Observations and Insights into the Life and Vocal Work of Joseph Bologne (Chevalier de Saint-Georges)

by

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ABSTRACT

Chevalier de Saint-Georges, the brilliant swordsman, unequalled equestrian, athlete, dancer, violin virtuoso, composer and orchestral conductor is, and remains a singularly unique historical figure of the 18th century French Court of Louis XVI. Believed to be the first man of mixed race to compose classical music, Saint-Georges, who was frequently invited to the court at Versailles to make music with Marie Antoinette not only thrived, but excelled during the height of an appalling slave trade and one of the most explosive periods in European history: the French Revolution. Saint-Georges’ ever evolving talent, and without preamble composed six operas. This research document will introduce to the reader important milestones that influenced the direction of his life, as well as a survey of two arias and duet from the opera L’Amant Anonyme using the paradigm of dance metrics as described in “Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart, Le Nozze di Figaro and Don Giovanni,” by Wye Jamison Allanbrook and “Classical Music, Expression, Form and Style” by Leonard Ratner.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this document to my friends, who helped, encouraged and inspired me to pursue a doctoral degree at this time in my career. Dr. Dawn Corso and Dr. Janet Denson have been extremely supportive advisors who have shared the wisdom of their individual experiences when they persevered through the process of doctoral candidate.

I dedicate this document to my church family, SonSource Ministries and Pastors Lorrie and Rod Shelton who have tirelessly supported me and my musical and academic endeavors.

Finally, and most importantly, I dedicate this document to Almighty God, who has given me an amazing career, an amazing life and the will and ability to continue to grow and excel as an artist. He has completely renewed my strength and continuously increases my joy.
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My thanks and gratitude to Dr. Andrew Campbell for opening my eyes to the melodic and poetic possibilities that were hidden in the music I was preparing for my recitals. Thank you for your enthusiasm.

My thanks, and eternal gratitude to Dr. James DeMars for the opportunity to work with you and the honor to premier your gorgeous music. Guadalupe, Our Lady of the Roses, and Guadalupe, the Opera were both milestones in my career.

The last person to thank is Vanessa McGlothlen, my friend and student, who suggested Chevalier de Saint-Georges as a possible topic for my research project. Thank you, Vanessa.
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INTRODUCTION

This research document will examine the life and operatic writing of the Chevalier de Saint-Georges (1745-1799). The preponderance of research on this remarkable eighteenth century personality concentrates primarily on his prodigious skills in fencing, superb equestrian, elegant dance partner, athlete, violin virtuoso, orchestral conductor and composer of numerous works for the violin. *L'Amant Anonyme*, Saint-Georges’ third opera and the only vocal music of the composer that exists in its entirety, can provide both instrumentalists and vocalists an opportunity to understand and appreciate another aspect of his creativity.

With the approach of the Age of Enlightenment, the patrician appetite for elaborate theatrical spectacles inhabited by divine beings was losing its appeal. The theater would descend to earth with a new aesthetic, discarding royal pagentry for a middle class sensibility. The comedy, *L'Amant Anonyme* communicates this modern thinking, through the use of clever plot intrigues that accurately reflect the human condition.

Following an impressive musical career, Saint-Georges once again utilizes his fencing and equestrian talents in service to the French Revolution by fighting on the side of the resistance against the aristocracy. Appointed colonel of an all black regiment of men from the island of Haiti and Santo Domingo, Saint Georges begins the final chapter of his amazing life.
BACKGROUND: FROM GUADALUPE TO THE COURT OF LOUIS XVI

Joseph Bologne was born on December 25, 1745 on the Island of Guadaloupe, located in the Lesser Antilles to a wealthy plantation owner George Bologne and a young woman named Nanon, his Senegalese household slave.²

On January 8, 1748, George Bologne, along with his uncle Samuel Bologne was accused of murder:

The entire, tragicomic affair was set off by a trivial event, a drunken brawl between cousins attending Sunday dinner at Samuel Bologne’s home, at Montagne Saint-Louis, just over the next hill from Saint-Robert, his nephew George’s plantation…the mantle of doyen of the extended clan had passed to his brother, Samuel, who had not yet acquired the authority needed to keep the younger members of the Bologne clan in line.³

Extract from the files of the Clerk of the Civil & Criminal Court of the Island of Guadaloupe;

CRIMINAL PROCESS against BOLOGNE St. GEORGE[S], defendant, and ACCOMPILICES, accused of the murder & homicide of the Sr. LEVANIER St. ROBERT.

…That the same Sr. St. Georges dealt said Sr. Robert a blow with his stick which caused him to fall backwards on some rocks and that thereof he died three days later and was interred that same day without his widow or any of his other relatives having lodged any complaint.⁴

On February 17, 1748 the widow of St. Robert writes a letter to the king’s attorney, Judge Nicolas Louis Maillard:

I have been remiss to allow the arm of Justice alone to seek vengence for the homicide of my husband, but now, having overcome my initial weakness, I have been made aware of the fact that honor and duty require the I myself sue to obtain reparation for this homicide….


⁴ Ibid. 14
After expressing her gratitude and admiration for the heroic efforts of the king’s attorney (Maillard) and the court in prosecuting Saint-Georges, the murderer of her husband and his accomplices…. she humbly asks that her compensation from the confiscation of Saint-Georges’ properties be raised to 100,000 livres for herself and her seven children.⁵

FINAL VERDICT (May 31, 1748) Seen by us, Nicolas Louis Maillard, Royal Counselor…in the criminal trial against the said St. George and Sr. Samuel Bologne, defendants & accused, the first by our decree of capture and detention issued on January 8th, now fugitive and absent; and the second a personal summons…As reparation for which we sentence George de Bologne, the accused, to be hanged and strangled until death ensues on the scaffold which shall be erected on the corner of the public square of this town of Basseterre.⁶

The execution was merely symbolic, a ceremony performed in the absence of the central figure of the condemned man. George Bologne had not waited until January 15, 1748, to be apprehended and jailed as he was ordered. At some point during the trial he fled the island to save his life. Having all his property confiscated, Bologne feared that Nanon and Joseph would be sold by whomever bought his estate. On September 1, 1748, the Admiralty of Guadaloupe authorized his wife, Mme. Elisabeth Bologne, to take two of her husband’s slaves with her to France:

Permit for Mme. St. George Bologne to take with her to France the Negresse called Nanon, Creole of said island around twenty years of age small of stature the whites of the eye bilious the face reddish in color and a little mulatto her son named Joseph two years of age…⁷

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⁵ Ibid. 19-20.
⁶ Ibid. 20
⁷ Ibid. 24
At the port of entry, a report was filed by Mme. Bologne agreeing to abide by the edicts of 1716 and 1738, regulating the entry of slaves into France. It should be noted that Mme. Bologne knowing her husband’s fears for his black mistress and mulatto son was willing to take them to be with him in France.\(^8\)

As a result of the warrant issued for his arrest, George Bologne escaped Guadaloupe and was living in Angoulême by March of 1748 with his brother, Pierre Bologne (Lyric Poet, born in 1706 in Martinique, both brothers were descendants of the Capizupi of Bologna, who had established themselves in Provence in the 17th century). By 1749, the murder charges were dropped and George Bologne returned to Guadaloupe, leaving behind Nanon and Joseph in the care of his brother.\(^9\)

In Guadaloupe, Samuel Bologne had remained and survived the litigation of Judge Maillard and the unknown forces behind the brutal verdict. Trial documents show that Samuel launched a vigorous protest of his innocence throughout the hearings, resulting in his release. He also prevented Maillard from seizing his nephew’s property for distribution. Upon George’s return from exile, he could resume to his former existence with Nanon and Joseph, but his life would never be the same.\(^10\)

\(^8\) Ibid. 25.

\(^9\) Ibid. 27.

\(^10\) Ibid. 29.
Beginning in 1685, the Code noir, established by Louis XIV to regulate the trade and the treatment of blacks, decreed that the offspring of mixed parentage be relegated to the condition of the mother, meaning in Joseph’s case, abject slavery. In 1750, the Creole, Emilien Petit, author of *Traité sur le gouvernement des esclaves*, writes of the feelings of his colleagues about mulattos and others of mixed race:

…and their numbers can only continue to grow with each new generation, not to mention [those freed by] affranchissement (liberated by owner). Therefore they must not be allowed to live in our towns or cities but be relegated to the small places not yet allocated [to others].

Twenty years later, Hilliard d’ Aubertueil, colonial lawyer, states his point of view:

[National] interest and security demand that we crush the race of the blacks with such contempt, that even those [tainted] unto the tenth generation, should be marked by an ineffaceable stain. It is imperative that in the future all Negroes, griffes, and marabous must remain slaves, as [even] their skin is a shade too somber.

These laws were not yet fully enforced by 1749, however George Bologne could see the hopes that he had of his only son inheriting his land, disappear. Following the trial and his own narrow escape from the clutches of the law, Bologne had no trust in the

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11 Ibid. 37.


13 Examples: *griffon*, offspring of a Negro and a *mulattress*; *sacatara*, that of a Negro and a *griffone*; *marabou*, descendant of a *mulatto* man and a *sacatara*, or a *mulatto* father and a *griffone*; (Santineau, *Guadaloupe*), 358.

fairness of colonial justice. By the winter of 1753, he knew he must take Joseph away to France where slavery was illegal and his son could receive an education and freedom.\textsuperscript{15}

PARIS

Although there are no records of his attendance in a school, it is speculated that in 1753 upon the arrival of his family in Paris, Joseph was enrolled in a private school much like the Pension Bernard located on the Rue Faubourg St. Honoré près la barrier du Roule whose program offered:

Instruction in religion, reading and writing, Latin, German, the dance and arms (fencing) history & geography, design, math, as well as vocal and instrumental music education. Tuition, \textit{500 livres}, not including private lessons.\textsuperscript{16}

A music curriculum, the typical requirement of that time, could explain the mystery of how a twenty-four year Joseph could suddenly emerge as an accomplished violinist in a prestigious Parisian Symphony.

At the age of thirteen, Joseph was enrolled in Tessier La Boëssière’s Académie Royale Polytechnique des Armes et de L’équitation (fencing and horesmanship). ““To understand why his father sent him to fencing school we must consider the social significance of wearing a sword, particularly in France. It was a privilege, not accorded to everyone.”\textsuperscript{17}

Joseph exhibited the talents of a prodigy long before attending the Academy, according to La Boëssière fils:

\textsuperscript{15} Banat, 39.


\textsuperscript{17} Banat, 55.
Already at the age of ten he surprised the masters he had been given by his facility at learning. At thirteen he was placed in the care of M. La Boëssère, where he spent six years. At fifteen his progress proved to be so rapid that he was already beating the strongest swordsmen.\footnote{La Boëssière fils, \textit{Notice}, vi.}

In 1762, at the urging of his father, Joseph accepted a challenge from self-proclaimed fencing master Alexander Picard de Bremond who had recently opened a \textit{salle} in Rouen and, in his quest for notoriety, was quoted as describing Joseph as “La Boëssière’s mulatto.” Gabriel Banat describes the spectacle:

As Picard’s challenge was informal, i.e., transmitted through others, he was considered the challenged party and, according to the rules, the fight took place on his turf, in Rouen. However, given the irresistible eighteenth-century passion for gambling even more prevalent in Paris and Versailles than the provinces, bets on the outcome were a strong commodity in the capital…. Hundreds of spectators, including a large contingent from Paris, crowded into Picard’s \textit{salle} to watch the match. Joseph, “whose attacks were a perpetual series of hits…beat him with ease.” To those who were on Joseph’s side, his victory affirmed the principle of the equality of all, regardless of race and color. The likelihood that even the king had bet on Joseph is borne out by the fact that soon after the match, he made him a \textit{chevalier}.\footnote{Pierre Goxotte, \textit{Le Siècle} [Paris: Fayard, 1974] : 75.} From this time forward, by adding his patronymic Joseph would be called the \textit{Chevalier de Saint-Georges}.\footnote{Banat, 69.}

St. George’s development is recounted by Antoine La Boëssière, son of the owner of the Academy who tells us that from the age of eight when his father put the foil in his hand, that he had the inestimable advantage of being trained under his father’s instruction and brought up with M. Saint-Georges, who was his friend and companion in arms right up to his death.\footnote{La Boëssière, \textit{op. cit.} Introduction, p. vi.} He knew Saint-Georges as the “inimitable” and as “perhaps the most
extraordinary man ever seen in the art of arms and in all physical exercises,” to whom one might have applied “what Ariosto said of Zerbino: nature made him and smashed the mold.”

The Chevalier de Saint-Georges would become the darling of salons and drawing rooms of Paris society, the loftiest, liveliest, and surely the most pretentious in all Europe. He was sought out by the most elegant hostesses in Paris. Handsome and exotic, a famous fencing prodigy, a consummate dancer, and a virtuoso musician, he was most welcome to attend their parties, and eventually in their boudoirs. Antoine La Boëssièr later wrote, “he loved and was loved.”

George Bologne quite accurately knew that his son’s remarkable accomplishments in fencing, horsemanship, dancing and other courtly pursuits would establish his place in Parisian society. His support of his son’s career in music is confirmed by the violin virtuoso Antonio Lolli’s dedication of his Concerto, Op. 4, to “Monsieur de Bologne de Saint-Georges…for the gift of his son to the arts.”

In 1766, François-Joseph Gossec (1734-1829) composer of operas, string quartets, symphonies, choral works and the founder of the Concert des Amateurs, dedicated of a set of trios to Saint-Georges, thereby enhancing his growing and considerable reputation:

(Monsieur, the celebrated reputation that you have acquired for yourself by your superior talents, and the favorable reception that you accord artists, made me take the liberty to dedicate to you this work as a sign of

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22 La Boëssièr, Notice Historique sur St-Georges: xv.
23 Ibid., 83.
24 La Boëssièr, Notice, xxi.
25 Banat., 95.
homage due to an enlightened amateur such as yourself. If you will endow it with your suffrage the success will be assured).26

Within two years, in 1768, a work entitled *Six Sonatas pour violon et basse, Oeuvre IV, dediées à Monsieur de St. Georges*. J. (Giovanni) Avoglio displays this dedication:

Crowned with the laurels of Apollo and Mars, the truth that you possess equal measures of taste and courage is universally recognized, therefore I consider myself extremely happy that you had been willing to accept my volume. Your suffrage is too enlightened not to be in some way assurance of that of the public [as well].

Consent therefore, Monsieur, to receive this homage, rightfully due to your celebrated talents, not so much as a tribute worthy of them, but rather as a token of the gratitude with which I have the honor to offer.27

The earliest works dedicated to Saint-Georges were the group of concertos of Op. II by the aforementioned Antonio Lolli written in 1764. In a period of six years, these works presented the first evidence that Saint-Georges was not only an extraordinary swordsman and athlete, but he also was a remarkable violinist. In 1769, the Paris public was confronted with an unexpected sight: Saint-Georges, the famous fencer, seated in the first violin section of a prestigious new symphony orchestra.28 (See list of compositions in Appendix A).

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27 Banat., 110.

28 Banat., 112.
CONCERT DES AMATEURS

In order to avoid the politics of the royal patronage in support of his new concert symphony, Gossec, as founder of the *Concert des Amateurs* made the unprecedented move to assemble an orchestra of the greatest artists in Paris along with dedicated royal amateurs who in turn paid for the privilege of membership in the ensemble. This unusual combination created an orchestra that might have been divided by class distinction, like the one separating master from servant. Instead, as is often the case when dedicated people make music together, class distinctions between the participants simply faded away.29

In 1769, Gossec invited Saint-Georges to join the *Concert des Amateurs*, where his abilities and remarkable skills led to his advancement to concertmaster by 1771. “The violin has been ennobled in our times,”30 is a quote from a Parisian music critic. By the middle of the eighteenth-century, the instrument had achieved a popularity in France to such a degree that by the early 1770s, there could be as many as three violin concerti scheduled on a single program. The debut of Saint-Georges as the lead violinist of the *Concert des Amateurs* was an event eagerly awaited by all of Paris. Saint-Georges had to create a work that would showcase his prodigious skills, crush the competition and justify Gossec’s choice of him for concert master:

The brilliant solo parts of his first violin concertos are proof positive that he achieved his purpose in a dazzling and spectacular manner. The technically stunning passages interspersed throughout the outer movements of these concertos reveal Saint-Georges striving to extend the existing limits of virtuosity rather than for complexity and depth. But their

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30 *Le Mercure* (June 1738), 1:1113.
middle movements, which represent Saint-Georges’ first published adagios, convey a depth of feeling, close to, but much more personal and intimate than the currently fashionable “sensitivity” in the paintings of Jean-Baptiste Greuze and Jean-Baptiste Chardin.\textsuperscript{31}

Guédé sheds more light on the qualities expressed in Saint-Georges concerti. “He could be nimble and witty yet also was prone, musically speaking, to an unshakable melancholy and deep seriousness, using trills in the treble and rapid alterations of high and low notes. His music reminds listeners of Watteau and Boucher in its fast movements, Jean-Baptiste Greuze in its slow.”\textsuperscript{32}

For his first solo appearance with the \textit{Concert des Amateurs}, Saint-Georges premiered two violin concertos during the 1772-73 season at the Hôtel de Soubise.

Prod’homme reported:

The celebrated Saint-Georges - mulatto fencer [and] violinist…became at that time [1773] a sensation in Paris… [T]wo years later, in 1775, [he] appeared at the Concert Spirituel [where] he was appreciated not as much for his compositions as for his performances, enrapturing especially the feminine members of the audience.\textsuperscript{33} The concertos in question are \emph{Deux concertos à violon principal}, Op. II, No. 1 in G, No. 2 in D Bailleux 1773.

The \textit{Mercure de France} reported the publication of Saint-Georges’ first concertos made the following comments:

These concertos had been performed last winter at the Concert des Amateurs by the author himself [who] received great applause as much for the merit of the performance as that of its composition.\textsuperscript{34} (Ex. 1.1).

\textsuperscript{31} Banat., 134.
\textsuperscript{32} Guédé., 138.
\textsuperscript{33} Prod’homme, \textit{François Gossec}, 12.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Le Mercure}, February 1773.
By 1773, the *Concert Spirituel* (the floundering rival of the *Concert des Amateurs*) along with representatives from the Paris Opera, Pierre Gaviniès and Simon LeDuc convinced Gossec to take on the opera and the direction of the *Concert Spirituel*. He took leave of the orchestra he created, and with the approval of the sponsors and its members handed the position of conductor over to his concert master, the celebrated Chevalier de Saint-Georges.\(^{35}\)

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\(^{35}\) Banat., 118.
Ex. 1.1

CONCERT DES AMATEURS DEBUT OF SAINT-GEORGES

Violin concertos
Deux concertos à violon principal, Op. II No. 1 in G, No. 2 in D
Bailleux, 1773.

Deux concertos à violon principal, Op. III No. 1 in D, No. 2 in C
Bailleux, 1774.

Deux concertos à violon principal, Op. IV No. 1 in D (also known as Op. posthumous) No. 2 in D 
Bailleux, 1774.

Deux concertos à violon principal, Op. V No. 1 in C, No. 2 in A
Bailleux, 1779.

Deux concertos à violon principal, Op. VII, No. 1 in A, No. 2 in Bb
Bailleux, 1777.

Deux concertos à violon principal, Op. VIII, No. 1 in D, No. 2 in G
(also published by Le Duc and Henry as No. 9).

Deux concertos à violon principal, Op. XII, No. 1 in D, No. 2 in G
(also published by Sieber as No. 10 and No. 11).
The composer’s life was about to take a dramatic turn in 1774. On May 10th of that year, Louis XV, consumed and overtaken by smallpox, died in his bedchamber at Versailles. His death opened the door of succession to the throne to his twenty-year-old son, Louis Auguste and his young bride, Marie Antoinette.

THE OPERA

A demanding public clamoring for more and more spectacular productions, whose cost could never be met by ticket sales alone, was the nemesis of a long succession of managers of the Opéra. The fact that Gluck’s operas were invariably sold out indicated that it could be done, says Banat.

Louis XIV had turned the Paris Opera into a concession to be auctioned off to the highest bidder. However, in spite of the number of bankruptcies of former investors, a present auction for management attracted several bidders, ready to risk their fortunes for the concession:

Monsieur de Malesherbes, and the city of Paris, wanting very much to be rid of the domain so cantankerous and difficult to govern, were glad that several companies came forward to bid for its management. A young American going by the name of the chevalier de Saint-Georges, who, besides the gentlest moral attributes imaginable, possessed unbelievable gifts for all the physical exercises as well as an extraordinary talent for music, was the leader of one of these companies.37

The Royal Opéra was the preeminent theater in France, overshadowing both the Comédie Francaise and the Théâtre Italien. It was the venue that united music, drama, dance and it was crucial in the social and political battles waged by Marie Antoinette on behalf of the composers she championed.

37 Banat, 178.
Saint-Georges’ reputation as a virtuoso and gentleman reached Versailles and in 1774 the then nineteen-year-old Marie Antoinette invited the chevalier to come and play music with her. The court was used to the liberties the young Queen took with protocol, but the arrival of a colored man into her immediate entourage was a bombshell. He would become her music advisor and even for some time her music teacher.38

Marie-Antoinette… was brought up in a musical household. At the Vienna Hofburg, her mother Maria Theresa, considered music an important element in her children’s education. There along with her brothers and sisters, Marie Antoinette received daily instruction in voice, harp, and forte-piano, the last provided by composer Christoph Wilibald Gluck. With a fine singing voice and the ability to read notes at sight, she acquired an understanding of and genuine enthusiasm for serious music. As a result, she became the first royal hostess at Versailles since Marie de Medici, who not only appreciated music but was also able to participate in its performance.39

The queen held afternoon musicales in her private apartments at Versailles which included the attendance of regulars from the Musique du roy as well as her favorites.

Chevalier de Saint-Georges was one of those favorites, according to diarist Louis Petit de Bachaumont:

M. de Saint-George is a mulatto, that is to say, the son of a Negress, endowed with a great hoard of the gifts of nature. He is highly adept at all physical exercises, he fences superbly, he plays the violin equally well, besides being a most valiant champion of love and sought out by all the women aware of all his marvelous talents, in spite of the ‘‘ugliness of his countenance.’’ As a great amateur of music he was admitted to perform [music] with the Queen.40

38 Smidak, 121.

39 Banat, 144-145.

40 Bachaumont, Mémoires, May 1, 1779.
By the end of 1775 Saint-George’s musical reputation was so well established and his fame was so great as a director of orchestra, that he was considered for the post of artistic director of the Royal Opera. According to Baron Grimm, prominent music critic, a revolution ensued at the announcement of Saint-Georges’ possible appointment to the Royal Opera:

No sooner were Mesdemoiselles Arnould, Guimard, Rosalie, and others informed about the news [that Saint-Georges had been proposed as music director of the Opéra], they presented a *placet* [petition] to the Queen, assuring Her Majesty that “their honor and delicate conscience could never allow them to submit to the orders of a mulatto.” Such an important consideration makes all the impression it is to make, but after many projects and discussions regarding the matter, the question has been decided by the king, who in the end took it upon himself to have the Opéra managed on his behalf by the Intendants and Treasurers of the *Menus Plaisirs* [the king’s light entertainments]. Should the income be not equal to the expense His Majesty will supplement it; any possible benefits left over shall be divided between the actors the public finds most deserving.  

“After a great deal of discussion the King found a solution that safeguarded the honor of the petitioning ladies and spared St. George the embarrassment of seeing another candidate given preference.”  

This incident put an end to any aspirations he may have had of becoming music director of the Royal Opera, the most prestigious artistic post in France. Instead of being discouraged by the placet affair, Saint-Georges began composing the first of several operas. Consumed by this new medium of the stage, he all but abandons writing instrumental music, and music for the violin in particular.  

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41 Grimm, *Correspondance*, IX, 183-84.

42 Smidak, 140.

43 Banat, 1990, 195.
ERNESTINE

*Ernestine*, Saint-Georges’ first opera, premiered at the *Comédie Italiene* on July 19, 1777. Based on the novel of the same name by Mme. Riccoboni, née Marie Jeanne Laboras de Mézières written in 1765, tells the story of star-crossed lovers, complications requiring sacrifices and renunciations by both parties that is eventually resolved by blessed fate so that the lovers can marry and enjoy a life of perpetual bliss. The libretto was written primarily by Pierre Choderlos Laclos, an artillery captain and author of the famous novel, *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*.

What made the future author of the most scathing novel of the century elect Mme. Riccoboni’s sentimental novel for the stage is another matter. Given the prevalent notion that the poem comes before the music, we might conclude that it was Laclos who asked Saint-Georges, a popular figure and successful composer to set his version of *Ernestine* to music…Familiar with Marie Antoinette’s tastes, Saint-George would have been the one to know that, among all of Madame Riccoboni’s novels, *Ernestine* was the Queen’s favorite. Her Majesty kept a copy of it at her bedside, bound between plain covers bearing only her initials, Saint Georges would have thought that the subject would induce her to attend its theatrical premier.⁴⁴

The opera, unfortunately was unsuccessful because the public would not forgive the changes Laclos and librettist François Guillome Desfontaines made when adapting the novel for the stage. Frederic Melchior Grimm writes his opinion of the sole performance of *Ernestine*:

Two operas, *Ernestine* and *Laurette*, were given at the theater of the *Comédie Italiene*, neither of which had more success than the other. The former lived only one day…The words of *Ernestine* are by M. de Laclos, captain of artillery, known from a certain *Épître à Margot*…The music is by M. de Saint-Georges, the young American of many talents, the most skillful fencer in all of France and one of the leading lights [sic] of the *Concerts des Amateurs*. The subject of this unhappy drama is drawn from

⁴⁴ Banat, 196.
the pretty novel of Mme Riccoboni, *Ernestine*. One could hardly have
collected a more agreeable subject, one could have hardly disfigured it to a
more unpleasant degree. MM. de Laclos and Des Fontaines, thinking that
the basic premise of the story, interesting rather than comic, had to be
enlivened by some episode; they created a role for a valet, who is a
masterpiece of platitude and bad taste. Not even the talent of a Pergolesi
could sustain a similar outrage, and the composition of M. de Saint-
Georges, albeit ingenius and knowledgeable, frequently seemed to miss
being effective. One found grace, refinement, but too little character, too
little variety, few new ideas.45

After giving a lengthy description of the plot of the opera, an anonymous critic of

*Le Mercure de France* states the following:

The poet neglected in this piece to nurture situations, contrasts, and
characters that might have rendered the action more lively & more
interesting. The Amateur, highly distinguished by more than one talent,
who composed the music, pulled all he could from such an ungrateful
plan: one noted very agreeable duos, brilliant arias, ensemble pieces that
do him honor & that display a good style, as well as knowledge, facility &
talent. However, in France the poem is judged before the music, & the art
of the musician can never entirely cover the defects of the Drama.46

**LA PARTIE DE LA CHASSE**

Instead of dwelling on the musical as well as the financial disaster (Saint-Georges
had invested his money in the production) of *Ernestine*, he proceeded with his work at the
*Concert des Amateurs* and published two violin concerti and symphonies concertantes.

Félicité de Genlis, a famous musician (harpist) in her own right was the catalyst
that led Saint-George to his next opera. Charlotte Montesson, the morganic wife (a
marriage in which neither the spouse of lower rank nor any children have claim of the
possessions of the spouse of higher rank) of the Duke of Orléans and the aunt of Mme


46 *Le Mercure*, July 20, 1777.
Genlis was in need of an artistic director. The most impressive feature of the Duke’s mansion was a handsome theater with a fully equipped stage and capacity for six hundred spectators which the Duke gallantly named *Théâtre Montesson*.47

To engage Saint-Georges as music director of their theater was very much to his liking, and when she suggested that the duke would create a new position for the conductor as the Lieutenant of the Hunt, at Raincy, his enormous hunting preserve, her husband was more than willing to oblige. In addition to receiving a double salary, Saint-Georges was now a member of the Orléans household which entitled him to an apartment of his own within the ducal residence.48

La Partie de la chasse (The Hunting Party) was finished and ready for its premiere on October 12, 1778, less than fifteen months after the singular performance of Ernestine. François Desfontaines, the librettist who earlier adapted Laclos’s words for Saint-Georges’ first opera, wrote the complete text of La Chasse as a result of working in close collaboration with the composer. As the title suggests, it was at Raincy that Saint-Georges, the master of the hunt, conceived his second *opéra comique*. Early rehearsals, presumably took place after the chase with the thrill of exhilaration still in the air. Before its premiere at the Théâtre des Italiens, *La Chasse* was presented to an invited audience at the Théâtre de Montesson Saint-Georges was probably relieved to see three more performances at the Théâtre des Italiens knowing that the Duke, to whom the piece was dedicated, would not lose his investment in the production.49

47 Banat, 211.

48 Banat, 215.

49 Ibid, 216
Phillipe d’Orléans, Duke of Chartres, stepson of Mme. Montesson, never approved of his father’s choice for a wife. He went against his own convictions as a liberal and joined his father in abandoning his support of the Parlement in order to help the Duke persuade the King to let him marry a woman of lower class. Even after they married, Phillipe refused to see his father’s new bride. He had not forgotten her broken promise to wait two years before marrying his father. Adding to his disenchantment, was the gossip circulating about his stepmother and her handsome mulatto music director, with his reputation as a valiant champion of love. Not having clean hands himself, the Duke of Chartres had been the long-time lover of Mme. Genlis and asked her to intervene, solve the problem and still enable Saint-Georges to keep his position.\(^{50}\)

**MADAME DE MONTALEMBERT**

In the final quarter of the 18th century, there was a thriving profusion of society theaters sponsored by the elite of Parisian society. One among the many popular society theaters was that of the Marquis and Marquise de Montalembert. Their sumptuous residence, *Hôtel Particulier*, was located in the eastern suburb of Saint-Antoine known as Popincourt. Small in comparison to Théâtre de Montesson, the space was converted from a salon or medium sized ballroom that could comfortably seat an audience of one hundred guests who, following a performance would enjoy a sit-down supper in the dining room.\(^{51}\)

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\(^{50}\) Banat. 219.

The marquis had married late: he was fifty-nine when his bride was twenty-three. Born Marie-Joséphine de Commarieu, she had been blessed by a rare combination of beauty and character:

according to her portrait [by Isabey, now lost] as Diana, the huntress, with a quiver on her shoulder, as much more than pretty, a perfecto val with her eyebrows arching over eyes sparkling with mischief and intelligence worthy of that goddess, her mouth somewhst too wide, a little too delicate.\textsuperscript{52}

The Marquise de Montalembert made no secret of how much she admired the woman behind Théâtre Montesson, the leading private theater in Paris. The young marquise approached Mme. De Montesson to seek her advice about the problem of staging operas with her limited resources, but she eventually confessed that the real purpose for her visit was to ask Mme. De Montesson to allow Saint-Georges to conduct at \textit{Hôtel Particulier}. In the past Mme. De Montesson responded to all such requests with a definitive “no,” explaining that Saint-Georges could not take on any additional private assignments.\textsuperscript{53}

Not long after the marquise visit, Félicité must have had a conversation with her aunt about Saint-Georges, and convinced Charlotte that granting the request of the Marquise de Montalembert would solve their problem. In appreciation of her aunt’s cooperation, Félicité obtained Phillipe’s promise to be the attentive son and stepson they desired.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{53} Banat, 223.

Now employed at Hôtel Particulier as conductor, and vocal coach of the young marquise, Saint-Georges develops her voice to a remarkable degree. Félicité’s plan was proceeding very well, perhaps too well, according to the secret journal kept by a neighbor of the Montalembert’s in Popincourt, a Monsieur Lefébure de Beauvay (retired counselor of the Parlement of Paris) who in spite of being blind, or because of it, had the ability to see what went on around him better than others unencumbered by his handicap.55

The young marquise, who took great pains to get Saint-Georges as conductor for her theater, must have admired him for some time. The situation was predestined for a romantic encounter. Married to a cold, self-centered and much older man, Saint-Georges, the sensitive musician, given to falling in love at first sight, must have seemed like a hero from one of her favorite plays.56

The marquis was a very important person, a fact that he was aware of and made sure that others would not forget. He was a general of military engineering and had designed a new breech (the cartridge or shell is loaded into a chamber integral to the rear portion of the barrel) for cannons, enabling them to fire a shot every three minutes. Louis XVI, fascinated by inventions, authorized Montalembert to build a prototype of his forts on the Isle of Aix, near La Rochelle, and the general personally chose Choderlos Laclos as his assistant for the project. The marquis was prepared to spend all the time needed to complete the assignment, whether or not it would take weeks or months away from his home and beautiful wife, whom he prized as a collector would a priceless objet d’art.


56 Banat, 226.
Laclos, knowing the temperament of the general, might have warned his impetuous friend, Saint-Georges against starting a dangerous liaison with the wife of his general, whose enormous ego would make him a terrible enemy.\textsuperscript{57}

Monsieur de Beauvay, pursuing his avocation, the study of his fellow man, i.e. collecting information about the activities of the population of Popincourt, kept himself informed about the affair of the mistress of \textit{Hôtel Particulier} with the famed mulatto, Chevalier de Saint-Georges.

The Marquise de Montalembert, residing as before with her husband, the Marquis…is in an intrigue…with the celebrated virtuoso M. de Saint-Georges, rich American Créole; there is even talk of a child born of this illegitimate commerce, that died a short time later after his birth of an illness which they could have but did not care to have him cured of, conforming, no doubt, to the views of the putative father who took advantage of that circumstance to rid himself without undue notice of a son he had every reason to believe was not his.\textsuperscript{58}

In the end there was a new-born babe, whose shade of skin left no doubt in the husband’s mind as to its father, and put an end to the affair of the marquise and her chevalier. As was customary among the upper classes, the infant was taken from the mother at birth and sent to be nursed at some distant village owned by the marquis. In this case, the husband was doubly outraged by his wife’s infidelity and what he saw as an act of miscegenation, contrived to rid himself of the living proof of his disgrace. Under the law, still in force at that time, with proof of infidelity, any husband with a \textit{lettre de cachet}
(a letter empowering the king to imprison anyone with a stroke of a pen) could shut his wife away inside a convent for the rest of her life.\textsuperscript{59}

As Montalembert was on the verge of his greatest triumph, he became aware of this blight on his honor. The age, rank and race of the correspondent, not to mention his deadly skill with all manner of weapons, made seeking satisfaction on the field of honor unthinkable. Only the death of the guilty party could wash away such disgrace, another way had to be found:

\ldots Recently, during the night, he [Saint-Georges] was assaulted by six men; he was with one of his friends: they defended themselves to the best of their ability against the cudgels with which the brigands tried to finish them off; there is even talk about a pistol shot that was heard. The guard came along, and prevented the assassination; so that M.de Saint-Georges has suffered only contusions and light wounds; he is already showing himself in the world. Several of the assassins have been arrested.\textsuperscript{60} (Epilogue of his life in Appendix D).

Deprived of the woman he loved and mourning the son he never knew, Saint-Georges again turned his attention to writing music. The “L’aria de Valcour,” “L’ariette de Léontine” and “Duo Dialogue” will serve as examples of Saint-Georges’ vocal writing. In addition to a harmonic survey of the arias and duet, the rhyme scheme will be examined as well as the effective use of dance rhythms that identify the social class of the characters.

\textsuperscript{59} Banat, 229.

\textsuperscript{60} Bachaumont, \textit{Mémoires}, May, 1779, 485-86.
THE DANCE

Saint-Georges, the consummate dancer, and a man familiar with the sting of rejection because of his social class, uses the musical rhythm of dance to reveal the class distinction of two characters in his opera L’Amant Anonyme. The dance rhythms used are the waltz, the musette waltz, the musette gavotte, and the contredanse.

Ex. 3.1

Evolved from the ländler, in which couples stomped, hopped and on occasions yodeled, this popular peasant dance from Bavaria became quicker and more elegant. The name, waltz comes from the German word walzer, meaning to turn, role or glide. The waltz is danced in $\frac{3}{4}$ time with the strong accent on the downbeat of the measure, with a basic floor pattern of step-step-glide.

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61 bing.com/Images
In the 16th century the dance was considered scandalous because partners were allowed to dance close enough to touch one another. Church leaders were appalled, and the waltz was denounced all over Europe, earning the title the *Forbidden Dance*. By the mid-18th century the waltz became refined and fashionable in the ballrooms of Vienna and its popularity continued to spread throughout sophisticated society. 62

Ex. 3.2

The gavotte retains the symmetry of the 4/4 measure, only to turn it inside out: beat 3, the “weak strong beat” of the march, becomes the first beat of the gavotte pattern without taking the position and accentuation of the “true” beat 1. 64 Like the bourée, the gavotte is a dance *di mezzo caraterre*.

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63 bing.com/Images.

64 Allanbrook, 49.
The measure can be formed in various ways, with quarter or eighth notes predominant, or mixed. Here and there one can make use of the dot and other variations, the choice of them depending on the tempo and character one desires to give to the gavotte. For the gavotte can be used for various types of expression, happy and sad in various degrees, and can thus be performed in tempos which are more or less quick and more or less slow.  

Displaying neither the simple gravity of the minuet nor the exuberance of the gigue, the gavotte instead, by way of artificial control of its special rhythmic identity presents an air of primness which suggests the pastoral pastels of French *bergeries*. The association of gavotte with the pastoral was not merely a Parisian habit, says Allanbrook, but universally part of the dance’s effective gamut: the contradiction of courtly shepherds and rustic nobles.  

Ex. 3.3

Musette

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66 Allanbrook, 52.

67 bing.com/Images.
The musette is also an instrument (the French version of the bagpipe), the music of the musette imitates the instrument’s characteristic turns – the drone and skirl, pedal point bass and melodic treble. The musette is an important musical topos in classical music: it most directly suggests the expression of the rustic scene and immediately transports the listener into a country context. It can be composed in any meter, duple or triple, and have a fragile character.  

Ex. 3.4

Allanbrook, 52.

bing.com/Images
Charles Compan, writes in his *Dictionnaire de danse*, “One regrets not living in a country where people knew no other ambition than to please and no other occupation than that of loving and being happy.”

The affect of the musette as described by Sulzer – “naïve simplicity, with a gentle, coaxing song.”

Ex. 3.5

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70 Charles Compan, *Dictionnaire de danse*, s.v. “Musette.”

71 Sulzer, s.v. “Musette.”

72 bing.com/Images
Also known as the danceless dance, it has no fixed rhythmic pattern, tolerates any
meter, duple or triple (6/8, two measures of 3/8, 2/4 or alla breve). The contredanse
subverted the established choreographic habits of the late 17th and early 18th centuries,
causing an irreversible revolution in social dance.73

The choreography itself, determines the meter of the contredanse and its artistic
content is not limited to one particular affect. A democratic position toward the relation
between meter and expression and consequently, the term “meter” moves closer toward
the modern concept of it as a mere organizer of pulses.74

THE METRICAL SPECTRUM

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<th>Ecclesiastical (Exalted Passions)</th>
<th>Galant (Terrestrial Passions)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exalted March</td>
<td>4/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slow March</td>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>Galant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infantry March</td>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>Minuet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bourée</td>
<td>Gavotte</td>
<td>Siciliano</td>
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<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>Musette</td>
<td>Pastorale</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 3/4</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>Gigue (Musette)</td>
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<td>Infantry 4/4</td>
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<td>6/8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Infantry 4/4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Contredanse 3/4</td>
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The metrical hierarchy clearly corresponds to an affective hierarchy: accentuation,
style of execution, and tempo taken together, prescribe types of movement ranging from
the most stately, to the most spirited. Alongside the affective hierarchy there runs another
means of ordering: a class or social hierarchy. Allanbrook writes that the words “noble”
and “base” do not carry double meanings by accident: “noble” can be used to characterize
both good birth and good actions, and “base” connotes both “low” and “lower class.”

73 Allanbrook, 55.
74 Allanbrook, 61.
75 Ibid, 67.
“Mozart’s use of dance in his operas serves a different purpose from that of the dancing masters’… he uses the rhythms of social dance to reveal to the audience the virtues and vices of the characters he has set in motion on stage. In an aesthetic which exalts neither the celestial nor the subterranean…. instead the humble human…have their roots in another given human circumstance – the nature of the soil from which each man has sprung.  

The union of the affective with the social hierarchy may be offensive to liberal sentiments, but in a world where knowledge of a man’s class was the indispensable ground for one’s apprehension of him, it seemed only natural. Bearing reflected class, and thus by extension, character. An indirect testimony to this statement was the role dancing was thought to play in the moral education of the young. Dancing school was considered an ethical training ground, and the noble dances better teachers than their plebian counterparts.

Sulzer uses a threefold distinction of motion, affect and class to categorize types of theatrical dance:

The first or lowest class is called grotesque; its character is riotousness or fantastic. The dances essentially portray nothing but unusual leaps and strange and crazy gestures, amusements and adventures of the lowest class of men.

The second class consists of the comic dances. Their content is a little less unrestrained; they portray customs, amusements, and love intrigues of the common people…they must always be amusing and merry.

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76 Ibid, 70.

The third class includes the dances called in technical language *demicaractères* (half noble). Their content is an everyday action in the character of the comic stage – a love affair, or any intrigue in which people from a not completely ordinary kind of life are involved.

The fourth class includes the *dances of serious, noble character*, the requirement for the tragic stage...here all gestures and movements which the art can provide for the expression of the nobler passions must be united.\(^78\)

*L’AMANT ANONYME*

Felicité Ducrest, the future Comtesse de Genlis, and arguably the best harpist in France,\(^79\) was not only a prolific writer, she was also the mistress of Duc d’Orléans which positioned her in a place of considerable influence upon the history of France. Her play, *L’Amant Anonyme*, adapted by librettist Desfontaines for the stage was in 1780 the third and most successful of the operas of Saint-Georges. She may have been more than a devoted friend of the composer.

The story centers on the widowed Leontine and her anonymous suiter, Valcour. As a young woman, Leontine is content in her self-imposed solitude. Her arranged marriage which lasted a disappointing two years, left her indifferent to the idea of love. Valcour, the Viscomte de Clémengis has been in love with Leontine for a decade, but he refused to acquiesce to the demands of her parents who wanted to marry off their fifteen-year-old daughter. However, even after she married, he remained a trusted family friend and confidant. Class distinction is the principal theme of both her opera and play. (The play, of the same name, premiered a year later in 1781).

\(^78\) Sulzer, s.v. “Tanz.”

Now that she is no longer married, and with the assistance of her friends, Valcour lavishes Leontine with tender attentions in the form of letters, presents, flowers and selfless deeds. Despite his nobility, he entertains certain fears that she will reject him if she discovers his true identity. This psychological intrigue lies at the heart of the plot.

L’Amant Anonyme is a Comédie mêlée d’ariettes et de ballets in 2 acts which follows in the model of L’opera Comique consisting of an overture, spoken texts that explain the story and the musical elements: overture, ballets interspersed among vocal pieces, airs, ariettes, duos, quintet, and scenes for the entire ensemble and chorus.

L’ARIA de VALCOUR


For a long time my heart sighs and burns of the most tender love. But what a torment, what martyrdom hoping vainly for love in return. I moan day and night without daring, without daring to say, ah! I will die of love. For a long time, my heart sighs and burns of the most tender love. But what a torment, what martyrdom hoping vainly for love in return.

The opening aria of the opera is set to a waltz metric, which appropriately reveals the social status of our hero, Valcour. Originally danced by common folk in Austria and Bavaria, the waltz tunes can be traced back to simple Alpine yodeling melodies. As early as the 17th century the dance rhythms appeared in the ballrooms of the Hapsburg court. By the end of the 18th century, this ancient peasant dance was accepted by high society throughout Europe, and the 3/4 time signature became its most identifiable feature.

Valcour, *Le Vicomte de Clemengis* also had humble beginnings. The author, Mme. Genlis deliberately created a character who was not born into the aristocracy.
Historically, awarded by the king, the title of vicomte described nobles of varying status, however, the position was understood to be one of lower-middling rank.\textsuperscript{80} In many European countries a ‘vicomte’ was a non-hereditary, administrative judicial position. The aria \textit{Depuis longtemps mon coeur soupire} written in ternary form, (ABA) expresses the noble and elegant character of Valcour. As explained in the play, the vicomte has been secretly in love with the beautiful Leontine for ten long years, and with each phrase of the aria, Saint-Georges infuses the music with the emotions of a man in love and not the arrogant demands of an entitled aristocrat. Instead of an aria \textit{bravura} the composer emphasizes musical expressivity in which he contrasts Valcour’s sighing \textit{agréments} with violin pizzicatos over a quartet of limpid wind chords.\textsuperscript{81} Written in the key of F Major the piece is a transparent soliloquy of love not “unrequited” but love unrealized.

\textsuperscript{80} Encyclopedia Britannica Online, accessed January 29, 2016. s.v. “Viscount.”

\textsuperscript{81} Banat, 239
Ex. 4.1

L’ARIA DE VALCOUR

Acte Premier.

(Sa scène est dans le jardin de la maison de Campagne de Lontine.)

Scène première.

Valcour. Surt.

Aix.

Corni

Haubois

Violino 1.

Violino 2.

Viole.

Valcour.

Basso Continuo

The controlled meter of the waltz suggests a propriety and restraint of emotion that underlies the melancholy of his heart ache. “Each man’s habitual world must to a

great extent define him, limiting his freedom to act, and decency is not sufficient qualification to overriding those limits.”

Ex. 4.3

L’ARIA DE VALCOUR

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84 Allanbrook, 74

Saint-Georges uses the familiar construct of period phrasing throughout the aria, and with each eight bar statement, our hero expresses his uninterrupted love for Léontine as well as his despair of her ever loving him in return. As the tonality moves from tonic in the opening phrases and transitions to the farthest point of the dominant key, Valcour also reaches the extremes in his lachrymose with the words, “…je mourrai de mon amour: I will die of love.” (Ex. 3.3).

In the poetic rhyme sequence, the first and third stanzas end with a feminine rhyme scheme: Depuis longtemps mon coeur soupire…” For a long time, my heart sighs” Mais quel tourment, quell martyr…” But what a torment, what martyrdom,” while the rhyme sequence of the second and fourth stanzas end the couplet in a masculine rhyme scheme …et brûle du plus tendre amour …“and burns of the most tender love.” de n’espérer aucun retour…” hoping vainly for love in return.”

The A sections of the aria, written in octasyllabic (eight syllables) rhymed stanzas, offset section B with its mixed metric lines of decasyllabic (ten syllables) rhyme ….je gémis nuit et jour sans l’oser dire “I moan day and night without daring,” and the twelve syllable alexandrine rhyme sequence…. sans l’oser dire, ah! je mourrai de mon amour. “Without daring to say, ah! I will die of love.”

Saint-Georges observed André Grétry’s cardinal principle: “Vocal music will never be good unless it copies the true accent of the words…” Immediately preceding L’Aria de Valcour is a brisk Allegro Presto Overture in D Major (fast-slow-fast) in which

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the composer’s adroit handling of the orchestration exhibits a fresh and spontaneous quality that stimulates the expectations of the listener.

Ex. 4.4

L’ARIA DE VALCOUR

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For the purposes of comedy, Valcour, a trusted confidant of Léontine, and one who is acutely aware of her aversion to the idea of remarrying, devises a plan to court her anonymously. He employs the assistance of a pair of co-conspirators who believe that the dashing hero is not only the perfect solution to Leontine’s self-imposed solitude, but he would be an ideal and loving husband to her.

Similar to Le Nozze di Figaro and Don Giovanni, a wedding is to take place during the opera. However, in this case, the co-conspirators are not the future bride and groom. Ophémon, an elderly scholar and retainer attached to the estate of Leontine and her close friend, Dorothée assist Valcour in wooing the object of his affections. The plan is an elaborate one in which after years of surreptitiously sending notes, flowers and gifts to Léontine, by way of her friends, Valcour finally works up the courage to reveal his identity as her Anonymous Lover. The wedding ceremony of Jeanette and Colin has been chosen as the backdrop for this final romantic gesture and yet, Valcour continues to harbor reservations about his worthiness to be a suitable husband for Léontine. Set to the rhythm of the “forbidden” dance by Saint-Georges, the aria could be a reflection of Valcour’s reticence in approaching the “forbidden” Léontine directly. He is, no doubt, hoping that this will be the moment when “the heart that sighs and burns with the most tender love, may (yet) hope for love in return.”

L’ARIETTE de LÉONTINE

His love, his extreme devotion have not changed my determination. My indifference is the same. But nothing can touch my heart, no, nothing can touch my heart. Of the thousand different ways he makes his love known: charming and
exquisite feasts take place one after another. Spirit, grace and nobleness always shine there, always shine there. Sensitive and generous, everything in him I like. But, despite so many pleasing attributes, his love and extreme devotion have not changed my determination. My indifference is the same. But nothing can touch my heart, no nothing can touch my heart.

L’ariette de Léontine, a musette-waltz and musette-gavotte written in three time, and duple time, reveals the personality of a woman who is effervescent, self-possessed and conflicted. The characteristic drone figure of the musette (the French equivalent of the bagpipe) voiced in the viola and bass strings perhaps represents the “extreme persistence” of her unknown suitor.

This particular style, according to Allanbrook is the most common combination of musette dance rhythms; it is perhaps the most distinctive of all musettes. On the other hand the gavotte rhythms are an appropriate gesture for a courtly pastoral musette because they evoke the Arcadian world. Saint-Georges adds to the drone and skirl, the inflection of the raised fourth degree, a characteristic bagpipe sound. (Ex. 4.2) measure 21: F# in the bass).

Allanbrook observes that, generally in Classic uses of this tempo, the musette sound is combined with the rhythmic pattern of a particular dance (the gavotte and waltz).  

88 Allanbrook, 53.
89 Allanbrook, 54.
Ex. 5.1

L’ARIETTE DE LÉONTINE

L’arpenter qui j’ose voir offrir...manger, et que sans vous soient agréable...mais que sans eux...moi ne la portez pas...je promet...sinon qu’ensuite, de faire ainsi, et...j’aimerais que jamais, je m’impose un silence...toujours...que la façon...et j’impose...telle position...que jamais, je m’impose...n’est qu’un...et de bientôt tous les secrets...sont les plus fidèles...n’est que le devoir...de s’en empresser...les mensonges...et vous...de vous mettre...mais...songez qu’avec le mot...
Sulzer explains, the musette “can be used for noble shepherd characters as well as for low peasant types.” Léontine, however, of noble birth has chosen the simple pastoral life in contrast to her courtly past. “The combination of the prim, beating rhythms of the gavotte with the musette’s “country” sound creates a complex tempo, many layered in reference, which is fully the musical equivalent of that nostalgic world of amour and artifice, the literary pastoral.”

Still a very young woman, at the age of twenty-five, the widowed Léontine leads a very happy and comfortable single life outside of Paris on her country estate. A disappointing marriage has left her resolute in her decision never to marry again. Surrounded by her close friends, she is content and at peace in her secluded pastoral world. However, there is an intruder into her bucolic tranquility. For several years now, since the death of her husband, an anonymous suitor has been constant in his attention to her in the form of gifts, passionate letters of admiration, feasts and flowers.

The ariette Son amour sa constance extreme (His love, his extreme devotion) verbalizes Léontine’s dilemma with her unknown admirer. Composed in ternary ABA form, Saint-Georges decides to surprise the listener. Written in the key of c minor, he chooses to modulate the B section to the key of C major, and not to the typical relative major of Eb or to G minor, the relative dominant key. Even with her strong resistance, there is a crumbling of her resolve. Shakespeare was correct in his observation: “The lady doth protest too much methinks.”

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91 Sulzer, s.v. Musette
92 Allanbrook.
Ex. 5.2

L’ARIETTE DE LÉONTINE

Saint-Georges uses the *Allegro-Assai* tempo in sections (A) of the ariette, a waltz-musette, to illustrate the youth and insouciance of the character of Léontine. An aristocrat by birth, she has chosen a simple pastoral life as a way of forgetting the past.

Ex. 5.3

L’ARIETTE DE LÉONTINE

The musette-gavotte dance genre (B) is inextricably linked to the music of “shepherd lovers” of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, and places Leontine and her household within the idyllic vision of the Arcadia (pastoralism and harmony with nature) which dates back to antiquity.

Ex. 5.4

L’ARIETTE DE LÉONTINE

\footnote{Performer’s Edition, performersedition.com.}
The inhabitants of this poetic Utopia were often regarded as having continued to live after the manner of the Golden Age, without the pride and avarice that corrupted other regions.

Ex. 5.5

L’ARIETTE DE LÉONTINE

However, there exists an uneasy influence, of an *Anonymous Lover* that has distracted Léontine from enjoying complete tranquility.

Ex. 5.6

L’ARIETTE DE LÉONTINE
Ex. 5.7

L’ARIETTE DE LÉONTINE

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Recognizing her mystery suitor is clearly devoted and persistent in his pursuit of her affections, she is equally determined to resist his ever so charming advances. *Son amour sa constance extrême n’ont point ma changé ma rigueur.* (His love, his extreme devotion have not changed my determination).

Interestingly, in the *Andante Lento* (B) section written in the key of C major, Léontine slowly begins to enumerate all of the many noble attributes of her anonymous lover: *L’esprit, la grâce et la noblesse y brillent sans cesse.* (Spirit, grace and nobleness always shine there). (Ex. 5.2-5.4) Her reminiscence of his charms nearly dismantles her firmness of purpose to resist his advances, at which point Saint-Georges adds a four measure *Adagio codetta* (Ex. 5.5) that brings Léontine back to her senses and the return to the *Allegro Assai* of the (A) section in c minor. The extended coda at the end of the aria is her vain attempt to stay the course and resist that which is proving to be irresistible.

**DUO DIALOGUÉ**
**LÉONTINE et VALCOUR**

The duet, Duo Dialogué is a departure from the simple binary form of the previous two arias. Saint-Georges has fashioned a contredanse written in the form of theme with variations. “The word contredanse seems to come from the English *country-dance*... in the village, people dance for the sole pleasure of dancing, to move limbs accustomed to violent exercise; they dance to breathe out a feeling of joy...” According to Ratner, the melodies of contredanses are most often in duple time, well-articulated, brilliant, gay, and most importantly they should be quite simple; since they must be heard

100 *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, s.v. “Contredanse.”
many times, they will become intolerable if they are over ornate. In every genre, the simplest things are those that tire least.101

**THE CONTREDANSE REVOLUTION**

The opera *L’Amant Anonyme* written in 1780, may have reflected the social changes taking place in society. As early as 1770, the economic crises provoking alarm in all quarters became frequent occurrences in France.102 Arguments for social reform were becoming louder and even found its presence felt within dance forms.

Court dance had historically been associated with a centralized model of power since the reign of Louis XIV. The King’s absolute control of his outer limbs, as well as the choreography of the courtiers orbiting around him like planets around a sun, had been a demonstration of supreme monarchial power. However, this political model was increasingly questioned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, producing notions of equality that would eventually spark the French Revolution. It can be argued that at this time of rapid political change, dance forms provided a performative frame in which to test out and try on new models of power, both within individual bodies, and in the relations between them.103

Learned by French dancing masters on trips to England, in the 17th century, the first appearance of *Contredanse Française* in France was 1684. Dancers were not arranged in hierarchical relation to a central figure, or to each other, but as a social group

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101 Leonard Ratner, 13.


that was exclusive in terms of class, but internally egalitarian. The contredanse therefore embodied the dispersal of political power away from the monarch, amongst the wider aristocracy, revolutionizing French court dancing, but also constructing and performing new political allegiances. It was danced primarily at masquerade balls, where the use of masks often provided a temporary release from the burdens of rank, and the contredanse performed and celebrated this obfuscation of status differences.\textsuperscript{104} This muddying of the clear waters of hierarchy was unsettling to those whose status depended on this system. For example, Elizabeth Charlotte, the Duchesse d’Orléanz complained in 1701 that, “One cannot tell nowadays who is who.”\textsuperscript{105} The spread of the contredanse from the court to Parisian ballrooms in the late 17\textsuperscript{th} and early 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries, enticed those who hoped to achieve upward social mobility through a dance that could be learned from a manual rather than a dance master.\textsuperscript{106}

**THEME AND VARIATIONS**

Finding a systematic instance of the variation form before the publication of *Six diferencias (variations)* for vihuela (guitar-type instrument) by Luis de Narváez in 1538 has proved impossible.\textsuperscript{107} The self-contained theme, in variation mode is repeated and changed in some way with each successive statement. Variations may be continuous as in

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{107} Oxford Music Online, s.v. “Variation” accessed February 20, 2016.
chaconne and ostinato movements, or discrete, as in strophic variations. Theme and variation may be labeled as A (theme), A1 (variation), A2 (variation), A3 (variation), etc.

The appeal of this genre was twofold, according to Ratner: (1) the theme itself, generally very tuneful and often familiar through having been heard elsewhere – in opera, song, popular dance, and other works; (2) the embellishment, which added something fresh to the melody. Ratner goes on to say that variation as a process, was widely discussed in 18th century music, and practiced by composers and performers wherever taste allowed. Variation as a form involves more than the incidental elaboration of a tone or phrase, as Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, 1806, points out:

The art of varying a theme and the talent of embroidering a canvas [adding ornamentation] are not one and the same thing. The first demands more science, the other, more taste.

Embellishment can be added in virtually any type of composition. Variation, which must retain recognizable features of the theme, makes use of simple forms – periods and two reprise plans – to achieve this purpose. The location of melodic, harmonic and rhythmic events in a small two-reprise form can easily be grasped by the listener, whatever elaborations or modifications may be incorporated upon the structural plan.

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108 Ibid.
109 Ratner, 255.
Ex. 6.1

DUO DIALOGUE
DUO DIALOGUE SCHEME

At this point in the opera, Saint-Georges has constructed a polythematic duet in the key of C Major in which Leontine, who is suffering from a painful headache, resists the comforting presence of a very solicitous Valcour. Following a spirited introduction, the soprano initiates the opening theme (A) in measures 16-28, continuing the *presto anime* tempo with the text: *Non, non, non, non, je ne puis rien entendre, laisse-moi ici. Jai besoin de repos, laisse-moi seule ici, jai besoin de repose* (No, no, no, no, I cannot hear anything, let me be alone. I need rest, leave me alone here, I need rest). (Ex. 6.1).

The response in kind by Valcour in a dominant chord progression, beginning in measure 31-39 is the first *melodic outline variation* (AI). His text: *Souffres que l’amie le plus tendre vous témoigne son zele et partage vos maux* (Allow your most tender friend, to show you eagerness, to share your ills). (Ex. 6.2).

As the intensity of Leontine’s frustration increases in measures 42-49: *Je connais votre complaisance, Je crains d’en abuser* (I know your kindness, I fear to abuse), Saint-Georges writes a second *melodic outline variation* (AII). Not to be discouraged and with matching intensity in measures 50-57, Valcour answers Leontine with a nearly identical melodic phrase: *Ah, comble mon espérance, pourriez-vous me refuser?* (Ah, fulfill my hope, would you repudiate me?). His response is (AIII) in *melodic outline variation* form. (Ex.6.2).The poetic device used in Duo Dialogue is *Epimone*: (See Appendix B).
Theme Two (B) proposed by Leontine in measures 57-65, *Le calme de la solitude m’est nécessaire en ce moment* (I need the quietness of solitude at this time) is an attempt to reason with Valcour and diffuse the intensity of their exchange (Ex. 6.2). His

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empathetic response in measures 66-71, *Dissipe mon inquietude, vous souffrez* (Dispel my anxiety, allow me) mirrors her vocal line exactly, with Leontine ending the phrase in measures 72-73 with *Je n’ai rien* (I do nothing). A direct exchange between Valcour and Léontine in measures 74-81, *Quel trouble, Quel tourment* (What trouble, What torment) is *melodic outline variation* (AIV) (Ex. 6.3).

The first *melodic outline variation* of Theme Two (BI) in measures 82-93, (Ex.6.3) that repeats a phrase of Valcour’s, *Dissipe mon inquietude, vous souffrez* (Dispel my anxiety, allow me), and repeats a phrase of Leontine’s, *J’ai besoin de solitude, laisse-moi seule ici* (I need solitude, let me be alone here) sets in motion a passionate spiraling interchange of emotions between them. The *melodic outline variation* (AIV) is repeated from measures 94-101, *Quel trouble, Quel torment* (What trouble, What torment) and (BI) *Dissipe mon inquietude, vous souffrez* (Dispel my anxiety, allow me) is repeated in measures 102-113. (Ex. 6.4).

*Melodic outline variation* (AV) begins in measure 114-125 with a frantic Leontine: *Laisse-moi mon je vous en conjure* (Let me go, I implore you) and an equally ardent Valcour: *permettre je vous en conjure* (permit me, I implore you). As the duet reaches its greatest intensity, in measures 127-134, Saint-Georges adds the last *melodic outline variation* (AVI). As Leontine again implores, *Je veux être seul ici* (I want to be alone here), Valcour answers her with, *Souffres, que je reste ici* (Allow me to stay here). (Ex. 6.5).
Ex. 6.3

DUO DIALOGUE

Ex. 6.4

DUO DIALOGUE

Ex. 6.5

DUO DIALOGUE

Emotionally exhausted, *Que de maux mon coeur endure* (Ills that my heart suffers) Leontine introduces a second *melodic outline variation* (BII) in measures 136-139, (Ex. 6.5) immediately followed in measures 140-143 by *melodic outline variation* (BIII) in the voice of Valcour, who repeats Leontine, verbatim *Que de maux son coeur endure* (Ills that my heart suffers) referring this time, to his own heart. (Ex.6.6).

In measures 144-151 there is an exact repetition of the music in (BII) and the same plea of Leontine to Valcour: *Je veux être seule ici* (I want to be alone here) and his response of *Souffre que je reste ici* (Allow me to be here with you). *Melodic outline variation* (AVI) returns in measures 152-159 with renewed energy, punctuated by the coda on the pick-up to measure 160 to the end of the duet. (Ex.6.6). (See resolution of the opera in Appendix C).

**SUMMARY**

This document attempts to introduce to the reader another aspect of the creative talents of Chevalier de Saint-Georges. A complete analysis of the score of *L’Amant Anonyme* is beyond the scope of my research, however this opera is the only vocal composition of his that exits in its entirety. I recommend that the music and text be examined, the score standardized and a revival of performances of this music in opera houses around the world.

There never was and perhaps never will be another Chevalier de Saint-Georges:

Indeed, within the brilliant swordsman, the fighting hero, the spirited horseman and the sporting genius, there lay another Saint-Georges, a man of great sensibility, vulnerable and melancholic – the musician. This is what makes him such an extraordinary figure, both in history of classical music and in that of arms. Of course we can find a large number of musicians of genius in the 18th century, but we would search in vain for another who attained similar distinction in so many other fields. As for those who reached comparable heights in the martial arts, we would search
among them in vain for another person with such distinguished achievements in music. His uniqueness is as amazing for us as it was for his contemporaries. He epitomized the classical ideal of harmony between body and soul. 117

117 Emil Smidak, 126
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APPENDIX A

WORKS LIST
APPENDIX A

Fourteen Violin Sonatas:

Op. II, No. 1 in G and No. 2 in D, Published by Bailleux, 1773.
Op. III, No. 1 in D and No. 2 in C, Bailleux, 1774.
Op. IV, No. 1 in D and No. 2 in D, Bailleux, 1774 (No. 1 also published as “Op. post.” while No. 2 is simply known as “Op. 4.”)
Op. VIII, No. 1 in D and No. 2 in G, Bailleux n/d
(No. 2 issued by Sieber, LeDuc and Henry as No. 9.
No. 1 is also known simply as "Op 8").
Op. XII, No. 1 in D and No. 2 in G, Bailleux 1777
(both issued by Sieber as No. 10 and No. 11).\(^\text{118}\)

Eight Symphonies Concertantes:

Op. IV, No. 1 in C and No. 2 in B flat, Bailleux, 1775.
Op. X, for two violins and viola, No. 1 in F and No. 2 in A, La Chevardière, 1778.
Op. XIII, No. 1 in E flat and No. 2 in G, Sieber.\(^\text{119}\)

Chamber Music:

Sonata for harp with flute obligato, n.d.: E flat, original MS in Bibliothèque Nationale, côte: Vm7/6118.
Sonate de clavecin avec violon obligé G major, arrangement of Saint-Georges’ violin concerto Op. II No. 1 in G, in the collection "Choix de musique du duc regnant des Deux-Ponts."


\(^{119}\) Ibid.
A Cello Sonata, lost, mentioned by a review in the Gazette du departement du Nord, April 10, 1792.\textsuperscript{120}

String Quartets:

Six quatuors à cordes, pour 2 vls, alto & basse, dédiés au prince de Robecq, in C, E flat, g minor, c minor, g minor, & D. Op. 1; probably composed in 1770 or 1771, published by Sieber in 1773.

\textit{Six quartetto concertans }"Aux gout du jour”, no Opus number, in B flat, g minor, C, F, G, & B flat, published by Durieu in 1779.

\textit{Six Quatours concertans, oeuvre XIV, }in D, B flat, f minor, G, E flat, & g minor published by Boyer 1785.\textsuperscript{121}

Opéra Comiques:

\textit{Ernestine, opera comique }in 3 acts, words by Choderlos de Laclos revised by Defontaines, after a novel by Mme. Riccoboni, premiere in Paris, Comédie-Italienne, July 19, 1777. Note: a few vocal numbers survive. \textsuperscript{122}

\textit{La partie de la chasse, opéra comique }in 3 acts, libretto by Defontaines, public premiere in Paris, Comédie-Italienne, October 12, 1778, lost. Note: one number survives, and two more, with only their vocal parts.\textsuperscript{123}

\textit{L’amant anonyme, comédie mêlée d’ariettes et de ballets, }in 2 acts, after a play by Mme. de Genlis, premiere in Paris, Théâtre de Mme. de Montesson, March 8, 1780, holograph in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale section musique. Exists in its entirety.\textsuperscript{124}

La fille garçon, opéra comique mêlé d’ariettes, in 2 acts, words by Desmaillot, premiere in Paris, Comédie-Italienne, August 18, 1787 lost.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{122} Ibid. 2006: 469.

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
Aline et Dupré, ou le marchand de marrons, children’s opéra, première Théâtre du comte de Beaujolais, 1788, lost. 126

Guillaume tout cœur ou les amis du village, opéra comique in one act, libretto by Monnet, première Lille, September 8, 1790, lost.127

126 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
The poetic device used in Duo Dialogue is *Epimone*: the persistent repetition of the same plea in much the same words.\(^\text{128}\) It is a rhetorical technique that adds emphasis, unity, and power to a statement. Epimone is from the Greek word, meaning to “delay.”

**LEONTINE**

*Non, non, non, non, je ne puis rien entendre, laisse-moi seule ici. J'ai besoin de repos. laisse-moi seule ici, j’ai besoin de repos.*

No, no, no, no, I cannot hear anything, let me be alone. I need rest, leave me alone here, I need rest.

**VALCOUR**

*Souffres que l’ami le plus tendre vous témoigne son zèle et partage vos maux.*

Allow your most tender friend, to show you eagerness to share your ills.

**LEONTINE**

*Je connais votre complaisance, je crains d’en abuser.*

I know your kindness, I fear to abuse.

**VALCOUR**

*Ah, comble mon espérance, pourriez-vous me refuser?*  
Ah, fulfill my hope, would you refuse me?

**LEONTINE**

*Le calme de la solitude m’est nécessaire en ce moment.*  
I need the quietness of solitude at this time.

**VALCOUR**

*Dissipe mon inquiétude, vous souffrez,*  
Dispel my anxiety, allow me,

\(^{128}\) *Webster’s Dictionary, s.v. Epimone.*
LEONTINE

Je ne fais rien.
I can do nothing.

VALCOUR

Quel trouble!
What trouble!

LEONTINE

Quel torment!
What torment!

VALCOUR

Dissipe mon inquietude, vous souffrez,
Dispel my anxiety, allow me,

LEONTINE

J’ai besoin de solitude, laisse-moi seule ici.
I need solitude, let me be alone here,

VALCOUR

Per metter moi.
Allow me.

LEONTINE

Laisse-moi, je vous conjure.
Let me go, I implore you.

VALCOUR

Souffres, que je reste ici.
Allow me to stay here.

LEONTINE

Je veux être seule ici, Que de maux mon coeur endure.
I want to be alone here, Ills that my heart suffers.
VALCOUR

Que de maux son coeur endure.
Ills his heart endures.

LEONTINE

Je veux être seule ici.
I want to be alone here.

VALCOUR

Souffres que je reste ici.
Allow me to stay here.\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{129} L’Amant Anonyme, Chevalier de Saint-Georges, 1780, Paris.
APPENDIX C

RESOLUTION OF THE OPERA
APPENDIX C

RESOLUTION OF THE OPERA

After eight years of anonymous courtship, Valcour the Vicomte de Clemengis has made the decision to reveal to Leontine the true identity of her mysterious lover, and he has chosen the occasion of the wedding of the young villagers, Jeannette and Colin that will take place on the country estate of Léontine as the setting for this most anticipated revelation. With the assistance of Ophémon, the old scholar and trusted friend of Léontine, and Dorothée her dearest friend, Valcour sends her a message that he the (Anonymous One) will reveal his true identity to her at the wedding under one condition: she must wear the bouquet of flowers that has sent to her:

We celebrate a wedding today: you deserve to know; if you deign to wear the bouquet that I offer to you, without flattering myself, and if you are agreeable, I think at least that it is not farewell, if you do not wear it. But the cruel disdain and marked hatred, I will impose upon myself with exile and eternal silence. Mundane dreams are the favor I implore, if valuable to you, after all the testimony of indifference, however here is where all others limit themselves. The Lover greeting you, is the most faithful, the most submissive and the most passionate. This is in effect, a very embarrassing letter, it is at the same time positive and a pressing refusal of the bouquet will make me unhappy, but wear it, it is filled with you.

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130 Chevalier de Saint-Georges, L’Amant Anonyme, Act I, Scene 3 dialogue.
Valcour’s heartfelt words are both irresistible and terrifying to Léontine. The urgency to either give in or dismiss the request made in the letter has brought about an excruciating headache. The loyal Ophémon, seeing an opportunity to pique Léontine’s interest, cure her excruciating headache, and make it impossible for her to refuse the invitation of her Anonymous One is masterful:

LÉONTINE

*Hé! C’est vous, Monsieur Ophémon? Que me voulez-vous? Je suis malade, je desire être seule.*

Hey! Is that you, Mr. Ophémon? What do you want from me? I’m sick, I want to be alone.

OPHÉMON

*Dans ce cas, je vais me retirer. Je venais pour conter à Madame une petite aventure.*

In that case, I will retire. I came to tell Madame a little adventure.

LÉONTINE

*Qu’est-ce que c’est donc?*

What is this?

OPHÉMON

*Ah! rien; c’est toujours de cet inconnu*

Ah! nothing; it’s always the unknown

LÉONTINE

*Comment? Expliquez-vous?*

How? Explain yourself?

OPHÉMON

*Je vais vous laisser reposer; je vous Raconterai cela demain.*

I’ll let you rest; I’ll tell you that tomorrow.
LÉONTINE

Vous m’impatientez. Parlez-donc? Qu’est-il arrive?
You make me impatient. So talk? What happened?

OPHÉMON

Madame est malade; je ne veux pas lui rompre la tête de ces bagatelles.
Madame is ill; I do not want to hurt your head with such trifles.

LÉONTINE

Mais, Monsieur Ophémon, quand je vous dis que je veux la savoir.
But Mr. Ophémon when I tell you I want to know.

OPHÉMON

Cela n’en vaut pas la peine.
It’s not worth it.

LÉONTINE

Quel homme insupportable! En vérité, vous me mettez hors de moi. Ce n’est pas pour la chose, elle m’est indifférente; mais je ne puis souffrir, lorsque je vous presse, que vous ne daigniez pas me répondre.
What an insufferable man! In truth, you make me angry. It’s not for the thing itself, which makes no difference, but I cannot bear, when I press you, you do not deign to reply.

OPHÉMON

Eh, bien, Madame, je vais vous le dire: c’est que je l’ai vu.
Well, Madame, I’ll tell you: I saw him.

LÉONTINE

Vous, l’avez vu? …. Qui?
You saw him? ...Who?

OPHÉMON

L’inconnu.
The Anonymous One
LÉONTINE


OPHÉMON

Pardonnez; mais je ne puis m’empêcher de rire de la vivacité naturelle de Madame, qui se manifeste…. (Il rit)

Forgive; but I cannot help but laugh at the natural vivacity of Madame, manifested… (laughs)

LÉONTINE

Il y a de mourir…Vous me poussez à bout. Finirez-vous, encore une fois; comment l’avez-vous vu?

It’s enough to die…you push me too far. Are you finished, once again, how have you seen him?

OPHÉMON

On est venu me dire pendant le souper, qu’un homme demandait à me parler à porter du château. J’ai d’abord imagine que c’était pour quelques démêlés des Paysans, un jour de noce….quelque bataille….quelque….

He came upon me during supper, a man came to the door of the castle to speak to me. I first imagined it was for some Peasants disputes, a wedding day …some battle…some.

LÉONTINE

Eh! Que m’important vos imaginations? Apres? Vous y avez été?

Eh! Are your fantasies important? After? You were there?

OPHÉMON

Non, j’ai achevé de souper fort tranquillement.

No, I finished a big leisurely dinner.

LÉONTINE

Vous n’y avez pas été?

You did not?
OPHÉMON

Si fait, mais en sortant de table.
If done, but after dinner.

LÉONTINE

Eh bien, qu’avez-vous vu?
Well, what did you see?

OPHÉMON

Un grand homme qui m’a pris par le bras, en me disant qu’il avait des choses importantes à m’apprendre & il m’a emmené au bout de l’avenue. Là, il dit qu’il l’amant anonyme; qu’il me connaissait de réputation; qu’il savait que vous m’honoriez de votre confiance. Je lui ai interrompu pour lui demander s’il avait lu mon dernier ouvrage sur la chimie.

A great man who took me by the arm, saying he had important things to tell me and he took me to the end of the avenue. There, he told me he was the Anonymous Lover; he knew my reputation; he knew you honor me with your trust. I interrupted to ask him if he had read my book on chemistry.

LÉONTINE

Voilà qui était bien nécessaire! Avez-vous remarqué sa figure? Malgré l’obscurité, avec vous pu distinguer ses traits?

That was much needed! Did you notice his face? Despite the darkness, could you see any distinguishing traits?

OPHÉMON

Non, point du tout. Il faisait nuit comme dans un four. J’ai seulement vu qu’il est très grand, d’une belle taille, noble, dégagée.

No, not at all. It was pitch dark. I only saw that he was very big, a nice size, noble and clear.

LÉONTINE

Et son visage, il ne vous a pas été possible?
And his face, it was not possible for you?
OPHÉMON

Oh! non.
Oh! no.

LÉONTINE

Il est très grand. De quelle taille est-il peu près?
He is very big. About what size is he?

OPHÉMON

Il ma paru...Comment vous dirai-je!...Eh, tenez,de la taille de Monsieur le Vicomte: c’est la même chose.
It seemed to me...how shall I tell you...well he looked about the size of the Vicomte: the same.

LÉONTINE

Achevez donc; que vous a-t-il dit de moi?
Finish therefore; what did he say about me?

OPHÉMON

Oh! des folies...qu’il vous adorait, qu’il ne vivait que pour vous....
Oh! foolishness...he loved you, he lived only for you....

Immediately following this conversation with Ophémon, Léontine suffers a re-occurrence of her headache and a visit from Valcour, who tries valiantly to comfort her in their duet, *Duo Dialogue*.

Unable to wait any longer, Valcour has his conversation with Léontine.

VALCOUR

Je vais en m’exilent combler tout avec souhaits
I have come here to fulfill all your wishes.

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LÉONTINE

Arretés….homme injuste! …a mon desordre extreme Mes craintes, mon humeur, à ma colore même, comment pouvés vous ne pas voir com bien Léontine vous aime?

Stop…unjust man….I’m extremely ill in my head, my mood, and even my color. How can you not see that Léontine is your friend?

VALCOUR

Ah! c’est trop prolonger un si cruel tourment. Mon coeur est satisfait: une amitié si tendre ne peut elle à fin se changer en amour?

This cruel torment has gone on too long. My heart is satisfied: can so tender a friendship turn into love?

LÉONTINE

Que dites vous?
What did you say?

VALCOUR

Vous dev’es me comprendre – Oui L’anonyme….
You deserve to understand- yes the Anonymous One….

LÉONTINE

Eh bien?
Well?

VALCOUR

N’est autre que Valcour!
He is none other than Valcour!132

Immediately following his admission, Saint-Georges writes a trio in an agitato march rhythm for Léontine, Valcour and Ophémon, with the text quel trouble, quell m’agite, mon coeur palpite (what trouble, I’m stirred, my heart palpitates).

Léontine finally realizes that the confidant and friend that she has depended upon for comfort and wisdom, and her mysterious noble suitor are one and the same person.

LÉONTINE

*C’est donc vous que j’amais! ...Cette passion que vous me dépeigniez tout à l’heure avec des traits si touchants, cet amour que vous nourrissez depuis huit ans, quoi, j’en était l’objet! Malheureux! Que de tourments je vous ai causés! Ah! ma tendresse pourra-t-elle les réparer? Voilà désormais le soin, l’occupation unique & chère de ma vie! Ah, Dieu! que n’avez-vous parlé plutôt? Fait pour plaire & pour séduire, Il ne vous manquait, à mes yeux, que cette âme sensible que vous me cachiez, j’ai pu la méconnaître, la taxer de dureté, d’indifférence, la déchirer tant de fois!*

So I loved you! ...This passion you showered me with just now, with traits so touching, that love you fed me with for eight years, I was the object. Unhappy! The torment that I have caused you. Ah, can my tenderness repair the hurt? Now this is the care and the unique and dear occupation of my life. Oh, God! Why did you not speak instead? My eyes missed your pleasantness and seduction, your sensitive soul was hidden from me. I had disregard, taxing hardness and indifference tearing away so many times.¹³³

The opera ends at the wedding celebration of Jeannette and Colin. Léontine and Valcour in their new found love, add their voices to the elation of the bride and groom in a quartet set in a contredanse metric. The text *Aimons nous sans cesse, que rien n’altère notre amour si per dois sa tendresse.* (We love endlessly and nothing can alter our love if we have tenderness).¹³⁴

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¹³⁴ Chevalier de Saint-Georges, *L’Amant Anonyme*. Scene V
APPENDIX D

THE CONCLUSION OF A LIFE
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THE CONCLUSION OF A LIFE

In 1781, due to enormous financial losses incurred by his patrons in shipping arms to the American Revolution, Saint-Georges *Concert des Amateurs* was disbanded, resulting in Saint-Georges turning to his friend, Phillipe d'Orléans, for help. In response, Phillipe revived the orchestra as part of the Masonic *Loge Olympique*. Renamed *Le Concert Olypique* with the same personnel, it performed in the grand salon of the Palais Royal. Sometime during the 1784-85 season, Count d'Ogny, Grand Master of the Loge and a member of the cello section, authorized Saint-Georges to commission Hadyn to compose a set of six symphonies for the *Concert Olympique*.135

In 1785, Phillipe d'Orléans dies, and with his death Saint-Georges loses his position and apartments at *Théâtre Montesson*. The son, Phillipe former Duke of Chartres, now Duke d'Orléans presents Saint-Georges with a small flat in the Palais Royal, which draws the composer into the political intrigue surrounding the duke. Phillipe, the new leader of the Orléanist party, the main opposition of an absolute monarchy, was a strong Anglophile and was a close friend of the Prince of Wales.136 Phillipe admired Britain’s parliamentary system, and his chief of staff Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville encouraged a constitutional monarchy to be replaced by a republic.137 Brissot believed that Phillipe, as France’s Lieutenant-general, would be promoted as the only alternative to a bloody revolution.

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137 Banat, 275.
Unfortunately, Phillipe’s plans for the renovation of the Palais Royale left the *Concert Olympique* without a home and Saint-Georges without employment. Recalling that the Prince of Wales wished to meet the legendary fencer, Phillipe approved Brissot’s plan to send Saint-Georges to London to ensure the Prince of Wales’ (Regent-in-waiting) support of Phillipe’s ambitions to be the future regent of France. Brissot also had a secret agenda. Saint-Georges was the perfect man to contact the abolitionists in London and ask their advice about his plans for *Les Amis des Noirs* (Friends of the Blacks) modeled after the British anti-slavery movement.\(^{138}\) Saint-Georges delivered Brissot’s request to the abolitionists, William Wilberforce, John Wilkes and the Reverend Thomas Clarkson.\(^{139}\)

By 1787, Saint-Georges completed his latest *opéra comique*, *La Fille Garçon* at the *Théâtre des Italiennes*. While awaiting the reconstruction of the Palais Royal, Phillipe opened several theaters, the smallest of which was the *Théâtre Beajolais*, a marionette theater for children. In 1788, Saint-Georges wrote the music of *Le Marchand de Marrons* (The Chestnut Vendor) with the libretto by Mme. Genlis.\(^{140}\)

On Thursday, July 8, 1790, the *Feuilles de Flandres*, Lille’s main newspaper, noted Saint-Georges’ presence in that city. He was the principal protagonist in a highly publicized fencing tournament. Though ill, he fought with the grace which was his trademark, in spite of running a fever, he demonstrated astonishing speed. Two days later, his illness proved to be so serious that he was bed-ridden for six weeks. The diagnosis was brain fever (probably meningitis). Unconscious for days, he was cared for

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\(^{139}\) Banat, 292.

\(^{140}\) Ibid, 308.
by the kind citizens of Lille. While still recovering from his illness, and deeply grateful for their kindness, Saint-Georges began to compose an opera for the Lille theater company. *Guillome tout coeur, ou les amis du village* (William wholeheartedly, or Friends of the village). 141

Having recovered from his illness, and tired of politics, Saint-Georges decided to serve the Revolution by being one of the first men in Lille to join its volunteer *Garde Nationale*. On April 20, 1792, Louis XVI compelled by the National Assembly sanctioned and declared war against his brother-in-law, Francis II, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, General Dillon, commander of the Lille garrison was ordered by General Charles François Dumouriez to attack Tournai, which was believed to be lightly defended. Instead, massive fire turned an orderly retreat into a rout by the regular cavalry but not that of the National Guard. Promoted to captain, Saint-Georges commanded the company of volunteers that held the line at Baisieux. 142

On September 7, 1792, Julien Raimond, leader of a delegation of free men of color from Saint-Domingue (Haiti), petitioned the National Assembly to authorize the formation of a Legion of volunteers, so that “We too may spill our blood for the defense of the motherland.” 143 The following day, the Assembly authorized the formation of a cavalry brigade of *men of color*, to be called *Légion nationale des Américans & du midi*, 144 and appointed Citizen Saint-Georges colonel of the new regiment. St. George’s


142 Banat, 367.

143 Ibid, 373.

144 Americans, meaning from the Antilles: France’s American colonies.
Légion, probably the first black regiment in Europe, grew rapidly as volunteers [attracted by his name] flocked to it from all over France. 145 Among his officers was Thomas Alexander Dumas, the father of the famous novelist.

Colonel Saint-Georges was unable to secure the funds allocated to his unit for the equipment and horses that were badly needed by his regiment, and with the number of inexperienced recruits still on foot, it took his legion three days to reach the training camp in Laon. When Jean Nicholas Pache, minister of war, ordered Saint-George to take his regiment to the front, he protested that “Short of horses, equipment and officers, I cannot lead my men to be slaughtered…without the chance to teach them to tell their left from their right.” 146

In May of 1793, Citizen Maillard denounced Saint-Georges’ Legion to the Committee of Public Safety, for enrolling individuals suspected of royalist sentiment; not mentioning they were men of color. Commissaire Dufrenne, one of Pache’s henchmen accused Saint-Georges as “A man to watch; riddled by debts he has been paid I think 300,000 livres to equip his regiment; he used most of it I am convinced to pay his debts; with a penchant for luxury he keeps, they say, some 30 horses in his stables, some of them worth 3000 livres; what horror.” 147 Though Dufrenne’s accusations were based on heresay, Saint-Georges was called to Paris where, promptly established by the Committee

145 Banat, 379.

146 Letter, February 13, 1793, Dossier 13e Chasseurs, Xc 209, 211.

147 Banat, 380
of Public Safety that Pache never sent the regiment any funds and Saint-Georges was cleared of all charges and re-confirmed as Colonel of his legion.\textsuperscript{148}

On his return to Lille, Saint-Georges found most if his black troopers and some of his officers gone. War Minister Pache, instead of sending him supplies and officers, renamed the Légion St. Georges, \textit{le 13e regiment de chasseurs à cheval}, and attached to the army of Belgium. Some of its men of color were ordered to embark for the West Indies “to defend our possessions in America.”\textsuperscript{149}

On January 21, 1793, Louis Capet, the former Louis XVI was found guilty of treason and guillotined on the Place de Révolution. Saint-Georges had the opportunity to reinstate the constitution of 1791 and save the Queen, by following his orders to take Lille and join Dumouriez and Brigadier General Miaczinsky on their march to Paris. Instead he chose the Revolution over the society that nurtured him. Accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Dumas, Saint-Georges hastened to warn Lille of the looming danger. When Miaczinsky arrived, he was immediately arrested, taken to Paris, tired, found guilty and guillotined.\textsuperscript{150}

Saint-Georges’ regiment distinguished itself in the Netherlands campaign in Bergen op Zoom, however on September 25\textsuperscript{th} 1793, Saint-Georges and ten of his officers were arrested and taken away. After two weeks, his officers were released, but Saint-Georges remained in prison. Under the new Law of Suspects, Saint-Georges was

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{148} Ibid, 381
\bibitem{149} P. Descaves, \textit{Historique du 13e Régiment de Chasseurs} (Béziers: A. Bouneau, 1893).
\bibitem{150} Banat, 398.
\end{thebibliography}
incarcerated without charge in the fortress of Hondainville-en-Oise for thirteen months. During his incarceration, France was in the midst of the Terror. On October 12, 1793, Marie Antoinette was guillotined on the Place de la Republique; Brissot and 22 others mounted the scaffold on October 31st, followed by Phillipe d’Orléans on November 5th.

Saint-Georges, living under the threat of execution, was spared only because Commissaire Sylvain Lejeune of Hodainville kept his guillotine secret. After three months, the Committee of General Security ordered Colonel Saint-Georges released from prison.¹⁵²

Upon his release, Saint-Georges to regain his rank and regiment. After six months of waiting at the Ministry of War and receiving an inactive officer’s half-pay, Saint-Georges waited to be reinstated as colonel of his regiment. A certain Colonel Bouquet opposed Saint-Georges efforts, and after a year of litigation, Bouquet cited and obscure law and won his case. On October 30, 1795, Saint-Georges was dismissed from the army and ordered to leave his regiment. In addition he was ordered to retire to any community save the one where the regiment might be located. This ended Saint-Georges military career, with nothing, not even a cheap medal to show for his travails.¹⁵³

In Saint-Domingue, news from abroad that the “whites of La France had risen up and killed their masters,” spread among the black slaves of the island. “Rebellion on the

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 407.
¹⁵² Banat, 413.
¹⁵³ Ibid, 426.
island was extremely violent…the rich plain of the north was reduced to ruins and ashes.“154 After months of arson and murder, Toussaint Louverture, a black military genius took charge of the slave revolt. In the spring of 1796, a commission with 15,000 troops and tons of arms sailed for Saint-Domingue to abolish slavery. The leader of the commission was Julien Raimond, the founder of Saint-Georges’ Légion. Saint-Georges sojourn in Saint-Domingue remains unsupported by absolute proof, but most biographers including music historian Lionel la Laurencie accept it as fact. “The expedition to Saint-Domingue was Saint-Georges’ last voyage…disenchantment and melancholy resulting from his experiences during that voyage must have weighed heavily on his aging shoulders.155 Disheartened by the savagery between blacks and mulattos, Saint-Georges was fortunate to escape the island with his life.156

Within two weeks of returning from his journey, Saint-Georges was building an orchestra. Like the Concert Olympique, Le Cercle de l’Harmonie was also a part of a Masonic lodge performing in what was formally the Palais Royal. According to Le Mercure Français “The concerts…under the direction of the famous Saint-Georges, left nothing to be desired as to the choice of pieces or the superiority of their execution.”157

On June 9, 1799 “…For some time he had been tormented by a violent fever…his vigorous nature had repeatedly fought off this cruel illness; but after a month of suffering,


155 Lionel La Laurencie, L’Ecole de violon, II, 484.

156 Banat, 443.

157 Le Mercure Français April 11, 1797.
the end came at five o’clock in the evening. Before the end, Saint-Georges stayed with a friend (Captain Duhamel) in the Rue Boucherat. His death was marked by the calm of the wise and the dignity of the strong.¹⁵⁸

In 2001, the street named for General Richepance was changed by the City Council to Rue du Chevalier de Saint-Georges, at the request of French citizens from the West Indies. A commemorative plaque for the street described Saint-Georges as a “Colonel de la Grande Nationale.”

¹⁵⁸ Le Courier des spectacles, June 12, 1799.