

**Costumes for Universal Harmony
in Louis XIII's Court Ballets**

by
Franklin Brooks

In 1985 a cache of 188 early seventeenth-century French costume drawings came to light in Switzerland and quickly made its way onto the art market, so quickly in fact that no French institution could move fast enough to purchase even one.¹ The Victoria and Albert's Theatre Museum got a lion's share and collaborated with the London art dealers, Hobhouse Limited and Morton-Morris and Company Limited, to publish all of them in an album, *The Court Ballet of Louis XIII* (1986), for which Professor Margaret McGowan of Sussex University wrote the introduction and presumably the notes. Her unequalled knowledge of these ballets allowed her to assign almost all of these drawings to some twenty ballets of the period from 1615-1633.² The images provide exceptional evidence about how Louis XIII's favorite spectacles looked and their portrayal of carnival misrule and the burlesque extravagances of a topsy-turvy world surpasses the ingenuity of all others of the period. Journalists covering a New York City exhibit of these drawings stressed such themes above all, echoing McGowan's claim that from 1620 until 1643 the grotesque ballet was preeminent in France, in contrast with other European courts. (Kisselgoff: "Early Court Ballet" 9; 39-48) At the same time the drawings also feature Louis and Anne of Austria dancing noble roles (figures 93 and 119, acquired by the New York Public Library) in triumphs of royal majesty reminiscent of Stuart masques. I propose to examine pictorial evidence here of these burlesque and noble treatments of music and dance, treatments ridiculing and celebrating the highest accomplishments of harmony. These subjects are essential to an understanding of five ballets in particular: *Tancredi* (1619), *Apollon* (1621), *Les Fées*

de la Forêt de Saint-Germain (1625), *Le Sérieux et le Grottesque* (1627), and *Le Ballet de l'Harmonie* (1632).³

These working drawings carry marginal notes, naming a dancer, specifying a color or fabric, explaining a trick of construction, or explaining modifications for later use. They bring us uncannily close to the performers as they stepped on stage in these miracles of painting, architecture, fire works, stage machinery, lyric poetry, vocal and instrumental music, and dance. In particular they document the accomplishments of dancers and musicians, professionals and noble amateurs. Some sketches picture the masks they wore; others capture real gestures and steps; fancy footwork necessitated these trunk hose and short skirts. Here violinists and oboe players, who accompanied the dances, wear their stage costumes; dancers, who sang as well, accompany themselves on lutes, guitars, and lyres. Other instruments may have been played or only carried as accessories: hunting horns, bugles, trumpets, flutes, oboes, and bagpipes, percussion and tambourines. Turning these pages, one wants to apply Leo Spitzer's definition of seventeenth-century opera to court ballet: "a theatrical and musical genre devoted to the glorification of *music*—indeed, the self-glorification of music—on the stage of the theater." (Spitzer 121) These theatrical events were political and social episodes in the life of the court and its cycles of weddings and merry-making; they also illustrate the fluctuating fortunes of its policies and personalities. Yet here we are reminded that Louis's times interpreted these contingencies of life in terms of world harmony and the divinely ordered music of the spheres.⁴

McGowan assigns these unsigned drawings to "the atelier of Daniel Rabel," although we do not know for sure that Rabel was enlisted to work on all of them (1986, p. [1]). We do know that he was the foremost ballet costume designer of his generation. What remains to be studied—and these drawings compel us to do it—is his theater work in the context of his career as a prominent, well-connected portrait painter, engraver,

miniaturist, and book illustrator. The son of Jean Rabel, a painter and illustrator, Daniel was born around 1578. His specialties were book illustration, both engravings and illuminations, and portraits, in miniatures and gouaches.⁵ He painted Louis XIII's twice, and young Anne of Austria's before she came to France. In 1624 he produced an album of one hundred miniatures of flowers and insects on vellum in which Malherbe wrote a sonnet. (*Oeuvres Poétiques* 217-218)⁶ He published a volume of his own garden designs, *Livre de différents desseigns de parterres*, and illustrated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* in the 1627-28 edition, *Les Amours de Théagène et Chariclée*, and travel books by des Hayes de Courmin and de Feynes. Peiresc employed him to copy illustrations from medieval manuscripts about chivalric orders in 1622 and again in 1632. (*Lettres*, VII 339, 812) In the 1660s Marolles did not hesitate to rank the father and son with Jacques Stella, Laurent de La Hyre, and Eustache Le Sueur, and he put Daniel's *crayons* in a class with those of Pourbus, Fréminet, Vignon, and Callot (18).⁷ Daniel's training as an illustrator may explain the powerful beauty of the present drawings. Some are more impressive than Inigo Jones's. In the field of court ballet his earliest known activity is his engravings for the souvenir book of the *Ballet de Renaud* (1617); the costume in figure 6 in the 1986 album comes from one of these (McGowan, 1983, plate XIII). This ballet foretold the fall of the Maréchal d'Ancre and the rise of the duc de Luynes. The first mention of his own costume designs is a payment of 100 livres for the *Ballet de Tancrède* (1619). In 1625 his "portraits et dessins" for the *Ballet des Fées de la Forêt de Saint-Germain* earned him 150 livres ("Manuscrit de l'extraordinaire de l'argenterie pour l'année 1625." In McGowan 139). That phrase is taken to mean the costumes themselves but the water color drawings of the performers that he made afterwards are what make his name famous today. The following year he made another set to commemorate the *Grand Bal de la Douairière de Billebahaut* and in 1632 a third set to record the *Ballet du Château de Bissestre* (McGowan, 1963, p. [347]). All three are

now in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Louvre, bound in a single volume, catalogued as N^{os} 32.602-32.693. Rabel's present drawings are all the more remarkable because according to McGowan they are the original sketches from which he made the Louvre's copies (McGowan, 1986, p. [5]). No fewer than forty-two drawings from the German volume are related to them! Apart from these facts nothing is known about Rabel's contribution to the art of court ballet or his private life, except that his widow married the composer Jacques de Montmorency, Sieur de Belleville, in 1637. Belleville probably composed the music for the *Ballet des Fées* and worked with Rabel on others. Rabel also worked with the composers Antoine Boesset, Jacques Cordier, and Louis Constantin. They may have suggested ways to use musical instruments in these costumes although the comic incongruities also owe much to Jacques Callot's hellish inventions, in the tradition of Hieronymus Bosch.

"Faire voir une musique"—Colletet's description of dance in the preface to his *Ballet de l'Harmonie* (1632) might apply to these drawings as well. Colletet's text provides a useful summary of his generation's interpretation of the ancient tradition concerning harmony.⁸ At the center of his analysis is God and the attributes "la divine bonté" (208), "la souveraine beauté" (209), and harmony. What constitutes goodness and beauty and harmony is left unstated, although we infer that it concerns numbers, proportion, regularity, perfection, the balance between unity and diversity, and order. No matter, for God is "celuy dont (l'homme) est l'image" (210), and harmony is "le principe plus intérieur de nostre essence" as well as God's (209). We can recognize harmony, whether we understand it or not. An encounter with harmony is a reunion of human nature and the divine, a transitory return to our "félicité naturelle" (209). The pleasure and charm that the human soul feels in such encounters are a quickening of its energy, a sign of well-being, even in the presence of something less than the divine, e.g. "le plaisir des belles choses," for instance (209). Colletet's ballet presents some of the most likely ways

that divine goodness communicates the well-being of harmony. Strange to say, it is difficult to be sure about what actions Harmony herself performed; it is a non-speaking role and the description only refers to her when she leaves the stage twice (episodes XIII and XVII). The album shows her and an attendant muse (figures 148 and 149). Episode XVII seems to be her apotheosis: "Alors on verra s'ouvrir le throsne de l'Harmonie, d'où il sortira un melodieux concert de voix et de luths, c'est-à-dire l'Harmonie parfaite remise en sa place" (219). I visualize this moment as the revelation of her throne-room from which singers and luth-players emerge onto the stage, perhaps dancing. In this ballet, as elsewhere, Harmony remains primarily identified with music—Orpheus' six nymphs represent the hexachord in episode V—whatever other areas of life she controls. In Colletet's introduction we learn that human sight, as well as hearing, can perceive harmony since inanimate matter and the human body alike respond to harmony with movement. Dance is "une musique pour les yeux" (208). His celebration of dance's equality with music is the most noteworthy affirmation of this ballet. Ballet in general is described as a two-fold manifestation of harmony, whose two parts are consonant with each other besides, and which possesses a wonderful ability: "faire voir une musique" and "faire oüyr un mouvement" (208). This is what Leo Spitzer calls "Baroque synesthesia." (132)⁹ Thus the Apollo of this ballet is both the god of light and of music, a god of vision who dances. Likewise Aeolus and the dancing winds (perhaps plate XV and figure 188) represent air, the element not only in which harmony creates its sounds but which is also capable of the greatest variety of movements (212). Other episodes of the ballet represent further aspects of harmony's dominion. The music of the spheres, that "machine harmonique," is figured by Atlas' and Hercules' "globe céleste" (211, episode II). Harmony is likewise the source of the power of love and beauty—Venus, the Graces, Laïs and Lamie, two famous beauties of antiquity (213-15, episodes VI and VIII)—and is inseparable from the delights of Bacchus (216, episodes IX and X). Harmony's therapeutic

power cures melancholy (212, episode III) and defends human beings against "les passions qui desreglent nos sens," as Orpheus declares (212, episode IV). The medical principle is that nothing excessive is compatible with harmony, "qui consiste en la médiocrité, dont les bons esprits tant seulement sont capables" (217, episode XI). In the political sphere, harmony and fame work together to celebrate a king's exploits as musical theorists and performers affirmed at the time. (Isherwood 92 *passim*) Despite harmony's celestial nature, dark forces repeatedly threaten the natural order of the universe, the human body and the health of nations. Music has no effect on old men and women (episodes VIII, XIV, XV), drunken lackeys (216, XI), unhappy lovers (217, episode XII), and Momus—Night's ribald child—and his *bouffons*. Momus usurps Harmony's throne, insults Bacchus's maenads, and receives undue homage from two "vénérables vieillards"—Plato? Pythagoras? blinded by their pagan faith?—"qui ont les premiers escrit de la Musique" (episodes XIII-XV). Jupiter (plate XIV and figure 150) interrupts this brief misrule with "un bruit confus de pétards" (episode XVI) and then the *grand ballet* reunites all the participants, illustrating harmony's ability to make all things compatible (episode XIX) and mankind's similar creative ability ("chercher cette beauté merveilleuse dans la diversité des corps, pour en reunir les parties, et se plaire en la parfaite composition qu'elle en pourra faire," 210). One would like to know which role or roles Louis XIII danced in 1632; several reflect aspects of his kingship, especially Apollo, Harmony herself, and Jupiter, who triumphed over Momus.¹⁰

Colletet's efforts in 1632 codified current thought about the benefits of harmony. But our earlier ballets had already found striking ways to dramatize many traditional themes about harmony, notably its heavenly origin, the links between feminine beauty and manly dancing grace, music and health, Apollonian order and the harmonious republic, and hellish music in the kingdoms of hell, war, night, and the passions. On February 12, 1619, Louis, his favorite Luynes and the

court danced *L'Aventure de Tancredi en la Forêt enchantée*, based on an episode in Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberata*. (Lacroix, II, 161-198; McGowan 117-131) The spectacle signified Luynes's successful management of Louis's political affairs for two years despite fierce opposition. This is the ballet for which Rabel's costume designs cost 100 livres.¹¹ (McGowan 131 n. 32) The ballet tells the story of Tancred's defeat of the magician Ismen, despite a formidable army of infernal creatures: animal-like "monstres armés" (with their "grimaces" and "pas endiablez"), Furies, hellish judges, old women, Pluto, Proserpine, and Charon. The opportunity for carnival make-believe here is obvious. After Tancred's dance of triumph, the stage became a vision of heaven, a figuring of the French state. This celestial spectacle is of singular importance to our subject because it makes visible the music and the dancing of the spheres. What the audience first saw was a temple; at the sides of the stage a number of singers performed. Then a cloud descended—for the first time in the history of French theater (McGowan, 1963)—carrying twenty angel *musiciens* or singers and eight angel *balladins* or dancers (Lacroix 189 and 184-86). When they alighted from the cloud the king's twenty-four violins joined them for a celebration of vocal and instrumental music and dance. I think we can properly call it a luminous vision of celestial harmony. Human love, moreover, found its place in this scheme of things when the queen herself, Anne of Austria, became the object of the angels' praise. The singers addressed these words to the dancers:

O vous, Esprits glorieux,
 Qui guidez le bal des Spheres des Cieux,
 Venez tous à la fois
 Danser un bal qui seconde nos voix.

Vos yeux voyant les clairtez
 Que respand icy l'Astre des beautez
 Ne pourront au retour
 Qu'avec mespris revoir l'astre du jour. (186)

The vocabulary of light is noteworthy here—"glorieux," "clairtez," "l'Astre des beautez," "l'astre du jour"—as is the compliment to Anne whose beauty devalues the sun.

Fortunately the collection of drawings contains eleven for *Tancrede*; their identification is confirmed by the costume descriptions in the text, the most meticulous of all I have seen. Two portray an angelic singer—carrying a lute—and a violin player (figures 16 and 17). Both feature an unusual full-skirted silhouette. The singers' gold-embroidered robes were blue, white and pink taffeta—perhaps an angel's traditional colors. The twenty-four violins were divided into three groups, each of which wore one of these colors (pp. 184-85). Not visible on these drawings are the angels' white feather wings. As for what the dancers wore, no drawings illustrate the text, which mentions their tunics, hair ornaments or *noeuds de bouqueterie* and pink taffeta veils, shirts of gold-threaded white taffeta, gilt leather arm-bands and shoe ornaments, and wings.

In February 1621 the king's ballet again honored Luynes. Its subject was Apollo's accomplishments—prophecy, healing, marksmanship, and enlightenment—and Luynes appeared in this god's role (LaCroix, II, 269-73).¹² The context is Apollo's service to a mortal king, Admetus of Thessaly, Jupiter's punishment for killing the blacksmith Cyclops. Apollo's benefactions and those performed in his name are allegories of Luynes's continued mastery of French political affairs. The ballet features Apollo's punishment of two thieves at Delphi, his conquest of the Python, and the Lapithae's defeat of the Centaurs, "qui se rebelloient contre leur Roy." In the final scene "les Genies du lieu (les) conduisent attachés à un Géant enchainé" (273). Perhaps this is the scene in which Louis XIII recited Théophile de Viau's verses asserting his superiority over blacksmiths such as the Cyclops; in that case, appropriately, Louis would enchain the centaurs himself:

Je suis un Forgeron nouveau,
 Qui sans enclume et sans marteau
 Forge un tonnerre à ma parole,
 Et du seul regard de mes yeux,
 Fais partir un éclair qui vole,
 Plus puissant que celuy des Cieux. (Vian I,
 483)¹³

The arts of healing are embodied here by Aesculapius (figure 27), his daughters Youth, Health, and Good Disposition (figure 30 and Plate II), and some ridiculous doctors (figures 28 and 29). Healing probably has political implications as well: Apollo is praised for the desire "de purger la terre de voleurs (272). Music and poetry may be related to this healthful reordering of the body politic or they may represent the benefits of peace and Luynes's god-like patronage.¹⁴ In these drawings Apollo himself appears as the god of music (figure 39), whose headdress combines laurel branches and sun rays and whose tunic is layered in blue and red. One of nine poets, carrying a lute and crowned with laurel, was dressed in red, white and yellow satin (figure 32). Memory, the mother of the muses, wore pink, dove grey, and white and a laurel crown (figure 24). McGowan assigns two drawings of Apollo's son the musician Amphion to this ballet; in an early episode Amphion's music compels three sirens metamorphosized into rocks to follow him (271). In both drawings Amphion plays a violin and wears an elaborate golden crown (figures 22 and 23). In the former his costume is decorated with trophies of string and wind instruments.

The third ballet in which music and dance receive special attention is the grotesque *Ballet des Fées de la Forêt de Saint-Germain*. It was performed during carnival in February 1625 (La Croix, III, 35-47). Luynes had been dead for over three years now and Richelieu had replaced him in Louis's favor. Responsibility for court spectacle fell on Henri de Savoie, duc de Nemours, who had a notable taste for the comic. The 150 livres Rabel received for his costume designs were part of a total cost for costumes

of 16,380 livres, which McGowan calls "énorme pour l'époque" (McGowan, 1963, p. 139). Rabel's commemorative drawings in the Louvre may have been done for Nemours himself.¹⁵ John H. Baron's exemplary edition of the music of part II—the gaming episode—documents the performers and creators, the literary sources, the significance, and the iconography of the work.¹⁶ The 1986 collection contains sixteen drawings illustrating all five sections of the ballet. These need to be examined in light of the fabric bills, which describe their construction; they are preserved in the Archives Nationales (Baron 28). Its subject is five clownish fairies, who inhabit the royal Saint-Germain forest west of Paris. Creatures of a habitat inaccessible to the light of reason, they parody a courtier's most vaunted skills: gambling, wit, warfare, even music and dance. Christout explains that in each case the fairy was preceded by a *génie* and followed by a page and her suite. In fact, the *entrées* of music and dance frame the others, which are presided over by "Gillette la Hasardeuse," "Jacqueline l'Entendue," and "Alizon la Hargneuse." The first of all to appear is "Guillemine la Quinteuse, Fée de la Musique" (LaCroix, III, pp. 35-39).¹⁷ Guillemine's *génie* is decorated with violins, theorbos, and lutes and is crowned by a music stand. Guillemine herself wears spectacles and her train is carried by a toad, chosen for his croaking voice.¹⁸ Guillemine's speech leaves no doubt about her partiality for war and Mars (Louis himself) and her musical taste: "(Je) n'ayme rien que la musique/ Qui ressemble aux charivaris" (p. 36). Her principal attendant is Music (figure 47), a towering wicker mannequin that eventually rose in the air up to the chandeliers.¹⁹ The expenses record that the skirt alone required fifteen *aunes* or ells (over fifteen yards) of red taffeta. Her musical attributes are lutes, for the musicians who accompanied her, a hurdy-gurdy, wind pipe, and triangle. Like Guillemine, she wears spectacles, presumably because her natural gifts are inadequate. The fairy of dance appears in figure 61 and one of her attendants in 62. "Macette la Cabrioleuse"—her nickname evokes goat-like leaps—dressed in 16th-century fashions, in black, white and

red. Baron has found satirical poems of the same time which discussed "Macette's" agility but also her coquetry. Her manipulation of men here suggests that she is not to be trusted. Her page is a dwarf, not an innocent child, as Baron suggests (Baron, p. 20). The drawing shows her magic wand or *gaule* (Lacroix, 47), by means of which she led a troop of wooden toys or *bilboquets* through their paces. In the grand finale, the beauty of the ladies of the court transformed them into real men who "dansent comme des demy-Dieux" (47). This graceful dancing strikes a triumphant note of deliverance, man's release from his base instincts in the tradition of earlier court ballets about Circe, Armida, and Alcina, notably the first of them all, the *Ballet Comique de la Reine* (1581). Such a theme was appropriate on this occasion in 1625 when the court was celebrating the marriage of the king's sister, Henriette, to Charles I of England.

The last ballet we should consider is *Le Sérieux et le Grotesque*, performed by the king and his courtiers during carnival 1627. Here music and dance are part of the street life of nighttime Paris. The world of this ballet is divided between two ridiculous, disorderly courts, equally distorted images of Louis's. Each has its lord and spokesman, its guards, an astrologer, clowns, courtiers, and ladies, who all live under the dominion of lasciviousness, drink, and madness:

Et les plus sages sont les fous
 Qui cachent le mieux leur folie.
 (Lacroix, III, p. 309)

Each enrolls musicians in its service. *Le Sérieux* tries in vain to charm Philis with lutes (figure 99 and 100); his only reward is to get hold of a proverbial "loup par les oreilles" (303). The moon-struck *Grotesque* uses "une musique étrange" (figure 113) (305). Each group organizes a serenade. Like "Guillemine la Quinteuse," *Le Sérieux* favors swaggering soldiers and their talk of war; Louis XIII himself speaks these words:

Aux serenades où je suis,
 Mars vient depouiller ses ennuis,
 La terre y trouve son attente,
 Le ciel en admire les sons;
 Si quelque orgueilleux s'en contente,
 J'ay la musique des canons. (311)

Le Grottesque's serenade is an urban charivari of street-cries, dogs, cats, horses and owls, cooking grills and lanterns, viols, a sailor's pipe, whistles and syringes, hams and pigsfeet—all of them "unis en des accords modernes" (311-12). Logic has no place in such an enumeration, of course, but several elements are appropriate to carnival—feasting on pork—and others to night, which like carnival frees men from their appointed labors and sets them to dancing and music-making. McGowan suggests that several drawings reflect this ballet and its outrageousness. Figure 102 ("Musique grotesque pour la serenade," a note reads) combines military armor and an arsenal of wind instruments, violin bows, and tambourines; he is holding a monochord like a musket. The fool in figure 110 ("Musiciens du grotesque") plays a triangle and sports bells on his tunic. The unbelievable figure 112—a surrealist Mother Courage—embodies a woman trespassing into the areas of warfare and music-making, a mysogenist theme appropriate to carnival. A sword hangs from her waist and a military drum forms her torso, out of which projects her head on an improbable neck, whose serpentine curves are echoed in her bugle of a nose and the ram's horn she is playing.

Le Sérieux et le Grottesque reminds us that throughout the seventeenth century court ballets featured the low life of the city—tradesmen, thieves, idle servants, gamblers, soldiers out of work, and disabled veterans; the most prestigious ballet of this sort will be the *Ballet de la Nuit* (1653) in which the adolescent Louis XIV will appear as the sun. Obviously carnival misrule was as intoxicating and salutary at the royal court as it was in bourgeois and peasant circles; even a king could grow tired of

propriety and prudence, embodied in the law, medicine, and the learning of his elders. However, in this temporary triumph of madness the vision of universal harmony—of a world of all-embracing tones and rhythms—remains intact. Comic ballets like this mimic the ridiculous music and dance of nature's clowns, whose egotism and base appetites cripple and blind them; they prepare the way for Molière's Monsieur Jourdain. These creatures of least nobility are unable to govern themselves much less master the mystery of music. Yet the urge to sing and play and dance is innate in them. Cacophony may be all that they can produce but they understand and use the language of nature's harmonious proportions: *Le Sérieux* asserts that "Mon luth s'efforce de charmer...," and *Le Grottesque's* musicians speak of their "accords modernes," their "concert tout nouveau," and their "concert fait avec choix" (303, 312). Likewise the outcome of this entertainment is the "accord" or consonance of *Le Sérieux* and *Le Grottesque* (315). Even Momus, in the *Apollon* ballet, demanded something "mélodieux" from Bacchus's maenads, although he had an "aversion naturelle" for music and could not recognize a pleasant melody when he heard it:

Pourquoy, brutales Menades,
Venez-vous mal à propos
Travailler nostre repos
Par de folles serenades?

De vos notes inegales
Se forme un bruit odieux,
Aussi peu melodieux
Que le concert des Cigales.

Bacchus vous met hors d'haleine,
Vous hurlez comme des loups,
Et les troupeaux de Silene
Sçavent mieux chanter que vous. (II, 217-18)

Perhaps this is harmony's most remarkable achievement of all: even in those regions of the world and of the

Notes

¹I have reported in the *Theater Journal* (October, 1988, pp. 429-34) on the controversial decision to sell them piecemeal and in such haste. In 1987 an additional twenty or so from the same source in Germany went on sale in London and were acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum.

²She is the author of *L'Art du Ballet de Cour en France (1581-1643)* (Paris: CNRS, 1963).

³McGowan studies all these except *Le Sérieux*. I am deeply indebted to her scholarship although I do not always agree with her interpretation.

⁴The testimony of these ballets needs to be read in the light of Mersenne's *L'Harmonie universelle* of 1634-38 and modern studies such as Spitzer's and Kathi Meyer-Baer's *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

⁵This summarizes for the most part the findings of Marie-Françoise Christout's "Les Ballets-Mascarades des 'Fées de la Forêt de Saint-Germain' et de la 'Douairière de Billebahaut' et l'oeuvre de Daniel Rabel."

⁶See "A Rabel, Peintre, sur un livre de Fleurs." The album, containing the manuscript sonnet, is in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Art historians wrongly assume that Malherbe addressed Daniel's father, who died in 1603.

⁷Marolles's lines that McGowan quotes, 1963, p. 139, concern Henri Gissey, not Rabel as she asserts. Marolles had seen Rabel's work in the performance of the 1625 ballet of *Les Fées*; of his work in general he said:

De Daniel Rabel nous avons peu de chose.
Il estoit inventif surtout pour les ballets,

Ses desseins furent vus dans le Royal Palais,
Sans trop de fixions de la métamorphose.

⁸For Colletet's text see Paul Lacroix, *Ballets et Mascarades de Cour ... (1581-1652) (1868-1870)* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), IV, 207-219. See also McGowan, 1963, 155-167.

⁹Spitzer cites A. Welleck. He quotes Crashaw, for instance: "Eyes are vocal, tears have tongues,/ And there are words not made with lungs."

¹⁰Colletet's *Harmonie* and the two other ballets he presented at carnival 1632, *La Nature* and *Les Cinq Sens* (see McGowan, 1963, pp. 155-167) need to be compared to the Florentine *intermezzi* of 1589, *L'Armonia delle sfere*. See Aby Warburg, "I costumi teatrali per gli intermezzi del 1589," *Gesammelte Schriften*, I; Hélène Leclerc, "Du mythe platonicien aux fêtes de la Renaissance: 'L'Harmonie du Monde,' Incantation et symbolisme," *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, 1952, ser. 2, pp. 106-149; Meyer-Baer, 1970, pp. 204-207; Arthur R. Blumenthal, *Theater Art of the Medici* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Museum and Galleries, 1980), pp. 7-13.

¹¹Ms. Clairambaut, f. 219.

¹²"Sujet du Ballet du Roy ... ce 18 février 1621"; this short text does not describe the *entrées* or individual performances.

¹³Discussions of the ballet have not tested the relevance of the Admetus story nor the royal blacksmith's link to the Cyclops and the giant in chains.

¹⁴The *sujet* says, "(Apollon) acquit une telle gloire pourses bons deportemens que les plus celebres esprits de son temps chanterent ses louanges, et pour les bienfaits qu'ils enreçoivent, ne despendoient plus que de luy," *ibid.* The *sujet* insists that Apollo was only an

exceptional human; in Théophile's poetry he is divine (see pp. 489-90 of Saba's edition).

¹⁵The Bibliothèque Nationale owns a full set of copies; the Houghton Library of Harvard University also owns a number of them.

¹⁶*Les Fées des Forests de S. Germain: ballet de cour, 1625 (Dance Perspectives, #62, volume 16, Summer, 1975).* I am indebted to Professor Maureen Costonis of Vanderbilt University for bringing this work to my attention.

¹⁷He refers to manuscript KK200, ff. 1-21.

¹⁸These *fées* are distant cousins of the seven who endow Charles Perrault's "Belle au bois dormant" with her talents for dance, song, and instrumental music.

¹⁹Christout (10) must be describing the Louvre drawings. McGowan's stress on gambling here is misleading (1963, p. 146). The equestrian sport "la quintaine" is not relevant here; "Quinteuse" plays on the words *quint*, the musical interval or fifth, and *quinteux*, a derogatory adjective describing someone of fitful humor. *Quinteux* comes from *quinte de toux* or a persistent cough. The joke is that this bad fairy of music is not good-tempered, well-tempered, or even healthy.

²⁰Marolles attended a performance and recorded his impressions in his memoirs, quoted by Baron, p. 7.

²¹*The Tempest*, III, ii, ll. 131-139; later Ariel reports that at the sound of his magic music, Caliban and the buffoons "pricked their ears, / Advanced their eyelids, lifted up their noses / As they smelt music," IV, i, ll. 176-178.

Works Cited or Consulted

- Christout, Marie-Françoise. "Les ballets-mascarades de 'Fées de la Forêt de Saint-Germain' et de la 'Douairière de Billebahaut' et l'oeuvre de Daniel Rabel." *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, 13, "1961" (1971): 7-24.
- Isherwood, Robert M. *Music in the Service of the King* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973).
- Kisselgoff, Anna. "Early Court Ballet in France," *New York Times*, November 23, 1986, "Arts and Leisure," p. 9, and *FMR Magazine*, V, #2, October-November, 1986, pp. 39-48.
- Malherbe, François de. *Oeuvres poétiques*. René Fromilhague and Raymond Lebègue, eds. vol I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968).
- Marolles, Michel de. *Le Livre des Peintres et des graveurs* (Paris: Duplessis, 1972).
- Mersenne, Marin. *Harmonie universelle*, Roger Chapman, ed. (The Hague: Martimes Nijhoff, 1957).
- Meyer-Baer, Kathi. *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).
- Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de. *Lettres*, ed. Philippe Tamizey de Larroque (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1890).
- Rabel, Daniel. *Livre de différents desseigns de parterres* (Paris: François Langlois dit Ciartres, n.d.).

Spitzer, Leo. *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word 'Stimmung'* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963).

Viau, Théophile de. *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Guido Saba (Paris: Nizet, 1978).