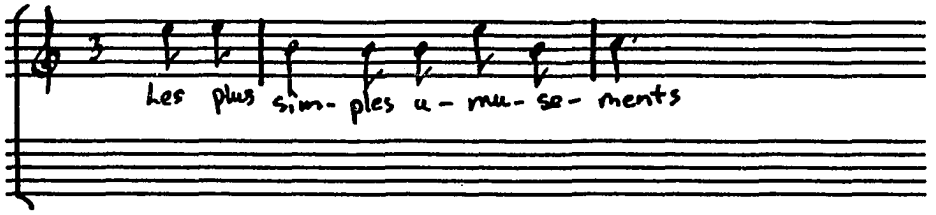


Date: 1713
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: S, B

Danced: no
Length: 11 m

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BC # 269 Duf # -- **Source: Th^{b}3203 p 54**
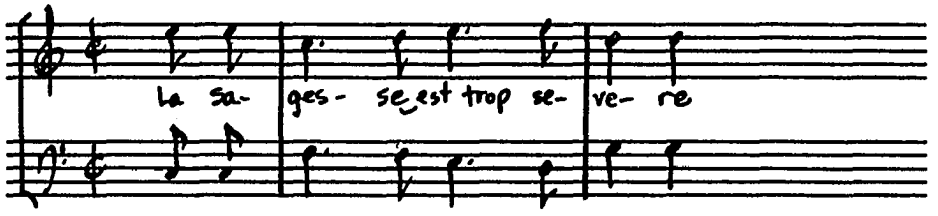
FEES P



Date: 1699 **Danced:** no
Original Key: B^b **Length:** 14 m
Original Scoring: S

BC # 270 Duf # -- **Source: Th^{b}3203 p 83**

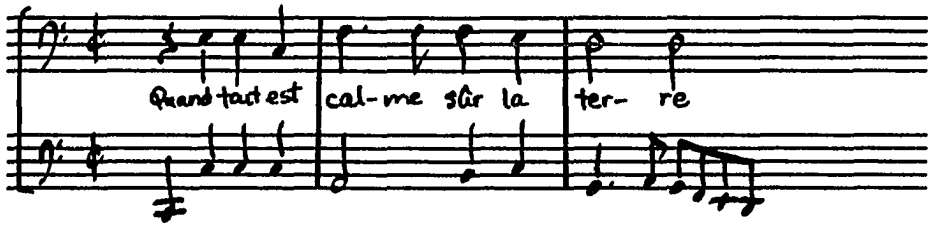
FEES III



Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: presumably for full choir

BC # 271 **Duf # 52** **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 42**

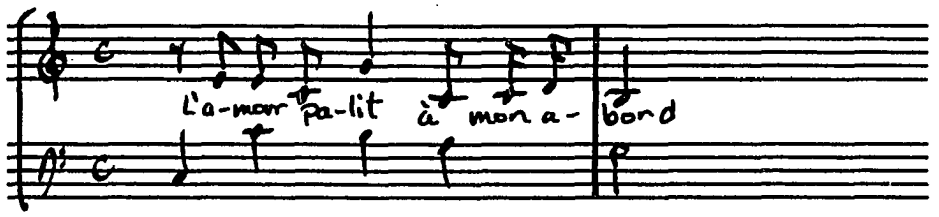
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 27 m
Original Scoring: Ten, Bs, B

BC # 272 **Duf # 102** **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 255**

JEUNESSE III
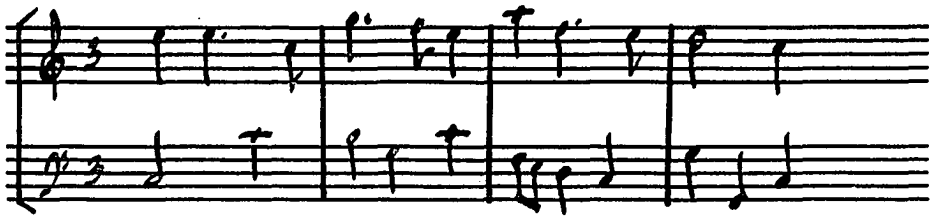


Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: A **Length:** 11m
Original Scoring: A, B

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BC # 273 **Duf # 79** **Source:** Mus Ms 79 p 130; Vm^{6}5 f 346^{r}

JEUNESSE II; BALLET DLL
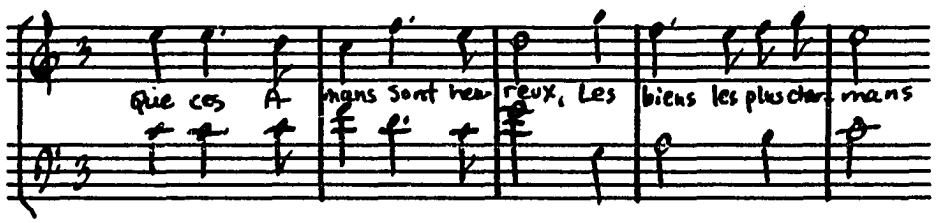
Sarabande



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: A **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5
Remarks: major rewriting of 2nd half for Ballet DLL

BC # 274 Duf # 85 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 200

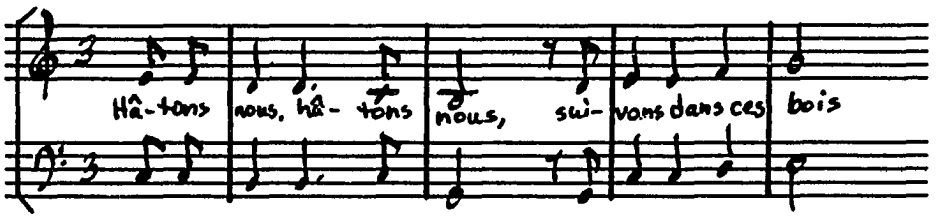
JEUNESSE III



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: C **Length:** 32 m
Original Scoring: S, S, Ten, B

BC # 275 Duf # -- **Source:** Ms 133.620 f 18^{r}

AMOUR FLECHY II



Date: 1697 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 60 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4; orch a 5

BC # 276 Duf # 53 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 44

JEUNESSE P
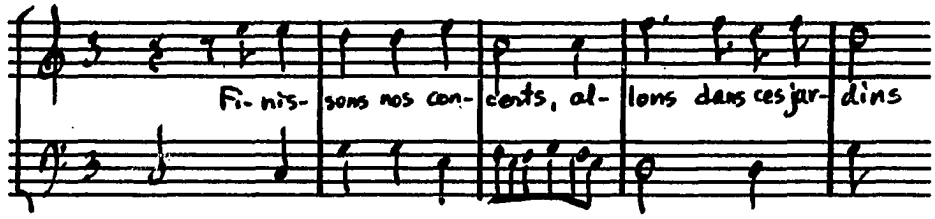


Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 80 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

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BC # 277 Duf # 37 **Source: Rés 537 p 44**

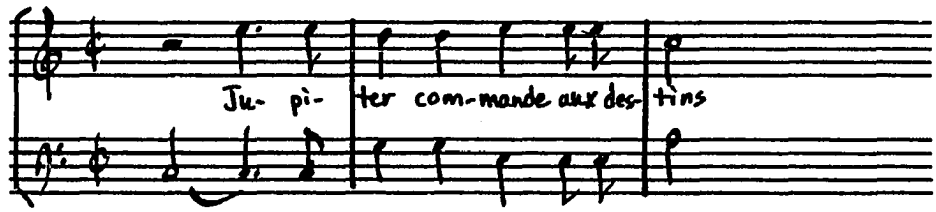
FOUNTAINES
VI



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: C **Length:** 37 m
Original Scoring: S, S, B

BC # 278 Duf # 113 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 268**
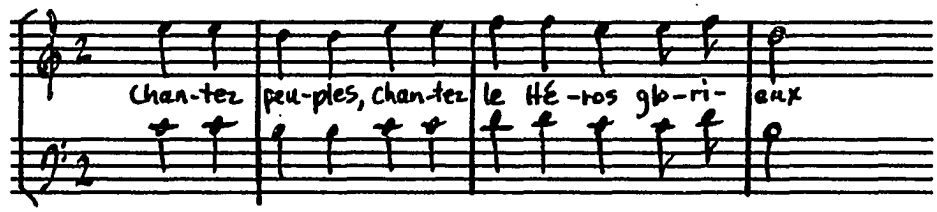
JEUNESSE III



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 76 m
Original Scoring: Bar, orch a 5

BC # 279Duf # — **Source: Th^{b}3203 p 56**

FEES P



Date: 1699 **Danced:** no
Original Key: B^{b} **Length:** 11 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 280 Duf # 327 **Source:** 581: I, 122

PAIX I
Air
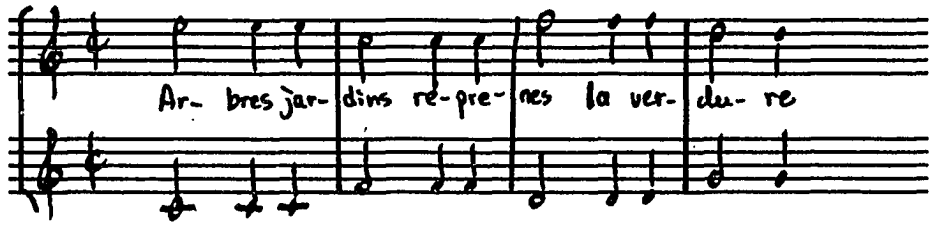


Date: 1713 **Danced:** prob not
Original Key: D **Length:** 17 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 281 Duf # 23 **Source: Rés 537 p 11**
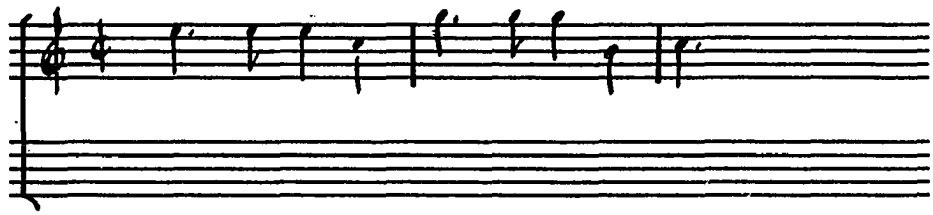
FOUNTAINES
III



Date: 1682 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: D **Length: 89 m**
Original Scoring: S, S, A; Tr, Tr, B

BC # 282 Duf # 119 **Source: Vm^{6}5 310^{r}**
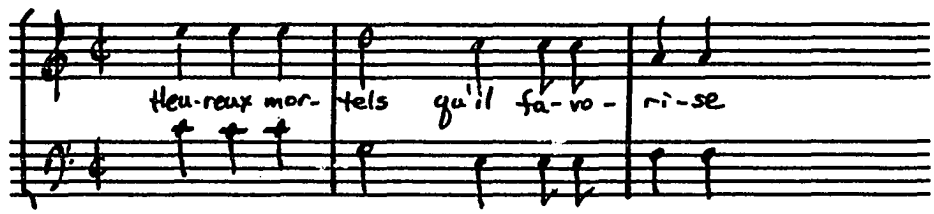
PALAIS I



Date: 1689 **Danced: possibly**
Original Key: A **Length: 19 m**
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 283 Duf # 114-115 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 276**
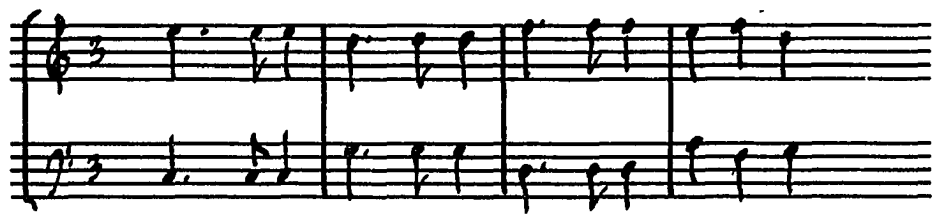
JEUNESSE III



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: D **Length: 72 m**
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

BC # 284 Duf # - **Source: Rés 538 p 1**

ESCULAPE
Overture
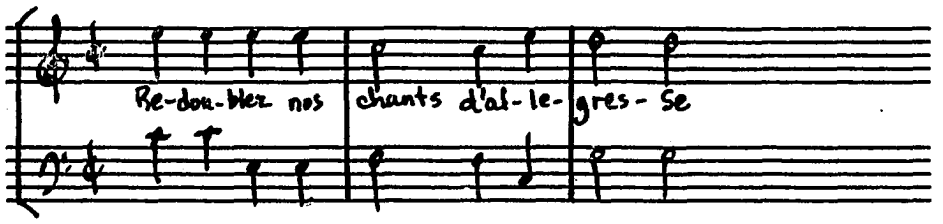


Date: 1683 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: F **Length: 141 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 3
Remarks: one-section overture

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BC # 285 Duf # 65 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 77
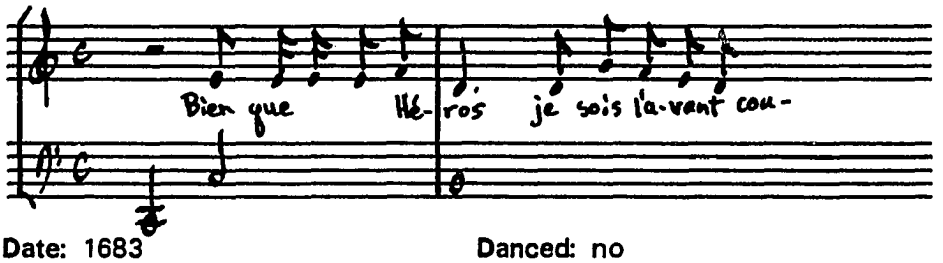
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 37 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

BC # 286 Duf # 29 **Source:** Rés 537 p 29
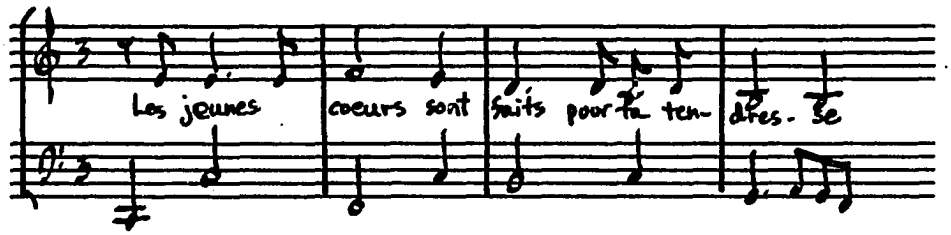
FOUNTAINES



Date: 1683 **Danced:** no
Original Key: G **Length:** 21 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 287 Duf # 62 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 66

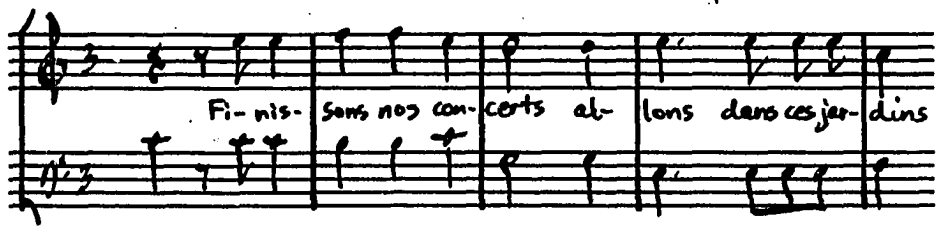
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 42
Original Scoring: S, Ten, B

BC # 288 Duf # 39 **Source:** Rés 537 p 47

FOUNTAINES VI

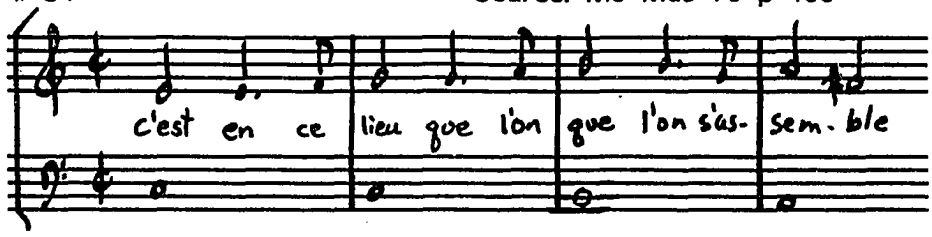


Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: C **Length:** 150 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

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BC # 289 Duf # 84 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 195**
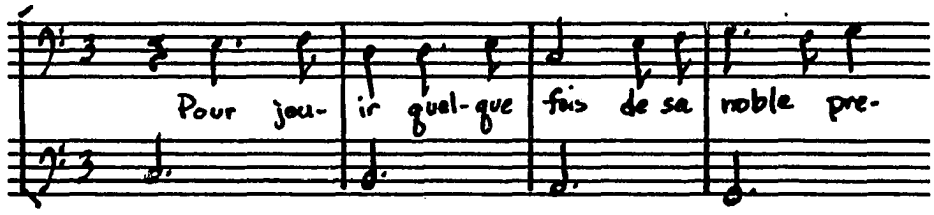
JEUNESSE III



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: C **Length: 45 m**
Original Scoring: Bar, orch a 5

BC # 290 Duf # 28 **Source: Rés 537 p 28**

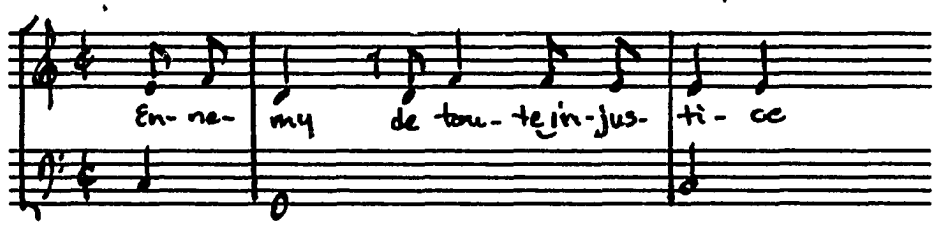
FOUNTAINES I



Date: 1683 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: G **Length: 33 m**
Original Scoring: Bar, B

BC # 291 Duf # 314 **Source: Ms 9354 p 81**

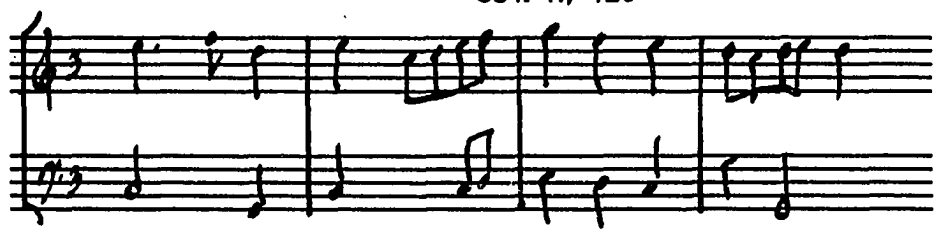
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: G **Length: 12 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 292 Duf #368 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 47; 581: II, 120**

INCONNU V
2eme Menuet
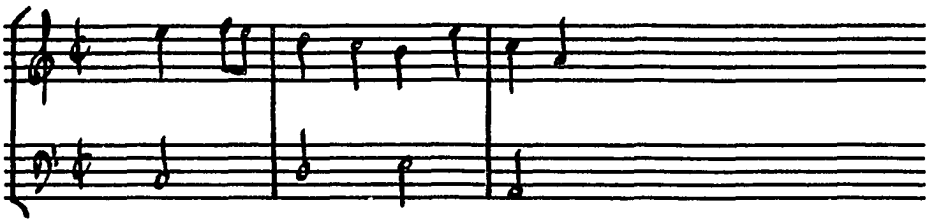


Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 20 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 293 Duf # — Source: Vm^{6}26 p 56; 581: I, 155

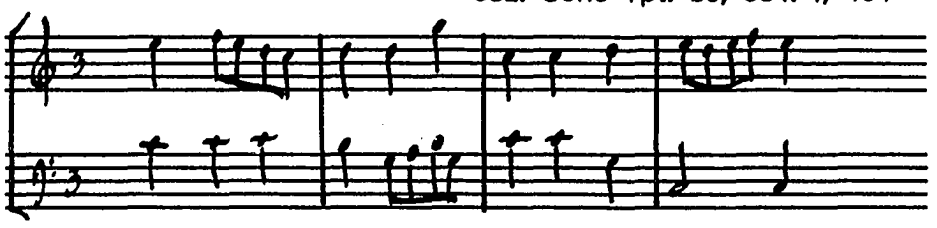
INCONNU V
Gayement



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 30 m
Original Scoring: O, V, B

BC # 294 Duf # 171 Source: Vm^{6}5 f 348^{v}; 582: Conc Tpt: 80; 581: I, 101

BALLET
ST LOUIS
Menuet



Date: 1691 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: d **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 295 Duf # 423 Source: 581: I, 116
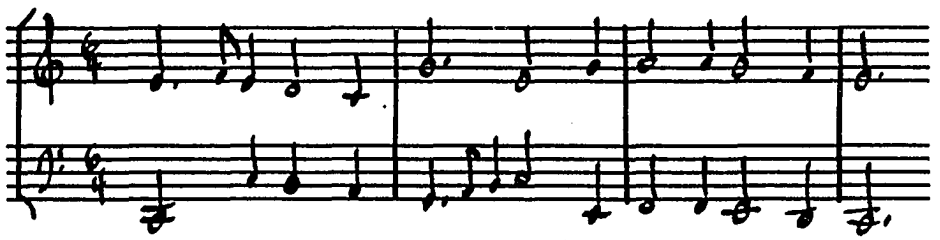
ELEMENS P
Air de
Trompettes



Date: 1722 **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: D **Length:** 67 m
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

BC # 296 Duf # 407 Source: 581: I, 84

CARDENIO I
Contredanse
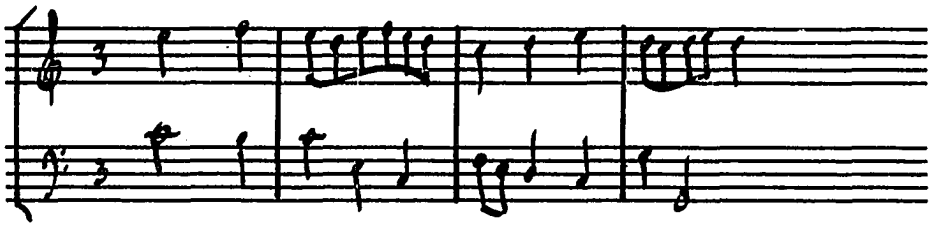


Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: G **Length:** 56 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 297 **Duf # 352** **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 13; 581: I, 42
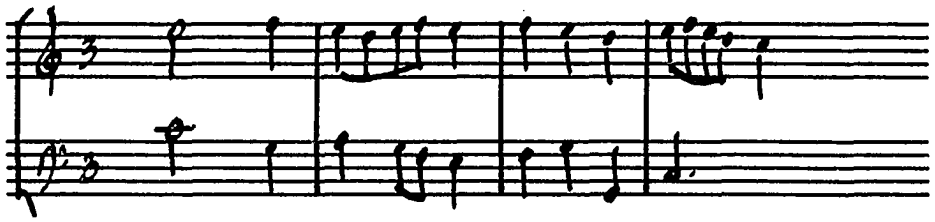
INCONNU I
2eme Menuet



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 298 Duf # 393 **Source:** 581: II, 226
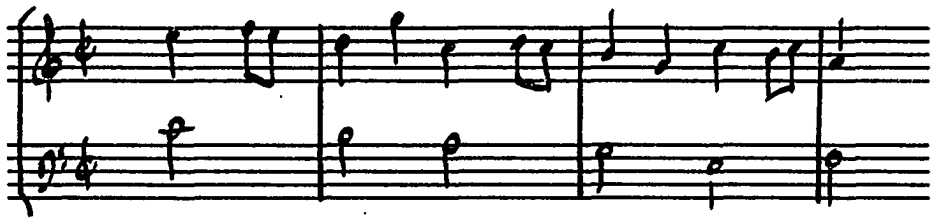
CARDENIO I
Menuet
en trio



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

BC # 299 Duf # 422 **Source:** 581: I, 118
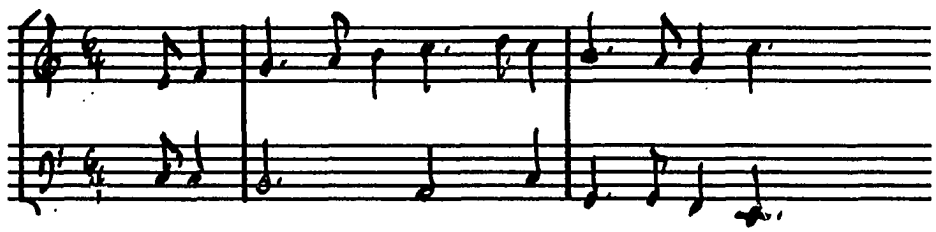
CARDENIO NF
Rondeau



Date: 1721 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 56 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 300 Duf # 143 **Source:** 581: I, 8; 582: VI: 59; Vm^{6}5 f 313^{r}

PALAIS III
Gigue
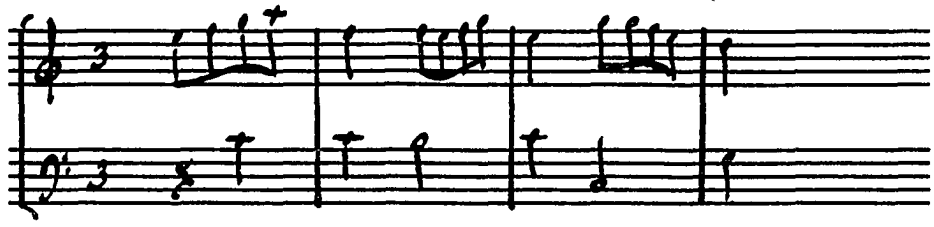


Date: 1689 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: G **Length:** 23 m
Original Scoring: T, B

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BC # 301 Duf # 20 **Source: Rés 537 p 9**

FOUNTAINES
II
Ritournelle
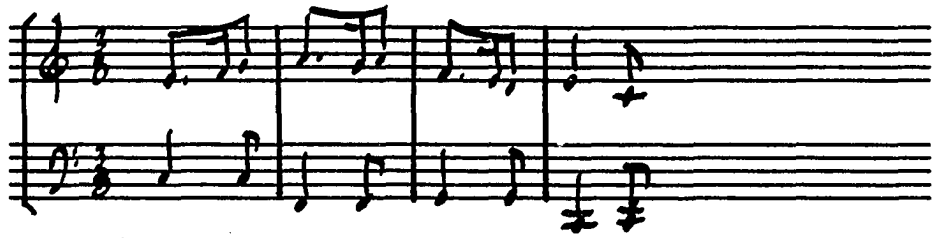


Date: 1683
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 24 m

BC # 302 Duf # 100 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 251**

JEUNESSE III
Canaris
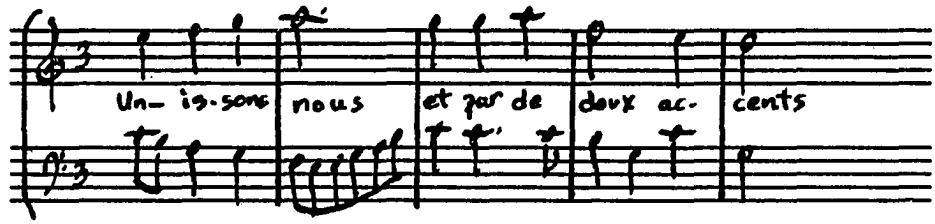


Date: 1686
Original Key: A
Original Scoring: orch a 3

Danced: probably
Length: 24 m

BC # 303 Duf # 107 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 261**

JEUNESSE III
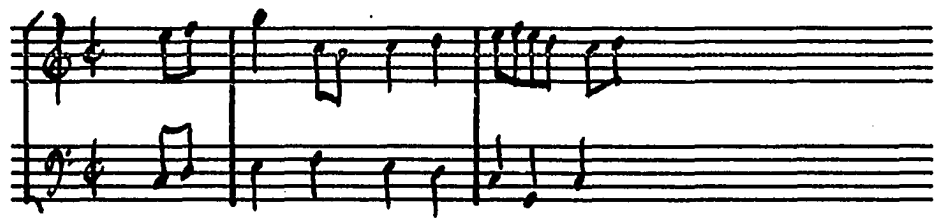


Date: 1686
Original Key: A
Original Scoring: S, A, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 17 m

BC # 304 Duf # 392 **Source: 581: I, 17**

CARDENIO I
Bouree
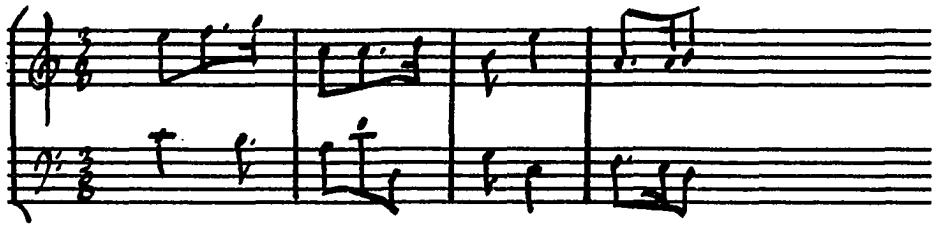


Date: 1721
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: yes
Length: 10 m

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BC # 305 Duf # 130 — **Source:** 581: II, 91; 582: VI: 60; Vm^{6}5 f 311^{r}
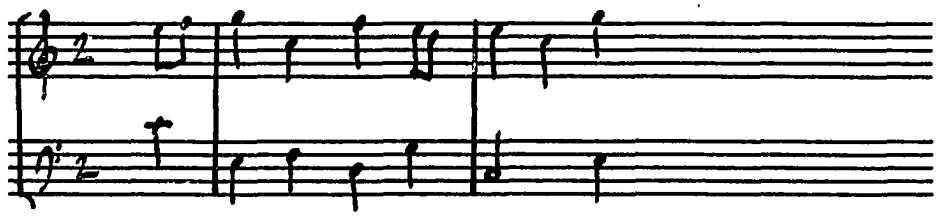
PALAIS IV
Air pour
la Gloire



Date: 1689 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: C — **Length:** 38 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 306 Duf # 399 — **Source:** 581: II, 124

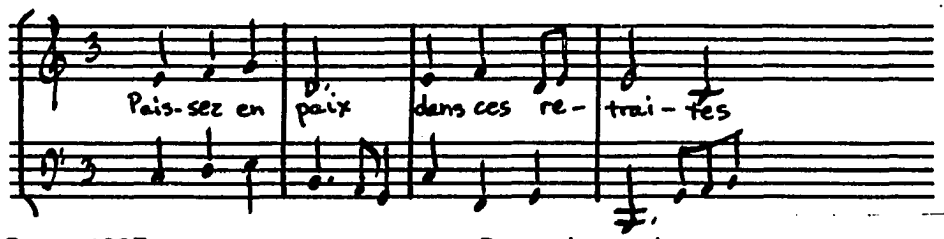
CARDENIO I
1^{ere} Bourée



Date: 1721 — **Danced:** yes
Original Key: A — **Length:** 12 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 307 Duf # 214 — **Source:** Ms 133.620 f 7^{v}; 581: II, 194

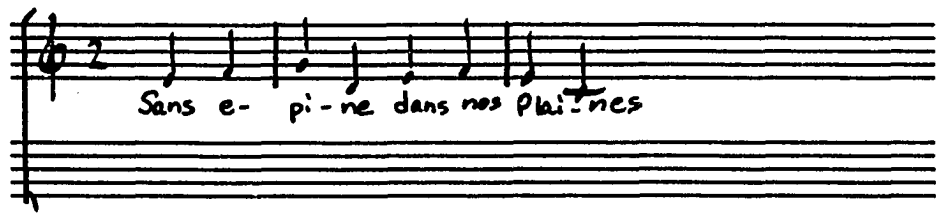
AMOUR
FLECHY II



Date: 1697 — **Danced:** prob not
Original Key: G — **Length:** 19 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 308 Duf # -- — **Source:** Th^{b}3203 p 72

FEES II

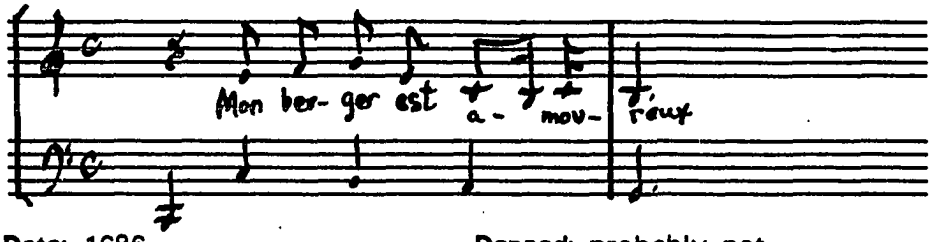


Date: 1699 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G — **Length:** 8 m
Original Scoring: S

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BC # 309 Duf # 60 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 65**
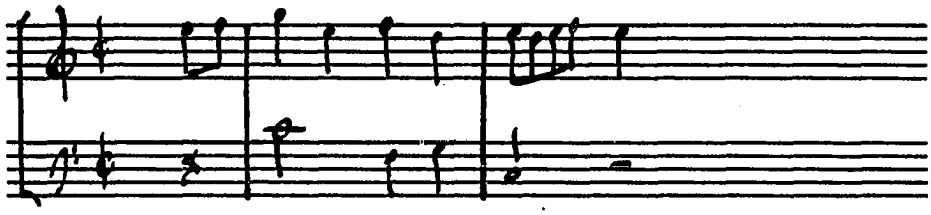
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 11 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 310 Duf # 362 **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 30; 581: II, 150
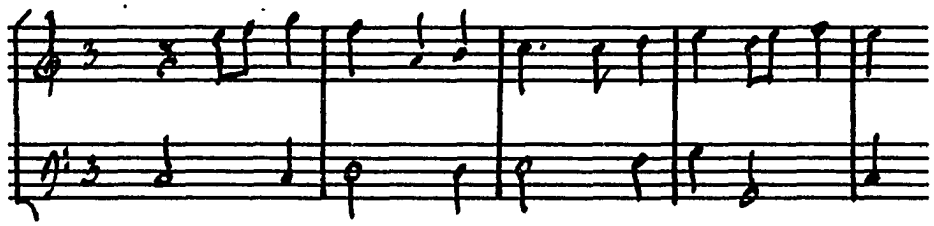
INCONNU III
2eme Bourée



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: C **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: indexed for 581: I, 107, but not there

BC # 311 Duf # 25 **Source:** Rés 537 p 16; 582 p 36; 581: II, 99

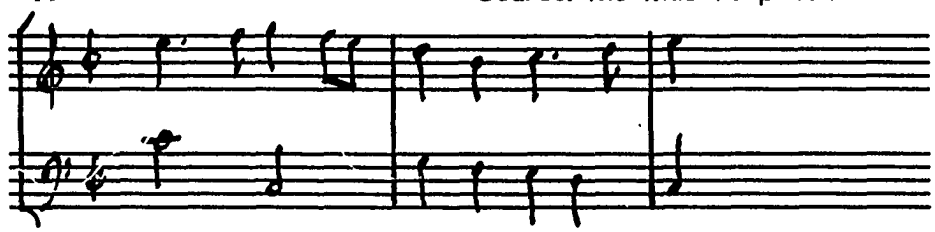
FOUNTAINES III
Chaconne



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 90 m
Original Scoring: orch a 3

BC # 312 Duf # 83 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 194

JEUNESSE III
(Air)
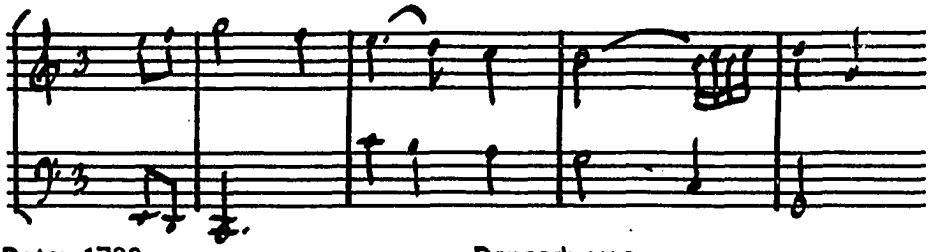


Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: C **Length:** 18 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

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BC # 313 Duf # -- **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 54; 581: I, 152**
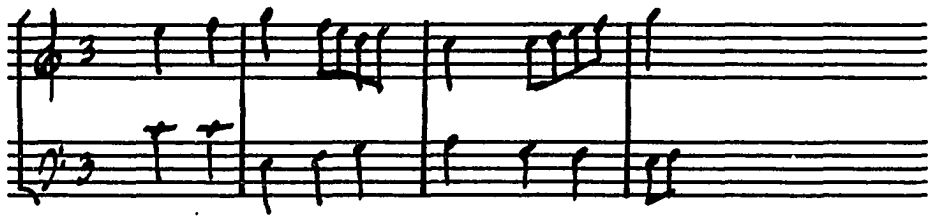
INCONNU V
Doucement



Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 28 m**
Original Scoring: O, V, B
Remarks: part of Rebel's "La Villageois"

BC # 314 Duf # 98 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 248**
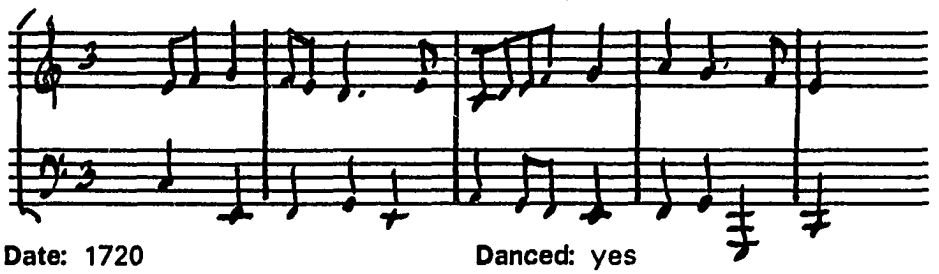
JEUNESSE III
Sarabande



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: A **Length: 24 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 315 Duf # 377 **Source: Vm^{6} 26 p 65; 581: II, 220**
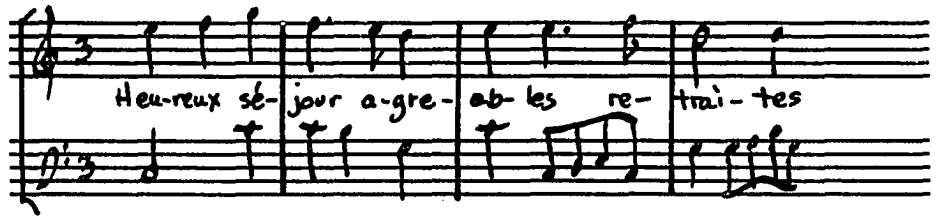
INCONNU GE
Chaconne



Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: G **Length: 48 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 316 Duf # 36 **Source: Rés 537 p 43**

FOUNTAINES VI
Menuet
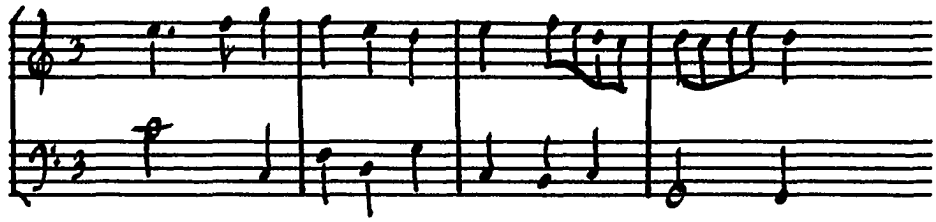


Date: 1683 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: C **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: S, orch a 5

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BC # 317 Duf #216 — **Source:** Ms 133.620 f 28 r; 581: I, 48

AMOUR FLECHY IV
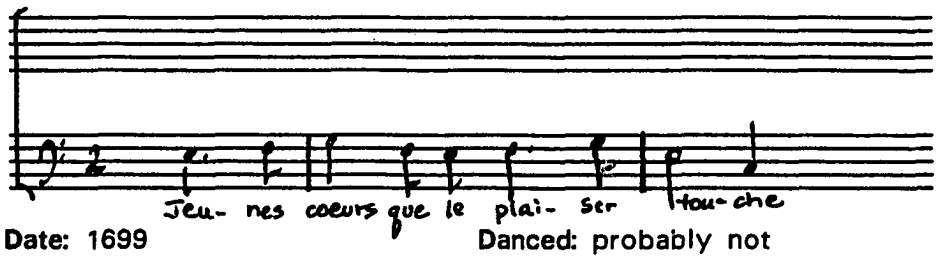
Simphonie gaye



Date: 1697 — **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: D — **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: O, O, B
Remarks: 581 instrumental only; 133.620 includes vocal

BC # 318 Duf # -- — **Source:** Th b 3203 p 75

FEES II
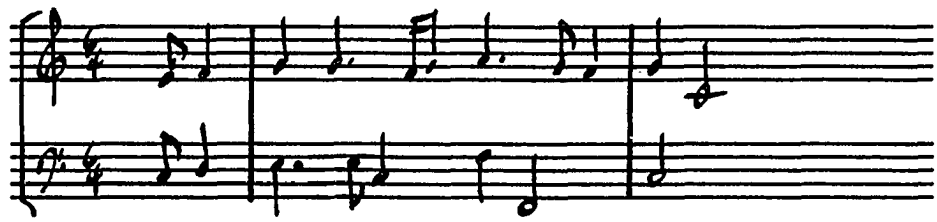


Date: 1699 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G — **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Bs

BC # 319 Duf # 386 — **Source:** 581: II, 97

CARDENIO I

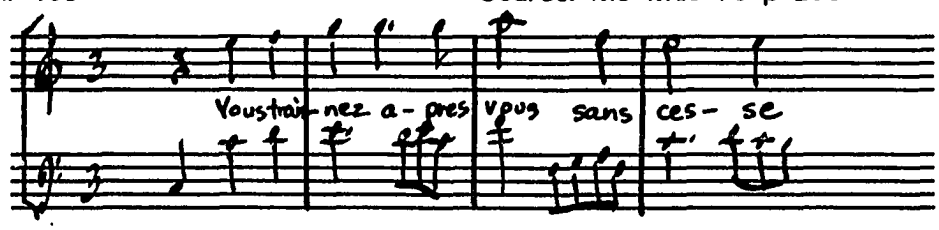
Loure



Date: 1721 — **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D — **Length:** 17 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 320 Duf # 103 — **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 256

JEUNESSE III
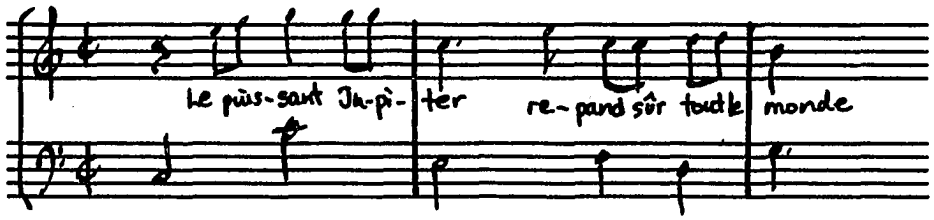


Date: 1686 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: A — **Length:** 18 m
Original Scoring: S, B

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BC # 321 Duf # 88 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 208
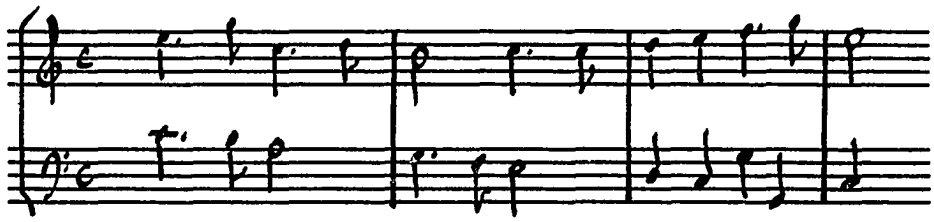
JEUNESSE III
Air



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: F **Length:** 96 m
Original Scoring: Bar, orch a 5

BC # 322 Duf # 133 **Source:** 581: I, 141;
582: VI: 59; Vm^{6} f 311^{r}
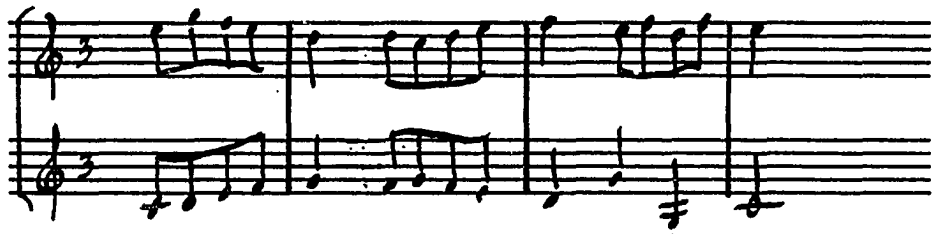
PALAIS IV
Air des
Héros



Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 19 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 323 Duf # 326 **Source:** 581: II, 79

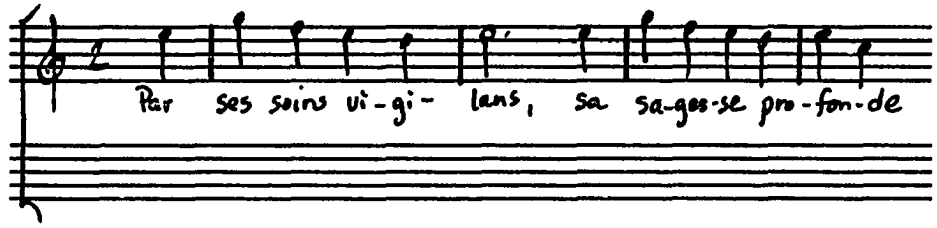
PAIX I
Prelude



Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 13 m
Original Scoring: O, O, B

BC # 324 Duf # -- **Source:** Th^{b}3203 p 58

FEES P
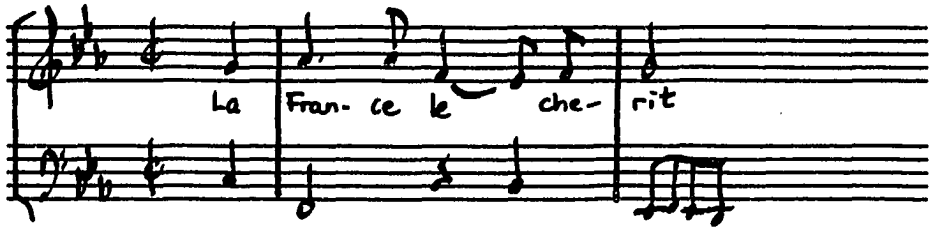


Date: 1699 **Danced:** no
Original Key: B^{b} **Length:** 13 m
Original Scoring: S

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BC # 325 Duf # 313 **Source: Ms 9354 p 78**
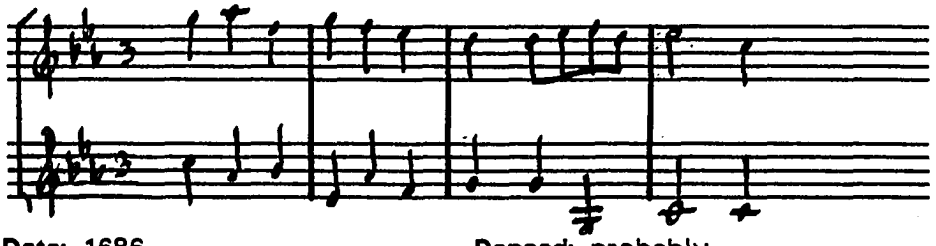
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: g **Length: 29 m**
Original Scoring: S, S, B

BC # 326 Duf # 97 **Source: Ms Mus 97 p 230**
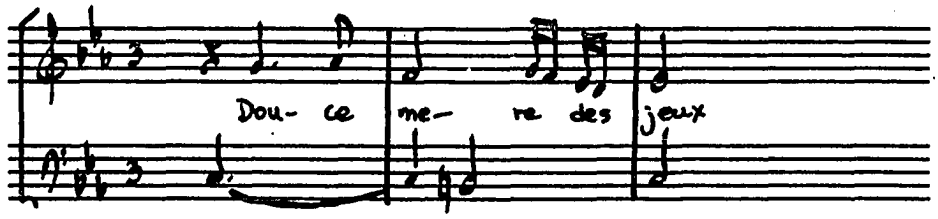
JEUNESSE III
Simphonie
de fluste



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: d **Length: 43 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 327 Duf # 325 **Source: Ms 9354 p 38**
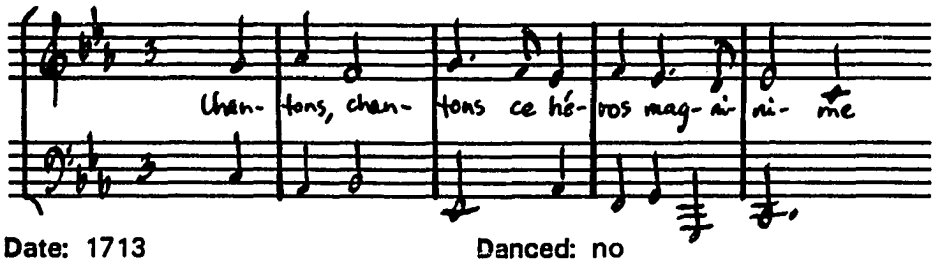
PAIX II



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: e **Length: 18 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 328 Duf # 311 **Source: 581:II,107; Ms 9354 p 7**

PAIX IV
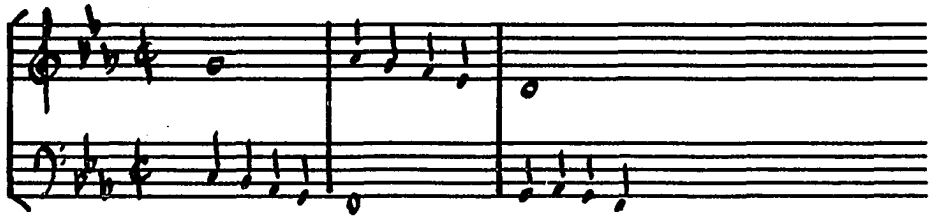


Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: g **Length: 60 m**
Original Scoring: S, S, B
Remarks: no text in 581

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BC # 329 Duf # 30, 31 **Source: Rés 537 p 30**

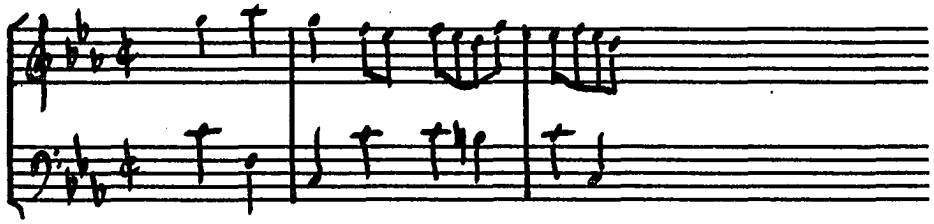
FONTAINES IV



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 64 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5, ch a 3

BC # 330 Duf # 401 **Source: 581: II, 29**
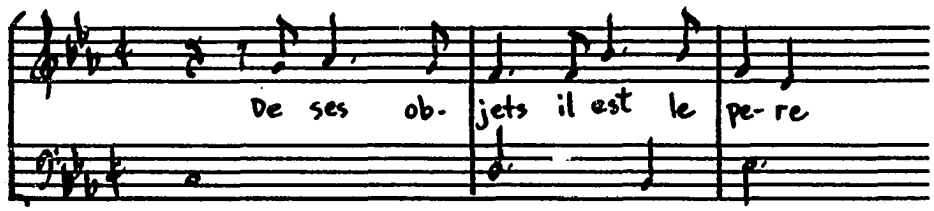
CARDENIO I
Air



Date: 1721 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: b **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 331 **Duf # 312** **Source: Ms 9354 p 77**
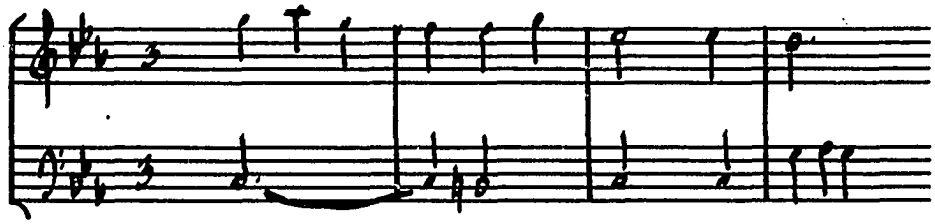
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: g **Length:** 15 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 332 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 538 p 6**

ESCULAPE
Ritournelle



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: orch a 3

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BC # 333 Duf # 330 **Source: 581: II, 122**

PAIX II;
CARDENIO
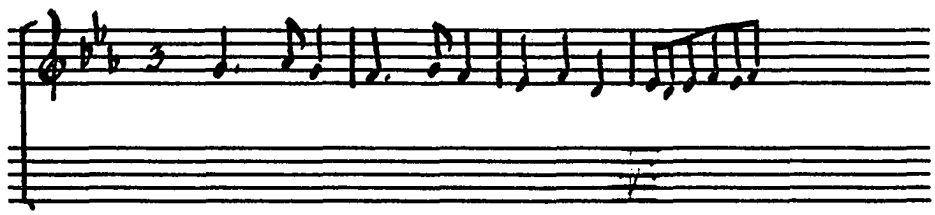
Air léger



Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: a **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: key changed to D minor for *Cardenio*

BC # 334 Duf # 154 **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 345^{v}

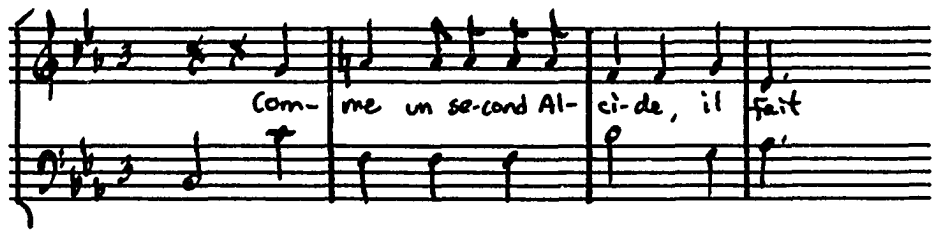
BALLET DLL I
Air léger



Date: 1690-91 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: g **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 335 Duf # -- **Source:** Rés 538 p 15

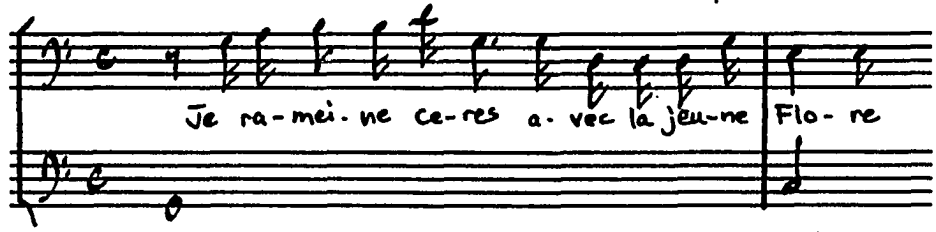
ESCULAPE



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 39 m
Original Scoring: A, Ten, Bs, B

BC # 336 Duf # -- **Source:** Rés 537 p 35

FONTAINES
VI
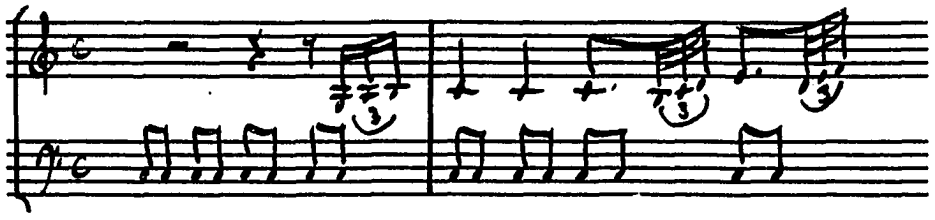


Date: 1693 **Danced:** no
Original Key: C **Length:** 12 m
Original Scoring: Bar, B

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BC # 337 Duf # — **Source: 581: II, 230**
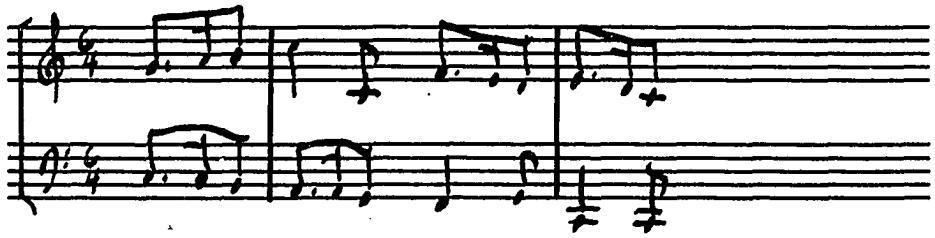
CARDENIO III
Tempest



Date: 1721 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 25 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: composed by J.F.Rebel

BC # 338 Duf # 99 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 250**
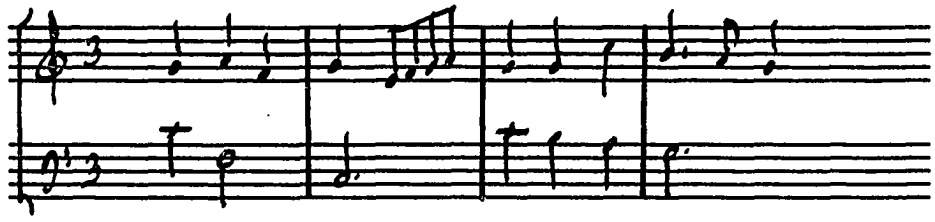
JEUNESSE III
Canaris



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: A **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 339 Duf # 417 **Source: 581: II, 76**
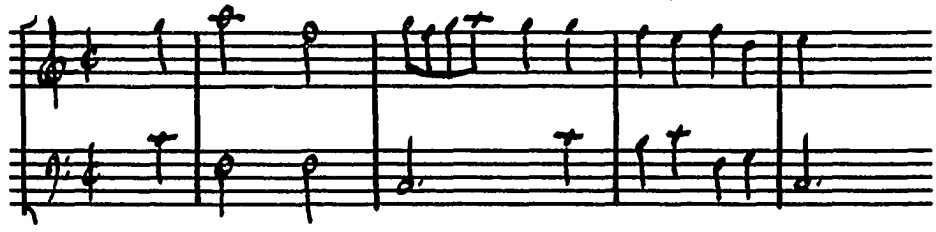
CARDENIO NF
2eme Menuet



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: G **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: O, O, V

BC # 340 Duf # 246 **Source: 581: I, 73**

MIRTIL I
2eme Rigaudon

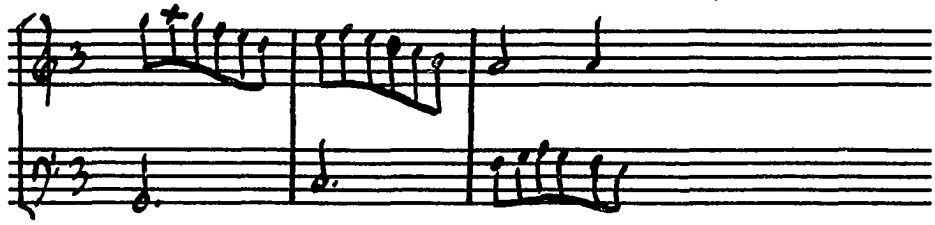


Date: 1698 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: B^b **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 341 Duf # — **Source: Rés 537 p 6**
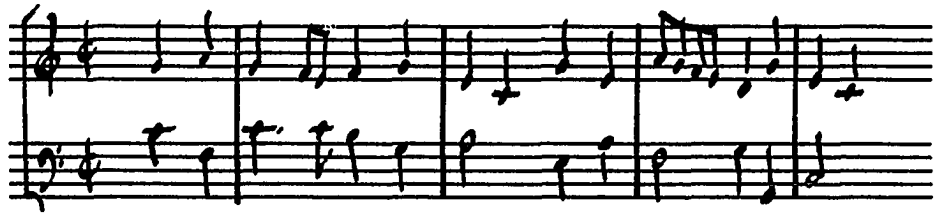
FOUNTAINES
Ritournelle



Date: 1683 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: B♭ **Length: 12 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

BC # 342 Duf # 58 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 63**
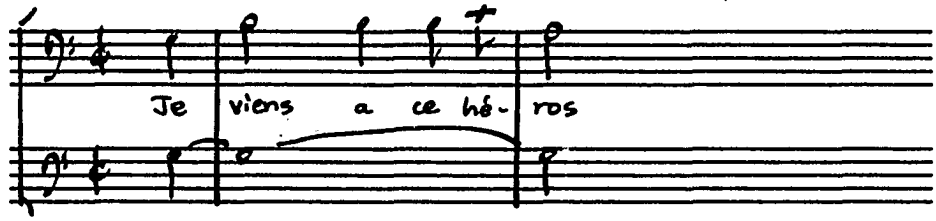
JEUNESSE P
Air
Rondeau



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: G **Length: 24 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 3

BC # 343 Duf # 305 **Source: Ms 9354 p 59**
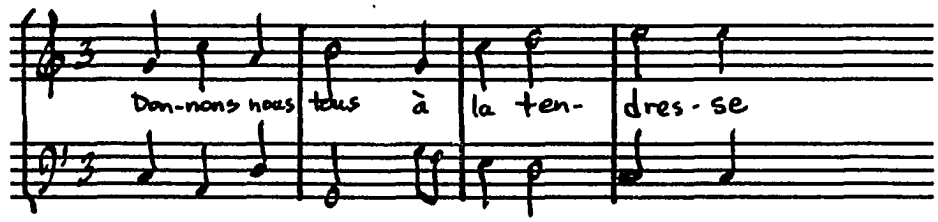
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: B♭ **Length: 22m**
Original Scoring: Bar, B

BC # 344 Duf # 71 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 92**

JEUNESSE P
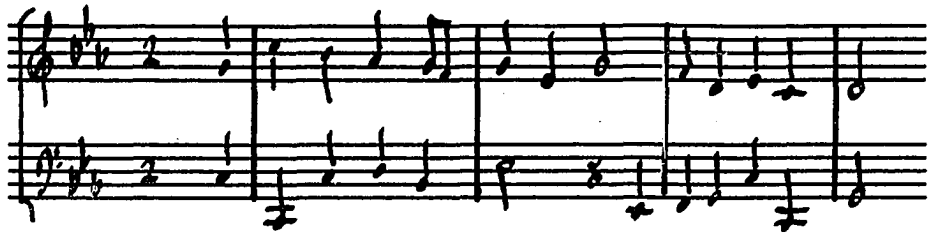


Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: D **Length: 32 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5, ch a 4

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BC # 345 Duf # 137 Source: 581: II, 138; 582: VI: 57; $Vm^{6}5$ f 312^{v}

PALAIS III; CARDENIO II
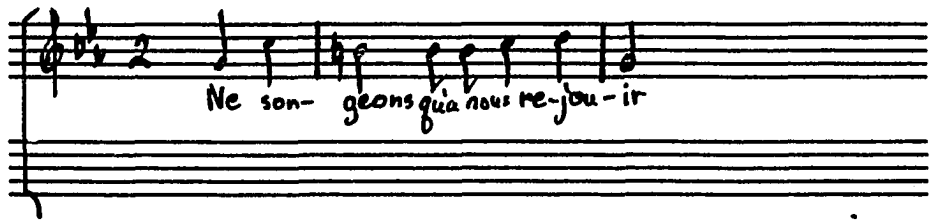
Rondeau bouree



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g **Length:** 40 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: call "Marche des Bergers" in *Cardenio*

BC # 346 Duf # -- Source: Th^{b}3203 p 50

FEES P
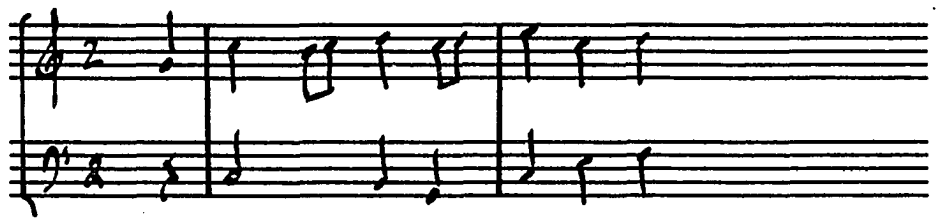


Date: 1698 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 26 m
Original Scoring: A

BC # 347 Duf # 268 Source: 581: II, 179; 582: 112

FEES I

HYMEN;

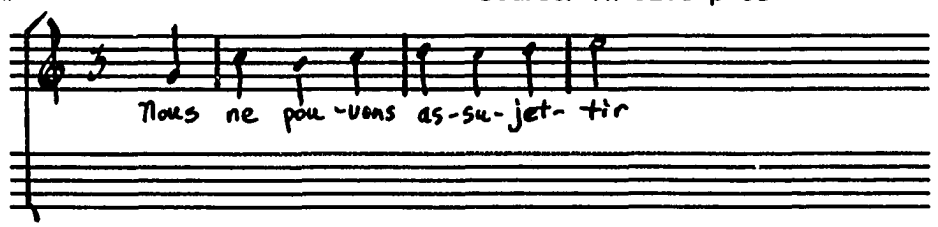
INCONNU Contredanse



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 15 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: called "Marche" in *Hymen* and *Inconnu*

BC # 348 Duf # -- Source: Th^{b}3203 p 53

FEES P
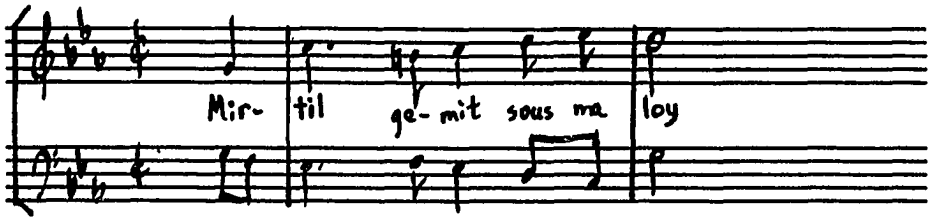


Date: 1699 **Danced:** no
Original Key: B^{b} **Length:** 18 m
Original Scoring: A

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BC # 349 Duf # 8 **Source: 581: II, 134**

SERENADE
Petit
Air tendre
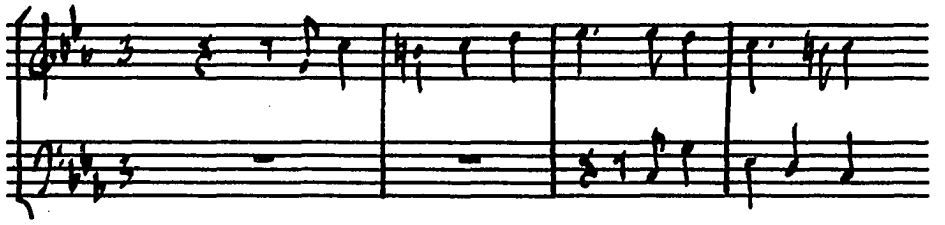


Date: 1682
Original Key: c
Original Scoring: F or O, S, B

Danced: undetermined
Length: 8 m

BC # 350 Duf # -- **Source: Vm^{b}26 p 40**

INCONNU IV
Air

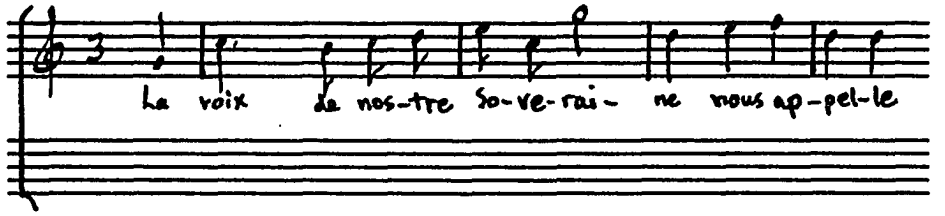


Date: 1720
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: yes
Length: 33 m

BC # 351 Duf # -- **Source: Th^{b}3203 p 47**

FEES P
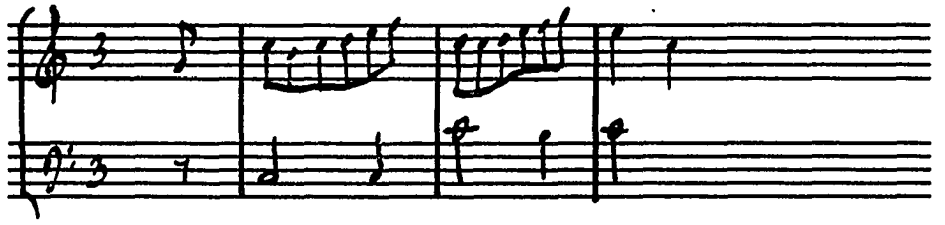


Date: 1699
Original Key: B^{b}
Original Scoring: S

Danced: no
Length: 16 m

BC # 352 Duf # -- **Source: 582: X: 108**

FEES P
Prélude
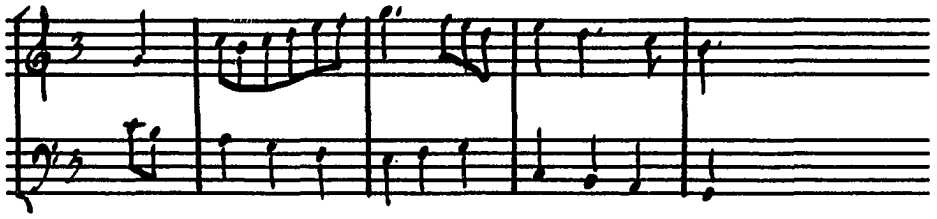


Date: 1699
Original Key: B^{b}
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 39 m

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BC # 353 Duf # 209 **Source: 581: II, 200**

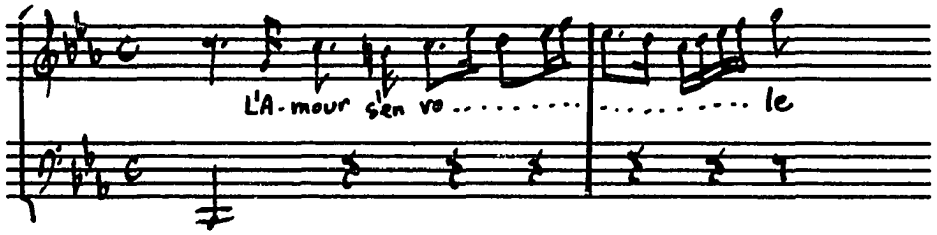
ADONIS
Air vif



Date: 1696 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: C **Length: 37 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 354 Duf # 345 **Source: Vm^{6}25 p 49**
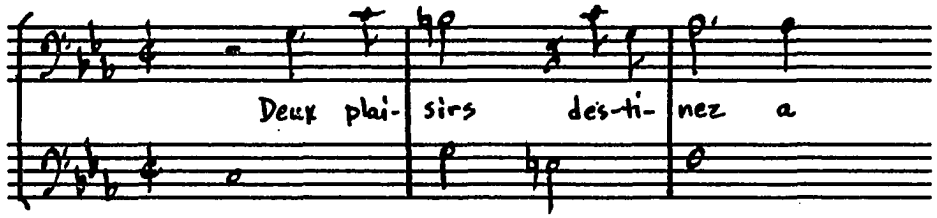
INCONNU IV
Air



Date: 1720 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: d **Length: 37 m**
Original Scoring: S, V, O, B

BC # 355 Duf # 318 **Source: Ms 9354 p 90**

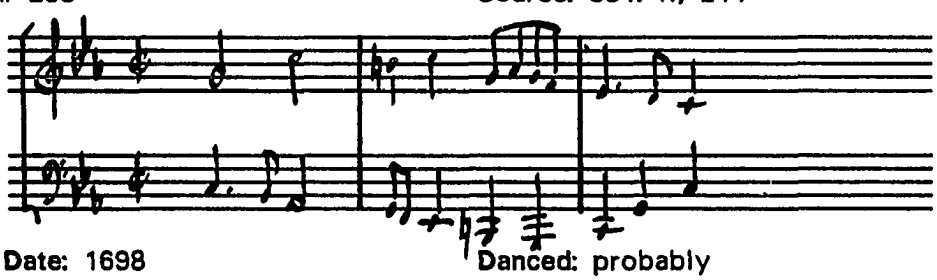
PAIX IV



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: d **Length: 10 m**
Original Scoring: Bar, B

BC # 356 Duf # 238 **Source: 581: II, 211**

MIRTIL GE
Entrée des faunes

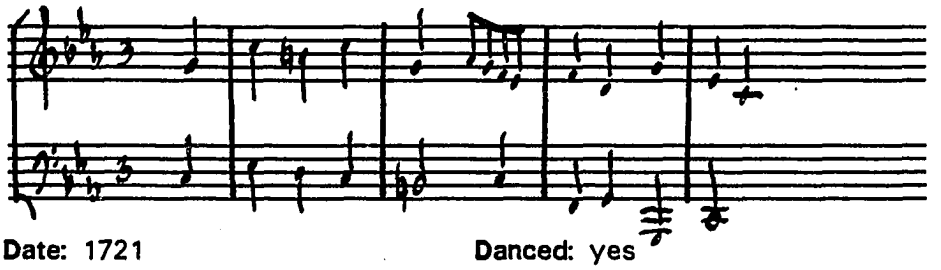


Date: 1698 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: g **Length: 19 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 357 Duf # 411 **Source: 581: I, 80**
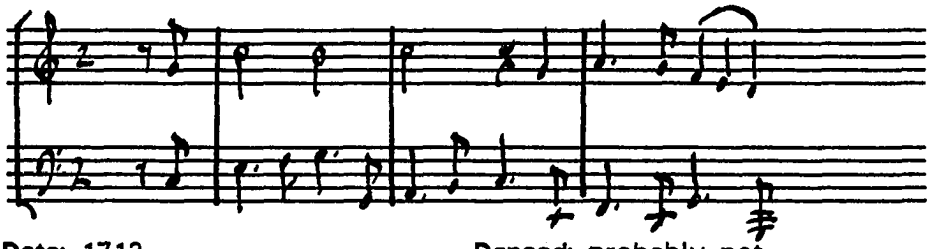
CARDENIO II
Passepied



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g **Length:** 32 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 358 Duf # 324 **Source: 581: II, 109**

PAIX II
Air



Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: A **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 359 Duf # 288 **Source: Ms 9354 p 9**
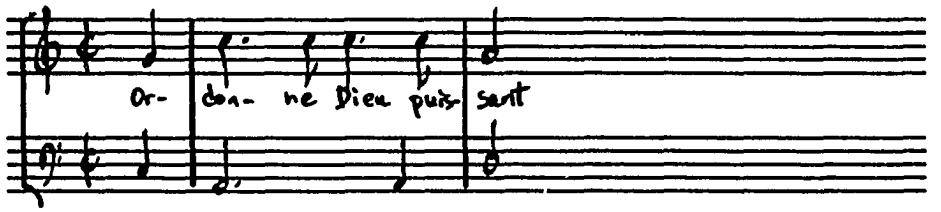
PAIX I



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: D **Length:** 55 m
Original Scoring: S, B
Remarks: probably for ch a 4

BC # 360 Duf # 306 **Source: Ms 9354 p 61**

PAIX IV

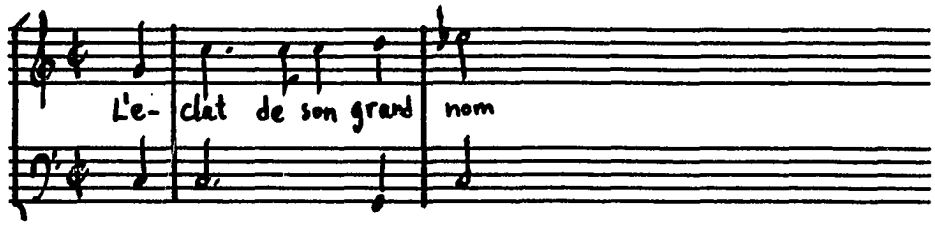


Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: B^b **Length:** 14 m
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

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BC # 361 Duf # 18 **Source: Rés 537 p 67**
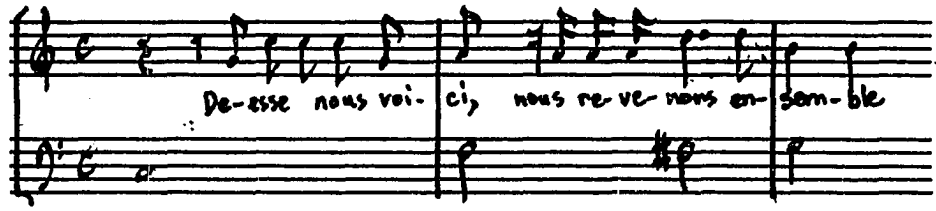
FOUNTAINES
II



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 27 m
Original Scoring: Tr, S, B

BC # 362 Duf # 33 **Source: Rés 537 p 34**
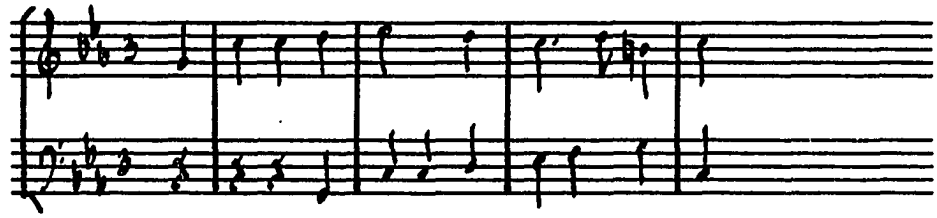
FONTAINES
VI



Date: 1683 **Danced:** no
Original Key: C **Length:** 8 m
Original Scoring: S, S, Bar

BC # 363 Duf # 204 **Source: 581: II, 143**

ADONIS
Air



Date: 1696 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 34 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 364 Duf # 375 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 62;**

INCONNU GE
Passepied

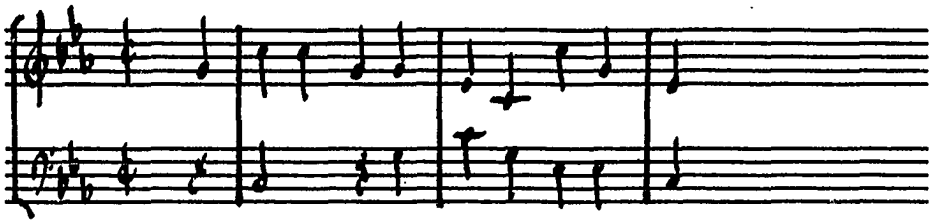


Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D **Length:** 40 m
Original Scoring: O, V, B
Remarks: listed in index for 581, but without page #

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BC # 365 Duf # 366 — **Source:** Vm^{6}26, p 45; 581: II, 114
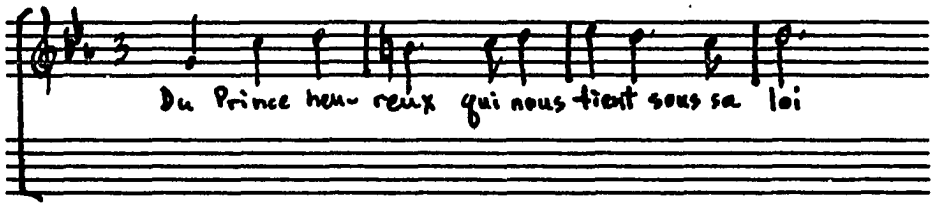
INCONNU V
Rondeau



Date: 1720 — **Danced:** yes
Original Key: d — **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 366 Duf # -- — **Source:** Th^{D}3203 p 62
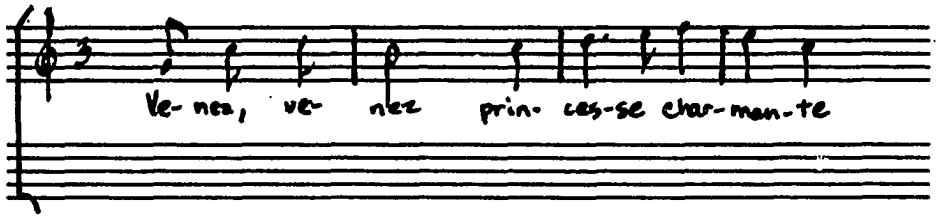
FEES I



Date: 1699 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d — **Length:** 32 m
Original Scoring: S

BC # 367 Duf # -- — **Source:** Th^{D}3203 p 66

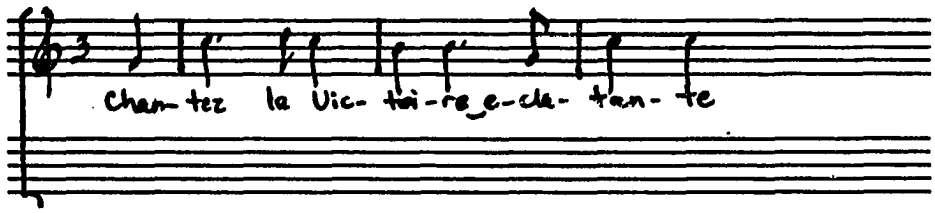
FEES I



Date: 1699 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D — **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: S

BC # 368 Duf # 281 — **Source:** Ms 9354 p 8

PAIX I
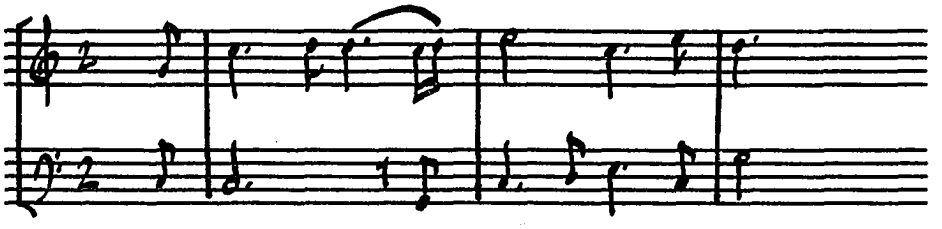


Date: 1713 — **Danced:** no
Original Key: D — **Length:** 43m
Original Scoring: S

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BC # 369 Duf # 385 **Source: 581: II, 91**

CARDENIO I

Air
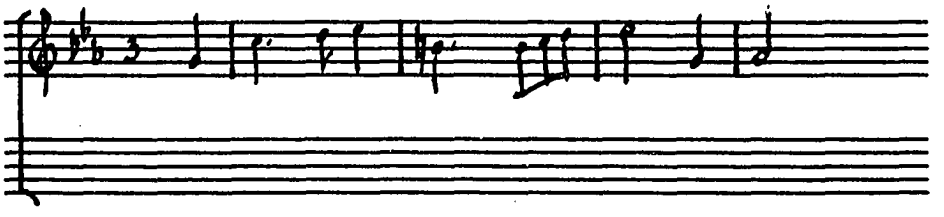


Date: 1721 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: D **Length: 23 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 370 Duf # 162 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 347^{r}**

BALLET
ST LOUIS

Mesme
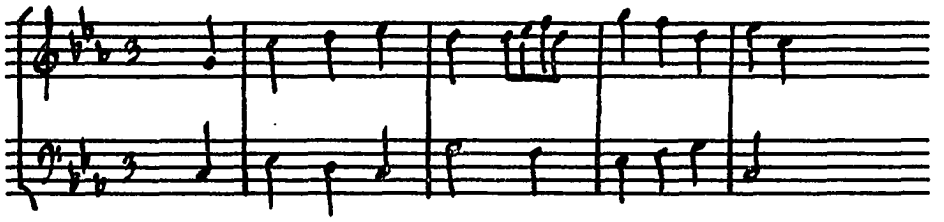


Date: 1691 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 44 m**
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 371 Duf # 238 **Source: 581: II, 229; 582: IX: 95**

MIRTIL P

Passepied
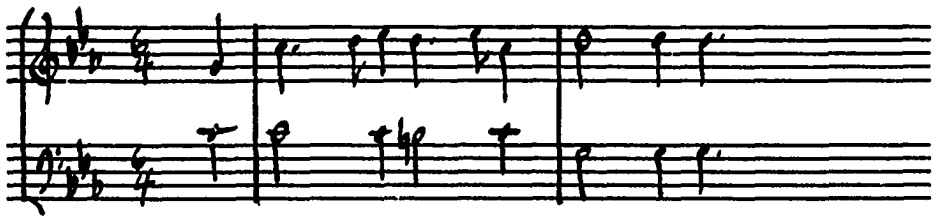


Date: 1698 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: d **Length: 23 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 372 Duf # 265 **Source: 581: I, 52; 582: X: 110**

FEES I;
HYMEN;

INCONNU VI

Forlane

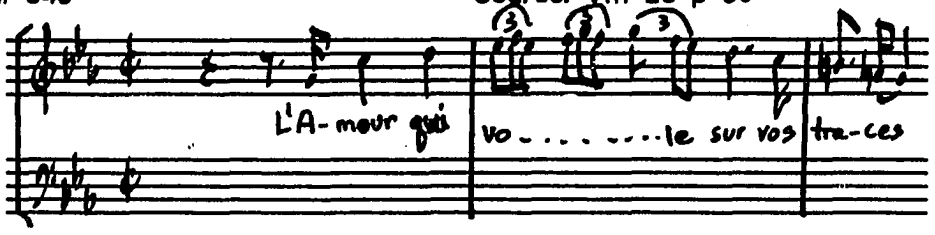


Date: 1699 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: d **Length: 44 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 373 Duf # 343 — **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 30**
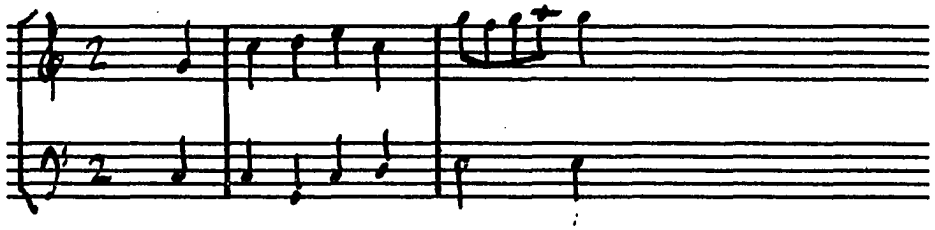
INCONNU III



Date: 1721 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: c — **Length:** 83 m
Original Scoring: S, V, F, B

BC # 374 Duf # 259 — **Source: 581: II, 152; 582: IX: 10**

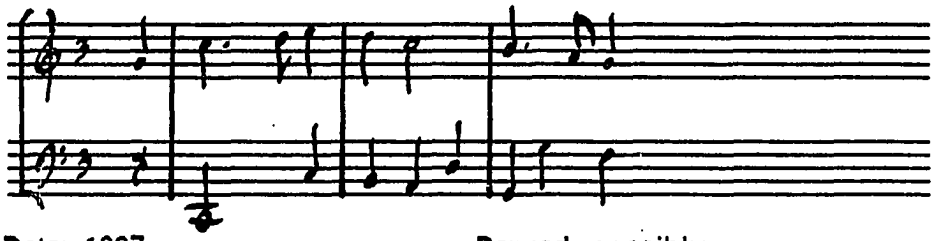
MIRTIL
Rigaudon



Date: 1698 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: C — **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 375 Duf # 215 — **Source: Ms 133.620 f 16^{v}**
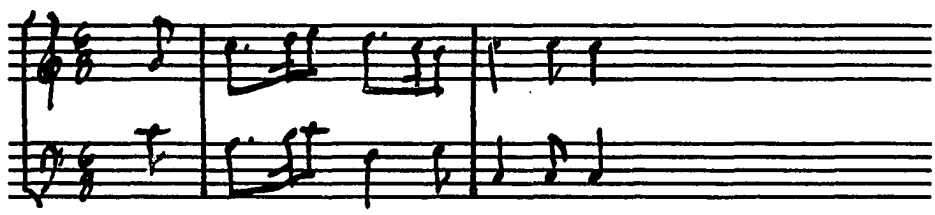
AMOUR
FLECHY II
Air



Date: 1697 — **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: G — **Length:** 41 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 376 Duf # 281 — **Source: 581: II, 180**

HYMEN
Canarie
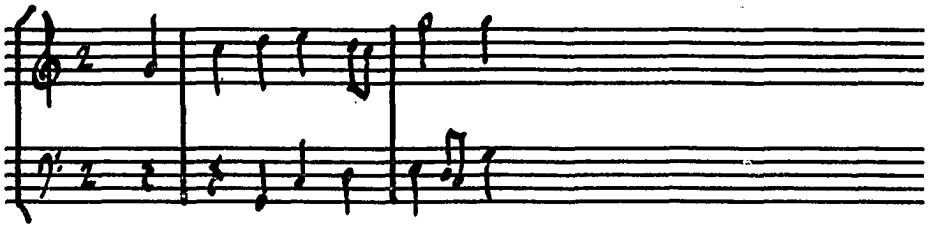


Date: 1700 — **Danced:** yes
Original Key: D — **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 377 Duf # 260 **Source: 581: II, 13; 582: X: 108**
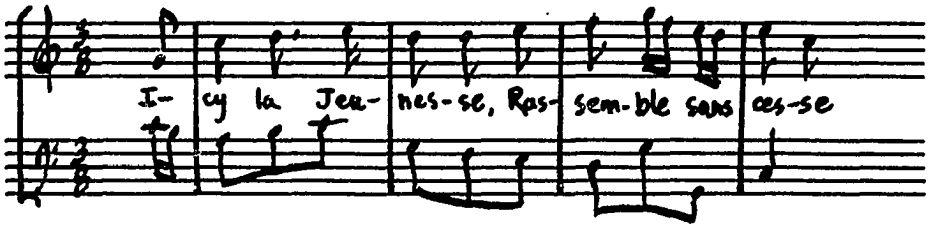
FEES P
Légèrement



Date: 1699 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: B^b **Length:** 26 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 378 Duf # 383 **Source: 581: I, 17**
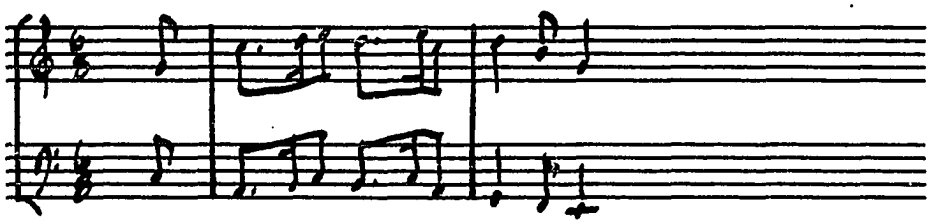
CARDENIO I



Date: 1721 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 14 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 379 Duf # 248 **Source: 581: II, 219; 582: IX: 98**
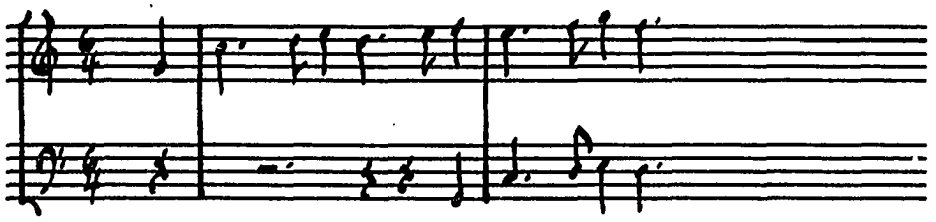
MIRTIL II
Canarie



Date: 1698 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: G **Length:** 15 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 380 Duf # 135 **Source:** $Vm^6 5$ f 311^v;
581: II, 202; 582: VI, 61

PALAIS IV
Gigue
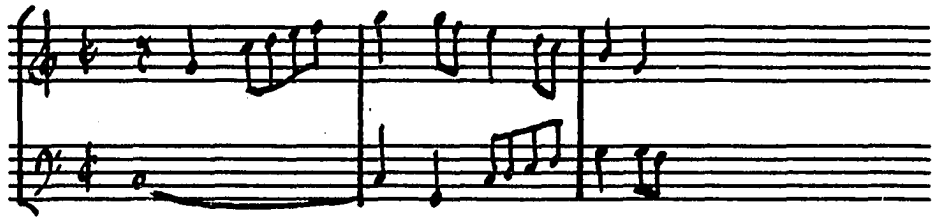


Date: 1689 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: in C major in 581

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BC # 381 Duf # 63 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 69
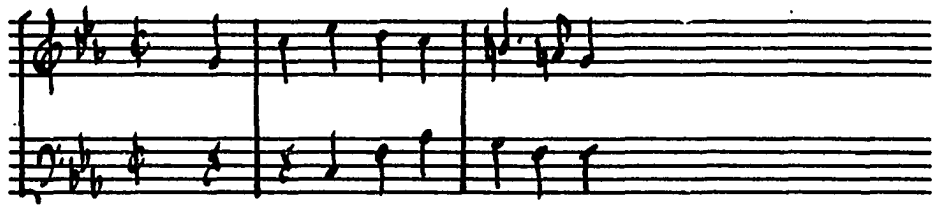
JEUNESSE P
Prélude
pour Mercure



Date: 379 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D **Length:** 29 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 382 Duf # 389 **Source:** 581: II, 224
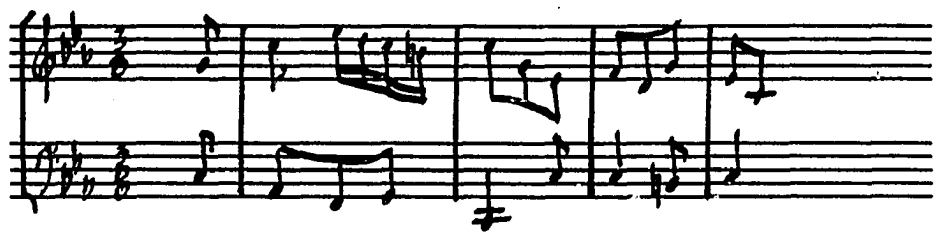
CARDENIO I
Contredanse



Date: 1721 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: d **Length:** 10 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: "Sur le canevas de la Sissone"

BC # 383 Duf # 359 **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 26;
581: I, 140

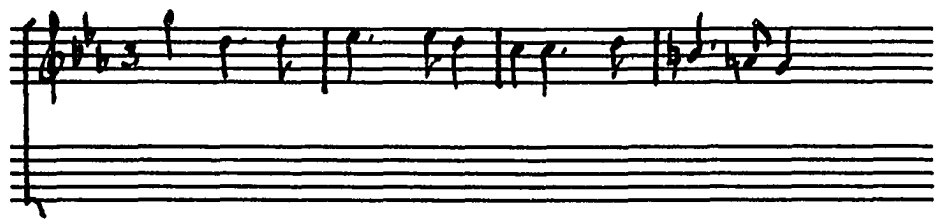
INCONNU II
Passepied



Date: 1720 **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g **Length:** 28 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 384 Duf # 149 **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 344^{v}

BALLET DLL
Sarabande

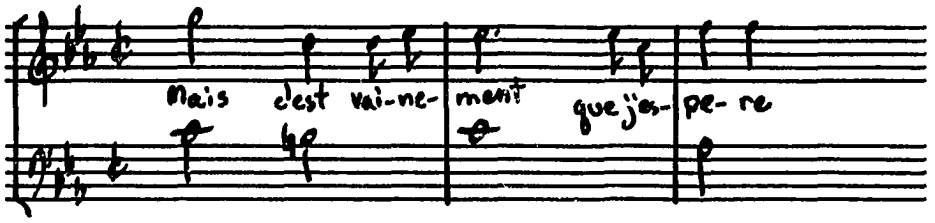


Date: 1690-91 **Danced:** probably
Original Key: g **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr

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BC # 385 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 9354 p 31**

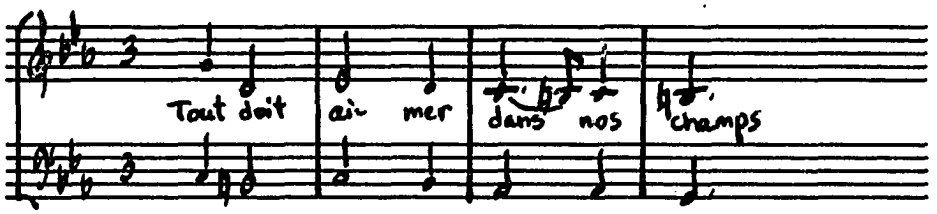
PAIX I



Date: 1713 **Danced: no**
Original Key: a **Length: 22 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 386 Duf # 219 **Source: Ms 133.620 f 52^{v}; 581: II, 172**

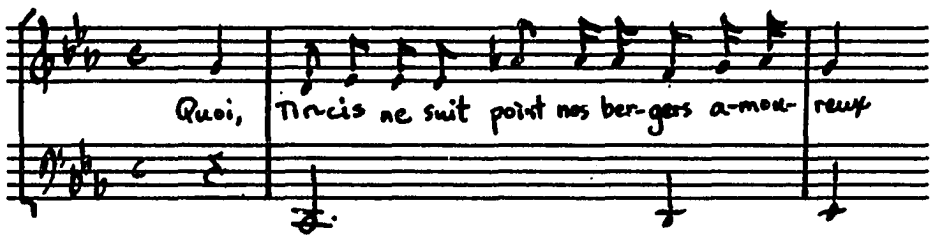
AMOUR FLECHY IX



Date: 1697 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: g **Length: 24 m**
Original Scoring: S, orch a 5

BC # 387 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 25^{v}**

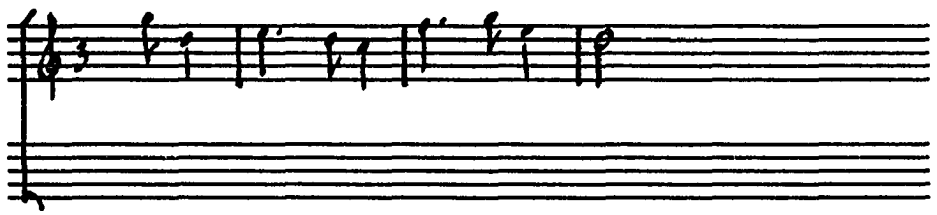
AMOUR FLECHY IV



Date: 1697 **Danced: no**
Original Key: g **Length: 10 m**
Original Scoring: S, A, B

BC # 388 Duf # 120 **Source: Vm^{b}5 f 310^{r}**

PALAIS I
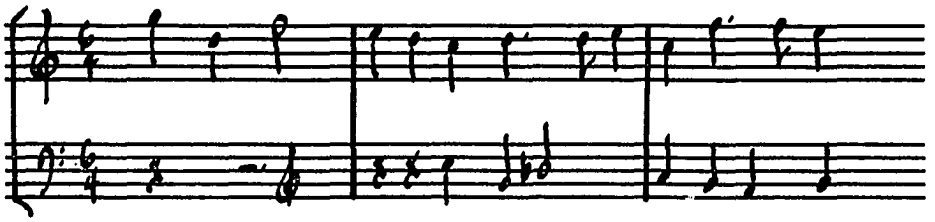


Date: 1689 **Danced: possibly**
Original Key: A **Length: 21 m**
Original Scoring: T
Remarks: labeled "choeur," but no text

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BC # 389 Duf # 2 **Source: 581: II, 105**
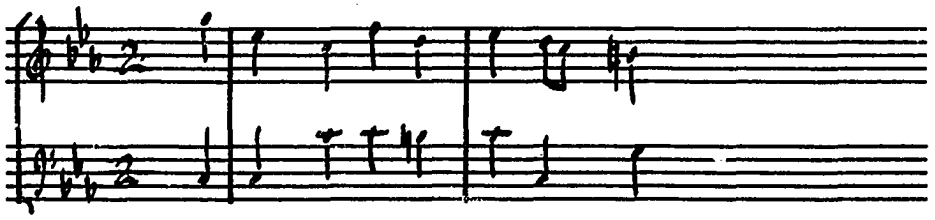
SERENADE
Overture



Date: 1682 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: A **Length: 32 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 390 Duf # 156 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 345^{v}; 581: I, 45; 582: VII: 66**
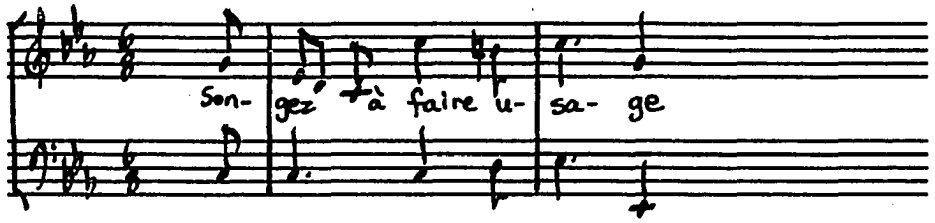
BALLET DLL
Rondeau



Date: 1690-91 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: a **Length: 40 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 391 Duf # 425 **Source: 581: I, 150**
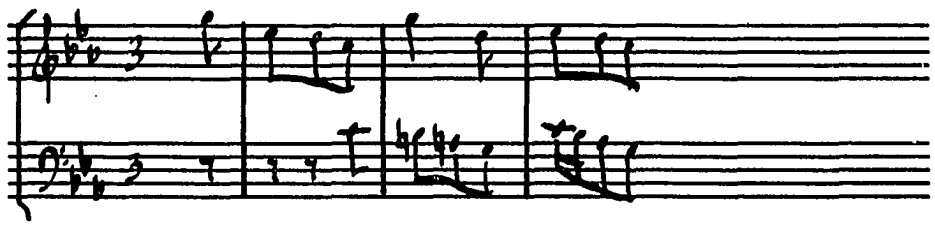
ELEMENS P



Date: 1722 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: d **Length: 24 m**
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 392 Duf # 338 **Source: 581: I, 142**

PAIX IV
Air
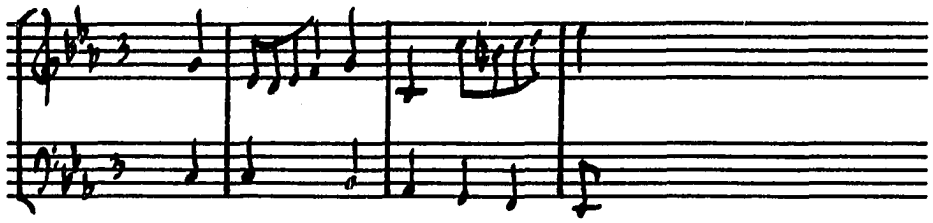


Date: 1713 **Danced: prob not**
Original Key: d **Length: 29 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 393 Duf # 163 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 347^{r}**

BALLET
ST LOUIS
Mesme
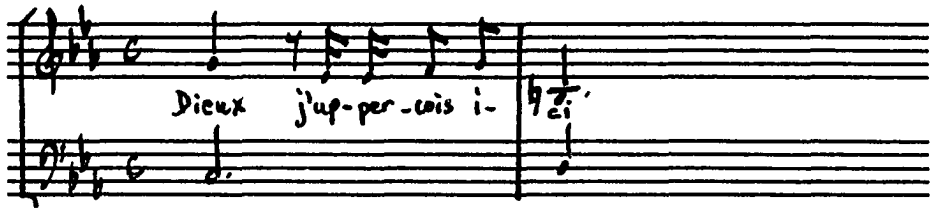


Date: 1713
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: probably
Length: 46 m

BC # 394 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 41^{v}**

AMOUR
FLECHY VI
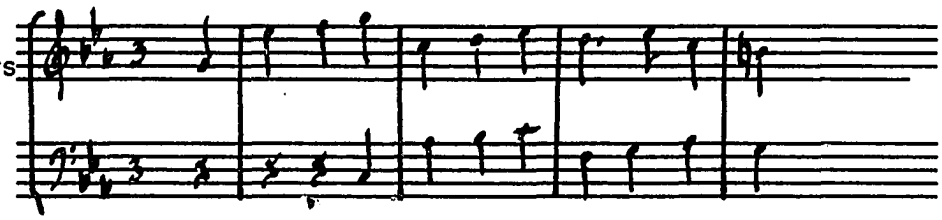


Date: 1697
Original Key: a
Original Scoring: S, A, B

Danced: no
Length: 15 m

BC # 395 Duf # 126 **Source: 581: I, 41;**
582: VI: 56; Vm^{6}5 f 310^{v}

PALAIS II
Air des zéphirs

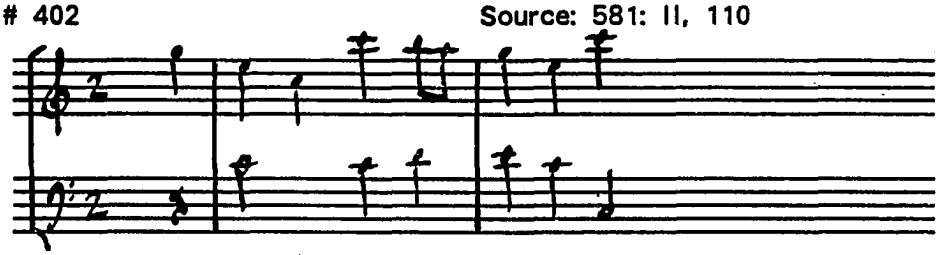


Date: 1689
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: probably
Length: 32 m

BC # 396 Duf # 402 **Source: 581: II, 110**

CARDENIO I
Bourée
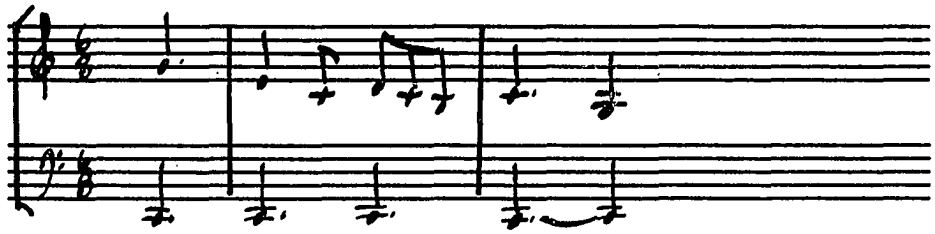


Date: 1721
Original Key: A
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: yes
Length: 26 m

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BC # 397 Duf # 358 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 24**
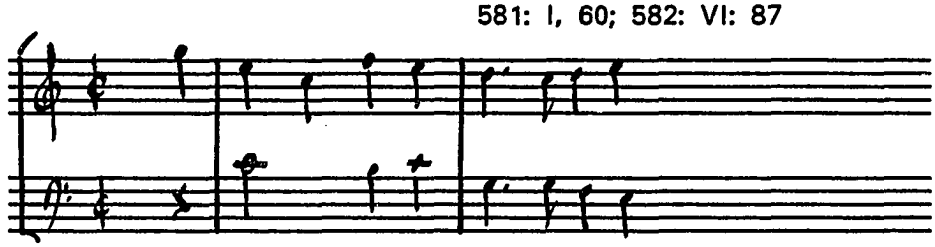
INCONNU II
Musette



Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: G **Length: 26 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 398 Duf # 355 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 18; 581: I, 60; 582: VI: 87**
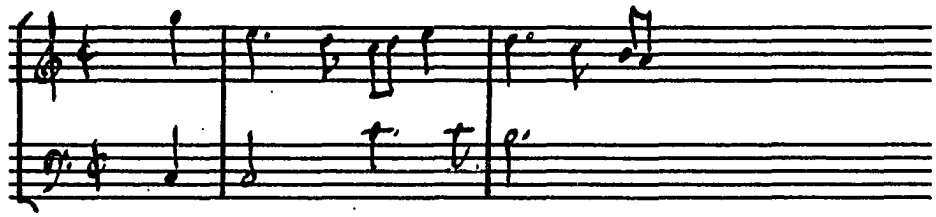
INCONNU II
Marche
des Bergers



Date: 1720 **Danced: yes**
Original Key: B^{b} **Length: 40 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 399 Duf # 78 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 128**
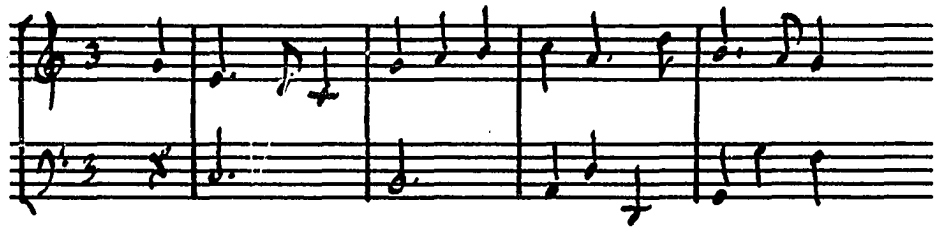
JEUNESSE II
Entrée



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: C **Length: 21 m**
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 400 Duf # 241 **Source: 581: II, 6; 582: IX: 96**

MIRTIL P
Air
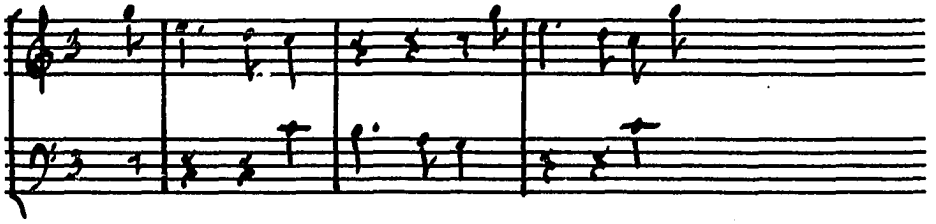


Date: 1698 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: F **Length: 25 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 401 Duf # 344 **Source: Vm^{6}25 p 44**

INCONNU IV
Air
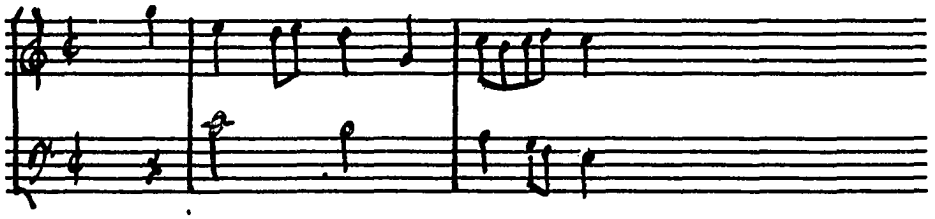


Date: 1720
Original Key: B^{b}
Original Scoring: S, V, O, B

Danced: no
Length: 56 m

BC # 402 Duf # 361 **Source: Vm^{6}26 p 29; 581: II, 149**

INCONNU III
1^{ere} Bourée
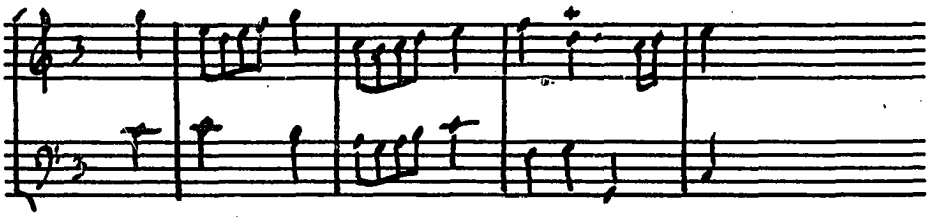


Date: 1720
Original Key: C
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: yes
Length: 16 m

BC # 403 Duf # 206 **Source: 581: II, 145**

ADONIS
Air en écho
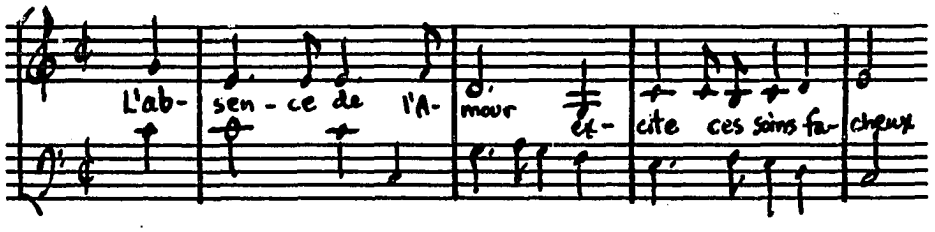


Date: 1696
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 42 m

BC # 404 Duf # 104 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 257**

JEUNESSE III



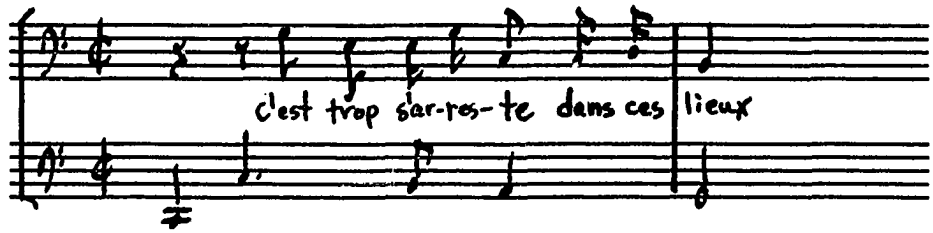
Date: 1686
Original Key: A
Original Scoring: A, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 24 m

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BC # 405 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 17r**

AMOUR
FLECHY II
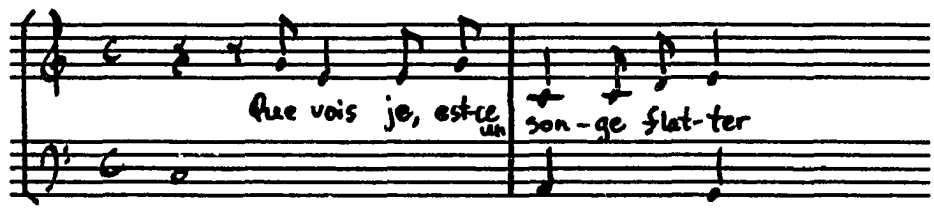


Date: 1697
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: Bar, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 12 m

BC # 406 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 46r**

AMOUR
FLECHY VIII
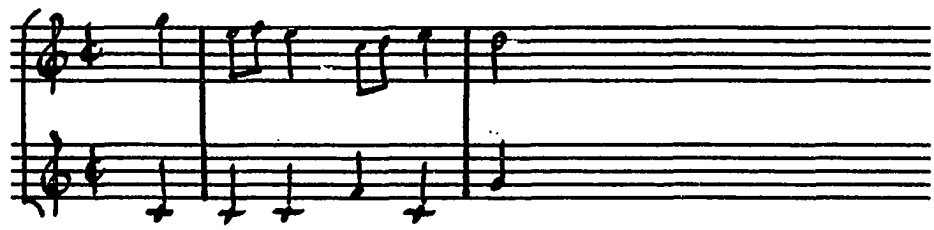


Date: 1697
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: S, Bar, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 7 m

BC # 407 Duf # 105-06 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 258**

JEUNESSE III
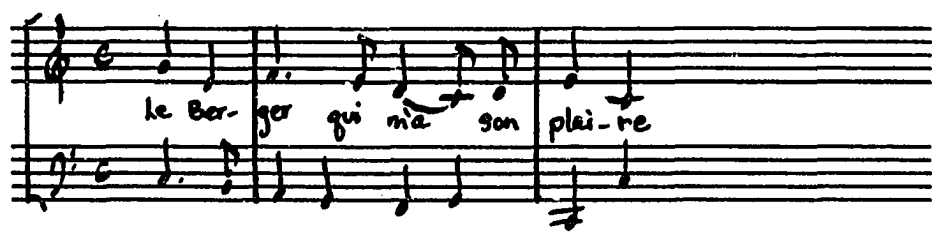


Date: 1686
Original Key: A
Original Scoring: A, F, F, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 40 m

BC # 408 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 17r**

AMOUR
FLECHY II
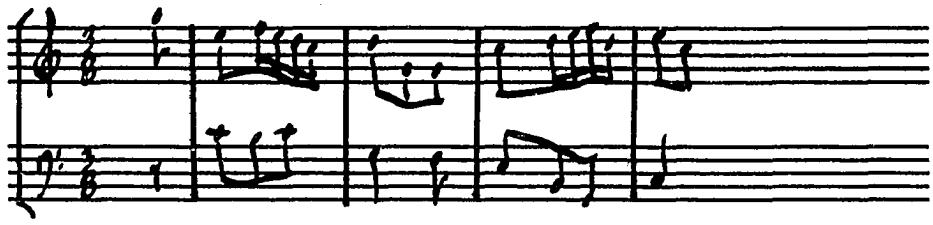


Date: 1697
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: S, B

Danced: probably not
Length: 11 m

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BC # 409 Duf # 364 — **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 34; 581: II, 152

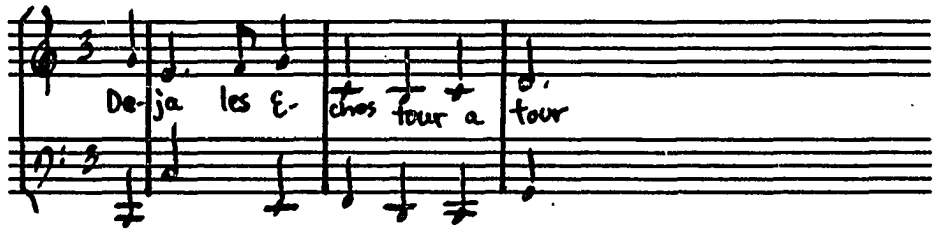
INCONNU III
Passepied



Date: 1720 — **Danced:** yes
Original Key: C — **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 410 Duf # -- — **Source:** Ms 133.620 f 7^{r}
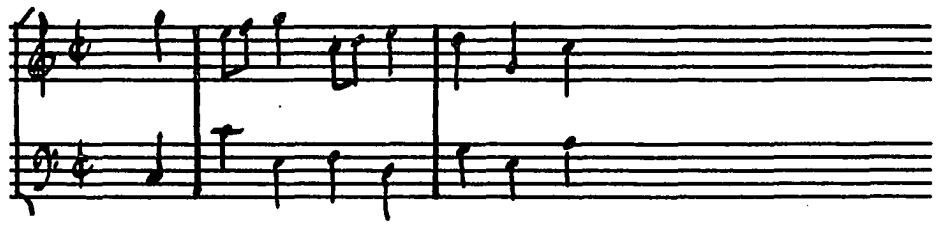
AMOUR
FLECHY I



Date: 1697 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G — **Length:** 15 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 411 Duf # 70 — **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 89
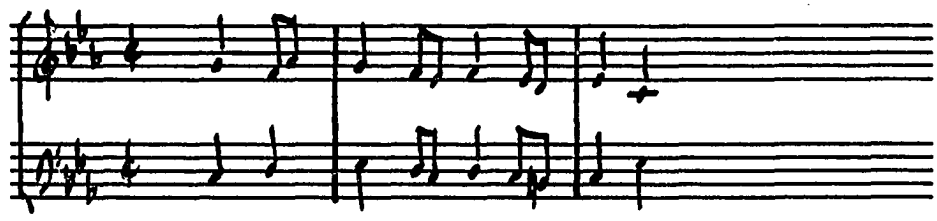
JEUNESSE P
Air



Date: 1686 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D — **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 412 Duf # 356 — **Source:** Vm^{6}26 p 20

INCONNU II
Rondeau

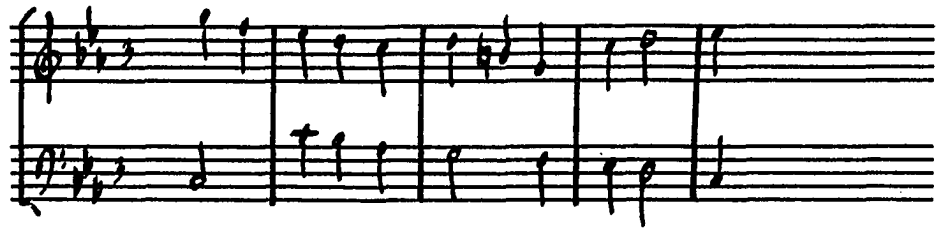


Date: 1720 — **Danced:** yes
Original Key: g — **Length:** 32 m
Original Scoring: F, V, B
Remarks: G minor in *Inconnu*; F minor in 581

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BC # 413 Duf # 132 **Source: 581: II, 179; 582: VI: 60**
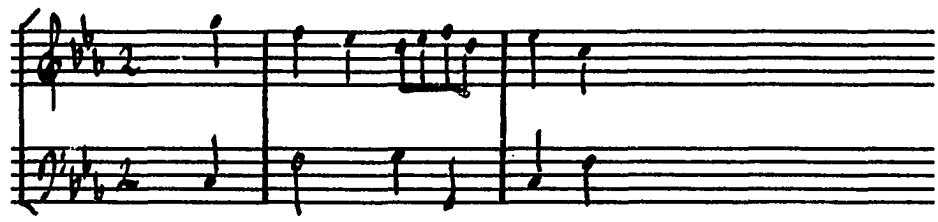
PALAIS IV
Sarabande
légère



Date: 1689 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: d **Length: 16 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 414 Duf # 6 **Source: 581: II, 175**

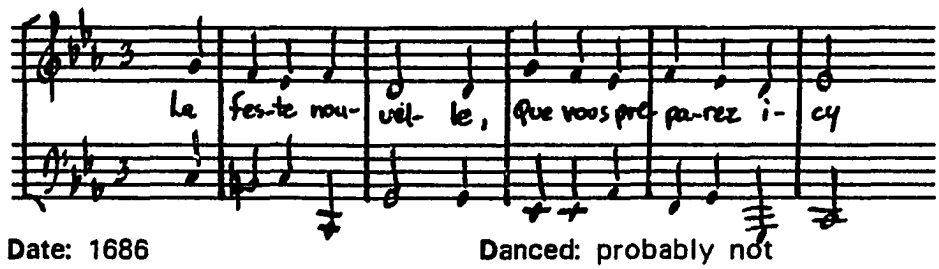
SERENADE
Trio



Date: 1682 **Danced: undetermined**
Original Key: d **Length: 12 m**
Original Scoring: O, O, B

BC # 415 Duf # 48 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 20**

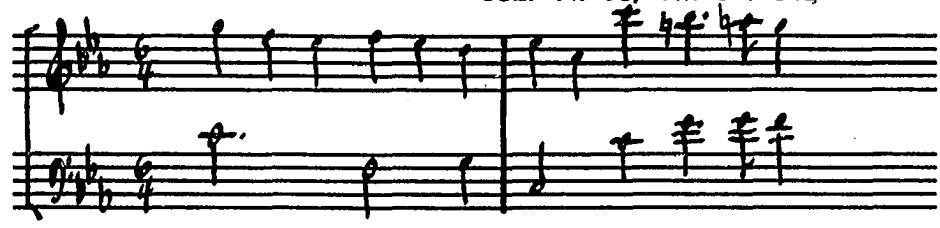
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: g **Length: 50 m**
Original Scoring: ch a 3

BC # 416 Duf # 139 **Source: 581: II, 170;**
582: VI: 58; Vm^{6}5 f 312^{v}

PALAIS III
Air de
nymphe
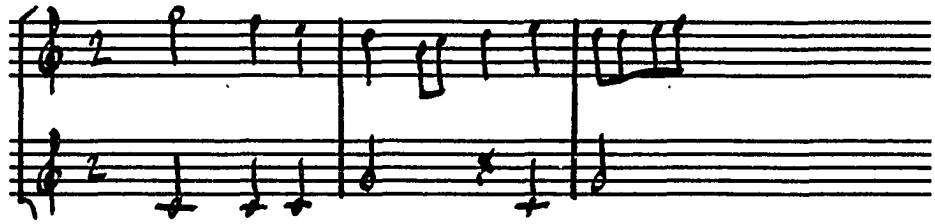


Date: 1689 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: g **Length: 21m**
Original Scoring: Tr, B

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BC # 417 Duf # 337 **Source: 581: II, 57**
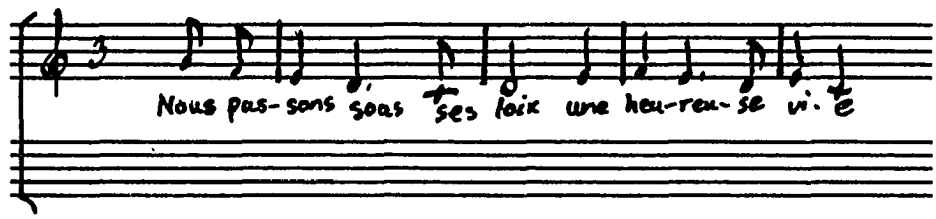
PAIX IV
Air



Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: B^b **Length:** 29 m
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, A

BC # 418 Duf # -- **Source:** Th^b 3203 p 59
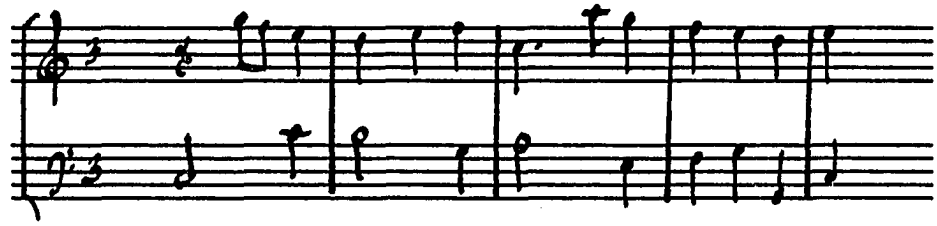
FEES P



Date: 1699 **Danced:** no
Original Key: B^b **Length:** 20 m
Original Scoring: A

BC # 419 Duf # 81 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 135
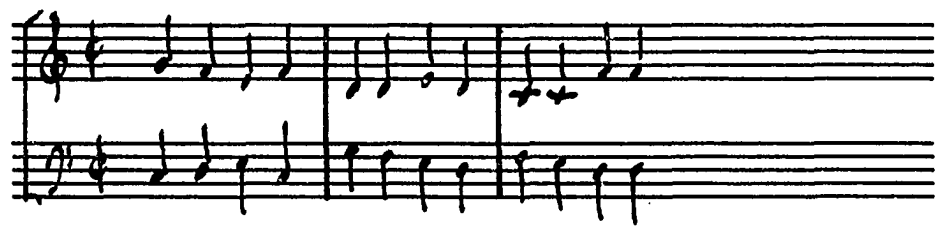
JEUNESSE II
Chaconne



Date: 1686 **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: A **Length:** 497 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5, ch a 4
Remarks: longest movement in ballet

BC # 420 Duf # 51 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 40

JEUNESSE P
Air
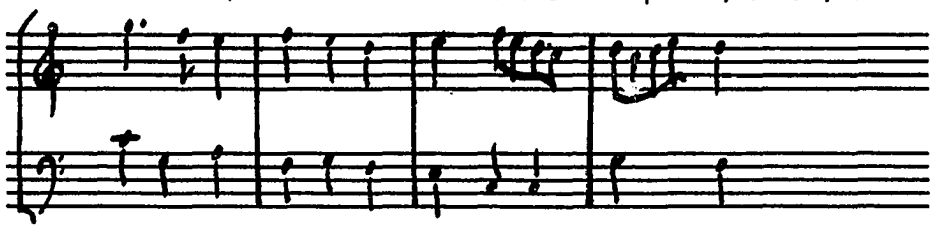


Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 26 m
Original Scoring: Bs, orch a 3

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BC # 421 Duf # 172 — **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 348^{v}; 582: Conc Tpt: 80; 581: I, 102
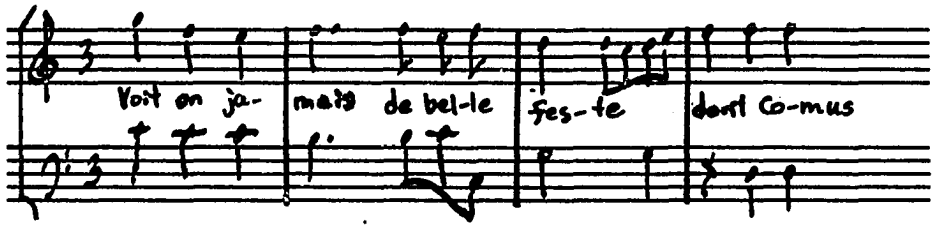
BALLET
ST LOUIS
Menuet



Date: 1691 — **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: D — **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

BC # 422 Duf # 34 — **Source:** Rés 538 p 34
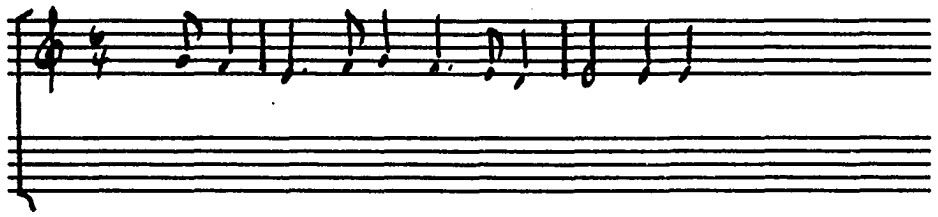
FONTAINES
VI



Date: 1683 — **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: C — **Length:** 26 m
Original Scoring: Bar, Tr, Tr, B

BC # 423 **Duf # 144** — **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 313^{r}
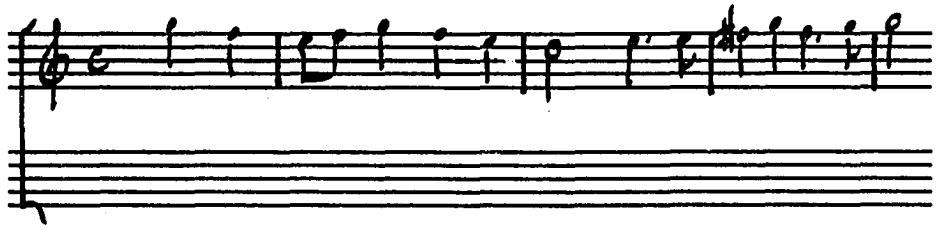
PALAIS V
Canaris



Date: 1689 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: G — **Length:** 10 m
Original Scoring: Tr

BC # 424 Duf # 124 — **Source:** Vm^{6}5 f 311^{r}

PALAIS II
Gavotte

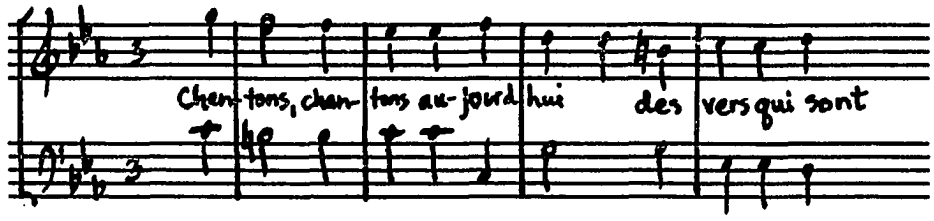


Date: 1689 — **Danced:** probably
Original Key: D — **Length:** 12 m
Original Scoring: Tr

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BC # 425 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 538 p 7**
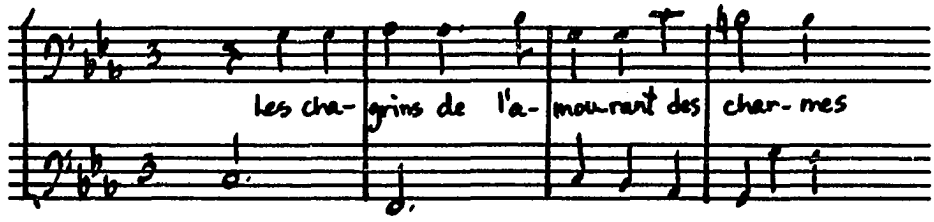
ESCULAPE



Date: 1683 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: d **Length: 112 m**
Original Scoring: Bar, ch a 4, orch a 3

BC # 426 Duf # 76 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 123**
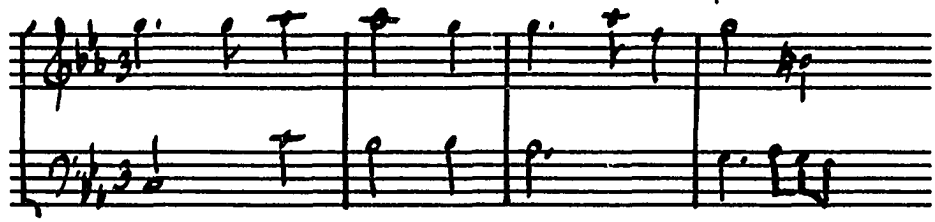
JEUNESSE I



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: c **Length: 29 m**
Original Scoring: Ten, F, F, B

BC # 427 Duf # 14 **Source: Res 537 p 4**

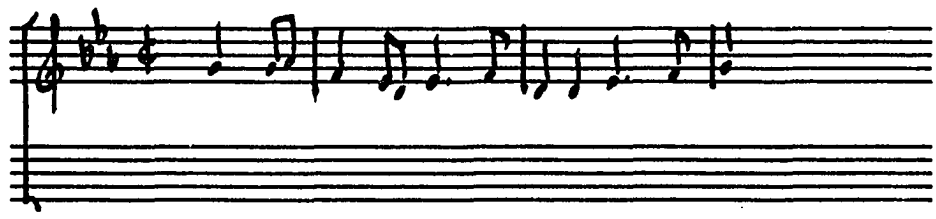
FONTAINES
Ritournelle



Date: 1683 **Danced: prob not**
Original Key: d **Length: 12 m**
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

BC # 428 Duf # 151 **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 344^{v}**

BALLET DLL
Gavotte

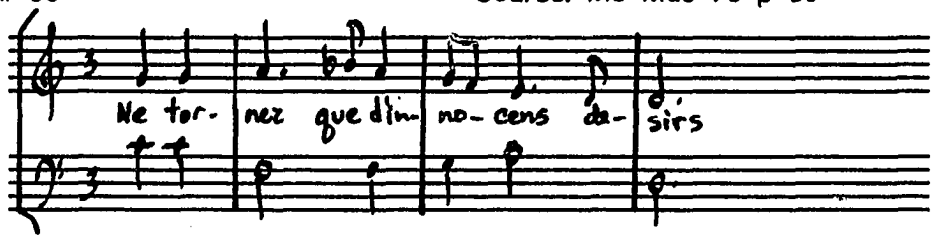


Date: 1690-91 **Danced: probably**
Original Key: g **Length: 12 m**
Original Scoring: Tr

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BC # 429 Duf # 56 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 60**

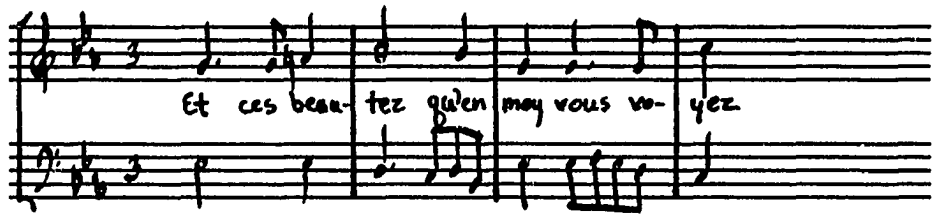
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 30 m
Original Scoring: ch a 2, orch a 3

BC # 430 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 537 p 4**

FONTAINES I
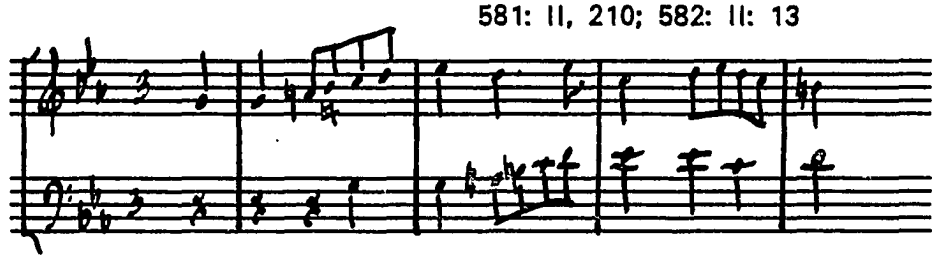


Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 431 Duf # -- **Source: Vm^{6}5 f 347^{r}; 581: II, 210; 582: II: 13**

BALLET ST LOUIS
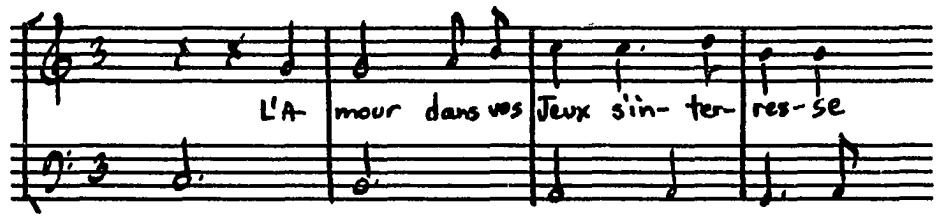
Overture



Date: 1691 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 31 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: second part of overture

BC # 432 **Duf # 69** **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 89**

JEUNESSE P
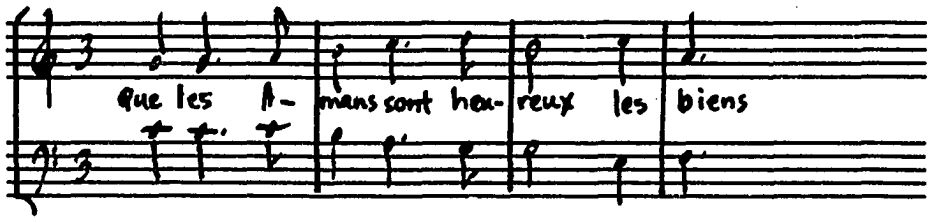


Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 15 m
Original Scoring: S, B

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BC # 433 Duf # 86 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 202**

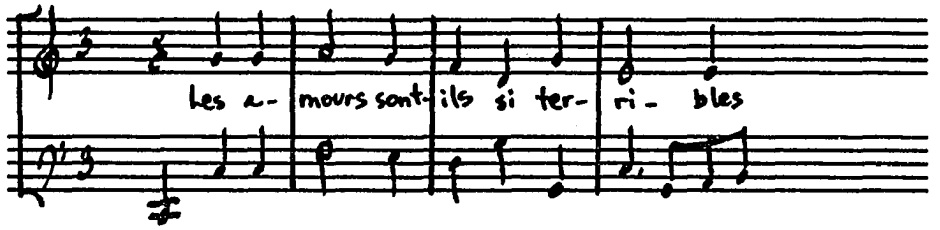
JEUNESSE III



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: C **Length:** 29 m
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

BC # 434 Duf # 56 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 60**

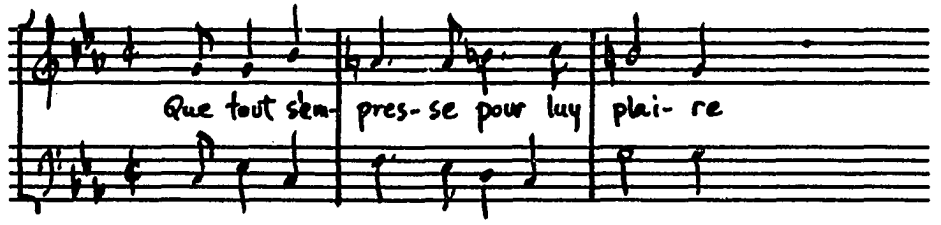
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 16 m
Original Scoring: S, B

BC # 435 Duf # 303 **Source: Ms 9354 p 53**

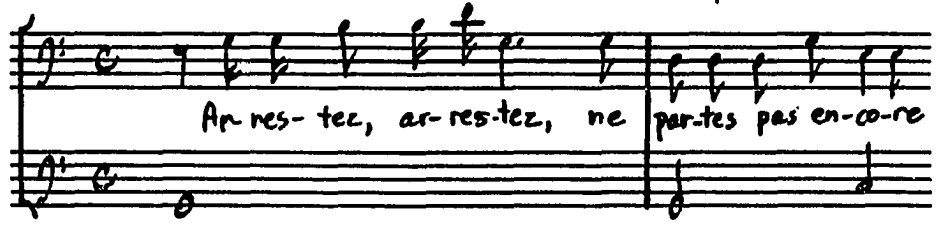
PAIX III



Date: 1713 **Danced:** no
Original Key: g **Length:** 71 m
Original Scoring: S, B
Remarks: probably for ch a 4

BC # 436 Duf # 38 **Source: Rēs 537 p 45**

FONTAINES VI

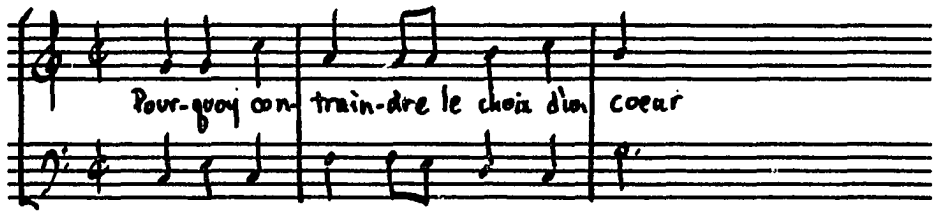


Date: 1683 **Danced:** no
Original Key: C **Length:** 31 m
Original Scoring: Bar, B

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BC # 437 Duf # 80 — **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 131

JEUNESSE II
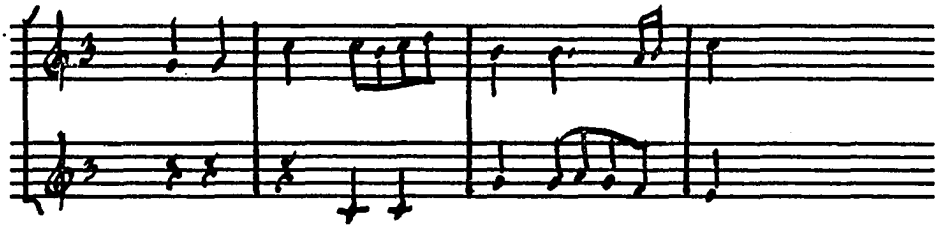


Date: 1686
Original Key: A
Original Scoring: S, Tr, Tr, B
Danced: probably not
Length: 38 m

BC # 438 Duf # 211 — **Source:** Ms 133.620 f[1]; 581: II, 188

AMOUR FLECHY

Overture
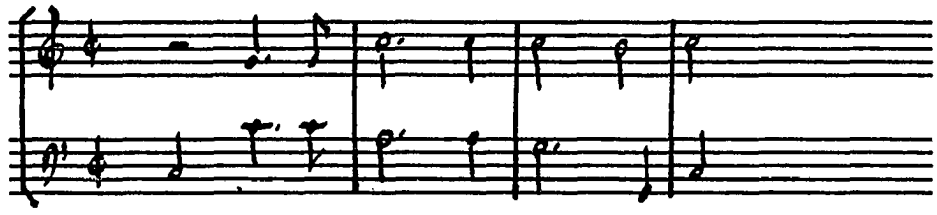


Date: 1697
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: orch a 5
Remarks: 2nd half of overture
Danced: probably not
Length: 42 m

BC # 439 Duf # 335 — **Source:** 581: II, 51

PAIX IV

Prélude



Date: 1713
Original Key: B^{b}
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Danced: probably not
Length: 40 m

BC # 440 Duf # — — **Source:** Th^{b}3203 p 53

FEES P
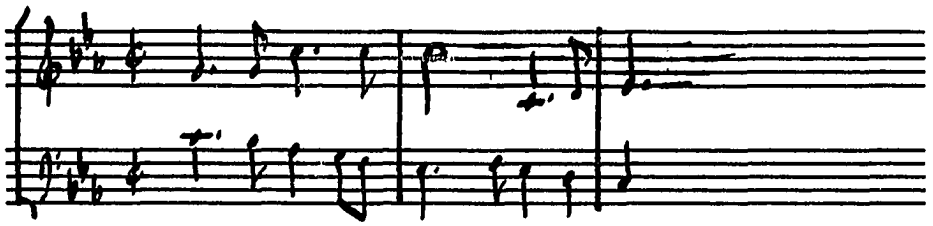


Date: 1699
Original Key: B^{b}
Original Scoring: S
Danced: no
Length: 11 m

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BC # 441 Duf # 160 Source: Vm^{6}5 f 347^{r}; 581: II, 210; 582: II: 13
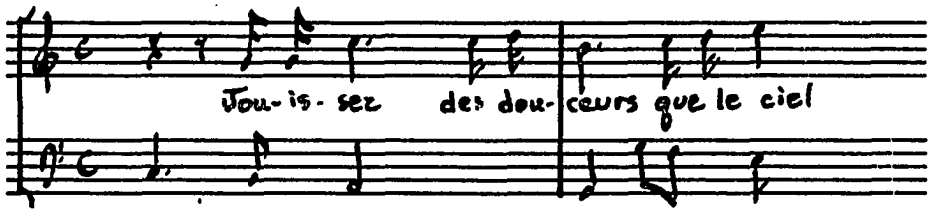
BALLET
ST LOUIS
Overture



Date: 1691 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 9 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: first part of overture

BC # 442 Duf # 110 Source: Ms Mus 79 p 265
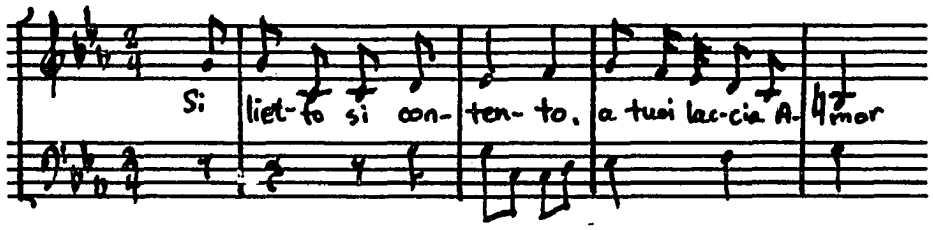
JEUNESSE III



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 12 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B

BC # 443 Duf # 339 Source: Vm^{6}25 p 5

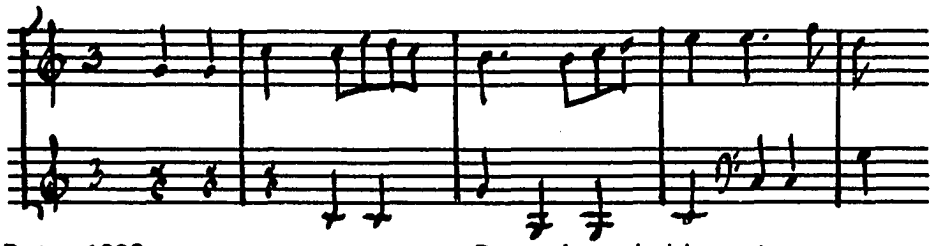
INCONNU I



Date: 1720 **Danced:** no
Original Key: d **Length:** 186 m
Original Scoring: A, V, B

BC # 444 Duf # 235 Source: 581: II, 44; 582: IX: 94

MIRTIL
Overture

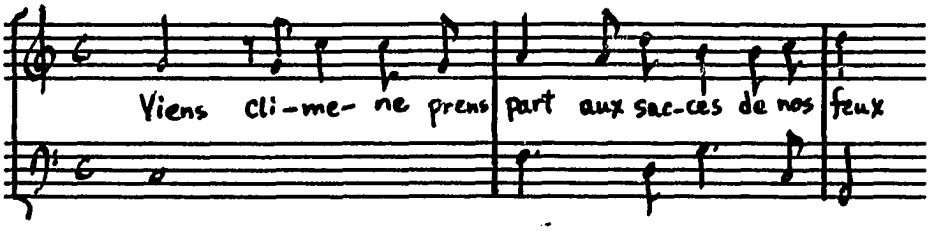


Date: 1698 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: F **Length:** 36 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: second part of overture

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BC # 445 Duf # -- Source: Ms 133.620 f 45r
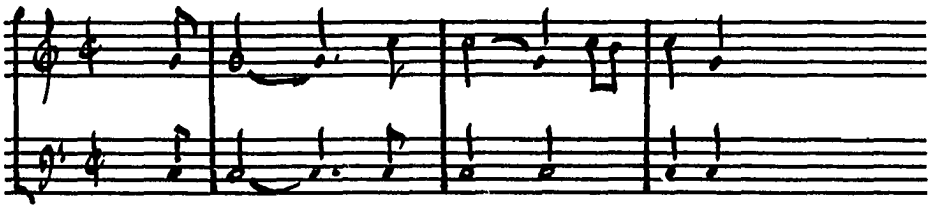
AMOUR
FLECHY VII



Date: 1697
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: Tr, S, A, B
Danced: probably not
Length: 20 m

BC # 446 Duf # -- Source: Vm6 26 p 52; 581: I, 152
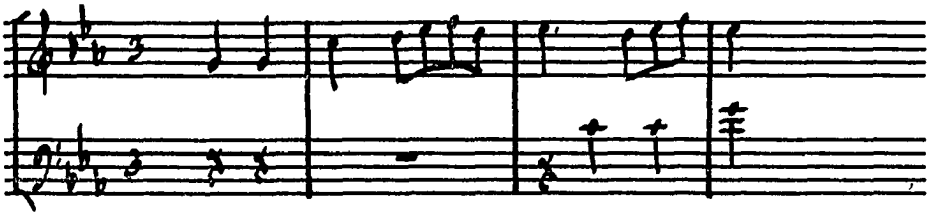
INCONNU V
Villageoise



Date: 1720
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B
Remarks: composed by J. F. Rebel
Danced: yes
Length: 14 m

BC # 447 Duf # 117 Source: 581: II, 71; 582: VI: 54; Vm6 5 f 310r

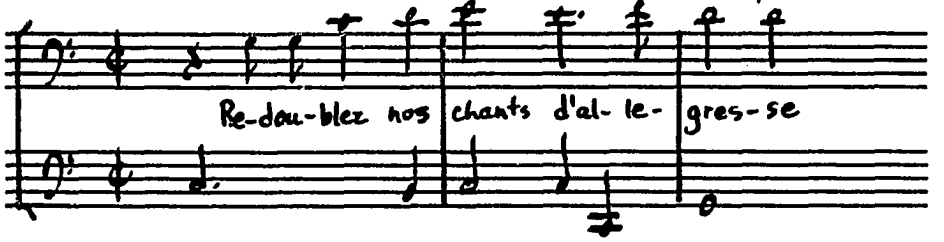
PALAIS
Overture



Date: 1689
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: second half of overture
Danced: probably not
Length: 49 m

BC # 448 Duf # 64 Source: Ms Mus 79 p 72

JEUNESSE P
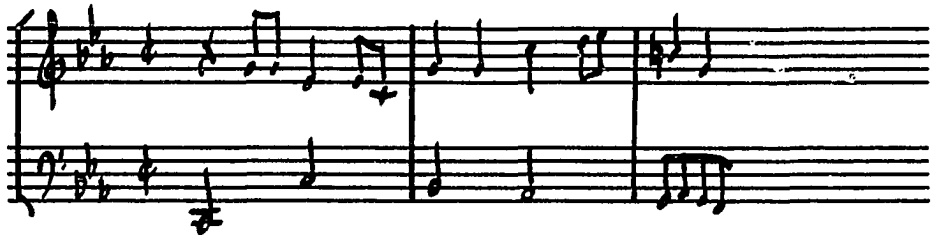


Date: 1686
Original Key: D
Original Scoring: A, orch a 5
Danced: probably not
Length: 48 m

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BC # 449 Duf # -- **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 10**

JEUNESSE P

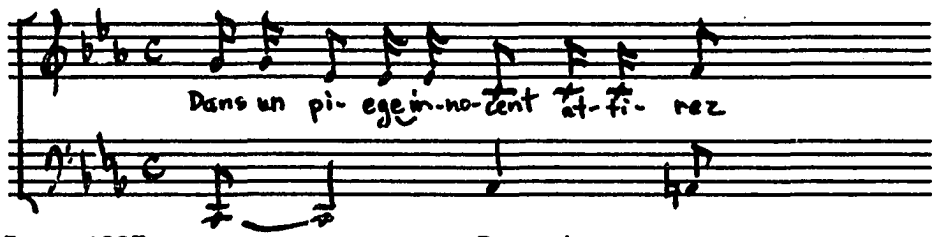


Date: g
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: orch a 5

Danced: probably not
Length: 16 m

BC # 450 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 27r**

AMOUR
FLECHY IV
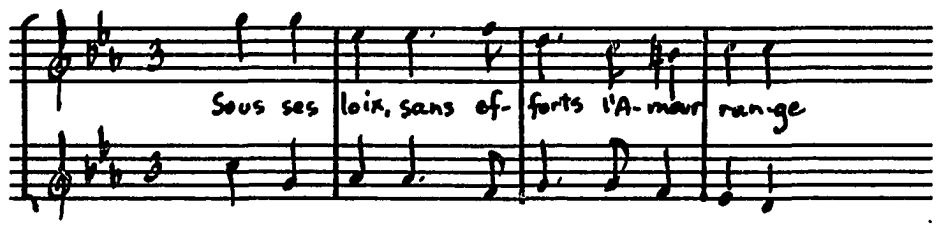


Date: 1697
Original Key: g
Original Scoring: S, B

Danced: no
Length: 6 m

BC # 451 Duf # -- **Source: Ms 133.620 f 40v**

AMOUR
FLECHY V
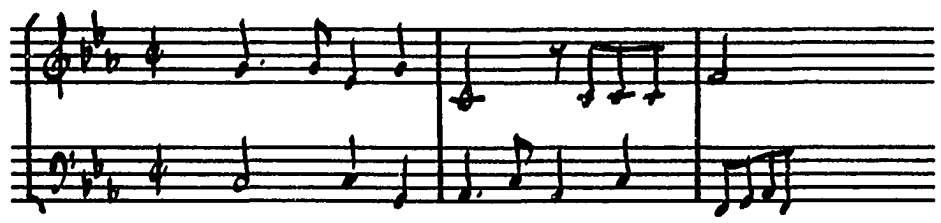


Date: 1697
Original Key: d
Original Scoring: S, T

Danced: probably not
Length: 56 m

BC # 452 Duf # 269 **Source: 581: II, 33; 582: X: 112**

FEES II
Grand Air



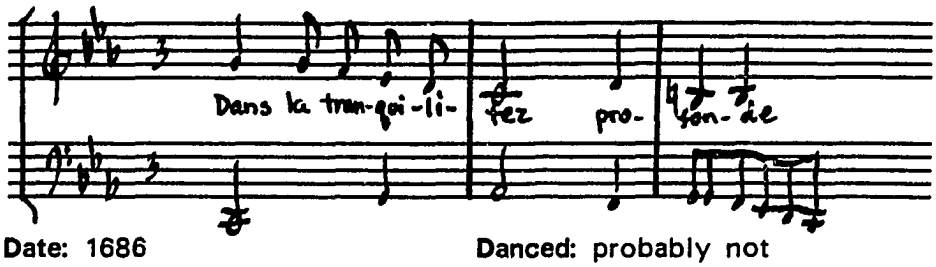
Date: 1699
Original Key: e
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: probably
Length: 29 m

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BC # 453 Duf # 44 **Source:** Ms Mus 79 p 14
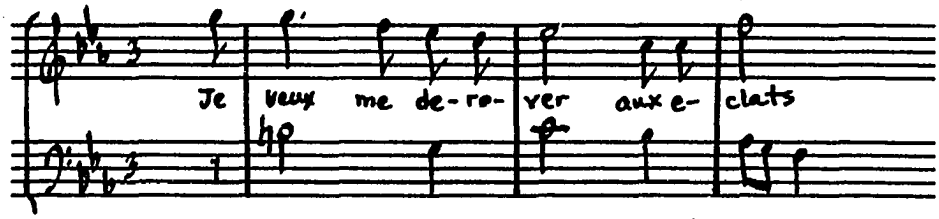
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 13 m
Original Scoring: Ten, orch a 5

BC # 454 Duf # -- **Source:** Ms 133.620 f 42r

AMOUR
FLECHY VI
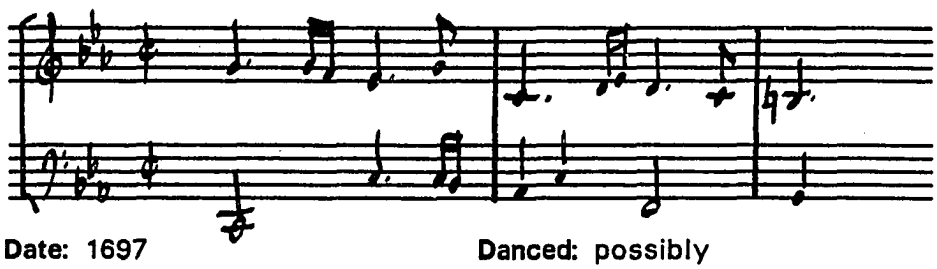


Date: 1697 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: a **Length:** 33 m
Original Scoring: S, A, B

BC # 455 Duf # 218 **Source:** Ms 133.620 f 51r

AMOUR
FLECHY IX

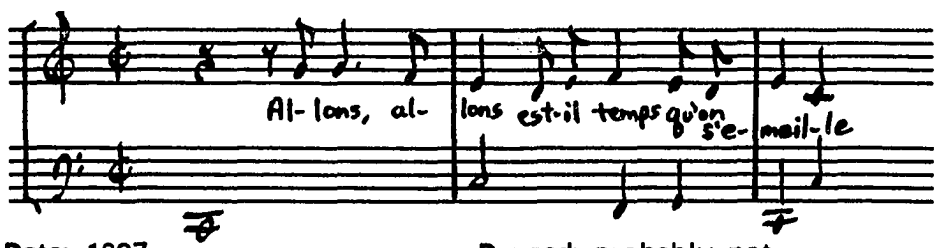
Air Grave



Date: 1697 **Danced:** possibly
Original Key: g **Length:** 29 m
Original Scoring: orch a 5

BC # 456 Duf # -- **Source:** Ms 133.620 f 6v

AMOUR
FLECHY II



Date: 1697 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: G **Length:** 8 m
Original Scoring: Tr, Tr, B

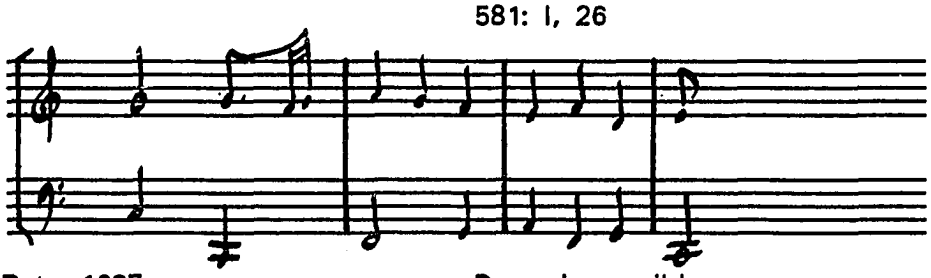
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BC # 457 Duf # 213

Source: Ms 133.620 f 7^{v}; 581: I, 26

AMOUR FLECHY II

Menuet



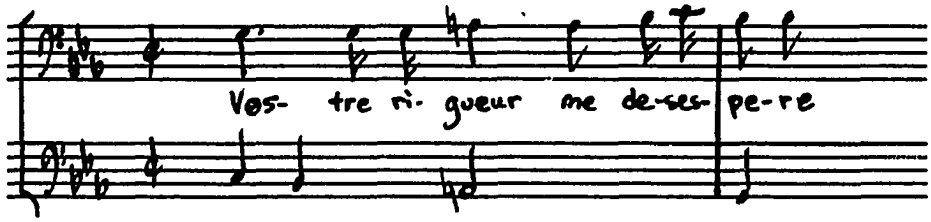
Date: 1697
Original Key: G
Original Scoring: Tr, B

Danced: possibly
Length: 16 m

BC # 458 Duf # 75

Source: Ms Mus 79 p 118

JEUNESSE I



Date: 1686
Original Key: c
Original Scoring: Ten, B

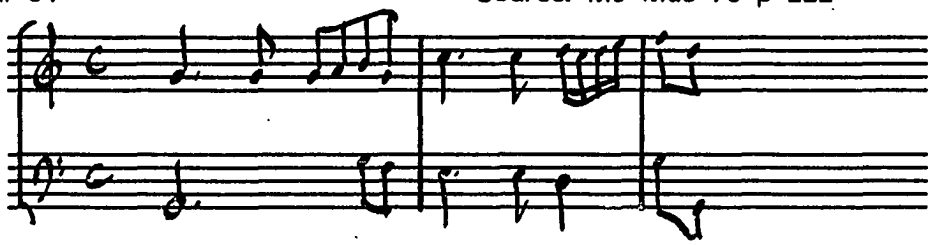
Danced: probably not
Length: 76 m

BC # 459 Duf # 91

Source: Ms Mus 79 p 222

JEUNESSE III

Marche des Candiots



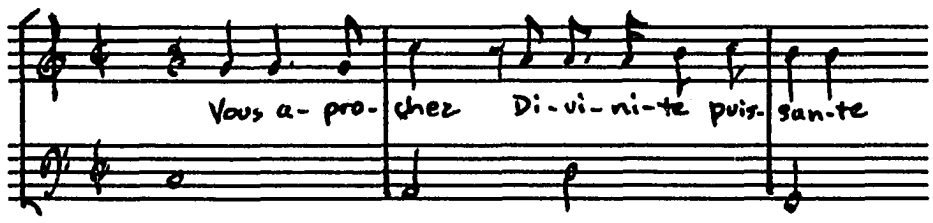
Date: 1686
Original Key: F
Original Scoring: orch a 5

Danced: yes
Length: 11 m

BC # 460 Duf # 297

Source: Ms 9354 p 39

PAIX II
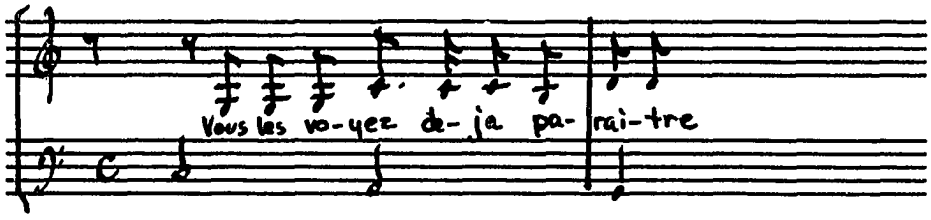


Date: 1713
Original Key: E
Original Scoring: S, B

Danced: no
Length: 15 m

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BC # 461 Duf # 66 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 84**
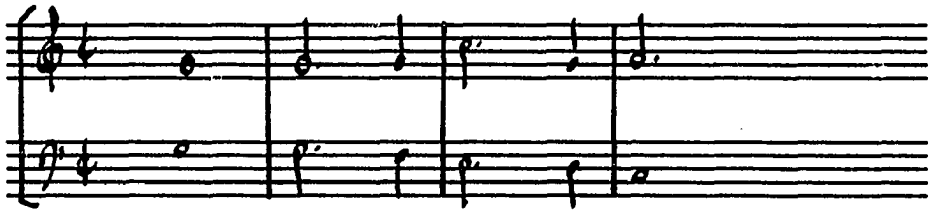
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: D **Length:** 24 m
Original Scoring: A, B

BC # 462 Duf # 12 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 224**
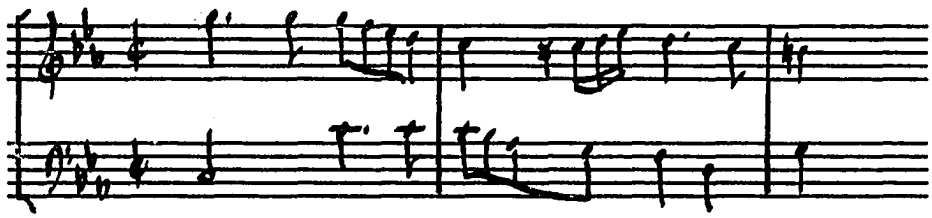
JEUNESSE III



Date: 1686 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: F **Length:** 82 m
Original Scoring: Bar, orch a 5

BC # 463 Duf # 324 **Source: 581: I, 35**
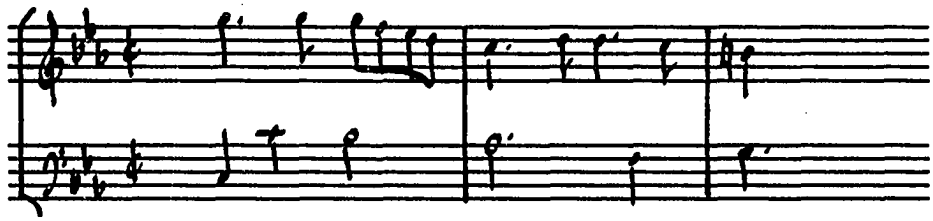
CARDENIO
Overture



Date: 1721 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 12 + 10 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: first part of overture; revised from BC #464

BC # 464 Duf # 324 **Source: 582: IV: 32**

PAIX
Overture
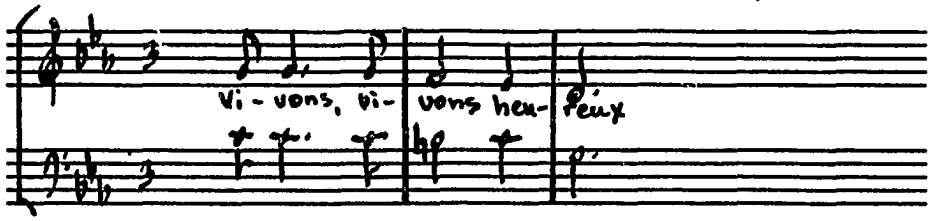


Date: 1713 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: d **Length:** 15 + 10 m
Original Scoring: Tr, B
Remarks: 1st part of overture; revised for *Cardenio*; see BC#463

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BC # 465 Duf # 50 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 24**

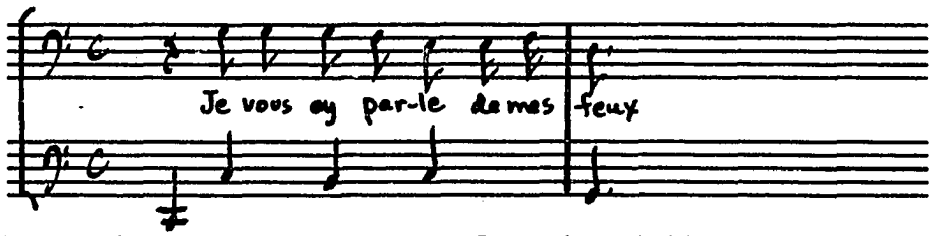
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: g **Length: 106 m**
Original Scoring: ch a 4, orch a 5

BC # 466 Duf # 61 **Source: Ms Mus 79 p 66**

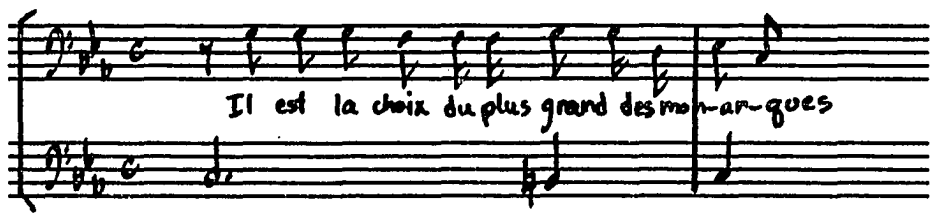
JEUNESSE P



Date: 1686 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: G **Length: 8 m**
Original Scoring: Ten, B

BC # 467 Duf # -- **Source: Rés 538 p 17**
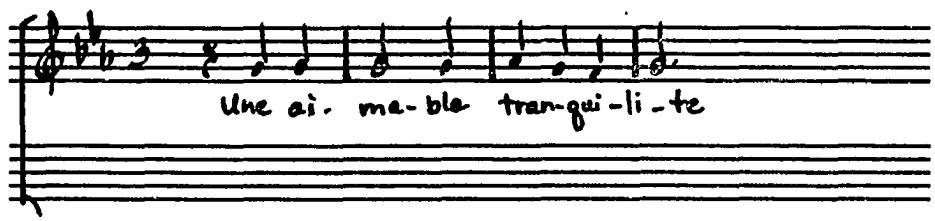
ESCULAPE



Date: 1683 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: d **Length: 10 m**
Original Scoring: Ten, B

BC # 468 Duf # -- **Source: Th^{D}3203 p 71**

FEES II
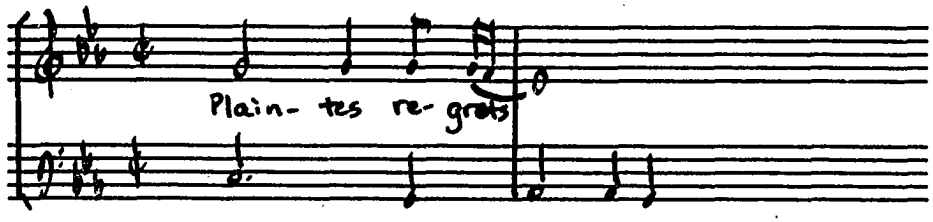


Date: 1699 **Danced: probably not**
Original Key: e **Length: 17 m**
Original Scoring: S

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BC # 469 Duf # 31 **Source:** Rés 537 p 30

FONTAINES V



Date: 1683 **Danced:** probably not
Original Key: g **Length:** 64 m
Original Scoring: ch a 3, orch a 4

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SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography includes the principal primary and secondary sources consulted in the preparation of this dissertation. In view of the contextual approach of the study, I have included here not only writings on music, but also histories of France of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and sources on art, literature, dance, and architecture of the period. The Bibliography is arranged according to the order of entries in the Catalogue Raisonné: that is, primary sources of music, text, and visual material, followed by secondary sources, divided by pre-1800 and post-1800 documents. Secondary accounts written before 1800 but published after that date appear in the pre-1800 listings, but are coded according to the date of the edition used in this research.

I have arranged pimary sources alphabetically by the following library abbreviations:

F AN =	Paris, Archives Nationale
F LY =	Lyons, Bibliothèque Nationale
F Pa =	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
F Pn =	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
F Po =	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra
F V =	Versailles, Bibliothèque Nationale
US Ca =	Cambridge Mass., Harvard University
US NYp =	New York, New York Public Library

Most are listed here only by short title, since complete title pages of the most important sources appears in the Catalogue Raisonné.

Secondary works are arranged alphabetically. I have assigned each a code which usually consists of the author's last name and the date of publication. Two or more works by one author published in the same year are distinguished by an additional key word. These codes are used in footnotes and other references throughout the dissertation.

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PRIMARY SOURCES : Music

F Pa Ms. 896	*Ballet de la Jeunesse.* n.d. (ms score).
F Pn D. 6545	*Airs de Violon de l'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn D. 11533	*L'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn F. Rés 537	*Les Fontaines de Versailles sûr le Retour du Roi.* 1683 (Philidor ms score).
F Pn F. Rés 538	*Le Concert d'Esculape.* 1683 (Philidor ms score).
F Pn L. 709	*L'Inconnu; Airs de Violon de l'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Ms. 9354	*Divertissement sûr la Paix.* n.d. (ms score).
F Pn Rés. 581	*Simphonies de M. De la lande, qu'il faisoit exécuter tous les 15. jours pendant le Souper de Louis XIV et Louis XV.* 1745 (ms short score).
F Pn Rés. 582	*Les Symphonies de M. De La Lande qui se jouirent ordinairement au souper du roi.* 1703 (Philidor ms parts).
F Pn Rés. 1560	*L'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Rés. 1897	*Premier Livre des Divertissements des comédies.* n.d. (ms short score).
F Pn Rés. $Vm^{2}97$	*Les Elémens ...* Paris: Ballard, 1725 (short score).
F Pn Rés. Yf 2188	*L'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Rés. Yf 2190	*L'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Rés. Yf 2190bis	*Airs de Violon de l'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Th 3205	*Les Fées ...* Paris: Ribou, 1699.
F Pn $Vm^{6}5$	(Recueil de Ballets d'auteurs divers). 1691 (ms first violin only).
F Pn $Vm^{6}25$	*L'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn $Vm^{6}26$	*Airs de Violon de l'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn $Vm^{6}78$	*L'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn $Vm^{7}519$	*Intermèdes en musique de Mirtil et Mélicerte.* Paris: Ballard, 1699.
F Pn $Vm^{7}532$	*Recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire de différent auteurs.* Paris: Ballard, February, 1699.
F Pn Yf 7262	*Les Fées ...* Paris: Ribou, 1699.
F Po 𝄞 1349	*Airs de Violon de l'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F V Ms. Mus. 79	*Ballet de la Jeunesse.* 1686 (Philidor manuscript score).

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F V MSD 4° 107 — *Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1725 (short score).

F LY ms 133.620 — *Pastorale, l'Amour fléchy par la Constance.* n.d. (ms score).

PRIMARY SOURCES : Text

F Pn Ms. Fr. 24,353 — *Divertissement sûr la Paix* (ms outline of contents).

F Pn Rés. Yf 781 — *Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.

F Pn Rés. Yf 1252 — *Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.

F Pn Rés. Yf 1730 — *L'Amour fléchy par la Constance* ... Paris: Ballard, 1697.

F Pn Rés. Yf 2189 — *L'Inconnu.* Paris: Ballard, 1720 (ms copy of stage directions and text to airs).

F Pn Rés. Yf 2201 — *Intermèdes de musique ... Mirtil et Mélicerte* ... Paris: Ballard, 1698.

F Pn Rés. Yf 4622 — *Ballet de la Jeunesse* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1686.

F Pn ThB 524a — *Le Palais de Flore* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1702.

F Pn ThB 524b — *Le Palais de Flore* ... Paris: Ballard, 1689.

F Pn ThB 1140 — *Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1721.

F Pn ThB 1142 — *Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1721.

F Pn ThB 1758 — *Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1721.

F Pn ThB 1940 — *Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1721.

F Pn ThB 1994 — *Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.

F Pn ThB 2028 — *Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1721.

F Pn ThB 2029 — *Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1721.

F Pn ThB 2388 — *Intermèdes de musique ... Mirtil et Mélicerte* ... Paris: Ballard, 1698.

F Pn ThB 2740 — *Ballet de la Jeunesse* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1686.

F Pn ThB 3205 — *Intermèdes de la comédie des Fées* ... Paris: Ribou, 1699.

F Pn ThB 4356 — *Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1721.

F Pn ThB 4484 — *Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1721.

F Pn ThB 4501 — *Deuxième Ballet dansé par le Roy* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.

F Pn ThB 4505 — *Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.

F Pn ThB 4515 — *Programe des Fées* ... Paris: Ballard, 1753.

F Pn X[1702 (2) — *Le Palais de Flore* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1702.

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F Pn X[1702 (2)	*Ballet de la Jeunesse* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1687.
F Pn X[1702 (4)	*Intermèdes de Musique ... Mirtil et Mélicerte* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1699.
F Pn Yf 223	*Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Yf 868	*Ballet de la Jeunesse* ... Paris: Ballard, 1686.
F Pn Yf 877	*Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Yf 878	*Deuxième Ballet dansé par le Roy* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Yf 879	*Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Yf 1070	*Deuxième Ballet dansé par le Roy* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Yf 1383	*Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Pn Yf 1681	*Adonis* ... Paris: Ballard, 1696.
F Pn Yf 2201	*Intermèdes de la comédie des Fées* ... Paris: Ballard, 1699.
F Pn Yf 7262	*Intermèdes de la comédie des Fées* ... Paris: Ribou, 1699.
F Pn Yf 7782	*Ballet de la Jeunesse* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1687.
F Pn Yf 7815	*Intermèdes de Musique ... Mirtil et Mélicerte* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1699.
F Pn Yth 12493	*Myrtil et Mélicerte* ... Paris: Trabouillet, 1699.
F Pn Yth 20400	*Myrtil et Mélicerte* ... Paris: Trabouillet, 1699.
F Pn Yth 20401	*Myrtil et Mélicerte* ... Paris: Trabouillet, 1699.
F Po A.I.D. 3224	*Ballet de la Jeunesse*.... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1686.
F Po Liv 17 [12	*Ballet de la Jeunesse* ... Paris: Ballard, 1686.
F Po Liv 17 [51	*Le Palais de Flore* ... Paris: Ballard, 1689.
F Po Liv 17 [R4 (3)	*Adonis* ... Paris: Ballard, 1696.
F Po Liv 17 [R6 (16)	*Le Palais de Flore* ... Paris: Ballard, 1689.
F Po Liv 17 [R7 (5)	*L'Amour fléchy par la Constance* ... Paris: Ballard, 1697.
F Po Liv 17 [R7 (7)	*Intermèdes de la comédie des Fées* ... Paris: Ballard, 1699.
F Po Liv 18 [245	*Les Elémens* ... Paris: Ballard, 1721.
F Po Liv 18 [332	*Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Po Liv 18 [726	*Deuxième Ballet dansé par le Roy* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F Po Liv 18 [R2 (1)	*Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
F V Ms. Mus. 146	*Les Fontaines de Versailles* (ms text).
F V Ms. Mus. 146	*Epithalame* (ms text).

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Genest 1712	Genest, L'Abbé. *Les Divertissements de Sceaux.* Paris: Trevoux, 1712.
I Tn F.11.192 (2)	*L'Amour Fléchy par la Constance* ... Paris: Ballard, 1697.
US Ca *FC7/D1967/686bb	*Ballet de la Jeunesse* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1686.
US Ca TS 5238.140	*Les Folies de Cardenio* ... Paris: Ballard, 1720.
US Ca TS, C13 (3)	*Ballet de la Jeunesse* ... Paris: Ballard, 1686.
US Ca TS, C13 (4)	*Palais de Flore* ... Paris: Ballard, 1689.
US Ca, TS C13 (7)	*Intermèdes de Musique ... Mirtil et Mélicerte* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1699.
US Ca TS, C43 (3)	*Adonis* ... Paris: Ballard, 1696.
US Ca TS, C43 (4)	*Palais de Flore* ... Paris: Ballard, 1689.
US Ca TS, C43 (7)	*L'Amour fléchy par la Constance* ... Paris: Ballard, 1697.
US Ca TS, C43 (14)	*Intermèdes de la comédie des Fées* ... Paris: Ribou, 1699.
US Ca TS, C43 (15)	*Intermèdes de la comédie des Fées* ... Paris: Ballard, 1699.
US NYp *MZF R31 1703	*Ballet de la Jeunesse* ... Amsterdam: Schelte, 1686.

PRIMARY SOURCES : Visual

Fontainebleau Salle	Fontainebleau. Salle de Comédie. AN NIII, 89
Marly Pav	Marly. Central Pavillon. Pn Cab Est, Va 78a. Fol. Tome III: Les Yvelines. Cliché B7719.
Trianon Salle	Grand Trianon. Pn Cab Est Va 78g, Tome I: Les Yvelines.
Tuileries Chat	Tuileries. Plan *premier étage.* Blondel 1754, book VI, p. 77.
Tuileries Mach	Tuileries. Salle des Machines. Pn Cab Est. Va 219 c. Fol: Paris 1er quartier: Tuileries. Cliché A 17.362
Turgot 1734	Turgot. Plan of Paris. 1734-39.
Versailles Maint	Versailles. Apartment Madame de Maintenon. Archives des Bâtiments Civiles, boîte 26, #90.
Versailles Chat	Versailles. Central courtyard, *premier étage.* Pn Cab. Est. Va 78e. Fol. Tome I: Les Yvelines. Cliché 8978.
Versailles Salle	Versailles. Salle de Comédie. Pn Cab Est Va 361 VI, #1637, dessins de Robert de Cotte

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O[1]2824 — *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs,* 1688.

O[1]2829 — *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs,* 1697.

O[1]2830 — *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs,* 1698.

O[1]2832 — *Comptes de la Maison du Roi: Menus Plaisirs,* 1700.

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