

ARTICLES

STAGING AND ITS DRAMATIC EFFECT IN FRENCH BAROQUE OPERA: EVIDENCE FROM PROMPT NOTES¹

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ABSTRACT

The staging of tragédies en musique and related genres remains an elusive aspect of French baroque opera. Although scores and librettos supply some information (through scene rubrics and the sung text), several rare sets of prompt notes provide us with many more specific details. The prompt notes fall into two categories: those that illustrate a dramatic convention and those that illustrate individual artistic choices. Both make notable differences in dramatic effect. Choristers and dancers are almost exclusively blocked as a single, collective body while the entrance of soloists to instrumental music often determines the dramatic function of préludes and ritournelles, sometimes accompanying mute acting or conveying meaning when the stage is empty. The prompt notes show that the genre, generally thought of as tradition-bound, also elicited dramatic interpretations from those responsible for staging. An appendix provides a glossed list of the more than fifty prompt notes for a 1778 proposed production of Lully's Armide.

The staging of *tragédies en musique* and related genres remains an elusive aspect of French baroque opera. Although scores and librettos supply some information by way of scene rubrics and the sung text itself, many questions about the intersection of music and stage action remain. For example, what functions did instrumental music play relative to staging? At what point in the music and/or action did entrances occur and from where? And the question that is the focus of this discussion: what role did staging play in the dramatic effect of the work? As we shall see, several rare sets of eighteenth-century manuscript staging annotations or prompt notes reveal staging decisions that contribute to dramatic effect. The prompt notes under discussion here concern the movement of choristers and dancers onto and off the stage, the entrances and exits of soloists and blocking in relationship to instrumental music. These notes fall into two categories: those that illustrate a dramatic convention and those that illustrate individual artistic choices which achieve a particular dramatic effect, including those that alter and/or make more precise the printed staging information found in the scores and librettos. The notes in the latter category that indicate when soloists enter relative to instrumental music – most often labelled *prélude* or *ritournelle* – are of particular significance because they determine the dramatic function of that music. These may accompany mute acting or

¹ I would like to thank Lois Rosow and Rebecca Harris-Warrick, who discussed various aspects of this article with me. My particular thanks go to Victoria Hayne for her close reading of this manuscript and the insightful suggestions that followed.



convey meaning while the stage is empty. Indeed, evidence from prompt notes informs us that no prelude in French Baroque opera is neutral and that individual staging decisions shape a prelude's dramatic identity.

The earliest set of prompt notes survives in a score used by Mme de Pompadour's troupe for a 1748 Versailles production of *Tancredi*, André Campra's *tragédie en musique* of 1702. The latest records directions for a projected 1778 production of Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Armide* (1686) at the Opéra. Other sources include prompt notes in librettos for the third entrée, *La danse*, from Jean-Philippe Rameau's opera-ballet *Les fêtes d'Hébé, ou Les talents lyriques* (1739), Pierre de La Gardé's *Aeglé, a ballet héroïque* (1748), which was performed with Rameau at Versailles in 1764, and for a 1773 production of *Issé*, André Cardinal Destouches's *pastorale héroïque* of 1697 (see Table 1).² It should be noted that the occasional prompt note appears in other production scores for works written before 1770 and that sets of prompt notes for French operatic works written during the last three decades of the eighteenth century are relatively common.³ Each of these sources provides annotated directions for entrances and exits, set preparations and changes, costume changes and the use of machines.

Table 1 Prompt note sources for French baroque opera listed according to the order of the production for which they were written

Location and call number	Composer	Librettist	Title	Genre	Premiere	Production Date
F-V MSD 58 in 4°	Campra	Danchet	<i>Tancredi</i>	<i>tragédie en musique</i>	Opéra, 1702	Versailles, 1748
F-Po Liv. 18 [184	Rameau	Mondorge	'La Danse' from <i>Les fêtes d'Hébé</i>	<i>opéra-ballet</i>	Opéra, 1739	Versailles, 1764 with <i>Aeglé</i>
F-Po Liv. 18 [184	Lagarde	Laujon	<i>Aeglé</i>	<i>ballet héroïque</i>	Versailles, 1748	Versailles, 1764 with <i>La Danse</i>
F-Pn Résac Yf. 761	Destouches	La Motte	<i>Issé</i>	<i>pastorale héroïque</i>	Trianon, 1697	Versailles, 1773
F-Pn Rés. MS 1961 (1)	Lully	Quinault	<i>Armide</i>	<i>tragédie en musique</i>	Opéra, 1686	Opéra, 1778 (projected)

Although all but the *Armide* prompt notes record performances at Versailles, connections that existed between the court and the Paris Opéra suggest that the staging procedures indicated by the prompt notes can be applied to both venues. For example, the Académie Royale de Musique produced each of these works at the Paris Opéra and all were revived there one or more times. The institutions in charge of productions at court (the Musique du Roi) and at the Opéra (the Académie Royale de Musique) during this period were different, but François Francoeur, François Rebel and, later, Pierre-Montan Berton simultaneously held top administrative and artistic positions in both institutions. And members of the Opéra troupe, including its most famous principals, were among those employed for court productions. Although courtiers, including Pompadour herself, sang leading roles in her productions, the Opéra's principal machinist executed the machines and Rebel, at this time both *inspecteur-général* at the Opéra and a *co-surintendant* of the Musique

2 The system of library sigla used in Table 1 and throughout this essay follows that used in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001). Unfortunately, a libretto for Rameau's *Castor et Pollux* (F-Po A.I.D 3117), with a limited number of annotated stage directions that have been discussed by Mary Cyr, is missing from the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra collection. See Mary Cyr, 'The Dramatic Role of the Chorus in French Opera: Evidence for the Use of Gesture, 1670–1770', in *Opera and the Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas Bauman and Marita Petzoldt McClymonds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 113. I would like to thank Professor Cyr for sending me her list of these notes in advance of her article's publication.

3 For example, prompt notes appear in an undated libretto for Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Alceste* (F-Po Rés. 653). Also see the 'Archives de l'Opéra de Paris' collection in the Paris-based Archives nationales.



de la chambre du Roi, most likely conducted the orchestra.⁴ The various stages for these productions were not identical, but all were designed to accommodate the requirements of French baroque opera, including space for choristers, dancers and elaborate machinery.⁵

Unfortunately, one cannot be certain who was ultimately responsible for the directions that any of the prompt notes conveys. No evidence from the post-Lully period indicates that a specific person had the responsibilities that we attribute to a modern stage director. Indeed, a set of prompt notes may reflect a collaborative effort similar to those in two recent productions of Lully's operas.⁶ Thus I will avoid the use of the term 'director' in the present context. We do have anecdotal evidence, however, that Lully himself performed some of the duties associated with such a position. According to Le Cerf de la Viéville, Lully taught his singers how to enter, how to walk about the stage and how to utilize gesture and action. He would hold private rehearsals with his singers when they were studying new roles and would demonstrate to the dancers steps appropriate to a particular situation.⁷

I have discussed elsewhere various staging procedures revealed by the more than one hundred and twenty handwritten prompt notes in the *Tancredi* score.⁸ Of the remaining sources, the more than fifty handwritten prompt notes for a proposed 1778 production of Lully's *Armide* prove to be the most interesting. Not only do they shed light on the questions posed above, but they also provide specific details about the elaborate use of stage machinery in the opera, including directions for 'flying children' in the opera's most famous spectacle, the destruction of Armide's palace (see Figure 1). For this reason, I have included a glossed list of these notes as an Appendix.⁹ The staging annotations for *La Danse* and *Aegle* are much fewer in number; those for *Issé*, while considerable in number (thirty-three), do not provide the same level of detail as those for *Tancredi* and *Armide*.

4 The 1773 Versailles production of *Issé* illustrates some of these connections. The Opéra's most outstanding singers at the time performed the lead roles, including Sophie Arnould as Issé; and Berton, then Maître de la Musique du Roi and Directeur de l'Opéra, composed new music for the divertissements. Also see Lois Rosow's discussion of the simultaneous productions of *Armide* at Versailles and at the Opéra in 1745 and 1746, with almost identical casts, in 'Lully's *Armide* at the Paris Opéra. A Performance History: 1686–1766', two volumes (PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 1981), 137–138. Notably, a thorough study of the complex relationship, financial and otherwise, between the Musique du Roi and the Opéra has yet to be undertaken, as Rosow has pointed out to me in conversation.

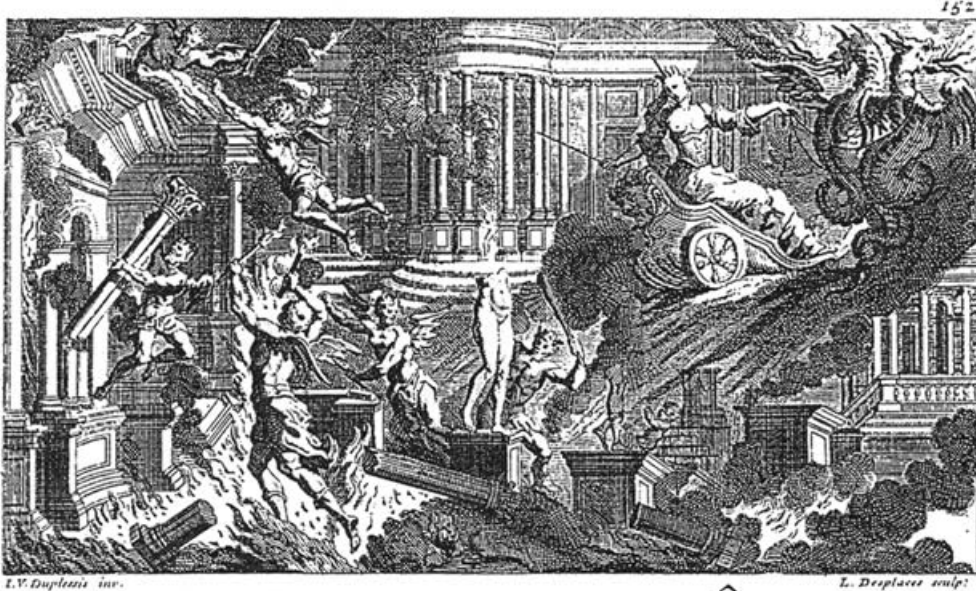
5 See Barbara Coeyman, 'Theaters for Opera and Ballet during the Reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV', *Early Music* 18/1 (1990), 22–37. For a description of the temporary stage designed for the Pompadour productions, see Antonia L. Banducci, 'Staging a *tragédie en musique*: A 1748 Promptbook of Campra's *Tancredi*', *Early Music* 21/2 (1993), 181–182.

6 For example, Opera Atelier's highly successful production of Lully's *Persée* in Toronto in 2000 under the artistic co-directorship of Michael Pynkoski, director, and Jeannette Zingg, choreographer; and the 2001 Boston Early Music Festival's superb production of Lully's *Thésée*, under the artistic direction of Stephen Stubbs and Paul O'Dette, with stage direction by Gilbert Blin and choreography by Lucy Graham.

7 Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Comparison de la musique italienne, et de la musique française* (Brussels: François Foppens, 1705; reprinted, Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), Part II, 225–228. For a general discussion of production elements in French baroque opera, see Roger Savage, 'Production: French and English Opera before Gluck', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1990), volume 3, 1110–1112. I would like to thank Professor Savage for reminding me of the problematic use of the term 'director' in this context.

8 Banducci, 'Staging a *tragédie en musique*', 180–190. A glossed list of the *Tancredi* prompt notes will appear as Appendix IX in André Campra, *Tancredi, tragédie en musique* (with introduction by Antonia L. Banducci), volume 18 of *French Opera in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, in press). For a glossed list of prompt notes for a 1720 production of George Frederic Handel's *Radamisto*, see Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'A Prompt Copy of Handel's "Radamisto"', *The Musical Times* 127 (June 1986), 316–321; for a facsimile of the libretto, see *The Librettos of Handel's Operas*, ed. Ellen T. Harris (New York and London: Garland, 1989), iii. These notes convey information primarily about the number and the semiotic function of supernumeraries.

9 Each gloss includes the note's location in the libretto ([Philippe] Quinault, *Armide, drame-héroïque* (Paris: P. de Lormel, 1777; F-Pn Rés Ms 1961 (1))), the original text, a translation and a discussion of the note as appropriate. All references to the *Armide* prompt notes in the present article are to the prompt note numbers assigned in the Appendix.



ACTE CINQUIÈME.

Le Théâtre Représente le Palais enchanté D'Armide.

Figure 1 An engraving for Act 5 by I.V. Duplessis and L. Desplaces in *Armide, Tragedie*, second edition (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1713; reprinted, Béziers: Société de Musicologie de Lanquedoc, [no date]), 152

Lois Rosow identifies the *Armide* notes' script as that of Louis-Joseph Francoeur, master of music of the Opéra orchestra.¹⁰ Furthermore, she deduces that Francoeur made these notes in preparation for a 1778 production of Lully's *Armide* that the general director of the Académie Royale de Musique had proposed as part of a historical retrospective of operas ranging from Lully's *Thésée* to Piccini's *Roland*. Curiously, Francoeur's notes appear in a libretto printed for the premiere of Christophe Willibald Gluck's *Armide* in 1777. Gluck used the same libretto by Philippe Quinault that Lully had so famously set almost one hundred years earlier in 1686. Presumably because this copy of Quinault's libretto was close at hand, Francoeur used it to record production details and prompt notes for the projected 1778 production of Lully's opera. Although, as Rosow points out, this production never took place, Francoeur's comment in the libretto suggests that he recorded the notes with the Opéra's 1761 revival of Lully's *Armide* in mind.¹¹

Although these sets of notes refer to productions many years after each work's premiere and these productions span a period of over three decades, the notes none the less reveal a remarkably consistent approach to staging the vocal and dance choruses, a staging with significant dramatic implications. These performers typically appear once per act, in scenes known as *divertissements*, and they assume a different

¹⁰ Louis-Joseph Francoeur, appointed assistant master of music in 1764, served as master of music from 1767 to 1779. The hands responsible for the prompt notes in the *Tancredi* score and the librettos for *La danse*, *Aglé* and *Issé* have yet to be identified. The notes for *La danse* and *Aglé*, which were performed in immediate succession at Versailles in 1764, are in the same hand.

¹¹ For Francoeur's commentary and a more extensive discussion of the libretto's provenance, see the introduction to the *Armide* prompt notes in the Appendix and Rosow, 'Lully's *Armide*', volume 2, 530–533.



role for each act.¹² Almost without exception, the prompt notes corroborate Rebecca Harris-Warrick's persuasive argument that in Lully's *divertissements* the vocal and dance choruses represent a single, collective character. According to Harris-Warrick, 'the dancers are, in a sense, "body doubles" for the members of the chorus or for the minor characters who sing in *divertissements*'.¹³ Indeed, every annotated direction to 'the choruses' (*les chœurs*) that indicates an entrance or an exit in the *Tancredi* score refers simultaneously to both a vocal chorus and a dance chorus. Thus the staging visually conveys the dramatic unity of the two groups. For example, in Act 2, the prompt note 'The choruses enter' brings on stage singers and dancers in the guise of captive women warriors. Elsewhere, when dryads magically present themselves to the crusader Tancredi trapped in the Enchanted Forest, the female dancers and the female singers do so as a single unit. The prompt note reads: 'La Danse and the demoiselles appear at the back of the stage'. (Here and elsewhere 'les demoiselles' refers to the women singers.) Following a chorus for the women only, a prompt note written above a sarabande brings the men on stage.¹⁴ Immediately after the men dance the sarabande (whether alone or with the women cannot be determined), a *haute-contre* 'Plaisir', who presumably has entered with the male dancers, sings a solo air, which musically resembles the sarabande. If, as Harris-Warrick's argument suggests, the Plaisir functions as the male dancers' vocal double, then the blocking in this set of notes conveys the dramatic unity of the vocal and dance choruses with particular force because gender identity is maintained as well.

In contrast to the collective references to 'the choruses' in the *Tancredi* score, the notes from the later sources almost always make reference to both groups: *Les chœurs* and *La Danse* or *Le Ballet*. The use of the plural form to indicate the choristers refers to the standard division of the vocal chorus into two groups, each with soprano, *haute-contre*, tenor and bass voices. Indeed, Parisian opera librettos from about 1715 on list choristers' names in columns, according to the side of the stage with which they were associated, 'King's side' (stage left) or 'Queen's side' (stage right).

Despite the separate designation of the choristers and dancers in *Armide*, more than a third of the prompt notes for their entrances and exits combine two visually dramatic elements: the dancers and choristers enter or exit simultaneously, as discussed above, and the dancers enter or exit while dancing. For example, according to the libretto's printed rubrics for *Armide*'s Act 1 *divertissement*: 'Through dance and song, the people of Damascus express their joy at the power that Armide's beauty wields over the knights in Godfrey's camp.' A prompt note in the margin reads: 'On the first air, the ballet enters dancing and the choruses.' A prompt note at the end of the Act 5 *divertissement* gives similar instructions for an exit: 'On a symphony, the ballet and the choruses exit.'¹⁵

12 The numbers of choristers and dancers involved in Opéra productions increased over time. For example, the libretto for *Armide*'s revival in 1703 lists twelve women and nineteen men as choristers and seven to ten dancers per act; the libretto for the opera's 1761 revival lists fifteen women and twenty men as choristers and eleven to nineteen dancers per act. The libretto for the opera's premiere in 1686 does not provide this information. See Rosow, 'Lully's *Armide*', volume 1, 234–235; volume 2, 447–448.

13 See Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Recovering the Lullian *Divertissement*', in *Dance & Music in French Baroque Theatre: Sources & Interpretations*, ed. Sarah McCleave (London: King's College London, 1998), 65. Harris-Warrick further develops her arguments in ' "Toute danse doit exprimer, peindre . . .": Finding the Drama in the Operatic *Divertissement*', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 23 (1999), 187–210.

14 [André] Campra, *TANCREDE, Tragedie* (Paris: Christophe Bollard, 1702; F-V MSD 58 in 4°) (hereafter *Tancredi*), 159. 'La Danse et les D^les paroissent dans le fond du theatre' (above the top system, at 'Flûtes'); 'les hommes entrent' appears above the sarabande, page 166. Because specific directions for the vocal and dance choruses to enter at the back of the stage so seldom appear in the sources under discussion here (only this once in *Tancredi*, twice in *Issé* (pages 8 and 34), and only once in *Armide*, prompt note 14), we may assume that such entrances were an exception to normal procedure. For further discussion of this point, see Banducci, 'Staging a *tragédie en musique*', 186.

15 *Armide* prompt notes 3 and 44 respectively. To summarize the plot, which Quinault derived from Torquato Tasso's epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata* (1575): Armide, niece of the magician Hidraot, King of Damascus, has captured almost all of the crusaders in Godfrey's camp, with the exception of Renaud. She falls in love with Renaud, who has



In contrast to these instructions, several prompt notes from *Armide* direct separate entrances and exits for the choristers and the dancers, and, although all of the entrances are danced, not all of the exits are. The dramatic circumstances under which the entrances and exits occur often suggest reasons for the differences. For example, although the choristers and the dancers enter together as the people of Damascus in Act 1 Scene 3, as noted above, the two groups exit at different times. The libretto's stage directions describe the crucial moment that stops the Damascene celebration, the unwelcome news that Renaud has freed Godfrey's knights: 'Dancing takes place. Armide's triumph is interrupted by the arrival of Aronte, who had been charged with conveying the captive knights and who returns wounded, holding in his hand a stump of sword.' Opposite these instructions, a prompt note specifies an undanced exit for the dancers: 'triumphal air, at the end of this air Aronte, with a broken sword in one hand and a handkerchief in the other, enters supported by two male choristers. The dancers exit.'¹⁶ The undanced exit conveys physically the dramatic impact of the wounded Aronte's arrival and his disclosure of Renaud's devastating achievement. That the dancers walk rather than dance off stage provides a visual representation of how thoroughly this news has disrupted the celebration of Armide's power.¹⁷

The choristers, however, remain on stage as the People of Damascus through Scene 4. Although one might assume from the scene's rubrics that the dancers remain as the choristers' body doubles, no dances occur in this scene. Nor does the chorus, 'Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas' (Let us pursue [Renaud] until death), which ends Scene 4 and Act 1, have purely instrumental phrases during which dancing would have normally occurred.¹⁸ With their body doubles absent, an unusual prompt note directs the choristers themselves to move from their conventional fixed positions at the side of the stage: 'the choruses form a circle around Armide and Hidraot'. Visually united in close spatial proximity, Armide, Hidraot and the choristers vow to pursue Renaud until death.¹⁹ Indeed, this moment in the 1761 production elicited particular praise from the

single-handedly freed the knights. She uses her beauty and magical powers (disguising demons as shepherds and shepherdesses, for example) to enchant him. His compatriots, Ubalde and the Danish Knight, armed with a magical sceptre, break the spell. When Armide cannot persuade Renaud to stay with her, she flies into a rage, orders demons to destroy her palace and departs in a flying chariot. All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

16 *Armide* prompt note 4.

17 For other examples of separate entrances and/or exits for the vocal and dance choruses in *Armide*, see prompt notes 14, 15, 25, 27, 28 and 30. With only one exception, the *Issé* prompt notes direct the choristers and dancers to enter and exit simultaneously. The storyline determines the exception. In Act 3 Scene 5, choristers enter as priests and priestesses; dancers enter later as fauns and dryads when called forth by the High Priest and his ministers (see pages 35–36).

18 For a discussion of the alternation between sung and danced sections of a Lullian chorus, see Harris-Warrick, 'Recovering the Lullian Divertissement', 59–60. Handwritten instructions for *la danse* illustrate this practice in a score used for a 1770 production of *Les Fêtes grecques et romaines, a ballet-héroïque* by François Collin de Blamont (Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, 1723; F-Po A.107a) and in an autograph score of *Ismène* (F-Po A. 170a) in François Francoeur's hand (written in collaboration with François Rebel), which premiered in Versailles in 1747.

19 *Armide* prompt note 5. Most eighteenth-century accounts of the Opéra chorus up to Gluck's time report that once the chorus took up its position – in two single lines, one on each side of the stage, from downstage to upstage and curving towards the back – its members remained stationary. This prompt note forms part of the small body of evidence for limited choral acting on the French baroque opera stage from around 1750 on. For evidence of the tradition and its exceptions, see Rosow, 'Performing a Choral Dialogue by Lully', *Early Music* 15/3 (1987), 329–330; Cyr, 'The Dramatic Role of the Chorus in French Opera: Evidence for the Use of Gesture, 1670–1770', in Bauman and McClymonds, *Opera and the Enlightenment*, 107–115; Thomas Betzwieser, 'Musical Setting and Scenic Movement: Chorus and *chœur dansé* in Eighteenth-Century Parisian Opéra', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 12/1 (2000), 3–8; and Banducci, 'Staging a *tragédie en musique*', 186. A production score for André Cardinal Destouches's *Callirhoé* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1712; F-Po A84a) contains manuscript directions for even more lively choral acting. In Act 4 Scene 3 the choristers 'follow', 'draw back', 'go to the Queen', 'advance', 'draw back', 'follow' and finally return to their places. Given that evidence for choral acting dates from c1750, these directions most likely applied to *Callirhoé*'s 1773 revival at the Opéra. I am grateful to Laura Naudeix for calling my attention to the notes, which, to my knowledge, have not been discussed heretofore, and for sending me photocopies of the relevant pages.



Mercur de France's reviewer, who found it a welcome change from the choristers' usual immobility: 'A lively, tightly woven and short song is accompanied with tumultuous actions by all of the choristers, who make us feel with what ardour and zeal they share the principal characters' fury. Nothing could be better imagined or more striking or could make a greater impression on the public . . .'²⁰

While prompt notes for the choruses disclose a remarkably consistent tradition with regard to staging, others reveal decisions that underscore the kinds of choices possible in any particular production, choices that likewise determine dramatic effect. For example, the first page from the *Tancredi* score illustrates the changes in blocking that ultimately gave rise to a symbolic staging of Tancredi's fate (see Figure 2).²¹ Above Herminie's and Argant's names are the abbreviations 'd.l.r' and 'd.r': 'de la Reine' and 'du Roi', Queen's side (stage right) and King's side (stage left) respectively. The same abbreviations appear in reverse order beneath the characters' names and have been crossed out. Thus at some point in the working-out of the blocking, the sides of the entrances were switched. Indeed, the association of women with the Queen's side and men with the King's side appears throughout the score with one significant and dramatic exception. When the Saracen warrior/princess Clorinde chooses duty and glory over her love for Tancredi, the rejected crusader submits to her will and gives up his desire for life. A prompt note directs Tancredi to exit Queen's side, the woman's side, a position the distraught and unmanned hero continues to occupy until the opera ends with his attempted suicide.²²

Prompt notes also reveal a flexible approach to the dramatic use of supernumeraries. For example, at the beginning of *Tancredi's* Act 1, the note 'The men from the side, King's side' appears in the right-hand margin directly after the printed rubrics 'HERMINIE, ARGANT, Suite d'Argant' (see Figure 2). This note, which has been crossed out, appears to indicate that Argant's soldiers follow him on to the stage. A second prompt note, 'Monsieurs Godonesche, Daigremont, Benois [and] Richier precede Argant', clarifies the entrance order in this production: Argant's soldiers – played by choristers Godonesche, Daigremont, Benoist and Richier in the mute roles of supernumeraries – precede rather than trail Argant on to the stage.²³ This reversed order of entrance serves to announce the Saracen chieftain to Herminie and to the audience – here a subtle, but none the less dramatic difference.

The next note for the soldiers, which occurs only six bars later, illustrates another significant staging decision that cannot be determined from the score or libretto. This instruction directs the men to exit immediately after Argant has finished addressing them.²⁴ Herminie, a Saracen princess, is about to reveal to Argant, a Saracen chieftain, her love for her enemy, Tancredi. The soldiers' exit – indicated only by the prompt note – ensures that Herminie's embarrassing revelations to Argant will take place in private. Although usually a scene change in French baroque opera signals a change in personnel on stage, this

20 *Mercur de France* (December, 1761; reprinted, Geneva: Slatkine, 1968), 171. 'Un chant vif, serré & précis est accompagné d'actions tumultueuses par tous les Acteurs du Chœur, qui font sentir avec quelle ardeur & quel zèle ils partagent la fureur des principaux Personnages. Rien de mieux imaginé, rien de plus frappant & qui fasse plus d'impression sur le Public.'

21 To summarize the plot, which librettist Antoine Danchet, like Quinault, based on Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*: The crusader Tancredi falls in love with his enemy, the Saracen warrior-princess Clorinde. Although she ultimately returns his love, duty and glory take precedence. She disguises herself in the armour of her compatriot, the Saracen chieftain Argant (also in love with Clorinde), to battle Tancredi. Only at the end of the battle does the knight come to learn that he has killed his beloved and not his arch-rival. Herminie, a Saracen princess in love with Tancredi, provides another point on the interlocking romantic triangles.

22 For further argument to support a semiotic interpretation of the blocking in this production and for a discussion of other blocking patterns that emerge from the designated locations of entrances and exits, see Banducci, 'Staging a tragédie en musique', 183–185.

23 *Tancredi*, (1/1), page 1, 'Les hommes du coté / d.R.'; 'M.^{rs} Godone[sche], Daigremont, / Benois / Richier / precedent Argant'.

24 *Tancredi*, (1/1), page 2, 'les hommes sortent' (above 'nôtre honte', the last words of Argant's recitative directed to his men ('à sa suite')).



TANCRÈDE,
TRAGÉDIE.

ACTE PREMIER.

Le Théâtre représente le Lieu où sont les Tombeaux des Rois Sarrasins.

SCÈNE PREMIÈRE.
HERMINIE, ARGANT, Suite d'Argant.

ARGANT à la suite.

Rassemblez nos Guerriers, c'est tarder trop longtemps, La vengeance ja-

BASSE-CONTINUE. A

Figure 2 André Campra, *Tancredi* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1702), F-V MSD 58 in 4°, page 1. Reproduced with permission

example suggests that one cannot always assume that the personnel indicated in the scene's rubrics remain on stage throughout a scene. Dramatic propriety may, as it does here, take precedence.²⁵

Staging decisions also shaped the dramatic effect of instrumental music, including entr'actes, *préludes* and *ritournelles*. In *Tancredi*, Act 2 Scene 2, for example, a prompt note delays an entrance indicated in the libretto, with the result that instrumental music becomes diegetic – music that the characters hear as the sound of approaching armies, rather than music that accompanies the armies' entrance. Whoever made this decision disregarded the published libretto in order to create the effect. In this scene, Tancredi declares his love to the defeated Saracen warrior-princess Clorinde. Clorinde hides her similar feelings towards him and asserts instead that his victory should lead her to despise him. The orchestra plays sixteen bars of instrumental music, which is identical to the Entrée of Moors and Saracens in the next scene and characterized by a steadfast dotted rhythm throughout. Apparently responding to the sound of the approaching armies, Clorinde entreats Tancredi not to declare his love for her to her countrymen, whom Tancredi has decided to free out of love for her. At this point in the score, a prompt note next to the rubrics for Scene 3, 'Tancredi, Clorinde, a troop of soldiers from Tancredi's army, a troop of Moorish and Saracens soldiers whom Tancredi has just freed', directs the choruses to enter (see Figure 3b).²⁶ The Entrée of Moors

²⁵ For other examples of early exits for propriety's sake, see *Tancredi*, (5/2, page 261) and *Issé* (2/1, page 14). Also see *Armide* prompt notes 46 and 48 for an example of an exit and an entrance other than those indicated by the scene rubrics.

²⁶ *Tancredi* (2/2), page 89, 'les chœurs entrent'; *TANCREDE, CLORINDE, Troupe de Guerriers de l'Armée de Tancrede. Troupe de Guerrieres, de Mores & de Sarrasins à qui Tancrede vient de donner la liberté.*



and Saracens accompanies their entrance. Significantly, the same prompt note, ‘the choruses enter’, also appears above the sixteen bars of instrumental music, but it has been crossed out (see Figure 3a).²⁷ This discarded instruction brings the armies on stage prior to Clorinde’s entreaty and at the point specified in the libretto: ‘The Saracens and Egyptians that Tancrede has captured in battle are led [on to the stage].’²⁸ The decision to discard the initial blocking as indicated in the libretto, and thereby to delay the armies’ entrance, radically changes the dramatic identity of this music. If the soldiers and captives do not enter at the point designated by the libretto to the music that precedes Clorinde’s entreaty, then this music serves as a warning to Clorinde and Tancrede that the troops are near. The music functions diegetically as Clorinde responds to what she hears. Certainly, Clorinde’s plea to Tancrede makes more dramatic sense if she makes it in private, when she hears the troops approaching and just prior to their entrance.

Two prompt notes from *Armide* illustrate how the choice of where the soloists’ entrances occur relative to an instrumental *prélude* or *ritournelle* can determine the dramatic role of that music. For example, in Act 2 Scene 2 Armide and Hidraot plot to entrap and then destroy Renaud. The prompt note reads: ‘At the end of the prelude, Armide and Hidraot enter.’²⁹ Because the prompt note places their entrance at the end of the fifteen-bar prelude – which also serves as a means for Renaud and his companion Artémidore to exit – the instrumental music functions as an entirely musical representation of Armide’s seductive power. The pulling sensation supplied by long dotted rhythms followed by rushing semiquavers supplies an answer to Renaud’s parting question: ‘When we are able to scorn love’s charms, what enchantments do we have to fear?’. The enchantments to fear are Armide’s, made convincingly manifest by the music alone.

In contrast, a prompt note directs Armide to enter at the beginning of the nineteen-bar prelude three scenes later (2/5).³⁰ Thus precipitous music – strikingly similar to that associated with Armide’s powers in the scene described above – propels Armide onto the stage, sword in hand, to slay the sleeping Renaud. The relatively long prelude gives voice to her mute gestures. A description of Marie Le Rochois, who premiered the role of Armide, underscores the dramatic importance of such instrumental music. According to Évard Titon du Tillet, Le Rochois ‘listened marvellously well to what we call the *ritournelle*, played while the actress enters and presents herself on stage, as in pantomime, wherein all the actor’s feelings must be silently depicted in her face and appear in her action’.³¹ Du Tillet continues with reference to Le Rochois’s portrayal of Armide in the very scene described above:

Were we not all in ecstasy in Act 2 Scene 5 . . . to see her, dagger in hand, preparing to pierce Renaud’s breast, as he lay asleep on a mossy bed? Fury animated her expression; love took possession of her heart; . . . What attractive and convincing poses! What variety of movement and expression in her eyes and face during this 29-line monologue, which begins with these two lines: ‘At last he is in my power, / This deadly enemy, this proud conqueror.’

Dans quel ravissement n’étoit-on pas dans la cinquième scene du second Acte du même Opera, de la voir, le poignard à la main, prête à percer le sein de Renaud, endormi sur un lit de verdure! la fureur l’animoit à son aspect, l’amour venoit s’emparer de son cœur; l’une & l’autre l’agitoient tour, la pitié & la tendresse leur succédoient à la fin, & l’amour restoit le vainqueur. Que de belles attitudes & vraies! que de mouvemens & d’expressions différentes dans ses yeux & sur son visage

27 *Tancrede* (2/2), page 88, ‘les chœurs entrent’.

28 *Tancrede, tragedie* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1702), 15. *On amene les Captifs Sarrazins & Egyptiens, que TANCREDE a faits dans le Combat.*

29 *Armide* prompt note 10.

30 *Armide* prompt note 18.

31 . . . elle entendoit merueilleusement bien ce qu’on appelle la *Ritournelle*, qu’on joue dans le tems que l’Actrice entre & se presente au Théâtre, de même que le jeu muet, où dans le silence tous les sentimens & les passions doivent se peindre sur le visage & paroître dans l’action; [Évard Titon du Tillet], *Le Parnasse François* (Paris, 1732(–43); reprinted Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), 791–792. Also translated in *French Baroque Opera: A Reader*, ed. Caroline Wood and Graham Sadler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 131–132.



32 TANCREDE, TRAGÉDIE.

Le fatal ennemi

VIOLONS.

CLORINDE.

Aux yeux de vos Captifs songez à vous con- traindre, Cachez un trouble si honteux.

BASSE-CONTINUE.

Figure 3a

Figure 3 André Campra, *Tancredi* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1702), F-V MSD 58 in 4°, pages 88 and 89. Reproduced with permission

pendant ce monologue de vingt-neuf Vers, qui commencent par ces deux-ci. *Enfin il est en ma puissance / Ce fatal ennemi, ce superbe vainqueur.*

In both of these examples from *Armide*, neither score nor libretto indicates the precise moment when the entrances take place. Thus whoever determines the point of entrance determines the instrumental music's dramatic role in these scenes.³²

Although the evidence for dramatic mime discussed above pertains to *préludes* and *ritournelles*, we should not assume that it took place only during introductory sections. In Clorinde's most famous monologue scene, for example, in which the love-torn warrior-princess calls upon reason to banish Tancredi from her heart, a prompt note at the beginning of an eight-bar interlude indicates: 'she walks about'.³³ Given Clorinde's tormented state, one cannot imagine that she merely strolled about the stage. As Jean-Jacques Rousseau's definition of 'acteur' reminds us:

It is not enough for an actor at the Opéra to be an excellent singer if he is not an excellent pantomimist as well, because he must make one feel not only what he himself is saying, but also what he leaves to the instrumental music to say. . . . His steps, his expressions, his gestures, must all continuously accord with the music. He must always interest us, even while keeping silent. And even when he is playing a difficult role, if he momentarily forgets the character he is portraying in order to pay attention to his singing, then he is only a musician upon the stage. He is no longer an actor.

³² For a discussion of similar examples from *Tancredi*, see Banducci, 'Staging a *tragédie en musique*', 184–185.

³³ *Tancredi* (2/1), page 75, 'Elle se promène'.



TANCREDE: ACTE SECOND. SCENE III. 89

Non, je n'en rougis point, il est fouvent des feux, Dont la Gloire n'ose se plaindre.

BASSE-CONTINUE.

Les chœurs entrent SCENE III.
 TANCREDE, CLORINDE, Troupe de Guerriers de l'Armée de Tancrede.
 Troupe de Guerrières, de Mores & de Sarraïns à qui Tancrede vient de donner la liberté.

ENTREE DES MORES, DES SARASINS, &c.

M

Figure 3b

Il ne suffit pas à l'Acteur d'Opéra d'être un excellent Chanteur, s'il n'est encore un excellent Pantomime; car il ne doit pas seulement faire sentir ce qu'il dit lui-même, mais aussi ce qu'il laisse dire à la Symphonie. . . ses pas, ses regards, son geste, tout doit s'accorder sans cesse avec la Musique, . . . il doit intéresser toujours, même en gardant le silence, & quoiqu'occupé d'un rôle difficile, s'il laisse un instant oublier le Personnage pour s'occuper du Chanteur, ce n'est qu'un Musicien sur la Scène; il n'est plus *Acteur*.³⁴

The flexibility of staging revealed by the discussion of the two preludes from *Armide* demonstrates that we cannot know precisely the dramatic role that French baroque opera composers intended for any particular *prélude*. But instructions in Louis-Joseph Francoeur's hand, dating from the 1770s, strongly suggest how considerations of mute stage action may have influenced the composition of *préludes* and *ritournelles* during the baroque period. These instructions appear in conjunction with a set of texts for the musical portions of an unperformed work, 'Chloé et Silandre', intended for the Comédie Italienne.³⁵ The instructions are not prompt notes per se; rather, they appear to be a reminder or a direction to the composer with regard to the text setting. They clearly require that instrumental music be provided for stage action prior to singing. For example, the following note appears above a text for Blaise: 'a *ritournelle* of ten or twelve bars

34 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 'Acteur', in *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: la veuve Duchesne, 1768; reprinted Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969).

35 'Chloé et Silandre' (F-Pn MS. 1852, 1). The work, a *comédie mêlée d'ariettes*, is divided into two acts for five characters. The manuscript includes texts for nineteen separate numbers (ariettes, duets and a quartet). Incomplete phrases of text appear, apparently as cues, before each number. It is bound with a setting of the first number and an incomplete draft for the second. I could find no other reference to the work. I would like to thank Elizabeth Bartlett, who, having examined the manuscript in response to my query, indicated to me the work's intended venue and probable time of composition, and that no record exists of the work's performance either at the Comédie Italienne or at court.



to give time to the actor to express his complete embarrassment at revealing his feelings to Chloé'. Blaise's ariette begins: 'Good day, Miss, I am a young man that love guides, who is timid and who doesn't dare declare his love to you.'³⁶

As this discussion demonstrates, those responsible for prompt notes not only maintained certain dramatic conventions but at the same time also made individual decisions that impacted on the dramatic nature of the work. That some individual decisions altered the staging information in the scores and librettos provides evidence of a flexibility in staging the French baroque operatic repertory that might otherwise go unrecognized. Most importantly, the prompt notes indicate performance choices that inform us of the French baroque operatic tradition as well as its possibilities for creative interpretation both then and now.

APPENDIX

A GLOSSED LIST OF PROMPT NOTES FOR LULLY'S *ARMIDE*

The set of *Armide* prompt notes glossed below, which use the Opéra's 1761 production of Lully's *Armide* as a reference point, were apparently written for a projected production of the opera in 1778. According to Lois Rosow, the notes, which appear in a printed copy of Philippe Quinault's libretto (F-Pn MS 1961 (1)), are in the hand of Louis-Joseph Francoeur (1738–1804), who had joined the Opéra orchestra in 1752 and served as the orchestra's Master of Music from 1767 to 1779.³⁷ Rosow, apparently the first scholar to make reference to the notes, has concluded that Francoeur made them in preparation for a production of *Armide* in response to a request from Anne-Pierre-Jacques de Vismes du Valguay, director (*entrepreneur général*) of the Académie Royale de Musique. During his tenure at the Opéra (from 1 April 1778 to Easter 1779), de Vismes produced a historical retrospective of operas from Lully's *Thésée* to Piccini's *Roland*. Presumably, de Vismes envisaged a production of Lully's *Armide* as part of the series and hence ordered Francoeur to rework the opera.³⁸

Curiously enough, the copy of Quinault's libretto in which Francoeur's manuscript annotations appear was printed for the premiere of Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Armide* in 1777 (see Figure 4). Presumably Francoeur used this copy for his production notes because it was close at hand. The 1777 libretto is almost identical to the one set by Lully in 1686 and, almost without exception, the printed stage rubrics in the 1777 libretto match those in Quinault's original version.³⁹ Francoeur's own note on the libretto's title page provides the connection between de Vismes's request and the 1761 revival of Lully's *Armide*:

36 'Chloé et Silvanre', 7r: 'ritournelle de dix ou douze mesures pour donner le temp a l'acteur d'exprimer toutes son embarras à pouvoir aborder Chloé'; 'Bonjour Mam Selle / je suis un garçon que l'amour guide et qui timide, N'ose vous Déclarer . . . Comme il scait vous aimer.' Another instruction indicates the necessity of a somewhat extended *ritournelle* to give time to the actor [Evandre] to contemplate his situation: 'Il faut une Ritournelle un peut longue, pour laisser tout le temp à l'acteur de contempler la situation du lieu que représentent La scène' (4r).

37 Louis-Joseph Francoeur was the nephew of François Francoeur (1698–1787), opera composer, director and administrator at the Opéra.

38 Rosow, 'Lully's *Armide*', 530–533. On de Vismes's project, see also Benjamin Laborde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris: P.-D. Pierres, 1780; reprinted, New York: American Musicological Society Press, 1978), volume 1, 401–403.

39 *Armide, Drame-héroïque en cinq actes, donné pour la première fois par L'Académie Royale de Musique, en 1686, 1746, 1761, 1764; Et remis au Théâtre, le Mardi 23 Septembre 1777* (Paris: P. de Lormel, 1777; F-Pn MS 1961 (1)). According to Rosow, a substantial portion of the score material for a revision of *Armide*, with which the libretto is bound, is likewise in Louis-Joseph Francoeur's hand. Rosow has thoroughly examined the extant parts used in the 1761–1766 productions of *Armide* and documented the revisions. François Francoeur, presumably with the assistance of fellow administrative director of the Opéra François Rebel, was responsible for these revisions. Most of Louis-Joseph Francoeur's



This book was put in order, according to the poem of 1761, to serve as my model when I arranged this work in 1778, leaving the old music and making new accompaniments for Monsieur de Lully's vocal music, and reworked with new airs. Monsieur De Vismes ordered me to do this.

Ce livre fut mis en Ordre selon le poème / de 1761 pour me servir de Model lorsque / j'arrangé cet ouvrage en 1778 / en Laissant l'ancienne Musique / et refasant des accompagnements / nouveaux sous la chant de / M^r de luly et refs de Nouveau / air. Ce qui me fut ordonné par M^r devismes.

No evidence has surfaced, however, to indicate that a performance of Lully's *Armide* took place in the late 1770s.⁴⁰

The following list includes only those annotations that are prompt notes per se (that is, directions for blocking, for costume and set changes, and for the employment of machinery). Annotations that indicate cuts, additional music and other alternations to the original have been omitted. To facilitate ease of reference, I have numbered the prompt notes, which are presented according to the following format: the prompt note number; the page number on which the note appears in the libretto, the act and scene in which the note occurs and the location of the note on the page; the note itself in bold font with the original spelling retained; an English translation in normal type face and in round brackets. Printed rubrics from the libretto are in italics; sung text is in inverted commas. Persons who wish to study the prompt notes with score and libretto in hand may easily find a facsimile of the first edition of Lully's opera and a facsimile of the 1777 libretto for Gluck's *Armide*.⁴¹

- 1 page 3, across the bottom of the page, beneath the cast list of choristers: **tous Les M^{rs} des chœurs avec Les habits de brocard [brocart] Cœffures en turbans bas rouge pour / tous L'opéra, bonet noir. / toutes Les D^{elles} avec Les habits fond blancs Draperies bleües ornées Or. pour Cœffures / un bouquet de plumes.** (All of the male choristers put on outfits of brocaded silk fabric and turban head-dresses [and] red stockings for the entire opera, a black cap.⁴² All of the women [are in] white dresses draped with blue fabric ornamented with gold. For head-dresses, a bouquet of feathers.)

The choristers appear in Act 1 Scene 3 as 'The Peoples of the Kingdom of Damascus'. With the exception of Act 2 – wherein the dancers perform as nymphs and dryads, while the choristers perform as shepherds and

emendations, many of which are dated 1761, correspond to the changes made for this series of productions, which Rosow has enumerated (Rosow, 'Lully's *Armide*', volume 2, 452–529). In addition, Francoeur wrote the names of the performers in the 1761 production in the left-hand margin of the libretto's cast list (page 4). Francoeur's emendations written in conjunction with Act 4, which include a folio (44 *bis*, recto and verso) entirely in his hand, reflect the extensive tinkering with this act that had begun as early as 1697. See Rosow, 'How Eighteenth-Century Parisians Heard Lully's Operas: The Case of *Armide*'s Fourth Act', in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 213–237. The 1777 libretto does not include Quinault's prologue, which was performed in the 1745–1748 productions and cut in 1761. Act 5 Scene 5 (page 40) was added for Gluck's setting; Quinault's Act 4 Scene 4 (pages 49–52), though set by Gluck, was cut from Lully's opera in 1703 and not reinstated. I am grateful to Rosow, who answered my questions with regard to these sections in the 1777 libretto.

40 Rosow, 'Lully's *Armide*', 532.

41 See Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Armide, Tragédie mise en musique*, facsimile of the first edition, Paris, 1686, Preface by François Lesure (New York: Broude International Editions, 2000); a facsimile of the libretto appears in Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Sämtliche Werke* (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1987), volume 1/8b: *Armide*, ed. Klaus Hortschansky, lxxi–lxxxvii. For a recording and a complete translation of the libretto, see Lully, *Armide*, Philippe Herreweghe, director, Harmonia Mundi HMC 901456/57 (1993).

42 Although this note apparently indicates that the men wear black caps for the entire opera, no such cap is mentioned when the men costume themselves as shepherds in Acts 2 and 4 (prompt notes 6 and 31). They wear black caps as demons in Act 3 and again as Happy Lovers in Act 5 (prompt notes 17 and 40 respectively).

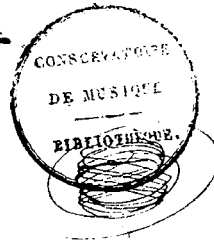
1852^A

MS. 1691(1)

A R M I D E,
DRAME-HÉROÏQUE
EN CINQ ACTES,
 DONNÉ
 POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS
 PAR L'ACADÉMIE ROYALE
 DE MUSIQUE,
 En 1686, 1746, 1761, 1764;
 Et remis au Théâtre, le Mardi 23 Septembre 1777.

PRIX XXX SOLS.

*Cette pièce fut mise en Ordre selon le poëme
 de l'Académie pour Me Lormel lors qu'il
 j'avance l'ouvrage en 1778
 en laissant l'ancienne Musique
 et refusant des accompagnemens
 nouveaux sous le chœur de
 M. de Lully et ses fils de Nouvelle
 aïe. lequel ne fut ordonné par M. de Lully.*



AUX DÉPENS DE L'ACADÉMIE.

A PARIS. Chez P. DE LORMEL, Imprimeur de ladite Académie,
 rue du Foin, à l'Image Sainte Genevieve.

On trouvera des Exemplaires du Poëme à la Salle de l'Opéra.

M. DCC. LXXVII.

AVEC APPROBATION ET PRIVILEGE DU ROI.

Figure 4 [Philippe] Quinault, *Armide* (Paris: P. de Lormel, 1777), page 1 F-Pn Rés. MS 1961(1). Cliché Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Reproduced with permission

shepherdesses – the choristers and dancers perform the same roles. Thus the costumes visually underscore the notion that the vocal chorus and the dancers function as a single, collective body.⁴³

2 page [9], 1/1, across the top of the page: **faire habiller Les Deux Comparses pour Le vol de Renaud et D'armide au 2^d Acte** (Dress the two stand-ins for Renaud's and Armide's flight in Act 2.)

Demons transport Renaud and Armide to a faraway desert at the end of Act 2. See prompt note 20.

3 page 16, 1/3, left-hand margin opposite rubrics *Peuples de Damas. Les peuples témoignent, par des danses & par des chants, la joie qu'ils ont de l'avantage que la beauté d'Armide a remporté sur les Chevaliers du camp de Godfroi.* (People of Damascus. Through dance and song, the people express their joy at the power that

⁴³ The dancers' roles appear in the libretto's list of 'Personnages dansants', 6–8; the choristers' roles are named in the prompt note and/or appear in the printed rubrics for the scenes in which they appear.



Armide's beauty has wrought over the knights in Godfrey's camp.): **Sur La 1^{er} air Le ballet entre en Dansant, et Les Chœurs.** (On the first air, the ballet enters dancing, and the choruses [enter].)

This prompt note, the first of fourteen (Nos 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 16, 25, 27, 28, 30, 38, 39, 42 and 44) that direct entrances and exits for choristers and/or dancers, illustrates two visually dramatic elements: 1) the simultaneous entrance of the dancers and the choristers underscores the singular identity of the two groups as the People of Damascus; 2) as in all of their entrances, the dancers enter the stage dancing.⁴⁴

4 page 18, 1/3, left-hand margin opposite the rubrics *On danse. Le triomphe d'ARMIDE est interrompu par l'arrivée d'ARONTE, qui avoit été chargé de la conduite des Chevaliers captifs, & qui revient blessé, tenant à la main un tronçon d'épée.* (Dancing takes place. Armide's triumph is interrupted by the arrival of Aronte, who had been charged with conveying the captive knights and who returns wounded, holding in his hand a stump of sword.): **air de triomphe / a la fin de cet air Aronte / entre soutenu par / Deux M^{rs} des chœurs, / un sabre cassé a la main et / un Mouchoir de l'autre / La danse se retire.** (Triumphal air. At the end of this air Aronte, with a broken sword in one hand and a handkerchief in the other, enters supported by two male choristers. The dancers exit.]

The direction to the dancers to exit differs in two ways from the manner in which they enter. Although the dancers enter with the choristers, they exit alone; and although they enter dancing, they exit after their dance has ended. I have discussed possible reasons for each of these differences in the essay above.

5 page 20, 1/4, left-hand margin next to the text 'Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas / L'ennemi qui nous offense . . .' (Let us pursue until death the enemy who wrongs us), sung by Armide, Hidraot and the chorus: **Les chœurs en entourant / circulairement Armide et / hidraot. / tout Le monde se retire avec Armide et hidraot.** (The choruses form a circle around Armide and Hidraot. Everyone exits with Armide and Hidraot.)

Aronte, who has borne the unwelcome news of Renaud's victory, falls mortally wounded on to the stage and, as the printed rubrics indicate, two warriors take away his body. As Armide and Hidraot affirm in a duet that Renaud will not escape their vengeance, the choristers encircle them and sing a four-part version of the duet 'Poursuivons jusqu'au trépas', which ends the act. The exit occurs during the entr'acte.⁴⁵ I have discussed the choral acting evidenced in this note in the above essay.

6 page 20, 1/4, bottom of page, end of Act 1: **tous Les M^{rs} des chœurs vont prendre des habits et coëffures de bergers fond / blanc Draperie roze / toutes Les D^{elles} vont prendre des habits de bergeres blanc et Roze des guirlandes / de fleurs a la teste avec des chapeaux en place de plumes.** (All the male choristers put on shepherds' outfits and hats in white with rose drapery. All the women dress as shepherdesses in white and red outfits with garlands of flowers about their heads and with hats in place of feathers.)

44 As scene rubrics in French baroque opera librettos suggest and these and other prompt notes confirm, the choristers and dancers enter and exit for a particular scene, typically the *divertissement*, within an act. Mary Cyr has claimed, however, that 'the *chœur* usually remained on stage throughout each act, commenting upon or even announcing events as they unfolded'; see 'The Dramatic Role of the Chorus', 105. Cyr interprets a passage from the pamphlet *Lettres à Madame la marquise de P. . . sur l'opéra* (Paris, 1741; reprinted, New York: American Musicological Society Press, 1978), attributed to Abbé Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, as criticism directed towards the chorus's mute presence during an intimate scene in Lully's *Alceste* (107). But in fact Mably's complaint concerns the Greek chorus's omnipresence in Euripides's play *Alceste*. Mably goes on to praise, by way of comparison, the judicious staging of the French opera chorus: 'On ne peut rien reprocher de pareil aux Chœurs de nos Opera, & dans les situations pathétiques nos Poètes ont toujours eu soin de faire disparoitre le Chœur, afin que les principaux personnages fussent libres, & qu'ils pussent se livrer avec bienséance à tous leurs sentimens' (104–105). (One cannot similarly reproach our Opera choruses at all; in touching situations, our poets have always taken care to make the chorus disappear in order that the principal characters might be at liberty and that they might reveal all of their feelings with propriety.)

45 On Lully's entr'actes, see Lois Rosow, 'Making Connections: Thoughts on Lully's Entr'actes,' *Early Music* 21/2 (1993), 231–238.



The choristers appear in Act 2 Scene 4 as shepherds and shepherdesses (demons in disguise) who dance and sing as Renaud sleeps.

7 page 21, 2/1, right-hand margin at rubrics *Le Théâtre change, & représente une Campagne, où une rivière forme un Isle agréable*. (The scene changes and represents a countryside where a river forms a pleasant island): **N'ouvrir La trape du / Lit de Renaud que / pendant L'Entr'acte** (Open the trap for Renaud's bed [of greenery] only during the entr'acte.)⁴⁶

8 page 21, 2/1, right-hand margin at rubrics *SCENE PREMIERE: Servir Le lit avec Le / changement*. (Install the bed as the scene change takes place.)

A trap raises the bed, upon which Renaud will fall asleep, as the entire scene changes during the entr'acte, the forty-six-bar march from Act 1 Scene 3.⁴⁷

9 page 21, 2/1, right-hand margin at rubrics *ARTÉMIDORE, RENAUD: Renaud suivi D'artémidore entre sur la fin de l'Entracte* (Renaud, followed by Artémidore, enters at the end of the entr'acte)

Prompt notes 7, 8 and 9 provide a chronology for the scene change and for the initial moments of Act 2. The entr'acte begins at the end of Act 1; the trap that will bring Renaud's bed of greenery on stage opens; the sets change and simultaneously Renaud's bed is installed. As the entr'acte ends, Renaud, followed by Artémidore, enters. The order of entrance is the reverse of that in the scene rubrics. Act 2, which begins directly with recitative, is the only act in the opera that begins without some sort of prelude, therefore the prompt note coordinates the crusaders' entrance with the entr'acte. The rhythmically active march, the same march that introduces the people of Damascus in Act 1 Scene 3, also provides sonic cover for the machinery of the set change.

10 page 24, 2/2, left-hand margin opposite *ARMIDE, HIDRAOT: sur La fin du prelude / armide et hidraot / Entrent*. (At the end of the prelude, Armide and Hidraot enter.)

The change to Scene 2 marks Renaud's and Artémidore's exit and Armide's and Hidraot's entrance. The prelude serves as exit music for Renaud and Artémidore. Printed rubrics in the 1777 libretto (but not in the original libretto) indicate their exit after Renaud's parting question 'Quels enchantements peut-on craindre?' (What enchantments do we have to fear?) Because the prompt note places Armide's and Hidraot's entrance at the end of the fifteen-bar prelude, the instrumental music functions as an entirely musical representation of Armide's seductive power and the answer to Renaud's question. I have discussed this note in more detail in the above essay.

11 page 24, 2/2, left-hand margin opposite Armide's text 'Démons affreux, cachés-vous / Sous une agréable image' (Terrible demons, disguise yourselves in pleasant forms): **X Renaud traverse Le / théâtre par le fond** (Renaud traverses the back of the stage.) A corresponding X appears in the right-hand margin following Armide's text at 'image'.

This note has Renaud traverse the back of the stage so that he may be spotted by Armide. Two lines later (following four lines that are crossed out – Hidraot's and Arimide's duet 'Esprits de haine & de rage'), rubrics in the libretto read *ARMIDE aperçoit RENAUD qui s'approche des bords de la rivière*. (Armide perceives

⁴⁶ Presumably this bed is similar to the six 'grassy beds with flowers' (*lits de gazon avec fleurs*) that appear in a 1748 inventory of scenery belonging to the Académie Royale de Musique (F-Po, Registre 2 1748). The inventory also lists the scenery for Armide's palace and gardens. See Jérôme de La Gorce, 'Décors et machines à l'Opéra de Paris au temps de Rameau: Inventaire de 1748', *Recherches sur la musique classique française* 21 (1963), 145–157. A design for a 'banc de tronc d'arbre et de gazon' (a seat in the form of a tree trunk and with foliage) and for the machinery that effects Renaud's flight later in this scene appears in 'Machines de Théâtre', in *Recueils des Planches*, volume 10 of *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean-Le Rond d'Alembert (Paris, 1772), second section, planche 13, unpaginated.

⁴⁷ According to Rosow, 'If one may judge by the typical length of Lully's entr'actes, a complete scenic transformation usually occurred in less than two minutes' (Rosow, 'Making connections', 233).



Renaud, who is approaching the riverbanks.) Presumably Renaud crosses the stage and exits on the other side, because prompt note 12 directs him to enter at the beginning of Scene 3. Because this note and note 43 are the only prompt notes that specify an upstage entrance for a soloist, they suggest that entrances from anywhere but near the front of the stage were exceptional enough to require specific comment.⁴⁸

12 page 26, 2/3, left-hand margin opposite the rubrics for Scene 3: *RENAUD, seul*: **20 Mesures de / prélude.** [separation line] **Renaud Entre.** (Twenty bars of prelude. Renaud enters.)

This prompt note and note 13 replace, with greater dramatic effectiveness, the printed stage directions at the end of Scene 2 – *RENAUD s'arrête pour considerer les bords du fleuve, & quitte une partie de ses armes pour prendre le frais* (Renaud stops in order to gaze upon the riverbanks, and sets down some of his arms in order to enjoy the fresh air) – which have been crossed out. According to the printed directions, in Scene 2 Armide perceives Renaud approaching the riverbanks (see prompt note 11); Armide and Hidraot exit six lines later, at which point Renaud stops to contemplate the riverbanks and to take off some of his armour. A twenty-bar prelude to Scene 3 (*RENAUD, seul*) follows Armide's and Hidraot's exit. If Renaud stops crossing the stage immediately after their exit, as the printed rubrics direct, then he remains stationary for the twenty bars of prelude. Prompt notes 12 and 13 indicate two significant changes to this blocking. Renaud, who has not remained on stage after Armide and Hidraot catch sight of him, enters at some point during the twenty-bar prelude and he takes off his armour just prior to falling asleep. Although the note does not specify his precise moment of entrance, an entrance near the beginning of the prelude, rather than at the end, gives credibility to his opening declaration, 'Plus j'observe ces lieux & plus je les admire'. (The more I observe this place, the more I admire it.) The prelude – marked 'lentement' and 'avec des sourdines' in the original score – with its continuous quaver movement, suitably accompanies Renaud's meandering.

13 page 26, 2/3, beneath the last line of Renaud's monologue, 'Tout m'invite au repos sous ce feuillage épais.' (Everything invites me to rest under this thick foliage.): **Renaud quitte une partie de ses armes et Il s'endort sur un gâzon au bord de la riviere** (Renaud takes off some of his armour and falls asleep on a grassy knoll by the river's edge.) Here the prompt note continues directly in to the printed rubrics. The words *au bord de la riviere* are crossed out.⁴⁹

To have Renaud lay down his arms after his monologue and just before he falls asleep visually underscores the power of the enchanted isle and Renaud's increased vulnerability.

14 page 26, 2/3, left-hand margin at end of Scene 3: **pendant un prélude de 10 mesures / Les Chœurs entrent par le fond, / ainsi que La Náyade.** (During a ten-bar prelude, the choristers enter at the back of the stage, as does La Náyade.)

A reordering of the Act 2 Scene 4 *divertissement*, in which demons disguised as nymphs, shepherds and shepherdesses cast a spell over Renaud, occurred in the 1745 productions. In the original version, the twenty-bar prelude to Scene 3, which entices Renaud to rest on the river's bank, is repeated at the beginning of Scene 4. In the 1745 revision, the ten-bar prelude, which follows the Náyade's air in Scene 4, begins the scene. The chorus 'Ah! quelle Erreur!' precedes instead of following the Náyade's air and the ten-bar prelude, which is now heard for the second time.⁵⁰ The dancers enter after the Náyade's air (see prompt note 15). As noted in the essay above, upstage entrances for the choristers were apparently the exception to the rule. Perhaps the upstage entrance gives more visual prominence to the disguised demons as they presumably advance downstage to the sleeping Renaud.

48 For evidence on the use of the upstage area at the Opéra during the tenure of stage designer Jean Berain (1674–1707), see Jérôme de La Gorce, *Berain. Dessinateur du Roi Soleil* (Paris: Herscher, 1986), 82–85.

49 Apparently the 1761 set did not depict the river. The *Mercure's* reviewer missed its presence and wondered why it had been so ignored in contemporary productions of *Armide* (page 178).

50 Rosow, 'Lully's *Armide*', 419–422 and 453 (Table 40).



15 page 27, 2/4, right-hand margin next to the rubrics printed beneath the chorus ‘Ah! quelle Erreur!’, *Les Démons, sous la figure des NIMPHERS, des BERGERS & des BERGERES, enchantent RENAUD, & l’enchaînent durant son sommeil avec des guirlandes de fleurs.* (Demons, in the form of nymphs, shepherds and shepherdesses cast a spell over Renaud and entwine him with garlands of flowers as he sleeps.): **1^{er} air La danse entre / 2^d air. / au N^o 2.** (First air, the dancers enter, second air, to No. 2.)

After the sung chorus, the dancers enter dancing to the first air and then dance the second air. La Naïade then sings ‘Au temps heureux’, marked with the handwritten instruction ‘N^o 2’. That dancers enter separately from the choruses in this *divertissement* goes contrary to the usual pattern of simultaneous entrances. Perhaps the combination of a shortened prelude for the entrance and the style of the subsequent chorus, which has no purely instrumental phrases during which dancing would have normally occurred, led to the decision to delay the dancers’ entrance. The close conjunction of the danced entrance with the chorus creates, none the less, an effect similar to that produced by the alternation of vocal and dance choruses within one piece.

16 page 27, 2/4, right-hand margin, middle of page at the end of La Naïade’s air ‘Au temps heureux’: **Le divertissement Continue. / 3. gavottes sur La dernière Les / chœurs rentre dans Les coulisses / [dotted] X⁵¹** (The *divertissement* continues. Three gavottes; on the last one the choruses exit into the wings.)

Presumably, as no separate exit for the dancers is indicated, the choristers exit and the dancers exit dancing. The dotted X symbol signals prompt note 17, which concerns the choristers’ costume change.

17 page 27, 2/4, bottom of the page: **[dotted] X tous les M^{rs} Des Chœurs vont prendre Les habits et Coëffures de Démons et des / peruques et bonnet Noire. / toutes Les D^{lles} des Chœurs garderont Leurs habits et Coëffures pour Le 4^me acte** (All the male choristers put on demons’ outfits, wigs and black caps. All the women of the chorus keep on their costumes for the fourth act.)

Only men participate in the Act 3 *divertissement*; all the choristers reappear in Act 4 Scene 2 as demons disguised as shepherds and shepherdesses.

18 page 29, 2/5, right-hand margin opposite scene rubrics *ARMIDE, RENAUD, endormi. / ARMIDE, un poignard à la main.* (Armide, Renaud asleep. Armide with a dagger in hand.): **Sur un prelude / de 19 mesures. / armide entre** (On a nineteen-bar prelude, Armide enters.)

Armide’s entrance at the beginning of the prelude, unlike her entrance at the end of the prelude in Act 2 Scene 2, in which music alone creates the dramatic effect, allows for dramatic movement as she prepares, dagger in hand, to slay Renaud. I have discussed this note in more detail in the above article.

19 page 30, 2/5, following Armide’s line ‘Démons! transformés-vous en d’aimables zéphirs.’ (Demons! Transform yourselves into friendly zephyrs.): the sign **X**, which corresponds to the note (left-hand margin middle of page): **X Descendre Les vappeurs** (Lower the clouds.)⁵²

20 page 30, 2/5, following Armide’s final line, ‘Volés; conduisés-nous au bout de l’univers.’ (Fly; Take us to the ends of the universe.), followed by the printed rubrics *Les Démons, transformés en Zéphirs, enlèvent RENAUD & ARMIDE.* (Demons, transformed into zephyrs, carry off Renaud and Armide.): the sign **‡**, which corresponds to the note (left-hand margin opposite *FIN DU SECOND ACTE*): **‡ enlever Les vappeurs Des qu’Armide et Renaud Seront Rentrés dans Les Coullisses et faire Le vol des deux Machines de Costé.** (Raise ‘les vappeurs’ as soon as Armide and Renaud have exited into the wings and execute the flight of the two machines at the side [of the stage].)

51 This X has a dot in each of the four spaces created by the lines of the X. Here and elsewhere, I refer to this symbol as a ‘dotted X’.

52 For a drawing of cloud machinery that might have been similar to that called for here, see Jean-Pierre Néraudau and others, *La tragédie lyrique* (Paris: Cicero, 1991), 97. The drawing is from the Paris-based Archives nationales collection ‘Recueil des décorations de théâtre . . . recueillies par M. Levesque . . .’, 1752 (O¹ 3238-3242).



As this prompt note and note 2 make clear, stand-ins for Armide and Renaud make this flight, which is readied well in advance. What types of machines were used for this flight can not be determined. A stop-press change in the *Armide* score printed by Christophe Ballard under Lully's direction has led Lois Rosow to suggest that the operations involved with the flight plus the scene change that follows may have required more time to execute than Lully's original entr'acte provided. Lully more than doubled the length of the entr'acte when he substituted the one-hundred-bar 'entrée grave' from the Prologue for the forty-eight-bar 'premier air' from Act 2 Scene 4.⁵³

21 page 30, 2/5, left-hand margin below prompt note 20: **Ne baisser Le Lit de Renaud qu'avec Le changement du Desert.** (Lower Renaud's bed only with the scene change to a desert.)

The two notes concerning Renaud's *lit* (8 and 21) underscore the importance attached here to the simultaneity of the set change.

22 page 31, 3/1, right-hand margin opposite rubric *Scène Première: sur 7 mesures de / prélude Armide Entre.* (On a seven-bar prelude, Armide enters.)

As the previous note similarly directs, Armide enters on the prelude, not during or after. To enter on the relatively short prelude, whose music is identical to the first seven bars of her monologue, allows Armide to convey visually what she will articulate in her monologue: her chagrin at her loss of liberty and change of heart. Thus the prelude and air have a relationship similar to that of a dance air and its equivalent song or chorus, which, as Rebecca Harris-Warrick notes, 'provide two different modes of representing a single idea'.⁵⁴

23 page 23 [32], 3/2, left-hand margin opposite rubrics *ARMIDE, PHÉNICE, SIDONIE* (Sidonie crossed out⁵⁵): **sur 2 Mesures de / prélude de basse / phenice Entre** (Phénice enters on the two-bar bass prelude.)

24 page 36, 3/3, left-hand margin opposite rubrics *ARMIDE, seule* (Armide, alone): **sur un prélude de / 10 mesures Ouvrir Les / trappes de la haïne et de sa suite** (On a ten-bar prelude, open the traps for Hatred and his followers.)⁵⁶

Presumably, Armide visually communicates her new-found resolve to summon La Haine in this prelude to her monologue air 'Venés, venés, Haïne implacable!' (Come, come, implacable Hatred!).

25 page 36, 3/3, left-hand margin at the end of scene in conjunction with the handwritten **X** after Armide's line 'Rendés-moi mon couroux, rallumés ma fureur' (Return my anger to me, rekindle my fury), the last line in the scene, as the next three lines are crossed out. The printed stage directions at the end of the scene read *La HAINE sort des Enfers; avec sa suite.* (Hatred emerges from Hades, with his followers.): **X Sur La fin d'un prélude / Lent de 8 mesures monter toutes / Les trappes Ensemble** [separation line] **Les Refermer des que Les Acteurs / Sont Sorties de dessus.** [separation line] **Le reste des M^{rs} des Chœurs entrent en même tems.** (At the end of a slow, eight-bar prelude, raise all the traps together. Close them as soon as the actors have got on to the stage. The remainder of the male choristers enter at the same time.)

53 Rosow, 'Making Connections', 236.

54 Harris-Warrick, 'Recovering the Lullian Divertissement', 57–58.

55 Throughout this scene, Sidonie's text has been crossed out or transferred to Phénice.

56 For Berain's design for the appearance of demons through the use of traps (Archives nationales, O¹ 3240 1-249), see Banducci, 'Staging a *tragédie en musique*', 185. Jean-Nicolas Servandoni's stage plan for the Opéra's 1737 revival of Lully's *Persée* specifically designates which traps are used for what purpose, for example the trap for the fires of hell in the third act and for the infernal deities in the second act; the trap for Meduse's bed (*lit*) in the third act. See Jérôme de La Gorce, 'Un grand décorateur à l'Opéra au temps de Rameau: Jean-Nicolas Servandoni', in *Jean-Philippe Rameau, Actes du Colloque, Dijon, 1983*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce (Paris–Geneva: Champion-Slatkine, 1987), Fig. 83 (Stockholm, National Museum, TCH. 8513).



The ten-bar prelude, in the style of a French overture and with a relatively low tessitura, musically prefigures La Haine's arrival from Hades and also helps to cover the sound of the traps. Furthermore, the decision to raise the traps at the end of the prelude, rather than at the beginning or during it, has two dramatic implications. First, Armide can visually convey her anticipation as she awaits his arrival. Second, La Haine begins singing as the traps are raised. Thus Armide (and the audience) hear his voice initially from the underworld just as, in reverse, he heard Armide's. He announces his presence: 'Je réponds à tes vœux, ta voix s'est fait entendre jusque dans le fond des Enfers.' (I reply to your wishes; your voice made itself heard in the heart of the underworld.) As prompt notes 27 and 28 (which indicate a separate entrance and exit respectively for the dancers) confirm, only the choristers enter at this time, some via the traps and others via the wings. This exception to the traditional simultaneous entrance of choristers and dancers may be explained by the deployment of traps.

The greatly increased numbers of choristers and dancers in Opéra productions towards the end of the eighteenth century might explain Francoeur's decision to split the choristers and to provide a separate entrance and exit for the dancers. According to the libretto for the 1761 revival of Lully's *Armide*, twenty male choristers and eleven male dancers served as Hatred's demons in that production. These numbers almost doubled – to twenty-eight male choristers and twenty-three male and female dancers – for the same scene in the 1777 performance of Gluck's *Armide*. If Francoeur had projected the use of similar forces, then perhaps the traps could not accommodate fifty or so demons at one time.

26. page 37, 3/4, right-hand margin opposite *Scène IV: faire préparer dans / Les Coulisses Les Monstres / pour Le 4^{me} acte.* (In the wings, prepare the monsters for Act 4.)

This direction implies some sort of mechanical monsters, perhaps manipulated by men in machines.⁵⁷ The monsters will attempt to deter Ubalde and the Danish knight who have come to rescue Renaud. See prompt notes 34 and 36.

27 page 37, 3/4, right-hand margin next to the rubrics *On danse. / La suite de la HAINÉ commence l'enchantement / qui doit détruire le pouvoir de l'AMOUR.* (Dances take place. La Haine's followers begin the enchantment that should destroy Love's powers.): **1^r air le Ballet / entre en dansant** (First air. The ballet enters dancing.)

The ballet enters separately, immediately after the male choristers have sung 'Plus on connoît l'Amour, & plus on le déteste'. (The more one knows Love, the more one loathes it.) As noted above, sheer numbers may have prevented the more traditional simultaneous entrance of choristers and dancers via the traps. Although the dancers could have entered from the wings at the end of the prelude along with the remaining choristers, they would have done so only to stand and wait, because the chorus 'Plus on connoît L'Amour', like the chorus described in prompt note 15, contains no purely instrumental music that would involve the dancers. Thus a separate entrance for the ballet may have been occasioned by the desire for the dancers, elaborately costumed as demons, to make a dramatic danced entrance. Since they could not have danced on to the stage during the prelude because of the gaps in the stage floor created by the lowered traps, their first air provides their only opportunity for a danced entrance.

28 page 39, 3/4, right-hand margin next to Armide's line 'De m'ôter mon amour, sans m'arracher le cœur!' (To tear out my love without tearing out my heart!): **La Danse se retire** (The dancers exit.)

The dancers exit mid-scene after Armide has changed her mind and implores La Haine to cease his attempt to tear love from her heart. No solely instrumental music is provided for the exit, which occurs as La Haine warns her that she will for ever regret this decision, hence their exit is not danced. Just as the dancers' entrance in this scene occurs after the traps have closed, their exit takes place prior to the traps' redeployment (see prompt notes 29 and 30).

57 For a design of such a monster, see François Lesure, *L'opéra classique français, 17e et 18e siècles* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), 56 (planche 39; Archives nationales O¹ 3241).



29 page 39, 3/4, right-hand margin in conjunction with the dotted X at the end of La Haine's line: 'Suis l'Amour, qui te guide / Dans un abîme affreux.' (Follow Love, who guides you into a horrible abyss.): [dotted] X, which corresponds to the note in the left-hand margin, [dotted] X **Rouvrir Les trappes.** (Reopen the traps.)

30 page 40, 3/4, at the end of La Haine's 'Je ne puis te punir d'une plus rude peine, / Que de t'abandonner, pour jamais, à l'Amour'. (I cannot punish you any more painfully than to abandon you to love forever.) a **cross hatch** mark, which corresponds to a note in the left-hand margin: [cross-hatch mark] **La haine et sa Suite / se remettent sur Les trappes qui / descendent apres et qu'on refermera tout de suite.** (La Haine and his followers position themselves again on the traps, which descend thereafter and are closed again immediately.) The printed stage directions read *La Haine & sa suite s'abîment.* (La Haine and his followers are swallowed up.)

The entr'acte provides the accompaniment to this display. Presumably, the choristers who entered via the wings exit the same way.

31 page 40, 3/4, bottom of page, end of Act 3: **tous Les M^{rs} des Chœurs iront tres promptement reprendre Les / habits et Coëffures de bergers du 2^d acte.** (All the male choristers immediately put on their shepherd costumes from Act 2.)

See prompt notes 6 and 17.

32 page [41], 4/1, top of page above printed design for Act 4: **faire habiller en Demons tous Les soldats et Les Enfants voltigeants pour / Le Moment de La destruction du 5 Acte. ils aurons des torches a Lesprit de vin.** (Dress all the soldiers and the flying children as demons for the moment in Act V when the destruction occurs. They will have torches lit with spirits of wine.)

The children, who may have been members of an acrobatic troupe, presumably flew in harnesses attached to ropes.⁵⁸ The reference to 'soldiers' is less clear. Neither printed rubrics in the libretto nor prompt notes call for soldiers in any of the previous scenes. Perhaps supernumeraries most commonly appeared as soldiers or real soldiers assisted. This designation occurs again in prompt note 47.

33 page [41], 4/1, right-hand margin opposite *ACTE QUATRIEME*: **pendant L'Entreacte / baisser La Rampe.** (During the entr'acte, lower the ramp.)

The *rampe*, which consisted of oil lamps (*bisquits*) installed on a plank at the front of the stage, is lowered beneath stage level to simulate darkness.

34 page [41], 4/1, right-hand margin opposite *SCÈNE PREMIÈRE / UBALDE, et le CHEVALIER DANOIS*: **Sur un prelude de / 14. Mesures faire paroître / Les monstres, et en même / tems Les feux souterin** (On a fourteen-bar prelude have the monsters appear and, at the same time, the subterranean fires.)

Although no scene change takes place, the atmosphere changes. According to the rubrics in the 1777 libretto, *Une vapeur s'élève & se répand dans le Désert qui a paru au troisieme Acte. Des monstres paroissent.* (A mist rises and spreads across the desert that appeared in Act 3. The monsters appear.) The monsters, as prompt note 26 indicates, enter from the wings. Small traps or *trapillons* provide the subterranean fires. Perhaps for variety's sake (as demons enter the stage on traps in Acts 3 and 5) or perhaps for simplicity's sake, this staging differs from the original stage directions printed in the 1686 libretto, which suggest the use of traps: *Des antres et des abîmes s'ouvrent et il en sort des bêtes farouches et des monstres épouvantables.* (Caverns and abysses gape open

58 Rebecca Harris-Warrick has explored the evidence for acrobatic practices in Lully's operas in her paper 'Flying Phantoms and Tumbling Faunes: Acrobats on the French Baroque Musical Stage', presented at the Gods, Men and Monsters symposium, New College, Oxford, April 2001. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in his *Julie, ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), describes 'real chimney-sweeps who swing from ropes . . . What is really tragic is that when the ropes are wrongly pulled or break, the infernal spirits and immortal gods fall, and are crippled or sometimes killed.' Trans. Caroline Wood and Graham Sadler, *French Baroque Opera: A Reader* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 124.



and wild beasts and terrifying monsters emerge.) Presumably, this staging required the extension of the original prelude from eight to fourteen bars.

35 page [41], 4/1, right-hand margin opposite the printed stage directions *UBALDE, porte un Bouclier de diamant & tient un Sceptre d'or, qui lui ont été donnés par un Magicien, pour dissiper les enchantemens d'Armide, & pour délivrer RENAUD.* (Ubalde carries a diamond shield and a golden sceptre which a magician gave to him in order to break Armide's spells and to rescue Renaud.): **Les Deux chevaliers / Entrent.** (The two knights enter.)

36 page 42, 4/1, right-hand margin at the end of Ubalde's text 'Monstres; allés cacher votre inutile rage / Dans l'abîme profond d'où vous êtes sortis.' (Monsters, hide your useless rage in the profound abyss from whence you came.): **X**, which corresponds to the note in the right-hand margin: **X Les monstres disparaissent, / Les feux Cessent et on referme / Les trapillons.** (The monsters disappear, the fires cease and the small traps are closed.)

37 page 42, 4/1, right-hand margin opposite the printed directions *Les monstres se retirent, & la vapeur se dissipe; le désert disparaît, & se change en une Campagne agréable.* (The monsters exit and the mist dissipates; the desert disappears and changes into a pleasant countryside): **Le changement tout de suite et en même tems monter La Rampe.** (An immediate scene change and at the same time raise the ramp.)

The original score calls for the prelude that brings the monsters on stage at the beginning of this act to be repeated at this point and thus to accompany their exit and the scene change. According to Rosow, the prelude's repetition was eliminated in the 1761 production,⁵⁹ which suggests that the simplified staging and 'immediate' scene change precluded the need for the instrumental interlude.

38 page 43, 4/2, right-hand margin at end of Scene 1: **Sur La Musette Le Ballet / entre en dansant, Les chœurs / entrent aussi avec Lucinde.** (On the Musette, the dancers enter dancing; the choruses and Lucinde enter as well.)

39 page 44 *bis* recto (a folio with text recto and verso for airs and recitative entirely in Francoeur's hand), 4/1, right-hand margin beneath **on danse: forlane et / contredanse, apres Laquelle La / danse et Les chœurs se retirent** (forlane and contredanse, after which the dancers and the choruses exit.)

For the third time, and this time for no apparent reason, the dancers do not exit dancing (also see prompt notes 4 and 28).

40 page 44 *bis* recto, 4/1, right-hand margin beneath previous note: **tous Les M^{rs} des chœurs vont prendre Les habits cevyé et / argent avec Les Coëffures / a La grecque et Les péruques et / Les bonnets noirs** [separation line] **toutes Les d^{elles} vont prendre de / pareilles habits avec des / bouquets de plumes pour coëffures.** (All the male choristers put on [cevyé?] and silver outfits, with Grecian-style head-dresses, wigs and black caps. All of the women put on similar outfits with bouquets of feathers for head-dresses.)

The choristers appear as happy and fortunate lovers in Act 5 Scene 2.

41 page 47, 4/2, right-hand margin following the last line of the scene and above the printed rubrics *UBALDE touche LUCINDE avec le Sceptre d'or qu'il tient, & LUCINDE disparaît aussi-tôt.* (Ubalde touches Lucinde with the golden sceptre that he's holding and Lucinde disappears immediately.): **[dotted] X**, which corresponds to a note further to the right: **[dotted] X Lucinde disparaît.** (Lucinde disappears.)

That Lucinde 'disappears' (*disparaît*) rather than exiting (*se retire*) may indicate that she did so via a trap. Note that the monsters in Act 4 Scene 1 'disappear' (*disparoissent*) via a trap (prompt note 36).

42 page 57, 5/1, right-hand margin opposite Armide's text 'Jusques à mon retour, par d'agréables jeux: / Occupés le héros que j'aime.' (Until I return, occupy my beloved hero with pleasant games.): **Le plaisir,**

⁵⁹ Rosow, 'Lully's *Armide*', 486 (Table 47).



La danse et Les chœurs Entrent. [separation line] **passacaille nouvelle.** (Le Plaisir, the dancers and the choruses enter. New *passacaille*.)

In response to Armide's command, Le Plaisir (a minor character who sings a solo air in this scene) and the dancers and choristers (in the roles of Pleasures and Fortunate Lovers) enter to a newly written *passacaille*.

43. page 58, 5/2, left-hand margin opposite *RENAUD*: **La danse reste sur Le théâtre.** (The dancers remain on the stage.)

This note appears to warn the dancers not to respond immediately to Renaud's plea to the Pleasures and Happy Lovers: 'Allés, éloigné-vous de moi.' (Go, get away from me.) The printed stage directions and prompt note 44, which follow his recitative, indicate the simultaneous exit of dancers and choristers (see the printed rubric given in conjunction with prompt note 44).

44 page 58, V/2, left-hand margin opposite the rubric *Les PLAISIRS, les Amants fortunés, & les Amantes heureuses se retirent.* (The Pleasures, the fortunate and happy lovers exit.): **Sur une Simphonie / La Danse et Les chœurs / se retirent, sur La fin / de cette Simphonie Ubalde et / Le ch: Danois entre par le fond** (On a symphony, the dancers and the choruses exit. At the end of the symphony, Ubalde and the Danish Knight enter at the back of the stage.)

Presumably, this 'symphony' is the *Prélude* at the beginning of the next scene. Because the dancers and choristers exit together prior to Ubalde and the Danish Knight's entrance, the knights come upon a solitary Renaud. The knights' entrance at the end of the prelude and from the back of the stage ensures a pragmatic and dramatic realism: they do not cross paths with the Pleasures and Fortunate Lovers. The prelude was shortened at some time during the revivals of the 1760s from twenty-three to ten bars,⁶⁰ so the knights' encounter with Renaud takes place almost immediately.

45 page 59, 5/3, right-hand margin opposite the rubrics for Scene 3, *RENAUD, UBALDE, LE CHEVALIER DANOIS*: **pousser Le lit D'armide a la 1^{re} coulisse du cotté du Roy.** (Push Armide's bed out from the first wing, King's side [stage left].)

Apparently, Armide needs a place to rest because she faints in the next scene when Renaud forsakes her. See prompt note 49.

46 page 60, 5/3, left-hand margin at end of the scene: **Les chevaliers emment Renaud / par le Cotté du Roy, Armide Entre aussitot.** (The knights lead Renaud away King's side [stage left]. Armide enters immediately.)

This exit and the knights' re-entrance several moments later at Armide's words 'Mes cris ne sont pas écoutés!' (My cries go unheard!; see prompt note 48) intensify the drama in this scene beyond that which is indicated in the score or the libretto. According to these printed sources, all three knights remain on stage throughout Scene 4. Even though Ubalde urges his companions to leave quickly ('Allons, hâtons-nous de partir') at the end of Scene 3, no instrumental music other than four bass quavers provides time for the knights' exit, and all four characters (Renaud, the knights and Armide) are listed in the rubrics for Scene 4. According to the printed directions (*ARMIDE, suivant RENAUD*), Armide follows Renaud as she calls to him in her opening lines: 'Renaud! Ciel! o mortelle peine!' (Renaud! Heavens! O mortal pain!). He stops to listen to her only after she has sung seven lines of recitative. She continues to talk to him. (*RENAUD s'arrête pour écouter ARMIDE, qui continue de lui parler.*) To follow both printed directions can only result in a slow-motion chase scene as Armide follows Renaud until he stops. In contrast, the overlapping exit and entrance indicated in prompt note 46 enables Armide to catch a glimpse of Renaud as he leaves. The designation of the knights' exit stage left suggests that Armide enters from the other side of the stage (Queen's side, stage right) so that she might follow them in the direction of their exit. Although Renaud has resolved to leave and is out of sight, prompt

⁶⁰ Rosow, 'Lully's *Armide*', 487.



note 48 directs Renaud and the knights to reappear just as Armide fears that her cries have gone unheard ('Mes cris ne sont pas écoutés!'). According to the printed directions, which now make dramatic sense, he stops to listen to her one line later.

47 page 61, 5/4, right-hand margin opposite the scene rubrics *ARMINDE, RENAUD, UBALDE, LE CHEVALIER DANOIS*: **preparer Le vol des / Démon, et Envoyer / Les Soldats aux trappes / sous Le théâtre**. [separation line] **faire placer La / fausse Armide dans / La machine**. (Prepare the flight of the demons and send the soldiers to the traps under the stage. Place the false Armide in the machine.)

The preparation for the flight of the demons presumably consists of putting the children into harnesses (see prompt note 32). Instead of a stand-in, as in Act 2 Scene 5, a mock-up of Armide flies in her stead. The machine referred to here is Armide's chariot.

48 page 61, 5/4, right-hand margin with a line drawn to Armide's line 'Mes cris ne sont pas écoutés!' (My cries go unheard!): **Renaud reparoit avec Les chevalliers**. (Renaud reappears with the knights.)

See gloss for prompt note 46.

49 page 63, 5/4, right-hand margin with a line drawn to Armide's line 'Ah! la lumiere m'est ravie!' (Ah! I am bereft of light!): **Renaud soutient armide**. (Renaud supports Armide.)

At the end of Armide's next and final three lines in this scene, the printed directions in the libretto read *ARMIDE tombe, & s'évanouit*. (Armide falls down in a faint.) The prompt notes demonstrate how this action occurs without risking injury to the actress: as she begins to swoon, Renaud supports her and when she faints, she has the 'bed' to support her (see prompt note 45).

50 page 66, 5/5, right-hand margin following Armide's penultimate line 'Démon, détruisez ce Palais.' (Demons, destroy this palace.): **X**, which corresponds to the note in the left-hand margin: **X monter Les trappes et / Les refermer tres / promptement** (Raise the traps and close them immediately.)

Supernumeraries (referred to as 'soldiers' in prompt notes 32 and 47) dressed as demons enter via the traps.

51 page 66, 5/5, right-hand margin after Armide's final lines: [**circle with dot in middle**] follows her final line, 'Partons; & s'il se peut, que mon amour funeste / Demeure enseveli dans ces lieux pour jamais!' (Let us leave, and if it's possible, let my fatal love remain buried in this place for ever!), which corresponds to the note in the right-hand margin: [**circle with a dot in the middle**] **Le vol des demons / Les deux pluies de fond / Le vol de la fausse armide / Les feux des Coulisses et / La destruction**. (The flight of the demons, the two [storm clouds?⁶¹] at the back; the false Armide's flight; the fires in the wings and the destruction.)

The printed rubrics read *Les DÉMONS détruisent le Palais enchanté. ARMIDE part sur un Char volant*. (The demons destroy the enchanted palace. Armide leaves in a flying chariot.) The elaborate nature of this famous spectacle, which elicited great praise from the *Mercur*'s reviewer in 1761, is captured in several illustrations from the period (for example, see Figure 1).⁶²

61 I can find no mention of *pluies* in relationship to specific stage décor or machinery. Perhaps *pluies* are similar to *vapeurs* (see prompt note 20).

62 For other examples, see Berain's sketch reproduced in La Gorce, *Berain*, 89, and J. Dolivar's engraving after Berain's design reproduced in Néraudau, *La Tragédie lyrique*, 22.