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**The *Livre d'Airs et de Simphonies meslés de  
quelques fragmens d'Opéra* 1697 of Pierre Gillier:  
An Edition and Study.**

**by  
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**VOLUME I**

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## Abstract

The *Livre d'Airs et de Simphonies meslés de quelques fragmens d'Opéra de la Composition de P. Gillier* (Book of Airs and Instrumental Pieces mixed with some operatic fragments composed by Pierre Gillier) was published in Paris in 1697. Its contents are dedicated to the twenty-three year-old Philippe duc de Chartres (son of Philippe I duc d'Orléans, only brother of Louis XIV).

Of the life of Pierre Gillier (1665- died after 1713), we know only that he possessed an *haute-contre* voice, and was employed as a chamber musician in the households of Philippe I duc d'Orléans and of his son, Philippe II. The Parisian courts of the Dauphin, and of Philippe I supported the secular arts that Louis XIV (self-exiled at Versailles), had rejected.

There was an insatiable appetite for amateur music making in late seventeenth-century France, notably in the broader societal context of airs: the salons. Composers generally wrote individual airs (of the serious and drinking types), complete operas, or theatre works. In such a context, Gillier's publication is unique: his declared aim was to assemble a collection of serious songs linked together tonally in suites with instrumental pieces by means of their keys, for chamber music performance. As a precursor to the arrival in France of the multi-movement sonata and cantata, Gillier's grouping together of instrumental and vocal movements to make larger musical entities has exceptional interest. His procedure has close links with theatrical practice.

The thesis includes a critical edition of Gillier's complete collection made from the copy preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as F-Pn/ Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 305. The edition is prefaced by a study of performance practices in vocal and instrumental music in late seventeenth-century France.

## **Acknowledgements**

Firstly, I should like to thank my supervisor, Dr Greer Garden, whose guidance, advice, and assistance, particularly with the translation of French texts, proved invaluable during the course of this study. Thanks also to my violin teacher Shelley Wilkinson for providing me with hands-on experience of French Baroque performance practice, as we brought some of Gillier's collection to life; this was an immense delight. I am also very grateful to the Victoria University of Wellington Scholarships Committee for granting me a Masters (by thesis) Scholarship. Lastly, I should like to thank my family, especially my children, Chloe and Logan, for their continued understanding, patience, and support.

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## Chapter 1

### The Composer: Pierre Gillier

Of the life of Pierre Gillier (1665- died after 1713), we know only that he was born in Paris, possessed an *haute-contre* (high tenor) voice and was also a violinist. 'Élevé Page de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy sous les plus habiles Maitres',<sup>1</sup> who included the celebrated singer and composer Michel Lambert, by 1692 Gillier was an established *maître de chant* in the rue de Berry in the Marais, still given as his address in 1697. He was employed as a musician in the households of Philippe I duc d'Orléans and his son at the Palais-Royal from 1694.<sup>2</sup> This position spanned a period of only four to five years; Jean-Paul Montagnier proffers a finish date of 'ap[rès]1698' and Tunley, 1699.<sup>3</sup>

Although Gillier was granted a privilege in 1692, his *Livre d'Airs et de Simphonies meslés de quelques fragmens d'Opera de la Composition* was 'achevé d'Imprimer pour la premiere fois le Dernier Février 1697'. In March the work was announced in the *Mercure galant*:

M.r Gillier, Ordinaire de la Musique de Monsieur, s'est enfin déterminé à donner ses Ouvrages au Public, qui les souhaite depuis longtemps. Il a commencé par un Livre d'Airs & de Simphonies avec les Basses continuës, qu'il a fait graver très proprement, & qu'il a dédié à Monsieur le Duc de Chartres.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Raised as Page de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy under the most skilful masters' as stated in Gillier's *Dedication A Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur Le Duc de Chartres*, at the beginning of his *Livre d'Airs et de Simphonies meslés de quelques fragmens d'Opera de la Composition*, Pierre Gillier, 1697. The full text is given below, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> N. de Blégnny du Pradel (dit Abraham), *Le Livre commode des adresses de Paris*, Paris, chez la veuve de D. Nion, 2/1692, cited by Marcelle Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi: 1661-1733*, Paris: Picard, 1971, lists a 'Gillier' as a *Maître pour le chant* living in the rue de Berry. We may note that 'Rue de Berry au Marais' is the address given in the imprint of the 1697 publication (cf. below, II, p. xliii). Two entries under *Maître pour le violon* are also of interest: a Marchand, from the *violon* family of many musicians (1692 ed.), another teacher of music at that time in the rue de Berry, and also at the Palais-Royal. In the 1691 edition of Pradel's book a 'Gillet' is named as a *Maître pour le basse de violon* at the place du Palais Royal (Benoît, *op.cit.*, p. 413), but no proof exists that this name is a variant of 'Gillier'. Our composer is not named in Yolande de Brossard's *Musiciens de Paris 1535-1792: Actes d'état civil d'après le fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris: Picard, 1965.

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Paul Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien: Philippe D'Orléans, Régent (1674-1723)*, Paris: Zurfluh, 1996, p.136; David Tunley in the sleeve note to Gillier, Philippe 11, Mascitti, Bernier, *The Palais-Royal*, Sara MacLiver; Ensemble Battistin, ABC Classics 476 6499, 2008, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> 'Printed for the first time on the last day of February 1697'. Pierre Gillier, 1692 *Extrait du Privilège du Roy*, cf. below, II, p. xlvi; 'Book of Airs and Instrumental Pieces mixed with fragments of Operas composed by Pierre Gillier'. *Mercure galant*, mars 1697, pp. 164-166. The *Mercure galant* report is a statement almost entirely uplifted from Gillier's preface; it is not a review of his collection.

This five-year gap is surprising. Generally privilege and publication date were relatively close, so why was there such a delay? We will address this question in the course of this chapter. The contents of Gillier's publication are dedicated to the twenty-three year-old Philippe duc de Chartres (son of Philippe I duc d'Orléans who was the only brother of Louis XIV). In 1701 Philippe inherited the duchy on his father's death; after Louis XIV died, as Philippe II d'Orléans, he was to become Regent of France.

According to a number of writers, Gillier also published songs in the Christophe Ballard series, *Recueils d'airs sérieux et à boire*. F. Lesure and V. Fedorov suggest that he published '10 airs dans les recueils de Ballard (1694-1713)'; Mary Hunter does not specify the number of airs when she writes 'between 1699 and 1713'; eleven airs are listed as follows in the card catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France as appearing in the Ballard song collections between 1695 and 1713:<sup>5</sup>

**Figure 1/1. Published airs attributed to Gillier in Ballard's *Recueils d'airs sérieux et à boire* (Bibliothèque nationale de France)**

Year	Month	Page no.	Title
1695	Jan	18	Je sens que Cupidon
1695	April	74	Charmant repos
1695	May	94	Entre le vis
1695	Oct	185	J'ay quitté mes moutons
1696	March	46	Le printemps vient déjà
1696	May	88	Rossignol si les soins
1702	Oct	202	L'amour te fait souffrir
1703	Aug	158	Que vous m'avez fait boire
1706	Dec	228	Vous pouvez toujours
1708	Jan	16	Depuis que je vous vois
1713	July	142	Ah maman

As no forename is cited, these airs are possibly by him, or possibly by his better-known younger brother Jean-Claude (1667-1737). Anne-Madeleine Goulet has discovered that Gillier's air 'Beaux lieux aimable solitude' (no.44), also included in the

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<sup>5</sup> F. Lesure and V. Fedorov (ed.), 'Gillier', in *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, Vol. I, Paris: Fasquelle, 1959; Mary Hunter, 'Gillier, Jean-Claude', in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11147> (accessed February 1, 2010).

1697 *Livre d'Airs*, had previously been published in a 1688 Ballard song collection.<sup>6</sup> The only other information we currently have is even more unsubstantiated and a number of pieces are preserved in libraries and archives surrounded by uncertainty as to whether they are by Pierre. Some have the attribution 'possibly by Pierre Gillier' or 'Jean-Claude' who is sometimes called 'le jeune' to differentiate him from Pierre, 'l'ainé'.<sup>7</sup> Archival research, which may lead to substantiation and further discovery, is beyond the scope of the present study. Nonetheless, in spite of the scarcity of biographical information on Gillier, we can make some assumptions concerning the life this performer, composer, and teacher may have led.

We know that generally the *Pages de la Musique* commenced in these positions towards the age of nine. The best of these young sopranos or altos, destined to serve his Majesty in the music at court, were recruited from cathedral churches in Paris, notably Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois or the Sainte-Chapelle, or the provinces by the *maîtrises*, the *Maître de la Musique de la Chambre* or the *sous-maître* of the chapel, by decree of the king. If the *maître* was unable to travel, one of his singers would be authorised to do so. This seizing by force of the best voice in their choir was not always welcomed by the provincial ecclesiastics, whereas the Parisian officers of the chamber and the chapel often placed sons with musical aptitude in one of the two notable choir schools in the hope that they might be chosen for the royal service.<sup>8</sup>

At any one time, there were three young boys under the care of the *Maître de la Musique* and the *Surintendant de la Musique de la Chambre du Roi*, who housed and provided for them alongside his own children. The *surintendant* also housed an assistant comprising a *page mué*, one whose voice had just broken and was perhaps waiting to see whether his adult voice was good enough for a singing career. This would account for the discrepancy in ages with some young musicians, as we shall

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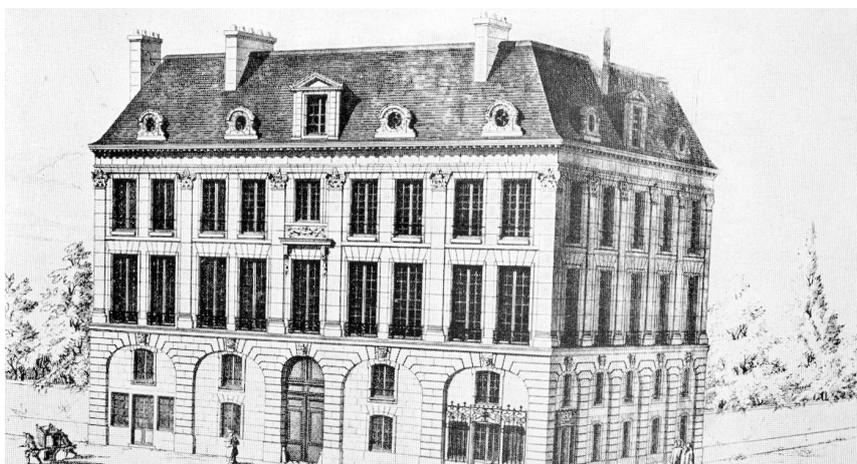
<sup>6</sup> The variants between this publication and the 1697 issue as outlined by Goulet, are discussed in Chapter 4. Anne-Madeleine Goulet, *Paroles de musique (1658-1694): Catalogue des livres d'airs de différents auteurs publiés chez Ballard*, Paris: Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles/ Wavre: Mardaga, 2007, pp. 905-6.

<sup>7</sup> For example Cambridge University Library has, in manuscript form, an unaccompanied *air à boire* duo, 'Noirs enfants de l'hiver', with an estimated copying date of 1714-1720; full attribution: 'Possibly by Pierre Gillier (1663-1731)' [sic for 1713?] 'Noirs enfants de l'hiver[s]', Drinking songs, GB Cu, MS.Add.8923, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, [www.rism.org.uk/manuscripts/browse/4919](http://www.rism.org.uk/manuscripts/browse/4919); (accessed 11 February, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi*, pp. 245-6.

discover, remaining in service until seventeen years of age. Apart from the infamous relationship between Jean-Baptiste Lully, who was gifted (by Louis XIV) the half-yearly shared position of *surintendant* beginning May 1661 until his death in 1687, and the *page* Brunet, overall this arrangement proved very satisfactory to the music at court.<sup>9</sup> Given Gillier's dates, he was nine years of age in 1674 (the same year that his younger brother, by two years, entered the Notre Dame choir school at the age of seven) it would appear that for six months of the year he was under the care of Lully and probably housed at the magnificent Hôtel de Lully (Illustration 1), built on the corner of Rue Sainte-Anne and the Rue des Petits-Champs after 1671.<sup>10</sup> By this stage Lully had six children of his own.

**Illustration 1. Hôtel de Lully**




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<sup>9</sup> On 16 January 1685 the diarist Dangeau reported that this situation was brought to the attention of the king, and as the corruption of Brunet had also involved a number of other men in high places, the inquiry was curtailed. Brunet, who was 'plus beau que Cupidon' ('more beautiful than Cupid') was consequently shut away with the monks, with Lully's reputation with the king irreparably tarnished. Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi*, p. 247. By 1685 Gillier had in all probably left the court; he was 15 years of age in 1680.

<sup>10</sup> The Hôtel Lully in Paris. Drawing by E. Radet, cited by Marcelle Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi* Plates, p. XXI, no 28. According to Newman, Lully purchased two sites. On 28 May 1671 he acquired land on the Rue Saint-Anne on which he had a rental property built, and on 13 June 1671 he brought further land on which he had his own residence built. Joyce Newman, *Jean-Baptiste de Lully and his Tragédies Lyriques*, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1979, p. 46; La Gorce states that Lully lived there from 1670. Jérôme de La Gorce, 'Lully', in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42477pg1> (accessed March 4, 2010).

During the period that Gillier was at court, Lully shared the coveted *surintendant* position with Jean Baptiste Boësset, Sieur de Dehault, who in 1643 had inherited the post from his father, retaining it until his death in 1685.<sup>11</sup>

It was also in May of 1661, that another of Gillier's 'plus habiles Maitres', the 'best singing teacher in Paris',<sup>12</sup> Lully's father-in-law Michel Lambert (c.1610-1696), secured a position as *Maître de la Musique de la Chambre*; an appointment he retained until his death in 1696. Lambert was charged with educating the *pages* in the royal chapel and training the choristers in the *Chambre du Roi*. It is to 'la méthode de l'incomparable M. Lambert' that Gillier directed his performers in order that they might appear 'beaucoup plus parfaits'.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, Lambert did not write a treatise. However, examples of his *airs sérieux* method can be ascertained from the extant collections of his airs and Bénigne de Bacilly's 1668 *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*.<sup>14</sup>

The actual identity of the *pages* and their exact tasks are not known; they were not listed individually, rather accounted for anonymously and as a group.<sup>15</sup> Although they had separate designations for administrative purposes, the *pages* of the chamber also served in the chapel; these boys carried out both secular and sacred duties.<sup>16</sup> There were eight official *Pages à la Chapelle*, including the two *dessus mués*, placed under

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<sup>11</sup> Boësset, who Benoît informs us (op. cit., p. 247) had attempted in vain to protect Brunet from this bad influence (Lully), held a number of other positions at court and was a composer of motets, airs, two operas, and collaborated in 12 *ballets de cour*. Austin B. Caswell and Georgie Durosoir, 'Boësset, Jean Baptiste, Sieur de Dehault', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03385> (accessed March 5, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> This according to the singer Anne de la Barre in a letter of 31 July 1648 as cited in James R. Anthony and Catherine Massip, 'Lambert, Michel', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15888> (accessed October 13, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> 'The method of the incomparable M. Lambert/ considerably more accomplished'. Pierre Gillier, *Au Lecteur*, 1697. Cf. below, II, p. xlvii.

<sup>14</sup> There are more than 330 surviving airs by him in printed and manuscript form. Anthony and Massip, 'Lambert, Michel,' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, (accessed October 13, 2009); Benigne de Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, 1668, Austin B. Caswell (trans), *A Commentary upon the Art of Proper Singing*, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968; Also cf. Catherine Massip's *L'art de bien chanter: Michel Lambert (1610-1696)*, Paris: Societe française de musicologie, 1999.

<sup>15</sup> *L'État de la France* of 1702 documents the names of the high and low sopranos but refers to the boys collectively as '6 Pages pour la Musique'. Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi*, p. 248.

<sup>16</sup> Anthony puts this in context when he explains that musicians of each area passed freely between the groups to form larger musical bodies when required, whilst also retaining their individual grouping for certain performances. James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, revised and expanded ed., Portland: Amadeus Press, 1997, p. 26.

the care of two *sous-maîtres*.<sup>17</sup> Caroline Wood informs us that Lully also used *pages* of the chapel to augment his stage performances.<sup>18</sup> Benoît raises some important questions: 'forment-ils la base du pupitre des dessus? Chantent-ils en soliste dans le "petit choeur", élément essentiel du motet concertant?'<sup>19</sup>

We can ascertain the identity of a number of other *pages* from various archival documents including dedications such as Gillier's. Henry Desmarest (born 1661) was a composer close in age to Gillier (they were also at the Palais-Royal around the same time), who along with his friend Jean-Baptiste Matho (born 1660), served as a *Page à la Chapelle*. Greer Garden suggests that they were known to each other.<sup>20</sup> Given that they probably both started at around age nine or just before, their times overlap, assuming Gillier started around 1674 and Desmarest left some time after 1675. Catherine Massip informs us that another contemporary of Gillier, Jean Regnault (a regular contributor to Ballard's *Recueils d'airs sérieux et à boire*), had also been a *page de la Musique du roi* and student of Lambert.<sup>21</sup> *Pages* generally remained at court until their voices broke at around the age of fourteen or fifteen years of age.<sup>22</sup>

Concerning the musical role of the *pages*, Marcelle Benoît refers us to two pieces of pictorial evidence in the form of extant tapestries. The first (not shown), depicts the tribune of musicians at the marriage of Marie-Thérèse and Louis XIV in 1660; three young children at the front singing, with a fourth, an older child, standing behind, accompanied by a *violle de gambe*. Perhaps these were the four children of the

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<sup>17</sup> From 1663 to 1669 there were four *sous-maîtres* of the Royal Chapel until two retired, leaving Pierre Robert and Henry Du Mont. Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 216.

<sup>18</sup> Caroline Wood, 'Desmarests, Henry', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07630> (accessed March 4, 2010).

<sup>19</sup> 'Were the children the foundation of the desk of sopranos? Did they sing as soloists in the *petit choeur*, one of the central elements in the *motet concertant*?' Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi*, p. 249 (translation by the present writer). Anthony, providing evidence from the 1708 *État de la France*, states that under the *sous-maître* of the chapel, there were eleven sopranos, eighteen *hautes-contres*, twenty-three tenors, twenty-four baritones, and fourteen basses, and suggests that the collective *pages* (the famous eight) must have been used in order to balance the soprano voices. Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Greer Garden, 'Variations d'un style reçu: Les airs de Desmarest publiés dans les *Recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire* de Ballard', in *Henry Desmarest (1661-1741) Exils d'un musicien dans l'Europe du Grand Siècle*, Jean Duron and Yves Ferraton (eds), Paris: Mardaga, 2005, pp. 360-2.

<sup>21</sup> Massip also informs us of a certain Riel, the first of Lambert's *pages*. Massip, *L'art de bien chanter: Michel Lambert*, pp. 89, 91.

<sup>22</sup> Also see for example the careers of André and Antoine François Richer, Jean-Baptiste Cardonne, Louis-Joseph Francoeur, Louis-Joseph Guichard, Louis-Emmanuel Jadin, and Nicolas-Joseph Platel in *Grove Music Online*.

chamber? The second tapestry (Illustration 2) depicts the baptism of Louis, the grand Dauphin of France, eldest son of Louis XIV, at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 24 May 1668. Are these the eight *pages* of the chapel comprising six young singers plus the two older *Page mués* playing the flûte à bec and traversière respectively?<sup>23</sup>

**Illustration 2. Baptism of Louis, the grand Dauphin of France, at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 24 May 1668**



In addition to vocal training, these young musicians were given an academic and musical education receiving tuition in grammar, latin, the *luth*, *théorbe*, and *viole*. Presumably in Gillier's case this also included tuition on the *violon*.<sup>24</sup> Although we lack details concerning the daily activities of the *pages* in the chamber and the chapel, from an early eighteenth-century document pertaining to the choirboys of the missionaries at Versailles, we are given some insight into what the schedule of a young boy at court could have involved.<sup>25</sup> Lessons began at 6.30am in the summer (Easter to All Saints), 6.45am in the winter, morning prayer at 7am followed by breakfast, then back to class from 8 until 9.45am. Mass was at 10am followed by classes until 11am after which the children were sent to their respective lodgings for

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<sup>23</sup> The painter has not depicted the tribune on the right, which could have held the *pages* of the chamber. Tapisserie des Gobelins. after a sketch by Charles Le Brun, added in 1715 to the group of tapestries known as *Histoire du roi* preserved in the Musée de Versailles. Cf. M. Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi*, pp. 249, Plates, p. XX, no 25. Anthony cites from a description in the *Mercure galant* in October 1679 of a performance of a Te Deum (translation by Anthony): 'The musicians were placed in the tribune...those from the Chamber were at the right, and those from the Chapel at the left'. Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 222.

<sup>24</sup> Although Gillier was in service as a *haute-contre* at the Palais-Royal, his name is included in the list of violinists of the instrumentistes *ordinaires*. Jean-Paul Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*, p. 38.

<sup>25</sup> Benoît notes that the education of the children of the missionaries was based on plainchant, whereas the children of the king were schooled in a number of instruments, secular song, and dancing.

the daily rehearsals of operas and *divertissements* undertaken by their *surintendant*. In the afternoon they returned to class for singing from 1 until 2pm, lessons until 3pm, a short break for afternoon tea, with study resuming until 4.45pm in the winter or 5.45pm in the summer. Vespers (evening prayer) was at 6pm, then back to their lodgings to complete their homework. Saturdays were largely spent in preparation for Sunday services (which consumed the entire day), with some time set aside for other duties, namely their laundry. Recreation was on Wednesdays beginning at 8am, after their usual morning activities, with a break from 1 until 2pm for singing class. Games, including skittles, bowls, and other such innocent activities, were organised by their monitors.

At the completion of their education, these young musicians either secured positions at court, or left to pursue other appointments. Gillier probably left the court of Louis XIV some time after 1679 (age fourteen), and by 1692 (age twenty-seven), we have confirmation that he was established in Paris as a *maître de chant*. There is no record of him securing a position at the king's court. The only other information we have pertaining to this period of time, is his *air sérieux* in the 1688 Ballard song collection; presumably his first published work.

Gillier was granted a twelve-year privilege, 'par grace et Privilege du Roy donné à Paris le quatorzieme jour de May 1692', but for reasons that are unknown, he only used this once.<sup>26</sup> Gillier had clearly planned to publish other collections, both sacred and secular, as outlined in his 1697 foreword 'To the reader':

Selon la Réception, que le Public fera a ce Recueil, j'en donnerai d'autres dans la suite de différens caracteres, come *Motets*, *Concerts détachés*, [et] *Airs à boire*, qui ne seront pas de moindre gout. Le premier, qui suivra celuy-cy, sera composé d'*Airs à boire* à voix seule, à deux et à trois parties, melez de *symphonies* convenables. Je prépare aussy un livre des neuf *leçons de Ténèbres* et d'un *Miserere* a une, deux, et trois parties avec *symphonies*.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> 'By the grace and privilege of the King given at Paris the fourteenth day of the month of May 1692', Gillier, 1692 *Extrait du Privilège du Roy*, cf. below, II, p. xlvi.

<sup>27</sup> 'According to the reception that the public will accord this collection, later on I will issue others in different styles, such as *Motets*, *Concerts détachés*, [and] *Airs à boire*, that will not be less stylish. The first, which will come after the present collection, will consist of *Airs à boire* for solo voice in two and in three parts, mixed with suitable *symphonies*. I will also prepare a book of nine *leçons de Ténèbres* and a *Miserere* having one, two, and three parts with *symphonies*'. Gillier, *Au Lecteur*, cf. below, II, pp. xlvi-iii.

Of interest as intimated earlier, is the five-year gap between privilege and publication date. In 1692 Gillier was given permission 'de faire graver et Imprimer vendre ou faire vendre et débiter tous ses Ouvrages de Musique'.<sup>28</sup> Engraving before the beginning of the eighteenth century, when this new method began to supersede movable type much to the disconcertion of the Ballard family of printers, was a slow and expensive process; a luxury. If the composer chose not to have his music printed by the Ballard family, the sole printer of music to the king and holder of the typographic monopoly, up until 1690 he had it engraved and published on his own account.<sup>29</sup> During the 1690s Christophe Ballard entered into a number of expensive court processes in order to defend his patent. From the 1697 *Au Lecteur* we can ascertain that Gillier paid for the engraving himself which tends to indicate that the dedication was not necessarily evidence of patronage: 'Je n'ay pu fixer ce Recueil à moins de dix livres relié en veau et neuf livres en feuilles, pour en retirer seulement les frais'. The following sentence affords some insight into his perfectionism and preference for engraved editions, possibly stemming from Lambert's example: 'On sçait que la Graveure est d'une bien plus grande despense que l'Impression, elle a aussy beaucoup plus d'agrément'.<sup>30</sup>

Hiérosme Bonneüil (*fl* Paris, 1671-1700) appears in the title page imprint as the engraver of Gillier's *Livre d'airs*; it was the last dated publication engraved entirely by him.<sup>31</sup> Henry Foucault, publisher, music dealer and paper seller from his shop 'A la règle d'or, rue St Honoré', appears in association with the composer as stated in the title page imprint. 'Chez' indicates that copies could be obtained from either address as given. On 28 June 1690 Foucault and his previous engraver Henri de Baussen were issued with an injunction for publishing, in contravention of the Ballard privilege,

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<sup>28</sup> 'To have engraved and printed all his pieces of music in order to sell or to have them sold'. Gillier, *Extrait du Privilège du Roy*, cf. below, II, p. xlvi.

<sup>29</sup> The first to do so in France was Michel Lambert with his publication *Les airs de Monsieur Lambert* engraved by Richers before 1660. Up until 1690 it was predominantly instrumental music that was engraved. Christophe Ballard (1641-1715), eldest son of Robert (3rd), was granted this sole printing right by the king on 11 May 1673. H. Edmund Poole, 'Music Printing', and Samuel F. Pogue, 'Christophe Ballard' in *Music Printing and Publishing*, Krummel D.W. and Stanley Sadie (eds), London: Macmillan, 1990, pp. 43, 94, 162.

<sup>30</sup> '... I was unable to set a price for this collection under ten *livres* bound in calfskin and nine *livres* unbound, merely to retrieve my costs, it is known that engraving is more costly than typesetting, but it is a good deal more pleasing to look at'. Gillier, *Au Lecteur*, cf. below, II, pp. xlvii-iii.

<sup>31</sup> *Fl*: floruit [he flourished]. Garrett H. Bowles, 'Bonneüil, Hiérosme', in *Music Printing and Publishing*, Krummel and Sadie (eds), p. 180.

Moreau's *La musique d'Athalie*. It transpired that Baussen's privilege from the late Mademoiselle de Guise, supposedly allowing him to engrave this music, was falsely acquired. Apart from one subsequent appearance of 'Foucault marchand papetier' in association with Bonnetüil and Marais on the title page of the composer's issue in 1692, we do not encounter Foucault's name again until 1697 when he advertises himself as a dealer of music. The designation 'marchand' also appears on Gillier's title page. Operating under the omnipresent threat of legal action, Foucault, using alternative engravers including Bonnetüil, thus became an intermediary between the composer and printer.<sup>32</sup> Given the circumstances, it is possible that it took some time for Gillier, operating at the forefront of this new demand, to source a 'publisher' who was prepared to issue an engraved edition.<sup>33</sup> The other consideration is that Gillier may have had the plates engraved for his project only as he could afford to do so.<sup>34</sup> With regard to issues of other engraved music during this period of time, a study based on privilege dates may be of use as a more accurate indication of composition dates than the date of publication. The burgeoning demand for editions of music from this period onwards will be discussed in Chapter Three.

In 1694, aged twenty-nine, Gillier secured a position at the Palais-Royal as a *musicien ordinaire de la Musique du duc d'Orléans, haute-contre* and was also engaged as a violinist. Clearly he was an accomplished instrumentalist. Isherwood puts into context the designation *musiciens ordinaires* and the system they operated within under Louis XIV. The Parisian palace of Philippe I duc d'Orléans and of his son was, according to Jean-Paul Montagnier, set up 'à l'imitation des musiciens du Roi'.<sup>35</sup> *Ordinaires* were sourced from lower to middle class families, often of Parisian musicians, and as we have seen, a number of *pages* went on to secure these positions. *Officiers*, on the other

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<sup>32</sup> The Ballard family successfully maintained its position until 1713 when Leclair and a number of others obtained privileges to print using engraving plates. Their attempted injunction was unsuccessful; it was decided that the Ballard privilege only related to the older method. Pogue, 'Christophe Ballard'; Bowles, 'Baussen, Henri de'; and Frank Dobbins, 'Foucault, Henry', in *Music Printing and Publishing*, Krummel and Sadie (eds), pp. 162, 168, 245.

<sup>33</sup> The only other contemporary publisher of engraved editions of significance was Pierre Ribou (operating from 1704-1720) who made his first appearance in Jean-Claude Gillier's collection of *Airs de la Comédie-Française* issued from 1704-1713. Poole, 'Music Printing', and Bowles, 'Ribou, Pierre', in *Music Printing and Publishing*, Krummel and Sadie (eds), pp. 95, 392.

<sup>34</sup> The engraving style appears similar throughout the 1697 publication suggesting that the plates were more likely to have been engraved by the same hand.

<sup>35</sup> Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King; France in the Seventeenth Century*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973, pp. 251-2; Jean-Paul Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*, pp. 36, 136.

hand, either inherited or bought their posts, consequently leading to the establishment of dynasties of musicians. Gillier's name appears under the list 'des musiciens de la Chambre', and would have received an annual salary of around 600 livres, a figure taken from a 1700-1701 document in which the names of two other *hautes-contres* appear.<sup>36</sup> Montagnier explains that the list of musicians attached to the 'Chappelle-Musique est inexistante', and when one compares the salaries to those of the *Écurie* (from 180-200 livres), this suggests that the musicians of the chamber also served the chapel. We may compare this with the chamber musicians of the king, according to Isherwood, who were required to be at court for one quarter of the year, receiving an average salary of 400 livres.<sup>37</sup> Two singers with appointments at the Palais-Royal also appear on the list of leading male singers at the Académie Royale de Musique (situated in the southeastern wing of the Palais-Paris) between 1669 and 1758: Guillaume Le Mercier (*taille-haute*, debut 1671) and Jacques Cochereau (*haute-contre*, debut 1702).<sup>38</sup> Gillier's name, as either a soloist or a chorus member, is not amongst them.

After their court service, many resumed their teaching and performing in the Parisian homes of the bourgeoisie. The *Maître de la Musique de la Chambre* from 1669 until his death in 1700 was Jean Granouillet de Sablières (of the infamous Perrin and the l'Academie Royale de Musique debacle); Jérôme de Four, abbé de Pibrac was the *Maître de la Chapelle-Musique* up until 1710.<sup>39</sup>

We know that after his father died in 1701, Philippe II retained the majority of his father's staff including the numerous musicians who had served since at least 1692, the year the Palais-Royal became the official Orléans residence, and the date of

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<sup>36</sup> Pierre Renard and Pierre Henry Lagneau. Neither their dates of employment nor additional details are known. Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*.

<sup>37</sup> This salary per quarter remained constant between 1677 and 1706. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, pp. 251, 385.

<sup>38</sup> Spire Pitou, *The Paris Opéra: An Encyclopedia of Operas, Ballets, Composers, and Performers; Genesis and Glory, 1671-1715*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983, p. 349; Mary Cyr, *Essays on the Performance of Baroque Music: Opera and Chamber Music in France and England*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, chpt XII, pp. 47-51.

<sup>39</sup> Charles Lalouette, a teacher of 'des instruments à vent' employed on a part-time basis, shared the responsibilities with Sablières. Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*: pp. 36-41; Jean-Paul Montagnier, 'Royal Peculiar: The Music and Patronage of Philippe of Orléans, Regent of France', *Musical Times*, 148:1899(Summer2007),pp.51-62,availablefrom [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_qa3870/is\\_200707/ai\\_n19433058/](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3870/is_200707/ai_n19433058/) (accessed March 2, 2010). There is no specific mention of Gillier in this article.

Gillier's dedication.<sup>40</sup> As to whether Philippe II, duc of Chartres had his own musical establishment prior to his father's death, is suggested by two documents. The first is a pay record from 1696 in which Philippe II was responsible for a portion of the payment to the violinist Jean-Baptiste Anet I for his services: 'He will be due on next Christmas day, the sum of 300 livres, that is, 200 livres for his wages and *per diem* as officer of the music of His Royal Highness [Philippe I d'Orléans], and 100 livres by Monsieur le duc de Chartres [Philippe II d'Orléans], the total during the last six months of the present year, 1696'.<sup>41</sup> The second piece of archival evidence is the 1697 title page of the opera *Méduse*, by Charles-Hubert Gervais, *ordinaire de la Musique de S.A.R. Mgr le duc de Chartres*.<sup>42</sup> Montagnier suggests that upon the death of Philippe d'Orléans, the musical establishments of father and son were probably amalgamated in 1701, with the exception of certain musicians (such as the violinists Noel Converset and Edmé Dumont) who attempted to find employment with the King, and those of retirement age.<sup>43</sup>

There are few documented reports on the musical performances given at Philippe's court during the period of Gillier's appointment but specific mention is made of performances of two *tragédies en musique* in which he may have taken part, *Philomèle*, the Philippe II-Charpentier collaboration performed three times from 1694, and Gervais's *Méduse* written in 1697.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*, pp. 19, 36.

<sup>41</sup> M. Antoine, 'Note sur les violonistes Anet', *Recherches sur la musique classique française*, ii (1961-2), pp. 81-93; Archives Nationales MCLII, 115. Cited in Don Fader, 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens", the Italian cantata, and the *goûts-réunis* under Louis XIV', *Early Music*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (May, 2007), p. 248.

<sup>42</sup> Gervais, whose father was the Duke d'Orléans's *garçon de la Chambre*, was raised at the Palais-Royal, becoming an 'Officer of the music of His Royal Highness Monsieur the duc of Chartres' in 1697. Subsequently he became the *Maître de Musique de la Chambre* upon the death of Sablières in 1700, and one of the duke's teachers. Montagnier, 'Gervais, Charles-Hubert,' in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10967> (accessed March 2, 2010).

<sup>43</sup> Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*, p. 36. Translation by the present writer.

<sup>44</sup> H. Wiley Hitchcock, 'Charpentier, Marc-Antoine', in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05471> (accessed March 7, 2010), does not include dates: 'three times in the duke's apartments in the Palais-Royal'; Montagnier in *Un Mécène-Musicien*, pp. 53, 56, writes 'composed around 1694' and 'sung three times in the great apartments of the Palais-Royal on unspecified dates'; With regard to *Philomèle*, David Tunley in *The Palais-Royal* sleeve note, p. 6, states it was 'performed three times at the Palais-Royal in 1694'.

Although Gillier was employed there for only four or five years, his time at the Palais-Royal coincided with what was, according to Don Fader, 'the critical period of change [in music] from 1695-1701...the beginning of the fad for Italian music'.<sup>45</sup> The patronage of the fashionable court of Philippe II, duc d'Orléans played a significant role in the cultivation of these new developments.

Nothing is known about Gillier in the years after he left this position.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Don Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin", Campra, and Italian Comedy: The Courtly Politics of French Patronage around 1700', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (2005), p. 406. Pierre Gillier is not referred to in this article.

<sup>46</sup> Anthony citing Herbert Schneider, 'Airs de comédie de J.-Cl. Gillier pour différentes pièces de la Comédie-Française', in *Théâtre et musique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. 21, C. Mazouer (ed.), Paris: Klincksieck, pp. 175-192 suggests that the 'brothers Pierre and Jean-Claude Gillier' were composers of vocal and instrumental airs for the spoken theatrical works at the Comédie-Française. We have no confirmed proof that Pierre was working in conjunction with his brother Jean-Claude. Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, pp. 195-6.

## Chapter 2

### The Dedicatee: Philippe II duc de Chartres

Monseigneur, C'est au milieu des exercices d'Apollon, que Votre Altesse Royale se délasse des travaux de la guerre, et je me flattais que ce Dieu voudra bien y faire entrer ces fragmens de mes Compositions. Élevé Page de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy sous les plus habiles Maitres, j'ay pratiqué leurs principes avec un soin, qui a donné quelque succès a mes ouvrages, et ce bonheur veut me persuader qu'ils pourront ne pas déplaire a Votre Altesse Royale. Cependant, Monseigneur, je ne me laisse pas aveugler par cette présomption, et elle perdrait beaucoup de sa confiance, si elle n'étoit soutenue par l'indulgence, que trouve auprès de Votre Altesse Royale le zèle de ceux, qui ont, comme moy l'honneur de luy appartenir. On sçait que son goust est aussy délicat, que sa valeur est Héroïque. Je me garderay bien d'entreprendre l'Eloge d'aucun des deux. C'est un chant trop haut pour ma voix. Mais il m'est permis d'admirer l'une et d'aspirer a la gloire de donner quelque plaisir à l'autre. C'est un désir auquel je ne mets point de bornes non plus qu'au respect, avec lequel j'ay l'honneur d'être. Monseigneur De Votre Altesse Royale Le très humble et très obeissant serviteur Pierre Gillier.<sup>47</sup>

Philippe II duc de Chartres (b. royal palace of Saint-Cloud 1674; d. Versailles 1723) was the son of Philippe I duc d'Orléans (1640-1701), known as Monsieur, younger and only brother of Louis XIV, and Monsieur's second wife Elisabeth-Charlotte, the German Princess Palatine (1652-1722), also referred to as Madame.<sup>48</sup> Monsieur, much to the displeasure of the king and probably because of this, was known as a pleasure-seeking gambler who flaunted his bisexual tendencies; Madame preferred the theatre. The Palais-Royal, previously the home of Cardinal Richelieu, became

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<sup>47</sup> 'Monseigneur, it is amidst the military exercises of Apollon, that your Royal Highness takes rest from the toils of war, and I flatter myself that this Deity will be pleased to have these fragments of my compositions introduced at these moments. Raised as Page de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy under the most skilful masters, I have put their principles into practice carefully, which has brought some success to my pieces, and this good fortune persuades me that they will not displease your Royal Highness. However, Monseigneur, I do not allow myself to be blinded by that presumption, and I would lose confidence were I not sustained by the indulgence experienced by the zealotry of those near to your Royal Highness who, like me, have the honour of belonging to your household. It is known that your taste is as refined, as your valour is heroic. I will not attempt to praise either. The task is beyond my talents. But I am permitted to admire the one, and to aspire to the glory of giving some pleasure amidst the other. It is a desire to which I do not put boundaries, nor to the respect with which I have the honour of being, Monseigneur, of your Royal Highness, the very humble and very obedient servant, Pierre Gillier'. Translation of Gillier's dedication 'A Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur Le duc de Chartres'.

<sup>48</sup> Discrepancies between authors are apparent. Shennan in *Philippe Duke of Orléans* states his birth date as 4 August 1674, d. 2 December 1723; Pevitt in *The Man who would be King* gives 2 August 1674, d. 2 December 1723; Fader in 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens"' cites 1722 as his year of death. This is either a typographical error or perhaps he has confused this with the coronation date of Louis XV (25 October 1722) on whose behalf Philippe had ruled France as Regent until he became of age. J. H. Shennan, *Philippe Duke of Orléans: Regent of France 1715-1723*, London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1979, p. 11; Christine Pevitt in *The Man who would be King: The Life of Philippe D'Orléans Regent of France 1674-1723*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997, p. 9; Don Fader, 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens"', p. 238.

from 1692 their Parisian residence in which the young prince, who proved to be highly intelligent much to the king's disconcertion, received a full education, excelling in the arts and chemistry in particular. The Palais-Royal theatre was also where the Opéra, appropriated by Lully for his then Académie Royale de Musique, was housed from 1673.<sup>49</sup> In keeping his brother in the shadows, and as we shall discover in his initial outmanoeuvring of his nephew, the king seemed intent upon marginalising other branches of the Bourbon royal family.<sup>50</sup>

### Illustration 3. Philippe II duc de Chartres<sup>51</sup>



The 'labours of war' to which Gillier refers in his dedication designate the War of the League of Augsburg, in which France had been engaged against most of Europe since 1688.<sup>52</sup> Philippe, to mark his manhood at the age of seventeen, joined the military

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<sup>49</sup> Cardinal Richelieu, previously Louis XIII's Prime Minister, left his 'Palais-Cardinal', thereafter becoming the Palais-Royal, one of three palaces in Paris (including the Louvre and the Tuileries), to the crown upon his death in 1624. When Philippe II became the Regent (1715), he retained the Palais-Royal as his residence and moved the official court from Versailles to the Tuileries palace. Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*, pp. 14, 18; Julie Anne Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music*, New York: Schirmer Books, 1991, p. 98.

<sup>50</sup> This was perhaps learned from the experience of Louis XIII whose brother, Gaston of Orléans, regularly disputed his leadership. Montagnier, 'Royal Peculiar', p. 51; Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', p. 390.

<sup>51</sup> Philippe of Orléans, 18th century, French School, Madrid: Prado/ London: Bridgeman Art Library. Illustration from Pevitt, *The Man who would be King*, between pages 176-7.

<sup>52</sup> The League Of Augsburg was an alliance against France, formed in 1686, between most of Europe including Spain, Sweden, Savoy, Holland, and various German states. The 1688 war was ignited when

campaign in the spring of 1691, whereupon by order of the king he was deemed a simple soldier, returning to court in the autumn. Although he resumed campaigning in May 1692, the seeds had already been sown for his sidelining in 1693 from military pursuits by the king in favour of the duc du Maine, one of his bastard children by his secret wife Madame de Maintenon.<sup>53</sup> Upon Philippe's return he became friends with the sixteen-year old duc de Saint-Simon, the great chronicler of court life.<sup>54</sup>

In February 1692 Philippe II married the fourteen-year old Françoise-Marie of Bourbon, Mademoiselle de Blois, the youngest illegitimate daughter of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan; a union insisted upon by the king seemingly as a move to legitimise his children born out of wedlock. In return, an enormous dowry of two million livres was provided plus promises of inheritances, positions of influence (which the king never provided), and pensions for Philippe. In addition to benefits already given to his father for agreeing albeit grudgingly to this humiliation, the Palais-Royal, previously leased from the crown, was gifted to Monsieur, then inherited at his death by Philippe II d'Orléans.<sup>55</sup>

After his marriage, Philippe II, who had shown great military ability, was eager to return to war in the spring of 1692. Possibly because of his great successes with the armies under his command, the final campaigning season of 1693 proved to be his last for a number of years; the duc du Maine, although less courageous, was chosen over him.<sup>56</sup>

Neither love nor fidelity was expected of his marriage, but children were; they had eight. Their first daughter, Mlle de Valois, survived only one year, then Marie-Louise-Elisabeth d'Orléans, duchesse de Berry (1695-1719), Louise-Adélaïde (1698-

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France invaded Western Germany. John Lough, *An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century France*, London: Longmans, 1960, p. 269.

<sup>53</sup> He secretly married Madame de Maintenon (initially his mistress) in 1683, six months after the Queen, Marie-Thérèse of Spain, had died.

<sup>54</sup> Saint-Simon's writings, along with Madame's letters and the *Journal* of the marquis de Dangeau, have proven an invaluable source of information for historians facilitating the reconstruction of performances at the court and popular theatres. Pevitt, *The Man who would be King*, pp. 37 - 44.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>56</sup> Philippe, upon Louis XIV's desperate request, joined the War of the Spanish Succession during its fifth year in June 1706 as titular commander of the king's army in Italy. The king honoured his outstanding ability by appointing him commander-in-chief of the army in Spain the following year. Shennan, *Philippe Duke of Orléans*, pp. 12 - 13.

1743), Charlotte-Ag   (1700-1761), Louis duc d'Orl  ans (1703-1752), Louise-Elisabeth (1709-1742), Philippe-Elisabeth (1714-1734), and Louise Diane (1716-1736).<sup>57</sup> Philippe II collected mistresses, preferring Parisian actresses to the aristocratic women available at Versailles. His own mother commented, 'my son has much of King David in him; he has courage and wit; he is musical, small, brave, and he willingly sleeps with every woman he can'.<sup>58</sup> Philippe II had a number of illegitimate children, three of whom, by different women, he acknowledged: Charles abb   de Saint-Albin (1698-1746) his first-born son, Jean Philippe chevalier d'Orl  ans (1702-1748), and Philippe-Ang  lique, Mlle de Froissy (1702-1785).<sup>59</sup>

Philippe II was dismissed as 'a rake, an idler, a d  bauch  '.<sup>60</sup> He also had an interest in the irreligious supernatural, and along with Philippe I and the courts of the Grand Dauphin<sup>61</sup> also centered in Paris, supported operatic or theatrical productions, with their secular subject matter that Louis XIV (self-exiled at Versailles) under the influence of the devout Madame de Maintenon had rejected.<sup>62</sup> Philippe's behaviour did little to ingratiate himself with either the king, Madame de Maintenon of whom Madame and Monsieur were not enamoured, nor his wife, Fran  oise-Marie of Bourbon, who eventually fled the Palais-Royal, preferring Versailles and the d'Orl  ans country chateau at Saint-Cloud.

After Louis XIV died in 1715, because both his son and grandson had predeceased him, leaving only his five-year old great-grandson as his direct heir, Philippe II of

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<sup>57</sup> Pevitt, *The Man who would be King*, pp. xiv, 48.

<sup>58</sup> Although Madame was a stern critic of her son, she was as ambitious for him as she was devoted to him. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xii, 325.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> The Grand Dauphin, Louis de Bourbon (1661-1711) referred to as Monseigneur, was Louis XIV's only legitimate son. Monseigneur too indulged in a libertine lifestyle. Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', p. 381.

<sup>62</sup> Versailles had become the official residence of the court in 1682. Madame de Maintenon encouraged private musical gatherings where devotional music was performed as she operated under the belief that the theatre and the opera in particular, with its enticing music, emphasised love thereby leading to illicit behaviour. Although she encouraged the king to reject these 'pagan' entertainments and turn to sacred genres, in order to placate his courtiers Louis never outright forbade operatic or theatrical performances at court, rather he hoped to lead by example. The Dauphin's circle supported the artistic endeavours that the king was disinterested in; the Op  ra, the Com  die-Italienne, Italian music, and Andr   Campra. Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', pp. 382, 384.

Orléans became the Regent of France.<sup>63</sup> He proved to be 'a dedicated worker for the good of the state, a statesman of vision, a wit and a hero, a modern man in his tolerance and freedom from bigotry'.<sup>64</sup>

As well as being an avid patron of music, especially Italian, and having a talent for painting and an aptitude for dancing, Philippe II himself had an exceptional musical gift. He had received training from a number of highly qualified musicians employed by his father including the *flûte* with Charles Lalouette, the *viòle* with Antoine Forqueray, probably the *clavecin* with Jean-Henry d'Anglebert and Gabriel Garnier, and presumably vocal training as he participated from December 1699 through to January 1700 in rehearsals culminating in two performances of Lully's *Alceste*.<sup>65</sup> This 'alternative' cultural environment in which performances of music and theatre were organised by members belonging to the 'cabale du Dauphin' (the group around the Grand Dauphin which included Orléans and Conty) for their own pleasure and for those of their immediate circle, was in contrast to the grand spectacles of the Lully era that had been provided by Louis XIV for his court. The 'cabale' not only organised entertainments at their own chateaux including Meudon, Saint-Maur, and the Palais-Royal where Philippe II duc d'Orléans, upon his father's death in 1701, was able to finance his own musical establishment second only to that of the king, but also operated at Versailles itself.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Philippe was Regent from 1715 to 1723. Between 1711 and 1714 Louis XIV's three closest heirs to the throne died; his son the Grand Dauphin, his grandson the duc de Bourgogne, and his elder great-grandson, the duc de Bretagne. Apart from his one remaining grandson, Philip V, the king of Spain, who had to renounce his entitlement to the crown for political reasons, this left only Louis, the five-year old second great-grandson, who would not reach his majority until 15 February 1723. In order to retain the direct line, a regency was instigated. Shennan, *Philippe Duke of Orléans*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>64</sup> Pevitt, *The Man who would be King*, p. 1.

<sup>65</sup> A number of other important aristocratic musicians of varying rank were also involved in this operatic production including the princesse de Conty (the Dauphin's half-sister and cousin of Philippe II), who along with Orléans were the principal patrons marking a developing trend for amateur involvement, particularly in the secular genres, in court entertainment. Dangeau, reporting on the first rehearsal that took place 31 December 1699 at the princesse de Conty's 'house in town', provides us with this account: 'The singers will be monseigneur the duc de Bourgogne [the Dauphin's son], monsieur de Chartres [Philippe II], monsieur the comte de Toulouse, the duc de Montfort, [the baron] de Biron, the two La Vallières, the comte d'Ayen, madame the princesse de Conty, mesdames Villequier and Chatillon, and the mademoiselle de Sanzay'. Philippe de Courcillon, marquis de Dangeau, *Journal du princesse de Dangeau avec les additions inédites du Duc de Saint-Simon*, ed. Eudore Soulié *etal*, Paris, 1856, entry of 31 Dec. 1699. Cited in Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', p. 391.

<sup>66</sup> Fader outlines for us the role the 'cabale du Dauphin' played in the late 1690s and early 1700s. This clique was primarily a political group operating within the network of competing movements in the court, but as a number of the members were musical amateurs of some importance, they also shared

After Lully's death in 1687, the king's lessening interest in the lavish productions of the past became evident in his attitude when he did organise musical events; 'it was rather to amuse the Young People, or through policy, than for any pleasure he himself took in it'.<sup>67</sup>

More unusual for royalty was Philippe's tuition in composition. It was noted (by an anonymous commentator) that the future Regent excelled 'a little too much [in musical composition] for a man of his rank'.<sup>68</sup> Étienne Loulié (1654-1702), who subsequently dedicated the third section of his 1696 *Éléments ou principes de musique* to his student, was Philippe's first theory teacher from around 1690. He was followed in 1692-3 by the Italian-inspired Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704) who dedicated his treatise 'Règles de composition' to the Duc.<sup>69</sup> Their work together resulted in a joint operatic effort, *Philomèle*, first performed in 1694.<sup>70</sup> Thereafter, Philippe received tuition from a number of other teachers, however as some dates are uncertain, estimates have been made based on the time of their association with the court. In July 1697, four years after André Campra (1660-1744) who was to enjoy the patronage of Philippe II and other members of the 'cabale du Dauphin', arrived in Paris, his *Divertissement* written in his patron's honour was performed at the duke of Sully's hôtel. As Charpentier was to become the *Maître de Musique* at the Sainte-Chapelle in 1698 and Charles-Hubert Gervais (1671-1744) was not appointed *Maître de Musique du Duc de Chartres* until 1700, it is possible that in Charpentier's absence, it was then that Philippe took lessons with Campra who became renowned

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common artistic and moralistic ideals that were in opposition to those set by Louis XIV. Dangeau reports that Philippe II was involved as a member of this group as early as 1693. Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', pp. 380-1, 390.

<sup>67</sup> Gatiien de Courtitz, *Memoirs of the Court of France and City of Paris*, translator unknown, London: Lincott, 1702, p. 121. Cited in Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, p. 310.

<sup>68</sup> Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*, p. 35, and 'Royal Peculiar', pp. 51-2.

<sup>69</sup> Jean-Paul Montagnier suggests from early November 1692 to May 1693 as the most likely dates. Montagnier, 'Royal Peculiar', p. 53.

<sup>70</sup> Montagnier in 'Royal Peculiar', p. 54, notes that contrary to Sébastien de Brossard's assertion, the entire contents of Charpentier's 'Règles', actually written around 1690, were never intended for the prince. He suggests that only the 'augmentations' included at the end of the treatise may have been intended for him. Cf. Sébastien de Brossard: *Catalogue des livres de musique*, F-Pn Rés. Vm<sup>8</sup> 20, p. 183; Yolande de Brossard, ed., *La Collection Sébastien de Brossard 1655-1730: Catalogue* (Paris, 1994), p. 275. Fader in 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens"', p. 238 dates Charpentier's association with the Duc as 'sometime before 1698', culminating in their joint composition of *Philomèle*.

for his assimilation of the Italian style in his *opéras-ballets*.<sup>71</sup> With the assistance of the newly-appointed Gervais, Philippe produced his next two *tragédies en musique*, *Penthée*, first performed around 1703, and *Suite d'Armide ou Jérusalem délivrée* in 1704. At some stage Philippe also took lessons with Nicolas Bernier (1665-1734). Again dates are unsubstantiated, but it was some time after 1692 when Bernier first arrived in Paris having just studied in Rome, as is thought, with Antonio Caldara (c.1671-1736).<sup>72</sup> Orléans was also instrumental in Bernier's retaining of his later appointment at the Sainte-Chapelle as Charpentier's replacement in 1704.<sup>73</sup>

In total, Philippe II, duc d'Orléans, an amateur musician writing purely for his own enjoyment, wrote three *tragédies en musique* each in collaboration with others, two motets, four *cantates françaises*, and three airs, demonstrating his versatility as a composer. Of these, only his two operas *Penthée* and *Suite d'Armide ou Jérusalem délivrée* 'in the Italian taste', and the 1713 instrumental air from *Suite des symphonies en trio de M.de Lully* are extant.<sup>74</sup>

The beginning of the late seventeenth-century vogue of Italian music was marked with the introduction of Italian-styled sonatas by François Couperin, Sébastien de Brossard, and Elisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre as early as 1692-1695. There was an appreciation of Italian sonatas prior to this. The Dutch violinist Johann Paul Westhoff had performed his own nine-movement sonata for Louis XIV as early as 1682; the

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<sup>71</sup> Charpentier's appointment was due in part to Philippe's intercession. Campra's phenomenally successful *L'Europe galante* presented at the Palais-Royal for the first time on 24 October 1697, albeit anonymously, paved the way for his ongoing assimilation of the 'exotic'. He was the first to assimilate an Italian *aria da capo* into a French stage work. Julie Anne Sadie, 'Paris and Versailles', in *The Late Baroque Era: From the 1680s to 1740*, George J. Buelow (ed.), Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993, p. 157; Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 160.

<sup>72</sup> For further information cf. Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*, pp. 136-8. For subsequent performance dates, cf. also pp. 140-1, and 'Royal Peculiar', p. 54.

<sup>73</sup> Bernier had married Marie-Catherine Marais on 20 June 1712, but as the rule of the Sainte-Chapelle required its *Maître de Musique* to be 'a celibate in clerical garb', Philippe intervened in order that Bernier retain his position. There is a discrepancy between the dates suggested for Bernier's appointment in Sadie, 'Paris and Versailles', p. 135 and Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, 'Bernier, Nicolas', in *GroveMusicOnline, OxfordMusicOnline*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02876> (accessed March 12, 2010). Sadie states 1705; Montagnier, 5 April 1704.

<sup>74</sup> François Ragueneau writing in 1705, probably in reference to the Duc's last *tragédie en musique*, commented that 'he did not know anybody in France who has yet composed an Opera in the Italian taste, except one of our Princes, whom I do not name here out of respect for him; he is one of the most learned we have'. François Ragueneau, *Défense du Parallele des italiens et des françois en ce qui regarde la musique & les opéra* (Paris, 1705), reprint ed. Geneva, 1976, p. 51. Cited in and translated by Montagnier, 'Royal Peculiar', p. 61. Full catalogue details of extant works are also cited on p. 55.

*Mercurie galant* published it.<sup>75</sup> Italian music was being performed at the presbytery of Saint-André-des-Arts under the auspices of the curé, Abbé Mathieu, also in the 1680s. It is claimed that a sonata by Corelli (his first set of trio sonatas Op.1 appeared in 1681) was heard here for the first time in Paris; it wasn't until 1701 that Corelli's music was actually published in Paris.<sup>76</sup> Publications of *airs italiens* from 1695 and the occasional operatic aria were to follow, with solo sonatas, especially those of Corelli, and cantatas being performed at the beginning of the eighteenth century. 1704 marked the publication of the first French solo sonatas on Corelli's model by François Duval and Michele Mascitti, with the first *cantates françoises* by Jean-Baptiste Morin, Nicolas Bernier, and Jean-Baptiste Stuck being published in 1706. As Fader points out, 'every one of these publications was dedicated to, sponsored, or encouraged by Philippe d'Orléans'.<sup>77</sup>

Louis XIV, who preferred music in the 'natural, noble, gracious, and well varied' French manner as formulated by Lully, was opposed to this infiltration of Italianate styles. This was also in part due to the king's determination to retain a distinctly French culture, with music assuming the role of a political tool.<sup>78</sup> His influence was particularly evident in the case of Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657-1726), *sous-maître* of the royal chapel from 1683 and *Surintendant de la Musique de la Chambre* from 1689; these positions effectively leading to Lalande's control over the music in both the chapel and chamber. There are accounts of the king actively dissuading Lalande, his favoured composer, from incorporating into his *grand motets* the florid Italianate features that Campra and Morin were adopting.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 4th ed., New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983, pp. 352-62.

<sup>76</sup> Arcangelo Corelli's first publication brought the sonata to a new musical stature by standardising and internationalising the Italian sonata style. David Tunley, *François Couperin and 'The Perfection of Music'*, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2004, pp. 40-42.

<sup>77</sup> To be noted is that the privilege of Bernier's first book dates from 1703. Fader, 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens"', p. 238.

<sup>78</sup> According to Tilton de Tillet from *Suite du Parnasse François* (Paris, 1743), these are the king's exact words to M. Destouches in explaining his preference for French music. Cited in Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', p. 384. Newman suggests that from the sonata form's inception and its eventual spread to Germany, Austria, and England, France was in fact the last country to adopt this Italianate form, mainly due to its national unity and resistance to that of 'others'. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, p. 351.

<sup>79</sup> Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 242.

Philippe II was unique in employing a group of virtuoso Italian-trained musicians capable of performing and composing in the Italian style. This ensemble, operating from 1703 until 1705 consisted of the violinists Jean-Baptiste Anet II, and Giovanni Antonio Guido, two castratos Pasqualino Tiepoli (soprano) and Pasqualino Betti (alto), and the *basse de violon* player, Joseph Marchand who was replaced later by the cellist Jean-Baptiste Stuck.<sup>80</sup> When larger forces were required, the ensemble was supplemented with French musicians also in service at the Palais-Royal. Anet and Stuck were to remain in Philippe's service with Anet holding a position as an *officier de la Musique* and Stuck as an *ordinaire*.<sup>81</sup> Along with Guido, Stuck was also composing cantatas in both the Italian and French styles, a number of which were most likely performed by the ensemble.<sup>82</sup> Thereafter followed Philippe's ongoing patronage of a number of other Italian-influenced performers and composers.

In January 1723, still Regent, Philippe redistributed three of Lalande's four-month terms as *sous-maître de la Musique* at the Chapelle-Royale to Campra, Bernier, and Gervais. With these appointments, the Regent's preference and patronage of Italian-infused French music was now, as Montagnier concludes, 'in the very heart of the court'.<sup>83</sup> Philippe duc d'Orléans played a significant role in the development of *Les Goûts-réunis*; the term first used by Couperin in 1724 in describing an artful blending of the best qualities of French and Italian music.<sup>84</sup> Stuck had referred to this 'blending' in the prologue 'L'Union de la musique italienne et françoise' from his 1709 opera *Méléagre* which was dedicated to the Duc.<sup>85</sup> It must be noted, however, that Gillier's collection does not reflect the Italian fashion; rather it is a reflection of everything traditional in a French context, which was clearly fostered in the Orléans household to

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<sup>80</sup> Jean-Jacques-Baptiste II Anet (1676-1755) who was thought to have had lessons with Corelli himself, was the first of the Italian-trained musicians to serve at Philippe's court. Anet had been raised at the Palais-Royal as the son of Jean-Baptiste I, a violinist also in service. Giovanni Antonio Guido (1675-after 1728) had arrived in France by October 1703. The 'Pasqualini', Tiepoli (c.1670-1742) and Betti (late 1600s-1752) were also acquired for service in 1703. Joseph Marchand (1673-1747), whose father had also been a violinist in the Orléans violin band, and Jean-Baptiste Stuck (1680-1755) arrived in France in 1705. Fader, 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens"', pp. 238-41.

<sup>81</sup> Montagnier, *Un Mécène-Musicien*, pp. 135-7.

<sup>82</sup> Fader, in addressing the repertory of the Italian ensemble, notes that in addition to music imported from Italy, there is evidence that the group performed music by its own members. Fader, 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens"', p. 241.

<sup>83</sup> Montagnier, 'Royal Peculiar', p. 55.

<sup>84</sup> Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 378.

<sup>85</sup> Julie Anne Sadie, *The Bass Viol in French Baroque Chamber Music*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980, p. 19.

a high degree. Philippe II himself demonstrated his eclectic tastes in his large-scale French operatic *tragédies en musique*.

## Chapter 3

### Late Seventeenth-Century Parisian Society: Chamber Music in the Court and Salons

#### A Society in Transition

The late seventeenth century through to the eighteenth century was a period of societal and ideological transition, a protracted transformation of the existing cultural, political, and civic institutions.<sup>86</sup> As early as the mid 1680s, the first symptoms of decline in the fifty-four year reign of Louis XIV, who represented the pinnacle of absolutism, were beginning to emerge.

Louis XIV ruled as master of the kingdom. In surrounding himself with ambitious council ministers of relatively humble origin, who were only given limited power, and by maintaining a policy of total exclusion of those from the royal family in order to circumvent their power, he created an environment of dependence upon himself. Positions were granted because of his royal favour, or titles were purchased often with inherited wealth. Thus in turn a needs-based loyalty was fostered.<sup>87</sup>

Members of the bourgeoisie were rapidly accumulating wealth from trade and industry, which gave them the means to purchase posts among the aristocracy, who were noble only by right of birth. In this period of societal transition, it was now becoming possible to purchase noble rank itself, to attain a higher class.<sup>88</sup>

In order to control the nobility the king 'domesticated' them. He conferred pensions,

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<sup>86</sup> Steven Kale, *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, p. 4.

<sup>87</sup> Louis did not want a repeat of either the power struggles involving the *Princes du sang* led by Condé (a great general) during the minority of Louis XIII, or of the two cardinals, Richelieu during the Regency of the Queen Mother (Marie de Médicis) and subsequent reign of Louis XIII (1610-1643), and then Mazarin during the Regency of Anne of Austria (the Queen Mother) during Louis XIV's minority. Louis XIV subsequently became his own first minister, 'I was resolved not to have a prime minister ... there being nothing more shameful than to see, on the one hand, all the power and, on the other, the mere title of king'. Louis XIV (ed.), *Mémoires*, Paris: Librairie Tallandier, 1978, p. 44. Cited in and translated by Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 17; Lough, *An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century France*, pp. 113-138.

<sup>88</sup> Lough, *An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century France*, pp. 137-8.

often upon great noblemen who had found themselves in an impoverished state, or offered them highly sought-after positions of service in the royal household, thereby gaining their abject obedience. The king provided lavish, 'harmless' entertainments in the sumptuous setting of Versailles in order to keep the courtiers amused. They attended, not just because it had become the centre of their social life, but more importantly, in order to receive the king's favour; in effect there was a metamorphosis of the aristocracy into the purely decorative.<sup>89</sup>

Consequently, with aristocrats reduced to a state of abasement, except during periods of war when their position afforded them opportunity to prove their military prowess, the bourgeoisie as a social class not only had a growing economic power, but was also becoming the predominant sector of society.<sup>90</sup> During his regency Philippe II would attempt to reverse this situation by granting positions of authority to his fellow noblemen, but this proved to be unsuccessful; their idleness had rendered them unfit for such a purpose.<sup>91</sup>

From the mid 1680s, there was a scaling down at Versailles of the earlier excesses of the 1670s and early 1680s. After 1685 the previously dominant France suffered a series of military defeats, it was heavily in debt from the king's expansionist policies, and the astronomical renovation costs of Versailles became an ongoing burden for decades to come. The revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes culminated in the departure of many skilled artisans, and a number of the king's greatest ministers and officers died, including Colbert (the minister in charge of economic affairs) in 1683, and Lully in 1687. Two famines were to follow (1693-4 and 1709-10), and even after hefty increases in taxation to fund the war effort, by the end of the Sun King's glorious reign, France faced virtual bankruptcy.<sup>92</sup>

Although the grand *spectacles*, including lavish productions of *tragédies en musique* (mostly revivals of Lully's operas) and *divertissements*, continued for a time at

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp. 146-152, 280.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>91</sup> Sadie, 'Paris and Versailles', p. 176.

<sup>92</sup> Although this affected other areas of the community, the peasants suffered the most. Not only did they face the majority of the taxation burden, but continuing low prices for agricultural goods and the famines, resulted in years of poverty and intensive hardship including heavy mortality rates. Lough, *An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century France*, pp. 268-74.

Versailles, in part to mask the 'awful truth', these combined domestic factors coupled with the increasing influence of Madame de Maintenon's disapproval of theatrical grandeur 'signaled a deterioration in the traditional associations of music and monarchy'.<sup>93</sup>

## Court and City Culture

Louis XIV's focus on sponsored entertainments, but on a smaller scale, moved from Versailles to Fontainebleau or the more relaxed setting of Marly, where a variety of events were held. It was commented that 'the court of Versailles seemed tranquil and grave compared to what it had been in the most celebrated years of this great monarch's reign'.<sup>94</sup> By October 1703, however, Dangeau noted that the king had ceased attending any court *spectacles*.<sup>95</sup>

Although they had limited financial resources, the entertainments sponsored by a number of members of the 'cabale du Dauphin' for their own enjoyment and for those of their circle, not only at *la cour* but also in *la ville* (as they commuted between the two), resulted in an emerging alternative counter-culture to that of the king. Given that the 'cabale du Dauphin' also operated at *la cour*, Fader points out that this is not simply just a case of musical tastes and the associated political machinations of *la cour* (Versailles) versus the entertainments of *la ville* (Parisian carnival-type 'public fête') as Georgia Cowart has suggested, but rather 'a shift in one of the political and aesthetic fault lines of the *ancien régime*: the competition between the aristocratic desire for free enjoyment of privilege and the royal need for order and political harmony'.<sup>96</sup> This resultant cultural decentralisation of court society to the 'satellite courts' was the first stage in the transitional process from court life to the eventual

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<sup>93</sup> Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music*, p. 97; Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, p. 310.

<sup>94</sup> Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, p. 311.

<sup>95</sup> Sadie, 'Paris and Versailles', p. 168.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Georgia J. Cowart, 'Carnival in Venice or Protest in Paris? Louis XIV and the Politics of Subversion at the Paris Opéra', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Summer, 2001), pp. 265-302. Cited in Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', p. 405.

shift into 'a thousand drawing rooms' of the Parisian homes of aristocrats and financiers; members of the wealthy bourgeoisie.<sup>97</sup>

In the context of these societal and ideological shifts, Parisian salon culture, in filling some form of 'institutional vacuum', flourished even more than previously.<sup>98</sup> Presided over by *salonnières* (intelligent, wealthy women), previously unconventional social relations and intellectual exchange between nobility and the increasingly wealthy bourgeoisie (and between men and women), with the emphasis on the 'artful life', was facilitated.<sup>99</sup> Salons redefined access to *le monde* (ideals of polite or upper class society), where noble birth did not dictate privilege.<sup>100</sup> According to Carolyn Lougee:

... salons served to bring together nobles and intellectuals in an atmosphere of civility and fair play in order to educate one, refine the other, and create a common medium of cultural exchange based on a shared notion of *honnêteté* that combined learning, good manners, and conversational skill .... Salons were indispensable socio-cultural adaptive mechanisms by which the integration of the newly ennobled into the structure of orders was completed.<sup>101</sup>

In addition to providing a luxurious, intimate and private arena for social encounters and polite conversation,<sup>102</sup> salons were the ideal venue for smaller-scale, amateur music making. Not only was the cultivation of music considered an important element in the 'construction of the gentleman',<sup>103</sup> but hosting concerts was deemed to be such a

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<sup>97</sup> The concept of 'decentralisation' was first outlined by the historian Norbert Elias in *The Court Society* [1969], Edmund Jephcott (trans), New York: Pantheon Books, 1983. Cited in Kale, *French Salons*, p. 29. The term 'satellite courts' was first used in 1957 by Maurice Barthélemy, subsequently adopted by Isherwood in *Music in the Service of the King*, to describe the circles that orbited the *Roi soleil*. Maurice Barthélemy, 'La Musique dramatique à Versailles de 1660 à 1715', *Dix-septième siècle*, 34 (1957), pp. 7-18. Cited in Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', p. 380.

<sup>98</sup> Salons were originally conceived in the seventeenth century by the marquise de Rambouillet (1588-1665) to provide a 'new kind of sociability'. They persisted into the twenty-first century in various forms. Kale, *French Salons*, p. 4.

<sup>99</sup> Georgia J. Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV and the Politics of Spectacle*, Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. 138. The 'artful life' is Cowart's terminology.

<sup>100</sup> Lough, *An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century France*, p. 198.

<sup>101</sup> Carolyn C. Lougee, *Le Paradis des Femmes: Women, Salons, and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976, pp. 52, 211-3. Cited in Kale, *French Salons*, p. 24. The culture of *honnêteté*, or 'people of taste' was based upon the possession of certain moral virtues linked to the concept of 'les personnes de bon goût'; those who displayed a certain refined, self-controlled, and tasteful behaviour befitting a gentleman. Michael Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century France*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 88.

<sup>102</sup> Kale, *French Salons*, p. 3.

<sup>103</sup> Lorenzetti, in his study on the societal role of music as depicted in contemporary writings from the early seventeenth century concerning 'the construction of the gentleman,' suggests that music was an important part of the formation of a 'gentleman's' character enhancing his ability to operate in court life. Stefano Lorenzetti, 'La parte della musica nella costruzione del gentiluomo. Tendenze e programmi della pedagogia seicentesca tra francia e italia', *Studi Musicali* 25, 1996, pp. 2-40. Cited in Don Fader,

socially advantageous preoccupation for the wealthy bourgeoisie, that Molière in his satirical *comédie-ballet* *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, makes reference to this attitude in the advice provided to Monsieur Jourdain (act II, scene i) on how one must do things properly: a concert must be hosted 'every Wednesday or Thursday'.<sup>104</sup>

Salons of music-loving members of the nobility and bourgeoisie were not the only venues for vocal and instrumental chamber music performances. Concerts were also held in the private homes of respected composers and musicians. The organist of the *royal chapelle*, Pierre de Chabanceau de la Barre, had held *concerts spirituels* in his home before 1650.<sup>105</sup> It was noted in 1655 that Chambonnières was hosting weekly concerts, and had been doing so for the past fourteen years. Lambert, for example, had held regular concerts at his country house at Puteaux (near Paris), showcasing his best students and Elizabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre from 1704, held public recitals in her home where 'all the great musicians and fine connoisseurs went eagerly to hear her'.<sup>106</sup> By the early eighteenth century, private concerts were becoming so popular in Paris that, according to Joachim Christoph Nemeitz (a visiting young amateur musician of means), one could 'hear a concert every day'. He provided this account:

At the homes of the Duc d' Aumont, who was Ambassador to England, ... Abbé Grave, Mademoiselle de Maes, who gave one a week ordinarily; and then at the home of Mons[ieur] Clérambault, who had one about every fifteen days or three weeks. All these concerts were performed by the best masters of Paris.<sup>107</sup>

In emulation of upper class society, musicians were also increasingly in demand to teach music including composition in the households of the wealthy Parisians. Thus in turn, the social status of musicians, like artists and writers, gradually rose as they became more acceptable in their own right.

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<sup>104</sup> 'The *Honnête homme* as Music Critic: Taste, Rhetoric, and *Politesse* in the 17th-Century French Reception of Italian Music', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter, 2003), p. 7.

<sup>104</sup> The title itself is an oxymoron; 'gentleman' at that time implied being noble by birth. Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, pp. 73, 347.

<sup>105</sup> The term 'concert spirituel' is not to be confused with the first commercial public subscription series of the same name established in 1725 by Anne Danican Philidor. Concerts were held at the Tuileries palace. *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 346.

<sup>106</sup> Edith Borroff, *An Introduction to Elisabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre*, New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1966, pp. 10-14; Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 347.

<sup>107</sup> Joachim Christoph Nemeitz, *Le Séjour de Paris*, Leyden: J. van Abcoude, 1727, p. 69. Cited in and translated by Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, pp. 347-8. The square brackets are this writer's.

## Repertoires

'No one wants to dance any more, but rather everyone learns music; this is now the latest fashion here for all young people of quality, men as well as women'.<sup>108</sup> There was an insatiable appetite for amateur music making in late seventeenth-century France and this led to an unprecedented demand for published music, on a smaller scale, for aristocrats and the bourgeoisie alike, not only in Paris but in the provinces.

From the late 1650s the Ballard family of printers produced two long-lived song anthologies: *Airs de différents auteurs*, (1658-1694), and the *Recueils d'airs sérieux et à boire*, (1695-1724). While the first of these two series appeared annually, the second was to come out monthly.<sup>109</sup> A wide range of composers contributed to these song collections, from prominent composers, to a number of amateur pupils, mostly young women. Songbooks by individual composers also proliferated in the 1690s, dominated by those of Jean-Baptiste de Bousset.<sup>110</sup>

A simple instrumental repertory was also in demand. As Montéclair's preface to his *Brunetes anciennes et modernes* (s.d.) reveals:

Il y a longtemps que plusieurs Amateurs de la flûte Traversière, flûte a bec, Dessus de Violle, et de Violon desirent un Recueil de ces petits Airs, que l'on connoit sous le nom de Brunettes ... Je crois que ceux qui apprennent a jouer des instruments ne doivent pas dans les commencements s'exercer sur des pieces difficiles qui corrompent ordinairement la main, ils doivent d'abord apprendre à bien poser la main, à jouer regulierement, à former avec grace tous les sons.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Elisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans noted this in a letter from Versailles in March 1695. Letter of 3 Mar. 1695, ed. in Eduard Bodemann, *Aus den Briefen der Herzogin Elisabeth Charlotte von Orléans an die Kurfürstin Sophie von Hannover: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Hanover, 1891. Cited in and translated by Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', p. 389.

<sup>109</sup> Robert Ballard launched these anthologies in 1658; on his death in 1673 his eldest son Christophe maintained them, aided from the late 1690s by his son Jean-Christophe. Pogue, 'Christophe Ballard' et al., in *Music Printing and Publishing*, Krummel and Sadie (eds), pp. 161-2.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Tony Eastwood, 'The French Air in the Eighteenth Century: A Neglected Area', *Studies in Music*, Vol. 18 (1984); Greer Garden, 'Bousset, Jean-Baptiste de', in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03733> (accessed May 24, 2010).

<sup>111</sup> 'For a while now many amateurs of the *flûte traversière*, *flûte a bec*, *violle*, and *violon* have wanted a book of little airs that we know as *brunettes* ... I believe that those who learn to play instruments should not commence with difficult pieces, at first they should learn to put their hands well, play regularly, and to form with grace all the sounds' (translation by the present writer). Michel Pignolet de Montéclair, *Premier recueil de brunetes pour les flûtes traversieres et a bec, violon, viole, haubois & autres instruments disposé en douze suites*, Paris, [s.d.]. Montéclair had left France for Italy in the

Among those who sold music was Foucault. To satisfy this demand, Gillier's publisher was by 1697 advertising himself as a music dealer from his shop 'A la règle d'or, rue St Honoré'. The advertisement appeared in a printed edition of Campra's *L'Europe galante* (first performed at the Opéra on 24 October 1697) published by Christophe Ballard; clearly their differences must have been resolved. According to Frank Dobbins, Foucault was advertising for sale 'manuscript copies of extracts from Lully's operas and early ballets in six folio volumes, *symphonies* for violin, books of harpsichord and organ music, Latin motets, *leçons de ténèbres*, and various novelties'.<sup>112</sup> Surely Gillier's collection, which was printed at the end of February 1697, and warranted a three-page notice in the *Mercure galant* in March, was included among the 'various novelties'.

Clearly repertoire was required for chamber music concerts in the houses of the middle and upper classes in the late seventeenth century, and from the announcement of Gillier's innovative collection in the *Mercure galant*, it is probable that the demand for suitable material was considerable: 'M.r Gillier ... s'est enfin déterminé à donner ses Ouvrages au Public, qui les souhaite depuis longtemps'.<sup>113</sup> His sentence also suggests that the contents of his collection must have been known in society prior to their publication. From Gillier's attempt to justify the extra expense of engraving as outlined in his *Au Lecteur*, we can ascertain that the collection was a sizable publication compared to other offerings:

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early 1690s returning by October 1695 when his 'Adieu de Tircis à Climène' was published in Ballard's *Recueil d'airs*. This suggests that his *Brunetes anciennes et modernes* appeared after 1695.

<sup>112</sup> Dobbins, 'Foucault, Henry', in *Music Printing and Publishing*, Krummel and Sadie (eds), p. 245. Sadie in *Companion to Baroque Music*, 1991, p. 100 informs us that Foucault's shop was in operation selling music from 1692, but as we have already seen, Foucault had contravened the Ballard privilege as early as 1690. He appeared as 'marchand papetier' on Marais' *Pièces en trio pour les flûtes, violon & dessus de viole* in 1692 (the year of Gillier's privilege), but it was not until 1697, according to Dobbins, that he officially advertised himself as a music dealer. It is possible that he was unofficially dealing in music from 1692. Sadie in 'Paris and Versailles' from *The Late Baroque Era*, p. 150 explains that Foucault obtained from Loulié manuscripts that he copied and subsequently sold 'from about 1694, [he] advertised Lully's music in manuscript and authorised printed copies from Ballard'.

<sup>113</sup> 'Mr Gillier ... has finally determined to give his pieces to the public, who have wanted them for a long while'. Translation by this writer.

Je n'ay pu fixer ce Recueil à moins de dix livres relié en veau et neuf livres en feuilles ... et par raport a la quantité de pieces contenues dans ce Recueil, on ne le trouvera guere plus cher que les *Airs*, qui se vendent imprimez.<sup>114</sup>

This raises some interesting questions concerning the conception of this unique collection. Did it emerge from Gillier's professional work at court or in the Parisian context of the salons? On the eve of the influx of Italianate chamber music idioms, was such a collection covering a variety of French genres, as opposed to publications by piece type, perhaps needed to furnish amateur musicians with enough material for complete concerts thus saving time assembling music from a variety of other sources?

### **'Le monde': Values in late Seventeenth-Century Salon Culture Repertoire**

The values of *le monde* in salon culture influenced the artistic taste of *les honnêtes gens*. In amateur music making particularly, 'a restrained expression and tasteful use of one's talents were continually held up as ideals [...] principles for *honnête* musical self-effacement'. These preferred ideals were related to the standards of *politesse* (proper noble etiquette), best exemplified in the traditional French style with its emphasis on the 'concealment of effort, knowledge, and "artifice" behind a pleasing and "natural" courtly facade'.<sup>115</sup> This stands in direct contrast to the mere artisan in the guise of a professional musician, considered by some akin to Italian music: a 'derogation of everything that is *honnête*' with overly affected, virtuosic theatrical displays performed for personal honour rather than the true *mondain* notion of 'l'art de plaire' (the art of pleasing). Morvan de Bellegard's *Réflexions* of 1690 on *la politesse*, confirms that these attitudes were still prevalent: 'Il ne faut point faire parade de mille choses qui sont au-dessous du rang où l'on est'.<sup>116</sup> Consequently, during the Parisian 'invasion' in the late seventeenth century by the Italian sonata and cantata with their harmonic complexity and virtuosity, Italian music was initially regarded with some

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<sup>114</sup> 'I was unable to set a price for this collection under ten *livres* bound in calfskin and nine *livres* unbound ... and in relation to the quantity of pieces contained within this collection, one will not find it more expensive than the *Airs* that are sold printed'. Gillier, *Au Lecteur*, cf. below, II, p. xlvi.

<sup>115</sup> Concealment of too much knowledge expressed as technical jargon as possessed by an artisan (lower class) was required if one wanted to be a *honnête homme*. Restraint and a simple and natural delivery was required. Fader, 'The *Honnête homme* as Music Critic', p. 8.

<sup>116</sup> 'It is not necessary to show off in a thousand things that are below one's rank'. Jean-Baptiste Morvan de Bellegard, *Réflexions sur ce qui peut plaire ou déplaire dans le commerce du monde*, 2nd ed., Paris: Arnoul Seneuze, 1690, p. 129. Cited in and translated by Fader, 'The *Honnête homme* as Music Critic', p. 28.

reserve by conservative factions. Fader contends that due to the influence of a number of non-*honnête* libertine individuals, including Philippe II d'Orléans, 'the eventual acceptance of Italian influence in French music by members of the upper aristocracy ... reflected a fundamental shift of musical ideology that went hand-in-hand with a decline in the influence of the *honnête homme* ideal'.<sup>117</sup>

For the facilitation of proper social relations between men and women in society, a codified set of conversational behaviours existed, *la galanterie*. The art of conversation *à la française*, arguably the basis of all other literary forms in seventeenth-century France, has, according to Catherine Gordon-Seifert, an important connection with the French musical genre of that time, the air.<sup>118</sup> In her article setting Brossard's airs in the context of conversation, Gordon-Seifert contends that these songs provided a vehicle by which composers (among those named are Michel Lambert and Bénigne de Bacilly) and presumably by extension Pierre Gillier, and writers (for example Isaac de Benserade, Pierre Corneille, and Jean-Baptiste Molière) gained access to upper class Parisian society; airs are simply 'idealised, [encapsulated] imitations of the art of conversation [as] practiced in seventeenth-century salons by both men and women'.<sup>119</sup>

Conversational wit could be aptly displayed by use of the epigram, 'a short, pungent, and often satirical poem; especially one having a witty and ingenious ending',<sup>120</sup> so poignantly used in Gillier's collection. Bauderon de Sénécé considered the epigram as

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<sup>117</sup> Fader, 'The *Honnête homme* as Music Critic', p. 43.

<sup>118</sup> Marc Fumaroli in *La diplomatie de l'esprit* suggests that literary language was based on the skills of conversation. Marc Fumaroli, *La diplomatie de l'esprit de Montaigne à La Fontaine*, Paris: Hermann, 1994, pp. 303-4. Cited in and translated by Catherine E. Gordon-Seifert, "'La réplique galante" Sébastien de Brossard's airs as conversation', in *Sébastien de Brossard: Musicien*, Jean Duron (ed.), Paris: Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles/ Éditions Klincksieck, 1998, pp. 181-2. Gordon-Seifert provides further research in her *Music and the Language of Love: Seventeenth-Century French Airs* due for publication October 2010. According to the publisher, Gordon-Seifert 'discusses and analyses the style of airs, which were based on rhetorical devices of lyric poetry, and explores the function and meaning of airs in French society, particularly the salons. She shows how airs deployed in both text and music [were] an encoded language that was in sensuous contrast to polite society's cultivation of chaste love, strict gender roles, and restrained discourse'. Catherine E. Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love: Seventeenth-Century French Airs (Music & the Early Modern Imagination)*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, due for publication October 2010. Cited in IndianaUniversityPress, available from [www.iupress.indiana.edu/catalog/product\\_info.php?products\\_id=191368](http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/catalog/product_info.php?products_id=191368), (accessed May 24, 2010).

<sup>119</sup> Gordon-Seifert, "'La réplique galante"', p. 182.

<sup>120</sup> 'Epigram', Collins English Dictionary, updated edition, UK: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994, p. 523.

applicable to all the minor poetic genres popular at that time. In 1717 he stated that:

Nous avons plusieurs especes d'Epigrammes, qui sous des noms differents, reviennent toutes à la même chose; car enfin nos chansons, soit galantes, soit bachiques, où du consentement même des étrangers la nation françoise excelle sur toutes les autres, & nos Madrigaux, où les sentimens du coeur s'expriment si délicatement, qu'est-ce autre chose à votre avis, que des manieres d'Epigrammes ...?<sup>121</sup>

## Poetic Themes of the Airs

Not all concepts can be set to music, 'action, idea, or image is ill-suited to music ... by contrast, anything which expresses feelings appears ideally suited to it'.<sup>122</sup> Consequently, a limited number of words (with an emphasis on long syllables as they allow the prosody to function musically) are drawn from the pool available within these themes.<sup>123</sup>

### *La nature, l'amour, et les plaisirs*

French verse (in the forms of literature, serious songs, ballets, and masquerades) enjoyed a revival of themes concerned with an idealised world of nature and the emotions stirred by love. Pastoral themes evoke a utopian age of innocence, simplicity, peace, the new beginnings of spring, and pleasures; 'love in *vacuo*'.<sup>124</sup> The symbolism of this pastoral ideal acts as an allegory, an escape from the harsh realities of life at court and in the urban cities, a respite from the frequent wars waged by the 'tyrannical' Louis XIV who after 1685 suffered a series of military defeats; the underlying truth is never far from sight. 'Intermède de la tragédie de Bajazet, Menuet: L'amour se plaisant dans nos plaines' (no.32), makes this very clear:

<sup>121</sup> 'We have several types of epigramme, which under different names, all come to the same thing; for when all is said and done, our songs, whether galant or drinking, about which even foreigners agree that the French nation excels above all others, and our madrigals, where the feelings of the heart are so nicely expressed, what are they in your view, but epigrammes ...?' Bauderon de Sénécé, 'Dissertation sur la composition de l'epigramme', *Épigrammes et autres pièces de M. de Sénécé premier valet de chambre de la feuë Reine, avec un traité sur la composition de l'épigramme*, Paris: Giffart, 1717, p. 1x. Cited (and later translated) by Greer Garden in 'Variations d'un style reçu', p. 357.

<sup>122</sup> Charles Batteux, *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe* (Paris: Durand, 1746), repr. 2nd ed., 1773, Geneva, 1969, pp. 343-9. Cited in and translated by Caroline Wood and Graham Sadler, *French Baroque Opera: A Reader*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, p. 91.

<sup>123</sup> Ranum makes the observation that in songs about love during the French Baroque era, between 75 and 85 percent of syllables are long. Patricia M. Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator: The Phrasing and Rhetoric of the Melody in French Baroque Airs*, Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon, 2001, p. 124.

<sup>124</sup> Louis E. Auld, "'Dealing in Shepherds": The Pastoral Ploy in Nascent French Opera', in *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, Georgia Cowart (ed.), London: U.M.I Research Press, 1989, p. 59.

L'amour se plaisant dans nos plaines,  
 N'y fait sentir que d'aimables désirs.  
 Ce Dieu partage ainsy ses chaisnes,  
 Les bergers n'ont que ses plaisirs,  
 A la cour on n'a que des peines.<sup>125</sup>

At the time Gillier's collection was published, the king, without allies, had been waging the War of the League of Augsburg against Europe and the coalition since 1688. As Gillier's dedication to the duc de Chartres on 14 May 1692 reveals, 'Monseigneur, C'est au milieu des exercices d'Apollon, que Vostre Altesse Royale se délasse des travaux de la guerre'.<sup>126</sup> Gillier continued by suggesting that these poems on such themes offered relaxation.

The escape into the imaginary, simplistic world of *bergers et bergères* is captured by this brunette 'Que mon berger' (no.9):

Que mon berger est agréable!  
 Que de luy mon coeur est charmé!  
 Il n'est point d'amant plus aimable.  
 Il n'en est point de plus aimé.

Brunettes, instrumental adaptations of which have already been alluded to above, represent a form of air very popular in French aristocratic circles in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. These are rustic love songs, described by Montéclair as 'chants naifs, tendres et naturels'.<sup>127</sup> This genre's simplicity and elegance marked it as being 'quintessentially French.'<sup>128</sup>

This pastoral vogue was also evident at the Opéra during the 1690s. References to shepherds appear in 'Belle nymphe: Récit de la Gloire' (no.28), and whenever shepherds appear, music and song, traditionally considered a natural extension of the pastoral ideal, are also present, as 'Air à jouer et chanter: De ces lieux pour jamais' (no.31) attests:

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<sup>125</sup> For translations of the poems given in this chapter, cf. below, II, pp. xxxvi - xlii.

<sup>126</sup> 'Monseigneur, it is amidst the military exercises of Apollon, that your Royal Highness takes rest from the toils of war.' Gillier, Dedication 'A Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur Le Duc de Chartres'.

<sup>127</sup> 'These little songs ... are naive songs, tender, and natural' (translated by this writer), Montéclair in the preface to his *Premier recueil de brunettes*, Paris, [s.d.].

<sup>128</sup> David Tunley, 'Brunette', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04176> (accessed January 26, 2010), and Betty Bang Mather, *Dance Rhythms of the French Baroque: A Handbook for Performance*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, p. 185.

Et que les chants meslez de soupirs et de pleurs,  
 Se changent en chants d'allegresse.  
 Que les hauts-bois, que les musettes,  
 Se joignent à nos voix,  
 Et fassent de cent chansonnettes,  
 Retentir l'écho de nos bois.

Traditional pastoral names are used, such as Climeine, Tircis, Silvie, and Alcandre, along with classical mythological references. French musical thought during the seventeenth century was based on the conception of Neo-Platonism symbolism, where truths (divine revelation) were concealed behind a thin layer of myth and imagery. 'All mythology is nothing more, or pretends to be nothing more, than a system of ideas in disguise, a "secret philosophy"'.<sup>129</sup> The poets, in order to avoid being profaned, couched their expressions in allegorical terms. Examples of this include references such as 'Bellonne [the goddess of war] m'ostera le héros que j'adore' from 'Arrestez doux printemps' (no.25), and *La nymphe de St. Cloud* in 'Fanfare: Quel bruit' (no.26).<sup>130</sup> 'Tout retentit' (no.2) is a quintessential pastoral air in epigrammatic form:

Tout retentit du doux chant des oyseaux,  
 Sous ce feuillage verd, l'onde paroist plus pure.  
 Quelle divinité ranime la nature,  
 Et redonne a nos bois mil agréments nouveaux.  
 C'est vous, printemps, source de tant de charmes  
 Qui ramenez et Flore et les Zephirs.  
 Hélas! Faites cesser mes larmes.  
 Rendez Iris sensible à mes tendres soupirs.

The goddess Flora, symbol of spring and abundance, Zephyr, god of the spring (west) winds, and Iris is the desired woman.

### ***L'amour ou la gloire***

Perhaps when one reconsiders 'Tout retentit' (no.2) in terms of the political undercurrent at that time, as alluded to in 'Arrestez doux printemps' (no.25), which is the only air in C minor (tragic love), a different reading could apply. Is Iris the desired woman, or is she the goddess of the rainbow (of peace), the divine messenger?<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Neo-Platonists believed a more open path to understanding could be achieved through flashes of intuition gained by means of these hidden truths as opposed to the reasoning mind. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>130</sup> 'Bellonne will take from me the heros that I adore'.

<sup>131</sup> Most of the Lully-Quinault *tragédie en musique* prologues balance the demands of pleasure and love against power and glory. In *Atys* (1676) the goddess Iris is depicted as extending her rainbow of

'Hélas! Faites cesser mes larmes', spring has returned:

Arrestez doux printemps, ne venez pas encore.  
Retardez, s'il se peut, le sujet de mes pleurs.  
Si tost que vos zephirs feront briller les fleurs,  
Bellonne m'ostera, le héros, que j'adore.

During the 1680s and 90s, spring (in May) heralded the resumption of the campaigning season; a dramatic contrast to the utopian pastoral theme.

A masculine preoccupation reflected the prevailing political events and social mores of the time. Catherine Gordon-Seifert notes that these stereotypical images were particularly evident during the reign of Louis XIV.<sup>132</sup> The political, religious, and moral conventions that developed during his reign resulted in the omnipresent subordination of the role of women in society; 'les hiérarchies sont plus que jamais exaltées, la morale codifiée; ... le patriarcat consolide partout ses positions'.<sup>133</sup>

This 'masculinised' language conveyed by the heroic representation of men in the Lully-Quinault *tragédies en musique* (the form of which were fully endorsed by the King himself), was transferred to the serious airs during the late seventeenth century. Gillier's air 'Alcandre' (no.13), also reminds us of how much patriotism was the pervading sentiment:

Alcandre, ce héros charmant,  
Ne paroist plus sensible à mon amour fidelle.  
Il court sans m'écouter, où la gloire l'apelle.  
Il préfere au plaisir d'estre aimé tendrement,  
Les perils où conduit cette gloire cruelle.

Such sentiments were no doubt fuelled by Louis XIV's military successes of the 1690s.

Gillier's collection, like a number of other serious song collections and operas by his contemporaries, is set against this backdrop of war as the reality, with Louis XIV's

peace in the sky in order to rejoin the arts (symbolised by the spring goddess Flora) and glory (voiced by Melpomene, the Muse of tragedy). Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, pp. 126-7.

<sup>132</sup> Catherine E Gordon-Seifert, 'Strong Men - Weak Women: Gender Representation and the Influence of Lully's "Operatic Style" on French *Airs Sérieux* (1650-1700)', in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women; Many-Headed Melodies*, Thomasin LaMay (ed.), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, pp. 135-67.

<sup>133</sup> 'Hierarchies [were] exalted more than ever, morals codified; ... everywhere, patriarchy [consolidated] its position'. Maité Albistur and Daniel Armogathe, *Historie du féminisme français du moyen âge à nos jours*, Paris: Éditions des femmes, 1977, p. 134. Cited in and translated by Gordon-Seifert, 'Strong Men - Weak Women', p. 148.

seemingly increasing preference for *gloire* over *l'amour* (synonymous with *plaisirs*) becoming a recurring theme. The second stanza of 'Arrestez doux printemps' could simply be taken at face value; it may depict men at war and women awaiting their return, or as recent studies suggest, it could be read as an allegory aimed at the king himself:

Il doit se trouver à son tour,  
Au rendez vous de la victoire.  
Mais, pour courir apres la gloire,  
Hélas! Qu'il en couste a l'amour.<sup>134</sup>

### ***Tendre amour et de l'amour les tourments rigoureux***

An array of amorous emotions is covered. Tender, amorous love away from the constraints of societal life is expressed delightfully in the brunette 'Dans ces belles retraittes' (no.36):

Dans ces belles retraittes,  
Rien ne troublera plus nos innocens plaisirs.  
Sans chagrin nous pourrons, au gré de nos désirs,  
Y chanter tous les jours nos tendres amour et tes.

At the other end of the scale there is a plunge into the utter depths of despair in the 'Air à jouer et chanter: Dans une langueur mortelle' (no.45), the torment drawn out over three couplets (verse 3):

Entre la mort et la vie,  
Un coeur a trop a souffrir.  
C'est une peine infinie,  
Il faut vous plaire ou mourir.  
Daignez pour finir ma peine,  
Exaucer l'un de mes voeux.  
Laissez moy mourir Climeine  
Ou faites moy vivre heureux.

Unfaithful, insincere, indifferent, and inhuman shepherds and shepherdesses are recurring characters. The power of love is explored, rendering the protagonist helpless in its grip: 'Tircis a sur mon coeur un absolu pouvoir' ('Qu'il couste cher', no.54), and '[Iris] Je fus soumis à vostre empire' ('Iris, depuis le jour', no.57).<sup>135</sup> But the maxim air 'Jeunes coeurs' (no.51) is at hand, proffering sound advice:

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<sup>134</sup> The late operas of Lully and those of his two sons, *Zéphire et Flore* (1688) by Louis and Jean-Louis, and *Orphée* (1690) by Louis Lully, continued with this portrayal of the negative aspects of the unbridled pursuit of power. Georgia Cowart draws parallels with these operas and the King's diminishing interest at that time in the Opéra and secular arts (love and pleasures) in general; he also encouraged others to reject them. Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, pp. 144-60.

<sup>135</sup> 'Tircis has absolute power over my heart' // 'I was submissive to your empire'.

Jeunes coeurs, fuyez la tendresse.  
Dans votre premiere saison,  
Resistez au feu qui vous blesse.  
L'amour est un cruel poison.  
Il ne s'attache a la jeunesse,  
Que parce qu'il craint la raison.

## Chapter 4

### The Poetry in Gillier's Serious Songs

#### The Poets

The only information we have regarding the poetry Gillier chose to set in his collection is provided in his *Avis au lecteur*. Evidently the texts were supplied to Gillier: 'j'ay été obligé de les employer t'elles, qu'on me les donnoit'; he did not write his own.<sup>136</sup> It could be concluded that he was not entirely happy with the poetry, 'on ne trouvera pas toutes les Paroles également travaillées; il y en a, qui ont été faites dans des occasions trop précipitées, pour pouvoir leur donner un tour plus délicat', but he was obliged to retain them just as they were, 'par une complaisance nécessaire à ma profession'.<sup>137</sup>

Gillier appears critical of the haste with which some of these words were written; were his poets a small number of sought-after amateurs, some working more hurriedly than others, perhaps supplying verses on demand to numerous composers?<sup>138</sup> Or possibly, since Bénigne de Bacilly alludes to it as a situation which clearly arose often enough to warrant mention: 'it is entirely inexcusable for a composer to try to apologise for one of his airs by saying that the text is not his fault ... this practice can only be tolerated when one is compelled to do so out of obligation to a friend, or because of deference and respect for a person of quality who has turned his wit to versification'.<sup>139</sup> Clearly, Gillier was not in a position to enjoy the same enviable working partnership as Lully and his librettist Philippe Quinault, hence his obligation to use the texts as he had received them. Admittedly, the poet was constrained by the

<sup>136</sup> 'I was obliged to use them just as they were given to me'. Translation of *Au Lecteur*, cf. below, II, pp.xlvii-viii.

<sup>137</sup> 'One will not find all the words equally polished; there are some that were written in too much haste to be able to give them a more refined character' [...] 'out of the compliance required in my profession'.

<sup>138</sup> The duc de Chartres had his own *livrets* supplied by amateur poets within his circle. Philippe's captain of the guard, Charles-Auguste de la Fare, associated with the libertine clique of Vendome's palace at the Temple, supplied the verses for *Penthée* (1703-4) and most likely *Philomèle* (around 1694); the duc's former tutor, Hilaire Bernard de Requeleyne, baron de Longepierre, wrote the poetry for *Suite d'Armide* (1703-4). Montagnier, 'Royal Peculiar', p. 56 and Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', p. 17.

<sup>139</sup> Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, 1668, Caswell (trans), p. 50.

limitations of the *airs de mouvement* in particular, in which the stresses of the dance and its steps are of utmost importance. Gillier's collection contains thirty-seven vocal pieces:

**Figure 4/1. The Vocal Pieces in Gillier's Collection**

#	Title	Category	Poetic Voice *
2	Tout retentit	<i>Air sérieux</i>	M
5	Tous les ans les beaux jours	<i>Air sérieux</i>	M
6	Si jamais dans la prairie	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M/F
8	Lorsque de mil objets	<i>Air sérieux</i>	M
9	Que mon berger	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	F
11	Air à jouer et chanter: Allons badiner sur l'herbette	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
13	Alcandre	<i>Air sérieux</i>	F
14	Gavotte à jouer et chanter: Il n'est point de bergere sincere	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
17	Je passois dans nos bois	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
18	Un berger des plus charmants	<i>Air sérieux</i>	F
19	Non, je ne veux plus m'engager	<i>Air sérieux</i>	M
20	Paissez petits moutons	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	F
21	Dans ces lieux	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
22	Chaconne: Je me plaist quelquefois. Récit de l'Amour	<i>Récit</i>	F
25	Arrestez doux printemps	<i>Air sérieux</i>	F
26	Fanfare: Quel bruit	<i>Air fanfare</i>	F
28	Récit de la Gloire: Belle nymphe	<i>Récit with petit choeur</i>	M/F&C
30	Air: Nostre douleur	<i>Air sérieux</i>	F
31	Air à jouer et chanter: De ces lieux pour jamais	<i>Air de mouvement with petit choeur</i>	M,F,&C
32	Intermède de la tragédie de Bajazet Menuet: L'amour se plaisant dans nos plaines	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
36	Dans ces belles retraittes	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
38	Petits oyseaux	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	F
40	Chaconne: Sur ces rives fleuries	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
44	Beaux lieux aimable solitude	<i>Air sérieux</i>	M
45	Air à jouer et chanter: Dans une langueur mortelle	<i>Air de mouvement with couplets</i>	M
48	Lorsque la premiere fois	<i>Air de mouvement with double</i>	M
49	Sombres déserts	<i>Récit</i>	M
50	Je cesse d'estre vostre amant	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
51	Jeunes coeurs	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M/F
52	Quand sur ma musette	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
53	Dans l'empire d'amour	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M/F
54	Qu'il couste cher	<i>Air sérieux</i>	F
55	Que je suis misérable	<i>Air sérieux</i>	M/F

57	Iris, depuis le jour	<i>Air sérieux</i>	M
58	Ne me demandez plus, Climene	<i>Air sérieux</i>	M
59	Petite bergere	<i>Air de mouvement</i>	M
60	Fragment du prologue de Méléagre tragédie en musique: Récit La Renommée	<i>Récit, petit choeur &amp; grand choeur</i>	M&C

\* 'M' for male, 'F' for female, 'C' for *choeur*. Where the text does not specifically indicate a male or female protagonist, this has been indicated as either; the duo (no. 31) has been indicated as both, and vocal pieces with *choeur* would probably include both protagonists.

In this collection, twenty-six out of the thirty-seven vocal pieces are written in first-person narrative. The remaining eleven vocal pieces are in third-person narrative consisting of either choruses or solo airs providing passive commentary upon the joys or sorrows of love or glory (or the quandary of choosing between the two), with four airs each bestowing advice to young hearts on the art of amorous adventure. As may be seen in the table at Figure 4/1, the male poetic voice dominates this collection, with nineteen solo airs and two *récits* written specifically for a male protagonist, one duo scored in treble and alto clefs (with chorus in treble and bass clefs), plus four airs and one *récit* in which the text and scoring indicate that a male protagonist could be required.<sup>140</sup> The female poetic voice is specifically required in only nine airs and one *récit*.

Unfortunately, the poets are not identified in this collection, but a number of the texts were either set to music by others, published individually in Ballard's song anthologies prior to this collection, or have links to stage works. The chaconne 'Sur ces rives fleuries' (no. 40) was set earlier, with identical words, in 1680, in an air attributed to Bacilly. The author of the poetry remains unidentified.<sup>141</sup> The text, minus one line, of 'Lorsque de mille objets' (no. 8) by an unknown poet, was set in 1706, by Desmarest in his first published *air sérieux*. Greer Garden points out that it was

<sup>140</sup> The duo 'De ces lieux pour jamais' (no. 31) and the *récits* 'Belle nymphe' (no. 28) and 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre tragédie en musique' (no. 60) include *choeur* sections, *petit* and *grand choeur*, in which male voices traditionally dominated. The female *dessus* was the only voice usually required.

<sup>141</sup> This air appeared in a notice in the *Mercure galant* dated July 1680, pp. 155-7 with the attribution 'est probablement Bacilly, auteur de dix des dix-neuf airs publiés entre October 1679 (première publication d'un air de l'air précédant celui-ci. Quatre de ces airs sont attribués à un autre compositeur et cinq sont anonyme []); 'is probably by Bacilly, author of ten of the nineteen airs published in October 1679 (the first air publication of an air preceding this one. Fourteen of those airs are attributed to other composers and five are anonymous []). Translation is by the present writer. Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, MG-1680.07.01, www.cmbv.fr, (accessed 4 February, 2010).

around 1692 that Desmarest was appointed music master to the duc de Chartres, the same year as the privilege of Gillier's collection, therefore it is possible that the poem was acquired by both composers at the same time.<sup>142</sup> Bacilly also sheds some light on this when he explains that a poet would prefer to give his sonnet to more than one composer in order to avoid allowing it, much to the poet's indignation, to 'languish for years in his pocket without even dreaming of setting it to music'.<sup>143</sup> René Drouard de Bousset, in 1731, also used the same text.

According to Anne-Madeleine Goulet, Gillier's 'Beaux lieux aimable solitude' (no. 44), by an anonymous poet, had previously been published in Ballard's *Livre d'airs de différents auteurs* in 1688. As noted by Goulet there are a small number of variants between this publication and the 1697 issue: the protagonist is Aminthe as opposed to Iris, '&' as opposed to 'et' is used in the seventh line of the verse, the tonality at D minor, is a tone lower, and there are 'numerous rhythmic and melodic variants especially in the *basse continue*'.<sup>144</sup>

Alluding to the sentiments contained within another's air was not uncommon. Bacilly believed that 'it is certainly more worthwhile to copy something good than to try stubbornly and obtusely to become an originator and initiator'.<sup>145</sup> 'Non, [non] je ne veux plus m'engager' (no. 19) shares similarities to an air with the same opening line by Michel Lambert on an anonymous text published in Ballard's *Livre d'airs de différents auteurs* in 1692-3 as located by Goulet. Both airs feature the same theme and opening refrain returning in *rondeau* form (each time cleverly in a slightly new sense), but the actual text differs and 'Tircis', rather than 'Iris', is the cause of the protagonist's affliction.<sup>146</sup> Catherine Gordon-Seifert presents evidence that in some cases more than one poet participated in the creation of the song text, often writing a

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<sup>142</sup> Garden, 'Variations d'un style reçu: Les airs de Desmarest', p. 361.

<sup>143</sup> Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, 1668, Caswell (trans), p. 51.

<sup>144</sup> The translation is by this writer. Source A [sans titre], dans *Livre d'airs de différents auteurs*, XXXI, Paris, Christophe Ballard, 1688, p. 39-40, F.Pn/RésVm<sup>7</sup> 283[23]. Cited in Goulet, *Paroles de musique (1658-1694)*, pp. 905-6.

<sup>145</sup> Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, 1668, Caswell (trans), p. 49.

<sup>146</sup> *Livre d'airs de différents auteurs*, XXXV, Paris, Christophe Ballard, 1692, pp. 7-8, F.Pn/RésVm<sup>7</sup> 283[27]. Cited in Goulet, *Paroles de musique (1658-1694)*, p. 985.

section each; it is conceivable that more than one poet contributed to some of Gillier's airs. This process was akin to a salon conversation.<sup>147</sup>

The collection includes two series of pieces which apparently originated in the theatre. The first is 'L'amour se plaisant dans nos plaines' (no. 32) which bears the description *Intermède de la tragédie de Bajazet*. The text is not directly uplifted from the historical spoken tragedy *Bajazet* (first performed 5 January 1672, probably)<sup>148</sup> about a dissident prince at a Machiavellian court, written by the greatest dramatist of Gillier's day, Jean Racine (1639-1699). The words, embodied by pastoral characters, express the sentiments of the underlying seventeenth-century quandary of having to choose between *le plaisir* or *la gloire*, a recurring theme throughout this collection.<sup>149</sup> The performance history of *Bajazet* at the court has been traced using the published letters of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orléans, the second wife of Philippe I duc d'Orléans and mother of Gillier's dedicatee. The performances of *Bajazet* that we are aware of from these letters are as follows: from 1677, it was performed at least once a year, if not twice, at the various royal residences between which the court moved throughout the year, at Versailles, Fontainebleau, the chateaux of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and Saint-Cloud. In the 1690s Madame attended *Bajazet* performances at Versailles on 22 December 1691, 17 December 1694, 28 July 1695, and 21 January 1697. It was also performed numerous times at the Comédie française.<sup>150</sup> Performances typically included *divertissements* of ballet, vocal and instrumental airs, often consisting of one or two singers, six instrumentalists (usually *violons* and

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<sup>147</sup> As examples, Gordon-Seifert gives the Le Camus/ Lambert collaboration 'J'ay si bien publié vos attraites' and Bacilly's assertion that 'Je fais ce que je puis' was written by four people including himself, the composer Le Camus, plus two poets. The first strophe was written by a poet identified only as M.F., the second strophe by Perrin. Gordon-Seifert, "La réplique galante" Sébastien de Brossard's airs', pp. 183-4.

<sup>148</sup> The *Mercure* of Jan 9, 1672, states that it was performed 'ces jours passés'; Lancaster believes it was probably first given on the 5th. Henry Carrington Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century, Part IV: the Period of Racine 1673-1700, Volume 2*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1940, p. 83.

<sup>149</sup> W.S. Brooks and P.J. Yarrow, *The Dramatic Criticism of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchesse D'Orleans with an Annotated Chronology of Performances of the Popular and Court Theatres in France (1671-1722), Reconstructed from her Letters*, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996, p. 71.

<sup>150</sup> The diarist Dangeau noted that Madame hardly ever missed performances of plays at court, except in cases of mourning and bereavements. Performances at court were often interrupted by the king's frequent periods away. The performances from 1677 to 1690 are too numerous to record within the scope of this study, but cf. Brooks and Yarrow's publication *The Dramatic Criticism of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchesse D'Orleans*, pp. 1, 363. Lancaster informs us that at the Comédie française between 1680 and 1688 *Bajazet* was performed 35 times and between 1680 and 1920, without specifying exact dates, 422 times; Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature*, pp. 83,192.

*hautbois*), plus one or more dancers from the Académie royale de musique.<sup>151</sup> Gillier possibly wrote this sung menuet as incidental music for insertion within or between acts for a performance of Racine's stage work at some time between the early to mid 1680s and the publication date of his collection, 28 February 1697. The 1690s are more likely as he was older. If indeed he wrote the music after 1691, his contribution postdates his printing privilege.

The second series of pieces, Gillier's 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre tragédie en musique', subtitled 'Récit, La Renommée' is, like many prologues, designed in celebration of Louis XIV. Prologues are mostly not directly related to the play or opera that follows but sometimes inform the audience of the subject matter. The closest *Méléagre* in date to this collection is the opera libretto written by the well-known playwright Edmé Boursault (1638-1701) in 1694.<sup>152</sup> There is, however, a later five-act tragedy *Méléagre* dedicated to Madame by the dramatist (and Madame's *maitre d'hôtel ordinaire* from 26 August 1701) François-Joseph de La Grange-Chancel (1677-1758). Born into a noble family, he found favour at court, becoming a *page* of the princesse de Conty, a member of the circle that included Monseigneur and Philippe II d'Orléans; La Grange-Chancel was operating in the same circles as Gillier. *Méléagre's* first of eleven performances was 28 January 1699; subsequently performed at Versailles on 3 February 1699, it was then given another nine performances that year with the last on 17 August. It was never revived. The privilege of *Méléagre* dates from 12 February and it was published 27 February 1699. La Grange-Chancel had produced two plays prior to this, *Adherbal* written around 1690 but not performed until 8 January 1694, and *Oreste et Pilade*, first performed 11 December 1697 (privilege 12 February 1699, the same date as *Méléagre*). His fourth

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<sup>151</sup> Marcelle Benoît in her study *Musiques de cour: chapelle, chambre, écurie, 1661-1733*, 1971, provides this information from payment details made to these musicians and dancers. Cited in Brooks and Yarrow, *The Dramatic Criticism of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchesse D'Orleans*, p. 58.

<sup>152</sup> *Méléagre* was a god in Greek mythology. Jean-Baptiste Stuck (1680-1755) set François-Antoine Jolly's *Méléagre* to music in 1709 with a dedication to the duc d'Orléans, his employer. There is an earlier *Méléagre* by Isaac de Benserade (1613-1691), that La Grange-Chancel is purported to have based his on, published in Paris in 1641. There is another work, *Méléagre et Atalante* (Paris, BN, X.105) that Jean Duron describes as 'très belle tragédie lyrique anonyme, non datée et sans aucun rapport avec la précédente'. Translated by this writer as: 'very beautiful anonymous tragédie lyrique, undated and without any connection with the previous one'. Jean Duron, 'Méléagre', 'Méléagre et Atalante', in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Marcelle Benoît (ed.), Paris: Fayard, 1992, p. 448. Jean Duron kindly verified that this music bears no relation to the 'fragment' published in Gillier's collection.

play, *Athenais*, was performed on 20 November, 1699.<sup>153</sup> Given that they operated in the same circles, and the tragedies would have taken a period of time to complete (although with the information we have it is clear that some plays took longer than others), it is possible, although no definitive match can be made, that Gillier was asked to write a prologue for this *Méléagre*. The *choeur* prosody of Boursault's prologue expresses very similar sentiments to Gillier's *Méléagre* prologue - there is no prologue in La Grange-Chancel's publication - but given the very interchangeable nature of prologues in general, we cannot be certain.

From this information it may be concluded that the poems probably originated from a number of sources and not all of them had been written recently.

## Structure of the Text

### The Airs

As to the formal structure of the text in this collection, the verse lengths and syllables per line adopted in the airs in binary form are outlined in Figure 4/2.<sup>154</sup>

**Figure 4/2. Verse Lengths and Syllables per Line in Gillier's Binary Form Airs**

#	Title	Category	Verse length	Syllables per Line	
				A section	B section
2	Tout retentit	Air	8	10,12,12,12	10,10,8,12
5	Tous les ans les beaux jours	Air	8	12,8,8,8	10,12,12,8
6	Si jamais dans la prairie	[Bourrée]	6	7,6,7,7	8,7
8	Lorsque de mil objets	Air	6	12,12,12	12,8,8
9	Que mon berger	[Gavotte]	4	8,8	8,8
11	Air à jouer et chanter: Allons badiner sur l'herbette	[Gigue]	6	8,8	8,8,8,8
13	Alcandre	Air	7	8,12,12	12,10,8,8
14	Gavotte à jouer et chanter: Il n'est point de bergere sincere	Gavotte	5	8,7	7,7,10

<sup>153</sup> Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature*, pp. 369-82.

<sup>154</sup> The square brackets are this writer's to indicate the suggested dance character of the fixed-meter airs.

17	Je passois dans nos bois	[Loure]	5	12,12	12,12,12
18	Un berger des plus charmants	Air	8	7,7,7,7	7,7,7,7
20	Paissez petits moutons	[Sarabande]	8	6,6,8,6	8,8,6,5
21	Dans ces lieux	[Gavotte]	4	8,12	12,12
25	Arrestez doux printemps	Air	8	12,12,12,12	8,8,8,8
26	Quel bruit	Fanfare [d'air militaire]	4	8,6	12,12
30	Air: Nostre douleur	Air	4	8,10	8,10
31	Air à jouer et chanter: De ces lieux pour jamais	[Menuet]	8	12,12,12,8	8,6,8,8
32	Intermède de la tragédie de Bajazet	Menuet	5	8,10	8,8,8
36	Dans ces belles retraittes	[Loure]	4	6,12	12,12
38	Petits oyseaux	[Menuet]	7	10,8,8	8,8,8,12
40	Chaconne: Sur ces rives fleuries	Chaconne	8	6,8,6,12	8,8,8,6
44	Beaux lieux aimable solitude	Air	8	8,8,12,12	12,12,10,8
45	Air à jouer et chanter: Dans une langueur mortelle - Couplet 2 - Couplet 3	[Gavotte]	8 8 8	6,7,7,7 7,7,7,7 7,7,7,7	7,7,7,6 7,7,7,7 7,7,7,7
48	Lorsque la premiere fois - Double	[Gavotte]	8 8	7,7,7,7 7,7,7,7	7,7,7,7 7,7,7,7
50	Je cesse d'estre vostre amant	[Sarabande]	6	8,8	8,8,8,8
51	Jeunes coeurs	[Loure]	6	8,8,8	8,8,8
52	Quand sur ma musette	[Menuet]	8	5,5,5,5	5,5,5,5
53	Dans l'empire d'amour	[Menuet]	6	12,8	8,8,8,8
55	Que je suis misérable	Air	4	6,12	9,12
57	Iris, depuis le jour	Air	8	12,8,12,8	8,8,8,8
58	Ne me demandez plus, Climene	Air	4	8,12	12,8
59	Petite bergere	[Sarabande]	8	5,5,5,5	5,5,5,5

Short verses of between four and eight lines are used with eight, always divided into two quatrains (sections of four lines), appearing to be the preferred type. These miniature declamations typify the ability of the French air to convey an idea, often with moral implications, within the strict confines of this genre. Bacilly puts this into context when he explains that:

The Italian language permits more freedom than the French, whose strictness (which is perhaps excessive) tends to hold composers in check .... For instance, ... it is permissible to repeat Italian words at any length that happens to please the composer. The result is that a small four-line verse can be transformed into quite a lengthy air by means of these repetitions ... in French it is only permissible to repeat words which are appropriate to the

text, or that have a certain sweet and familiar connotation in the vocal setting of our language. Moreover, in vocal settings of Latin and Italian, all kinds of words are utilised without resulting in outcry from the ranks of the critics.<sup>155</sup>

The majority of the airs in this collection, twenty-two out of thirty-three, have evenly-divided verses over the A and B sections. Eight airs feature an extended B section (asymmetrical), allowing the poet to dwell on the expressed sentiments of the heart, and one air, 'Si jamais dans la prairie' (no. 6) has a shorter B section thereby highlighting, by its brevity, the two-line surprise epigrammatic ending: 'A bien d'autres cet inconstant,/ En a mille fois dit autant'.<sup>156</sup>

## Versification

French versification is concerned with the rhythm of the syllabic units (and their divisions into balanced or unbalanced lines) and rhyme. Some metrical line types are used more frequently than others in this collection, for example poetic lines of octosyllables predominate as shown in Figure 4/3; certain verse types have particular associations:<sup>157</sup>

**Figure 4/3. Line Type Association and Frequency of Occurrence in Gillier's Airs**

**I** Syllables per Line

**II** Frequency of Occurrence

<b>I</b>	<b>Line Type &amp; Association</b>	<b>II</b>
8	Octosyllabic: oldest extant French line; balanced line; characteristic of gavottes; typical of lighter poetry.	91
7	Heptasyllabic: characteristic of gavottes & bourrées; less regulated than the 8-syllable lines they often substitute for.	53
12	Alexandrine: balanced line, usually divided into two hemistiches of 6 syllables, the caesura; majestic sentiments; standard classical <i>tragedie</i> line. <sup>158</sup>	49

<sup>155</sup> Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, 1668, Caswell (trans), p. 42.

<sup>156</sup> 'To many others this inconstant one,/ Has said as much a thousand times'. Only two airs are not in binary form. 'Non, je ne veux plus m'engager' (no. 19) is in rondeau form; in the case of 'Qu'il couste cher' (no. 54), the poem is in a simple rondeau ABA form and the music is in an ABC ternary form. In both airs, the A section invokes a strong emotional presence through the device of rhetorical recurrence.

<sup>157</sup> L.E. Kastner, *A History of French Versification*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903, pp. 140-58; Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator*, pp. 135-52; Georgia J. Cowart (ed.), *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1989, p. 185.

<sup>158</sup> The French classicism movement, at its height between 1660 and 1685, adhered to a highly structured setting, with strict rules, among others: rationality, intellectuality, imitation of an idealised nature, and formal beauty. The five-act *tragédies* of Racine in rhyming alexandrines were considered to

5	Pentasyllabic; unbalanced line but predominantly acts as a division of 10 in this collection.	17
6	Hexasyllabic; usually combined with other line types especially 8s and 12s (as it is similar to the alexandrine with a <i>caesura</i> in the middle dividing it into two equal hemistiches); never occurs alone in this collection.	14
10	Decasyllabic; second oldest French line previously considered the heroic epic type; also contains a 6-syllable division; often occurs in sarabandes and menuets.	11
9	Enneasyllabic: Usually a shortened first-half of a 10-syllable line.	1
Total number of lines		236

From this overview of the syllables per line adopted in Gillier's airs, a number of constants become apparent. The airs consist, in equal ratios, of either isometric sections, in which the same verse-type is used throughout, or heterometric when different types of lines are used within a section. A combination of both types occurs in just eight airs,<sup>159</sup> but in these cases it is generally due to the ebb and flow of emotions. The longer the line, the more profound or serious the statement; the shorter lines tend to convey the assertive, more personal or pithy observation but these shorter, more flexible line lengths, as can be seen in Figure 4/2, are also used in accordance with the constraints imposed by the dance air association. The preference for lines of octosyllables is a feature of the air genre in general, as these lines tend to convey the lighter, simpler texts associated with the pastoral themes so popular at the time. *Airs de mouvement* generally have regular line lengths in order to accentuate the rhythm of the dance, but become irregular and unpredictable as emotions shift. This is exemplified by the emotive sarabande 'Paissez petits moutons' (no. 20) in which the lyrics move from the opening two gentle, and tranquil lines of hexasyllables, which overall form a twelve-syllable alexandrine statement 'Paissez petits moutons,/ Au milieu de la plaine', through a reassuring octosyllabic 'Ne craignez plus les trahisons'. This is followed by an abrupt, seemingly incomplete half alexandrine, six-syllable, 'D'une beste inhumaine' which is explained in the next two eight-syllable lines 'L'objet, dont je sentoais les coups,/ Ne me fait plus porter sa chaisne'. The bitter outpouring of a six and then five-syllable line 'Et celuy, qui vous meine,/ Ne songe

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be the pinnacle of classicism achievement. Buford Norman, 'Ancients and Moderns, Tragedy and Opera: The Quarrel over *Alceste*', in *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, Georgia J. Cowart (ed.), Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1989, p. 177.

<sup>159</sup> In these eight airs, the predominate line type combination is octosyllables and alexandrines; the most commonly used combination. It is not uncommon in the *chanson* to have combinations of more than two verse types, with three being the preferred heterometric option. Kastner, *A History of French Versification*, pp. 159, 200.

plus qu'a vous' ends this sarabande.<sup>160</sup>

Two brunettes, 'Que mon berger' (no. 9) and 'Air à jouer et chanter: Allons badiner sur l'herbette' (no. 11), consistently in isometric lines of octosyllables, express the joys of love in an unimpassioned manner. An example of resigned despair is achieved through the use of five alexandrines in a row in the expressive *loure* 'Je passois dans nos bois' (no. 17):

Je passois dans nos bois tranquillement ma vie,  
 Au soin de mon troupeau je bernois mes désirs.  
 Mais depuis que j'ay vu l'inhumaine Silvie,  
 L'amour a bien changé mes innocens plaisirs  
 Lorsqu'il les a changés en de tristes soupirs.<sup>161</sup>

The *loure* is considered the most graceful and pleasing of dances, and should therefore flow smoothly without unnecessary rhythmic complication.<sup>162</sup> Within this collection the metrical line stability and sentiments expressed in the text of each *loure* is in accordance with the character of this dance.

### **The *Fragmens* of Opera *Récits***

The term '*récit*' should be differentiated from the term '*récitatif*'. According to Jean-Jaques Rousseau a *récit* is the 'nom generique de tout ce qui se chante a voix seule', and is also applied 'aux instrumens'. In Gillier's collection the term is certainly used to differentiate between *seule* and *choeur* sections. Rousseau writes: 'c'est chanter ou jouer seul une partie quelconque par opposition au choeur ou à la symphonie en général'.<sup>163</sup> Newman observes that in the printings made under Lully's direction, the recitative monologues are marked '*recit*' possibly to differentiate them from recitative dialogues. Anthony explains that the term was originally taken from spoken *tragédie*, 'where it usually referred to a long monologue that brought passions to their highest

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<sup>160</sup> 'Feed little sheep, in the middle of the plain, // Fear no more the betrayals, // Of an inhuman creature, // The one, of whom I felt the blows, / Makes me bear its chain no more, // And he, who leads you, / No longer thinks of anything but you'.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. below, II, pp. xxxvi-xlii for translations.

<sup>162</sup> Wendy Hilton, *Dance and Music of Court and Theater: Selected Writings of Wendy Hilton*, New York: Pendragon, 1997, p. 437.

<sup>163</sup> 'Generic name of all that is sung by voice alone', and is also applied 'to the instruments'. 'In general it is to sing or play one part alone in contrast to the choir or the *symphonie*' (translation is by the present writer). Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768 facsimile ed. Hildesheim: Georg Olms), New York: Johnson Reprint, 1969, p. 398.

point at the close of a tragedy'. All *récitatifs* are a form of *récit*, but Anthony points out that 'not all *récits* are *récitatifs*'.<sup>164</sup>

**Figure 4/4. Syllables per Line in the *Récits***

#	Title	Verse Length	Syllables per Line in Sections
22	Chaconne: Je me plaist quelquefois	4	12,12    8,8
28	Belle nymphe	5	8,8,10,6,12
49	Sombres déserts [ternary form]	9	12,8  6,12,8,8,10  12,8
60	Fragment du prologue de Méléagre tragédie en musique	28	12,8,8,6,8  8,12,5,6,8  12,12,8,5,8  12,8,8,6,8  8,6,8,12,8,12,8,6

Each of the four *récits* (as shown in Figure 4/4 above) consists of a variety of *vers libres* (which are addressed further in Chapter 5), and sectional divisions of between two and eight lines, with five being the most commonly used type. As in the airs, longer poetic lines of octosyllables predominate which is typical of lighter poetry and pastoral themes.

Although alexandrines are representative of Racine's standard classical *tragédie* of the theatre, they are not utilised more in 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre tragédie en musique' (no. 60), than they are in any of the other *récits* or airs in this collection. The poet or poets in these *récits*, like Quinault in his *tragédies en musique*, have, as in the airs, used a fluctuating syllable count (although in the *récits* the longer, more majestic balanced lines are favoured) in response to the emotions conveyed by the text. A combination of more than two verse types is common in the *chanson*, but unlike the airs, the preferred heterometric option is four. When shorter lines are used as a prosodic device, their effect is noticeable, inner tension is created.

La cadence des petits Vers et leurs rimes frequentes coupent trop et font trop sauter le récitatif, qui doit être uni, tranquille, majestueux. Le récitatif est un fleuve qui doit rouler doucement, également, hormis aux endroits où il est poussé ou ralenti, où il est excité par quelque détour ou par quelque rencontre extraordinaire, et les petits Vers d'une mesure courte et réglée forment des cascades impetueuses et bruyantes, ou des ruisseaux d'un gazouillement perpetuel.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Joyce Newman, *Jean-Baptiste de Lully*, p. 85; James R. Anthony, 'Récit,' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46406> (accessed January 8, 2010).

<sup>165</sup> 'The rhythm of little lines and their frequent rhymes cut recitative into pieces and make it jump too much, when it should be uniform, tranquil, majestic. Recitative is a river that should flow gently, equally, except where it is pushed ahead or slowed down, where it is roiled up by a narrows or some

Contrasts are conveyed in the chaconne, 'Je me plaist quelquefois' (no. 22) by the use of expansive isometric couplets in alexandrines setting the scene in the first section, 'Je me plaist quelquefois à voir des inhumaines/, Rebuter des amants, les plus tendres soupirs'. This is followed, in the second section, by 'short' and 'impetuous' isometric octosyllable couplets as the orator's monologue becomes more poignant, more telling; the maxim is revealed: 'Mais plus je fais souffrir de peines,/ Plus je prépare de plaisirs'.<sup>166</sup>

As in the airs, lines of hexasyllables are always combined with either octosyllables or alexandrines. These shorter half-alexandrine lines are more assertive, they demand attention, they cause 'noisy cascades or streams' in the flowing river of eight and twelve syllable lines. Grandiose statements such as 'gloire immortelle' and 'plus puissant des Roys', reassuring words like 'banissez vos allarmes' warrant attention, and the poet by skillfully manipulating these hexasyllabic poetic lines has achieved such an effect.<sup>167</sup> The unbalanced pentasyllabic line occurs on two occasions in 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre tragédie en musique' (no. 60). As in the airs, this five-syllable line marks its first appearance as an incomplete division of another, 'C'est son nom glorieux,/ Que partout je répète'.<sup>168</sup> This five-syllable and then six-syllable statement (in verse two) acts as a shortened alexandrine whose 'glorious name' is omitted as something yet to be discovered, 'some extraordinary feature', and when set to music by Gillier its role as a substitute for one twelve-syllable line is emphasised by a continuous descending bass line passage. In the third verse the pentasyllable, by its very nature as an unbalanced line, is used as the complete antithesis of the precarious act of holding in his august hands, 'La balance du monde', and 'le sort de tous les humains', no less.<sup>169</sup>

Unlike Quinault's *tragédies en musique*, in which the rhyme scheme was not fixed,

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extraordinary feature; and little lines, with their short and steady meter, form impetuous and noisy cascades or streams that continually babble'. Jean-Laurent Le Cerf de La Viéville de Fresneuse, *Comparison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise* (Brussels: Foppens, 1704), facsimilie ed. (Brussels: Foppens, 1705-6, II, pp. 84-5), Geneva: Minkoff, 1972. Cited in and translated by Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator*, p. 139.

<sup>166</sup> 'I sometimes take pleasure in watching unfeeling women,/ Turn away lovers, the tenderest sighs.// But the more pain I inflict/ The more pleasure I prepare'.

<sup>167</sup> 'Immortal glory'; 'Most powerful of Kings'; 'Banish your fears'.

<sup>168</sup> 'It is his glorious name, // That I repeat everywhere'.

<sup>169</sup> 'The balance of the world // [And] the fate of all humans'.

the same scheme has been adhered to in all the *récits*. The preferred scheme in the verses of five lines is *abbab* in which the masculine rhyme dominates, the exception being 'Belle nymphe' (no. 28), in which the *aabab* scheme favours the feminine rhyme. This *récit* has elements of tenderness, of *plaisirs*, 'Belle nymphe, essuyez vos larmes,/ Beaux lieux reprenez tous vos charmes'.<sup>170</sup> If we now apply Bacilly's suggestion that 'the rhyme-schema often determines the thought and the subject of the verse to *some extent*', the *récits* might be said to 'expose and develop a dramatic situation', although unlike some of the airs, they do so without as much variation in expressive effect: emotions are more restrained, less contemplative. Continuity is retained, a certain rhythm is created, 'qui doit être uni, tranquille, majestueux'. In general, airs, with their stronger rhythms and shorter stanzas that interrupt the longer *récit* monologue lines, are inserted into opera scenes when the emotions expressed in the *récits* have reached their highest point. The characters could then indulge their passions, and the sentiments of their souls could be expressed.

Un personnage qui dit quelque chose de plus vif, de plus emporté que le reste de son discours, qui est pris de quelque saillie, qui a tout d'un coup quelque redoublement de passion: quitte le train ordinaire du récitatif ... puis quand l'emportement est calmé, il retourne au récitatif ordinaire: pour le quitter encore à la première saillie.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> 'Beautiful nymph, wipe away your tears./ Beautiful places restore all your charms'.

<sup>171</sup> 'A person who says something more lively, more emotional than the rest of his oration, who gives vent to an outburst, who suddenly feels passion welling up, abandons the ordinary pace of the recitative ... then, when his emotion has calmed, he returns to the ordinary recitative, but leaves it again at the first emotional outburst'. Le Cerf de La Viéville de Fresneuse, *Comparaison de la musique*, 1704, p. 60. Cited in and translated by Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator*, pp. 32-3.

## Chapter 5

### Musical Analysis of the Operatic Elements

In this, and in the final chapter, we have chosen to focus on those aspects of Gillier's collection that set it apart from other publications of the period: in our view, the most distinctive music in it derives from his experience as a composer for the theatre. We look at the items concerned in some detail in the present chapter. In the final chapter, we show that Gillier's linking of pieces for chamber music performance is in reality heavily indebted to theatrical precedent.

#### *Récits*

Gillier has set these texts using a number of different categories of *récit*: *récit mesuré*, *récit obligé*, and *récit simple*. This demonstrates great versatility by our composer to represent, within the one collection, numerous genres and derivatives thereof in a condensed form for performance in small chamber concerts. Although, unlike other composers, Gillier has not specifically identified the *récit* category used, it is clear from his use of metre, the role of the bass line, the accompaniment, the melodic line, and musical repetition, which type he is adopting. All four *récits* include a figured *basse continue* line throughout, and each *récit* is in a different key.

**Figure 5/1. Overview of the *Récits***

#	Title	Category	Metre/s	Form	Key	Scoring
22	Chaconne: Je me plaist quelquefois, Récit de l'Amour	<i>Récit mesuré</i>	<b>3</b>	Chaconne opening Extended binary	A	Treble 'Prelude' <i>Basse continue</i>
28	Belle nymphe: Récit de la Gloire.	<i>Récit mesuré</i>	<b>3</b>	Extended binary	C	<i>Petit choeur</i> <i>Symphonie</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
49	Sombres déserts	<i>Récit obligé</i>	<b>♩, 3/2, C</b>	Ternary	e	<i>Prelude</i> <i>Obbligato</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
60	Fragment du prologue de Méléagre tragédie en musique, Récit: La Renommée	<i>Récit simple and mesuré</i>	<b>♩, 3/2, C, 2, 3</b>	Semi structured Multi-sectional ABCAD	G	<i>Prelude</i> <i>Symphonie</i> <i>Petit choeur</i> <i>Grand choeur</i> <i>Basse continue</i>

### *Récit mesuré*

The first *récit* in this collection, the chaconne 'Je me plaist quelquefois, Récit de l'Amour', is in measured style. This category, similar to the air in character and therefore generally reserved for the more dramatic or expressive verses, refers to passages that are metrically regular, have melodic or more active bass lines, and can feature musical or textual repetitions.<sup>172</sup> Gillier has set the text of 'Je me plaist quelquefois' to a four-bar strophic bass line in **3**, a chaconne in A major marked *tendrement*,<sup>173</sup> which on its recurrence predominantly emphasises the rhyme, rather than the caesura. The mood has already been established by an opening instrumental dance acting as a prelude, a 'Chaconne' using the same unbroken recurring bass but extended to eight bars (with the addition of a four-bar repetition an octave lower) which effectively unites the two sections together into a seamless whole. With a diminution to a four-bar phrase recurrence when the vocal line begins (bar 41, Figure 5/2 below), an intensity of emotion is achieved. This strophic bass line is carried through to the exquisite 'Passacaille' (no. 23) in A minor. Although its rhythms are measured, Gillier has also manipulated the rhythm of the vocal line through the device of note duration in order that the metric accent always falls on the caesura (at the half alexandrine) and the rhyme.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> These traits, as outlined by Dill, relate to the historical definition by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the article on recitative for his *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768) and Paul-Marie Masson's categories as defined in the course of his study *L'opéra de Rameau* (Paris, 1930, cf. pp. 189-201). Dill points out that prior to the mid-eighteenth century there is a lack of this type of specific information on *récitatif* categories in other sources. Charles Dill, 'Eighteenth-Century Models of French Recitative', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 120, No. 2 (1995), pp. 232-50. Anthony observes that Brossard had already defined *récitatif mesuré* as being 'in the same *mouvement* [no change of meter] as though singing an air' hence its similarities to the air characteristics exacerbated the blurred demarcation between the two. Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 110.

<sup>173</sup> The expressive direction *tendrement* contrasts unexpectedly with the 'joyful and pastoral' key of A major, and the *gay allegro* commonly used in chaconnes. Cf. below, 'Tempo, Expressive Markings, and Affect' in 'Considerations of Style and Performance', II, p. ix.

<sup>174</sup> The rules of versification, set earlier in the 17th century by François de Malherbe, the official poet of the French royal court, included the insistence upon a break at the caesura and the rhyme. The caesura, a pause in the interior of the line dividing it into parts thereby allowing the voice to rest, only occurs in lines of ten at the fourth syllable or occasionally the sixth, or on the sixth syllable of an Alexandrine. Lois Rosow, 'French Baroque Recitative as an Expression of Tragic Declamation', *Early Music*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (October, 1983), pp. 469-74. The feminine rhyme in the example from bar 45 is not counted but is pronounced.

Figure 5/2. 'Je me plaist quelquefois' (no. 22), opening bars 40-45

40

Récit de l'Amour

Je me plaist quel-que-fois à voir des in-hu-mai-nes, Re-bu-ter des a-

There appears to be a disparity between the sentiments expressed in the prosody and the setting. The key of A major, according to several Baroque theorists of the time, was thought to be joyful and pastoral and associated with devotional or church songs.<sup>175</sup> The piece, without words, is quite solemn, doesn't modulate but rather consists of a sequence of dissonance and resolution specified by the figured bass, and is quite unlike his normal writing; more apt for a devotional church setting. Perhaps Gillier wrote it and the very tender 'Passacaille' (no. 23) suitable for organ in A minor (the key associated with fervent prayers) in the first instance with this very occasion in mind, to which he later added the rather incongruous text. The words tell of a game, the protagonist is playing and jesting in a joyous manner; if the lovers weren't there to be rejected, there would be no fun to have at all! The dichotomy between these disparate parts is at the very heart of Gillier's emotional setting, suggesting that underneath the playful facade, there is perhaps a hint of something darker; something 'foreign'.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>175</sup> Rousseau (1644- before 1699), singing teacher and virtuoso gambist, was the first to list the attributed characteristics of certain keys in his singing manual *Méthode claire* (1691). Charpentier (circa 1645-1704), oratorio composer, wrote the second known list about 1692 in his treatise 'Règles de composition' dedicated to his pupil Philippe, duc de Chartres; the dedicatee of Gillier's collection. Masson, church musician and theorist, listed his interpretation of key qualities in *Nouveau traité des règles* (1697); and Rameau (1683-1764), theorist and composer, made a significant contribution to key characteristics in *Traité de l'harmonie* (1722). Jean Rousseau, *Méthode claire, certaine et facile, pour apprendre à chanter la musique* (4th ed.), Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1691, pp. 23-4; Marc-Antoine Charpentier, 'Règles de composition', Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Fr. nouv. acq. 6355, fol. 13 r&v, c.1692. English translation taken from Lillian M. Ruff, "M. A. Charpentier's 'Règles de composition'", *The Consort* 24 (1967), pp. 250-1, with the exception that 'key' has been substituted for 'mode'; Charles Masson, *Nouveau traité des règles de la composition de la musique*, Paris: Jacques Collombat et l'auteur, 1697; Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Traité de l'harmonie réduite à ses principes naturels*, Paris: J.-B. Christophe Ballard, 1722. Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983, pp. 33-41, and Mary Cyr, *Performing Baroque Music*, Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, c1992, pp. 32-4 provide a complete list of key characteristics by these and other theorists.

<sup>176</sup> Ranum points out that there are relatively few airs in A major, and the ones that are tend to mention peasants or exotic foreigners. Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator*, p. 334. There is no mention of peasants in this piece, but the 'foreign' could relate to something incommensurable. It has been suggested by Rose Pruiksma in her dissertation "'Dansé par le roi': Constructions of French Identity in the Court Ballets of

'Je me plaist quelquefois' (no. 22) is in extended binary form. The first of a sequence of dissonances and resolutions occurs in the A section on 'rebuter' at bars 45-6 setting off a chain of tension and release, of 'les peines' and 'les plaisirs'. This process is immediately reiterated at bar 47 (Figure 5/3), with a protraction of [a]'mants' at the accented caesura serving to prolong the discordant pain. The final hemistich, 'les plus tendres soupirs', is gently repeated after a pause (a sigh), with the same downward cast, but at a lower pitch, ending a fourth down. In this instance the rhyme does not coincide with the recurrence of the bass on the tonic, rather the required fourth below. The tension is not resolved. This displacement of the expected bass recurrence serves two purposes. Firstly, by means of note duration and verse length manipulation, the prevailing rhythm is subtly undermined thus weight is added to the following, more dramatic assertion, 'Mais', the opening syllable of the B section stanza at bar 53 (see Figure 5/3 below). Secondly, this shift fulfils the dual role of opening the B section on the tonic. The rhythm of the initial strophic bass recurrence is not regained until the final utterance of the rhyme 'plaisirs' at bar 65, but only after the ensuing emotional upheaval of the B section has subsided.

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Louis XIV', University of Michigan, 1999, pp. 180-208, that Lully used chaconnes 'as a sign of sensuality and exotic otherness'. Cited in Georgia J. Cowart, 'Carnival in Venice or Protest in Paris? Louis XIV and the Politics of Subversion at the Paris Opéra', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Summer, 2001), p. 288.

Figure 5/3. 'Je me plaist quelquefois', bars 47-70.

47  
mants, les plus ten - dres sou - pirs, les plus ten - dres sou - pirs. Mais plus je

7 6 7 7 6

55  
fais souf-frir de pei - nes Plus je pré - pa - re de plai - sirs. Mais plus je fais souf-frir de

5 4 3 6 7 6# 5 6 7

62  
pei - nes Plus je pré - pa - re de plai - sirs. Mais

5 4 3 6 7 6# 5 6 7

There are three textual repetitions of the B section. The first with melodic and ornamentation variation and the second and third reprises (after a solo strophic bass repetition of four bars) are an exact musical repetition of the opening statement and first repeat.<sup>177</sup> The appropriate text placement of ornamentation on other long syllables, a *passage* preceded by a *port de voix* on the first utterance of 'pei' (bar 56), but poignantly not on the second (bar 62), followed by an elongated *cadence* on 'nes' at bar 57 (an intentional metrical accent on a feminine rhyme thus 'masculinising' it for effect), allows the protagonist to add stress to this sentiment (Figure 5/3). The same treatment is given to 'prépare' but not until its first repeat at bar 63; to dwell on the 'peines' inflicted both in terms of an emotion and reinforcement of the rhyme in the first instance, but conversely to rejoice, after a delayed buildup, in the lengthy 'preparation' (only upon the reprise and then sustained over three bars) of the

<sup>177</sup> The first reprise of the text is written out. The second and third reprises are indicated by a repeat barline at the end of the B section followed by a solo strophic bass phrase of four bars that ends with a *signum congruentiae* instruction to return to the beginning of the B section. In this instance, we can only assume that this specific instruction indicates Gillier's intention that this be repeated.

'pleasures' (Figure 5/3).<sup>178</sup> The actual 'plaisirs' are skipped over lightly. An allusion to something lying just beneath the surface layer, something latent, is conveyed by Gillier's use of the recurring dissonant VII chord resolving to VI which only occurs once in the B section vocal line, on 'prépare'. This dissonance/resolution sequence recurs in every bar of the following four bars (66-69) of solo strophic bass.

The use of florid *passages* and other ornamentation in this collection reflects the general trend, after Lully's death, of more freely-ornamented *récitatif* as opposed to Lully's more declamatory manner.<sup>179</sup> In the abundant and proper use of these musical devices in the more expressive *récits*, Gillier has demonstrated his practical and skilled approach. The specific emphasis he places on ornaments in his preface also demonstrates the influence of Lambert's style, 'un agrément mal placé affaiblit l'expression des paroles'.<sup>180</sup>

### ***Récit obligé***

'Sombres déserts' (no. 49) features a relatively active bass line and an obbligato part that foreshadows the vocal line in the opening *Prelude*, and then punctuates it.<sup>181</sup> *Récit obligé*, a more lyrical style of *récit*, is mostly reserved for tender moments.<sup>182</sup> The impassioned manner is heightened by Gillier's use of a fluctuating succession of

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<sup>178</sup> Bacilly in his *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (1668) has provided an in-depth guide regarding the appropriate ornamentation of long and short syllables. Cf. 'Considerations of Style and Performance', II, from p.ii, for a full discussion of these ornaments.

<sup>179</sup> Lully was quoted by Lecerf as stating 'no embellishments; my *récitatif* is made only for speaking'. Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française* (reproduced without acknowledgement from 2nd ed., 1705-6, in vols. 2-4 of Bourdelot, Pierre and Jacques Bonnet, *L'Histoire de la musique et de ses effets*, 4 vols. bound as 2. Amsterdam: C. Le Cène, 1725), rpt. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1966, vol. 3, p. 188. Cited in Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 108. The increase in ornamentation, thus aligning *récitatif* to the air genre even more, also contributed to the gradual slowing down of the delivery of French *récitatif* since Lully's day.

<sup>180</sup> 'A badly-placed ornament enfeebles the expression of the words'. Gillier, *Au Lecteur*, cf. II, p. xlvii.

<sup>181</sup> Rousseau differentiated *accompagné* from *obligé* when the instruments (referring to an orchestral accompaniment) sustain chords throughout as opposed to taking a more active role. Rousseau, 'récitatif accompagné' and 'récitatif obligé', in *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768), pp. 403-5. Charles Dill addresses this topic in more detail in 'Eighteenth-Century Models of French Recitative', pp. 232-50. In this collection Gillier has set this *récit*, for use in chamber music performance, with an obbligato treble line that was performed by a violin in the 'Ensemble Battistin' recording.

<sup>182</sup> Catherine E. Gordon-Seifert in 'Strong Men-Weak Women', p. 153 notes that Lully also used *récit obligé* during periods of tender utterances accompanied by minor harmonies. The more 'commanding' *récit simple* (or *ordinaire*) style was reserved for bold and other strong statements.

meters in the manner of recitative thereby underlining the prosodic accents of both the caesura and the rhyme.<sup>183</sup>

Gillier uses the form ABA in which the A section (bars 1-12) in E minor has the brevity of a refrain. The B section (bars 12-32) is in the relative major with allusions to the tonic, to A minor and to B minor. Charpentier posed the question 'why [have] changes of key?' The two reasons he gave were firstly to accommodate vocal ranges, secondly, and more importantly, to express 'different passions, for which the different key properties (*energies*) are appropriate'.<sup>184</sup>

E minor (plaintive lament) immediately casts its shadow of affliction over the opening 6-bar obbligato *Prelude* before firmly ending on a V-I cadence confirming the tonality. The voice enters in a low register at bar 7, a disconsolate utterance of the words, 'Sombres déserts', mirroring the opening melodic line (Figure 5/4 below).<sup>185</sup> Except for the leap of a 4th to 'rochers' (bar 8, Figure 5/4), the line is conjunct, flat and resigned. A gradual rise of a 7th to its highest point, *d''* on 'Je' (the last syllable in bar 10), is immediately curtailed by a one-bar descent of all three melodic parts back to the tonic (bar 12): utter dejection.

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<sup>183</sup> Lully developed this type of *récit* in the 1660s in order to accommodate the changing number of *vers libres*, which add interest. Metrical uniformity could be retained in other passages, namely sections without the vocal line. Concerning the navigation of these fluctuations, 'the changes in meter cause no difficulty for the French. [Their *récitatif*] flows continuously, bubbling forth like champagne'. Telemann in a letter to Carl Heinrich Graun (1751), published in *G. P. Telemann Briefwechsel*, ed. H. Grosse and H. R. Jung, Leipzig, 1972, pp. 264-306. Cited in Rosow, 'French Baroque Recitative', p. 468.

<sup>184</sup> Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 189.

<sup>185</sup> 'Sombres déserts' is a topos originating from the excerpt 'Sombres déserts témoins de mes tristes regrets?' from the Opéra-ballet *Issé* by André-Cardinal Destouches (1672-1749). This was first performed on October 7, 1697 in Fontainebleau. See the entry in the *International Inventory of Musical Sources after 1600* [RISM] database, cross ref. Pieces 122.200.

Figure 5/4. 'Sombres déserts' (no. 49), bars 1-11

*Prelude*

[Vln]

[Voix]

[Bc]

*Récit*

Som - bres dé - serts, ro - chers in - ac - ces - si - bles Je ne vous fe-ray plus la

A higher tessitura is adopted for the short, half-alexandrine opening statement in the B section, 'Vos retraites paisibles', the shortest line overall. Agitation follows, with the introduction of a dotted quaver, semiquaver rhythmic motive depicting the reality that these peaceful retreats 'Ne garentissent point des peines de l'amour'.<sup>186</sup> A two-bar obligato (bars 20-21, Figure 5/5) echoing the previous vocal utterance hurries us on to 'En vain', set to a descending minor 3rd in the melody harmonised by chord V in A minor, the subdominant key; the modulation to A minor (utterly broken), is confirmed by a cadence at bar 24 (Figure 5/6 below).

<sup>186</sup> 'Guarantee no protection from the pains of love'.

Figure 5/5. 'Sombres déserts', bars 12-22

12

18

6<sup>#</sup> 4 6 6 2 5<sup>#</sup>

6 7 6 <sup>#</sup> 6 7 6 <sup>#</sup> <sup>#</sup> 6

cour. Vos re - trait - tes pai -

si - bles Ne ga - ren - tis - sent point des pei - nes de l'a - mour. En vain j'y pas -

Although Gillier's florid ornamentation of 'hélas!' 'Les coeurs sensibles'<sup>187</sup> outlining chord V7 in G major, is sounded over a bass pedal providing a momentary respite from the harmonic restlessness, tension again builds with a rising bass line punctuated in the vocal line with a leap of a 6th to 'Ne' (at bar 29, Figure 5/6 below). It reaches a climax on chord V in B minor emphasising the word 'point' (bar 30) before cadencing in B minor two bars later. This chord of arrival, with its tierce de Picardie, serves at the same time as chord V in E minor, heralding the restatement of the A section in bar 33. Light modifications made to the original bass line ensure a smooth and seamless transition.

<sup>187</sup> '[Alas!] Sensitive hearts'.

Figure 5/6. 'Sombres déserts', bars 23-34

23

sois tout le jour. Hé -

5 4 # 6 6 5 # #

27

- las! Hé - las! Les coeurs sen - si - bles Ne trou - vent point de tran -

7 6 4 5 4 2 ♯ #

31

quil - les sé - jours. Som - bres dé - serts, ro -

4 # # 4# 6 2 # 6

### *L'orchestre et le chœur*

The 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre tragédie en musique' (no. 60) comprises *recit mesuré*, *choeur*, and *symphonie* sections, as does 'Belle nymphe' (no. 28). But unlike the latter, the 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre' also features contrasting *recit simple* sections and a division of the *choeur* forces into *petit* and *grand* ensuring dramatic interest in this through-composed spectacle.

Apart from Gillier's application of metres, these contrasting *recit* sections are clearly delineated (although not indicated as such in words) by changes in the bass line, from

relatively inactive (*simple*) to active (*mesuré*), and textual repetition, indicative of *mesuré*, in the third and fifth verses. In Lully's *tragédies en musique*, the undoubted model for 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre',  *récit simple* was often reserved for bold and other strong affirmations.<sup>188</sup> This assertion is certainly supported by the grandiose opening statements of sections one and two (and four which is an exact repeat of two):

Accourez promptement. C'est moy, qui vous appelle.  
Venez, peuples de l'univers.  
Admirer les exploits divers,  
Et la gloire immortelle  
Du puissant héros, que je sers.

Luy seul occupe ma trompette.  
Chaque jour me fournet cent prodiges nouveaux.  
C'est son nom glorieux,  
Que partout je répète,  
En dépit de tous ses rivaux.<sup>189</sup>

Section three in *mesuré*, following an introductory instrumental *Prelude*, is more emotive:

En vain les ennemis sur la terre et sur londe,  
Opposent mille efforts à ses vastes desseins.  
Il tient dans ses augustes mains  
La balance du monde  
Et le sort de tous les humains.

'Symphonie', according to Brossard, is a term referring to 'any composition written for instruments'.<sup>190</sup> In 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre' the *symphonie* sections, as a reduced orchestral score, are in two parts, a treble and relatively active bass line, as is the ensemble air, 'De ces lieux pour jamais' (no. 31) and the menuet air 'Intermède de la tragédie de Bajazet: L'amour se plaisant dans nos plaines' (no. 32). Conversely, 'Belle nymphe' (no. 28) consists of two very active 'violinistic' treble lines scored as excited flurries of semiquavers in a succession of thirds with an occasional sixth, as is typical of Gillier's contemporaries, plus a bass line very suitable in style for a sustaining string *basse continue* (Figure 5/7).

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<sup>188</sup> Section five is in measured time as it consists only of the *choeur* with *symphonie* interjections. For further reading cf. Gordon-Seifert, 'Strong Men - Weak Women', p. 153.

<sup>189</sup> For all translations of the poems cf. below, II, pp. xxxvi-xlii.

<sup>190</sup> Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de la musique*, originally published: Dictionnaire de musique. 3. éd., Amsterdam: E. Roger, ca. 1708, Geneva: Minkoff, 1992. 'Symphonie' as cited in Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 121.

Figure 5/7. 'Belle nymphe' (no. 28) *Symphonie* excerpt, bars 51-55.

*Symphonie*

Given that 'Belle nymphe' (no. 28) expresses tender but also spirited heroic sentiments, and both 'De ces lieux pour jamais' (no. 31) and 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre' (no. 60) make specific reference to wind instruments, 'les hauts bois',<sup>191</sup> les musettes', and 'ma trompette' respectively, it is likely that this reduction of three parts to two could indicate a change in orchestral forces. Perhaps a transition from the *petit chœur* string ensemble to a wind consort, or with winds (namely *les hautbois* and *les trompettes*) doubling the upper parts as per the *grand chœur* forces.<sup>192</sup> The inclusion of only a vocal *petit chœur* rather than a *grand chœur* in 'Belle nymphe' must also have some bearing on the instrumental forces required, especially when we keep in mind that the higher voices were thought 'heroic', comparing favourably with the *trompette*.<sup>193</sup> As seen in Figure 5/8 below, the vocal *petit chœur* passages could very well be likened to a *trompette* call of *la gloire* with the 'violinistic' instrumental line conveying the opposing underlying battle between the forces of *la gloire* and *l'amour* (pleasures and peace). This certainly fits with the model that Gillier appears to have used (but adapted for use in the smaller setting of *musique de chambre*), that of the Lully/Quinault prologue of *Alceste*. In this prologue the nymph of the Seine greets the

<sup>191</sup> Gillier, or perhaps the engraver, designates *hautbois* as 'les hauts bois' in this collection. This variant in spelling, among other terms commonly used at that time for the oboe (for example 'haubois'), could possibly be either Gillier's indication of the plural, namely, more than one oboe for example a three or four-part consort, or an ensemble of various woodwind instruments. Alternatively, it could simply be an erroneous spelling by the engraver.

<sup>192</sup> Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'From Score into Sound: Questions of Scoring in Lully's Ballets', *Early Music*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (August, 1993), p. 358, suggests that scoring changes, for example a reduction from the typical five-part strings to four parts, may very well indicate that a wind texture is now required.

<sup>193</sup> Treble voices were preferred throughout the Baroque era, with the *haute-contre* voice considered the premier French opera male role. The high range was considered heroic, rather than effeminate, and likened to the trumpet. The bass voice was considered less virtuosic and appealing. Ellen T. Harris, 'Voices', in *Performance Practice Music After 1600*, Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (eds), Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989, p. 111.

martial fanfare ('Bruit de guerre') with dismay, as does Gillier's *nymphé de St. Cloud* in the preceding 'Fanfare: Quel bruit' (no. 26), 'Dieux! Qu'est-ce que j'entends?'<sup>194</sup> The *Alceste* prologue ends with a chorus alternating strings and oboes with an 'opposing musical characterisation' of trumpets and drums in a military fanfare.<sup>195</sup>

Figure 5/8. 'Belle nymphé' *Petit chœur* excerpt, bars 61-66

The 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre' (no. 60) is a call to loudly and joyfully proclaim 'la gloire éclatante du plus puissant des Roys', to rejoice and to 'admirer les exploits divers', but also to acknowledge the king's benevolent protection, 'On a tous les biens a la fois, Quand on est a l'abry de sa main triomphante'. What better keys to use than G major (exalt joyfully but sweetly), with the ancillary keys of D major (joyous songs of victory and very martial), A major (loudly joyous), E minor briefly (effeminate), and C major (martial)!<sup>196</sup> What better musical setting than the fixed, regular, repetitive drum rhythms reminiscent of the traditional Marche?

Sections one and two, in the tonic with modulations to D major, immediately set the scene with a personal call, a song of victory, addressed to the 'peuples de l'univers, Admirer les exploits divers'. This is followed by the instrumental *Prelude* (probably performed by the *grand chœur* forces) in 3, evoking a slightly altered mood. This *symphonie* episode, in the tonic, warns us that section three, in *mesuré*, will be at a changed dramatic pace. When the voice does enter (at bar 28, Figure 5/9 below) it

<sup>194</sup> 'Gods! What am I hearing?'; The terrible noise of war.

<sup>195</sup> Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, pp. 127, 147.

<sup>196</sup> E minor is starkly contrasting to the martial, virile modes of C and D major. Ranum observes that during the 1680s and 1690s C major was consistently used in airs that expressed rejoicing over a victory; the emphasis firmly on conquest. Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator*, pp. 327, 330.

takes up the theme of the first three bars of the preceding instrumental introduction. The dotted crotchet rhythms of the *Prelude* are mirrored providing musical coherence, but in diminution, in the active bass line (from bar 32):

**Figure 5/9. 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre' (no. 60), *Prelude* bars 18-37**

18 *Prelude*  
 vaux.  
 25 En vain les en-ne - mis sur la terre et sur lon -  
 33 - de, Op - po - sent mille ef - forts à ses vas - tes des - seins. Il tient dans ses au-gus-tes

'Il tient dans ses augustes mains, La balance du monde' in A major when repeated effects a modulation to D major heralding in a return of the song of victory: the fourth verse which is an exact repeat of the first. These passages are dominated throughout by major harmonies in root position with the abundant use of tonic and dominant chords.<sup>197</sup> Section five (beginning at bar 57, Figure 5/10) consists of the *choeur* accompanied by the *symphonie* in homophonic texture: 'Admirons la gloire eclatante'.<sup>198</sup>

This thicker texture made heavier by a preponderance of parts for male voices gives this 'character', the *grand choeur*, enormous presence as it comments on the

<sup>197</sup> Theorists of the seventeenth century considered these musical devices to be associated with strength, boldness, and aggression. Gordon-Seifert, 'Strong Men - Weak Women', p. 152.

<sup>198</sup> 'Let us admire the magnificent glory'. The *choeur* is in fact written for the *grand choeur*; this we can ascertain from Gillier's use of clef. Using the same analogy, *grand choeur* forces are also required for 'De ces lieux pour jamais' (no. 31). Cf. below, 'Considerations of Style and Performance', II, p.ii, for further discussion regarding *choeur* divisions.

sentiments previously expressed. A series of emotions in quick succession is conveyed by means of harmonic colouring: G major, E minor, A major, and D major.

**Figure 5/10. 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre', *Grand chœur* bars 57-62**

57 *Chœur* *Symphonie*

sers. Ad - mi - rons, Ad - mi - rons la gloire ec - la - tan - te Du plus puis - sant des Roys.

Ad - mi - rons la gloire ec - la - tan - te Du plus puis - sant des Roys.

The higher more penetrating *petit chœur* repeats the strophe at bar 80 (Figure 5/11 below) but with melodic and harmonic variation.<sup>199</sup> The *symphonie* episode is now in A and D major as opposed to G; E minor (effeminate) is replaced with C major (martial) and A major (loudly joyous), the other facet of 'sa main triomphante'.

**Figure 5/11. 'Fragment du prologue de Méléagre', *Petit chœur* bars 79-88**

79 *Petit chœur*

plus puis sant des Roys. Ad - mi - rons, Ad - mi - rons la gloire ec - la - tan - te, Ad - mi - rons la gloire ec - la -

plus puis - sant des Roys. Ad - mi - rons la gloire ec - la - tan - te, Ad - mi - rons la gloire ec - la -

<sup>199</sup> A separate soprano clef line has not been provided as it has in 'Belle nymphe' (no. 28). Gillier's intention could have been for the sopranos in this instance to double the treble line thereby creating a more harmonious unity: 'There you have a chorus which makes an extended and developed scene and which, in its imitation, has all the truth of nature, but with this one difference: that out of a tumultuous crowd is created a harmonious consensus'. Jean-François Marmontel, *Éléments de littérature* (1787), in *Oeuvres complètes*, 19 vols, Paris, 1818-20, xii, pp. 469-71. Cited in and translated by Wood and Sadler, *French Baroque Opera*, p. 66.

84 *Symphonie*

tan - te Du plus puis - sant des Roys.

tan - te Du plus puis - sant des Roys.

From bar 102 the magnificent spectacle of the *grand choeur* completes the final two lines of the verse with melodic variation, repeating these statements yet again after a four-bar *symphonie* finale.

## Chapter 6

### The Music of Gillier's '*petits concerts de chambre*' - *fragmens d'opéra*?

Gillier's *Livre d'airs et de simphonies meslés de quelques fragmens d'opéra*<sup>200</sup> comprises *basse continue*-accompanied songs including solo airs, one equal voice duo and four *récits*, one with obligato and two *récits* (as does the duo air) with *choeur* and *symphonie* episodes. Also included are instrumental dances in varied styles for *violon* plus one specifically for *flutte almande alternativement avec les violons* with contrasting *seule* and *tous* effects, two trios for two *hautbois* and for two *flutes* respectively (both with *basse continue*), plus a number of pieces for an unspecified *dessus* instrument to be sung and played. These categories will be defined further later on in this chapter. In total, there are sixty-four numbered pieces, whereas Edmond Lemaître's bibliographic entry in the *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (1992), holds that Gillier's *Livre* comprises '80 pièces (entrees de ballet, fanfares, choeurs, etc.)'.<sup>201</sup> As a precursor to the new vogue in France of the multi-movement sonata and cantata at the turn of the century, Gillier's grouping together of instrumental and vocal movements to make larger musical entities has exceptional interest.

Composers generally wrote complete operas, theatre works, or individual airs (of the serious and drinking type). Pieces involving voices were occasionally presented as a dramatic sequence, for example, Charpentier in 1683 had composed an experimental cantata-like work, *Orphée descendant aux enfers*, probably for performance at a private concert. Montéclair, as we have seen, in Ballard's *Recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire* of October 1695 grouped two recitatives, one air, and a duo into an ensemble of movements he entitled *Adieu de Tircis à Climène*.<sup>202</sup> Gillier's publication is, however, unique: his declared aim was to assemble a collection of serious songs linked together in suites with instrumental pieces by means of their keys for chamber music

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<sup>200</sup> *Fragmens* denotes portions of several [existing] operas joined together. According to Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Nougaret, *De l'Art du théâtre* (Paris, 1769), repr., Geneva, 1971, ii, pp. 230-33, this term is only used in France. Cited in and translated by Wood and Sadler, *French Baroque Opera*, p. 48.

<sup>201</sup> Edmond Lemaître, 'Gillier, Pierre', in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Marcelle Benoît (ed.), Paris: Fayard, 1992, p. 320.

<sup>202</sup> Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, pp. 380, 418, 422-3.

performance. In this regard, his endeavour is akin to the formation of an operatic prologue or *divertissement*, in which a dramatic element is not essential.

**Figure 6/1. Suites and their Sub-groupings/Links within the Collection**

	#	Title	Category	Key	Metre/s	Musical Form	Scoring
<b>[Suite 1]</b>							
Sub-group	1	Ouverture de Bois le Vicomte	Overture	F	2, 6/8, $\text{C}$	Asymmetrical Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	2	Tout retentit	<i>Air sérieux</i>	F	$\text{C}$ , 3/2	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	3	Lourette	Instrumental dance	F	3	Rondeau	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
Sub-group	4	Ritournelle	Instrumental prelude	a	$\text{C}$ , 3/2	Through-composed	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	5	Tous les ans les beaux jours	<i>Air sérieux</i>	a	$\text{C}$ , 3/2	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	6	Si jamais dans la prairie	[Bourrée]	a	$\text{C}$	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	7	Rondeau	[Menuet en rondeau]	a	3	Rondeau	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	8	Lorsque de mil objets	<i>Air sérieux</i>	a	$\text{C}$ , 3/2	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	9	Que mon berger	[Gavotte]	a	$\text{C}$	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	10	Rondeau	[Menuet en rondeau]	A	3	Rondeau	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	11	Air à jouer et chanter: Allons badiner sur l'herbette	[Gigue]	A	6/8	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
<b>[Suite 2]</b>							
	12	Sarabande	Instrumental dance	a	3	Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
Sub-group	13	Alcandre	<i>Air sérieux</i>	a	3/2, $\text{C}$	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	14	Gavotte à jouer et chanter: Il n'est point de bergere sincere	Gavotte	A	$\text{C}$	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	15	Bourée	Instrumental dance	A	2	Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
Sub-group	16	Ritournelle	Instrumental prelude	A	3	Through-composed	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	17	Je passois dans nos bois	[Loure]	A	3	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	18	Un berger des plus charmants	<i>Air sérieux</i>	a	$\text{C}$ , 3/2	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>

	19	Non, je ne veux plus m'engager	<i>Air sérieux</i>	A	2	Rondeau	<i>Basse continue</i>
	20	Paissez petits moutons	[Sarabande]	A	3	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	21	Dans ces lieux	[Gavotte]	a	♯	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
Sub-group	22	Chaconne: Je me plaist quelquefois, Récit de l'Amour	<i>Récit</i> with instrumental prelude	A	3	Chaconne. <i>Récit</i> in Extended Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	23	Passacaille	Instrumental dance	a	3	Chaconne	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
<b>[Suite 3]</b>							
Sub-group	24	Ouverture de St. Maur	Overture	C	2, 3, ♯	Asymmetrical Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	25	Arrestez doux printemps	<i>Air sérieux</i>	c	♯, 3/2	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	26	Fanfare: Quel bruit	<i>Air fanfare</i>	C	2, C	Semi-structured (ABCBD)	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	27	Marche de la Gloire	Instrumental marche	C	2	Through-composed	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	28	Belle nymphe: Récit de la Gloire	<i>Récit</i>	C	3	Semi-structured	<i>Petit chœur &amp; Symphonie</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
	29	Entrée de bergers et bergeres	Instrumental <i>entrée</i>	C	2	Asymmetrical Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	30	Air: Nostre douleur	<i>Air sérieux</i> with instrumental <i>ritournelle</i> postlude	C	3, ♯	Extended Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	31	Air à jouer et chanter: De ces lieux pour jamais	[Menuet]	C	3	Binary	Vocal duo <i>Petit chœur &amp; Symphonie</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
Sub-group	32	Intermède de la tragédie de Bajazet	Menuet	C	3	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	33	Menuet pour les hauts bois	Instrumental dance trio	C	3	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Hautbois trio</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
	34	Menuet pour les flutes	Instrumental dance trio	c	3	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Flutes trio</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
<b>[Suite 4]</b>							
	35	Ouverture de Chessy	Overture	G	2	Asymmetrical Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	36	Dans ces belles retraittes	[Loure]	G	3	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	37	Marche	Instrumental marche	G	♯	Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	38	Petits oyseaux	[Menuet]	G	3	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>

	39	Air de violon	[Menuet]	G	3	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Violon</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
	40	Chaconne: Sur ces rives fleuries	Chaconne	G	3	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	41	Menuet	Instrumental dance	G	3	Asymmetrical Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
	42	Menuet	Instrumental dance	G	3	Asymmetrical Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
<b>[Suite 5]</b>							
	43	Ritournelle	Instrumental trio	e	♩	Through- composed	Treble trio <i>Basse continue</i>
	44	Beaux lieux aimable solitude	<i>Air sérieux</i>	e	♩, 3/2	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	45	Air à jouer et chanter: Dans une langueur mortelle	[Gavotte] with <i>couplets</i>	e	♩	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	46	Premier air de violon	[Menuet]	e	3	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Violon</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
	47	Deuxième air de violon	[Menuet]	e	3	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Violon</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
	48	Lorsque la premiere fois	[Gavotte] with <i>double</i>	e	♩	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	49	Sombres déserts	<i>Récit</i> with instrumental <i>prelude</i>	e	♩, 3/2, C	Ternary	Treble obligato <i>Basse continue</i>
	50	Je cesse d'estre vostre amant	[Sarabande]	G	♩, 3	Asymmetrical Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
<b>[Suite 6]</b>							
	51	Jeunes coeurs	[Loure]	G	6/4	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	52	Quand sur ma musette	[Menuet]	G	3	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	53	Dans l'empire d'amour	[Menuet]	D	3	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
Sub-group	54	Qu'il couste cher	<i>Air sérieux</i>	g	♩, 3/2	Ternary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	55	Que je suis misérable	<i>Air sérieux</i>	g	♩, 3/2	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	56	Air de violon en rondeau	[Sarabande]	g	3	Rondeau	<i>Violon</i> <i>Basse continue</i>
Sub-group	57	Iris, depuis le jour	<i>Air sérieux</i>	B <sup>b</sup>	♩, 3/2	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	58	Ne me demandez plus, Climene	<i>Air sérieux</i>	B <sup>b</sup>	♩, 3/2	Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
	59	Petite bergere	[Sarabande]	B <sup>b</sup>	3	Extended Binary	<i>Basse continue</i>
<b>[Suite 7]</b>							
	60	Fragment du prologue de	<i>Récit</i> with instrumental	G	♩, 3/2, C, 2, 3	Semi- structured	Treble, <i>Petit</i> & <i>Grand choeur</i>

	Méléagre tragédie en musique: Récit La Renommée	<i>prelude</i>			(ABCAD)	& <i>Symphonie Basse continue</i>
61	Bourée	Instrumental dance	G	2	Asymmetrical Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
62	Sarabande: Pour la flutte almande alternativement avec les violons	Instrumental dance	G	3	Rondeau	<i>Fluttes/violons Basse continue</i>
63	Premier Rigodon	Instrumental dance	G	2	Ternary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>
64	Deuxième Rigodon	Instrumental dance	G	2	Asymmetrical Binary	Treble <i>Basse continue</i>

Gillier has not indicated the suite divisions; the title does not include the designation 'suite'.<sup>203</sup> The groupings suggested in the table above are merely scenarios based on my interpretation of the tonal schemes and the overriding nature of each grouping, therein presenting the performer with a series of options and complete freedom to make their own choices. Gillier provided guidance in the form of a *Table des airs* and a *Table des simphonies* wherein the vocal pieces are listed alphabetically and the instrumental pieces are grouped by key, perhaps for ease of selecting pieces for separate performance in purely instrumental suites.

It was during the 1690s that a number of compositions began to appear for unspecified *dessus* instrument by means of their keys.<sup>204</sup> A 'suite', or 'succession' of pieces, has been defined by David Fuller as 'any ordered set of instrumental pieces meant to be performed at a single sitting', usually unified by tonality, and often based on dance forms. Fuller included Gillier's 1697 publication as part of his discussion of the first original suites, many with an opening overture, that appear to have originated in Germany before spreading to other countries.<sup>205</sup> Although Gillier is mentioned, as

<sup>203</sup> Composers did not always use the term 'suite' although they conceived of their collections as consisting of separate units. David Fuller, 'Suite', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27091> (accessed February 20, 2010).

<sup>204</sup> Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy 1640-1760*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 129.

<sup>205</sup> David Fuller writing in 'Suite' in the *New Grove, Grove Music Online* has erroneously attributed Pierre Gillier's early example of a French 'suite' to J.-C. Gillier le Fils. Fuller's article gives a date of 1697 but no reference to the work. This entry is also incorrect in that 'le Fils', according to Mary Hunter writing in the *New Grove, Grove Music Online*, is attributed to a younger Gillier, Pierre's brother Jean-Claude's son. It is very unlikely that Jean-Claude's son was writing 'suites' in 1697; Jean-Claude himself was only thirty years old. It is thought that 'Gillier le Fils' (name and dates unknown at this

his collection includes vocal pieces it is our contention that his work stands outside the purely instrumental examples.

However, there was ample precedent in French stage works as to how vocal and instrumental pieces in the same key might be assembled as a unit. The prologue, forming a self-contained introduction to the work, and the *divertissement*, providing an interlude (usually in the same key or mode) within a larger work, was obligatory in each act providing scope for a series of airs, dances, and choruses. Suggested sub-groupings based on theatrical assemblages of movements, or series of dances linked by type, are depicted in the above table at Figure 6/1.

Within Gillier's collection the majority of the suites each appear to form an overriding coherent entity with the exception of Suite 6. This suite, in four different keys, consists of eight short airs (the first 'Jeunes coeurs', the only air in **6/4**), and only one instrumental dance placed within the G minor subgroup. Overall, the impression is one of a looser arrangement of existing airs put together to form a group. Suite 7 is also of interest as it is in a different format. This grouping of five pieces consists of a long fragment of a prologue plus four instrumental dances (including one with the only *seule* and *tous* scoring and two *rigodons*); a series of dances following an operatic prologue conforming to the character of the *divertissement*. Perhaps the larger forces required in the prologue necessitated the placing of this grouping as an optional larger-scale offering. It was not uncommon in chamber music publications of this period to find that the concluding suite is in a different format or texture.<sup>206</sup>

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stage) may have contributed music to plays written in the 1720s and 30s, but that is the earliest dates for him. Fuller cites the German Gerhard Diessener, who worked at Kassel during the period when the French musical establishment flourished, in works probably written between 1660 and 1673. There are ten suites by Diessener, a number of which begin with overtures; J.C. Horn's five grand ballets 'nach der lustigen Französischen Manier' (1664); Georg Bleyer's *Lust-Music* (1670), again 'nach jetziger Französischer Manier'; and 'most important', the *Composition de musique suivant la méthode françoise contenant six ouvertures de théâtre accompagnées de plusieurs airs* (1682) by Johann Sigismund Kusser. Kusser, a German, had a close association with Lully when he resided in Paris (according to Fuller and Anthony from 1672 to 1682). James Anthony writes that Kusser was 'the first in Germany to add the French overture to the German orchestral suite'. Whether the collections of Diessener, Horn, Bleyer, and Kusser (printed in Stuttgart), had any influence on Gillier we do not know, but Fuller claims these publications also had some influence on Marais (from 1692) and Montéclair (1697). Fuller, 'Suite', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (accessed February 20, 2010); Mary Hunter, 'Gillier, Jean-Claude,' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (accessed February 1, 2010); Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 130.

<sup>206</sup> Sadie, *The Bass Viol*, p. 33.

Where Gillier has not indicated the specific *air de mouvement* or instrumental dance type, what I judge to be the dance character of the fixed-metre airs and instrumental pieces is identified in square brackets. Included in this collection are 14 menuets, 6 sarabandes, 5 gavottes, 4 loures, 3 bourrées, 2 rigodons, 2 chaconnes, 2 marches, plus one passacaille and one gigue. Menuets (the most popular court dance in opera as demonstrated in this collection) and rigodons mostly occur in pairs, or more than one pair (one immediately following the other) which is customary for these dance forms during this period.<sup>207</sup> The two examples of the *menuet en rondeaux* in Suite 1, numbers 7 and 10 in opposite modes, are an exception; their placement is for dramatic effect as will be discussed below. Apart from one occurrence of a pair of vocal *menuets*, numbers 31 and 32, generating two instrumental *menuets*, numbers 33 and 34, no other dance song precedes or generates an instrumental dance of the same form; a departure from the precedent set by Lully in the *divertissements* of his *tragédies en musique*.<sup>208</sup>

In all, ten keys are used (not including passing modulations) exploring relationships of the relative major and minor, V, VI, and parallel keys of the same root as being 'dual facets of a single tonality'.<sup>209</sup> Cut time and **3/2** are the most commonly used time signature combination; *airs de mouvement* are for dancing, hence their fixed meter.

Most of the vocal and instrumental pieces are in a variety of binary forms, the favoured form of Lully and his contemporaries. The most common vocal structure is simple binary (AB) in which both sections are of approximately the same length and either one or both is repeated in performance, followed in frequency by extended binary form (ABB'), and asymmetrical binary (AB) where the B section is actually longer. Asymmetrical binary form far outnumbers the other structures in the instrumental pieces. Extended binary implies that the B section is made considerably longer than the A section by textual repetition of the concluding line or two lines of text but never with an exact repeat of the music which creates a B' section (thus

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<sup>207</sup> Mather, *Dance Rhythms of the French Baroque*, pp. 269, 287.

<sup>208</sup> James R. Anthony, 'The Musical Structure of Lully's Operatic Airs', in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du colloque/ Kongressbericht*: Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Heidelberg, Herbert Schneider and Jérôme de La Gorce (eds), Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1987, p. 68.

<sup>209</sup> As suggested by Greer Garden, in 'A link between Opera and Cantata in France: Tonal Design in the Music of André Campra', *Early Music*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (August, 1993), p. 398.

differentiating extended binary from an ABB form). The use of extended binary form adds emphasis to the last line or two lines of text; a favourite device for the epigram enabling the orator to dwell on the surprise conclusion which is brought out in the music via repetition.<sup>210</sup>

The remaining categories are rondeau form (ABACA) in which more than one contrasting episode is found, ternary or simple *air en rondeau* (text in ABA; music in ABC), through-composed instrumental pieces in which no exact repetition occurs, the chaconne structure, and a semi-structured format bordering on the through-composed.

## The Suites: 1 - 7

### Suite 1

Suite 1, as does Suites 3 and 4, opens with an *ouverture à la française*, 'Overture de Bois le Vicomte' (no. 1), in the style of Lully's ballet overtures of the 1650s. Lully's model was quickly adapted to other genres. Gillier has captured the main features with the stately dotted rhythms of the slow introduction contrasted with a lively triple metre gigue-like 6/8 lightly fugal second section concluding with a short, slower conclusion recapturing the opening mood. The titles of all three *ouvertures* no doubt allude to stage works performed in the places evoked by their titles. Could 'Overture de Bois le Vicomte' refer to the magnificent gardens of the Chateau de Vaux le Vicomte?

The light-hearted pastoral nature of this musico-dramatic suite explores themes of *la nature, l'amour, et les plaisirs*. 'Tout retentit' (no. 2) in F major (the key, according to Masson, associated with gaiety mixed with gravity)<sup>211</sup> sets the opening scene; its 3-bar instrumental introduction recalls the *ouverture's* dotted rhythms. 'Lourette' (no. 3),

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<sup>210</sup> James R. Anthony in his research on this form provides evidence of its Italian origins, first used in France by Lully in his *tragédies en musique*. Anthony observes that the typical organisation of Lully's text is usually a quatrain, which is predominantly the case in this collection, but Gillier has also applied this form to airs consisting of two quatrains (nos. 2, 25, and 59), five lines of verse (nos. 17 and 32), and six lines (nos. 8 and 53). Following the tradition established by Lully, extended binary form subsequently became common (after his death) in Ballard's *Airs sérieux et à boire*. James R. Anthony, 'Lully's airs – French or Italian?', *Musical Times*, Vol. 128, No. 1729 (1987), pp. 126-9.

<sup>211</sup> The attributed characteristics of certain keys according to Rousseau, Charpentier, Masson, and Rameau are discussed in Chapter 5.

a lighter form of the slow instrumental *loure* in rondeau form, in the less common 3 metre, concludes this sequence which possibly forms part of a stage prologue. The through-composed prelude 'Ritournelle' (no. 4) again with dotted rhythms reminiscent of the *ouverture*, but in tender and plaintive A minor, heralds a variety of solo *airs de mouvement* and *airs sérieux* in a variety of binary forms.<sup>212</sup> Lighter, gayer dance forms predominate.<sup>213</sup> Gillier has incorporated rhythmic aspects of the opening *ouverture*, providing musical coherence throughout this suite.

A number of characters are introduced: Iris, Climeine, Tircis, Silvie, and the generic 'Nanette'. Aspects of love in the fields are explored with spring as the catalyst of woe: 'Hélas! Printemps, retarde ton retour,/ Et toy, charmant hyver, en faveur de l'amour' from the air 'Tous les ans les beaux jours'; Climeine must return to the fields in spring.<sup>214</sup> Two *rondeaux* in different styles sustain the various poetic moods. [Menuet en] 'Rondeau' (no. 7), in A minor but marked *gayment*, and [Menuet en] 'Rondeau' (no. 10) marked *tendrement*<sup>215</sup> complete with imitative effects by way of dynamic markings (the first of only two instances of dynamic indications), and the first foray into a joyful A major tonality. Including 'Lourette' also in rondeau form, in total there are three *rondeaux* in different tonalities providing a dance-like repetition of material in keeping with the overriding nature of this grouping. 'Rondeau' (no. 7) provides continuity of sentiment between the two epigrammatic airs: 'Si jamais dans la prairie', where Silvie is warned that Tircis should not be believed, for he is unfaithful, and 'Lorsque de mil objets', in which the male protagonist laments: 'j'ignorois de l'amour les tourments rigoureux// Ne suis-je devenu fidelle,/ Que pour devenir malheureux?'<sup>216</sup> 'Rondeau' (no. 10) is placed between the two brunettes, numbers 9 and 11. 'Air à jouer et chanter: Allons badiner sur l'herbette', a 6/8 *gigue*, concludes this suite on a celebratory note: 'Allons badiner sur l'herbette,/ Chacun y tiendra sa

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<sup>212</sup> *Loure's* are predominantly in 6/4 or 6/8. Wendy Hilton cites Campra's air 'Aimable vainqueur' from his *Hésione* in 3, (1700), Paris, Ballard (1743) as a rare example of a one step *loure* as per the *sarabande* in Wendy Hilton, *Dance and Music of Court and Theater*, p. 437. Through-composed *ritournelles* have been used in this collection to provide instrumental interludes either in an introductory capacity, as in this instance, or to conclude an air. Preludes introduce what follows.

<sup>213</sup> The characteristics of the dance forms represented in this collection are outlined in 'Considerations of Style and Performance', c.f below, II, p. ii.

<sup>214</sup> 'Alas! Spring, delay your return/And thou, charming winter, in favour of love'.

<sup>215</sup> The use of these expressive markings is discussed in 'Considerations of Style and Performance', c.f below, II, p.ii.

<sup>216</sup> 'I was ignorant of the harsh torments of love// Did I not become faithful,/ Only to become unhappy?'

Nanette'. Essentially, this *gigue* comprises simplistic pastoral images and music symbolic of love.<sup>217</sup> The time signature **6/8**, used only twice in this collection, makes its first appearance in the second section of the opening *ouverture*. An allusion to earlier material has thus been provided in this closing *gigue*.

## Suite 2

Suite 2, continuing to explore the dual tonalities of A major and A minor, is concerned only with 'les tourments rigoureux' of love. Consisting of a number of airs predominantly in binary form with one rondeau, plus one *récit* interspersed with a variety of instrumental dances, a chaconne and passacaille sub-group, and a through-composed ritournelle (no. 16) introducing the following air (no. 17): the opening mood is serious. The more expressive, tender dance forms are favoured. The 'Sarabande', considered a 'danse d'expression' as is the chaconne, provides this setting.<sup>218</sup> Themes of love are explored throughout this suite: 'Alcandre' (no. 13), who prefers *la gloire* to *l'amour*, the 'bergeres' are insincere and unfaithful (no. 14), forming a sequence, Silvie is 'inhumaine' (no. 17), 'un berger des plus charmants' has taken not only my crook but my heart (no. 18), Iris 'a fait choix d'un nouveau berger' (no. 19), and 'he' is an inhuman creature (no. 20).<sup>219</sup>

'Dans ces lieux', a short gavotte marked *lentement* ('grave' to differentiate between one that is 'gai') to maintain a link with the prevailing mood, heralds a change of dramatic pace: 'Dans ces lieux tout se renouvelle./ On y voit revenir les plaisirs et l'amour'.

Suite 2 is brought to a grand conclusion with the pairing of the chaconne, 'Je me plaist quelquefois: Récit de l'Amour', a brief, lyrical monologue in two sections exposing, in a poignant manner, the true situation: the playful facade of a game belying the hidden *peines*, and the more tender 'Passacaille'. Both these forms provide limitless

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<sup>217</sup> 'Let us play on the grass,/ Each will hold his Nanette there'. An air to play or sing was a standard offering at that time.

<sup>218</sup> Régine Astier, 'Chacone pour une femme: Chaconne de Phaeton: A Performance Study', *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*, Vol. 15, No. 2, Papers from the Dance to Honour Kings Conference, September 22-24, 1996, Kings College in London (Winter, 1997), p. 150.

<sup>219</sup> 'One of the most charming shepherds' (no. 18); '[Iris] has chosen a new shepherd' (no. 19).

extendibility, hence their assimilation by Lully into the operatic repertoire as a concluding number or support for an entire scene.<sup>220</sup>

Gillier has not designated the opening instrumental section in 'Chaconne' as a *Prelude* (as in preceding something else). Rather, in the *Table des Airs* and *Table des Symphonies*, he has listed these sections separately, but in the score he has notated them together sectioned off with a double bar line. A number of other pieces have been joined in similar fashion within Suite 3, forming an operatic unit. In our edition, these two sections have been notated as one piece under the same number (22), but the opening 'Chaconne' could be performed as a stand-alone instrumental item. In their recording of a selection of these pieces, 'Ensemble Battistin' has added the term *Prelude*, used a *violon* for the treble part, and added a small *contrepartie* for *violon* that joins the vocal line on the repeat of the A section.<sup>221</sup>

Chaconnes and passacailles share common features, hence these terms are often used interchangeably. Both dances are predominantly in triple time, consist of units of four or eight bars over a strophic bass, and both can have contrasting episodes in which the bass line is varied. According to Brossard (1703) the 'only difference between this dance [the passacaille] and the chaconne is that the tempo [in the former] is usually slower and the melody more expressive and tender'.<sup>222</sup> Passacailles are usually in the minor tonality and chaconnes in the major, as in this collection. However, it is the 'Chaconne' that Gillier has marked '*tendrement*'. Montéclair (1736) goes further in stating that the chaconne 'always begins on the second beat of the measure', passacailles 'on the first'; Anthony remarked that this had been true of Lully's passacailles, but also the majority of his operatic chaconnes.<sup>223</sup> This is certainly the case in both of Gillier's chaconne settings (numbers 22 and 40), but it is untrue of his

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<sup>220</sup> In France, both forms served mostly as dances for the stage rather than the ballroom. Alexander Silbiger, 'Chaconne', in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05354> (accessed February 17, 2010).

<sup>221</sup> Gillier, Philippe 11, Mascitti, Bernier, *The Palais-Royal*, Sara MacLiver; Ensemble Battistin.

<sup>222</sup> Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique*, Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1703, no page number cited. Reprint Amsterdam: Antiqua Amsterdam, 1964. Cited in and translated by Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 137.

<sup>223</sup> Michel Pignolet de Montéclair, *Principes de musique divisez en quatre parties*, Paris: Veuve Boivin, 1736, pp. 39-40. Facsimile, Geneva: Minkoff, 1972. Cited in and translated by Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 137.

passacaille (no. 23) which begins on beat three. Gillier, like a number of other composers, has distinguished between the two dances marking the difference in these forms by including bass variation only in the 'Passacaille'.<sup>224</sup>

### Suite 3

The first musico-dramatic unit (nos. 24-31) in military C major, with one air in C minor (the opening call to 'Arrestez doux printemps' lamenting the sacrifice of *l'amour*), is unified by means of recurring heroic marche motifs, with their fixed, repetitive [drum] rhythms, attesting to *la gloire*. 'Violinistic' instrumental episodes in the 'Ouverture de St. Maur', probably in reference to the Chateau of Saint-Maur, one of the royal residences of the Duc d'Orléans, and 'Belle nymphe: Récit de la Gloire', both shown at Figure 6/2, could be interpreted as conveying the opposing underlying battle between the forces of *la gloire* and *l'amour*.

**Figure 6/2. 'Ouverture de St Maur' second section opening, bar 14**



**'Belle nymphe: Récit de la Gloire' opening symphonie section, bar 38**



Although these rhythms are pervasive throughout this collection, their particular use gives each suite, or subset of it, its own flavour.

This sequence of pieces depicts the return of the hero as a triumphal entry: 'Fanfare: Quel bruit', an air in fanfare style declaimed by the *Nymphe de St. Cloud* - another

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<sup>224</sup> The passacaille, in the keyboard works of Louis Couperin and D'Anglebert's *Pièces de clavecin* (1689), is associated with strophic bass variations. Couperin also associated rondeau forms with the chaconne but Gillier has not adopted this practice. Silbiger, 'Chaconne,' in *Oxford Music Online*, (accessed February 17, 2010). However, in the chaconne and passacaille examples from L'Affillard's *Principes très faciles pour bien apprendre la musique* (1694) and the four examples from Lully, the chaconnes from *Phaeton* (1683), *Amadis* (1684), *Acis et Galatee* (1687), and the passacaille from *Armide* (1686), these all feature bass variation. Musical examples from Michel L'Affillard, *Principes très faciles pour bien apprendre la musique* (Paris, 5th ed. 1705), repr Amsterdam, 1717, facsimile ed., Geneva: Minkoff, 1971; Lyndon Keith McEwing, *Is the Dance Still in the Music? Chaconne Compositions from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*: MA diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 2008.

reference to a royal residence - followed by the instrumental 'Marche de la Gloire'; the noise of the hero and his supporters returning from battle.<sup>225</sup> 'Belle nymphe' consists of one action-oriented continuous verse subsequently repeated by the *petit choeur* forming a B section; the crowd unanimously imitates the same commentary: 'vostre auguste heros, est icy de retour'. The 'Entrée de bergers et bergeres' allows the characters to make their entrance on stage. In stage works, instrumental entrées also indicated the commencement of the *divertissement* comprising dances and songs.<sup>226</sup> This sub-grouping is concluded by two airs, a solo *air sérieux* and the homophonic duo (no. 31), the most regularly used form of small vocal ensemble in French opera, allowing the characters to express their emotions at the return of 'les plaisirs et l'amour'.

The vocal 'Intermède de la tragédie de Bajazet, Menuet: L'amour se plaisant dans nos plaines', reminding us that 'A la cour on n'a que des peines', begins the second group within this suite. This theatrical assemblage is concluded with a pair of minuets, instrumental trios for *hauts bois* and *flutes* respectively.

#### **Suite 4**

Suite 4 is the first of three suites which could be said to comprise a complete operatic or stage sequence consisting of an overture followed by a series of airs and dances. Instrumental pieces, which include three *menuets*, outnumber songs. Suite 4 expresses similar sentiments to Suite 1, concerning *la nature et tendre l'amour*, but in G major. Unity of place is suggested by the three vocal pieces. 'Ouvverture de Chessy', evoking the chateau, introduces a strongly dotted rhythmic motif which is carried through to the 'Marche', both depicted at Figure 6/3. An echo of the preceding theme of *la gloire* or *l'amour* interrupts the tranquility of the pastoral landscape expressed by *un berger* in the opening brunette 'Dans ces belles retraittes'.

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<sup>225</sup> Fanfare compositions generally denote a short, repetitive piece of little musical value: a flourish of trumpets. Edward H. Tarr, 'Fanfare', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09285> (accessed February 23, 2010).

<sup>226</sup> James R. Anthony, 'Entrée', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08861>, (accessed February 23, 2010).

Figure 6/3. 'Ouverture de Chessy', bars 22-24



'Marche' (no. 37), bars 4-5



### Suite 5

The second self-contained suite, set predominantly in plaintive E minor with the final air in G major, is concerned only with the pains of love. Beginning with a through-composed *ritournelle* in trio texture serving as an entrance for this quasi-*divertissement*, the upper treble line anticipates the vocal line of the first air, 'Beaux lieux aimable solitude'.<sup>227</sup> Gillier has also provided an optional sub-group (nos. 45-47) allowing the performers complete freedom to make their own choices. *Couplets* and a *double* characteristic of the technique of ornamental variation that Lambert, Bacilly, Le Camus, and d'Ambruis used in the 1660s are provided in two airs. Gillier's teacher's influence is unmistakable.

Suite 5 is a male soliloquy alluding to the troubled past. Climeine, the ungrateful one, has caused his anguish (E minor): this is expressed in airs 44, 45, and 48. Gillier wrote a modulatory link in the *basse continue* which effects a change from E minor to G major, in order to join the *récit* 'Sombres déserts' to the following air 'Je cesse d'estre vostre amant'. Although *divertissements* were generally in the same tonality or mode throughout, in this instance these two vocal pieces, with their modulatory tonal scheme emphasising a change in mood, were designated as a unit in performance.

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<sup>227</sup> Lambert provided a *ritournelle* for two *violons* plus *basse continue* for most of his airs. Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 417. 'Beaux lieux aimable solitude' is of interest as this air had previously been published in Ballard's *Livres d'airs de différents auteurs* in 1688; the minor changes made for the collection of 1697 are discussed in Chapter 4.

'Sombres déserts' proves not to give protection from the 'peines de l'amour'.<sup>228</sup> Iris, who had flattered his tenderest desires in air no. 44 is the cause of this change of key.<sup>229</sup> The solution is at hand in air no. 50 wherein the singer informs Climeine that he ceases to be her lover, because Iris 'a le coeur tendre et fidelle'.<sup>230</sup>

As is found in stage music, unity is achieved in the first and second 'Air de violon', which conclude the optional sub-group, by means of an opening motif in the bass line:

**Figure 6/4. 'Premier air de violon' (no. 46), bars 1-5**



**'Deuxième air de violon' (no. 47), bars 1-3**



## Suite 6

Suite 6, in a variety of keys, is a collection of simpler epigrammatic poems suggestive of pastoral ideas. Given that the opening maxim air (no. 51) advises 'Young hearts' to 'flee love', the following seven airs are mainly concerned with love's pains, *l'amour les tourments rigoureux* 'Dans l'empire d'amour' (no. 53). Gillier's sense of humour is evident.

Numbers 54 - 56 (in G minor) comprising two airs and a dance, provide a momentary respite. The final three airs in B<sup>b</sup> major also form a little sub-group depicting another tussle between the affections of Climeine or Iris; a flavour of drama is evident. 'He' has become submissive to the empire of Iris (no. 57), 'he' is a 'fidelle amant', but Climeine is completely inhuman (no. 58). Thereafter, to Iris 'he' sings (no. 58):

Vous estes trop belle,  
Pour ne pas songer  
Au choix d'un berger,  
Sincere et fidelle.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>228</sup> 'Pains of love'.

<sup>229</sup> 'Is the cause of the change'.

<sup>230</sup> 'Has a tender and faithful heart'.

<sup>231</sup> 'You are too beautiful,/ To not dream,/ About choosing of a shepherd,/ Sincere and faithful'.

## Suite 7

The most spectacular musico-dramatic unit, an extract from *Méléagre*, concludes the collection. The scene-complex 'Fragment du prologue de *Méléagre tragédie en musique: Récit La Renommée*', is an allegory in praise of Louis XIV as in the style of the Lully-Quinault model.<sup>232</sup> Every *tragédie en musique* in the Lully-Quinault form begins and ends with a scene-complex encompassing all available resources. A large number of the acts within the five-part structure also conclude with this form.

Gillier's quite large 'fragment' consists of an extended *récit* followed by a *petit chœur* monologue divided into five strophes with *symphonie* episodes. When set to music, the final verse of the 'Fragment du prologue de *Méléagre tragédie en musique*' concludes with the *grand chœur* evoking a scene of magnificent spectacle. At this point the text is subtly transformed from a monologue calling for the 'Peuples de l'univers' to 'Admirer les exploits divers', followed by a choral spectacle in 'Admirons la gloire éclatante'.<sup>233</sup>

Four instrumental pieces conclude this extract from *Méléagre*. The 'Bourrée' and two 'rigodons', which are similar to the preceding dance form, all begin with an upbeat; which is usual during this period.<sup>234</sup> An interesting allusion to the strophic bass of the three chaconnes (nos. 22, 23, and 40) occurs in the first four bars of the 'Sarabande: Pour la flutte almande alternativement avec les violons'. Although not in chaconne form, this motif in the commonly used I-VII-VI-V bass line progression of this period,<sup>235</sup> is repeated at the beginning of each *tous* section, as shown:

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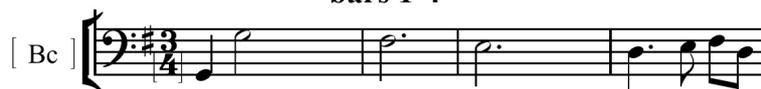
<sup>232</sup> The term *tragédie en musique* was used up until 1760 when *tragédie lyrique* became the preferred designation. *Tragédie en musique*, a tragedy set to music, evolved in seventeenth-century France and consists of music, spectacle, ballet, machines, and instrumental music. Graham Sadler, 'Tragédie en musique,' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44040> (accessed January 7, 2010). Lully-Quinault prologues opened the opera. Out of the thirteen they wrote, four were directly related to the tragedy that was about to be performed, while the others were politically intended in their direct, or allegorical praise of Louis XIV's achievements, real or imagined. After the King's death in 1715, the subject matter of prologues became diversified. Newman, *Jean-Baptiste de Lully*, p. 66.

<sup>233</sup> 'People of the universe'./ 'Admire the diverse exploits'/'Let us admire the magnificent glory'.

<sup>234</sup> Mather, *Dance Rhythms of the French Baroque*, p. 252.

<sup>235</sup> Pieces for dancing included continuous variation. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

Figure 6/5. 'Sarabande: Pour la flutte almande alternativement avec les violons',  
bars 1-4



## Conclusion

What of Gillier's promised future collections?

Selon la réception, que le Public fera a ce Recueil, j'en donnerai d'autres dans la suite de différens caracteres, come *Motets*, *Concerts détachés*, [et] *Airs à boire* ... Je prépare aussy un livre des neuf *leçons de Ténèbres* et d'un *Miserere* a une, deux, et trois parties avec *simphonies*.<sup>236</sup>

It appears that he may have begun to compose in the promised genres. Five airs published in Ballard's *Recueils d'airs sérieux et à boire de différents auteurs* series between 1702 and 1713 are attributed to Gillier by the publisher. These comprise two unaccompanied *airs à boire* (October 1702 and August 1703) which could conceivably have been destined for the *airs à boire* collection he planned would follow his volume of 1697, but which did not come to fruition.<sup>237</sup> Three *airs sérieux* were to follow between 1706 and 1713. A manuscript in the Cambridge University Library contains an unaccompanied *air à boire* duo, 'Noirs enfants de l'hiver', with an estimated copying date of 1714-1720, attributed in the library's catalogue as being 'possibly by Pierre Gillier'; it also includes some untitled instrumental pieces for strings in D minor copied at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>238</sup> However, we cannot even be sure that the composer of the airs in the Ballard collections between 1702 and 1713 was Pierre Gillier, and not his brother Jean-Claude.

In 1702, the Englishman Charles Babell included five transcriptions of instrumental pieces from Gillier's *Livre d'airs* (along with music by a number of other French composers) in his publication assembled in twenty-nine suites, designated *24-Babell* for *clavecin* in Bruce Gustafson's catalogue. The following pieces from Gillier's collection were arranged: 'Sarabande' (no. 12), 'Marche' (no. 37), 'Air de violon' (no.

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<sup>236</sup> 'According to the reception that the public will accord this collection, later on I will issue others in different styles, such as *Motets*, *Concerts détachés*, [and] *Airs à boire* ... I will also prepare a book of nine *leçons de Ténèbres* and a *Miserere* having one, two, and three parts with *symphonies*'. Gillier, *Au Lecteur*, cf. below, II, pp. xlvii-viii.

<sup>237</sup> 'The first, which will come after the present collection, will consist of *Airs à boire* for solo voice in two and in three parts, mixed with suitable *symphonies*'. Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Pierre Gillier, 'Noirs enfants de l'hivers', Drinking songs, GB Cu, MS.Add.8923, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, [www.rism.org.uk/manuscripts/browse/4919](http://www.rism.org.uk/manuscripts/browse/4919); 'Instrumental pieces', GB Cmc, F.4.56-60, [www.rism.org.uk/manuscripts/browse/29586](http://www.rism.org.uk/manuscripts/browse/29586), (accessed 11 February, 2010).

39), 'Menuet' (no. 42), and 'Premier air de violon' (no. 46).<sup>239</sup> Three out of the five pieces he selected to transcribe are from Suite 4. Babell did not take up any of the groupings proposed by Gillier.

Neither in our day has a modern group adopted any of his suggested groupings. In their recording of a selection of pieces from Gillier's collection, 'Ensemble Battistin' has not endeavoured to follow his ready-made groupings. Rather, their selection comprises a number of pieces, three of which have been reordered from Suite 4, while the remaining four are of varying key and mood, demonstrating modern freedom.<sup>240</sup>

Why was there no sequel, either by Gillier or another composer? Firstly, in simple practical terms, although his collection included a quantity of pieces, the expense of such an aesthetically pleasing engraved publication could have proved prohibitive. Secondly, and more importantly, it was during the first decade of the eighteenth century that the cultivation of Italianate chamber music styles, sonatas and cantatas in particular, led to the emergence of the French cantata; essentially an attempt to blend Italian and French musical styles. Most French composers were attracted to this new genre, resulting in a repertory in excess of 800 works, the majority of which were published to satisfy the unprecedented demand for quasi-dramatic music on a modest scale.<sup>241</sup> Although the French style was clearly also fostered in the Orléans household at the time of Gillier's collection, perhaps the future Regent's apparent reluctance to embrace in his own music the Italian fashion leading to 'the fundamental shift of musical ideology'<sup>242</sup> and the extraordinary popularity of the French cantata, may have

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<sup>239</sup> The original page numbers from Gillier's edition are cited in *24-Babell* but for purposes of identification, the numbers designated by the present writer have been given. Included among the other French composers represented by Babell's collection of transcriptions of works are Lully, Charpentier, Marais, and Louis Couperin. Composers from a number of other countries are also represented. Bruce Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century: A Thematic Catalog of the Sources with Commentary, Vols. 1-3*, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1979, pp. I: 72, 74-5, 144, 322; II: 188, 193, 206, 218. The given page numbers relate only to the Gillier references.

<sup>240</sup> The following pieces are included: 'Marche' [no. 37], 'Air de violon' [no. 39], 'Petits oyseaux' [no. 38], 'Bourée' [no. 15], 'Air de violon en rondeau' [no. 56], 'Sombres déserts' [no. 49], and 'Récit de l'Amour: Chaconne, Je me plaist quelquefois' [no. 22].

<sup>241</sup> Around 150 printed works have not survived. Colin Timms, et al., 'Cantata', in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04748pg3> (accessed June 21, 2010). For a comprehensive account of the French cantata cf. Gene E. Vollen, *The French Cantata: A Survey and Thematic Catalog*, Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982, and David Tunley, *Eighteenth Century French Cantata*, second edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

<sup>242</sup> Fader, 'The *Honnête homme* as Music Critic', p. 43.

contributed to Gillier's abandonment of further collections of mixed vocal and instrumental pieces in a traditional French context.

The French cantata, a literary creation as well as a musical one, was fundamentally a miniature dramatic work with its story progressing through an alternation of recitatives and airs, and usually ending with a witty epigrammatic statement.<sup>243</sup> Although Gillier demonstrated his ability musically to write dramatic pieces, this did not extend to a dramatic progression within the groupings in his collection. It is, nonetheless, a remarkable example of the attempt to provide music ready for immediate performance.

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<sup>243</sup> Jean-Baptiste Morin established the standard musical format and its literary origins can be traced to Jean-Baptiste Rousseau.

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