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From Garrick's dagger to Gluck's dagger: the dual concept of pantomime in Gluck's Paris Operas

In a 1999 production of the Paris version of *Alceste* (1776) by Christoph Willibald Gluck, conductor John Eliot Gardiner, in collaboration with the director Robert Wilson, gave rise to a curious interpretation of what Gluck called «pantomime» in Act I, scene 3:[1] nobody dances there. The music does not accompany a «danse sacrée» as Gluck intended; instead it accompanies a gigantic cube spinning slowly downwards onto the middle of the stage. In the hands of Gardiner and Wilson, Gluck's pantomime becomes literally disembodied.[2] What is really at stake when nobody makes gesture in a pantomime scene of a modern production of an eighteenth-century French opera?

At issue in this interpretation is that in some of modern operatic productions dance does not enjoy the same historical scrutiny as music and verbal text. Gardiner's passion for historical performance is contradicted by Wilson's avant-garde interpretation.[3] This contradiction reveals tension between avant-garde staging and performance practice, for it is duplicitous to make a historical claim for music and verbal text while arguing for an unconventional interpretation of

1 Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Alceste,* with Robert Wilson, John Eliot Gardiner, Anne Sofie von Otter, the English Baroque Soloists, and the Théâtre du Châtelet, Arthaus Musik, DVD 100 160, 2000. The performance was recorded in October 1999, during Gardiner's one-month residency at Châtelet in France. It was later, in 2000, performed at the Barbican Hall in London. The CD version was released by Decca and Philips in September 2002.

2 Gluck specified the staging of this pantomime scene as follows: «Le théâtre représente le temple d'Apollon, la statue colossale de ce dieu paraît au milieu du temple. Les Prêtres et les Prêtresses dansant les danses sacrées. Le Grand-Prêtre et le Choeur alternativement.» Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Alceste,* ed. Gerhard Croll, in *Christoph Willibald Gluck: Sämtliche Werke,* ser. 1: Musikdramen, 11 vol., Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1954-2005, vol. 3a, p. 64.

3 Decca and Philips, the record company that released Gluck's *Alceste,* claims that Gardiner's use of period instruments and historical performance practice adds «true stylistic authenticity to this recording.» See http://www.deccaclassics.com/newsandreleases/september2002/470293.html (accessed January 25, 2008). Concerning the dances in this recording, music critic Peter Branscombe writes, «much of the ballet music is omitted. These are small points, of little consequence in the context of the whole splendid venture.» Peter Branscombe, «Gluck's Alceste (Paris Version, 1776)», in *Andante Magazine,* December, 2002.

dance and staging in the same production. But this duplicity invites an important question that has garnered scholarly attention lately: in what ways is dance related to music and verbal text in opera?[4]

This essay attempts to answer this question, by using Gluck's Paris Operas as a case study to demonstrate the various ways in which he integrated not just dance, but also gesture into these operas. In these we seldom find the explicit mention of «gesture»; we find instead the dual concept of pantomime – pantomime as dance and pantomime as acting – that broadens the conceptual categories of «dance», «ballet», and «divertissement». This dual concept brings music, gesture, and verbal text together to form new modes of representation, to extend the domain of referentiality from verbal meanings to nonverbal ones, and to cohere individual numbers in opera. The discovery of these various modes of representations, I argue, bears implications not just for research in dance and music, but also for developing practical approaches to staging and choreography in modern productions of late eighteenth-century operas.

Why Pantomime?

Pantomime made its first appearance in Gluck's second opera written for Paris, *Orphée et Euridice,* a revision based on his Italian opera, *Orfeo ed Euridice* (Vienna, 1762). There Gluck renamed the first «ballet» in Act I, scene 1 «pantomime» while keeping the music the same.

The issue of ballet in *Orphée et Euridice* arose from Parisians' criticisms of dances in Gluck's first Paris opera, *Iphigénie en Aulide.* In November 1770, after having attended Gluck's third reform opera, *Paride ed Elena* in Vienna, François Louis-Gand Le Bland, Marquis du Roullet, began to revise Jean Racine's tragedy *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1674). About two years later, he started to promote *Iphigénie en Aulide* to the Parisians. In a letter of August 1, 1772, to the director of the Académie royale de musique, Antoine Dauvergne, Du Roullet claimed that Gluck – composer of two revolutionary Italian operas – had just finished a French opera *(Iphigénie en Aulide),* and wished to have it performed at the Académie royale de musique.[5] Du Roullet asserts that the new opera was to reclaim the superiority of French opera, release

4 For recent discussion of issues concerning dance in French opera, see Rebecca Harris-Warrick, «"Toute danse doit exprimer, peindre…": Finding the Drama in the Operatic Divertissement», *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis,* 23 (1999), p. 187-210. Nevertheless, choreography in modern operatic production is a topic that awaits critical scrutiny.

5 François Louis-Gand Le Bland, Marquis Du Roullet, «Lettre à M.D. un des Directeurs de l'Opéra de Paris», in *Querelle des gluckistes et des piccinnistes: Textes des pamphlets,* ed. François Lesure, 2 vol., R Geneva, Minkoff, 1984, vol. 1, p. 1-2.

French lyric drama from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's denigration of it, and resolve the decades-long dispute over Italian and French music. Having been well aware that French opera was not only about recitative and aria, but also about operatic «accessories» including chorus, ballets, and decorations, Du Roullet emphasized the divertissements in *Iphigénie:* «On a tiré sans effort du sujet, & l'on a amené naturellement dans chaque Acte un divertissement brillant lié au sujet de manière qu'il en fait partie, en augmente l'action ou la complète.»[6]

Had all of Du Roullet's descriptions been directly based on Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide,* the opera would have sounded promising to Parisian audiences, but some evidence suggests that Du Roullet was not as familiar with the opera as he claimed. According to Charles Burney's report of his meeting with Gluck on September 2, about a month after publication of Du Roullet's letter, *Iphigénie en Aulide* was finished but not a note had been written down. Gluck sang the opera to him «*nearly* from beginning to end.»[7] Perhaps because it seems implausible that Gluck could perform his «unwritten» opera from memory, some scholars have modified the meaning of Burney's report. Klaus Hortschansky takes Du Roullet's words literally and claims that at least part of the divertissement of *Iphigénie en Aulide* was finished in Vienna, whereas Daniel Heartz notes that Du Roullet had exaggerated many of the facts and suspects that Burney's brief remark might tell more of the truth than Du Roullet's letter.[8] If so, what Du Roullet wrote about the divertissements in his letter to Dauvergne might be less an accurate description of *Iphigénie en Aulide* than as a reinstatement of some general Noverrian principles that had been gaining popularity across Europe.[9]

6 *Id.*, p. 4.

7 Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces, or Journal of a Tour through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music,* 2 vol., London, T. Becket, 1775, vol. 1, p. 265; emphasis added.

8 Klaus Hortschansky, *Parodie und Entlehnung im Schaffen Christoph Willibald Gluck,* Cologne, Arno Volk, 1973, p. 159. Daniel Heartz points out many inaccuracies in Du Roullet's letter: Du Roullet claimed that Gluck had composed forty successful Italian operas but in fact Gluck composed about thirty operas and not all of them were successful; Du Roullet noted that Gluck had produced successful operas in Naples and Milan but in fact Gluck had never been there; Du Roullet overrated Gluck's language competency, claiming that he knew French and Italian perfectly. See Daniel Heartz, «Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide.* A Prolegomenon», *Words on Music: Essays in Honor of Andrew Porter on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday,* ed. David Rosen and Claire Brook, New York, Pendragon, 2003, p. 138-145.

9 Uniting dance with the principal action is a key principle in Noverre's campaign to reform ballet. See his *Lettres sur la danse,* Lyon, Chez Aimé Delaroche, 1760; Lettre I, p. 4; see also his Lettre VIII, p. 129-194. Noverre's dance treatise represented views of several important choreographers, including Louis de Cahusac in France and Gasparo Angiolini in Vienna. Angiolini published a dissertation prefacing the printed scenario of his ballet *Le festin de Pierre* (1761). See Gasparo Angiolini, *Dissertation sur les ballets pantomimes des anciens pour servir de programme au ballet pantomime tragique de Sémiramis,* Vienna, Trattner, 1765.

The issue here is not so much Du Roullet's overstatement as how Gluck responded to it. Gluck should have read a reprint of Du Roullet's letter in the October issue of the *Mercure de France*. For several months, Gluck let the inaccuracies pass in silence, while Parisian readers awaited the described opera with enthusiasm. Michel-Paul-Guy de Chabanon, for one, published a response in the January 1773 issue of the *Mercure de France,* quoting parts of Du Roullet's letter word for word and warmly welcoming Gluck's proposal to revive French opera. Ever since Rousseau's denigration of French opera, Chabanon implies, the French had been longing for a composer like Gluck who, «not blinded by national prejudice», had «lifted the ban imposed on our language.»[10] In reading Chabanon's response to Du Roullet's letter, Gluck immediately wrote a humble letter to the editor of the *Mercure de France,* asking him to publish it in the forthcoming issue. Gluck vaguely disclaimed Du Roullet's hyperbolic remarks, avoiding mention of operatic revolution, giving full credit to Ranieri de' Calzabigi (the mastermind behind his reform operas), making it explicit that he intended to work with (and not against) Rousseau: «J'envisage de produire une musique propre à toutes les nations, & de faire disparaître la ridicule distinction des musiques nationales.»[11]

After six months of sensational rehearsal, the supposedly epoch-defining *Iphigénie en Aulide* was premièred on April 19, 1774. While the Parisians got accustomed to the declamation and new orchestral effects, they unanimously found the ballets unpleasant. Recalling his conversation with the Italian composer Niccolò Jommelli in 1759, Jean Chrysostome Larcher, Count of La Touraille, mentioned that Gluck's neglect of the dances of *Iphigénie en Aulide* revealed a typically Italian animosity toward ballet, as well as his ignorance of the ways in which ballets functioned in French opera.[12] «Les airs y sont également négligés &, encore une fois, j'ai de la peine à comprendre comment un aussi fameux Compositeur dédaigne si *cavalièrement* la partie de nos opéras, si habituellement nécessaire à nos plaisirs.»[13]

10 Chabanon published his response entitled «Lettre sur les propriétés musicales de la langue françoise» in favor of Du Roullet's proposal in *Mercure de France* in January 1773.

11 The response was published in the February issue of the *Mercure de France* in 1773. Gluck, «Lettre de M. le Chevalier Gluck à l'auteur du Mercure de France», *Querelle des gluckistes et des piccinnistes, op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 8-10; 10.

12 According to Larcher, Jommelli extolled Rameau's dances, noting that the Italians were too learned to abase themselves to compose ballet music. «Le fameux Iomelli me disait, il y a quinze ans, en exaltant, sur cela, le mérite de Rameau, que les Italiens étaient trop savants pour s'abaisser à faire des airs de ballets.» Jean Chrysostome Larcher, «Lettre à Madame la Marquise», in *Querelle des gluckistes et des piccinnistes, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 31-59; here p. 38-39.

13 Larcher, «Lettre à Madame La Marquise», *op. cit.*, p. 53.

One review written two days after its première states, «les airs de Ballet sont absolument négligés.»[14] A few days later, Louis Petit de Bachaumont voiced similar dissatisfaction with the ballets: «Au rebours des autres opéras du même genre, ce sont les danses & les divertissements qui en deviennent la partie fatigante, parce qu'ils sont très négligés, qu'ils n'ont aucun caractère relatif à l'action, & qu'ils n'expriment rien.»[15] The reviewer of the *Mercure de France* expressed similar disapproval of the dances: «On a trouvé des longueurs dans les divertissements, ce qui fait l'éloge de la scène qui a de l'intérêt: or l'intérêt souffre d'être longtemps suspendu.»[16] Friedrich Melchior Grimm also noted that there was nothing «remarkable» in the ballets at the end of the opera and that they «cooled down the spectacle.»[17] Even Gluck's supporter, the Abbé François Arnaud, admitted that Gluck's ballets were less satisfactory than *Iphigénie en Aulide* as a whole, suggesting that the quality of the ballets could be improved by using pantomime in the forms of «religious» and «military noble dance» that reform choreographer Jean-Georges Noverre promoted. Yet he also blamed Gluck's «failure» on the Parisians, countering that Gluck composed those dances that are «absolutely foreign to the drama» only because he felt obliged to do so.[18]

Debates surrounding the unpleasant ballets in *Iphigénie en Aulide* concerned not just the changing poetics of French opera, but specifically the ways in which the ongoing ballet reform would participate in this operatic transformation.[19] At stake is the tension between the aesthetics of «pleasure» upheld by French operas and the Aristotelian aesthetics of coherence that Gluck promoted in his operas. How, then, did Gluck reconcile this aesthetic tension?

Unfortunately, the death of Louis XV on May 4 brought the performance of *Iphigénie en Aulide* to a halt after only five performances. In answering the criticisms, Gluck had less than four months to revise *Orfeo ed Euridice* for the Opéra,

14 Review of *Iphigénie en Aulide* dated April 21, 1774. Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France depuis 1762 jusqu'à nos jours, ou Journal d'un observateur,* 36 vol., London, John Adamson, 1783-1789, vol. 7, p.163.

15 Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets, op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 164.

16 *Mercure de France,* May 1774, p. 175.

17 Grimm reported that the première was not as well received as the second performance. The ending of the opera and the final ballets made the action frigid. But in the second performance, the opera was «extolled to the skies.» Friedrich-Melchior Grimm, Denis Diderot, Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique* [...], ed. Maurice Tourneux, 16 vol., Paris, Garnier frères, 1877; R Kraus, Nendeln, 1968, vol. 10, p. 417.

18 François Arnaud, *Lettre de M. L' A. A **. A Madame d' **** [originally published in the April, 1774 issue of *Gazette littéraire*], in Lesure, *Querelle des gluckistes et des piccinnistes, op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 36.

19 As Catherine Kintzler has put it, the problem of dance in French opera that composers faced was how to make it necessary for French opera. «Dans l'opéra français, la présence de la danse est obligatoire; le problème est de la rendre nécessaire.» Catherine Kintzler, *Théâtre et opéra à l'age classique: Une familière étrangeté,* Paris, Fayard, 2004, p. 165.

with the première of *Orphée et Euridice* scheduled for August 2, 1774. Because of this time constraint, Gluck did not revise *Orfeo* extensively, but the changes he did make suggest that he was reactive to dance criticisms of *Iphigénie en Aulide.*

As mentioned above, Gluck revised his *Orphée et Euridice* by renaming the ballet in Act I, scene 1 «pantomime», having being reminded by the Parisian critics that Noverrian pantomime could make his ballets more relevant to his operas. But what is in a name? This nominal change emphasizes referential content that might be deduced from the extensive description of the same scene in the original version of *Orfeo ed Euridice* first performed in Vienna in 1762:

> This ballet represents the funeral rites that the ancients celebrated around the tombs of the dead. These consisted of sacrifices, censing, strewing flowers and wreathing the tomb with them, in pouring milk and wine on it, and dancing around it with acts of grief, and in singing the praises of the departed one. In the most solemn of [these rites] youths dressed as genii were introduced, and given attributes and actions suited to the character and station of the person entombed: Thus in this ballet around the tomb of Euridice there weep genii representing cupids, one of whom, in the guise of Hymen, extinguishes his torch as a symbol of the conjugal union being broken by death.[20]

Even though there is no extant choreography for *Orphée,* there is evidence indicating that Gluck must have preserved at least the idea of funeral ceremony in the pantomime.[21] According to the *Journal des beaux-arts,* «La symphonie, pendant les cérémonies funéraires, est d'un chromatique froid, sa longueur la rend fatigante: elle déchire l'oreille sans affecter l'âme.»[22] As there is no instrumental passage other than the pantomime, the «symphony» the reviewer mentioned must be the instrumental accompaniment to the pantomime. Another review in the *Mercure de France* confirmed the presence of the funeral service: «Les ballets de la pompe funèbre & des Enfers sont de la composition de M. Gardel.»[23]

20 «Si rappresentato in questo Ballo le feste funebri che celebravano gli antichi intorno a' sepolcri de'morti. Consistevano in sagrifizj, in profumi, in sparger fiori e circondarne la tomba, in versar latte e vino sulla medesima, in ballar all'intorno con atti di dolore, e in cantar le lodi del def[u]nto. S'introducevano nelle più solenni de' giovannetti in abito di Genj dando loro e attribute ed azioni convenienti alla persona, e alla qualità del sepolto: Così in questo Ballo intorno all'urna di Euridice piangono de' Genj che rappresentano degli Amorini, e uno in figura d'Imeneo spenge la sua face simbolo dell' unione conjugale separate dalla morte.» Translation taken from Bruce Alan Brown, *Gluck and the French Theatre in Vienna,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 367.

21 No extant sources indicate that Gluck borrowed the same dramatic scenario of the pantomime from *Orfeo* to *Orphée.*

22 *Journal des beaux-arts,* September, 1774. Quoted in Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Orphée et Euridice,* ed. Ludwig Finscher, in *Christoph Willibald Gluck. Sämtliche Werke, op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. xii.

23 *Mercure de France,* September, 1774, p. 197.

In addition to renaming the ballet «pantomime», Gluck redesigned the whole scene I by welding together disparate elements including dance, recitative, and chorus. Gluck separated the recitative of the 1762 version into two parts, first and second, as shown in Tables 1 and 2.[24]

Orfeo		*Orphée*	
Libretto (1762)	First edition (1764)	Livret (1774)	First edition (August, 1774)
1) chorus	1) chorus	1) chorus	1) chorus
2) recitative	2) recitative	2) pantomime	2) 1st recitative
3) chorus	3) Ballo	3) 1st recitative	3) pantomime
4) Ballo	4) chorus	4) chorus	4) chorus
	5) ritornello	5) 2nd recitative	5) 2nd recitative
		6) ritournelle	6) ritournelle

Table 1. Revisions of *Orfeo* and *Orphée,* Act I, scene 1.

1762	1774
RECITATIVE	FIRST RECITATIVE
Basta, basta, o compagni: il vostro lutto	Vos plaintes, vos regrets, augmentent mon supplice!
Aggrava il mio: spargete	Aux mânes sacrés d'Euridice
Purpurei fiori, inghirlandate il marmo,	Rendez les suprêmes honneurs,
	Et couvrez son tombeau de fleurs.
	SECOND RECITATIVE
Partetevi da me: restar vogl'io	Eloignez-vous: ce lieu convient à mes malheurs,
Solo fra' queste ombre funebri e oscure	Laissez-moi sans témoins y répandre des pleurs.
Coll'empia compagnia di mie sventure.	

Table 2. Comparison of recitative in Act I, scene 1 of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762) and *Orphée et Euridice* (1774).

One advantage of the 1774 two-recitative version is that each recitative introduces only one stage action. In the first recitative of the French version, Orphée asks the nymphs to cover Euridice's tomb with flowers. As indicated in the first edition of the French version (Table 1), a pantomime follows the recitative, suggesting that the content of the pantomime follows the verbal text of the preceding recitative. As shown in the first edition of the Italian version (Table 1), Gluck must already have learnt that pairing recitative with pantomime (what he had called «Ballo» in 1762) would effectively manipulate the referential content of the dance. What is new in

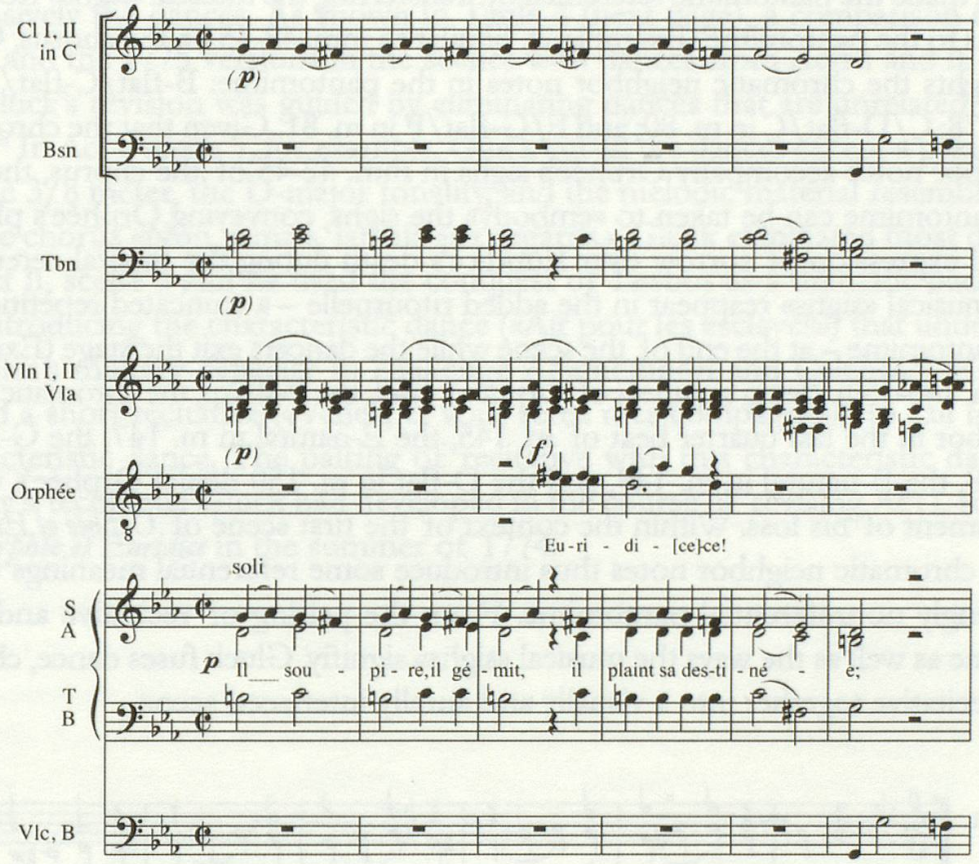
24 This table is by no means a comprehensive account of all the revisions Gluck had made to *Orfeo* and *Orphée*. It presents the main changes Gluck made to the French versions, but omits the changes Gluck made to *Orfeo* in the Parma re-run.

the French version, however, is that Gluck manipulated the referential content of the pantomime more pointedly than he had done before. Similarly, in the second recitative, Orphée asks the nymphs to leave him alone, a command that introduces a truncated repetition of the pantomime – the «ritournelle» – during which the dancers exit the stage. By commanding stage actions in the recitatives and asking dancers to perform the specified actions, Gluck thus established a causal relationship between recitative and pantomime, subtly but directly manipulating the referential content of the pantomime dances. Gluck must have been pleased with this invention, for he later paired recitative with pantomime in all of his subsequent Parisian operas whenever pantomime played a part (Table 3).

Opera	Act/sc.	Description
Alceste (1776)	I/3	A short RECITATIVE sung by the Grand Priest «Suspendez vos sacrés mystères; la Reine vient mêler ses vœux à nos prières» is followed by a PANTOMIME.
Alceste (1776)	II/4	The RECITATIVE «Immortel Apollon» sung by Alceste ends with the lines «Daignes prendre pitié du tourment qui m'accable, et jette un regard favorable sur ces offrande & ces présents,» which dictates the action to be seen in the following PANTOMIME, as printed on the livret and the first edition: *(On porte des présents au DIEU; on brûle des parfums: les PRETRES & PRETRESSES vont chercher la Victime, le GRAND-PRETRE l'immole & en examine les entrailles.)*
Iphigénie en Tauride (1779)	I/4	Oreste's recitative «Dieux justes, Ciel vengeur! Oui, oui le calme rentre dans mon cœur» in the first edition (a more specific version than that in the livret) introduces the ensuing pantomime. The content of the pantomime is printed in the livret: *(Les Euménides sortent du fond du théâtre, & entourent Oreste. Les unes exécutent au tour de lui un BALLET-PANTOMIME de terreur; les autres lui parlent. Oreste est sans connaissance pendant toute cette scène.)*
Echo et Narcisse (1779)	I/3 (I/2, 1780 version)	The RECITATIVE sung by Echo, «Nymphes, éloignez-vous un moment de ce lieu! L'amitié me prévient dans les vœux que vous faites; mais par des offrandes secrètes je dois fléchir un autre dieu,» is followed by a PANTOMIME: *(Les CHŒURS sortent. Echo dépose son offrande, Les NYMPHES de sa suite enlacent leurs Guirlandes autour de l'Autel & posent leurs Corbeilles sur les marches. Tous ces mouvements composent une PANTOMIME. Echo renvoie sa suite.) (Elles se retirent.)*
Echo et Narcisse (1779)	Prologue sc. 2	The RECITATIVE «Aimables plaisirs,» sung by L'Amour, ends with the line "Voyons à qui de vous doit recourir l'Amour,» which introduced a PANTOMIME (as indicated in the livret). As shown in the first edition, this «pantomime» includes a series of three dances: an Andante, an *Entrée des plaisirs*, and a Grazioso. (The critical edition reprints the description on the livret.)

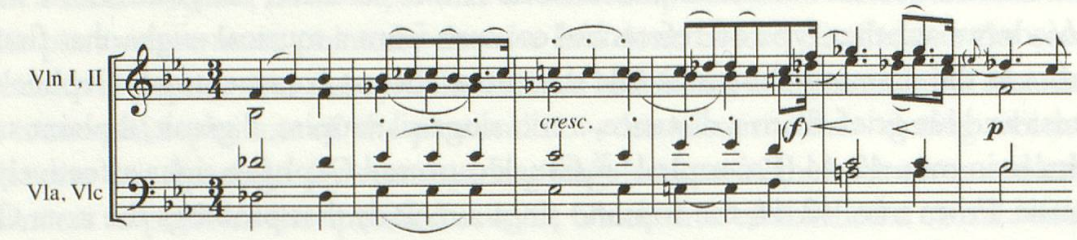
Table 3. Pairing of recitative with pantomime in Gluck's Paris Operas.

Apart from the referential content indicated in the recitative, the pantomime of *Orphée* draws another type of referential content from a musical «sigh» that first appears in the opening chorus. While the entire chorus comments on Orphée's distress and his grief from a distance, a trio sings «il soupire, il gémit, il plaint sa destinée» in mm. 42-44 (Example 1).[25] Gluck captured Orphée's sighs effectively in music. From mm. 42-44, the soprano sings a melody that prolongs the note G by oscillating between its upper neighbor A-flat, and its lower neighbor F-sharp.



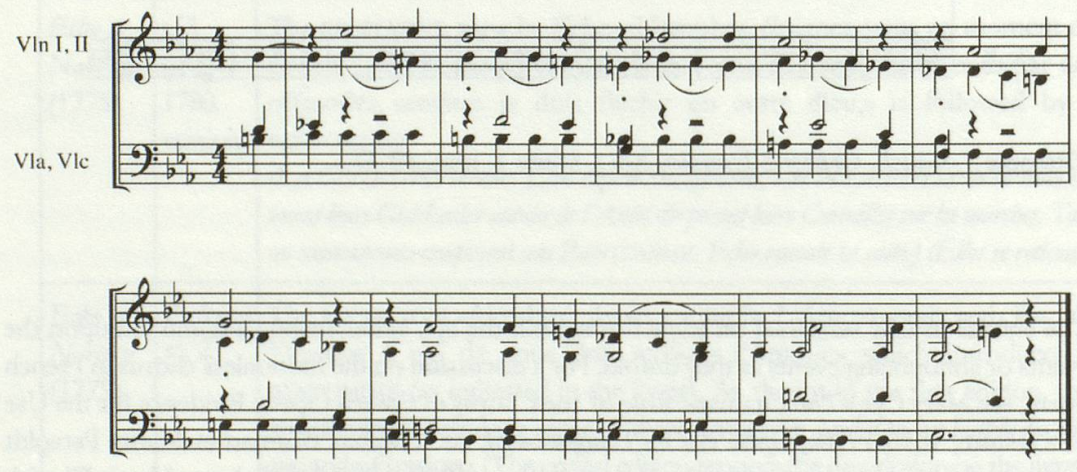
Example 1. Gluck, *Orphée et Euridice,* Act I, scene 1, mm. 42-47.

25 The chorus usually remained on stage throughout the act, either singing a comment upon the events or announcing events as they unfold. For a discussion on the motionless chorus in French opera, see Mary Cyr, «The Dramatic Role of the Chorus in French Opera: Evidence for the Use of Gesture, 1670-1770», *Opera and the Enlightenment,* ed. Thomas Bauman et Marita Petzoldt McClymonds, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 107-115. Rebecca Harris-Warrick has noted that in Lully's tragédies en musique, dancers function as the moving surrogates of the chorus. Harris-Warrick, «"Toute danse doit exprimer, peindre…"», p. 193.



Example 2. Gluck, *Orphée et Euridice,* Act I, scene 1, mm. 77-82.

Gluck made the pantomime referential by transferring the musical «sighs» from the chorus to the pantomime (Example 2). Similar to mm. 42-45 of the chorus, Gluck highlights the chromatic neighbor notes in the pantomime: B-flat/C-flat/B-flat in m. 78; C/D-flat/C in m. 80; and F/G-flat/F in m. 81. Given that the chromatic neighbor notes accompany Orphée's sighs in mm. 42-45 of the chorus, those in the pantomime can be taken to «embody» the sighs, conveying Orphée's physiological expression of sorrow over Euridice's death during the funeral ceremony. The musical «sighs» reappear in the added ritournelle – a truncated repetition of the pantomime – at the end of the scene while the dancers exit the stage (Example 3, mm. 145-150). Being signifiers of Orphée's grief, the F-sharp, the chromatic lower neighbor in the last quarter beat of m. 145, the E-natural in m. 147, the G-flat in m. 148, the B-natural in m. 149, and the D-flat in m. 150 depict Orphée's voiceless lament of his loss. Within the context of the first scene of *Orphée et Euridice,* these chromatic neighbor notes thus introduce some referential meanings to the seemingly nonreferential pantomime. From the pairing of recitative and pantomime as well as the ways the musical «sighs» signifiy, Gluck fuses dance, chorus, and recitative together into a visually and aurally interlaced scene.



Example 3. Gluck, *Orphée et Euridice,* Act II, scene 1, mm. 145-154.

Gluck's deliberate effort did not escape the Parisians' notice. Shortly after the première, Grimm noted generally, «les ballets d'*Orphée* ont aussi fait plus de plaisir que ceux d'*Iphigénie;* ils sont plus analogues au sujet et d'une harmonie plus noble et plus soutenue.»[26] One reviewer compared the ballets in Gluck's *Orphée* to those in Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Castor et Pollux* (1737), an opera famous for its ballets: «M. Gluck a très bien lié dans cet Opéra les Ballets à l'action, ils en font une partie essentielle comme dans *Castor,* & beaucoup mieux que dans *Iphigénie [en Aulide].*»[27]

As Gluck tasted his first success in Paris with the ballets of *Orphée*, he quickly revised *Iphigénie en Aulide* for its next run of performances in early 1775, most extensively the dances. As shown in Table 4 (next page), a comparison of the 1774 and the 1775 versions in the scenes with dances from Acts I and II, much of Gluck's revision was guided by eliminating dances that are unrelated to the plot.[28] In Act I, scene 5, for example, Gluck cut all the dances except a passepied, whose 3/8 meter, the D-major tonality, and the melodic material resemble that of the chorus «Non, jamais, jamais aux regards.» Gluck eliminated most dances in Act II, scene 3 and he used the conquest of Lesbos as a dramatic backdrop for introducing the characteristic dance («Air pour les esclaves») that underlines Achilles's military capacity to challenge Agamemnon and Calchas.[29] He also added a short recitative («Venez, et vous serez mes compagnes») to call for the characteristic dance. The pairing of recitative with this characteristic dance is clearly a technique Gluck had developed in the course of revising Act I, scene 1 of *Orphée et Euridice* in the summer of 1774.

26 Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, op. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 472.

27 *Journal des Beaux-Arts*, September, 1774, p. 520-47. Quoted in Gluck, *Orphée et Euridice, op. cit.*, p. xii.

28 Apart from the changes listed, Gluck deleted vocal pieces in Act I, scene 6; Act II, scene 1; Act II, scene 7; and Act III, scene 3. For a summary of these changes, see Gluck, *Iphigénie en Aulide,* ed. Marius Flothuis, in *Christoph Willibald Gluck: Sämtliche Werke, op. cit.*, vol. 5a, p. x-xi. Julian Rushton has discussed the textual changes and their dramatic implications, in «"Royal Agamemnon": The Two Versions of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide*», *Music and the French Revolution,* ed. Malcolm Boyd, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 15-36.

29 We know Gluck moved the Passacaille from the second act to the third act divertissement in the 1775 version of *Iphigénie en Aulide*. The problem of coming up with the 1775 final divertissement resides in the inconclusive nature of the extant sources. See Rushton, «"Royal Agamemnon"», *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Act/sc.	1774 version*	1775 version
I/5	Chœur: «que d'attraits» Air «que j'aime à voir ces hommages flatteurs» Clytemnestre: «Demeurez dans ces lieux» I. *Air gai*** II. *Lento, con espressione* Chœurs: «non, jamais aux regards» Un Grec : «Qui pourra jamais se flatter» *Ballet: Allegro giusto* *Ballet: Menuet 1-Menuet 2-Menuet 1* Air: «Les vœux dont ce peuple m'honore» *Air: (Mouvement de passepied)* *Ballet: Grazioso* *Ballet: Air Gai*	Chœur: «que d'attraits» Air «que j'aime à voir ces hommages flatteurs» Clytemnestre: «Demeurez dans ces lieux» Chœurs: «non, jamais aux regards» Air: «Les vœux dont ce peuple m'honore» *Air: (Mouvement de passepied)*
II/3	Achille: «Les auteurs de vos jours» *Marche: (Maestoso, con espressione)* Achille: «Rival de ma valeur» Achille et Chœur: «Chantez, célébrez votre Reine» *Air Gai: tempo de Marcia* Air: «Achille est couronné» *Ballet: I. Passacaille*	Achille: «Les auteurs de vos jours» *Marche: (Maestoso, con espressione)* Achille: «Rival de ma valeur» Achille et Chœur: «Chantez, célébrez votre Reine» *Air Gai: tempo de Marcia* Air: «Achille est couronné»
	II. *Gavotte – minore – majore* *Passacaille* Chœur: «Ami sensible, ennemi redoutable» *Air: Moderato* Chœur: «La Grèce à peine» *Air gracieux* *Passacaille* *Ballet: Gravement* *Lentement* *Mouvement de Chaconne* Quatuor et chœur: «jamais à tes autels»	 Chœur: «Ami sensible, ennemi redoutable» *Air: Moderato* *Ballet: Gravement* *Lentement* *Mouvement de Chaconne (un peu animé)* *Gavotte gracieuse* Chœur (Esclaves lesbiennes): «Les filles de Lesbos» Iphigénie: «Venez, et vous serez mes compagnes fidèles» *Air pour les esclaves: Allegretto* Quatuor et chœur: «jamais à tes autels»

Table 4. Comparison of dances in the 1774 and 1775 versions of *Iphigénie en Aulide.*

* The editor of the modern critical edition opts for the 1775 version for the main redaction of the opera. The deleted pieces are published in Gluck, *Iphigénie en Aulide,* ser. 1, vol. 5b.

** The pieces in italics are dances.

If Gluck hoped to use the re-run of *Iphigénie en Aulide* to prove himself as a ballet composer comparable to Jean-Baptiste Lully and Rameau, he must have been pleased with the reviews.[30] The première on January 10, 1775 garnered praise from the critics. Bachaumont reviewed the performance the next day, on January 11: «Dans le second acte, il y a des danses caractérisées, où sont figurés les Jeux divers de la Grèce; ce qui donne un appareil plus militaire à la fête, & plus d'expression à cette chorégraphie.»[31] The reviewer of the influential *Mercure de France* similarly endorsed the revision: «Plusieurs changements heureux & quelques morceaux de musique ajoutés dans les scènes & dans les divertissements assurent encore davantage la fortune de cet Opéra.»[32]

Authorship and Authority of *Cythère assiégée*

Just when Gluck had reasons to celebrate his hard-won authority over his operas performed at the Opéra, the very authority got him into a dispute with his publisher and the Opéra administration during his next production: his revision of the opéra-comique *Le siège de Cythère* (1748), *Cythère assiégée* (2nd version, Académie royale de musique, August 1, 1775), which he had originally written for the Vienna Burgtheater in 1759. Unlike the case of *Iphigénie en Aulide,* the dispute was not so much about the aesthetic merits of the progressive pantomime over the traditional ballet as about the extent to which this very aesthetic progress called into question the relevance of the age-old final divertissement to French opera.

The beginnings of the dispute can be dated back to late 1774, when Gluck decided to change publisher, requesting that Le Marchand, who had published the scores of *Iphigénie en Aulide* and *Orphée et Euridice,* send him all the plates of *Iphigénie.* Two months after the performances of *Iphigénie en Aulide* in 1775, in the middle of March, Gluck left Paris for Vienna. Before leaving, he asked his friend Franz Kruthoffer, secretary to Count Mercy-Argenteau, to overlook publication of the complete score of *Le siège de Cithère [Cythère assiégée]* [...] with «all its

30 Apart from the above-noted changes in the ballet, Gluck changed the dénouement of the opera. Instead of following Racine, as he did in the 1774 version, Gluck ended the 1775 version with the intervention of Diane who set Iphigénie free and let her marry Achilles. See Martha Feldman and Valerio Valeri, «Opera e sacrificio: passato e futuro mitologico nel teatro pre-rivoluzionario», in Valerio Valeri, *Uno spazio tra sé e sé: L'antropologia come ricerca del soggetto,* ed. Martha Feldman and Janet Hoskins, trans. Bianca Lazzari, Rome: Donzelli, 1999, p. 183-228.

31 Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets, op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 263.

32 *Mercure de France,* January, 1775, vol. 2, p. 157.

accessories and appendages» [«toutes ses circonstances et dépendances»],[33] to negotiate terms on his behalf, and to act in his stead. By late March, Kruthoffer signed a contract with Anton de Peters that discreetly cited Gluck's own words, specifying that de Peters publish «the complete score» of *Cythère assiégée* «with all its accessories and appendages.» As we shall see, the words «complete», «all its accessories», and «appendages» became the center of disputes, for Gluck attempted to rid *Cythère assiégée* of the time-honored final divertissement, making what he thought a «complete» opera an «incomplete» ballet that the Opéra administration and his publisher vetoed.[34]

The absence of a final divertissement in *Cythère assiégée* caused troubles. In Gluck's absence, director of the Opéra Pierre-Monton Berton was reported to pay attention to the ballets *Cythère assiégée* at the expense of the quality of music. By late April, Kruthoffer complained to Du Roullet that Berton was not correcting poorly performed passages: «There is a widespread rumor that M. Berton appears to be more concerned with the success of his ballet than with the rest of the opera.»[35] The rumor must have passed to Gluck. Sick in Vienna where he was revising *Alceste* for the upcoming re-run in Paris, he expressed his frustration in a letter dated May 30:

> As far as the final divertissement [of *Cythère assiégée*] is concerned, I deliberately did not intend to write one, because it is a digression [hors d'œuvre]: my work finishes with the last chorus. If, however, M. Peters wants there to be such a piece, I will ask M. Berton to try to work out something of the sort, although I believe that the opera will be sufficiently strong, and long enough, without it, and without incurring extra expense in this way.[36]

Gluck's denigration of the final divertissement provoked Berton's disagreement. Not only did he have a final divertissement added to *Cythère assiégée,* he probably inserted a pointed remark into the preface to the livret: «[Gluck] n'a pas eu le temps de faire la musique du Divertissement du dernier Acte: il a engagé M. le Berton de le suppléer à cet égard.»[37]

33 Letter from Gluck to Kruthoffer, dated March 9, 1775, published in Maurice Cauchie, «Gluck et ses éditeurs parisiens (Documents inédits)», *Le Ménestrel. Musique et Théâtres,* 89 (1927), p. 309-310; p. 310; translated in Patricia Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait in Letters and Documents,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 132-133.

34 The issue was partly due to the ambivalent nature of its genre. Gluck seems unaware that his «opera» *Cythère assiégée* was classified in both the first edition and the livret as a «ballet» and that *Cythère assiégée* was supposed to belong to the genre of opéra-ballet along with Rameau's *Les Indes galantes* (1735). Yet after the première, the critic of *Mercure de France* classified Gluck's *Cythère assiégée* as an opéra-comique.

35 Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait, op. cit.*, p. 140.

36 *Id.*, p. 142.

37 CYTHÈRE ASSIÉGÉE,| BALLET EN TROIS ACTES,| REPRÉSENTÉE,| POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS,| PAR L'ACADÉMIE ROYALE DE MUSIQUE,| Le Mardi. 1er. Août,

It is now clear that Gluck was most concerned about the aesthetic principle of unity of his opera whereas his business partners – Berton and de Peters – concerned with the practical consequences that this new aesthetic would bring forth. Gluck wrote to Kruthoffer on July 1, exactly one month before the première, complaining that Berton had not been replying to his letters and asking Kruthoffer to «remove the work from the stage» if it was unsatisfactory. Kruthoffer probably could not do much, for rehearsals for the opening were well under way. Worse still, Berton gave one final divertissement of doubtful origin to Gluck's ex-publisher, Le Marchand, for publication, an action that provoked an instant protest from Gluck's new publisher De Peters: «Imagine what effect that will have on the public, and how many complaints I shall have to deal with from all sides, claiming that the work is *incomplete,* and that it is too dear at 24 livres.»[38] Although de Peters, not Le Marchand, published the divertissement, this dispute shows that how Gluck understood «a complete opera» in pure aesthetic terms mattered less than how the administration of the Opéra and his publisher wanted it.

Finally, writing on July 31, 1775, one day before the première of *Cythère assiégée,* Gluck fulminated against the criticisms he had been receiving since the première of the 1774 version of *Iphigénie en Aulide* concerning him as an incompetent composer of dance music:

> I gathered from his letter that M. Peters considers my *Siège de Cythère* to be incomplete, even though I have already explained to him that my work ends with the last chorus. The ballet that M. Berton wants to add to it, whatever it may be called, is from my point of view an *hors d'œuvre*... [de Peters has been given] the complete work for which the Academy paid me. I will go further and say that in future I shall write no more ballet airs for my operas, apart from those that arise during the course of the action, and if people do not like that, then I shall write no more operas, for I will not let myself be reproached in all the journals that my ballets are weak and mediocre, etc. The rogues shall hear no more from me, and my operas will always end where the text ends.[39]

Gluck was frustrated over the outmoded aesthetic of a «complete» opera that includes what he considered to be irrelevant ballets throughout the opera and especially at the end of it at the expense of dramatic coherence. Yet his aesthetic

1775.| PRIX XXX. SOLS.| AUX DÉPENS DE L'ACADÉMIE.| A PARIS, Chés DELORMEL, Imprimeur de ladite Académie, rue| de Foin, à l'Image Saint Geneviève.| On trouvera des Exemplaires du Poème à la Salle de l'Opéra.| M. DCC. LXXV.| AVEC APPROBATION ET PRIVILEGE DU ROI, p. 2.

38 Letter from Peters to Kruthoffer dated July 15, 1775, cited in Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait, op. cit.*, p. 147; emphasis added.

39 Letter from Gluck to Kruthoffer dated July 31, 1775, *id.*, p. 147-148.

bears no legality, for he may have forgotten about the contract he had asked Kruthoffer to sign on his behalf, in which he agreed to supply de Peters with «all [the] accessories and appendages» of *Cythère assiégée,* which, according to de Peters and Berton, would include the final divertissement. In any case, Gluck's letter indicates that he had little idea about just *how* «complete» his *Cythère assiégée* turned out to be. The next day, on Aug 1, 1775, *Cythère assiégée* was premièred at the Opéra, and on the same day, the so-called «completed» score of it was published by de Peters.

Not surprisingly, multiple «complete» versions of the *Cythère assiégée* coexist.[40] A manuscript copy of the opera ends with the chorus «Tout rit en ces lieux» of Act III, scene 4, suggesting that this version is probably closest to the one Gluck had in mind.[41] But as shown from the livret and the first violin part,[42] as well as the first edition, there exist additional materials that follow this chorus. In the livret, these additional materials are grouped together as «the last scene» while in the first edition, similar materials are subdivided into two scenes (Act III, scenes 5 and 6). If the manuscript of the opera represents Gluck's ideal design, the livret, the orchestral parts, and the first edition provide previously unexamined information about how Berton and de Peters tampered with Gluck's opera in the final stage of the production.

Who composed the materials after the chorus «Tout rit en ces lieux» of Act III, scene 4? Given that Gluck insisted the day before the première that the opera should end with the chorus – most likely «Tout rit en ces lieux» – he probably did not provide de Peters with the three arias of Act III, scene 5 for publication. Although the sources for «Nymphes chantéz victoire» and «Venus ici ramène la paix» remain unclear, we do know that Cloé's «L'aimable paix règne en ces asiles» is a revision of Mitro's aria in the divertissement of the Brussels version of the opéra comique *Le siège de Cythère* (1748) by Barthélémy-Christoph Fagan and Charles-Simon Favart.[43]

40 No modern edition of *Cythère assiégée* has been published.

41 F-Po, microfilm, A. 234 a.

42 F-Po, Mat 18, 75 (1-123), the first violin part, (95).

43 According to the published livret of the 1754 version of Favart's *Le siège de Cythère,* the aria was sung by Mitro to the tune of Air: 264. Had the author searched in Favart's *Le siège de Cythère* for a divertissement to end Gluck's *Cythère assiégée,* he might also have revised Mitro's «Victoire, Victoire, Victoire» of the second-to-last scene of *Le siège de Cythère* for Daphne's «Nymphes, chantéz victoire». Nonetheless, given the popularity of the pastoral story in the French operatic repertories, the author would have had plenty of examples to choose from other than Favart's *Le siège de Cythère.* For Mitro's «Victoire, Victoire, Victoire» see Cythère assiégée,| Opéra-comique en un Acte;| Représenté à Bruxelles, pour la première fois, le 7 Juillet, 1748:| et à OPÉRA-COMIQUE| Le Lundi 12 Août 1754.| Militat omnis amans et habet sua castra cupido.| NOUVELLE EDITION.| Le prix est de vingt-quatre sols sans Musique.| La musique se vend séparément 36 sols.| A PARIS,| Chez Duchesne, Libraire, rue Saint Jacques| au-dessous de la Fontaine Saint Benoît,| au Temple du

Source / Author	Autograph ms.	Livret	Orchestral parts	First edition
Gluck	III/4 Annonce	III/4 «Que le charme règne à Cythère»	III/4 Annonce	III/4 Annonce
	(marche pour l'arrivée de Mars et Venus)	III/4 Daphne: «tout annonce ici la présence»		III/4 Daphne: «tout annonce ici la présence»
	Doris: «Ici mille plaisirs suivent nos désirs»	Doris: «Ici mille plaisirs suivent nos désirs»	Doris: «Ici mille plaisirs suivent nos désirs»	Doris: «Ici mille plaisirs suivent nos désirs»
		Cloé: «la volupté»	Cloé: «la volupté»	Cloé: «la volupté»
	«Tout rit en ces lieux»	«Tout rit en ces lieux»	«Tout rit en ces lieux»	«Tout rit en ces lieux»
Berton?	The End	(Les Bergers, les Bergères & la suite de Venus & de l'Amour se réunissent, en dansant, & commencent la fête.)	Passacaille Loure	March
		Scène dernière	Entrée des Bergers Louré	III/5: 1e Entrée des Bergers Gigue
		Daphne: «Nymphes chantés victoire»	Daphne: «Nymphes chantés victoire»	III/4 [*sic*] Daphne: «Nymphes chantés victoire»
		Daphne: «Venus ici ramène la paix»	Daphne: «Venus ici ramène la paix» [crossed out]	Daphne: «Venus ici ramène la paix»
		(La fête continue)	Gigue	III/6: 2e. *Entrée des Bergers* *Air gai* *Tambourin.**
Berton with Favart?		Cloé: «L'aimable paix règne en ces asiles»	Cloé: «L'aimable paix règne en ces asiles»	Cloé: «L'aimable paix règne en ces asiles»
		(Une fête générale termine le spectacle.)	Louré	Passacaille
			Repeat of the last ariette (Cloé's)	Gavotte
			No. 13 tempo di minuetto gratioso. Chaconne	A dance in ¾ time

Table 5. Gluck, *Cythère assiégée,* Act III, scene 4.

An unusual remark in parentheses (marked * in Table 5) contained in Act III, scene 6 (final scene) of the first edition of *Cythère assiégée* states the following: «(Tous les Divertissements depuis l'annonce de la Marche [in Act III, scene 4] jusqu'à la fin de la partition sont de la composition de M.r le Ch.er Gluck et les Divertissements que l'on joue à l'Opéra sont de la Composition de M.r Berton.)»[44] If, according to this remark, Gluck was indeed the author of the final scene as shown in the livret or the last two scenes in the engraved score, then why did he insist the day before the première that he wanted to end his opera with the chorus?

As far as the identity of the mysterious author of the final divertissement is concerned, concert reviews provide a critical source of evidence. Bachaumont noticed the stylistic «disparity» between the divertissement and the rest of the opera, a disparity so perceptible that the divertissement and the opera became «two compositions».[45] The reviewer of the *Mercure de France* even lauded Berton's endeavor to «improve» Gluck's *Cythère assiégée.*

> [Berton] connaît les talents & le *faire* agréable. M. le Berton a bien répondu à cet honneur par ses soins, par son zèle & par son activité; il a suppléé à ce que M. le Chevalier Gluck n'avait pu faire avant son départ de Paris; il a travaillé & composé durant plusieurs mois, d'après les additions, les changements & le dénouement que M. Favart a jugés nécessaires; il a composé en outre six grands morceaux de musique pour la fête du dernier acte, parmi lesquels il y a la *passacaille,* la *chaconne,* &c.[46]

This reviewer seems to know more about Berton's input into *Cythère assiégée* than any other contemporary reviewers, for he identified the exact number of dances in the divertissement as shown in the orchestral part, as well as the passacaille and unpublished chaconne that were added to the performance. Perhaps, as the review indicates, Berton had asked the then sixty-five-year-old Favart for comments on his divertissement. Perhaps he even informed the reviewer of the *Mercure de France* of the changes he made to Gluck's *Cythère assiégée.* This scenario might explain why the reviewer of the September issue of the *Mercure de France* stood so firmly by Berton:

> M. le Chevalier Gluck a traité trop sérieusement cet Opéra comique, où il a employé toute la force imposante de son génie, lorsqu'il fallait y répandre les grâces aimables de l'esprit & du goût. Au reste, ce spectacle n'est point sans agrément. On y remarque plusieurs airs bien faits, surtout la charmante musique de M. Berton, pour le divertissement du dernier acte, qui a été

Goût.| M. DCC. LX.| Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roi, p. 43. For Mitro's «l'aimable paix règne en ces asiles», see the same libretto, 45. This libretto was published in vol. 7 of Charles-Simon Favart, *Théâtre de M. Favart, ou recueil des comédies, parodies & opéra-comiques qu'il a donnés jusqu'à ce jour, avec les airs, rondes & vaudevilles notés dans chaque pièce,* 10 vol., Paris, Duchesne, 1763.

44 *Cythère assiégée,* F-Pmus, L. 4180, p. 192.

45 Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets, op. cit.*, vol. 8, p. 140-141.

46 *Mercure de France,* August, 1775, p. 133.

> fort applaudie. Les ballets ont été trouvé ingénieux & agréablement dessinés; celui du premier acte, par M. Dauberval; celui du second, par M. Gardel; le troisième, par M. Vestris: dans ce dernier divertissement, le concours & la réunion des principaux talents de la danse, exécutée par Mlles Heynel & Guimard, par MM. Vestris, Gardel & Dauberval ont eu le plus grand succès.[47]

Although we do not know the author of the dances published in the engraved edition of *Cythère assiégée,* it now seems clear the version performed on August 1, 1775 was different from the one published on the same day, and both versions were different from Gluck's intended *Cythère assiégée.* As Gluck did not «complete» *Cythère assiégée* when he had had a chance to do so, someone – may he be an Opéra administrator, a publisher, or an ex-author – had to complete it for him.

Disputes over the legal, business, and administrative implications of the «incomplete» *Cythère assiégée* reveal the resilience as well as the fragility of the aesthetic of sensuous pleasures that helped sustain the institution of the French opera. Once the Aristotelian aesthetic of dramatic unity, logic, and simplicity came of age, the French were pressed to defend their aesthetics of multi-sensuous pleasure. This aesthetic collision initiated a series of fiery exchanges concerning nature, culture, and their relations to a broadly conceived notion of musical meaning among the best minds in France in 1776. These fiery exchanges were set off by another Gluck's opera, *Alceste.*

The «Unnatural» *Alceste*?

Gluck was revising *Alceste* in Vienna when the tension over dances in *Cythère assiégée* built up in Paris. What changes regarding dance did he introduce to the French version of *Alceste*? It would appear that Gluck would have wanted to retain the two Noverrian pantomimes of the underworld scenes (Act II, scene 1-2) from the Italian *Alceste* in the French version of *Alceste.* But he had other ideas. He cut the underworld scenes (Act II, scenes 1-2) from the French version,[48] and instead beginning Act II with a jubilant divertissement celebrating the

47 *Mercure de France,* September, 1775, 178.

48 As Bruce Alan Brown observes, Gluck was used to this kind of reform and retrenchment. As the tragic endings of *Citera assediata* (1762) and *Sémiramis* (1765) were poorly received, Gluck and Angiolini reused happy endings in *Iphigénie en Aulide* (now lost) and the unperformed *Achille in Sciro*, the last two major ballets they produced in Vienna in 1765. For a discussion of the ballet reform in Vienna, see Bruce Alan Brown, «Zéphire et Flore: A "Galant" Early Ballet by Angiolini and Gluck», in *Opera and the Enlightenment, op. cit.*, p. 189-216.

improved health of King Admète.[49] Gluck was not entirely sure of his new design. In a letter dated July 1, 1775, a month before the première of *Cythère assiégée,* Gluck wrote his librettist, Du Roullet, and asked for his comments on this particular issue:

> I think the divertissement in the second act must not be too long, otherwise it will be out of proportion with the rest of the opera. It should comprise a very lively dance for the whole ensemble, while the chorus sings, with no pas de deux or solo, because I feel that the mood of rejoicing must prevail, and any dance not for the full ensemble would weaken this effect. *I want your opinion on this matter.*[50]

By the time *Alceste* premièred, there were dances (pantomime and ballets included) in each of its three acts. While the three pantomimes in Act I are sacred dances that conjure up ceremonial effects, the ballets in Acts II and III are festive and celebratory.[51] It would appear that Gluck had found a solution to balancing pantomime and ballet in his French opera.

Yet the Parisians did not think so. On the day after its première on April 23, 1776, Bachaumont praised the «brilliant» effects of the spectacle, but pointed out some major flaws, including the Apollo dénouement and the ballets: «Il y a tout à parier que ce chef-d'œuvre prétendu du monsieur Gluck ne prendra pas dans ce pays-ci. [...] Les ballets même sont misérables: point d'air de violon, rien de gai.»[52] Grimm noted the «extreme simplicity» of the libretto in contrast with that of Jean-Baptiste-Maurice Quinault, a libretto that was «full of zeal, movement,

49 Jeremy Hayes provided a useful comparison between the two versions of *Alceste,* in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera,* ed. Stanley Sadie, 4 vol., London, Macmillan, 1992, headword ALCESTE, vol. 1, p. 62-70. Based on the symmetrical design of Act III, scene 3 of the Italian version of Alceste, with Evandro's Aria «Or che Morte» sandwiched by two ballets, which in turn are sandwiched between the chorus «Dal lieto soggiorno» that begins and ends the scene, Gluck retained the chorus as a framing device of Act II scene 1 of the French version, eliminated the aria, and expanded the number of ballets from two to five (two numbers marked «Légèrement» followed by an Andante, an Allegro, and a Lent).

50 Gluck to Du Roullet, Vienna, July 1, 1775, quoted in Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait, op. cit.*, p. 145 (emphasis in the original).

51 Gossec may have written a few numbers for the final divertissement in Act III. Of the six numbers of the divertissement only three of them (the March, the A major Andante, and the final Chaconne) are by Gluck. The other three (the G major Andante, the Menuet, and the Gavotte) are those that may have been supplied by Gossec. As we see from Gluck's letter to Kruthoffer, dated June 30, 1776, Gluck was again controlling the publication of *Alceste* in Vienna, asking Kruthoffer to have *Alceste* published in the same form in which it was performed, instructing him to disregard «the little that Herr Gossec may have added to it», for it «can be of no consequence. [...] [The divertissement] will make the opera neither better nor worse, because it comes at the end of it.» Quoted in Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait, op. cit.*, p. 158.

52 Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets, op. cit.*, vol. 9, p. 92.

[and] action.»[53] The public opinion was summarized by Arnaud: «Ce qui choque davantage est de ne pas trouver un seul air de ballet. Enfin, tout cet Opéra est une déplorable psalmodie.»[54] Inspired by its «extreme simplicity», some audiences wrote epigrams that ridicule *Alceste*. A «less malicious» one was reprinted by Bachaumont in his *Mémoires secrets:*

Pour jubilé l'on représente *Alceste:*
Les confesseurs disent aux pénitents,
Ne craignez rien, à ce drame funeste,
Pour station, allez vous, mes enfants:
Par-là bien mieux dans ce temps d'abstinence,
Mortifiez vos goûts & vos plaisirs,
Et si par fois vous avez des désirs,
Demandez *Gluck* pour votre pénitence.[55]

Given the celebratory divertissements in *Alceste* at the beginning of Act II and the end of Act III, the ways the Parisians criticized the ballets seem unwarranted. What they referred to as penitentiary dances seems specifically to target the pantomimes in Act I. The problem with these pantomimes could well be seen in Arnaud's defense, in which he explained the essence of visual pleasures in an imaginary dialogue with one of his neighbors during a performance of *Alceste*. «On m'a assuré qu'il n'y avait point de danse», one noted.[56] Arnaud disagreed: «En voilà une, & sur un air si noble, si touchant, si religieux; sur un air qui devrait vous transporter au milieu des Temples, vous mettre au pied des Autels, & vous inspirer le plus profond recueillement.»[57] The air in question is the pantomime that begins and ends Act I, scene 1.[58] Presumably, the neighbor must have noticed that this ballet-pantomime diverged fundamentally from the typical French ballet, as he asked the most obvious question:[59] «Vous appellez donc cela une danse?» Arnaud did not answer him directly, retorting instead with a flurry of questions:

53 Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, op. cit.*, vol. 11, p. 234-235.

54 Arnaud, «Le souper des enthousiastes», in *Querelle des gluckistes et des piccinnistes, op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 62-92; p. 63.

55 Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets, op. cit.*, vol. 9, p. 97. 1775 was the Holy Year, or Jubilee, of the Roman Catholic Church. As *Alceste* was premièred in 1776, a year after the Holy Year, the author of this poem wrongly related Gluck's *Alceste* to activities associated with it.

56 François Arnaud, «La soirée perdue à l'Opéra», in *Querelle des gluckistes et des piccinnistes, op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 46-45; p. 46.

57 Arnaud, «La soirée perdue à l'Opéra», *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 46.

58 Gluck called this dance a «Ballet-pantomime» in the livret; it is called a «pantomime» in the first edition.

59 In his tenth letter in the *Lettres sur la danse,* Noverre stated that the Italian acrobatic style of pantomime dance was inappropriate to serious ballet. When dancers express despair and sensibility, they should stop dancing and instead be immobile. «C'est aux yeux à parler; les bras

> Ne voudriez-vous pas que des Prêtres, des Prêtresses vinssent adorer & prier en battant des entrechats? Tous ces mouvements, parfaitement d'accord avec ceux de l'Orchestre, ne peignent-ils pas ce qu'ils doivent peindre, n'expriment-ils pas ce qu'ils doivent exprimer? Or, Monsieur, auriez-vous la bonté de me dire, quelles sont les passions ou les idées que réveillent en vous les cabrioles, les entrechats, les gargouillades & les moulinets; croyez-moi, ce que vous cherchez ici ne devrait, le plus souvent, se rencontrer qu'à la foire: lisez *Noverre*![60]

In light of the attacks that had been circulating around Gluck's ballets, Du Roullet defended Gluck in his *Lettre sur les drames* in 1776. Instead of admitting that Gluck's ballets were weak, Du Roullet dismissed the traditional divertissement, with nonreferential dance as its subject, as an absurdity («un contresens»).[61] To his mind, the divertissement in Act IV of *Atys* celebrating the wedding of Sangaride that exist only for the sake of convention and not dramatic needs should be eliminated. Du Roullet insisted that Gluck's ballets are not ascetic, but that the French had been too accustomed to the «unnatural» (though conventional) ballets in Quinault's operas to appreciate the truly logical, «natural» (though unconventional) ballets in Gluck's operas.

Du Roullet did not go so far as to claim that Quinault had corrupted the naturalness of French opera. His claim is more nuanced: writing as a librettist who had worked under the patronage system of the *ancien régime,* he argued that Quinault simply had little choice but to comply with what was expected of him. This made him unaware of the «unnaturalness» of his works: «Quinault n'a vraisemblablement pas fait ces observations: il travaillait pour les plaisirs d'un Roi magnifique & d'une Cour galante qui n'étaient occupés que de danses & d'amusements.»[62] But having made divertissements a priority in the design of the libretto, Quinault contrived arbitrary subplots that made such tangential characters as furies, demons, magicians, Hate, Fates, Vengeance, and other allegorical figures dance. Instead of critically examining ballets in Quinault's design, successors of Quinault wrongly took Quinaldian divertissement as a norm and applied it uncritically to their own works. Decades of uncritical thinking on the part of playwrights and composers, Du Roullet contended, had caused the French divertissement to take root in French theater. Convention notwithstanding, the French divertissement should be reevaluated once composers realized that the effect of Quinaldian practice did little more than «suspendre l'action, d'en retarder la marche & d'en détruire l'intérêt.»[63]

même doivent être immobiles, & le Danseur dans ces sortes de Scènes ne sera jamais si excellent que lorsqu'il ne dansera pas.» Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse, op. cit.*, p. 277.

60 Arnaud, «La soirée perdue à l'Opéra», *op. cit.*, p. 46-47; emphasis in the original.

61 Du Roullet, *Lettre sur les drames-opéra,* Paris, Esprit, 1776, in *Querelle des gluckistes et des piccinnistes, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 107-161; here p. 144.

62 *Id.*, p. 145.

63 *Id.*, p. 147.

For those familiar with Italian operatic reform, Du Roullet is using Calzabigi's Aristotelian principles for reforming opera seria in his criticism of the ballets of French tragédie en musique. Instead of making an absolute claim that all dances should be ruled out, he enunciated two principles about incorporating dances into French operas. First, the characters played by the dancers must be central to the dramatic action. Second, dancing should be a believable extension of plot: «quand le peuple intéressé à l'action théâtrale éprouve une joie vive, il doit la faire éclater par la danse, qui est l'expression naturelle de la joie du peuple.»[64] In the genre of tragedy, then, dance should be restricted to a minimum, for the expression of joy through dance would conflict with the subject matter at large: «mais hors ces situations ou celles semblables, la danse ne peut pas être introduite dans le cours d'une action tragique, il faut la réserver pour la fin du Drame, après que l'action est terminée par un dénouement heureux.»[65]

Du Roullet proposed that it was within the context of the limitations of French ballet that pantomime should be used more as an essential corrective than merely an alternative to French lyric theater. Apart from being a new genre of dance «entirely subordinated to the principal action»,[66] pantomime offered a new initiative for spectatorship at the Opéra:

> Cependant sans la pantomime, l'action qui en est susceptible demeure froide & sans mouvement. Sans la Pantomime il n'est presque pas possible d'introduire les chœurs & de les faire agir comme personnages nécessaires. Sans elle les fêtes sont sans intention marquée, & la danse ne présente qu'un mécanisme fastidieux.[67]

Following Du Roullet's argument, pantomime is the *sui generis* antidote capable of remedying the shortcomings of Quinaldian lyric drama. With naturalistic gestures – features absent in the static acting typically found in works performed at the Opéra – pantomime provided a much needed means not only to enhance dramatic realism, but also to help lift Quinaldian drama up and away from its residual ties to the performance convention that had been upheld by the antiquated French court. By redirecting the audiences' focus from such individual elements as ballet, divertissement, and chorus to the large-scale unfolding of dramatic action, pantomime – the hitherto «almost completely neglected» theatrical resource – could save audiences from indulging in frivolous visual pleasures.[68]

64 *Id.*, p. 147-148.
65 *Id.*, p. 148.
66 *Id.*, p. 149.
67 *Id.*, p. 150.
68 *Ibid.*

To change the viewing habits of audiences was a tall order, one that would understandably incite resistance, especially from the Académie royale de musique. After the publication of Du Roullet's *Lettre sur les drames,* Nicolas le Bourguignon de La Salle, secretary of the Opéra, published a blow-by-blow response refuting Du Roullet's argument. For La Salle, Du Roullet's claims for pantomime reveal the limits of his knowledge of pantomime performed at the Opéra. By reducing all operas at the Opéra to a Quinaldian stereotype, Du Roullet ignored recent development in pantomime that had already been implemented at the Opéra. Not only had pantomime been done there, La Salle rightly countered, but it was primarily through pantomimes performed by such stellar dancers as Jean Bercher Dauberval, Marie Alard, Maximilien Gardel, and Marie-Madeleine Guimard that dances were knitted more closely into the fabric of dramatic actions.[69] Any discussion of pantomime disregarding those dancers, as Du Roullet had attempted to do, would distort the very institutional function of dance at the Opéra, and «denature» the «pleasures»: «On parle de Pantomime sans s'y connaître. Dauberval & Mlle. Alard, Gardel & Mlle Guimard [...] ne font que compliquer le sujet, & dénaturer nos plaisirs.»[70]

The whole debate concerning Gluck's pantomime now hinged on two tropes – «nature» and «pleasure». While for Du Roullet and Gluck, a «natural» drama had to be stripped of any unnecessary subplot, personages, and dance, their opponent La Salle argued that drama could not function without ballets as suitable visual pleasures. Gluck's operas were so deprived of sensual pleasures that audiences found the experience unpleasant and therefore the opera «unnatural».

Perhaps no one articulated the theoretical essence of the debate more clearly than the French man of letters Jean-François Marmontel, elected member of the Académie française. In his article on «pantomime» published in the *Supplément à l'Encyclopédie* (1776), Marmontel refuted Du Roullet's arguments on two levels. First, Marmontel used the Rousseauian theory of the origins of language to justify the «naturalness» of French generic dances. If dancing were an «innate» activity natural to human beings, then dance – referential or not – would have nature as its model. Second, when used in the context of opera, French dance was much more connected with the plot than critics of it had thought:

> On ne danse pas pour exprimer son sentiment ou sa pensée, on danse pour danser, pour obéir à l'activité naturelle où nous met la jeunesse, la santé, le repos, la joie, & que le son d'un instrument invite à se développer [...]. Voilà l'intention du ballet figuré: son modèle est dans la nature. [...] Le critique de l'opéra François trouve presque tous nos ballets inutiles &

69 Nicolas le Bourguignon de La Salle, *Réponse à l'auteur de la lettre sur les drames-opéra,* London, Emslay, 1776, in *Querelle des gluckistes et des piccinnistes, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 182.

70 *Id.*, p. 181-182.

déplacés [...]. Mais les plaisirs dans le palais d'*Armide,* & dans la prison de *Dardanus;* mais le ballet des armes d'Enée dans l'opéra de *Lavinie,* &, dans le même, le ballet des Bacchantes; & celui de la Rose dans *Les Indes galantes,* & celui des Lutteurs aux funérailles de *Castor;* & une infinité d'autres qui sont également & dans le système, & dans la situation, & dans le caractère du poème; faut-il les bannir du théâtre? Un ballet peut être moins heureusement lié à l'action que la pastorale de *Roland,* chef-d'oeuvre unique dans ce genre, sans pour cela être déplacé. On a sans doute abusé de la danse; mais les excès ne prouvent rien, sinon qu'il faut les éviter.[71]

In the much-quoted *Essai sur les révolutions de la musique en France* (1777), Marmontel emphasized that Gluck missed an important point of French lyric drama by restraining singing and other pleasures in it: «L'objet des Arts qui émeuvent l'âme, n'est pas seulement l'émotion, mais le plaisir qui l'accompagne.»[72] For a French opera, strong emotion alone that Gluck's operas feature is not enough; it should also be enjoyable. Hence, Aristotelian aesthetics alone as represented by pantomime cannot replace the aesthetics of pleasure in French lyrical works.

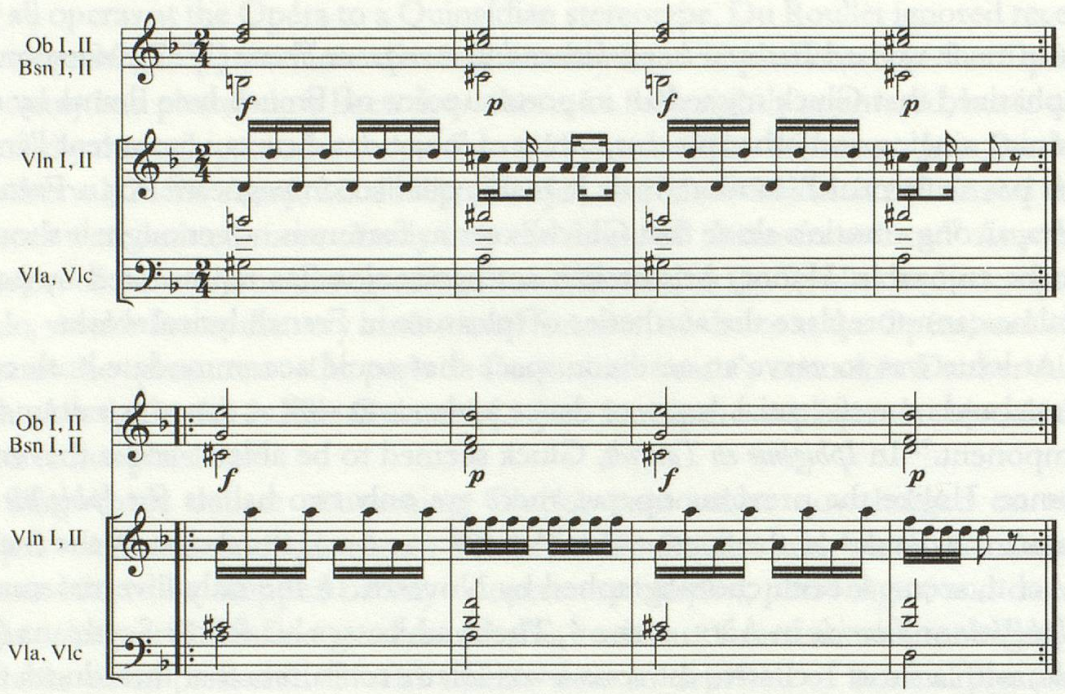
At issue was to carve an aesthetic space that could accommodate both referential and nonreferential dance, or dance as dance as well as dance as a dramatic component.[73] In *Iphigénie en Tauride,* Gluck seemed to be able to strike this very balance. Unlike the previous operas, there are only two ballets for *Iphigénie en Tauride:* the dances of the Scythians in Act I, scene 4 and the dance of the furies in Act II, scene 4, both choreographed by Noverre. In the only divertissement in *Iphigénie en Tauride,* in Act I, scene 4, Thoas addresses his fellow Scythians (all male) with a short recitative «et vous à vos Dieux tutélaires» that introduces the divertissement, a device, first conceived in Act I, scene 1 of *Orphée,* supplying referential meaning to the otherwise nonreferential dance. In order to ensure that the referential content be understood, Gluck stated explicitly in the livret that «ici le Peuple exprime sa joie barbare dans un divertissement très court.» The words

71 Jean-François Marmontel, headword PANTOMIME, in *Supplément à l'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers,* ed. Denis Diderot et al., 4 vol., Amsterdam, Marc-Michel Rey, Paris, 1776, vol. 4, p. 232-233.

72 Marmontel, «Essai sur les révolutions de la musique en France», *Journal de Paris,* 3 June 1777, in *Querelle des gluckistes et des piccinnistes, op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 153-190; here p. 166.

73 It should be noted that pantomime and figured ballets were abstract categories instead of accurate descriptions of specific dances in specific operas. Whether or not individual figured ballet conveys referential content in specific opera remains a separate issue. Although figured ballets convey referential content in opera, they were generally conceived to be nonreferential. Diderot laments in the *Entretiens sur Le Fils naturel* (1757) that figured ballet is non-imitative: «La danse attend encore un homme de génie; elle est mauvaise partout, parce qu'on soupçonne à peine que c'est un genre d'imitation [...]. Je voudrais bien qu'on me dise ce que signifient toutes ces danses, telles que le menuet, le passe-pied, le rigaudon, l'allemande, la sarabande, où l'on suit un chemin tracé. Cet homme se déploie avec une grâce infinie; il ne fait

«barbarous joy» carried a double meaning with respect to «nature». Dancing with joy is a «natural» activity, as Marmontel had claimed; primates and salvages used gestures and inarticulate cries to communicate in the unrefined «natural» language.[74]



Example 4. Gluck, *Iphigénie en Tauride,* Act I, scene 4, mm. 81-88.

aucun mouvement où je n'aperçoive de la facilité, de la douceur et de la noblesse: mais qu'est-ce qu'il imite?» Denis Diderot, *Entretiens sur Le Fils naturel,* in *Œuvres,* ed. Laurent Versini, 5 vol., Paris, Laffont, 1996, vol. 4, p. 1185. In *La nouvelle Héloïse* (1760), Rousseau states this point explicitly: «La danse est donc le quatrième des beaux arts employés dans la constitution de la scène lyrique: mais les trois autres concourent à l'imitation; et celui-là, qu'imite-t-il? Rien. Il est donc hors d'oeuvre quand il n'est employé que comme danse; car que sont des menuets, des rigaudons, des chaconnes, dans une tragédie?» Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse,* ed. Henri Coulet, in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes,* 5 vol., ed. Bernard Gagnebin, Marcel Raymond et al., Paris, Gallimard, collection Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1955-1995, vol. 2 (1964), p. 287. Similarly, Noverre pit ballet against pantomime in his *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* (1760). In 1776, Marmontel continued to employ these binaries in his definition of pantomime. See Marmontel, headword PANTOMIME, in *Supplément à l'Encyclopédie, op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 233. I thank Professor Bruce Alan Brown for pointing out this issue.

74 Here Marmontel draws on one of the most enduring topoi of the Enlightenment, the idea of a «natural language» made of inarticulate cries and gestures, a point notably developed by Étienne Bonnot de Condillac in his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (1746).

Gluck represented this doubly natural ecstasy by means of four sections of ballet in related keys, a technique lending tonal coherence to the divertissement that he had used in the 1775 version of *Iphigénie en Aulide.*[75] The doubly natural effect is enhanced by an unconventional eight-measure ballet (Example 4) that resembles the music depicting the wrath of nature at the beginning of the opera. Of all the dances in *Iphigénie en Tauride,* the doubly natural dance of the Scythians made an impression. In the parody of the opera entitled *Les Rêveries renouvelées des Grecs,* performed on June 26, 1779, Favart, together with Guérin de Frémicourt and the Abbé Claude-Henri de Fusée de Voisenon, summarized the issue of the divertissement surrounding Gluck's operas, turning the brevity of the divertissement and the dance of the barbarous joy into a joke:

> Peuple, amusez les Dieux par de joyeux hommages,
> Exécutez ici la danse des Sauvages;
> Pour éviter l'ennui de l'uniformité,
> Cette fois seulement appelons la gaieté,
> Et que le *Calinda,* joint aux *Branbransonettes;*
> Témoigne les transports de la joie où vous êtes.[76]

Within the context of the debate concerning dance in 1776-1777, Gluck's short divertissement in Act I of *Iphigénie en Tauride* marked a historical milestone in reinventing French operatic ballets by combining pantomime with generic ballet. From *Iphigénie en Aulide* to *Écho et Narcisse,* Gluck instilled referential content into the otherwise non-referential dances by specifying bodily movements. As ballets became increasingly referential, the margin separating acting and pantomime became progressively less distinct. In light of the ever-porous boundary between acting and dance, we need to take a wider view of pantomime from the perspective of acting, and examine how Gluck's music simulates naturalistic acting.

75 These four sections are of the same ballet number and in the same key.

76 According to Bruce Alan Brown, the exotic slave dances «Calinda» and «Branbransonnette» were used in the opéra comique *L'Amitié à l'épreuve* (1771) by Favart and Grétry. See Bruce Alan Brown, «*Les rêveries renouvelées des Grecs:* Facture, Function, and Performance Practice in a Vaudeville Parody of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779)», *Timbre und Vaudeville: Zur Geschichte und Problematik einer populären Gattung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Bericht über den Kongreß in Bad Homburg 1996,* ed. Herbert Schneider, Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1999, p. 306-343; here p. 325.

From Garrick's Dagger to Gluck's Dagger

In his *An Essay on Acting* (1744), the celebrated English actor David Garrick declared that the most remarkable scene in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* is that of the air-drawn dagger in Act II, scene 1. For Garrick, Macbeth experiences an intense psychological turmoil when the golden opportunity for killing King Duncun arrives. His imagination conjures up the air-drawn dagger that leads him eventually to the king's chamber. «Macbeth's mind is torn by these different and confused ideas, his senses fail, and present that *fatal agent* of his cruelty – the Dagger, to him.»[77] To illustrate the power of acting, Garrick teaches the reader how a good actor would perform this scene.

> Now, in this visionary horror, he should not rivet his eyes to an *imaginary* object, as if it really was there, but should show an unsettled motion in his eye, like one not quite awaked from some disordering dream; his hands and fingers should not be immovable, but restless, and endeavoring to disperse the cloud that over shadows his optic ray, and bedims his intellects; here would be confusion, disorder, and agony![78]

All of the physical expressions that represent the psychological turmoil experienced by Macbeth enhance Shakespeare's succinct lines. «Is this a dagger, which I see before me, The handle toward my hand?»[79]

> The next line, *Come let me clutch thee!* is not to be done with one motion only, but by some successive catches at it, first with one hand, and then with the other, preserving the same motion, at the same time, with his feet, like a man, who out of his depth, and half drowned in his struggles, catches at air for substance.[80]

The effect of his performance would be captivating, Garrick predicted: «this would make the spectator's blood run cold, and he would almost feel the agonies of the murderer himself.»[81] The essence of acting, Garrick suggests, is to act out all the probable psychological conflicts, including foreboding, hesitation, trepidation, anxiety, and agitation, that Macbeth should be experiencing. His acting added a visual dimension that coexisted alongside Shakespeare's verbal text.

77 David Garrick, *An Essay on Acting,* London, W. Bickerton, 1744, p. 17.
78 *Ibid.*
79 William Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* ed. Kenneth Muir, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1953, 2.1.33-34.
80 Garrick, *An Essay on Acting, op. cit.*, p. 17-18.
81 *Id.*, p. 18.

Garrick must have considered his interpretation of Macbeth one of his very best, as he frequently performed this scene as his signature piece outside the theater. On his first trip to Paris, he performed the scene for the intellectual circle during a dinner on July 12, 1751. One of his audiences, the French vaudeville writer and comedy dramatist Charles Collé, described his performance as a tragic pantomime.

> Il [Garrick] nous inspira la terreur; il n'est pas possible de mieux peindre une situation, de la rendre avec plus de chaleur, et de se posséder en même temps davantage. Son visage exprime toutes les passions successivement, sans faire aucune grimace, quoique cette scène soit pleine de mouvements terribles et tumultueux. Ce qu'il nous joua était une espèce de pantomime tragique, et par ce seul morceau je ne craindrais point d'assurer que ce comédien est excellent dans son art.[82]

More than a decade later, in his trip to Italy and France beginning in 1763, Garrick performed the air-dagger scene for the Spanish Prince Philip, Duke of Parma.[83] The Duke of Parma was impressed with «his ardent looks, the expressive tones, and impassioned action.»[84] Later, while in Paris, Garrick performed the same scene and impressed Grimm:

> Nous lui avons vu jouer la scène du poignard dans la tragédie de Macbeth, en chambre, dans son habit ordinaire, sans aucun secours de l'illusion théâtre; et à mesure qu'il suivait des yeux ce poignard suspendu et marchant dans l'air, il devenait si beau qu'il arrachait un cri général d'admiration à toute l'assemblée.[85]

For Grimm, Garrick's acting is essentially «deep», for it reveals the psychological complexity between Shakespeare's lines:

> Tous les changements qui s'opèrent dans ses traits proviennent de la manière dont il s'affecte intérieurement; il n'outre jamais la vérité, et il sait cet autre secret inconcevable de s'embellir sans autre secours que celui de la passion.[86]

82 Charles Collé, *Journal et mémoires de Charles Collé sur les hommes de lettres, les ouvrages dramatiques et les événements les plus mémorables du règne de Louis XV,* ed. Honoré Bonhomme, 3 vol., Paris, Didot, 1868, vol. 1, p. 332.

83 Garrick was accompanied by his wife, the Viennese dancer Eva Maria Veigel, whom he married in 1749. See Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, esp. Interspersed with Characters and Anecdotes of His Theatrical Contemporaries, the Whole Forming a History of the Stage, Which Includes a Period of Thirty-Six Years,* 2 vol., London, Davies, 1780, vol. 2, p. 66.

84 Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 80.

85 Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 319. Grimm noted that only the French actor of the Comédie-Française, Aufresne, was at all comparable to Garrick. Had nature assisted the talents of Aufresne, he would have been «a baron, a Garrick, a Roscius, a god.» *(Ibid.)*

86 *Ibid.*

This kind of «deep» acting also has «broad» significance, for it attests to gesture as the «universal» expression of passion that can transcend the language barrier. Garrick himself experienced the full power of gesture as a universal language during his stay in France, where he realized that not many French understood English.[87] When he saw a tragic accident in a French province, Garrick perceived gesture as a «universal language»:

> A father, he [Garrick] said, was fondling his child at an open window, from whence they looked into the street; by one unlucky effort, the child sprang from his father's arms, fell upon the ground, and died upon the spot: what followed [...] was a language which everybody understood, for it was the language of nature.[88]

Even though the peasant did not speak a word of English, his bodily movements communicated his grief in a way that struck Garrick as immediately intelligible: while recounting this tragedy, Garrick imitated the father's gestures and expressed «the silent, but expressive language of unutterable sorrow.»[89] His acting was so affecting that he moved many of his French viewers to tears, including the forty-five-year-old actress La Clairon.

Garrick's acting approximated the kind of pantomime popular in the Roman times. Grimm described him as «ce grand et illustre acteur, ce Roscius anglais, ou plutôt des modernes»[90] – a reference to Quintus Roscius, the greatest of all comic actors, who is believed to have instructed Cicero in elocution. In relating Garrick to the Roman actor Roscius, whom the Abbé Dubos repeatedly cited as the ancient model of eighteenth-century pantomime, Grimm's remarks carry a twofold importance. First, they confirm that pantomime meant in the eighteenth century a larger category under which acting and dance are subsumed. Second, they confirm that Grimm was specifically referring to Garrick's effective use of gestures.

What, then, does Garrick's natural style of acting have to do with music? Garrick's style of acting might have had a musical origin from the beginning. As Ellen T. Harris has recently suggested, Garrick's famous theatrical declamation may have been inspired by George Frideric Handel, whose works performed in England show similar rhetorical silences and expressive pauses.[91] In addition

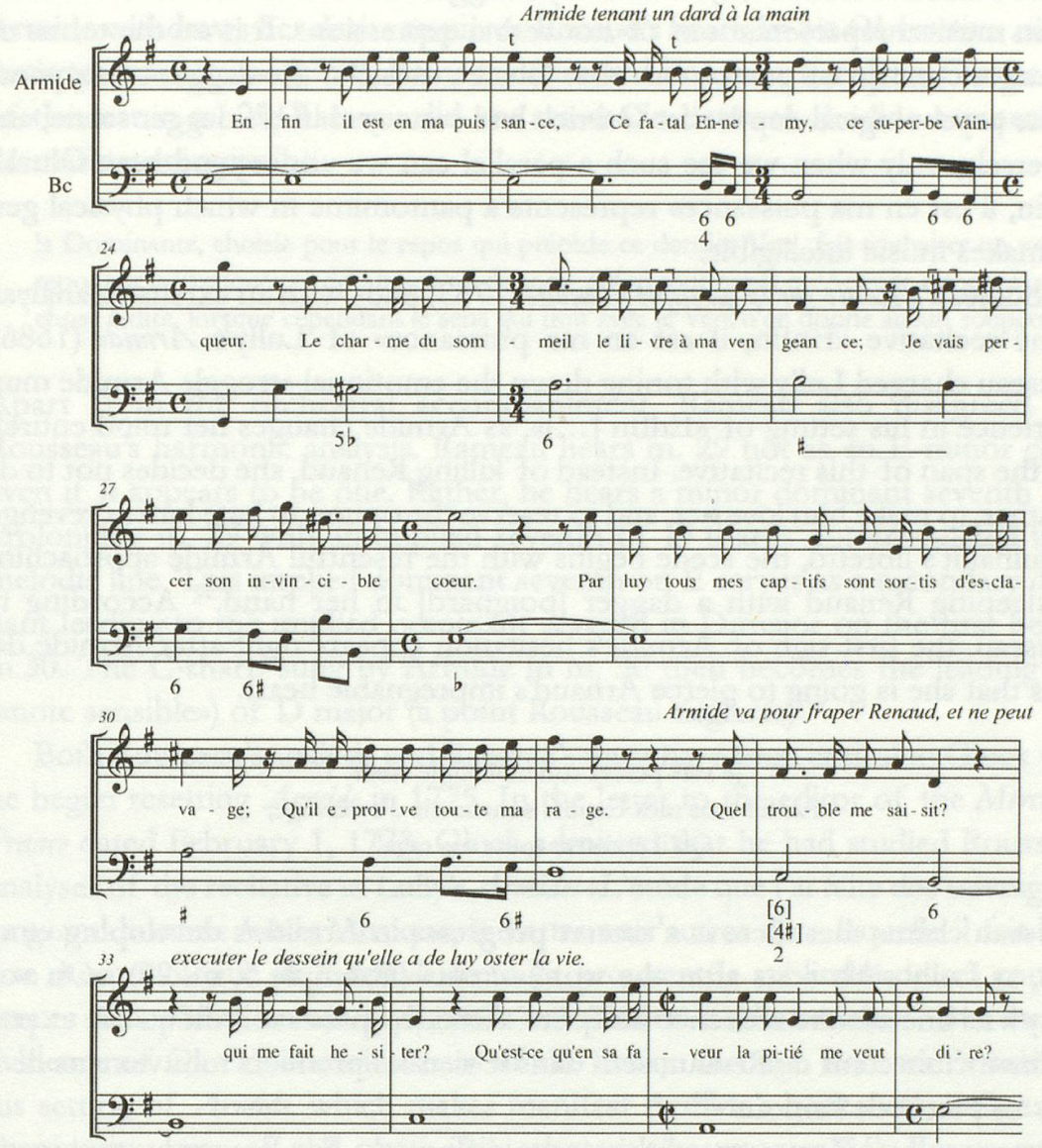
87 According to Davies, «as the greater part of the former [French] were but little acquainted with the English language, Mr. Garrick was induced to relate a certain fact, and afterwards to exhibit it by action.» Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 81.

88 *Id.*, p. 82.

89 *Id.*, p. 83.

90 Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 318.

91 Ellen T. Harris, «Silence as Sounds: Handel's Sublime Pauses», *Journal of Musicology*, 22/4 (2005), p. 521-558, see esp. p. 552-556.



Example 5. Lully, *Armide,* Act II, scene 5, «Enfin, il est en ma puissance», mm. 21-36.

to being influenced by Handel, Garrick's acting revolutionized the way music was perceived as nonverbal communication in the late eighteenth century. The best way to see the effects of pantomime in music is through another dagger scene, the recitative «Enfin, il est en ma puissance» from Act II, scene 5 of Gluck's setting of Quinault's *Armide* (1777) in relation to analyses of it in Rousseau's *Lettre sur la musique françoise* (1753) and Rameau's *Observations sur notre instinct pour la musique* (1754) – his answer to Rousseau's commentary. Assuming that Garrick's dagger scene made a phenomenal impact on eighteenth-century

acting, as Collé, Grimm, the Duke of Parma, and Garrick himself attested, I argue that Rousseau's analysis of Lully's dagger scene articulated a new awareness in musical representations of nonverbal expressions. It is on the terms of this larger concept of pantomime that Gluck's music in the dagger scene parallels the psychological depth that Garrick had conveyed in his dagger scene; and conversely, only when we see such a parallel can we understand how Gluck's «Enfin, il est en ma puissance» represents a pantomime in which physical gesture makes music intelligible.

Rousseau's *Lettre sur la musique françoise* (1753) ends with an extensive analysis of the recitative «Enfin, il est en ma puissance» of Lully's *Armide* (1686). Rousseau charged Lully with toning down the emotional struggle Armide must experience in his setting of «Enfin [...]», as Armide changes her mind entirely over the span of this recitative. Instead of killing Renaud, she decides not to do so, rather, to make him love her, and to reserve the option to hate him as revenge. In Quinault's libretto, the scene begins with the resentful Armide approaching the sleeping Renaud with a dagger [poignard] in her hand.[92] According to Rousseau, the first sign of Armide's hesitation appears right after Armide declares that she is going to pierce Arnaud's impregnable heart.

> Je vais percer son invincible cœur.
> Par lui tous mes Captifs sont sortis d'esclavage;
> Qu'il éprouve toute ma rage!

Rousseau claims that there is a «secret progress» in Armide's developing emotions, as Lully adds rests after the word «cœur» (Example 5, m. 28). «On voit qu'il y a ici une adroite réticence du Poëte. Armide, après avoir dit qu'elle va percer l'invincible cœur de Renaut, sent dans le sien les premiers mouvemens de la pitié, ou plutôt de l'amour.»[93]

Rousseau and Rameau read this scene differently. For Rousseau, nothing in Lully's setting shows that he was aware of this important psychological change that Armide experiences: «[Lully] a fait un silence qu'il n'a rempli de rien, dans un moment où Armide avait tant de choses à sentir, et, par conséquent, l'orchestre à exprimer.»[94] Rousseau further objected to Lully's setting of the line «Par lui tous mes captifs sont sortis d'esclavage», claiming that Lully set almost the entire line

92 There is no evidence that indicates that Gluck worked with a contemporary librettist when he reset Quinault's libretto. In Quinault's libretto, Armide is holding a dart («un dard»), but in the libretto of Gluck's *Armide,* she is holding a dagger («un poignard») although Gluck changed it back to a dart in the first edition.

93 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique françoise,* ed. Olivier Pot, in Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes, op. cit.*, vol. 5 (1995), p. 324.

94 *Ibid.*

to the chord tones of E-minor in m. 29, the same chord that supports the word «cœur» in m. 28, and that the music fails to articulate the exact moment when Armide withdraws her desire to pierce Renaud's heart. In his *Observations sur notre instinct pour la musique* (1754), Rameau countered Rousseau's analysis. On the issue of the rest in m. 28, Rameau did not see the in-between-the-line moment as a dramatic turning point:

> la Dominante, choisie pour le repos qui précède ce dernier Vers, fait souhaiter un nouveau repos sur la Tonique qui doit la suivre: de sorte qu'on sent par-là qu'Armide a encore quelque chose à dire, lorsque cependant le sens qui finit avec le Vers n'en donne aucun soupçon.[95]

Apart from the orchestral accompaniment, Rameau also disagreed with Rousseau's harmonic analysis. Rameau hears m. 29 not as an E-minor chord, even if it appears to be one. Rather, he hears a minor dominant seventh on E prolonging m. 29 with an implied seventh of D that is not articulated in the melodic line. This implied dominant seventh on E serves as a secondary dominant leading to the implied dominant seventh in D major on the first beat of m.30. The C-sharp sung by Armide in m. 30 then becomes the leading note («note sensible») of D major (a point Rousseau neglects).[96]

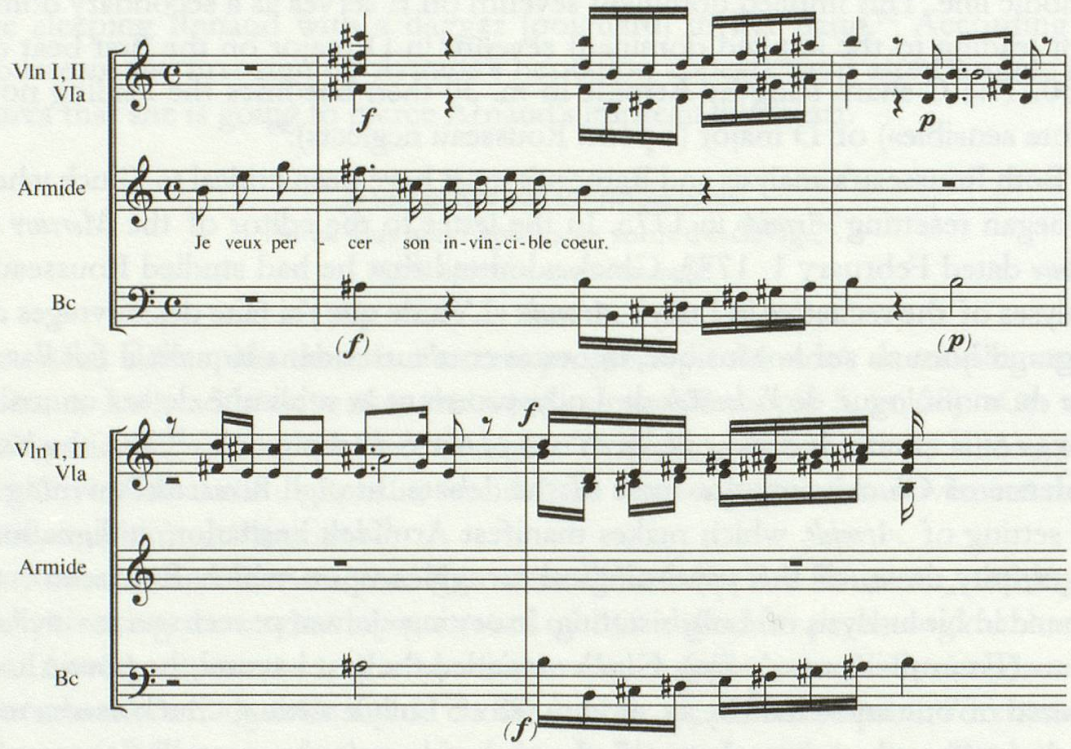
Both Rousseau's analysis and Rameau's must have been critical to Gluck when he began resetting *Armide* in 1775. In the letter to the editor of the *Mercure de France* dated February 1, 1773, Gluck admitted that he had studied Rousseau's analyses of the recitative in Lully's *Armide:* «L'étude que j'ai faite des ouvrages de ce grand homme sur la Musique, la Lettre entr'autres dans laquelle il fait l'analyse du monologue de l'*Armide* de Lully, prouvent la sublimité de ses connaissances & la sûreté de son goût, & m'ont pénétré d'admiration.»[97] But the best evidence of Gluck's consciousness of the debate through Rousseau's writing is his setting of *Armide,* which makes manifest Armide's hesitation, indignation, anger, pity, love, all the psychological struggles upon which Rousseau had grounded his analysis of Lully's setting. In setting «Je vais percer son invincible cœur» (Example 6, next page), Gluck extended the rest beyond the poetic line. Instead of one and a half beats, as in m. 28 of Lully's setting, Gluck used a rest of almost three measures. In m. 17, the orchestra starts an ascending sixteenth-note scalar thrust that signifies Armide's rage. But over mm. 18-19, the scalar material is echoed by a subdued, fragmented B-D-B melodic cell that leads to

95 Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Observations sur notre instinct pour la musique, et son principe; Où les moyens de reconnaître l'un par l'autre, conduisent à pouvoir se rendre raison avec certitude des différents effets de cet art,* Paris, Prault fils, 1754.

96 Rameau, *Observations sur notre instinct,* in *The Complete Theoretical Writings of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764),* ed. Erwin Jacobi, 6 vol., Rome, American Institute of Musicology, vol. 3, p. 85.

97 Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait in Letters and Documents, op. cit.*, p. 107.

its transposition, C sharp-E-C sharp, in the next measure. The stark melodic contrasts between m. 17 and mm. 18-19, underscored by dynamic contrasts, are restored in m. 20, when the orchestra plays the ascending scale in thirds in B-minor. Gluck's setting suggests that the dynamic, textural, melodic, and rhythmic contrasts between m. 17 and m. 20 make manifest all of these inner struggles, those Rousseau wanted to see in Lully's setting. One important textual change reflects Gluck's interpretation.[98] In contrast to Quinault's text, «je vais percer son invincible cœur» as reprinted in the libretto of Gluck's *Armide,* Gluck changed the word «vais» to «veux» in the first edition.[99] The word «vais» [I am going to] implies an action whereas the word «veux» [I want] suggests a desire.[100] With this critical change, Gluck reverts – brilliantly – the audience's attention from Armide's physical action to the psychological confusion she experiences.



Example 6. Gluck, *Armide,* Act II, scene 5, «Enfin, il est en ma puissance», mm. 17-20.

98 Gluck's revisions of Quinault's texts are minor. The most obvious addition is the four lines of text in Act 3. See Carl Van Vechten, «Notes on Gluck's *Armide*», *The Musical Quarterly,* 3/4 (1917), p. 545.

99 This textual change is highlighted by the editor in Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Armide,* ed. Klaus Hortschansky, in *Christoph Willibald Gluck: Sämtliche Werke, op. cit.*, vol. 8a, p. 64.

100 I thank Jacqueline Waeber for clarifying different translations of the word «veux».

The textual change from «vais» to «veux» carries significant implications for musical interpretation. The burst of rage in m. 17 is not an imitation of the physical action of stabbing Renaud, as suggested by Quinault, but merely an expression of the «urge» to kill him. The melodic cell B-D-B in m. 18 represents a «second thought,» a momentary reflection that crosses Armide's mind in m. 19. After that slight hesitation, she wants to kill Renaud again, as indicated by the return of the scalar rage in m. 20.

Gluck must have disagreed in principle with Rameau's interpretation of the rests that follow Armide's «Je vais percer son invincible cœur.» Instead of merely implying a rhetorical pause, as Rameau interpreted it, Gluck must have agreed with Rousseau, arguing by means of his musical setting that the rests express a profound psychological turmoil that is inexpressible by means of verbal language and expressible by means of physical gestures. In the line «Quel trouble me saisit? Qui me fait hésiter?» (Example 5), Rousseau criticized Lully's use of the D-major chord in m. 31 as a dominant of G major: «Eh dieux! Il est bien question de tonique et de dominante dans un instant où toute liaison harmonique doit être interrompue, où toute doit peintre le désordre et l'agitation!»[101]

Similar to Grimm and the French men of letters, who were captivated by Garrick's performance of the dagger scene in Macbeth, Gluck found his musical accompaniment to be an effective means of representing Armide's psychological turmoil. But if Garrick's fine acting – a revelation of unspoken psycho-physiological reactions – was pantomime to many audiences, then Gluck's musical accompaniment was also pantomimic, for both share a common interpretive and perceptive basis.

The «pantomimic» treatment in *Armide* resonates with Gluck's strategies in other operas. At the end of Act I, scene 4 of *Cythère assiégée,* for example, Gluck wrote the following description of gesture in the livret: «*(Au commencement de ce choeur, Brontès paraît: il reste immobile d'étonnement. Doris, à sa vue, se retire fièrement avec la massue d'Olgar, qu'elle a désarmé: elle reparaît ensuite sur les remparts, au milieu des nymphes, avec ce trophée.)*»

Contrary to the livret, where this gesture appears at the beginning of the chorus, the first edition of the work asks Brontès to be stupefied at the end of the chorus. The change may be minor, but Gluck must have been attempting to find the most precise visual means to capture the physical effects of astonishment.[102]

101 Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique françoise, op. cit.*, p. 325.

102 Marian Smith has noted that librettists and *metteurs en scène* of early-nineteenth-century grand opera and ballet-pantomime made plentiful use of the «*éclat*» (shock) and tableaux of «*stupéfaction.*» See Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle,* Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 53-55. On similar «coups de théâtre» and «tableaux», see Emilio Sala's text in the present volume, p. 215 *sq.*

Should Brontès stay immobile during the chorus? Or should he appear after the chorus and show his surprise for a moment before he starts to sing? Either way, his silence expresses a profound speechless state.[103] Just in case the audiences were to miss the significance of this dramatic nuance, Gluck – as he did in his treatment of *Orphée*'s sighs in Act I, scene 1 of *Orphée et Euridice* – informs them of it by describing it with the musical setting of the text. Immediately following the «surprise» moment, Brontès sings «mon étonnement est extreme», explaining why he is temporarily transfixed. Once again, Gluck fused together the verbal text, gesture, and music in a dramatic scene.

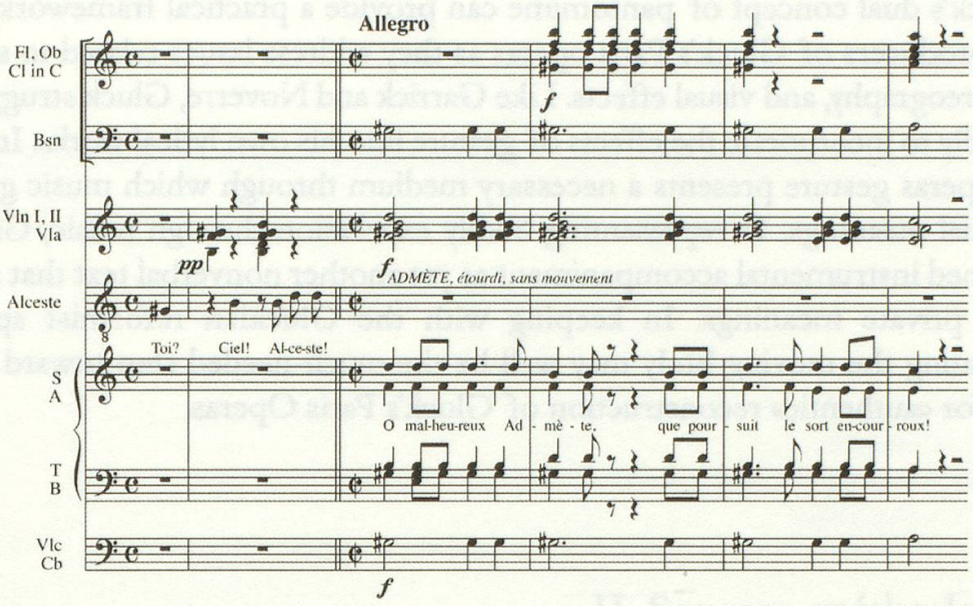
As in *Cythère assiégée,* Gluck used this device of astonishment to articulate the most dramatic moment in *Alceste.* In Act II, scene 3, the recitative «Tu m'aimes, je t'adore», Admète learns from Alceste that she is to sacrifice her life in return for his well-being. Gluck expanded the whole scene in the French version, as compared with the Italian original, in a way that stresses Alceste's psychological struggle (Table 6).

Italian version	French version
Recitative (Admeto, Alceste, Ismene, Evandro): «Consorte!»	Récitatif (Alceste, Admète): «Ciel! tu pleures?»
	Air (Alceste): «Je n'ai jamais»
	Récit (Admète, Alceste): «Tu m'aimes»
	Choeur: «O malheureux Admète!»
	Récit (Admète, Alceste): «O coup affreux!»
Aria (Admeto): «No, crudel»	Air (Admète): «Barbare!»

Table 6. Comparison of Gluck's *Alceste* (1767) and *Alceste* (1776), Act II, scene 3.

At the moment when Admète discovers that Alceste is to die on his behalf, he cries out «Toi!... ciel!... Alceste!» While no accompanying gesture is indicated in the livret, Gluck described one verbally in the first edition: «*ADMETE: étourdi, sans mouvement*», indicating that Admète is to remain stunned by the shocking news during the twelve-measure choral passage «O malheureux Admète» (Example 7).

103 Silence as a real expression of sentiment is a common theme in writings of the Enlightenment. Noverre, for example, mentions this modality in the second letter of his *Lettres sur la danse.* «Je ne puis m'empêcher, Monsieur, de désapprouver les Maîtres de Ballets, qui ont l'entêtement ridicule de vouloir que les figurants & les figurants se modèlent exactement d'après eux, & compassent leurs mouvements, leurs gestes & leurs attitudes, d'après les leurs; cette singulière prétention ne peut-elle pas s'opposer au développement des grâces naturelles des exécutants, & étouffer en eux le sentiment d'expression qui leur est propre?» Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse, op. cit.*, p. 15.



Example 7. Gluck, *Alceste,* Act II, scene 3, «O malheureux Admète», mm. 524-528.

From the ways he set Armide's «Enfin, il est en ma puissance» to the way he highlighted the bodily reactions to astonishment in *Cythère assiégée* and *Alceste,* Gluck's French operas underscore music as a correlative of the eloquent body. In the cases where we are certain of Gluck's authorial control, we see that Gluck «embodied» his music by incorporating dual concept of pantomime: pantomime as dance and pantomime as acting.

✤

In the article «From Garrick to Gluck,» Daniel Heartz has explained Gluck's operatic reform within the historical context of four theatrical reforms: dance reform by Louis de Cahusac, Noverre, and Gasparo Angiolini; Carlo Goldoni's reform of comic operas; theater reform by Denis Diderot and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing; and Garrick's acting reform.[104] In light of Heartz's article, I hope to have demonstrated in this essay that Gluck's music and Garrick's acting both emphasized eloquent gestures of the moving body as irreplaceable components in performance. Gluck brought a high degree of precision linking music to gesture as he marked extensive verbal descriptions of gesture in his librettos, first editions, and other performance materials. From Orphée's sighs to Admète's shocks, from sacred dance to bursts of barbarous joy, from Orphée's flowers to Armide's dagger, Gluck incessantly weaved gestures into the operatic fabric. In some cases, the visual details also provide essential clues for us to decipher otherwise obscure musical and dramatic meanings.

104 Heartz, «From Garrick to Gluck», *op. cit.*

Gluck's dual concept of pantomime can provide a practical framework for future producers of Gluck's Paris operas as they address issues related to staging, choreography, and visual effects. Like Garrick and Noverre, Gluck struggled repeatedly to incorporate the effects of gesture into his own lyrical works. In his Paris Operas gesture presents a necessary medium through which music gains referential meanings. In representing bodily expression through music, Gluck established instrumental accompaniment as yet another nonverbal text that represents private meanings. In keeping with the Gluckian reformist spirit, resuscitating the moving body may well be the much-needed step toward any claims for «authentic» reconstruction of Gluck's Paris Operas.