

Ballet Performance as Motivation for Pasticcio Practices – Gluck’s and Berton’s *Cythère assiégée* (1775)

DANIELA PHILIPPI

In Gluck’s operatic work and performance practice one encounters several models of collaboration with artists for the realization of stage presentations and works and the combination of already existing ‘numbers’ with newly composed pieces. Another kind of combining was and is common for the music that is used for the realization of stage dance. In Gluck’s biography, the stage dance had different meanings in several creative phases and in quite different ways. In the late 1750s and early 1760s, Gluck was at first only the arranger of ballet performances at the Viennese court theaters, and later developed his musical and dramatical conception for the ballet pantomime with its innovative features (see especially *Don Juan*, 1761). His conception of opera (starting with *Orfeo ed Euridice*, 1762) integrated the dramatic acting component of the pantomime as well as expressive dance. But, looking to the reform operas that Gluck created in the 1760s and 1770s, it turns out that his integration of stage dance or instrumental music was stylistically quite diverse. In other words, Gluck did not always integrate stage dance in the same way, but decided on the use of dance music for pantomimic acting depending on the subject or dramatic situation, the compositional context and the performance conditions. With *Cythère assiégée*, composed for Paris in 1775, we have a special case. Based on Gluck’s *opéra-comique* from 1759 this stage work can be attributed to the genre of *opéra-ballet* with its typical alternation of vocal and instrumental airs. However, continuous action is part of its three-act conception. Regarding Gluck’s borrowing practices, his combinations and transformations of earlier pieces may well be worthy of note, but more interesting is the case of Act III of *Cythère*. This is because the sources which came down to us indicate pasticcio-like practices for performances in Paris in 1775. For this reason, the following article will focus exclusively on Act III.

As fate would have it, Gluck was unable to rehearse and perform his own *Cythère assiégée* in 1775: he lingered in Vienna, working intensively on *Alceste*¹ from spring until late summer, during which he became ill. Before leaving Paris in March 1775, he handed a score of *Cythère* over to Pierre-Montan Berton and entrusted him with preparing and rehearsing the work. Berton (1727-1780) was given the title of *Maître de musique* by the Paris Académie royale de musique in 1755 and in the 1760s he was temporarily one of the three directors of the Opéra, also serving as its general manager in the years 1776-1777 and 1777-1778.² His activity consisted largely in editing, rehearsing and directing older works of the French operatic tradition for new performances and he also composed some stage works.³

In the printed libretto of Gluck's *Cythère*⁴ (approved on 7 June 1775) a note provides evidence of Berton's contribution to it. On the title page's *verso* the names of librettist and composer, Charles-Simon Favart and "Chevalier Gluck", are mentioned. Beneath this a "Nota" informs us that Act III contains music by two authors:

"Mr. Gluck was forced to return to Vienna sooner than expected, so that he no longer had time to compose the music for the *divertissement* of the last act. He engaged Mr. Berton to represent him in this regard. His [Berton's] devotion to Mr. Gluck and his extraordinary respect for his [Gluck's] unique talents, did not allow him to refuse the confidence placed in him [and] his distinctive character: so, he worked out of pure affection and without any pretensions other than to show the author his eagerness and to the public his desire for everything that is suitable for his pleasure."⁵

1 First performance: Paris, Académie royale de musique, 23 April 1776.

2 See CHARLTON, 1993, pp. 340-353, and ROSOW, 1987, pp. 285-309.

3 Cf. the works listed in RISM online: <https://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=4>.

4 Title: *CITHERE / ASSIÉGÉE, / BALLET EN TROIS ACTES, / REPRÉSENTÉ, / POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS, / PAR L'ACADEMIE-ROYALE / DE MUSIQUE, / Le Mardi 1^{er}. Août 1775. / PRIX XXX. SOLS. / (Vignette) / AUX DÉPENS DE L'ACADÉMIE. / A PARIS, Chés DELORMEL, Imprimeur de ladite Académie, rue / du Foin, à l'Image Sainte Genevieve. / On trouvera des Exemplaires du Poeme à la Salle de l'Opera. / M. DCC. LXXV. / AVEC APPROBATION ET PRIVILEGE DU ROI. Copies are preserved in several libraries, especially in F-Pn, or in antiquarian bookshops, for more details see the critical report in: PHILIPPI, 2019, pp. 430f. See the libretto copy in F-Pn, RES-YF-1948, available online in *Gallica*: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1513865p?rk=85837;2>.*

5 "M. Gluck ayant été obligé de retourner à Vienne plutôt qu'il ne s'y attendoit, n'a pas eu le tems de faire la Musique du Divertissement du dernier Acte: il a engagé M. Berton de le suppléer à cet égard. Son amitié pour la personne de M. Gluck, & l'estime singulière [sic] qu'il a pour ses talents, ne lui ont pas permis de se refuser à la confiance qu'il lui marquoit: il a travaillé en conséquence, mais par pur sentiment, & sans nulle autre prétention que de prouver à l'Auteur son attachement, & au Public son zele pour tout ce qui peut concourir à ses amusements." FAVART, 1775, p. 2.

The “Nota” mentions Gluck’s allegedly premature departure from Paris as a reason for Berton’s authorship of the *divertissement* in Act III. It implies that this act had not been completed yet. At the same time, it emphasizes that the work was done at the request of Gluck (“il a engagé”). Of course, more relevant for Berton is that this note indicates him as composer of some dance numbers, though which numbers of Act III Berton composed is not mentioned exactly. The latter question can be determined only on the basis of other sources. Therefore, in the first place reference should be made to a note on page 192 in the printed full score which was also published in 1775: “All pieces of the *Divertissement* which follow the *Annonce* of the *Marche* until the end in the printed full score are compositions by Mr. Chevalier Gluck and the pieces of the *Divertissement*, played at the Opéra are composed by Mr. Berton.”⁶

Here is specified that from a certain point in Act III the dances performed on stage are by Berton and in contrast, however, the dances given in the printed full score are by Gluck. The passage in question (in the printed score, p. 162) can be found in the 4th scene, starting at bar 36. We will focus on the stage version and the contribution of Pierre-Montan Berton: his dance numbers were printed in parts in 1775 by Le Marchand in Paris and their titles clearly designate that they formed part of the performance of Gluck’s *Cythere assiégée* in 1775. The title page of the *Violino primo* part is:

“III.^{ME} RECUEIL / DAIRS [*sic*] DE BALETS / A grand Orchetre [*sic*] / PAR M.^R BERTON / Administrateur Général de l’Accademie / Royale de Musique / ajoutés dans l’Opera de Cythere assiégée / DE M.^R LE CH.^{LIER} GLUCK / Mis au Jour par M.^r leMarchand / Ces Airs peuvent servir a tous les Maitres de Ballets / Prix 9^{is} / A PARIS / Chez Madame Le Marchand M.^{de} de Musique Editeur de plusieurs / Ouvrage de M.^r le Chevalier Gluck rue Fromenteau et a l’Opera / A . P . D . R .”⁷

The whole *divertissement* of this print contains six movements. These are five more or less short movements and one, the last movement, is an extended *chaconne* (equated with *passacaille*), as is normal for the genre. A reference to the sequence within the dramaturgy of Act III is hinted at by some key words and brief references to the scene,

6 “Tous les Divertissemens depuis l’annonce de la Marche jusqu’à là fin de la partition sont de la composition de M.^r le Ch.^{er} Gluck et les Divertissemens que l’on jouë à l’Opéra sont de la composition de M.^r Berton.” Note in: CYTHERE / ASSIÉGÉE / OPERA / Ballet En Trois Actes / REPRESENTÉE / Par l’Accademie [*sic*] Royale de Musique / Le 1^{er}. Aoust. 1775. / Mis En Musique / PAR M. LE CHEVALIER GLUCK / POÈME DE M. FAVART / PRIX. 24th. / A PARIS. Au Bureau d’Abonnement Musical Rue du Hazard Richelieu. / Et Aux Adresses Ordinaires. / A LION. Chez M. Castaud. Place de la Comédie. / A. P. D. R. [moved away:] *Imprimé par Récoquillié*, p. 192. Exemplar used: D-DS, Mus.339. For other copies of the first print as well as the two reprints with other title pages (*Titelauflagen*) see the critical report in: PHILIPPI, 2019, pp. 425f.

7 Exemplar used: F-A, 4^o M 25. Only two complete and one incomplete copy are preserved. For more details see the critical report in: PHILIPPI, 2019, p. 428.

which can be found above some of the ballet numbers. They have correspondences in the 5th and 6th scenes of the (printed) libretto. The printed parts can be used to reference the music by Berton which is related to Gluck's *Cythère*. However, the separate publication and the non-specific nature of the key words, makes it difficult to reconstruct how the six dance movements by Berton were integrated into Gluck's *opéra-ballet*.

In search for the stage version

It seems reasonable to assume that another source will be helpful in answering the question of how the stage version of 1775 looked. This is the full score copy which has served as the reference for performances in 1775 and is situated in the Paris Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra.⁸ While Act I shows only insignificant notices affecting aspects of interpretation, Act II includes additional interventions with a greater level of detail. But Act III was subject to major interventions, both in terms of interpretation and on the course of the whole act. Unfortunately, these are not sufficiently useful for our present task of establishing the stage version.

There are irregularities of pagination which can only be explained by the exchange of pages, but in search for the six dance movements by Berton only a single number could be found. The dance movement is embedded in a sequence that – like in Act I – is characterized by the alternation of vocal and instrumental passages. According to the quoted hint from the printed full score, however, several dance numbers are sure to be found. In addition, the course of Act III, from Scene 4 on, does not correspond completely to the libretto.⁹ The manuscript score was used to prepare the performance, but it does not show the complete version given on the stage. This is the result of collation and the comparison of sources carried out in the course of preparing the edition for *Christoph Willibald Gluck – Sämtliche Werke*.

Another source is therefore required: fortunately, the handwritten material in parts has been preserved which is closely related to the performances of the year 1775. Like the manuscript score, it belongs to the collection of the Paris Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra.¹⁰ The material includes the vocal and instrumental parts of the complete performance personnel.¹¹ Despite numerous deletions, other changes and various kinds of

8 F-Po, A.234 a. For more details see the critical report in: PHILIPPI, 2019, pp. 421f.

9 See "Synopsis I" in: PHILIPPI, 2017, pp. 78-80.

10 F-Po, Mat.18 [75(1-123)]. For more details see the critical report in: PHILIPPI, 2019, pp. 422f.

11 This means only the parts (they are nearly complete). Under the shelf mark Mat.18 [75(1-123)] this material is divided into several groups: until no. 82 it consists of vocal parts, and from 83 on instrumental parts. The vocal parts for the soloists have the shelf mark numbers 1-35, those for the two choir scores 36-37 and those for the choir parts 38-82; the instrumental parts are arranged in the order wind instruments (nos. 83-94), strings (nos. 95-111), *basso* parts (nos. 112-122) and *timpani* (no. 123). Because some shelf mark numbers have *bis*-digits (nos. 4^{bis}, 13^{bis}, 19^{bis}, 40^{bis}, 58^{bis} und 94^{bis}) and one digit is missing (no. 101) the sum

damage, the material can serve to establish the musical course of Act III or several possibilities for its reconstruction. All this can be achieved on the basis of the information about the final passages given in the libretto and the printed *divertissement* (dance numbers) by Berton.

Looking at the scenes of Act III – for which divergent versions are to be found in the manuscript full score with its revision levels, the printed full score and the libretto – we also find signs of revision in the handwritten parts. The changes up to the chorus “Ici mille plaisirs” in principle correspond to those made in the manuscript score. For those changes that follow after the chorus, on the other hand, the printed score is the only source that can be used for comparing the music. It is noteworthy that the handwritten parts contain all the vocal sections by Gluck and additionally the six dance movements by Berton’s *divertissement*, and some revisions.

The comparison of handwritten parts and the printed score confirms the note on page 192 of the latter. In other words, in the manuscript parts are found all the dance movements which follow Act III, Scene 3 (i.e. from Scene 4 on [cf. overview below]) from Berton’s *Cythère divertissement*. There we find no dance movements by Gluck. As indicated, the two vocal pieces by Gluck, the *ariettes* “Nymphes, chantez victoire” (with notated repetitions, Daphné) and “L’aimable paix règne dans ces asiles” (Cloé), which also belong to the sequence of Act III from Scene 4 onwards are to be found in the manuscript parts as well as in the printed score. In addition, their position within the sequence of music pieces is largely comparable. Not surprising within a comprehensive manuscript material, the individual parts also differ among themselves: in relation to the musical sequence starting from the 4th scene in Act III such deviations can roughly be distinguished in three variants. Here, the most common variant in the material shall be considered:

The sequence of the stage version

Cythère assiégée – Act III (from Scene 3 on): stage version according to the handwritten part no. 115 (*basse continue* and *contrebasse*) from the material F-Po, Mat.18 [75(1-123)]

in italics = quotes from the sources (including spelling)

highlighted in gray = pieces composed by Berton

SCÈNE III

Récitatif (13 bars) Olgar, Doris, Cloé, Brontès: “*Ciel! Est ce Brontes que je vois*”

Andante Gracioso (46 bars) Cloé, Doris, Olgar, Brontès: “*Les Dieux*”

of parts is 128 (not 123, which the shelf mark [75(1-123)] may suggest). Gaps within a part are to be found in nos. 13^{bis}, 27, 32, 91 and 94^{bis}. Two fragments with shelf mark numbers (nos. 91 and 94^{bis}) can be identified as one complete part (Cor. I).

SCÈNE IV

Gravement sans lenteur (11 bars)

Récitatif (8 bars) Daphné: “*Que le calme regne à Cythere*”

Gravement sans lenteur (17 bars)

Announce. (5 bars \triangleq bar 1-5 in no. I of the *divertissement* by Berton)

Récitatif (6 bars) Daphné: “*Tout annonce ici la presence du Dieu*”

Marche (22 bars = no. I of the *divertissement* by Berton)

Récitatif (11 bars) Barbarin: “*Que vois je Olgar, Brontes, les chefs*” (previously before *ariette* “*Nymphes, chantez victoire*”, but crossed out with raddle)

SCÈNE V

Chœur (123 bars, *Dal segno* 18 bars) Cloé, Daphné, Carite, Doris, Olgar, Brontès, Chœur: “*Ici mille plaisirs*”

Passacaille Lourée (94 bars) (= no. II of the *divertissement* by Berton)

Entrée des Bergers. (111 bars) (= no. III of the *divertissement* by Berton)

SCÈNE VI

Ariette (153 bars, after that: repetition written out in full including revision, 58 bars)

Daphné: “*Nymphes chantés victoire*”

2^e Air. Louré Et viellé. (138 bars) (= no. V of the *divertissement* by Berton)

Gigue (52 bars) (= no. IV of the *divertissement* by Berton)

Ariette (62 bars) Cloé: “*L’aimable paix regne en ces aziles*”

Chaconne. Tempo di Minuette Gratoso (first 244 bars, enlarged to 385 bars)

(first 244 bars = no. VI of the *divertissement* by Berton)

The schematic representation of the finale according to the performance material shows the aforementioned combination of musical pieces by Berton and Gluck; this combination here corresponds with the alternation of dance and vocal sections. In addition, the densification of dance after the chorus “*Ici mille plaisirs*” becomes evident. Thus, after only one dance number in the 4th scene, five dance numbers in the 5th and 6th scenes are to be found. In the first layer of notation, the manuscript parts correspond completely to the six dance movements by Berton as they appeared in the printed parts. In the course of the performance preparations, however, changes were made: in many of the instrumental parts the *Gigue* (no. IV) was removed or the *Gigue* and *2me Air* (no. V) were moved to another position in the sequence, which also affected the position of the *ariette* “*L’aimable paix règne*”.

In addition, the handwritten parts for the final *Chaconne* (no. VI) deviate from the printed parts by adding a large number of bars (about 140),¹² where further interventions including revised textures make it difficult to bring all the parts into coherence. The handwritten material deviates from a plausible change between vocal and dance pieces, which we can see in Act I, for example; this is caused by repetitions of individual

12 See n. 29 in: PHILIPPI, 2017, p. 86.

sections of dance numbers and different expansions of dance pieces in the handwritten parts.

The plot of *Cythère assiégée* is essentially limited to an allegory of the failed conquest of the island of Cythera, which means that the god Mars and his warriors were defeated by the friendly power of Cupid and Venus. Due to the predominantly idyllic atmosphere, which is disturbed only at the end of Act I and in Act II by the encroachments of the besiegers, the musical design is characterized by lyrical moods. The motive reminds us of Jean-Antoine Watteau's famous painting *L'embarquement pour Cythère* or one of its three versions, which of course inspired the idea of the opera.¹³ The fact is that the Arcadian ambience goes hand in hand with the use of fixed types (which means that the role conceptions are not multi-layered). In addition, the scenery is very similar to that of the (rococo) *fêtes galantes* with their portrayal of couples in love, pastoral scenes of erotic nature embedded in park landscapes and surrounded by antique sculptures or ruins of a love temple.¹⁴ *Cythère* therefore remains in the tradition that was established in Paris by François Boucher¹⁵ and incorporated into classicism. And this includes motifs of dance scenes that can easily be assigned to different action contexts in their abstract gallantry.¹⁶

Act III, which is examined here more closely, begins with the complaint of the warrior Brontès that his army is no longer under his command, but follows the love of the nymphs of Cythera. Already in the 2nd scene of Act III he himself was also conquered by a nymph (Cloé) and in the 3rd scene, the nymph Doris and the Scythian Prince Olgar quickly accept the new lovers and all praise Cupid together. For the next scenes, different versions in two or three scenes have been passed down in the sources. But everything revolves around the worship of Arcadian fortune.

13 See Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) *L'embarquement pour Cythère*, version of 1710 in the collection of Städel Museum Frankfurt, version of 1717 in Musée de Louvre Paris and version of 1718 in Schloss Charlottenburg Berlin. On Watteau's painting in relation to pasticcio techniques see also the study by HANS KÖRNER in the present volume, pp. 71-102.

14 See the article *Fêtes Galantes*, in: HARTMANN, online: http://www.beyars.com/kunstlexikon/lexikon_2859.html, 07.04.2020.

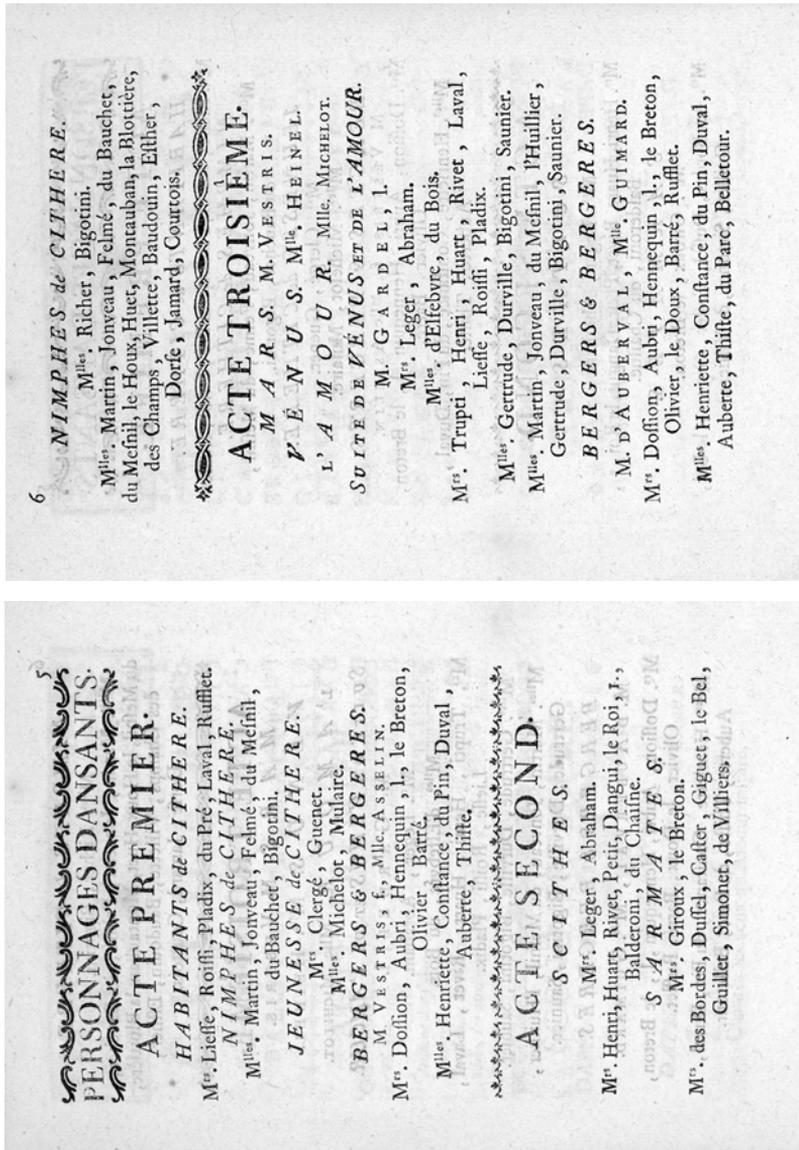
15 Boucher (1703-1770), for example, was commissioned by Louis XV to paint *fêtes galantes* for the *boudoir* of the Marquise de Pompadour.

16 Like the motifs by Jacques Sébastien Leclerc (c. 1734-1785), which he used for *gobelins* as well as for oil paintings. An example is *Le Menuet*, which is a part of the collection of the Petit Palais. Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, online: <http://parismuseescollections.paris.fr>, 07.04.2020.

Sequence of music and clues for the participation of dancers

The printed libretto is helpful in identifying the stage version. Here scene and person references can be found both within the textual progression and under the performance personnel information at the beginning of the libretto. Here the names of the singers (pp. 3f.) as well as dancers are listed.

Figure 1: Libretto, pp. 5f.: dancers.



Unlike the vocal parts however, the naming of the dance personnel largely follows the sequence of their appearance on stage. This is because the information in the libretto is divided according to the three acts in an arrangement that calls the various groups of dancers in order, as well as detailing the arrangement of the three soloists in the scene at the end of the opera. The order of entry also possibly indicates that of the appearances – at least within the groups of people: soloists, entourage of Venus and Cupid, shepherds and shepherdesses. According to the libretto (p. 6), the cast and event sequence for Act III would therefore be as follows (spellings according to the libretto):

“Mars – M. Vestris

Venus – M^{lle}. Heinel

L’Amour – M^{lle}. Michelot

Suite de Vénus et de l’Amour

M. Gardel, l. [l’ainé]

M^{rs}. Leger, Abraham

M^{lles}. d’Elfevre, du Bois

M^{rs}. Trupti, Henri, Huart, Rivet, Laval, Lieffe, Roissi, Pladix

M^{lles}. Gertrude, Durville, Bigotini, Saunier

M^{lles}. Martin, Jonveau, du Mesnil, l’Huillier, Gertrude, Durville, Bigotini, Saunier

Bergers et Bergeres

M. d’Auberval, M^{lle}. Guimard

M^{rs}. Dossion, Aubri, Hennequin, l. [l’ainé], le Breton, Olivier, le Doux, Barré, Rufflet

M^{lles}. Henriette, Constance, du Pin, Duval, Auberte, Thiste, du Parc, Belletour”¹⁷

The multiple naming of some dancers (e.g. M^{lles} Gertrude and Durville within Act III, or M^{rs} Henri and Huart in Acts II and III) makes it clear that the typographically grouped names do not specify immutable person combinations but the respective formation for a dance. The clarity of the displayed sequence of dances is deceptive, because comparing it with the course of action as it can be reconstructed in the libretto by corresponding instructions, and in the handwritten parts through music or number sequences, we see that all these instructions leave room for several possibilities in the pairing of dance and music.

Example of dance sequences in the stage version

To detect the dance sequences in Act III, the handwritten parts, supplemented by the information that can be found in the libretto, provide the most concrete clues. The beginning of the sections inserted by Berton as well as the two following dance movements are taken into account as examples:¹⁸

17 Names taken from FAVART, 1775; these can be identified mostly as members of the Opéra’s staff, see: *Les Spectacles de Paris*, 1776.

18 For all six numbers see the “reconstruction of the sequence” in: PHILIPPI, 2017, pp. 91-94.

According to the manuscript parts the first dance appearance in Act III takes place in Scene 4 (see the table on p. 580). It is the march no. I (4/4, C major), which is titled “Annonce” and integrated into a recitative passage; here, only five bars are played and after another recitative the entire movement by Berton is inserted. In the libretto, these sung lyrics reach into the 5th scene, and not until the beginning of the chorus does a scene instruction appear, assigned here to march no. I. This scene instruction describes the homage of all the three gods that are now becoming visible: “During a march, all persons render homage to Venus, Cupid and Mars who descend in a glory”.¹⁹

Figure 2: Printed violin part.



Consequently, for the choreographic implementation of the march a large group of people is needed; but in the light of the libretto (p. 6) it must be concluded that it was not the dancers, but the choir which was set in motion here for the homage of the gods.²⁰ This is also supported by the position of the next scene instruction related to the three gods found in the vocal text. In terms of content, it is the moment when the gods descend on the theater stage: “During this song piece Mars, Venus and Cupid descend on the stage; their retinue appears at the same time”.²¹

The *Passacaille lourée* (no. II) following the choir, in turn, provides a musical basis for solo dances of the three gods, which corresponds to the described events through its

19 “Sur une marche, tous les personnages vont rendre hommage à VÉNUS, à l’AMOUR & à MARS, qui descendent dans une gloire”, FAVART, 1775, pp. 53f.

20 This choir is also part of Gluck’s *Cythère assiégée* of 1759, in which it is the last musical piece and more a celebration of happiness. During or after the choir the singers (nymphs, inhabitants of Cythère and the Scyths [or “Les Scites” according to the libretto]) form a “Ballet general [*sic*]” to end the opera. See the printed libretto, FAVART, 1759, pp. 39-41.

21 “Pendant ce morceau de chant, MARS, VÉNUS & l’AMOUR descendent sur le théâtre; leur Suite paroît en même tems”, FAVART, 1775, p. 54.

cheerful character (3/4, G major). In addition, its extension (94 bars) and multi-part form allow a succession of varying choreographed solo sections.

Dance movement no. III of Berton's *divertissement* follows immediately (see the table on p. 580). It has the title "1^{er} Air [or in some parts "Entrée"] des Bergers" and thus determines the identity of the group of people represented by the dancers. In the libretto (p. 6) there are three ensembles for the shepherds: a couple, a male shepherd's and a female shepherd's group. The dance (2/2, G major), comprising 111 bars, makes it possible to think of a choreography that makes the succession and combination of all three groups possible. In the sequence this variety is realized by the three roles or groups and their performances. But it is also possible that in no. III only two groups were dancing, because the third, i.e. the female shepherds' group come on stage later. An indication of an extended combination of groups is to be found only in the libretto (p. 54, in connection with the choir "Ici mille plaisirs"), where the entourage of Venus and Cupid is added: "The shepherds, the shepherdesses and the retinue of Venus and Cupid unite while dancing and begin the feast".²² Of course the stage version by Berton does not add the entourage here; and it is not taken into account in the handwritten parts.

The necessity of interpreting the material found is also encountered in the following sections. It generally applies that the type of choreographic design remains scarcely determinable due to a lack of written evidence, although the musical sequence can be proven almost beyond doubt. This means that no concrete step sequences, space paths or arm positions are known for the dance numbers.

Interpretation of the results

Berton's supplement to Act III of Gluck's *Cythère assiégée* is an adaptation to conventions of the performance practice of the Opéra, especially in the field of *opéra-ballet*. The fact that Gluck was neither present for the rehearsals nor the premiere and follow-up performances²³ of *Cythère* contributed to the fact that Gluck's work closely followed genre-like performance patterns. In terms of Gluck, the situation of the altered finale of *Cythère assiégée* is not singular. In this respect, his other works, which he composed for the Académie royale and performed there, were also edited (re-worked), particularly his *Iphigénie en Aulide* – though for various final versions of this opera the composer

22 "Les BERGERS, les BERGERES & la Suite de VÉNUS & de l'Amour se réunissent, en dansant, & commencent la fête".

23 See LAJARTE, 1878, vol. 1, p. 282. The reference of the performance dates including the numbers of visitors can be found in: *Recettes de l'Opéra*, preserved in: F-Pn, Archives de l'Opéra, Comptabilité, Recettes à la porte, 25 April 1775-27 March 1776, CO-14. Here, 22 performances of *Cythère* are listed; the first performance was on Tuesday, August 1st and the last on Sunday, September 24th. Normally, the performances were on Tuesday, Friday and Sunday, and only on one Tuesday (August 15th) and one Friday (September 8th) no performances took place.

himself was responsible. Only with *Cythère assiégée* in Paris had the composer Gluck less responsibility for the version of the first performance.

Cythère assiégée is Gluck's only work of the genre *opéra-ballet*, a genre which was an established stage form in Paris characterized by a quasi-equal combination of dance and vocal performance. Gluck's first idea, which is limited in the original form to the direct sequence of an *ariette* ("Nymphes, chantez victoire") and the *tutti* choir ("Ici mille plaisirs") after Scene 3, was evidently not convincing. In this sense the combination of dance and vocal movements in the second half of Act III, both in line with the libretto and the need for a balanced conception of *opéra-ballet*, need no further justification. And, therefore, it is not surprising that the director responsible for ballet music realized a similar design for the stage by adding his own dance movements. The variants in the handwritten parts regarding the sequence beginning with Scene 4 also point to the variable nature of the conceptions for performances in the 18th century.

Sources

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