



The Operas of Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Negotiation of Absolutism in the French Provinces, 1685-1750

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The Operas of Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Negotiation of Absolutism in the French Provinces, 1685-1750

A dissertation presented

by

Natasha Roule

to

The Department of Music

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

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in the subject of

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The Operas of Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Negotiation of Absolutism in the French Provinces, 1685-1750

Abstract

This dissertation explores the performance history of the *tragédies en musique* of Jean-Baptiste Lully in the French provinces between 1685 and 1750. During his lifetime, Lully held a monopoly that restricted opera production primarily to the royal court and Paris, where he served as director of the Académie Royale de Musique. Only following his death in 1687 did theaters elsewhere in France begin to stage operas. I concentrate on the performance and reception of Lully's *tragédies* in Marseille, Lyon, Rennes, and Strasbourg, four cities characterized by especially rich musical environments or unique political and cultural circumstances. In each place, provincial artists performed, parodied, and adapted the *tragédies* of Lully, sometimes to the detriment of his patron, Louis XIV, to whose majesty the operas cast frequent allusion.

Lully's operas circulated throughout France during an era marked by an unprecedented expansion of royal authority. This had two main effects. On the one hand, as vehicles of propaganda, Lully's *tragédies* lent mobility to the king's image as an absolutist monarch, functioning analogously to the equestrian statues of Louis XIV that were erected in major cities throughout France, or the *chants triumphals* and heroic engravings printed in quantity during the Nine Years' War, the War of Spanish Succession, and the War of Polish Succession. Yet even as some provincial productions of Lully's operas acted as emissaries of absolutism, many provincial artists altered or satirized Lully's *tragédies*, deliberately keying their modifications to critique royal intervention – positively or negatively – in local affairs.

Scholars have typically focused on the performance history of Lully's *tragédies* in Paris or at court. By looking beyond these geographic boundaries, I demonstrate how this repertoire fabricated, refabricated, and deconstructed the image and meaning of sovereignty in *ancien*

régime France. More than an alternative history of Lully's operas, my dissertation is an intervention in the historiography of early modern French absolutism, retold through opera.

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I was fortunate throughout this time and in the subsequent years during which I wrote this dissertation to benefit from the extraordinary support of my advisor, Kate van Orden, and my committee readers, Kay Kaufman Shelemay and Carolyn Abbate. Their wisdom, patience, and nuanced perspectives about French baroque opera and how one goes about studying it have been invaluable to me. I am also grateful to the many scholars who offered research guidance at each stage of this project, including John Hajdu Heyer, Rebekah Ahrendt, Catherine Gordon, Lois Rosow, and Pascal Lefts, as well as Claire Fontijn and Laura Jeppesen, who both sparked my interest in French baroque music during my undergraduate years at Wellesley College. I am indebted to Cynthia Verba for her assistance in helping me articulate my project at its earliest stages as well as its later phases, when it had transformed into something rather different from what I had initially set out to accomplish. I extend particular gratitude to the many musicians

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Cardinal. MDCCXXXV avec permission

Library and Archival Sigla

D – Germany

- D-Fmi Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität,
Frankfurt
- D-DS Universität- und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Darmstadt

DK – Denmark

- DK-Kk Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

F – France

- F-AIXm Bibliothèque municipale, Aix-en-Provence
- F-C Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras
- F-LYam Archives municipales, Lyon
- F-LYm Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon
- F-ME Médiathèque, Metz
- F-Pa Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris
- F-Po Bibliothèque musée de l’Opéra, Paris
- F-Pn Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- F-Pnm Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris
- F-RE Bibliothèque municipale, Rennes
- F-Sn Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Strasbourg
- F-V Bibliothèque municipale, Versailles

US – United States

- US-CAe Harvard University, Edna Kuhn Loeb Music Library, Cambridge, MA
- US-CAt Harvard University, Houghton Library, Theater Collection, Cambridge, MA
- US-CAward John Milton Ward, private collection, Cambridge, MA

A Note on Translations

All translations in this dissertation are my own unless noted otherwise.

Introduction

The Death and Afterlife of Jean-Baptiste Lully

“France is the first and most powerful Kingdom of the World...Her Provinces are as considerable as Kingdoms.”
-Pierre Duval, *La Géographie Française* (1682)¹

On January 8th, 1687, Jean-Baptiste Lully was conducting a performance of his *Te Deum* (LWV 55) at the Couvent des Feuillants on the rue Saint-Honoré in Paris. The performance was one of many festivities organized throughout the French kingdom in celebration of King Louis XIV’s seemingly miraculous recovery from anal fistula surgery.² While conducting, Lully tapped the ground in front of him with a large, ceremonial *bâton* – whether to mark the beat for his musicians, or to signify his prestigious status as the royal *surintendant de la musique* to onlookers remains subject to debate. As the trumpets blared and the kettle drums rolled, Lully accidentally drove the *bâton* into his foot. Two and a half months later, he was dead from the gangrene that consumed his leg after the accident.³

Lully’s death marked a momentous shift in the history of French opera. During his lifetime, he secured not only the sole right to perform and publish his *tragédies en musique*, but also a strict monopoly over the performance of stage music throughout France. When Louis XIV (1638-1715) made Lully director of the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris in 1672, the king issued a royal privilege that forbade ensembles other than Lully’s from hiring more than six

¹ “La France est le premier & le plus puissant Royaume du Monde...Ses Provinces sont bien aussi considérable que des Royaumes.” Pierre Duval, *La Géographie française contient les descriptions, les cartes, et les blasons des provinces* (1682), 38.

² For descriptions of the many festivities given in honor of Louis XIV’s recovery, see *Mercure Galant* (Paris: Chez G. De Luyne, T. Girard, and Michel Guerot, March 1687).

³ James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, rev. ed. (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 222; Philippe Beaussant, *Lully ou le Musicien du Soleil* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 788-93. Most historians agree that Lully used his *bâton* to mark time, and that gangrene was the cause of his death. Beaussant argues, however, that Lully’s staff was purely ceremonial, and that the wound perhaps exacerbated an existing condition, such as diabetes, that led to Lully’s death.

singers and twelve instrumentalists. In 1673, another royal edict shrank the permissible number of performers for staged musical performances by artists other than Lully to two singers and six instrumentalists.⁴ These ordonnances crippled the creative ambitions of musicians, guaranteeing Lully's command over the stylistic development of French opera and effectively constraining opera production to Paris and court.⁵ Lully's privileges also centralized stage music under royal control, forging an association between opera and kingship that the composer and his librettists, Philippe Quinault (1635-1688) and Thomas Corneille (1625-1709), reaffirmed by weaving references to royal power throughout the plots of their operas.⁶ The early relationship between French opera and the Crown would have enormous ramifications for the ways in which audiences received Lully's *tragédies* long after the composer's death, ensuring that the compositions would be forever associated to some degree with royal authority.

Lully permitted only one company of musicians outside of Paris – an Académie de Musique in the southern commercial seaport of Marseille – to produce operas with large-scale performance forces during his lifetime.⁷ After his death, Lully's widow, Magdelaine Lambert,

⁴ Caroline Wood, *French Baroque Opera: A Reader* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 6; 8.

⁵ Patricia Ranum, "Lully plays deaf: rereading the evidence on his privilege," in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 22-28. Ranum notes that Lully did not seek to prevent the musicians working for the House of Orléans from producing stage music with performance forces that were larger than permitted, perhaps because Lully felt threatened by powerful members of the Orléans family.

⁶ In forging an association between opera and the Crown, Lully and his librettists pushed further a process already begun by Lully's predecessor, Pierre Perrin (1620-1675), whom Louis XIV had authorized to establish an Académie d'Opéra in Paris in 1669. As Rebekah Ahrendt explains, "The designation 'Académie' intrinsically linked the opera to the rarified spheres of the Académie Française and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. This association, no matter how superficial, implied that the new Académie d'Opéra would concern itself with the maintenance of Louis's *gloire*." See Rebekah Ahrendt, "A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680-c.1710" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 2.

⁷ See Chapter 1. See also Jeanne Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle* (PhD diss., Aix-en-Provence, 1972); Cheilan-Cambolin, "Notes sur les Trois salles d'opéra et de comédie de Marseille," *Provence Historique* 60 (1990): 147-55; Cheilan-Cambolin, "La Première décentralisation des opéras de Lully en province: la création de l'Opéra de Marseille au XVIIe siècle," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully. Actes du colloque*, ed. Herbert Schneider and Jérôme de la Gorce (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), 529-538.

and son-in-law, Jean-Nicolas de Francine, inherited Lully's music privileges; Francine also inherited directorship of the Académie Royale de Musique.⁸ Almost immediately, Lambert and Francine began to sell privileges to perform opera to aspiring entrepreneurs around the kingdom. Within two years of Lully's death, staged productions of Lully's *tragédies* reverberated in newly built or quickly improvised opera houses in cities from Brittany to Alsace, where they reflected, shaped, and challenged the musical tastes and ideological outlooks of provincial listeners.⁹

In this dissertation, I examine the performance histories of Lully's *tragédies* in the French provinces between 1685 and 1750, when the last production of an opera by Lully is known to have been organized in a provincial city.¹⁰ I center my analysis in four cities characterized by especially rich musical environments or unique political circumstances: Marseille, Lyon, Rennes, and Strasbourg, which represent the four regions known in the *ancien régime* as Provence, the Lyonnais, Brittany, and Alsace.¹¹ Opera productions were not limited to these cities. Opera companies based in Lyon and Marseille frequently obtained permission from Francine to tour nearby urban centers, including Grenoble, Toulon, Dijon, Aix-en-Provence, and Avignon, while

⁸ Nicole Wild, "Francine, Jean-Nicolas de," *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 1.4.2018. Francine held the position of manager of the Paris Opéra in partnership with various investors until giving up his role in 1704, only to resume it in 1712. After a financially difficult career, he retired in 1728.

⁹ Some early productions of Lully's operas were held in less conventional venues, such as the productions organized by Sébastien de Brossard at the Strasbourg Cathedral in the 1690s. See Catherine Cessac, "Les sources lullystes dans la collection Brossard," in *Quellenstudien zu Jean-Baptiste Lully/ L'Œuvre de Lully: Études des sources—Hommage à Lionel Sawkins. Papers presented at a conference held in Sèvres, 11–13 June 1998*, *Musikwissenschaftliche Publikationen* 13, ed. Jérôme de la Gorce and Herbert Schneider, 73–102 (Hildesheim, Germany: Georg Olms, 1999); Cessac, "The Presentation of Lully's *Alceste* at the Strasbourg Académie de Musique," in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 199–215 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Few cities or directors constructed an opera house immediately upon obtaining a privilege from Lambert and Francine. Most provincial communities experienced their first opera production at a local jeu de paume. On the jeu de paume as a performance space for baroque theater and opera, see Pannill Camp, *The First Frame: Theatre Space in Enlightenment France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 51–59.

¹⁰ The last extant printed provincial livret of a *tragédie* by Lully is *Armide* (Lyon: Rigollet, 1750).

¹¹ Since 2016, when the French government revised the nation's regional organization, the modern equivalents of these four regions are Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Provence-Alpes-Côtes d'Azur, Brittany, and Grand-Est.

other cities, such as Bordeaux and Rouen, established their own academies after obtaining privileges from Lully's heirs.¹² Many of these academies were short-lived, poorly documented, or not greatly interested in Lully's operas. They do not feature in this study, belonging instead to the general history of baroque opera in the French provinces.¹³

Despite the widespread circulation of Lully's operas, performance histories of the *tragédies* have focused primarily on productions in Paris and at court, where the operas premiered.¹⁴ With their many allusions to the king and his court – such as the sun god's palace in

¹² See, e.g., *Acte de vente au sieur Vauthier de la permission d'établir à Rouen une académie de musique, où pourront être représentés les opéras de Lully et ceux que sa famille fera faire*. Paris, 15 September, 1688. F-Po LAS CONCERNANT LULLY 8.

¹³ To date, François Lesure's *Dictionnaire musical des villes de province* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999) remains the most useful reference work for the music histories of individual French cities. Metz is renowned for possessing the oldest working opera house in France, and one of the oldest in Europe. Its Opéra-Théâtre was constructed between 1738 and 1751 and opened in 1752 with Rousseau's *Le Devin du Village*. See Charles Pitt, "Metz," *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 1.5.2018. Interest in Lully's operas in 18th-century Metz is poorly documented, although six livrets of Lully's operas that were printed in Metz are known to survive. The printer Jean Antoine published four without dates: *Alceste*, *Atys*, *Armide*, and *Roland*. These livrets are currently held at the Bibliothèque municipale de Nancy. La Veuve Brice Antoine printed two livrets: *Thésée* and *Atys*, which are currently held at the Bibliothèque municipale de Metz. The former is not dated, but Antoine's widow printed *Atys* in 1730. The most comprehensive study on potential performances of Lully's operas remains Pascal Lefts's article, "Atys, tragédie lyrique de Lully, représentée à Metz en 1730?" *Bibliothèque de la Ville de Metz, Cahiers Elie Fleur* 5 (1992): 57-89. Rouen opened its Académie de Musique in 1689 with a production of *Atys*. Two Lully livrets were printed in the early 1690s in Rouen: *Atys* (Rouen: Chez Jean-Baptiste Besonge, 1692) and *Roland* (Rouen: Chez Jean-Baptiste Besonge, 1693). These items are currently held at the Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen. The first amateur music society in the French provinces was founded in Bordeaux in 1707, but the Lyon Académie de Musique may have performed opera in Bordeaux prior to this date. See Carl Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: New Evidence from the Livrets," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 188.

¹⁴ See especially Lois Rosow, "Lully's 'Armide' at the Paris Opera: A Performance History, 1686-1766" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1981); Pascal Denécheau, "*Thésée* de Lully et Quinault, histoire d'un opéra. Étude de l'œuvre de sa création à sa dernière reprise sous l'Ancien Régime (1675-1779)" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2006). Studies of French baroque opera in general tend to concentrate on opera as it was performed in Paris. See especially Jérôme de la Gorce, *L'Opéra de Paris au temps de Louis XIV: histoire d'un théâtre* (Paris: Editions Desjonquères, 1992); Victoria Johnson, *Backstage at the Revolution: How the Royal Paris Opera Survived the End of the Old Regime* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). A notable exception is Herbert Schneider's survey of the reception of opera in France during Lully's lifetime and after his death, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Régime* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982). In addition to surveying the performance history of Lully's operas in Paris, Schneider also considers the history of the operas in the provinces and the development of secular and spiritual parodies of Lully's compositions. Notably, studies in French baroque sacred music also favor the musical environments of Paris and court as a focus of study. In 2014, John Hajdu Heyer advocated for increased attention to sacred musical activities and compositions in the French provinces with his study of the Aix School of composers that surveyed sacred music in cities throughout Provence. See John Hajdu

Phaëton (1683) which mirrored the newly completed château of Versailles¹⁵ – Lully’s *tragédies* are deeply tied to their courtly origins.¹⁶ Louis XIV himself appreciated the blatant references that the operas made to their royal patron. According to the memoirist Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de Saint-Simon (1675-1755), Louis XIV “without having a voice or musicality, used to sing in private the spots that praised him the most in opera prologues” (“Lui-même, sans avoir ni voix ni musique, chantait dans ses particuliers les endroits les plus à sa louange des prologues des opéras”).¹⁷

Lully’s operas are also strongly linked with Paris, where they engaged the public for the first time in the theater in the Palais Royal. Here, spectators would attend the premieres and many revivals of Lully’s operas until the theater was destroyed by fire in 1763.¹⁸ The Paris Opéra attracted an audience of upper class Parisians, as well as visitors curious to experience one of the cultural highlights of the city. Reflecting on his sojourn in Paris in 1698, English naturalist Martin Lister (1639-1712) commented on his experience at André Campra’s *opéra-ballet*, *L’Europe Galante*, as a performance that transpired both onstage and in the spectators’ boxes:

I did not see many Opera’s not being so good a Frenchman, as to understand them when Sung. The Opera, called *l’Europe Gallante*, I was at several times, and it is

Heyer, *The Lure and Legacy of Music at Versailles: Louis XIV and the Aix School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

¹⁵ Buford Norman, *Touched by the Graces: the Libretti of Philippe Quinault in the Context of French Classicism* (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 2001), 261.

¹⁶ This is not to argue that the operas were exclusively courtly in origin. As Ahrendt has pointed out, French opera began as much as a commercial enterprise designed to profit from public interest as it was an institution that publicized the glory of the French Crown. See Ahrendt, “A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680-c.1710,” 1-3.

¹⁷ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires complets et authentiques du Duc de Saint-Simon sur le siècle de Louis XIV et la régence*, vol. 12 (Paris: H.-L. Delloye, 1840), 76. Also quoted in Ursula Kirkendale, “The King of Heaven and the King of France: On a *Topos* in the Manner of Lully,” in *Music and Meaning: Studies in Music History and the Neighboring Disciplines*, ed. Warren Kirkendale (Florence: Leo S. Olsinki, 2007), 246.

¹⁸ Wood, *French Baroque Opera: A Reader*, 3.

look'd upon, as one of the very best. It is extremely fine, and the Musick and Singing admirable: The Stage large and magnificent, and well filled with Actors: The Scenes well suited to the thing, and as quick in the removal of them as can be thought: The Dancing exquisite, as being performed by the best Masters of that Profession in Town: The Cloathing rich, proper, and with great variety.

It is to be wondered, that these Opera's [sic] are so frequented. There are great numbers of the Nobility that come daily to them, and some that can sing them all. And it was one thing, that was troublesome to us Strangers, to disturb the Box of these voluntary Songs of some parts of the Opera or other: That the Spectators may be said to be here as much Actors, as those employed upon the very Stage.¹⁹

It was also in Paris where Lully's operas were first sold in print.²⁰ The folio scores and elegant livrets that Lully's publishing partner, Christophe Ballard, printed on rue Saint-Jean de Beauvais on the Left Bank continue to inspire fresh insight into the changes that Lully's operas underwent at the Académie Royale de Musique over time.²¹ While provincial printers published livrets of Lully's operas for local productions, they never gained the legal right to print scores, which remained the unique privilege of the Ballard firm and, by the early 18th century, the Parisian print shop of Henri Foucault.²² The magnetic pull of Paris and the French court on

¹⁹ Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, ed. Raymond Phineas Stearns (Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Chicago, 1967), 173-174.

²⁰ Lully began to print his opera scores with the printer Jean-Christophe Ballard in 1677, when they published oblong scores of individual voice parts from *Isis*. In 1680, Lully and Ballard's partnership was formalized as a monopoly that did not permit any other printer from publishing Lully's works until the composer agreed to allow the Académie de Musique in Marseille to print livrets of his and any other operas in 1684. See Wood, *French Baroque Opera: A Reader*, 6, 9; Lionel de La Laurencie, "Une convention commerciale entre Lully, Quinault et Ballard en 1680," *Bulletin de la Société française de musicologie* 2.9 (July 1921): 176-82.

²¹ Denécheau provides an excellent example of using Ballard's livrets to study changes to *Thésée* over time. See Denécheau, "Le Livret de 'Thésée' dans tous ses états: propositions d'une méthodologie pour le classement des livrets des opéras de Lully créés à la cour," *Revue de Musicologie* 96.2 (2010): 445-471. Ahrendt argues that Lully's partnership with Ballard, and their monopoly on printing opera, contributed to "the construction of the grand narrative of Lully" in music histories. See Ahrendt, "A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680-c.1710," 5.

²² Frank Dobbins, "Henri Foucault," in *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 7.15.2015. Foucault began his career as a paper vendor. Despite becoming embroiled in a legal dispute after publishing music that was under the *privilege royal* of the powerful Ballard music printing firm, Foucault established himself as a prominent music publisher by the late spring of 1690. Foucault published engraved short scores of Lully's operas as well as deluxe manuscript copies of excerpts from Lully's works, such as the two-volume set, *Recueil des plus beaux endroits des operas de M. de Lully*, which was published in 1701. His decision to publish engravings and manuscript copies rather than

scholarship is therefore well founded, and has resulted in considerable advances in our understanding of the development of French opera. Nonetheless, Lully's death precipitated drastic shifts in the geographic and demographic reach of the genre, to say nothing of the expanding variety of stylistic and ideological interpretations they inspired, all of which have yet to be fully explored.²³

In 1989, Carl Schmidt encouraged musicologists to study the reception of Lully's operas beyond Paris by surveying the livrets printed for productions in French provincial cities and cities abroad.²⁴ To date, Rebekah Ahrendt's study of French opera in French Huguenot communities living *ex patria* in the 17th and early 18th centuries remains the most substantial response to this challenge.²⁵ In addition to uncovering performance histories of Lully's operas in cities such as Hamburg, Amsterdam, and the Hague, Ahrendt's research reveals that Lully's *tragédies* acquired a specifically and uniquely French identity only once Huguenots began to produce them abroad, where, in non-French communities, the operas were received as cultural products of France.²⁶

print scores might be explained by a desire to avoid engaging in direct competition with Ballard. Indeed, Dobbin suggests that Foucault and Ballard may have conducted their individual businesses in a collaboration of sorts, rather than in competition with one another, by 1700.

²³ Lully's operas circulated widely beyond Paris, finding their way into libraries as far away as Quebec, where Charles Thomas Dupuy (1678-1738), who served as intendant from 1726-1728, owned several scores of Lully's operas. See Elaine Kellor, *Music in Canada: Capturing Landscape and Diversity* (Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 62. The reception of Lully's music in Nouvelle France is a topic that deserves deeper exploration.

²⁴ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: New Evidence from the Livrets," 183-211; Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Performers' Edition, 1995).

²⁵ Ahrendt, "A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680-c.1710;" Ahrendt, "Armide, the Huguenots, and The Hague," *The Opera Quarterly* 28 (3-4): 136-39.

²⁶ Ahrendt, "A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680-c. 1710," esp. 10-24.

Much remains to be understood about the performance and reception of Lully's operas within French borders.²⁷ One obstacle has been the relative scarcity of sources of provincial provenance. Only a handful of performance scores are known to survive from the provinces, and most of the scores date from the 18th century; they are, moreover, restricted to Lyon and Strasbourg. Rarely, manuscript scores with an identifiable provincial provenance from other French cities surface in rare book collections, but none show signs of performance annotations. The provenance of these sources, moreover, is not always clear: in one miscellany of music from operas by Lully and other composers, a detail of which is reproduced in Figure 1, the anonymous copyist noted in the margins about a third of the way into the manuscript, "I had to go and come back from Villefranche to get some ink" ("J'ay esté obligé d'aller et revenir a villefranche pour avoir de l'encre").²⁸ A tantalizing clue that the copyist worked outside of Paris, but unfortunately, Villefranche was and remains a common place-name in France.

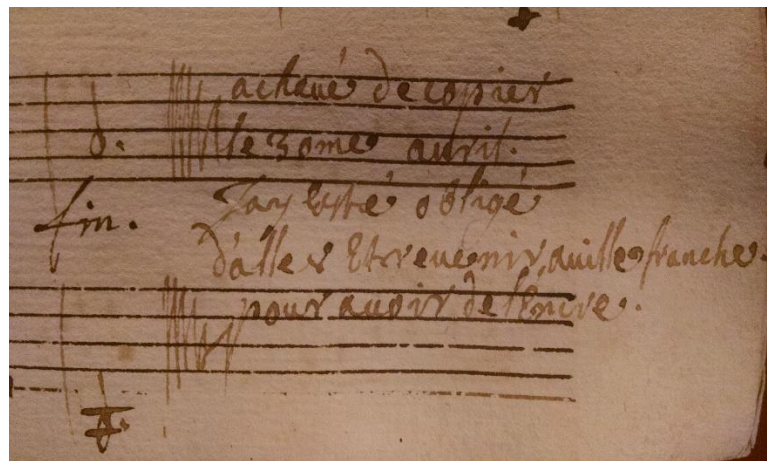


Fig. 1: Detail of *Second Tome*, pg. 31.
US-CAward [M1505.L94 O6 1700] Houghton Library, Harvard University

²⁷ Besides Lefts's study of possible *Atys* productions in Metz, Catherine Cessac's analysis of Lully productions at the Strasbourg Cathedral in the 1690s remains the only study devoted to the performance history of Lully's operas in the French provinces. See Cessac, "Les sources lullystes dans la collection Brossard;" Cessac, "The Presentation of Lully's *Alceste* at the Strasbourg Académie de Musique."

²⁸ *Second tome* (1711). US-CAward M1505.L94 O6 1700, 31.

Fortunately, many performance details can be gleaned from livrets, some of which nuance conventional narratives about the changes that Lully's operas underwent over time. It is common knowledge, for instance, that the Paris Opéra began to drop Lully's prologues in the 1750s.²⁹ Less acknowledged is the fact that Lully's prologues were first cut in the provinces, beginning with the Strasbourg Académie de Musique's production of *Bellérophon* in 1736, a detail we learn from the livret that Jean-François Le Roux printed for the production.³⁰ Similarly, thanks to the meticulous research of Lois Rosow, we know that the fourth act of *Armide* underwent dramatic alterations during the 18th century in Paris as directors experimented with ways to make the tangential act more meaningful to the opera's central plot. Livrets printed for the Académie de Musique of Lyon's productions of *Armide* in the 1740s reveal equally drastic but different alterations to the opera's fourth act. Using livrets printed for provincial productions, I document the musical and textual modifications that Lully's operas underwent as they circulated throughout France. By comparing provincial livrets to their Parisian counterparts, it is possible to chart when and how provincial productions of Lully's operas diverged from Parisian renditions of the *tragédies*.

In some ways, French baroque opera was born of the artistic talent and musical ideas that flowed from the provinces to Paris. When the Lyon-born poet Pierre Perrin established the Académie d'Opéra in Paris in 1669 – an institution that preceded Lully's Académie Royale de Musique – he filled his performance corps with singers primarily from Languedoc.³¹ Nearly half

²⁹ See, e.g., Antonia Banducci, "The Opera Atelier Performance (Toronto, 2000): The Spirit of Lully on the Modern Stage," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 10.1 (2004): par. 4:1.

³⁰ Lully and Thomas Corneille, *Bellérophon, divertissement* (Strasbourg: Jean-François le Roux, 1736). See Chapter 5.

³¹ Though Parisians generally liked Perrin's productions, the southern accents of the singers were a subject of ridicule that was played out in many late 17th-century Parisian comedies, including the first comedy to satirize Lully's operas, Noël Lebreton Hauteroche, *Crispin musicien, comédie* (Paris: Pierre Promé, 1674), 55. According to

a century after the founding of Perrin's Académie, Christophe Ballard began his abbreviated history of French opera in the first volume of *Recueil général des opéra représentés par l'Académie Royale de Musique, depuis son établissement* (1703) by reminding readers of the Languedocien origins of the first opera singers in the French capital: "They brought in from Languedoc many musicians: among others, the Sieurs Beaumavielle and Rossignol, *basse-tailles*, Clediere and Tholet, *haute-contre*, and Miracle, *taille*" ("On avoit faut venir de Languedoc plusieurs Musiciens; entr'autres, les Sieurs Beaumavielle, & Rossignol, *Basse-tailles*; Clediere, & Tholet, *Haute-contres*, & Miracle, *Taille*").³² François Beaumavielle (d. 1688) remained a key member of Lully's troupe, taking the title role in the premiere of *Cadmus et Hermione* (1671), as well as anti-heroic roles such as Pluton (*Proserpine*, 1680) and Phinée (*Persée*, 1682).³³

Well after Lully's death, provincial singers continued to journey to Paris in quests for a career at the Paris Opéra. Some of these artists, however, returned to their native city after making a career as a singer in Paris to enjoy star roles in provincial productions. Their stories have received far less attention in music histories than the efforts of Perrin and his Languedocien

John S. Powell, the Gascon singer was a reference to Perrin's primarily Languedocien cast who could not speak French according to Parisian standards. See John S. Powell, "The Opera Parodies of Florent Carton Dancourt," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13.2 (2001), 88-89. Indeed, much of late 17th-century Parisian opera criticism also commented negatively or satirically on the backwardness of provincials, whose seemingly awkward pronunciation of French conflicted with the ideal perfect declamation that opera was supposed to uphold. For a discussion of opera as a model of French pronunciation, see Nicolas McGegan, "Singing Style at the Opéra in the Rameau Period" in *Jean-Philippe Rameau: Colloque international organisé par la Société Rameau: Dijon, 21-24 septembre 1983: actes*. CNRS et du Ministère de la culture, ed. Jérôme de la Gorce, 1987, 209-226.

³² *Recueil général des opéra représentés par l'Académie Royale de Musique, depuis son établissement* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1703), n.p. This was the first of a series of 15 volumes published between 1703 and 1735 that contained the livrets of operas premiered at the Académie Royale de Musique.

³³ Banducci, "Acteurs and Actrices as Muses: The Case for Jean-Baptiste Lully's Repertory Troupe (1672-1686)," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 21.1 (2015): par: 8.1. <https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-21-no-1/acteurs-and-actrices-as-muses-the-case-for-jean-baptiste-lullys-repertory-troupe/>.

artists.³⁴ As I discuss in Chapter 3, for instance, the Lyonnais soprano Madeleine Tulou sang for several seasons as a chorister at the Paris Opéra in the 1720s before returning to Lyon to take the title role in *Armide* at the local Académie des Beaux-Arts. Directors with professional connections at the Paris Opéra and Versailles also migrated between the capital and the provinces. In 1749, Jacques-Simon Mangot (fl. 1718-1772), brother-in-law of Jean-Philippe Rameau and former musician of the Grande Écurie of Versailles, assumed directorship over the Lyon Académie de Musique. He produced versions of *Thésée*, *Armide*, and *Roland* that corresponded much more closely to recent Parisian revivals of the *tragédies* than to the abbreviated versions of the operas produced by his predecessor, perhaps influenced by his personal and professional associations in Paris. Studying provincial Lully productions thus exposes a network of opera artists that traversed the kingdom, homogenizing tastes in repertoires by promoting Lully's operas even while allowing provincial companies to develop unique approaches to the performance of the repertoire.³⁵

³⁴ Perrin's venture is usually included in histories of French baroque opera as a prelude to the birth of the *tragédie en musique*. See, for example, Anthony, *French Baroque Opera from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, 86-90; Ahrendt, "A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680-c.1710;" 1-3; Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV and the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 120-121; and esp. Johnson, *Backstage at the Revolution*, 90-119. For a comprehensive study of Perrin and his literary achievements, see Louis E. Auld, *The Lyric Art of Pierre Perrin, Founder of French Opera* (Henryville, PA: Institute of Medieval Music, 1986).

³⁵ This network resonates closely with the kingdom-wide "cultural marketplace" that Lauren Clay maps in her study on French provincial and colonial theater companies in mid- to late-18th-century France. Considering the evolution of theatre practices holistically in Paris, the provinces, and the French colonies "within the same analytic framework," she argues that French "city-dwellers came to participate in a common cultural marketplace and to share common sets of social and cultural practices." Lauren Clay, *Stagestruck: The Business of Theater in Eighteenth-Century France and its Colonies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), 7. Clay's study pairs well with Ahrendt's dissertation on French baroque opera in Huguenot communities in that both shift the historiographical focus on French baroque theater and opera away from Paris and both emphasize the precedence of the commercial aspect over the courtly aspect of their repertoires, in contrast to conventional histories on the subject. Clay's work is one of the primary models of my dissertation, especially in her argument that theater companies "enjoyed a significant measure of autonomy – and were often left to their own devices" despite the Crown's nominal interest in overseeing the theater industry. *Ibid.*, 4.

Tracing the circulation of artists and reconstructing provincial performances reveals complexities in reception with significant political importance. The period of my study saw a dramatic centralization of royal authority in France and the ascendance of Paris as the cultural nucleus of the French kingdom. This backdrop of French sociopolitical transformation and upheaval, is, I argue, reflected in provincial productions of Lully's operas, where we see communities negotiating cultural and political identities in relation to the Crown. Given the intimate association of Lully's operas with absolutist ideology, it makes sense that provincial performances of them became a site for reflection on the imposition of more absolutist relationships with the monarchy during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV (r. 1715-1774).

In their assertion of absolutist rule, Louis XIV and his ministers had to contend with a kingdom characterized by great cultural heterogeneity. Several regions of France were relatively recent acquisitions – Brittany, Burgundy, Picardy, and Provence were absorbed into the French kingdom in the 15th and 16th centuries – while others, such as Alsace, Roussillon, and Franche-Comté, were annexed by Louis XIV.³⁶ Louis XIV confronted his kingdom's heterogeneity by mapping it in detail. The opening of Henri de Boulainvilliers and Philippe Mercier's *État de la France* (1697), a compendium of information on provincial communities, parishes, and municipal government systems, glimpses at the busy attention that the royal government devoted to documenting the geographies and demographics of the provinces so that it could govern its expanding domain more effectively:

The king, wanting to be well informed of the state of the provinces in his realm, wished for this memoir to be sent to the *Sieurs Maitres des Requêtes*, so that they could work, each in their own department... It is necessary that these intendants study the maps which were made of each province and generality, and that they

³⁶ John Miller, "Introduction," in *Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. John Miller (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990), 3.

check with care that they are good. In the case that they are not detailed enough...his Majesty wishes that they work without stop at making them so.³⁷

In addition to mapping and cataloguing his kingdom, Louis XIV also reorganized the power structures governing regions and cities with the masterful assistance of his ministers, especially Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) and François Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois (1641-1691). The king appointed intendants to each province who worked with local officials and assemblies to advance royal interests. Though the intendants helped solve the king's challenge of governing a large kingdom from a small belt of châteaux near Paris, however, there was no quick and easy answer to enforcing absolutism. Eleven regions of France were overseen by governors,³⁸ many of whom came from established noble families from the region in which they governed, and cities were administered by municipal councils and sovereign courts, or *parlements*.³⁹ Many of these courts were established long before the Bourbon dynasty came to power or before their respective region became a part of France, as was the case in Aix-en-Provence and Franche-Comté, and held tenaciously to their traditional right of being able to remonstrance against royal edicts that they did not consider favorable to their communities. To

³⁷ "Le Roy voulant être pleinement informé de l'état des Provinces du dedans de son Royaume, sa Majesté a voulu que ce Mémoire fut envoyé de sa part ausdits Sieurs Maitres des Requêtes, afin qu'ils puissent travailler, chacun dans leur département...Premièrement, il est nécessaire que lesdits Commissaires recherchent les Cartes, qui ont été faites de chacune Province & Généralité, & qu'ils vérifient avec soin si elles sont bonnes, & en cas qu'elles ne soient pas assez amples...sa Majesté veut qu'ils les emploient à y travailler incessamment & sans discontinuation." Henri de Boulainvilliers and Philippe Mercier, *Etat de France, dans lequel on voit tout ce qui regarde le gouvernement ecclesiastique...* (T. Wood & S. Palmer, 1727), 1.

³⁸ Provinces overseen by governors included the Lyonnais, Burgundy, Champagne, Ile-de-France, Picardy, Normandy, Languedoc, Provence, and the Dauphiné. See Robert R. Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 5; 201.

³⁹ On intendants and governors in 17th- and 18th-century France, see Vivian R. Gruder, *The Royal Provincial Intendants; a Governing Elite in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968); Annette Smedley-Weill, *Les Intendants de Louis XIV* (Paris: Fayard, 1995); Robert R. Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Fanny Cosandey and Robert Descimon, *L'Absolutisme en France: Histoire et historiographie* (Paris: Seuil, 2002), 150-153; David Parker, *The Making of French Absolutism* (London: E. Arnold, 1983), 146; Colin Jones, *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon 1715-1799* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 159.

enforce his authority in the provinces, Louis XIV constantly curried the favor of provincial governors, and only gradually stripped consulates and *parlements* of many of their juridical privileges.⁴⁰

In addition to governmental strategies, Louis XIV and his cabinet marshalled the arts to assert power in the provinces. In his book, *Le Roi-Machine* (1981), historian Jean-Marie Apostolides argues that Louis XIV constructed and held his power through visual portrayals of the King and the State, a practice Apostolides terms the “mise en spectacle du corps du roi.”⁴¹ Apostolides paints the king as a stage director, “who decided the script, the decoration, the costumes, and the hero of the drama” (“qui décidait du texte, des décors, des costumes, et le héros de la représentation”).⁴² Under Louis XIV, political power became organized around elaborate visual spectacles in which the king himself, as the *roi-machine*, transformed the abstract entity of the state into a glorious and tangible thing.⁴³

As Peter Burke elucidates in *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (1991), the Sun King continually fabricated and refabricated the meaning and image of kingship through various forms of spectacle ranging from commemorative medallions to stage works.⁴⁴ In the last two decades of the 17th century, for example, Louis XIV and his ministers oversaw a campaign of erecting

⁴⁰ William Beik, “The Absolutism of Louis XIV as Social Collaboration,” *Past and Present* 188.1 (2005): 205; Roger Mettam, “France,” in *Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. John Miller (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990), 54. The king’s dealings with *parlement* remonstrances has also been subject to debate: revisionists argue that the king respected the power of remonstrance, while conservative absolutist scholars, headed by John H. Hurt, argue that the king sought to terminate the practice. See, John H. Hurt, *Louis XIV and the Parlements: The Assertion of Royal Authority* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), esp. 1-32.

⁴¹ Jean-Marie Apostolides, *Le Roi-Machine: Spectacle et Politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Minuit, 1981), 28.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁴⁴ See Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

triumphal arches and equestrian statues depicting the king in major cities.⁴⁵ The Crown also enlisted music to enforce its image, ordering the *Te Deum*, for instance, to be sung in city cathedrals to celebrate events of national importance, such as the birth of a prince, a French military victory, or the recovery of the king after illness.⁴⁶ Like the king's equestrian statues, the *Te Deum*, as Kate van Orden argues in *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*, "viscerally exerted the king's dominion in ways that no longer required his physical presence or that of a royal agent."⁴⁷ The Crown's use of *le spectacle* as a political tool, however, could sometimes backfire. Many equestrian statues languished, sometimes for decades, in warehouses, waiting for the city for which they were destined to agree on details of payment or logistics of installation. Plans for the equestrian statue in Marseille stalled for years as the city struggled – ultimately unsuccessfully – to ensure that a local artist would design the monument rather than a royally appointed one, as the Crown had ordered.⁴⁸ Even as Louis XIV consolidated and advanced the power of the Crown, cities and their governing bodies remained sites of potential resistance.

⁴⁵ More precisely, the Crown pressured cities to erect the statues at their own expense. I discuss the equestrian statue campaign in more detail in Chapter 2. Two useful studies that discuss the statue campaign are Michel Martin, *Les Monuments Équestres de Louis XIV: Une Grande Entreprise de Propagande Monarchique* (Paris: Picard, 1986) and Ahrendt, "Armide, the Huguenots, and the Hague."

⁴⁶ For a history of the French *Te Deum* and its cultural and political significance, see Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005), esp. pp. 131-185; Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, "Le *Te Deum* en France à l'époque baroque: Un emblème royal," *Revue de Musicologie* 84.2 (1998): 199-233. As liturgical music, the *Te Deum* did not simply assert royal power; as van Orden argues, "In transferring Catholic identity to the political realm, the *Te Deum* ceremonial used the corporate sensibilities developed through Catholic practices to reaffirm each person's sense of belonging to the body politic." Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*, 166.

⁴⁷ Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*, 149.

⁴⁸ The statue destined for Rennes, for instance, was completed in 1692 but not erected until 1726. Martin, *Les Monuments Équestres de Louis XIV*, 118-123; 194-198.

In this study, I argue that the king's image was fabricated, refabricated, and deconstructed – in other words, negotiated – around the kingdom through the vehicle of opera, the baroque spectacle *extraordinaire*, and particularly of operas by Lully. Provincial opera productions were not organized by the Crown, yet the allusions to kingship in Lully's *tragédies* lent additional mobility to the king's image. In contrast to triumphal arches and equestrian statues, however, operas could easily be modified, sometimes in ways that distorted Lully's original messages about sovereignty. As Georgia Cowart argues in *The Triumph of Pleasure*, pleasure and politics collaborated within the “festive space” of opera not only to reflect the glory of the Crown, but to express shifting ideologies about sovereignty over time.⁴⁹ Though Cowart draws her conclusions from performance histories of operas and ballets in 17th- and 18th-century Paris, her argument is applicable to the ideological struggles that provincial productions of Lully's operas performed. In the provinces, many alterations to Lully's *tragédies* rendered the operas' imagery of royal authority subtler, less glorious, or even subverted their meaning. In the late 17th century, for instance, Lyon saw parodies of Lully's operas that replaced characters originally intended to represent royal authority – such as Jupiter in *Phaëton* – with Lyonnais figures respected for their largely autonomous power over municipal affairs, or with *commedia dell'arte* characters that overturned the nobility and power of Lully's roles. No provincial production modified Lully's operas, however, in a way that expressed total resistance to Louis XIV's absolutist regime. Indeed, several productions, such as the 1689 production of *Atys* in Rennes and the 1735 production of *Proserpine* in Strasbourg, enhanced Lully's absolutist imagery at the expense of

⁴⁹ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, xv-xxi. Martha Feldman's study of the ideological slippage of notions of sovereignty in 18th-century opera seria offers another example of how opera could both uphold and undermine the cultural and political tenets of its authors and original patrons. As Feldman explains, “if opera seria was at root the king's opera, its relations of production and its sociabilities also tested the king, manifesting the very crisis it denied.” Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 8.

plot. In their diverse responses to absolutism, provincial productions and parodies of Lully's operas offer a hitherto unexplored history of how absolutism was enforced across the kingdom.

Indeed, my study contributes to a longstanding controversy about the nature and implementation of absolutism in 17th- and 18th-century France. In 1945, historian Roland Mousnier published a study revealing the extensive political independence that Norman officials holding venal and hereditary offices enjoyed under Valois and Bourbon rulers, shattering the early 19th-century premise that French monarchs had commanded total control over bureaucratic institutions and officials.⁵⁰ Mousnier's study led scholars to split into two schools of thought. Following Mousnier, the revisionist school was led by Andrew Lossky's 1984 reappraisal of Louis XIV's bureaucratic administration and by William Beik's 1986 study on tax privileges in Languedoc during the reign of Louis XIV.⁵¹ Revisionists argued that Louis XIV exercised political power by collaborating with powerful French elites rather than by eliminating them from the kingdom's political system.⁵² Their studies redefine absolutism as a system of social compromise between the king and the influential individuals of the kingdom.⁵³ In contrast to the revisionists, historians such as John H. Hurt III highlight the severe pressure that Louis XIV put on *parlements* and venal office holders, arguing that Louis XIV did, in fact, achieve total

⁵⁰ Richard Bonney, "Absolutism: what's in a name?" in *The Limits of Absolutism in ancien régime France*, ed. Richard Bonney (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995), 93; Roland Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Rouen: Éditions Manguet, 1945).

⁵¹ See Andrew Lossky, "The Absolutism of Louis XIV: Myth or Reality?" *Canadian Journal of History* (April 1984): 1-15; William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in the Languedoc* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁵² Beik, "The Absolutism of Louis XIV as Social Collaboration," 195-199; Nicolas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy* (London: Longman, 1992), 36.

⁵³ Lossky argues that this concept of absolutism should be termed "limited absolutism," which, in his view, more accurately reflects Louis XIV's reliance on compromise. See Lossky, "The Absolutism of Louis XIV: Myth or Reality?" 15. In a more radical approach, Nicholas Henshall argues that the term "absolutism" should be abandoned completely, lamenting that the concept is irreparably burdened with 20th-century connotations of despotism, autocracy, and bureaucracy. See Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism*, 2, 5.

authority over his government officials.⁵⁴ My analysis of provincial productions of Lully's operas adheres to the revisionist camp. Struggles over the extent and limits of sovereign authority play out in provincial productions of Lully's operas, mirroring the negotiations between governors, *parlements*, and city councils, on the one hand, and the Crown, on the other, for the right to command authority in the provinces.

Chapter Overviews

Lully composed 13 complete *tragédies*: *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), *Alceste ou le Triomphe d'Alcide* (1675), *Thésée* (1675), *Atys* (1676), *Isis* (1677), *Psyché* (1678), *Bellérophon* (1679), *Proserpine* (1680), *Persée* (1682), *Phaëton* (1683), *Amadis* (1684), *Roland* (1685), and *Armide* (1686).⁵⁵ While each opera received multiple revivals across France, some enjoyed more attention in the provinces than others. *Atys* and *Armide* were widely admired, parodied, and performed. Fewer examples survive, however, of performances of *Cadmus et Hermione*, *Psyché*, and *Proserpine*; indeed, that *Proserpine* is one of the three surviving Lully livrets to have survived from Strasbourg points in many respects to the cultural divide that separated the Alsatian capital from other cities in France.

Reasons for widespread interest in some of Lully's operas but not others are at least partially explained by the reception of the *tragédies* at the Paris Opéra. Operas that were more popular in Paris were generally performed more frequently in the provinces. *Atys* and *Armide*, for instance, were revived at the Paris Opéra into the mid-18th century.⁵⁶ These two operas stand out among Lully's *tragédies* in other ways, both starring a strong female lead or secondary character

⁵⁴ See Hurt, *Louis XIV and the Parlements*.

⁵⁵ As I discuss in Chapter 4, Lully was unable to complete his fourteenth *tragédie*, *Achille et Polyxène*, before his death, leaving the opera to be finished by his protégé, Pascal Collasse.

⁵⁶ *Atys* was last revived at the Paris Opéra in 1753, and *Armide* in 1766. See Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 159; 326.

who must ultimately accept the loss of the person she adores, and offering exceptionally moving pieces that invoke spectators' empathy, from Cybele's "Espoir si cher" to Armide's "Le perfide Renaud me fuit." As we shall see in Chapter 6, *Atys* and *Armide* remain popular among performers of baroque opera today, a legacy of the operas' captivating effect over the 17th- and 18th-century French musical imagination.

It is not one of Lully's operas, however, that opens the performance history of the composer's *tragédies* in the provinces, but rather a composition modeled after Lully's works. Chapter 1 opens two years before Lully's death, when Lully permitted Pierre Gautier (1642-1696) to establish an academy of music in Marseille. The first provincial opera house in France, the Académie de Musique of Marseille opened with Gautier's own composition, *Le Triomphe de la Paix* (1685). I bring the livret of *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, which was long believed lost, to scholarly attention for the first time. Although it is a *pastorale héroïque* (perhaps a deliberate move to avoid direct competition with Lully), Gautier's *Le Triomphe de la Paix* draws heavily from Lully's opera, *Persée* (1682). *Le Triomphe de la Paix* also shares remarkable similarities with Lully's ballet, *Le Temple de la Paix* (1685), which premiered at the royal court nine months after Gautier's opera. While Gautier's score remains lost, the textual parallels suggest a unique instance in which Lully may have shared details about his composition with the Provençal opera director. I also read *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and Gautier's second *pastorale*, *Le Jugement du Soleil* (1687), against parallel events in Marseillais politics. Gautier's livrets, I argue, mobilize generic conventions of absolutist opera to dramatize contests over an unprecedented royal interference with municipal autonomy that were actively being played out and reconciled in local struggles over governance and commerce.

In 1688, Jean-Pierre Leguay (1665-1731), one of the dancers whom Gautier had hired for the Académie de Musique of Marseille, obtained permission from Lully's heirs to establish an Académie de Musique in Lyon. Chapter 2 explores the reception of Lully's operas in Lyon in the first two decades of the Lyon Académie de Musique. Early impressions of Lully's operas in Lyon are preserved in several types of documentation, including gazette reports on opera productions, pamphlets, and local comedies that satirized Lully's music. While audiences appreciated opera as a novel art form, playwrights targeted the genre as a paragon of the elitist cultures of Paris and the court. These criticisms were especially justified in the 1690s, when Lyon, like much of France, was decimated by famine, disease, and the material and psychological toll of the Nine Years' War (1688-1697). I argue that Lyonnais playwrights and authors used Lully's operas to express frustration with the Crown while reaffirming their confidence in the city consulate and its efforts to sustain the populace during this period.

The narrative of Lully's operas in Lyon develops further in Chapter 3, which considers 18th-century performances at two local institutions: the semi-professional Académie des Beaux-Arts, which was founded in 1713 as a private musical society, and the professional Académie de Musique, which included Lully's operas in several of its performance seasons until 1750. Through an analysis of manuscript performance scores and printed libretti used or published by these institutions, I reconstruct how Lully's operas were modified for performance. A comparison of these modifications to contemporary Parisian productions of the operas uncovers similarities and divergences in each city's stylistic and ideological approach to Lully's music. While the Paris Opéra retained Lully's prologues until the second half of the 18th century, for instance, the Lyon academies began to eliminate prologues much earlier. Such modifications suggest that the operas' royal allusions were less meaningful to audiences distant from

Versailles, but they also demonstrate that provincial performances were not necessarily defined by Paris.

In 1689, several French cities organized productions of Louis XIV's favorite opera, Lully's *Atys*. One city's production featured highly significant modifications to the original text and score. In Chapter 4, I focus on the production of *Atys* in Rennes, the capital of Brittany. In 1689, Lully's *haute-contre* soloist Louis Golard Dumesnil organized the production to celebrate the return of the Rennes *parlement* from Vannes, where Louis XIV had exiled it in 1675 following a local revolt over taxes that the *parlement* had failed to suppress. An anonymous librettist and Lully's *protégé*, the composer Pascal Collasse (1649-1709) composed a new prologue for the opera that celebrated Breton submission to Louis XIV. Reading the prologue against contemporary gazette reports, opera prologues, ballets, and poetry that responded to the Nine Years' War, I argue that Collasse's prologue also functioned as war propaganda by deliberately echoing the language of other propagandist media of the period.

Chapter 5 shifts to Alsace to examine the three livrets of Lully's operas that have survived from the Académie de Musique of Strasbourg. These livrets date from the 1730s, coinciding with the years during and immediately surrounding the War of Polish Succession (1733-1735). The Strasbourg Lully productions were highly abbreviated: the 1735 production of *Proserpine*, for instance, retained no more than the original prologue and first act.⁵⁷ Contextualizing the productions in a city marked by diverse cultural, linguistic, and confessional communities even some fifty years after its French annexation in 1681, I argue that the operas complemented the Crown's initiative to enforce French political power and culture in the city. The productions, however, were not uniformly designed to suit political ends: while *Proserpine*

⁵⁷ A transcription of the surviving livret of the Strasbourg Académie's production of *Proserpine* is reproduced in Appendix 5.1.

functioned politically to celebrate French victory in the War of Polish Succession, the modifications to Lully's other two operas are better explained by cultural motivations that aimed to render the repertoire more accessible to spectators of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The separate performance histories in this study emphasize the ties that Lully's operas maintain with Louis XIV's political ideology: whether provincial opera productions highlighted or subverted the political allusions in Lully's operas, they remained in conversation with absolutism. The power structure of absolutism ruptured in the French Revolution, and yet, Lully's operas have endured beyond *ancien régime* France, and continue to appear on present-day stages across Europe and North America. The concluding chapter of my study tests the resilience of Lully's operas in the present day. I highlight three major productions in France: the 1987 Les Arts Florissants production of *Atys*, the 2008 Les Arts Florissants production of *Armide*, and the 2015 Opera Atelier revival of *Armide*. The ability of these productions to resonate with contemporary cultural politics, from the resurgence of interest in French cultural heritage in the 1980s to reactions over the terrorist attacks that devastated Paris in 2015, reflect the enduring mobility of Lully's repertoire.

Lully's obituary was published in the final pages of the *Mercure Galant* edition of March 1687, which was otherwise devoted largely to descriptions of the celebrations honoring Louis XIV's recovery from illness. The obituary offers a brief biography of Lully that charts his achievements as a composer and as the director of the Académie Royale de Musique. At the end of the obituary, the editor informs readers that Lully's successors at the Paris Opéra will continue

to produce the composer's operas. With a more excited tone, the editor also hints that a new opera will soon open at the Académie Royale de Musique:

After Easter, [Lully's] *Amadis* and *Persée* will be played in alteration. We've been made to hope that a new opera will be performed at the beginning of winter; we've been assured that nothing will be spared for this opera. The public awaits it eagerly.⁵⁸

The opera would be *Achilles et Polyxène*, a *tragédie* begun by Lully and completed by Collasse. With the prospect of fresh repertoire composed by artists other than Lully (indeed, Collasse composed the prologue and final four acts of *Achilles et Polyxène*, and soon premiered operas entirely of his own composition at the Académie Royale de Musique), the obituary suggests a closure to a musical era.

The many revivals of Lully's *tragédies* at the Paris Opéra over the course of the 18th century have proven that Lully's death did not put an end to interest in his music. His passing vastly increased the access of French audiences to his operas as provincial theaters were able to stage productions of them for the first time, delighting spectators anew with an art form that was no longer so novel in Paris.⁵⁹ In the provinces, Lully's *tragédies* played out their inherently political function, joining forces with efforts organized by the Crown to enforce sovereign authority in corners distant from Versailles. Yet as the public image of the Crown was in a

⁵⁸ "On jouëra alternativement après Pasques *Amadis & Persée*. On fait esperer qu'au commencement de l'Hyver prochain on donnera un *Opera* nouveau, pour lequel on assure qu'on n'épargnera rien. Ce Public en attend beaucoup." *Mercure Galant* (March 1687), 368.

⁵⁹ Into the 1770s, opera was characterized as a novel delight among provincial audiences. In *L'Opéra de Province* (1777), a parody of Gluck's *Armide*, for instance, a Parisian opera troupe brings Gluck's *Armide* (set to the libretto that Quinault authored for Lully's eponymous work in 1686) to Reims. The singer Clarice informs her director, Adélaïde, of the excitement that their presence was provoking in the city, where spectators were so thrilled that they were tempted to mistake Adélaïde for the goddess Venus herself, singing,

Tous les Rémois, dans leur ville embellie,
Semblent nous accueillir avec empressement;
Chacun vous fait sa cour & croit en vous voyant,
Voir Vénus, sous vos traits, recruter pour Thalie.

Pierre-Yves Barré, Augustin de Piis, Louis-Pierre-Pantaléon Resnier, *L'Opéra de Province: nouvelle parodie d'Armide en deux actes, en vers, mêlés de vaudevilles* (Paris: Vente, 1777), 4.

continuous process of fabrication, so, too, were Lully's *tragédies* as provincial artists redefined the extent to which the repertoire would promote absolutism.

Chapter 1

Modeling Lully in Marseille, 1685-1687

There is no greater enemy of general commerce and good order...than the merchants of Marseille.¹
-Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Minister of Finances to Louis XIV

At the end of the year 1686, Louis XIV's physicians proclaimed the king finally cured of the fistula that had plagued him for a year as "the angriest and most pernicious" of his life's ailments.² Upon hearing the news, France erupted into several weeks of celebration. The *Mercure Galant*, a prestigious news and literary journal printed in Paris, issued an edition in March 1687 that reproduced the many odes and madrigals that French poets had composed in the king's honor after his recovery, while also chronicling the festivities that had been raging across France since the end of the previous year. Fountains of wine and tears of joy flooded cities throughout the kingdom. Professors gave eloquent orations on the restoration of the royal body to health. Cathedrals and churches rang with Te Deums; Lully conducted his *Te Deum* (LWV 55) in Paris with such fervor that he accidentally struck his toe with his baton, dying two months later from the wound.³

Tucked within the March 1687 issue of the *Mercure Galant* is the livret of a short opera titled *Le Jugement du Soleil*, composed by the harpsichordist Pierre Gautier de la Ciotat (1642-1696), director of the Académie de Musique of Marseille, with text by the Provençal poet Balthazar de Bonnewcourse (1631-1706).⁴ Staged in Marseille for the pleasure of over a thousand

¹ Qtd. in Junko Thérèse Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce: Marseille and the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 33.

² Vallot d'Aquin et Fagon, *Journal de la Santé du Roi Louis XIV de l'année 1647 à l'année 1711*, ed. Joseph-Adrien Le Roi (Paris: A. Durand, 1862), 166.

³ *Mercure Galant* (Paris: Chez G. De Luyne, T. Girard, and Michel Guerot, March 1687). Lully's obituary is included on pp. 361-8 of the edition.

⁴ La Ciotat was and remains a commune on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea about 21 miles east of Marseille.

members of the Provençal aristocracy, *Le Jugement du Soleil* praises Louis XIV as the greatest of heroes. Although its celebratory prose echoes the language of other contributions praising the king in that issue of the *Mercure*, *Le Jugement du Soleil* suggests a more nuanced political agenda: in the opera, allusions to Provence and Marseille vie subtly for attention with royalist imagery. Read closely, the opera's salutation to the king takes shape as a demand for royal recognition of Marseille and the unique riches that the city and the region of Provence offered to the kingdom.

This chapter explores the first phase of the dissemination of Lully's *tragédies en musique* in the French provinces, when the Académie de Musique of Marseille became the first French opera company to be established outside of Paris. Under Gautier's direction, the Académie would produce several operas by Lully, but only after opening in 1685 with an opera by Gautier himself, titled *Le Triomphe de la Paix*. Gautier modeled *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, as well as his second opera, *Le Jugement du Soleil*, on the stylistic precepts Lully set for the genre. The history of Lully reception in the French provinces thus begins not with Lully's own compositions, but with Gautier's musical responses to Lully's *tragédies*. In this chapter, I uncover the stylistic debt that Gautier's operas owe to Lully through a close analysis of the Provençal composer's livrets, which reveal that Gautier not only sought to emulate Lully's style, but modeled much of his work on specific excerpts from Lully's operas. My analysis of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* is the first to bring the opera's livret to scholarly attention, as it has long been thought lost.⁵

⁵ The livret of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* is currently available in digitized form on www.gallica.fr. Though it was believed to be lost, scholars of music in 17th-century Provence have cited it as a work in three acts with a prologue. See, e.g., Heyer, *The Lure and Legacy of Music at Versailles*; Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIII^e siècle*, 86. This description of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* stems from Pierre-François Godard de Beauchamp's *Recherches sur les théâtres en France: depuis l'année onze cent soixante-un jusques à present*, 3^{ème} partie (Paris: Prault père, 1735), 84. For reasons unknown, Godard wrote that the *pastorale* was divided into three acts. It is possible that he had another version of the opera in hand; if so, this version remains lost.

With Lully's *tragédies* as his guide, Gautier filled his operas with allusions to Louis XIV. In addition to their royal praise, Gautier's operas reflected ideological discourses that began to shape the relationship between Marseille and the royal government after Louis XIV entered the city in 1660 to quell urban revolts. During a period of unprecedented increase in royal presence and authority over political and commercial matters in the city, the people and municipal government of Marseille insisted on the preservation of the city's civic identity, which was rooted in tenets of classical republicanism. An ideology that advocated for civic autonomy from authority consolidated in the hands of any single individual or entity, proponents of classical republicanism argued that any source of authority should be built on reason and virtue rather than noble ancestry.⁶ By mixing allusions to Marseille and Provence with the stylistic elements of Lully's *tragédies*, Gautier's operas reflected Marseille's ideological balance of respect for royal authority and belief in civic self-determination in the last quarter of the 17th century.

The Founding and Early Years of the Académie de Musique of Marseille

Like the other provincial opera companies discussed in this study, the Marseille Académie has received little study. Musicologist Lionel de la Laurencie brought Gautier and the Académie to scholarly attention in 1911 in an article discussing Gautier's compositions and career at the Académie from 1684 to 1696, when the composer died at sea.⁷ In 1972, musicologist Jeanne Cheilan-Cambolin expanded Laurencie's research into an institutional history of the Marseille Académie with her doctoral dissertation, *Un aspect de la vie musicale à*

⁶ Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 7.

⁷ Lionel de la Laurencie, "Un émule de Lully: Pierre Gautier de Marseille" *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 13 (Oct.-Dec., 1911): 39-69. At the beginning of the article, Laurencie stakes his claim as being a pioneer of Marseillais musical historiography by assuring readers that he is indeed the first modern scholar to attempt a study on Gautier. See p. 39.

Marseille au XVIII^e siècle.⁸ Her more recent articles, “La Première décentralisation des opéras de Lully en province: la création de l’opéra de Marseille au XVII^e siècle” (1990), and “Notes sur les Trois premières salles d’opéra et de comédie de Marseille” (1990), study the Académie’s foundational years with a focus on its performance spaces and repertoire, though she provides minimal details on Gautier’s *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and *Le Jugement du Soleil*.⁹ Cheilan-Cambolin traverses extensive archival territory, but she does not situate the Académie within the political context of 17th-century Marseille.¹⁰ John Hajdu Heyer contextualizes the Marseille Académie within the transmission of Parisian musical practices to Provence in the 1680s, and vice versa, in his monograph, *The Lure and Legacy of Music at Versailles: Louis XIV and the Aix School* (2014).¹¹ Though the focus of his study is sacred music, Heyer’s research significantly advances current knowledge of 17th-century musical activities in the French provinces, and how provincial musicians and institutions influenced musical developments at the French court. It remains to be understood, however, how Gautier’s operas reflected and shaped the musical tastes and political ideologies of the Académie’s audience members, who represented a city with a uniquely independent political history and diverse demographic composition. A reconsideration of the establishment of the Académie and the political events that surrounded its early years moves us closer to answering this question.

⁸ Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIII^e siècle*.

⁹ Cheilan-Cambolin, “Notes sur les Trois salles d’opéra et de comédie de Marseille,” 147-55; Cheilan-Cambolin, “La Première décentralisation des opéras de Lully en province: la création de l’Opéra de Marseille au XVII^e siècle,” 529-538. In her dissertation, Cheilan-Cambolin does provide an overview of the demographics in Marseille in the late 17th century, as well as musical activities and institutions in the city that predated the establishment of the Académie de Musique of Marseille. See Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIII^e siècle*, 38-77.

¹⁰ In his biographical article on Gautier in *Grove Music Online*, Marcel Frémiot, provides a summary of Laurencie’s and Cheilan-Cambolin’s research. See Marcel Frémiot, “Gautier, Pierre,” *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 8.24.2016.

¹¹ Heyer, *The Lure and Legacy of Music at Versailles*, 151-2.

With the encouragement of the *échevins* of Marseille, who believed that an opera company would enhance the glory of their city, on 8 July, 1684, Pierre Gautier signed a six-year contract with Lully to establish a music academy in Marseille.¹² Since becoming the director of the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris in 1672, Lully had carefully guarded his monopoly over the production and composition of stage music in France. Not only did Lully grant Gautier permission to produce and compose opera in Marseille with as large a performance force as the harpsichordist wished, he also licensed the Provençal native to tour his troupe throughout Provence.¹³ Within the first year of his directorship, Gautier hired singers, dancers, and instrumentalists who hailed from cities including Aix-en-Provence, Metz, Paris, and Marseille. One of his dancers, Jean-Pierre Leguay, would go on to enjoy a lengthy career as the founding director of the Académie de Musique of Lyon in 1688.¹⁴ By 1686, Gautier had established an annual tour that encompassed Marseille, Aix-en-Provence, Toulon, Avignon, Arles, Beaucaire, and Montpellier (see Figure 1.1).¹⁵ The troupe's expansive itinerary explains why the two extant livrets printed for the Académie's productions during Gautier's tenure as director originated in

¹² Laurencie, "Un émule de Lully," 40-42. An excerpt of the contract and a summary of its conditions are reproduced in idem, 40-41 and Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 82-84. In 1683, the governor of Provence cautioned the *échevins* to ensure that Gautier obtained a contract from Lully to establish the Marseille Académie. See Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 82.

¹³ "Le droit et permission d'establiir une académie de musique dans la ville de Marseille en Provence, seulement composée de tel nombre et qualité de personnes que ledit Gaultier advisera, pour faire en ladite ville les représentations tant des opéras composez par ledit Sr Lully que d'autres que ledit Sr Gaultier ou ceux avec lesquels il pourra s'associer pourront composer, tant en vers français qu'en langues étrangères." Reproduced in Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 83.

¹⁴ Ibid., 90-92; 95-96.

¹⁵ Cheilan-Cambolin, "La Première décentralisation des opéras de Lully en province," 530-531.

different cities: the livret of *Armide* was printed by Laurent Lemolt in Avignon in 1687, and the livret of *Persée* was printed by Pierre Mesnier in Marseille in 1697.¹⁶



Fig. 1.1: Pierre Gautier's performance sites

Detail of Alexis-Hubert Jaillot, *Carte particulière des postes de France*, 1690.

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (704 B). www.gallica.bnf.fr.

In 1688, Gautier went bankrupt and sold his privilege for the Académie, along with the Académie's inventory, to his *maître de musique*, Nicolas Besson.¹⁷ After a brief imprisonment in Avignon, Gautier's whereabouts remain uncertain. Laurencie, Cheilan-Cambolin, and music historian Léon Vallas have attempted to verify Gautier's location after his imprisonment during

¹⁶ Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, *Armide* (Avignon: Chez L. Lemolt, 1687); Lully and Quinault, *Persée* (Marseille: Chez Pierre Mesnil, 1697).

¹⁷ Besson would not retain the privilege for long: during Gautier's absence, the directorship of the Marseille Académie shifted hands several times. Directorship passed to the Lyon Académie orchestra director, Philippe Delacroix, by March 1689; even though his privilege from Francini was viable for 6 years, Louis and Arnauld Salx, who partnered with Nicolas Le Vasseur in a veritable *coup d'état* of the Lyon Académie at the end of 1689, obtained a privilege from Francini for producing opera in Lyon, Marseille, Aix-en-Provence, Montpellier, Grenoble, Dijon, and Chalon beginning in July 1690. The Salx brothers did not entertain ambitions of producing opera in Marseille, so Delacroix continued to direct the Marseille Académie until 1692. In this year, the Salx brothers appointed François Doulonne to take over Delacroix's financially struggling endeavors. Doulonne remained the nominal director of the Académie until 1692, when a fire destroyed the opera house. See Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 121-145.

Besson's tenure (1688-1692) without any definitive conclusion.¹⁸ Their struggles hinge on the signature of one "Pierre Gautier" in a contract signed on 19 February, 1690, in which this Gautier assumed the role of *chef d'orchestre* at the Académie de Musique of Lyon. Vallas and Cheilan-Cambolin argue that this was the same Gautier as the harpsichordist who had founded the Marseille Académie.¹⁹ Laurencie, however, points to the difference in handwriting between the Pierre Gautier de la Ciotat who signed the contract with Lully in July 1684 and the Pierre Gautier who signed the contract in Lyon in 1690, arguing that they must have been different people.²⁰



Fig. 1.2: Comparison of two signatures of Pierre Gautier reproduced in Laurencie, "Un émule de Lully," 12. Despite convincing differences between each Gautier's penmanship, the surviving livret of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* supports the claims of Vallas and Cheilan-Cambolin. The livret is not a copy from the first edition. Charles Brebion, *imprimeur du roi, de Monseigneur l'évêque, & de la Ville*, had printed the first copies of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* for its premiere. Even though

¹⁸ Cheilan-Cambolin, "La Première décentralisation des opéras de Lully en province," 531-532; Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 105-106; 120-121. Besson was also the director of a violin band in Marseille.

¹⁹ Léon Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon (1688-1789)* (Lyon: P. Masson, 1932), 34-35; Cheilan-Cambolin, "Notes sur les Trois salles d'opéra et de comédie de Marseille," 148.

²⁰ Laurencie, "Un émule de Lully," 49. Gautier's signature on the Lyon Académie document in fact matches the signature that Gautier penned on a contract to construct a new opera house in Marseille in 1693, preserved in Archives Bouche du Rhone. 363 E 206.folio 225-227. Reproduced in Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 148. To my knowledge, the matching penmanship has gone unnoticed until now.

Brebion printed 200 livrets, no copy is known to exist.²¹ The surviving livret was printed in 1691 in Lyon by Thomas Amaulry, who owned the unique privilege of printing livrets of operas produced at the Lyon Académie de Musique.²² The Lyon Académie's interest in *Le Triomphe de la Paix* suggests not only that the Lyon Académie produced Gautier's opera, but that Gautier himself may have been present in the city. If Gautier were the *chef d'orchestre* of the Lyon Académie, the decision to produce *Le Triomphe de la Paix* would have been highly economical: many of the performance personnel of the Lyon Académie had begun their operatic careers working for Gautier in Marseille, and had therefore likely participated in the premiere of *Le Triomphe de la Paix*.²³ Furthermore, Gautier would have been on hand to advise the Académie's financially struggling director, Nicolas Le Vasseur, on the production. If the Lyon Académie did produce *Le Triomphe de la Paix* in 1691, Vallas's conclusion that the institution produced *tragédies* exclusively by Lully before 1695 is no longer valid.²⁴

Though Gautier's instrumental works circulated in Paris in the decade after his death in 1696, the extent to which the composer's operas were known beyond Marseille during his lifetime has remained unclear.²⁵ Other than brief reports in the *Mercure Galant* on *Le Triomphe*

²¹ Beauchamp, *Recherches sur les théâtres en France*, 84; Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 86.

²² Gérard Corneloup, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon: de l'Académie royale de musique à l'Opéra nouveau* (Lyon: Association des amis de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, 1982), 31.

²³ Artists from the Marseille Académie who found employment in Lyon included the singers Pierre Perin and Jean-Pierre Duviviers, and the dancers Louis Savigny and Guillaume La Bruyère. See Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 23.

²⁴ In 1720, the librarians of the Lyon Académie de Beaux-Arts made a copy Gautier's *Motet à grand cheoru avec symphonie, Ecce Domine* (F-LYm Rés MS FM 27338). One of the Académie's earliest acquisitions of motet scores, the copy is worn but shows no sign of use except a pencil correction in the fourth measure from the end in the bass voice of the choir. The Académie has no record of owning any of Gautier's operatic music.

²⁵ For a roster of these publications, see Laurencie, "Un émule de Lully," 52-69.

de la Paix and *Le Jugement du Soleil* in Marseille, there is no evidence that provides insight into Gautier's reputation before his death.²⁶ The livret of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* rather changes this story: regardless of whether Gautier was hired by the Lyon Académie, the livret demonstrates popular familiarity with Gautier's opera outside of Marseille.

If Gautier did work for the Lyon Académie, his return to Marseille in 1692 was no doubt prompted by the Lyon Académie's declaration of bankruptcy at the end of that year. In partnership with his brother Jacques, who worked as a sculptor in Marseille, Gautier purchased the privilege for the Marseille Académie from the Salx brothers.²⁷ Gautier's second tenure as director proved successful until 1696, when he and his troupe perished in a storm off the coast of Sète as they were returning by ship to Marseille from a performance tour in Montpellier.²⁸ Following Gautier's death, the director of the Lyon Académie, Jean-Pierre Leguay, purchased a privilege from Lully's heirs to produce opera in Marseille, where he organized several performances until the theater burnt to the ground in 1702.²⁹

From its inauguration in 1685 to Gautier's death, the Marseille Académie limited its repertoire primarily to Lully's *tragédies* with only a few exceptions: the premiere of *Le Triomphe des Brunes*, a *divertissement* by Lully's son, Jean-Baptiste, in Toulon in 1685, and Gautier's operas, *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and *Le Jugement du Soleil* (see Table 1.1).³⁰ Unlike

²⁶ *Le Triomphe de la Paix* is briefly discussed in *Mercure Galant* (Paris: Chez G. De Luyne, C. Blageart, and T. Girard, February 1685), 287-289; *Le Jugement du Soleil* is discussed in *Mercure Galant* (Paris: Chez G. De Luyne, T. Girard, and Michel Guerot, March 1687), pp. 34-4.

²⁷ Cheilan-Cambolin, "Notes sur les Trois salles d'opéra et de comédie de Marseille," 148; Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 145.

²⁸ Évrard Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois, dédié au Roi...* (Paris: de l'imprimerie de Jean-Baptiste Coignard, fils, 1732), 477.

²⁹ Cheilan-Cambolin, "Notes sur les Trois salles d'opéra et de comédie de Marseille," 150.

³⁰ Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 159.

Gautier's first opera, *Le Jugement du Soleil* was commissioned for a private and exclusive event, not for the public.³¹

1686	<i>Le Triomphe de l'Amour; Armide</i>
1688	<i>Atys; Bellérophon</i>
1689	<i>Amadis; Atys</i>
1692	<i>Le Triomphe de l'Amour</i>
1694	<i>Armide; Roland</i>
1695	<i>Alceste</i>
1696	<i>Alceste</i>
1697	<i>Proserpine; Persée; Le Jugement du Soleil</i>

Table 1.1: Documented productions at the Marseille Académie de Musique, 1686-1697³²

The Académie's productions graced a city that had undergone extensive political transformation during the previous two decades. Since Louis XIV's accession to the throne, the king and his ministers had hoped to reorganize the municipal government and commercial activities of Marseille to boost the city's potential as a center for trade with the Levant, which had weakened considerably during the reign of Louis XIII (1601-1643). Changes to the city's municipal government were difficult to enact, however, because French kings had traditionally granted Marseille a high degree of economic, political, and religious independence since France's acquisition of the city in the 15th century.³³

Marseille's independent spirit was nourished by its remarkably diverse population. In the 1680s, the city was home to French, Spanish, North African, Italian, Greek, Armenian, Dutch, Scandinavian, and Jewish communities (the Jews were expelled in 1682), whose total population

³¹ Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 104-105. No operas were produced in 1693 because the Gautier brothers had to build a new opera house to replace the one that had been destroyed by fire in 1692. See Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 147.

³² Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 186-7. Schmidt does not mention *Le Jugement du Soleil* in his study.

³³ Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 1-3; 20-24; Régis Bertrand, *La Provence des Rois de France, 1481-1789* (Aix-en-Provence, France: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2012), 38-39; 69-70.

numbered about 75,000 by the end of the 17th century.³⁴ The city, whose name derives from its Greek place-name, Massalia (Roman Massilia and Provençal Marsiho), was founded by mariners from Greek Phocaea around 600 BCE. The city quickly developed into an important cultural and commercial center thanks to its strategic position at the crossroads of Mediterranean trading routes. In the medieval period, Marseille was governed by consuls who, though technically under the authority of the counts of Provence, ruled with political independence until 1481, when Louis XI (1423-1483) inherited Provence from his uncle René d'Anjou, the count of Provence (1409-1480).³⁵ Though the city was henceforth under French control, Louis XI and his successors granted Marseille generous political autonomy over civic and commercial affairs, such as tax exemptions on imported and exported goods.³⁶ For nearly 200 years, the city was governed by various configurations of consuls and assemblies, all nominally under the authority of a royal governor, a lieutenant-general, and a royal intendant based in Aix-en-Provence, who represented the interests of the king.³⁷ When Louis XIV entered the city in 1660, it was ruled by three consuls who headed a municipal council of 300 individuals that nominated candidates for municipal offices.³⁸

³⁴ Jeff Horn, *Economic Development in Early Modern France: the Privilege of Liberty, 1650-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 151. Bertrand, *La Provence des Rois de France*, 206.

³⁵ Alèssi dell'Umbria, *Histoire universelle de Marseille de l'an mil à l'an deux mille* (Marseille: Agone, 2006), 51-54.

³⁶ Dell'Umbria, *Histoire universelle de Marseille*, 121-122. Marseille benefited from the Provençal region's status as a *pays de petite gabelle*, where the salt tax was considerably lower than in other regions of France. See Bertrand, *La Provence des Rois de France*, 38.

³⁷ The first governor of Provence had been appointed by the king in 1572. For a more detailed history of the officials and governing bodies that oversaw the government of the region, see Bertrand, *La Provence des Rois de France*, 46-63.

³⁸ Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 22-23; Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 83; Adolphe Crémieux, *Marseille et la Royauté pendant la minorité de Louis XIV (1643-1660)* (Paris: Hachette, 1917), 51-63.

In 1660, Louis XIV found an opportunity to intervene in internal politics and economic affairs in Marseille when food shortages, drought, and conflicts among the city's nobility provoked civic unrest. The factional disputes among the nobility were rooted in a decades-long struggle of competing claims over positions in the three-person consulate. Tensions first arose in 1638, when Cardinal Richelieu appointed Antoine de Valbelle as head consular of Marseille. The Valbelle clan had been cultivating political power over Marseille since the early 17th century with the support of the governor of Provence, Charles de Lorraine, Duc de Guise (1571-1640). When de Guise suddenly restricted the Valbelles' political authority and financial revenue in the 1630s, however, the family sought the political protection and support of de Guise's enemy, Richelieu. Guise's successor, Louis-Emmanuel d'Angoulême, Comte d'Alais (1596-1653), opposed Richelieu's appointment of Antoine de Valbelle, but nevertheless allowed it to go through. Valbelle retained control over Marseille's municipal government until his death in 1655. One of his final acts was to populate the municipal council of Marseille with his supporters; since the council elected municipal officials, Valbelle ensured that political power would remain in the hands of his party even after his death.³⁹

Nevertheless, the Provençal governor and the *premier président* of the *parlement* of Provence maneuvered Valbelle's rivals into positions in Marseille's municipal government after Valbelle's death, provoking popular protests across the city.⁴⁰ The hostile environment was exacerbated by increasing pressure from the Crown to pay taxes from which the city believed it was exempt, and exacerbated by tensions emanating from Paris as the capital recovered from the Fronde (1648-1653), a series of civil insurrections that divided the second and third estates over

³⁹ Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients*, 76-84.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

the limits of royal power.⁴¹ Valbelle's supporters, now led by Gaspard de Glandevès-Niozelles, claimed Marseille's independence from both governor and Crown. The following year, Glandevès-Niozelles and his followers drove from Marseilles the royal soldiers who had been garrisoned there in 1658 by Louis XIV's chief minister, Cardinal Mazarin, to quell the city's violent turmoil.⁴² Louis XIV punished Glandevès-Niozelles by stripping him of his title and privileges; the municipal council responded by electing supporters of Glandevès-Niozelles to the consulate in 1659.⁴³

En route to Spain to meet his bride, the Infanta Maria Teresa, Louis XIV decided to make clear to Marseille that his authority – not that of the consulate – was absolute.⁴⁴ The king sent 6000 soldiers to storm Marseille in February 1660, following his troops six weeks later to ensure that the revolt was fully quashed.⁴⁵ Shortly after his arrival, Louis XIV overhauled the municipal council and consulate, creating a sixty-member council overseen by a consulate of four *échevins* elected from members of the bourgeois, merchant, and business classes.⁴⁶ Provençal nobles were excluded from the consulate, thereby destroying the power of the Valbelle party and allowing the

⁴¹ Dell'Umbria, *Histoire universelle de Marseille*, 125-126; Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France*, 186. For a comprehensive overview of the Fronde in Paris, see Joan DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: the Invention of the Modern City* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2014), 77-95.

⁴² Heyer, *The Lure and Legacy of Music at Versailles*, 20-21. This was not the first time that the Marseillais had confronted royal representatives with violence. In 1634, a riot of fishermen angry over an increase in salt prices attacked royal representatives of the king involved in enforcing the new price regulations. See Dell'Umbria, *Histoire universelle de Marseille*, 123.

⁴³ Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 23.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Dell'Umbria, *Histoire universelle de Marseille*, 130.

⁴⁶ Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients*, 84; Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 10; Bertrand, *La Provence des Rois de France*, 69; André Zysberg, *Marseille au temps des galères: 1660-1748* (Marseille: Rivages, 1983), 22. For a discussion of the general duties and organization of *échevins* and city councils, see William Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 105-7.

king to bypass noble interest in controlling the city's administrative and commercial activities. To make his assertion of royal authority all the clearer, Louis XIV also ordered stones from the Porte Réale, a stone entryway that had long stood as a symbol of the city's economic privileges and administrative liberties, to be used in the construction of Fort Saint-Nicolas, as a physical reminder of royal presence and power in the city. With 3500 troops remaining in the city after the king returned to court, Marseille had no choice but to acquiesce to the king's reorganization of the city's government.⁴⁷

Over the next three decades, Louis XIV and his ministers redesigned and expanded the urban plan of Marseille, transforming it into a monument of the political and economic might of the Crown. Royal building projects included the construction of hundreds of fountains, a city hall, a luxury neighborhood, Fort Saint-Nicolas, and an arsenal, which, by the time of the premiere of *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, housed over 30 royal ships.⁴⁸ The Crown pressured the city to finance these projects as a reminder that the first obligation of Marseille was to serve the king and the greater good of the kingdom.⁴⁹ While an opera house was not built in Marseille until 1692, when the *jeu de paume* that Gautier and others had used since 1685 burnt down, the

⁴⁷ For further descriptions of the factional struggles and Louis XIV's siege of Marseille, which have collectively become known as the *Fronde Provençale*, see Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 10-11; Zysberg, *Marseille au temps des galères*, 7-23; and William Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: the Culture of Retribution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 183-89. For a discussion of Louis XIV's alterations to Marseille's municipal government, see Heyer, *The Lure and Legacy of Music at Versailles*, 27; dell'Umbria, *Histoire universelle de Marseille*, 119-133; Roger Duchêne and Jean Contrucci, *Marseille: 2600 ans d'histoire* (Fayard, 1998), 295-323; René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels de Provence entre 1596 et 1715* (Paris: Editions A. Pedone, 1975), 819-840.

⁴⁸ Horn, *Economic Development in Early Modern France*, 137; Zysberg, *Marseille au temps des galères*, 46. The first five years of the Académie's existence, in fact, coincided with the enlargement of the arsenal. See Zysberg, *Marseille au temps des galères*, 66.

⁴⁹ Josef Konvitz, "Grandeur in French City Planning under Louis XIV: Rochefort and Marseille," *Journal of Urban History* 2.1 (1975): 23.

Académie's focus on Lully's operas facilitated the king's political reorientation of Marseille.⁵⁰ The genre of the *tragédie en musique* was symbolic of the king's public image and power, as well as the latest cultural advancements in Paris, which had become France's center of fashion and finance during the first decades of Louis XIV's reign.⁵¹ The Marseille Académie's productions of Lully's operas shaped and reflected the city's transformation into a community that looked increasingly towards Paris and the court as sources of cultural and political authority.

Even after the Académie widened its scope to operas by other composers in 1697, it continued to promote repertoire composed exclusively in Paris (as opposed to reviving, for example, Gautier's operas or commissioning new ones). Productions of such works as Henri Desmarest's *Vénus et Adonis* (1698), Desmarest's *Les Amours de Momus* (1699), and André Campra's *L'Europe Galant* (1699) reflected the latest musical tastes at the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris and Versailles. As Cheilan-Cambolin writes in her dissertation,

The discovery of Lully's works brought to the Marseillais a whiff of Versailles's "grand tastes," which enabled them to feel less distanced from their "sun."⁵²

The Académie's Lully productions signified to Provençal audiences and representatives of the king who remained in Marseille that the city had embraced a novel form of art that was developed at court and met with royal approval.

⁵⁰ Cheilan-Cambolin, "Notes sur les Trois premières salles d'opéra et de comédie de Marseille," 147-148; Bertrand, *La Provence des Rois de France*, 250. This opera house was in use until it, too, burnt to the ground in 1702. See *idem*, 150.

⁵¹ For a discussion of the increasing importance of Paris in French culture and economy, see Joan DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: the Invention of a Modern City* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2014).

⁵² "La découverte des œuvres de Lully apportait...aux Marseillais un peu de cet air de Versailles de ce 'grand goût,' qui leur permettaient de se sentir moins éloignés de leur 'soleil.'" Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 533.

Indeed, Parisian reactions to the Académie de Marseille praised the institution for its work in transmitting cultural novelties from the capital to the provinces. When Jean-Donneau de Vizé, the editor of the *Mercure Galant*, reported on the opening of the Marseille Académie, he described the institution as a satellite version of the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris:

The establishment of an opera [house] having succeeded in Paris, Mr. Gautier, whose reputation is known among those who love music, was given permission by Mr. de Lully to create the same establishment in Marseille.⁵³

A few years later, the Marquise de Sévigné wrote from Paris to her daughter, Françoise-Marguerite, Comtesse de Grignan, in Marseille, expressing her happiness that Françoise-Marguerite could henceforth enjoy the same musical finery that the Marquise so enjoyed at Lully's Académie Royale in Paris:

You were at your opera in Marseille: as *Atys* is not only *trop heureux*, but too charming, it is impossible that you could have been bored there.⁵⁴

In alluding to one of the most popular airs from Lully's *Atys* (1676) – “*Atys est trop heureux*” (I,4) – the Marquise celebrates the shared experience that she and her daughter could have despite the roughly 500 miles separating them.

Spectators appreciated the Marseille Académie's productions as a taste of Parisian culture. Local reception of the *tragédie en musique* in Marseille, however, needs to account for the fact that municipal officials and the Marseillais elite cherished an ideology of political independence and civic pride even after Louis XIV's siege in 1660. Classical republicanism,

⁵³ "L'établissement d'un Opera ayant réüssy à Paris, Mr Gautier, dont la réputation est connuë de tous ceux qui aiment la Musique, s'est accommodé avec Mr de Lully, pour avoir permission de faire le mesme établissement à Marseille." *Mercure Galant* (Paris: Chez G. De Luyne, C. Blageart, and T. Girard, February 1685), 287.

⁵⁴ "Vous étiez à votre opéra de Marseille: comme *Atys* est non-seulement *trop heureux*, mais trop charmant, il est impossible que vous vous y soyez ennuyée." Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, Marquise de Sévigné, *Recueil des lettres de Mme la marquise de Sévigné à Mme la comtesse de Grignan, sa fille. Nouvelle édition augmentée...* vol. 7 (Paris: Rollin, 1754), Letter LXX, 21 Feb., 1689, 318.

which scholars sometimes refer to as civic republicanism or civic humanism, was a political theory in which, according to Marseille historian Junko Thérèse Takeda, “the stability of the body politic rested on virtue, practiced through the alignment of personal interests with the public good, and the active participation of citizens in public affairs.”⁵⁵ Classical republicanism advocated for civic autonomy over absolute authority while permitting a state to be ruled by multiple systems of government which held one another in balance to maintain social order.⁵⁶

Greek and Roman philosophers first theorized the tenets of classical republicanism, which was adapted by 15th- and 16th-century Florentine humanists.⁵⁷ Proud of their city’s heritage as an important economic center of Antiquity and influenced by Italian humanism thanks to a geographic proximity with Florence, the intellectuals and elite of Marseille enfolded theories of classical republicanism into their civic identity well into the 18th century – that is, before and after Louis XIV’s 1660 overhaul of the city’s administrative and commercial structure.⁵⁸ When Antoine de Valbelle, for example, asserted that Marseille was exempt from paying royal taxes in full even while expressing fealty to the king, he was invoking the theory of classical republicanism.⁵⁹ After 1660, the new municipal council and *échevins* drew upon the

⁵⁵ Takeda, *Between Commerce and Crown*, 3.

⁵⁶ Zera Silver Fink, *The Classical Republicans: an Essay on the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth-Century England*, 2nd ed. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1962), 2; Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 2.

⁵⁷ The 15th-century Italian humanist Leon Battista Alberti captures the sense of classical republicanism in *I Libri della Famiglia* when he writes: “If we think about the republics and principalities of the past, we shall find that to acquire and augment power and glory, to preserve and keep them once won, fortune was never more important for any state than good and pious traditions of conduct. Who could deny it? Just laws, virtuous princes, wise counsels, strong and constant actions – these are effective. Love of country, fidelity, diligence, highly disciplined and honorable behavior in the citizens – these have always been able, even without the help of fortune, to earn and kindle fame.” *The Family in Renaissance Florence: Books One through Four. I libri della famiglia*. Translated by Renée Neu Watkins (Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 2004), 26.

⁵⁸ Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 7.

⁵⁹ Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients*, 79; dell’Umbria, *Histoire universelle de Marseille*, 121.

tenets of classical republicanism to ensure their city that they would seek, like their predecessors, to uphold civic welfare.⁶⁰

In his seminal study, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (1955), political historian Hans Baron argued that classical republicanism functioned in opposition to royal absolutism as cultivated, for example, by Louis XIV. More recently, however, revisionist historians have shown how the two ideologies could collaborate within a single system of government. Cary J. Nederman, for example, argues that the emphasis of classical republicanism on the virtue of reason over noble ancestry still made kingship acceptable, since a well-reasoning ruler was necessary to keep society functional.⁶¹ Nederman echoes many revisionist historians in highlighting the role of compromise in early modern absolutist governments. Takeda also supports the coexistence of classical republicanism and royal absolutism, but she argues that, in the case of Marseille, the relationship between the ideologies was one of accommodation rather than compromise or collaboration.⁶² Specifically, Takeda proposes that Louis XIV's government adapted Marseillais classical republican ideology to offer models of good behavior for subjects under absolutist authority, while the municipal government, writers, and artists of Marseille used the ideology to justify the city's continued recalcitrance towards royal interference in civic and commercial affairs:

The relationship between royal and civic political culture could be characterized as an ever-changing series of Venn diagrams; royal and civic languages were deployed by individuals who existed in spheres that were both distinct and overlapping with one another. In particular, Marseillais elites' and the Crown's

⁶⁰ Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 7.

⁶¹ Cary J. Nederman, "Republicans – ancient, medieval, and modern" in *Renaissance Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 256; Fink, *The Classical Republicans*, 6.

⁶² Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 1-10.

common enthusiasm for commercial expansion allowed the classical republican concept of virtue and civic excellence to become compatible and interchangeable with the Crown's language of utility to the state.⁶³

Takeda explains further that

[Marseille's] commercial elite mobilized this republicanism to imagine themselves as exemplary citizens charged by the king with the unique responsibility of strengthening France's Mediterranean presence, while simultaneously using it to resist French royal presence in their own city.⁶⁴

The Marseillais municipal leaders thus drew upon the language of classical republicanism to resist royal mandates that appeared to threaten civic autonomy – such as major landscaping projects or new trade tariffs – but also to accept royal authority as beneficial to civic wellbeing.⁶⁵

Gautier's operas embed classical republican vocabulary and allusions to the city's recent history into the framework of Lully's musical language of absolutism. Adapting the language of Quinault and the music of Lully to a plot that alluded to tumultuous episodes of Marseille's recent past, *Le Triomphe de la Paix* ultimately portrays Marseille as a city rescued from chaos by the Crown. *Le Jugement du Soleil* addresses shifting viewpoints on commercialism and mercantilism among the Marseillais elite while protesting the negative opinion that the Crown, and especially Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's Minister of Finance, held regarding Marseille's commercial community. In their dramatic representation of Marseille's negotiation with royal authority and absolutism, *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and *Le Jugement du Soleil* exemplify how Gautier adapted the politics of spectacle as cultivated by Lully to resonate with a city undergoing changing political models of authority.

⁶³ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 2-3.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 7.

Le Triomphe de la Paix (January, 1685)

Gautier's decision to inaugurate his music academy with his own composition is striking. The provincial academies that mushroomed after Lully's death opened with operas by Lully: the Académies de Musique of Lyon and Rouen, for example, opened with Lully's *Phaëton* in 1688 and 1689, respectively.⁶⁶ Gautier was also unique in that he opened the Marseille Académie with an opera that did not classify as a *tragédie en musique*. *Le Triomphe de la Paix* is a *pastorale héroïque*, a lighter genre of opera that takes place in a pastoral setting and is populated by bucolic characters rather than the godly ones that featured in Lully's *tragédies*.⁶⁷ It is possible that Gautier composed purposefully in this genre so that he would not appear in competition with Lully. In many ways, however, *Le Triomphe de la Paix* was an homage to Lully's *tragédies*. Reporting after the January 28th premiere, the *Mercure Galant* testifies that Gautier's opera had many of the ingredients of Lully's spectacular *tragédies*: stunning costumes, awe-inspiring stage machines, and a charming synthesis of dance and music:

The establishment of an opera [house] having succeeded in Paris, Mr. Gautier, whose reputation is known among those who love music, was given permission by Mr. de Lully to create the same establishment in Marseille, where he produced for the first time on January 28 an opera titled, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*. The Costumes were magnificent, the Machinery well done, and the Decorations very beautiful. The dances were strong, the instrumental music was even more so, and all these things give much praise to Mr. Gautier, who wanted to take so many pains, and who risked so much cost, for the entertainment of the Province. People came from all corners of Marseille to see this spectacle, which they are playing several times each week.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 22-23.

⁶⁷ On the *pastorale héroïque*, see Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, 84-92, esp. 90-92. Lully also composed in the pastoral genre, premiering the *pastorale héroïque*, *Acis et Galatée*, in 1686.

⁶⁸ "L'établissement d'un Opera ayant réussi à Paris, Mr Gautier, dont la réputation est connuë de tous ceux qui aiment la Musique, s'est accommodé avec Mr de Lully, pour avoir permission de faire le mesme établissement à Marseille, où il fit représenter pour la premiere fois le 28. de Janvier, un Opera intitulé, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*. Les Habits furent trouvez magnifiques, les Machines justes, & les Décorations tres belles. La Dance y plut fort, la Simphonie encore davantage, & toutes ces choses firent donner beaucoup de louanges à Mr Gautier, qui a bien voulu prendre tant de peines, & hazarder tant de frais pour le divertissement de la Province. On s'est rendu de tous

Though the score of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* does not survive, Laurencie has proposed that a manuscript of instrumental *dessus* parts owned by musicologist Jules Écorcheville (1872-1915) included excerpts of the opera, such as the “Ouverture de la Paix de M. Gautier” in g minor. Other pieces in the manuscript featured operatic titles, such as “Les Plaisirs,” “Les Furies,” and “Les Combattants,” but Laurencie could not verify that they had originated in Gautier’s operas.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the current location and exact contents of Écorcheville’s manuscript are not known. The musicologist’s personal collections were dispersed after his death in 1920, but Henri Prunières’s inventory of the collections contains no matching record of the manuscript that Laurencie describes.⁷⁰ Laurencie, fortunately, transcribed the incipit of the “Ouverture de la Paix” in his article, and noted that the piece was in three parts: *grave*, *vif*, and *lent*.⁷¹ This tripartite division is not typical of Lully’s overtures, perhaps offering another instance in which Gautier sought to avoid competition with Lully. Nevertheless, its opening measures reflect the typical rhythmic and melodic gestures that opened the overtures of Lully’s *tragédies*.⁷² Laurencie, for example, compares the opening of Gautier’s “Ouverture de la Paix” to

costez à Marseille, pour voir ce spectacle que l’on y donne plusieurs fois chaque semaine.” *Mercurie Galant* (Paris: Chez G. De Luyne, C. Blageart, and T. Girard, February 1685), 287-89.

⁶⁹ Laurencie, “Un émule de Lully,” 64-5.

⁷⁰ I am grateful to Dr. François-Pierre Goy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France for his assistance in my search for Écorcheville’s manuscript of Gautier’s *dessus* parts. Prunière’s inventory lists a “Manuscrit d’airs de danse, marches, etc., du commencement du XVIII^e siècle (partie de dessus seulement)” (no. 328) and a “recueil manuscrit d’airs choisis du XVIII^e siècle, in-4 obl.” (no. 329) that might refer to the manuscript discussed by Laurencie, but I have been unable to verify this. See Henri Prunières, *Catalogue des Livres Rares et Précieux composant la Collection Musicale de feu M. Jules Ecorcheville* (Paris: E. M. Paul, 1920), 50.

⁷¹ Laurencie, “Un émule de Lully,” 65.

⁷² The tripartite overture is reflective of the stylistic individuality that Julie Anne Sadie praises in her survey of Gautier’s instrumental works. See Julie Anne Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 145.

the opening of the overture of Lully's and Thomas Corneille's *tragédie en musique*, *Psyché* (1678), which exhibits a similar rhythmic structure and melodic contour:



Fig. 1.3: Comparison of Gautier's "Ouverture de la Paix" (above; reproduced in Laurencie, "Un émule de Lully," 65) to overture of Lully's and Corneille's *Psyché*, *tragédie mise en musique* (Paris: J. B. Christophe Ballard, 1720) (below; [Mus 740.1.655, Merritt Room, Isham Memorial Library]. Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library, Harvard University

Commenting in his *Dictionnaire de Musique* on his copy of the score of *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, composer and music collector (1655-1730) Sébastien de Brossard provides further evidence that Gautier emulated Lully's style when he praises the opera for containing "very beautiful things in the style and imitation of Lully" ("de fort belles choses dans le style et à l'imitation de Lully").⁷³ The livret of *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, which Gautier authored, also testifies to the composer's familiarity with Lully's operas, particularly *Persée* (1682), whose third act, I argue, provided a template for Act I of *Le Triomphe de la Paix*. In addition to the similarities between Act I of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and Act III of *Persée*, two other parallels between Gautier's livret and Lully's and Quinault's compositions are especially worth noting: first, the resemblance between Gautier's prologue and the prologues of Lully's and Quinault's *tragédies*, and second, the the shared plot structure of Acts II-V of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and Lully's and Quinault's ballet,

⁷³ Qtd. in Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 87.

Le Temple de la Paix (1685). Interspersed throughout are allusions to classical republicanism.

Table 1.2 presents a synopsis of *Le Triomphe de la Paix*:

Prologue	Inside a “magnificent palace,” allegories of France, Repose, and Peace convince Victory that Louis XIV is a greater ruler in peacetime than in war.
Act I	In a verdant setting, Pan and Flore celebrate love with a chorus of shepherds and shepherdesses. Discord and her Furies interrupt the festivities, harassing the shepherds and shepherdesses. Mercury, sent by Jupiter, banishes the Furies.
Act II	Pan, Héb��, the Pleasures, and shepherds and shepherdesses celebrate the return of peace. The shepherdess Silvie laments for the shepherd Tircis, who has abandoned her for the shepherdess Clim��ne. The shepherd Daphnis proclaims his love and constancy to Silvie, who promises to consider his affections.
Act III	The shepherdess Clim��ne laments for Daphnis, who does not return her affection. Tircis laments for Silvie, admitting that he could not ignore his love for her even though he tried to abandon her for Clim��ne. Tircis and Silvie have a reconciliation at the gateway of the Temple of Love.
Act IV	Daphnis wanders in the wilderness, grieving his lost love. A satyr attempts to convince Daphnis to abandon love’s sorrows for drink’s pleasures.
Act V	Amidst verdure, natural springs, and fountains, Daphnis and Clim��ne have a reconciliation. H��b��, Pan, and a chorus celebrate the restored happiness of the pastoral lovers.

Table 1.2: Synopsis of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* (1685)

Gautier’s first reference to classical republicanism arrives in the *pastorale*’s prologue, which features a struggle between the allegorized characters of France, Peace, and Repose, on the one hand, and Victory, on the other. Congregating in France’s throne room, Repose and Peace work to convince the feisty Victory that Louis XIV is a greater ruler in peacetime than in war. Ultimately, they succeed. Their debate echoes the prologues of Lully’s *trag  dies*, which typically feature allegorical characters who praise Louis XIV while alluding to contemporary warfare. *Atys* (1676), for instance, opens with the goddess of Spring beseeching Louis to rest from war long enough to enjoy the opera, and characters in the prologue of *Bell  rophon* (1679) praise the king for upholding the arts throughout periods of conflict. The prologues of *Atys* and *Bell  rophon* both reference the Franco-Dutch Wars (1672-1678), in which French military triumph solidified Louis XIV’s reputation as *Louis Le Grand*, a triumphant conqueror and

peacemaker.⁷⁴ In Gautier's prologue, the reconciliation of Victory with Peace may have alluded to the end of the War of the Reunions (1683-84), a conflict that pitted France against the Holy Roman Empire and Spain in a dispute over claims to territories in the Spanish Netherlands and Alsace, including the strategically important cities of Luxembourg and Strasbourg, which Louis XIV had annexed in 1681. The war concluded in August 1684, four months before the premiere of Gautier's *pastorale* and a month after Gautier signed his contract for the Académie. The truce resulted only in ambiguous territorial gains for the French kingdom, but Louis XIV's subjects rejoiced over the restoration of peace.⁷⁵

Cheilan-Cambolin speculates that Gautier composed *Le Triomphe de la Paix* in 1682 or 1683, basing her hypothesis on two facts: first, that Lully and his predecessors at the Académie de l'Opéra in Paris took one to two years to complete an opera, and second, that Gautier began to assemble his troupe in the early months of 1684, before signing a contract with Lully.⁷⁶ Even if her dating is correct, it is possible that Gautier composed the prologue after completing the five acts of the opera. Indeed, the opening of Gautier's prologue states that peace has only recently been restored, as France appears onstage in the act of welcoming Peace and Repose into her chamber:

FRANCE
Come, beloved Peace,
Come, tranquil Repose.
France henceforth
Will forever be your home.

⁷⁴ John Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667-1714* (New York: Longman, 1999), 30-36.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁷⁶ Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 84.

LA FRANCE
Venez aymable Paix,
Venez Repos tranquille,
La France pour jamais
Doit être vostre azile.⁷⁷

If Gautier completed or revised his prologue in response to recent political events, he would have followed the habits of Lully, who did not hesitate to render his own prologues more resonant with current affairs. In January 1675, for instance, Lully rewrote the prologue of *Thésée* after the French victory at Turenne to replace the original livret's call to arms with a celebration of love and pleasurable pastimes.⁷⁸

At the end of Gautier's prologue, France, Peace, and Repose argue that Louis XIV is just as glorious in peace as he is in war because he prioritizes the kingdom's welfare over his personal agenda.

FRANCE, PEACE, and REPOSE
The profound wisdom of the triumphant hero
Searches less for his own happiness than for the happiness of the world.

LA FRANCE, LA PAIX, ET LE REPOS
Du Heros triomphant, la sagesse profonde,
Cherche moins son Bonheur que le Bonheur du monde.⁷⁹

This rhetoric was common in contemporary paeans to Louis XIV. The *Mercure Galant*, for instance, praised the king in similar language when recounting a peace treaty signed in June 1684 that demonstrated "the care that His Majesty had for the repose of Europe" ("les sentiments que Sa Majesté a eus pour le repos de l'Europe").⁸⁰ The virtue of upholding public welfare, however,

⁷⁷ Gautier, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, prologue. References are set to act, scene.

⁷⁸ Denécheau, "Le Livret de 'Thésée' dans tous ses États," 454.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ *Mercure Galant* (Paris: Chez G. De Luyne, T. Girard, and C. Blageart, September 1684), 3.

would have resonated particularly well with Gautier's audiences attuned to the tenets of classical republicanism. By the conclusion of the prologue, Gautier had thus set up a favorable image of the king as a peacemaker who defended the civic wellbeing of Marseille. At the same time, the prologue pays tribute to Lully by following the latter's conventional style for opening an opera.

The first act of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* expands on the prologue's theme of the struggle between peace and war. In a verdant countryside, shepherds and shepherdesses are enjoying festivities in honor of love. After a chorus and some dance, they are interrupted by Discord, Vengeance, and Fury, who are armed with daggers and sabers. These allegorical characters lead an army of demons representing carnage, horror, despair, rage, chagrin, and jealousy to raze the countryside to the ground. Upon the entrance of the demons, the pastoral setting changes to a stage set depicting "a countryside half destroyed by war, where there are many burnt houses and castles and a city ablaze" ("Une Campagne moitié détruite par la guerre, où paroissent plusieurs Maisons & châteaux brûlez & dans l'enforcement une Ville embrasée").⁸¹ Gautier's audiences would have recognized contemporary war practices in this set. Seventeenth-century warfare was brutal: in the early years of the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697), Louis XIV ordered over 20 towns and villages in the Rhineland to be burnt to the ground.⁸² Memories of the revolt that had provoked Louis XIV's entrance into Marseille in 1660 were likely still vivid among Gautier's audiences; Fort Saint-Nicolas, constructed from the stones of the demolished Porte Réale, ensured enduring public memory of the siege. The demons' destruction of the countryside

⁸¹ Gautier, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, I,4.

⁸² Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 198.

in Act I may be a reflection on the disastrous unrest of Marseille in the 1650s and the resulting act of royal intervention.⁸³

The shepherds and shepherdesses are only saved by the grace of Jupiter, who sends Mercury as his proxy representative to reestablish peace at the end of the act. Jupiter likely represented Louis XIV. The Sun King was compared to Jupiter in Lully and Quinault's operas and in other forms of art during this period. In *Phaëton* (1683), for example, Jupiter represents Louis XIV as the administer of divine and absolute justice when he rescues the earth from being burnt by the follies of an ambitious demigod.⁸⁴ In the 1650s, Louis XIV was painted in the guise of Jupiter by Charles Poerson following his victory over the Fronde.⁸⁵ Like *Le Triomphe de la Paix*'s grim stage set, Jupiter's ability to vanquish the allegories of violence may have tapped the city's memories of its own violent past that was brought to an end by the king.

A thorough examination of the text and plot of Act I reveals that Gautier's *pastorale* closely resembles the third act of Lully and Quinault's *Persée*, which recounts the story of Perseus, a demigod who rescues a mythical kingdom from several monsters, including Medusa. Parallels between Act III of *Persée* and Act I of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* are numerous. The third act of *Persée* is set in Medusa's gloomy lair, a dramatic change of scenery from the royal court that is the setting of the previous act. Similarly, the Furies in Act I of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* transform the set from an "agréable verdure" to a barren wasteland. Medusa is a female monster with snakes for hair; Discord, the first Fury to appear in *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, was traditionally depicted as an ugly woman brandishing snakes at her victims. Finally, in *Le*

⁸³ For a discussion of urban violence and popular memory in early modern France, see Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France*, 72.

⁸⁴ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 264.

⁸⁵ Charles Poerson, *Louis XIV en Jupiter vainqueur de la Fronde*. Oil on canvas, 17th century.

Triomphe de la Paix, Vengeance introduces herself with similar language and tone as Medusa's introductory monologue in *Persée*:⁸⁶

VENGEANCE

Je suis la vengeance fatale,
Et quand j'ay pris place en un cœur
A ma funeste ardeur, nulle ardeur n'est
égale,
Je n'inspire que la fureur,
Je porte en tous lieux la terreur,
Et par une cruelle guerre
J'excite des transports, je ravage la
terre,
Et je traîne **après moy**, le carnage &
l'horreur.⁸⁷

I am fatal vengeance,
And when I take hold of a heart
There is no passion equal to my deadly
ardor.
I inspire fury,
I bring terror everywhere,
And through cruel warfare
I excite overwhelming feelings; I ravage
the earth,
And I drag carnage and horror after me.

MEDUSE

Je ne puis trop montrer sa vengeance
cruelle
Ma Teste est fiere encor d'avoir pour
ornement
Des Serpens dont le sifflement
Excite une frayeur mortelle.
Je porte l'épouvante et la mort en tous
lieux;
Tout se change en Rocher **à mon aspect**
horrible.⁸⁸

I cannot show [Juno's] cruel vengeance
enough
My head remains proud to have serpents as
its ornament.
Their hissing excites deadly fear.
I bring dread and death everywhere;
My horrible gaze turns everything to stone.

Additional parallels between Gautier's and Quinault's libretti abound. Both gorgons and Furies rejoice over the idea of violence; in *Persée*, they do so with song, whereas in *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, they dance: "The demons come to dance, they show their joy in the chaos that Vengeance and Fury create in these lovely places" ("Les demons viennent danser, ils témoignent

⁸⁶ Benoît Bolduc notes that the language of Medusa's monologue is striking in that its manner is more similar to monologues one would find in a *ballet de cour*, in which characters introduce themselves directly to the public. Benoît Bolduc, "From Marvel to Camp: Medusa for the Twenty-First Century" in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 10.1 (2004): par. 4.5; <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v10/no1/bolduc.html>.

⁸⁷ Gautier, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, I,3.

⁸⁸ Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Lully Quinault, *Persée, tragédie en musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1682), III,1.

leur joye des desordres que la vengeance & la fureur excitant dans ces aymables lieux”).⁸⁹ In *Persée*, Mercury interrupts Medusa and her sisters with an *air de sommeil*, a genre characterized by undulating melodies set to triple meter with a text that usually repeats its opening phrase at the end of the piece. Gautier’s Furies are also interrupted by somnolent music as Love floats down from the sky. The Furies’ description of Love’s air as “quels charmes assoupissans” (“what sleep-inducing charms”) suggests that Love was singing an *air de sommeil*, as well. Love’s air opens and closes with a two-line refrain, just as Mercury repeats the opening line of his *air de sommeil* at the end of the air (“O! tranquil sommeil, que vous estes charmant!”) (III,2), and just as the gods of sleep repeat their opening refrain at the end of their *air de sommeil* in *Atys* (1676) (“Dormons, dormons tous; Ah! Que le repos est doux!”) (III,4):

LOVE

Ah! Let me reign in these peaceful places,
 Trouble these lovely places no longer;
 All of my delights are perfect,
 And I cannot suffer these odious objects:
 Tambours and trumpets
 Have too long served spectacle, in my opinion:
 Ah! Let me reign in these peaceful places,
 Trouble these lovely places no longer.

L’AMOUR

Ah! Laissez moy regner dans ces paisibles lieux,
 Ne venez plus troubler ces aymables retraites:
 Toutes mes douceurs sont parfaits,
 Et je ne puis souffrir ces objets odieux;
 Les tambours & les trompettes
 Ont trop long-temps servy de spectacle à mes yeux:
 Ah! Laissez-moy regner dans ces paisibles lieux,
 Ne venez plus troubler ces aymables retraites.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Gautier, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, I,4.

⁹⁰ Ibid., I,6.

An instrumental *air de sommeil* by Gautier is found in Ballard's *Symphonies...divisées par suites de tons par Feu M^r Gautier de Marseille* (Paris, 1707), a collection of 41 instrumental duos and trios by the Provençal composer. The piece is a trio in c minor for two *dessus* and one *basse*. Composed in an undulating 3/2 meter, the elegant *air* consists of an A section that modulates from the home key of c minor to the dominant, G major, and a B section that confirms the c minor tonality.

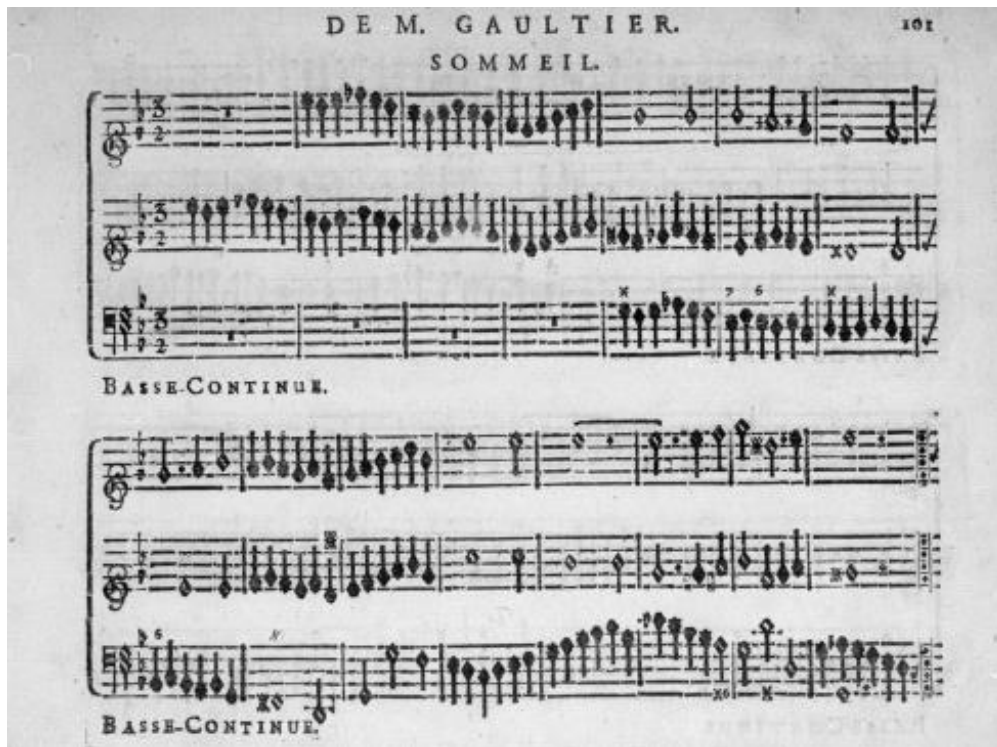


Fig. 1.4: The A section of Gautier's *Sommeil* (*Symphonies...divisées par suites de tons par Feu M^r Gautier de Marseille* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1707), 101.

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, VM7-2752. www.gallica.bnf.fr.

Regrettably, the piece is not likely to be an instrumental version of Love's *air de sommeil*, as the textual accents of the vocal line do not fit with either of the upper parts of the c minor *air*. It is possible, however, that the music represents an instrumental prelude of Love's *air*, similar to the extensive instrumental prelude of the *air de sommeil* in *Atys* (III,4).

In *Persée*, the god Mercury interrupts the singing Medusa and her sisters with an *air de sommeil*, or sleep song. Gautier's Furies are also interrupted by somnolent music as Love floats down from the sky. The sleepy stupor of Lully's gorgons and Gautier's Furies weakens the monsters before they are vanquished. In *Persée*, Perseus beheads the sleeping Medusa before Mercury banishes her sisters to hell. In *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, Mercury banishes Discord, Vengeance, and Fury into an abyss on behalf of Jupiter, king of the gods:⁹¹

MERCURE (*Le Triomphe de la Paix*)
Fuyez, Monstres affreux, r'entrez [sic] dans
les enfers,
N'excitez plus icy les fureurs de Bellonne,
Gémissez sous des tristes fers.

Flee, frightful monsters, go back to hell,
Excite no further Bellone's furor here.
Groan under sad shackles.

MERCURE (*Persée*)
Gorgones, désormais vous serez sans
pouvoir:
Ce lieu n'est pas pour vous un séjour assez
noir.
Venez dans la Nuit éternelle.⁹²

Gorgons, henceforth you have no power:
This place is not black enough for you.
Go into eternal night.

In both works, Mercury acts as a representative of Jupiter, who, as I have discussed earlier, likely symbolized Louis XIV. In *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, there is no indication in the livret that Jupiter makes any appearance in the drama, even though the characters attribute their salvation to him. At the beginning of Act II, for instance, the god Pan praises Jupiter, not Mercury, for the restoration of peace:

PAN
After the frightful rumble of a deadly war,
It is sweet to taste the pleasures of peace.
Today Jupiter gives peace as we wished,
And he suspends the fury of his loud thunder;
He brings calm to these fortunate places.

⁹¹ "La Discord, la Vengeance, & la Fureur s'abiment sous le Theatre." Gautier, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, I,7.

⁹² Lully and Quinault, *Persée*, III,5.

PAN

Après le bruit affreux d'une funeste guerre,
Qu'il est doux de goûter les plaisirs de la Paix;
Jupiter aujourd'hui la donne à nos souhaits,
Et suspend la fureur de son bruyant tonnerre;
Il rend le calme à ces lieux fortunez.⁹³

Jupiter's physical absence is striking if read as an expression of the Marseille elite's perception of the role of kingship in civic affairs. In Lully's operas, Jupiter takes no issue with transcending the boundary between mythical Olympus and 17th-century stage. In *Phaëton*, Jupiter sings the penultimate piece in the opera; the god is a main character in *Isis* (1677). To understand Jupiter's apparent reluctance to breach the proscenium of the Marseille Académie, it is useful to recall that in 1660, Louis XIV appointed an intendant of the galleys as one of his top government representatives in Marseille, whose duty was to oversee the administration of justice and royal fortification projects in the city. As a proxy representative of the king, the intendant's power over civic affairs accumulated steadily in the decades following the king's siege.⁹⁴ In Act I of Gautier's *pastorale*, Mercury represents Jupiter's presence and authority just as the intendant of the galleys represented and enacted Louis XIV's authority in Marseille. The *pastorale* nods to the increasing power of Louis XIV's local representatives, reminding audiences of royal presence in the city despite the king's absence.

At the same time, Jupiter can be read as very much the classical republican hero. Pan emphasizes that Jupiter served the people, securing peace "as we wished." He echoes France's praise of Louis XIV as a hero of civic wellbeing in the prologue, confirming once more that Louis XIV's intervention in Marseille's affairs is proper because the Sun King adheres to the ideal role of kingship as theorized per classical republicanism. Both *Le Triomphe de la Paix*'s

⁹³ Gautier, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, II,1.

⁹⁴ Zysberg, *Marseille au temps des galères*, 30-39; 73-84.

grim stage set and Jupiter's ability to vanquish the allegories of violence likely tapped the city's memories of its own violent past that was only resolved by the king. Act I, then, can be interpreted as an expression of the city's embrace of changes that Louis XIV imposed on its government.

The remaining four acts of *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, which dwell on amorous yearnings and misunderstandings among shepherds and shepherdesses, seem disappointingly anti-climactic after the harrowing tension of Act I. Like Act I, however, the pastoral vignettes of the remaining acts emphasize the peace and prosperity that a kingdom enjoys after its monarch extinguishes violence. If the first act expressed Marseille's acceptance of Louis XIV's intervention in 1660, the remaining acts reflect the city's return to peace under the new royal administration. Acts II-V of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* are most striking, however, for their remarkable similarity in plot structure with Lully's and Quinault's ballet, *Le Temple de la Paix*, which premiered at Fontainebleau on October 20, 1685 – that is, nine months *after* the opening of the Marseille Académie.⁹⁵

Le Temple de la Paix premiered during a troubled period in Lully's life. Early in 1685, Louis XIV discovered that Lully had had an affair with a male page. News of the affair coincided with the scandalous death of one of Louis XIV's grandsons and the onset of the king's fistula. The king's personal sufferings, as well as his increasing devotion to the culture of religious piety that his morganatic wife, Madame de Maintenon, advocated at court, no doubt influenced his furious response to Lully's transgression. Following this scandal, the interest that the king had

⁹⁵ Beaussant, *Lully ou le Musicien du Soleil*, 838-839.

long nurtured in Lully's dramatic works declined. Ever pragmatic, Lully turned to other patrons for support; *Le Temple de la Paix*, for example, was overseen by the Dauphin.⁹⁶

Both *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and *Le Temple de la Paix* are populated by Anacreontic shepherds and shepherdesses, many of whom share names between works. These characters were stock figures of French theater, but their amorous trysts unfold in similar fashion in Lully's and Gautier's compositions. In *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, characters are free to celebrate love thanks to the saving grace of Jupiter; in *Le Temple de la Paix*, characters fête Louis XIV for establishing peace. Both operas feature a temple as a focal point for activity: in *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, "The theater...is set in a garden, in the back of which can be seen the Temple of Love" ("Le Theatre...représente un jardin, dans l'enfoncement on voit le Temple de l'Amour"),⁹⁷ while in *Le Temple de la Paix*, "The Theater shows a temple surrounded by a grove. Nymphs of the forest erected the temple, and they have come to celebrate it and formally dedicate it to peace" ("Le Theatre représente un Temple environné d'un Boccage. Les Nymphes de ce Bois ont fait eslever ce Temple, & elles vont celebrer une Feste pour le dedier sollemnnellement à la Paix").⁹⁸ Table 1.3 provides a detailed comparative study of the texts of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and *Le Temple de la Paix*, enumerating plot similarities and citing verses that echo each other in wording or content.

⁹⁶ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 139. The Dauphin was an enthusiastic supporter of the Paris Opéra after his father's interest in the *tragédie en musique* waned. See Don Fader, "Music in the Service of the King's Brother: Philippe I d'Orléans (1640-1701) and Court Music Outside of Versailles," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 19.1 (2013/2017): par. 4.3.2. <http://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-19-no-1/music-in-the-service-of-the-kings-brother-philippe-i-dorleans-1640-1701-and-court-music-outside-versailles/>.

⁹⁷ Gautier, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, II,1.

⁹⁸ Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, *Le Temple de la Paix* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1685), 1-2.

<i>Le Triomphe de la Paix</i> (Gautier)		<i>Le Temple de la Paix</i> (Lully/Quinault)	
II,3	Gods and allegories celebrate the peace that Jupiter established.	Opening of ballet	Nymphs and shepherds praise the peace that the king has established.
	Pan et Héb��: “Bergers animez vos musettes �� chanter vos tendres amours.”		Silvandre: “Cent Peuples de divers Climats, viendront entendre nos Musettes et chanter avec nous dans ces belles Retraites.”
II,1	Pan thanks Jupiter for establishing peace.	1st Entr��e	Shepherds and shepherdesses praise Louis XIV for having established peace.
	Pan: “Jupiter... suspend de son bruyant tonnerre; Il rend le calme �� ces lieux fortunez. ”		Alcimedon: “Celuy qui lance le tonnerre, c’est l’Auteur glorieux du repos de la Terre. ”
		2nd Entr��e	Daphnis and Clim��ne praise Louis XIV.
II,4-5	Silvie laments for the unfaithful Tircis. Daphnis expresses his love for Silvie. Silvie reflects on constancy in love.	3rd Entr��e	Silvie laments that love has made her unhappy. Daphnis expresses his love for Sylvie. Silvie reflects on constancy in love.
III	Clim��ne accuses Daphnis of being an ingrat. Tircis and Silvie reconcile.	4th entr��e	Clim��ne and Silvandre accuse one another of being ingrat. Clim��ne and Silvandre reconcile.
	Pan: “ Que l’amour �� de doux momens, Pour les tendres Amans. ”		Chorus of nymphs and shepherds: “ L’Amour tender & fidelle n’en deviant que plus doux. ”
IV	Daphnis retreats to a rocky forest and sings of his sorrows in love. The act ends without resolution.	5th entr��e	Lycidas retreats to a corner, where he laments his unrequited love. The act ends without resolution.
V	A chorus sings of the pleasures of youth.	6 th entr��e	A chorus sings of the pleasures of peace.

Table 1.3: Salient plot and textual similarities between Gautier’s *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and Lully’s *Le Temple de la Paix*

The similarities between *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and *Le Temple de la Paix* suggest two possibilities: first, that Gautier secured access to Quinault’s livret in advance, which would not be surprising since Gautier was in contact with Lully and Quinault while drawing up his contract

from the Académie de Marseille. This possibility would put Cheilan-Cambolin's dating of the composition of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* to 1682 or 1683 in question. The second possibility is that Gautier's *pastorale* informed Lully and Quinault's ballet. Given Gautier's enthusiasm for imitating excerpts of *Persée* in Act I – and Lully's longstanding hegemony over opera production in France – the first possibility is the more likely. One final possibility exists. As stated earlier, the extant libretto of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* was printed in 1691 in Lyon, six years after its premiere in Marseille. It is possible that Gautier revised his opera during his tenure in Lyon, where he may have incorporated material from *Le Temple de la Paix*. A revision would explain why, in 1735, Pierre-François Godard de Beauchamp wrote in his *Recherches sur les théâtres en France: depuis l'année onze cent soixante-un jusques à present* that he owned an opera by Gautier titled *Le Triomphe de la Paix* that was in three acts. Gautier may have originally composed a short work in three acts, only to expand it in Lyon to five.⁹⁹

***Le Jugement du Soleil* (1687)**

Two years after the premiere of *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, Gautier premiered *Le Jugement du Soleil* at the home of Michel Bégon (1638-1710), the Intendant des Galères of Marseille and one of the most powerful royal officials in the city.¹⁰⁰ Like *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, *Le Jugement du Soleil* does not classify as a *tragédie en musique*. In its brevity and emphasis on spectacle, it is more *divertissement* than *pastorale*. The performance was the crowning moment of a long day of urban festivities in honor of the king's recovery from surgery. With their ears ringing from hours of trumpet fanfares, violin bands, Te Deums, and canons, "all of the people of quality, and of both sexes, from Marseille, Aix, Toulon, and other cities in the province, went to the home of

⁹⁹ De Beauchamp, *Recherches sur les théâtres en France*, 84.

¹⁰⁰ Bégon gave his surname to the begonia, a perennial flowering plant.

Monsieur l'Intendant" ("Toutes les personnes de qualité de l'un & de l'autre Sexe, tant de Marseille, que d'Aix, de Toulon & des autres Villes de la Province, se rendirent chez Monsieur l'Intendant").¹⁰¹ They were greeted with a makeshift stage decorated like "the countryside, where one saw oceans, rivers, mountains, forests, and cities, with the sun in the horizon" ("Le Theatre representoit un Paysage, où l'on voyait des Mers, des Fleuves, des Montagnes, des Forests, & des Villes, avec le Soleil sur l'horison [sic]").¹⁰²

The score of *Le Jugement du Soleil* is lost, but the livret, authored by the Marseille-born poet Balthazar de Bonnacourse (1631-1706), survives in the March 1687 issue of *Mercure Galant*. De Bonnacourse's plot is simple and straightforward. Allegorical characters representing Europe, Asia, Africa, and America debate whose continent possesses the greatest hero. They invoke Phoebus, the god of the sun, to resolve their dispute. Phoebus, unsurprisingly, decrees that Europe boasts the finest hero in the person of Louis XIV:

Europe alone has the right to proclaim the glory
Of its valiant heroes, who are so famous in history;
But no one can compare to the Monarch of the Lily.
His glory is sewn in every place,
And everywhere the renown
Speak only of LOUIS.

L'Europe seule a droit de publier la gloire
De ses vaillans Heros si fameux dans l'histoire;
Mais nul n'est comparable au Monarque du Lis
En tous lieux sa gloire est semée,
Et par tout la renommée
Ne parle que de LOVIS.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Mercure Galant* (March 1687), 32.

¹⁰² Ibid. 34.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 37-8.

The continents rejoice in Phoebus's decree, and conclude the *divertissement* by singing jubilantly in chorus,

Let us sing without end
Of all the heroes, LOUIS is the greatest.

Chantons, chantons sans cesse
Que de tous les Heros LOUIS est le plus grand.¹⁰⁴

The text and sparse stage directions evince the great extent to which Gautier and de Bonnacourse were inspired by Lully's compositions – not only the prologues of Lully's *tragédies*, but also the older *ballets de cour* that offered spectacle and royal praise through loose plots. Riding his chariot, Phoebus entered the stage by bursting through a sun hanging at the horizon, perhaps making use of elaborate stage machinery borrowed from the Académie's inventory.¹⁰⁵ Natives from the different continents show their pleasure in Phoebus's dictum through dance, which is often used as an expression of jubilation and as a method of showcasing exotic characters in Lully's stage works. One might compare, for example, the Africans' dance in Gautier's work to the Africans' chaconne in Act I, scene 4 of *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673). The opera ends with a jubilant chorus and a chaconne "that all the nations dance together" ("Une Chaconne que toutes les Nations danserent ensemble"), recalling the chaconnes that often fall at the end of Lully's operas.¹⁰⁶

Laurencie speculates that the Chaconne in F major on pages 74-81 of Ballard's *Symphonies...divisées par suites de tons par Feu M^r. Gaultier de Marseille* may represent the Chaconne played towards the end of *Le Jugement du Soleil*. Laurencie offers no reason for this

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 39.

¹⁰⁵ "LE SOLEIL s'ouvrant, & paroissant dans son Char" ("THE SUN opening, and appearing in his chariot"). Ibid., 37.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 42.

speculation, though he perhaps developed his conclusion because no other chaconne by Gautier is known to exist.¹⁰⁷



Fig. 1.5: Opening of Gautier's *Chaconne* in F Major, from *Symphonies...divisées par suites de tons par Feu M^r Gaultier de Marseille* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1707), 74.

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, VM7-2752. www.gallica.bnf.fr.

Arranged for two *dessus* and one *bassus*, the chaconne features fourteen variations that each repeat twice over 121 measures. Beginning with the fifth variation, the *dessus* instruments engage in repeated eighth-note patterns that the *bassus* takes up two variations later. Several subsequent variations include similar repeated eighth-note runs in each instrumental part. These variations sparkle when played by an instrumental trio: with one instrument per part, the eighth notes crisply highlight the timbre of each instrument. If the chaconne does indeed represent the final piece of *Le Jugement du Soleil*, its reduction in *Symphonies...divisées par suites de tons par Feu M^r Gaultier de Marseille* gives a sense of how the piece might have been realized by a full orchestra, presumably divided into five parts in the style of Lully's orchestral forces.

¹⁰⁷ Laurencie, "Un émule de Lully," 56; *Mercure Galant* (March 1687), 42.



Fig. 1.6: Fifth and sixth variations in Gautier's *Chaconne* (*Symphonies...divisées par suites de tons par Feu M^r Gautier de Marseille* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1707), 76.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, VM7-2752. www.gallica.bnf.fr.

If Gautier composed the F major chaconne for *Le Jugement du Soleil*, it is possible that an overture preserved in a *recueil* (F-C MS 2436) at the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras represents the opening of Gautier's opera. The *recueil* contains a manuscript copy of a *dessus* part titled "ouverture de Gautier." Like the chaconne, the overture is in F major. The piece is strongly reminiscent of Lully's overtures, featuring the standard AABB form that favors dotted quarter notes in the A section and faster rhythms in the B section.¹⁰⁸ The solemnity of the overture would have indexed *Le Jugement du Soleil* as a celebration of an absolute and insurmountable monarch.

¹⁰⁸ F-C MS 2436, fol. 81r. I am grateful to Dr. Jean-François Delmas, conservateur général of the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

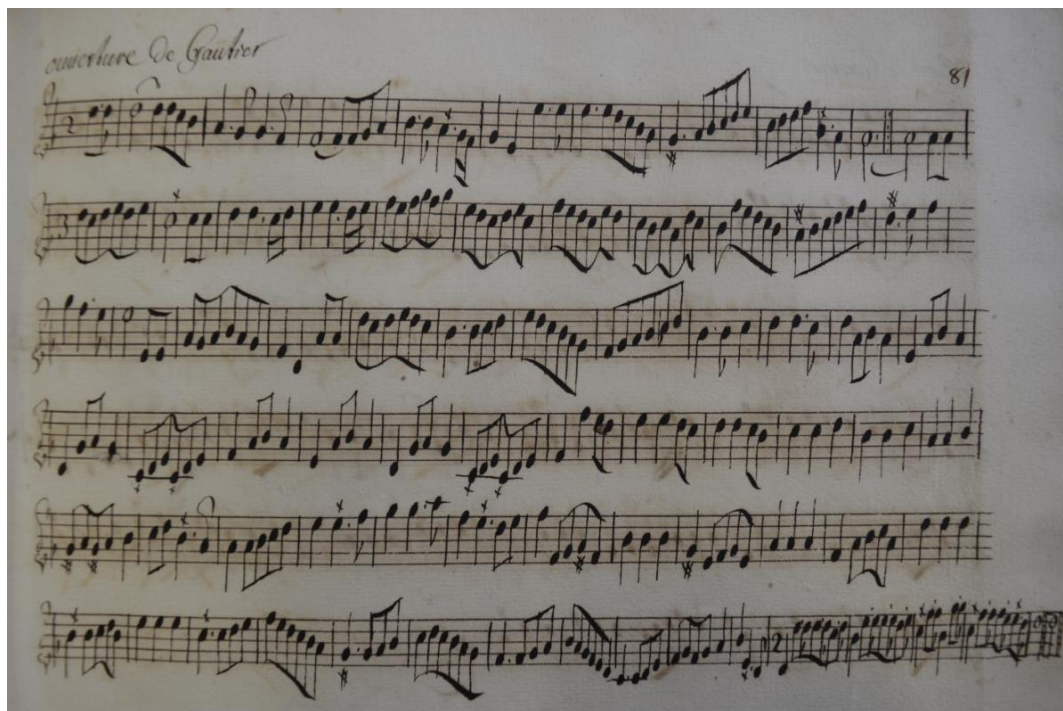


Fig. 1.7: “Ouverture de Gautier”
Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine et Musée de Carpentras MS 2436. Fol. 81r.

The opera’s homage to the king, however, is presented on a stage set that is also indexical to the location of *Le Jugement du Soleil*’s premiere. The oceans, rivers, mountains, and forests that the set portrayed evoke the landscape around Marseille, which was surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea, the expansive fields that supported the city’s agrarian industry, and the rolling Massif des Calanques. Lully and Quinault also occasionally referenced specific locations in their prologues, such as Louis XIV’s palaces. These royal settings were a means of flattering the king and of calling the monarch’s attention to the art that was flourishing under his patronage. Similarly, Gautier and de Bonnacourse’s pastoral setting celebrated the beauty of Provence while reminding royal representatives in the audience of Marseille’s prized natural resources.

The natural, expansive scenery and the exotic characters of *Le Jugement du Soleil* may also be an allusion to Marseille as a trading power. In his 1663 *Description de la France et de*

ses provinces, royal geographer Pierre Duval enthuses over the robust commercial activities of Marseillais merchants and the luxury goods that the city brought into the French kingdom:

The Marseillais are the masters of the sea and of the whole Mediterranean. They do commerce with Constantinople, Aleppo, Cairo, Alexandria, and all the countries close to this sea. They are the means by which France receives Berber horses, tapestries, cotton, peddling merchants [*des camelots*]...ambergris, corral, sugar, dates, pine nuts, raisins, damask, Corinthian brass [*de Corinthe*], and all foodstuffs from the Levant.¹⁰⁹

Straddling the Mediterranean Sea, Marseille was an easy step from Africa and Asia Minor. One of Louis XIV's primary reasons for reorganizing the Marseillais government was to expand the city's commercial activities and thereby empower France as a competitive trading state. The allegorized continents in *Le Jugement du Soleil* recall Marseille's central position in the increasingly global trade routes of the late 17th century.

The attention that Gautier draws to Marseille's economy reflects not only the city's rising role in French trade, but also contemporary shifts in discourse on commerce and the city's commercial obligation to the Crown. Philosophers of Antiquity decried commerce as deleterious to society because it encouraged citizens to prioritize personal interest over public good. Seventeenth-century French intellectuals and members of the social elite were generally in agreement with the ancient thinkers' portrayal of commerce as a self-serving activity. Around the time of the establishment of the Marseille Académie, however, theorists began proposing a new, positive vision of commerce as essential to the progress of a nation. A monarch who advanced commerce was interpreted as acting on behalf of the welfare of his kingdom, and was thus a

¹⁰⁹ "Les Marseillois passent pour les meilleurs gens de Mer de toute la Mediterranée, leur commerce se fait, à Constantinople, en Alep, au Grand-Ciare, en Alexandrie, & en tous les Pays qui sont proche de cette Mer, c'est par leur moyen que nous recourons en France des Chevaux Barbes, des Tapis, des Cottons, des Camelots...de l'Ambregris, du Corail du Sucre, des Dattes, de Pignons, des Raisins de Damas & de Corinthe, & toutes les denrées de Levant." Pierre Duval, *Description de la France et de ses provinces, où il est traité de leurs noms anciens et nouveaux, degrés, estendüe, figure, voisinage, division, etc.: avecque les observations de toutes les places qui ont quelque prerogative ou quelque particularité* (Paris: Jean du Puis, 1663), 222.

good ruler. In the eyes of Marseille's elite, this "new commercial spirit" legitimated royal interference in the city's commercial affairs, aligning Louis XIV's rule more closely to the ideology of classical republicanism, which valued monarchs who served the public good.¹¹⁰ In combining royal praise with imagery that evokes Marseille's commercial potential, *Le Jugement du Soleil* reflects contemporary positive discourse on commerce and the Crown's interest in commercial activities, therefore justifying the king's presence in Marseille.

Le Jugement du Soleil also presents a positive portrayal of Marseille as a commercial power obedient to the Crown. The city's reputation had been irrevocably tainted by the anti-royalist unrest of the 1650s.¹¹¹ Louis XIV's minister of finances, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, loudly voiced his criticism for the Marseillais, especially for Marseillais merchants, during his time in office. Any instance in which merchants objected to changes he attempted to make in the city's trading practices led him to believe that those merchants were selfish and untrustworthy. For example, merchants preferred to trade certain imported goods for cash rather than for French-made goods. Colbert interpreted this not as a practicality (as the merchants argued), but as a statement of opposition to the financial welfare of the kingdom.¹¹² Throughout his ministry, he believed that the merchants of Marseille needed royal guidance to make them operate for the good of the kingdom rather than personal interests.¹¹³ *Le Jugement du Soleil* asserts the right of Marseille to be judged more positively by the Crown as a trading power that looked to the

¹¹⁰ Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 4-6.

¹¹¹ François-Xavier Emmanuelli, "Louis XIV et la Provence: Les Illusions de l'absolutisme," *Les Provinciaux sous Louis XIV: 5^e colloque de Marseille. Revue Marseille* 101.2 (1975), 52; Heyer, *The Lure of and Legacy of Music at Versailles*, 20.

¹¹² Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce*, 36.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 51.

kingdom's best interests. Whether or not the king listened, Gautier's opera constitutes a vibrant reflection on the meaning and role of kingship in Marseille.

Gautier's operas mark a unique chapter in the history of the dissemination of the *tragédie en musique* in the French provinces. Additional provincial music academies were established only after the death of Lully, and these institutions limited their repertoire solely to Lully's operas and, eventually, to dramatic works composed and produced by other composers in Paris. By paying homage to Lully with a fresh composition that alluded to his city, Gautier celebrated the civic identity of Marseille in Louis XIV's France. Gautier also set a precedent for the city to use opera to elicit positive judgment from the Crown. In 1701, Leguay produced Lully's *Isis* and *Armide* at the Marseille Académie for the king's grandsons, the Ducs de Bourgogne and de Berry, who were touring Provence. The operas were one spectacle of many that the city presented to the princes during their week-long sojourn in Marseille. In addition to attending the operas, the princes enjoyed firework displays and explored the city's abbeys and chapels, as well as Fort Saint-Nicolas. The itinerary was designed to show Marseille at its strongest and best, as well as to give an impression of civic fealty to the Crown.¹¹⁴ Like *Le Triomphe de la Paix* and *Le Jugement du Soleil*, *Isis* and *Armide* helped reflect the simultaneous civic pride and royal obedience that Marseille had, by that point, long been cultivating as an expression of its identity.

¹¹⁴ L'Abbé Pierre de Morey, *Journal du Voyage des Ducs de Bourgogne et de Berry accompagnent Philippe V à la frontière d'Espagne* in *Le Duc de Bourgogne et le Duc de Beauvillier, Lettres inédits 1700-1708* (Paris: Librairie Plon-Nourrit et Co., 1900), 377-380.

Chapter 2

Reactions to Lully's *Tragédies en musique* in Lyon, 1687-1707

"But Monsieur, isn't this admirable music by the great Lully often spoiled in the provinces by the way it is played?"
- La Comtesse, *Les Comédiens de campagne* (Lyon, 1699).¹

In 1698, the Lyonnais bookseller Thomas Amaulry printed the livret of Lully and Quinault's *tragédie en musique*, *Armide*, for the opera's production at the Académie de Musique of Lyon. In size, layout, and content, Amaulry's print resembled the livrets printed by Christophe Ballard for the opera's Parisian premiere in 1686. Amaulry included, however, an iconographic element on the first page of Act I that is lacking in Ballard's version. A headpiece decorates the page, depicting two lions flanking the crest of Lyon: a lion rampant under three fleurs-de-lys. One lion grins at the crest, while the other peers downwards at the title of the opera. One lion grins at the crest, while the other peers downwards at the title of the opera.



Fig. 2.1: Headpiece of Act I in *Armide, tragédie en musique* (Lyon: Thomas Amaulry, 1698)

It is unsurprising that a Lyonnais printer would include a visual allusion to his native city in one of his products. Many books printed in Lyon over the previous three decades bore the double-lion mark.² Whether or not Amaulry intended it, however, the mark embodies the

¹ "Mais Monsieur, cette admirable Musique du grand Lully ne peut-elle pas souvent être gâtée en Province par le défaut de l'exécution?" Anonymous, *Les Comédiens de Campagne* (Lyon: Sebastien Roux, 1699), 22.

² For example, the double-lion mark appears throughout Philippe Labbé, *La Geographie royale, présentée au tres-chretien Roy de France et de Navarre Louis XIV* (Lyon: Librairies de Compagne, 1667), which was printed by eleven Lyonnais printers working in collaboration.

complexity of Lyon's reactions to Lully's *tragédies* and to what the operas represented – namely, Parisian culture and the Crown. As the right-hand lion gazes towards the opera's title, so did Lyon look to Paris and the Crown to seek guidance in cultural developments, such as opera, and to express political fealty to the absolutist policies of Louis XIV. As the left-hand lion confronts the crest of Lyon, however, so did the city never waver from upholding its identity as a metropolis that rivaled Paris in its cultural vibrancy, and that retained a high degree of political independence even under Louis XIV's politically centralizing regime.

Founded in 1687, the Académie de Musique of Lyon was the first provincial music academy in France to be established after Lully's death. This chapter tracks reactions to Lully's operas in Lyon from the founding of the Lyon Académie to 1707, when Lyonnais stages saw a profusion of comedies critiquing Lully's music. I argue that Lyon's reactions to Lully's *tragédies* reflected an ongoing tension between the city's pride in maintaining its unique cultural and political identity, and its embrace of Parisian culture and Louis XIV's absolutist ideologies. These tensions first arose during the Académie's early Lully productions, which resonated strongly with the political ideology of Lyon's municipal administration and with significant contemporary political events. As the Académie experienced increasing financial hardships in the 1690s, local playwrights and disgruntled spectators began to debate the place of Lully's operas in Lyon. Symbolic of Paris – the political, economic, and cultural rival of Lyon – Lully's operas provided a vehicle with which to criticize Parisian culture as excessive and irrational in comparison to the perceived moderation and rationality of Lyonnais society. Launched in the form of opera parodies, *comédies en musique*, and pamphlets, much of this critique drew on key issues of the Quarrel between Ancients and Moderns, and enfolded cultural debates within a

contest of the merits of opera as opposed to comedy, an art form that many Lyonnais felt was more representative of their city's tastes.

Lyon in the Late 17th Century

Situated at the confluence of the Saône and Rhône rivers near the foothills of the Alps, Lyon was an established commercial center specializing in the book and textile trades at the time of Louis XIV's ascension to the throne. Its population was diverse: an average of 70% of its citizens had been born abroad in any given year,³ and a considerable portion of the foreign population consisted of bankers from Florence, who doubtless appreciated Lully's operas as the culminating achievement of a Florentine who had successfully become *francisé*.⁴ The city prided itself in its heritage as the capital of Roman Gaul. Ruins, monuments, and artifacts from antiquity were scattered throughout the city as reminders of the central role of Lugdunum in ancient Gaul.⁵ Lyon's status as a cultural landmark shines through Pierre Duval's description of the city in his luxury atlas dedicated to Louis XIV, *La géographie française* (1682), in which he highlights the "very magnificent buildings" ("édifices fort magnifiques") that make the city one of "the most ancient and renown [cities] of Gaul" ("des plus anciennes & plus celebres de la Gaule").⁶

Lyon's relationship with the Crown had long defined major aspects of the city's civic identity. Between 1500 and 1535, Lyon was privy to the affairs of the Valois, who used the city

³ W. Gregory Monahan, "Lyon in the Crisis of 1709: Royal Absolutism, Administrative Innovation, and Regional Politics," *French Historical Studies* 16.4 (1990): 844.

⁴ Judi Loach, "The Hôtel de Ville at Lyons: Civic Improvement and Its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century France," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003): 252.

⁵ Duché de Vanci, for example, devotes much attention to describing the architectural and material remnants of Lugdunum ("On trouve à Lyon plusieurs morceaux d'antiquité."). See Joseph-François Duché de Vanci, *Lettres inédites de Duché de Vanci, contenant la relation historique du voyage de Philippe d'Anjou, appelé au trône...* (Paris: Librairies de Lacroix, 1830), 358-59.

⁶ Duval, *La géographie française contient les descriptions, les cartes, et les blasons des provinces*, 165.

as a base while fighting for control of Naples and Milan.⁷ French kings visited Lyon regularly after the Italian Wars, and the Lyonnais nobility enjoyed considerable prominence at court. Louis XIV studied under the tutelage of the royal governor of Lyon, Nicolas V de Villeroy (1598-1685), who later headed the Conseil royal des finances, and whose brother and son enjoyed similarly powerful positions at Versailles.⁸ Louis XIV, however, showed less interest in the city itself than did his predecessors, making his first and last *entrée* into Lyon in 1658. Historian Joan DeJean attributes this decreased royal attention to the changing economic needs of the Crown. Lyonnais bankers were unable to lend the enormous sums of money that the Sun King needed to cover the costs of lengthy wars and building projects. Accordingly, the Crown turned to a new caste of *financiers*, or financial agents, based in Paris.⁹ As royal interest in the civic affairs of Lyon waned, the city's municipal government, which was led by a Consulate of four *échevins* and a *prévôt des marchands*, nurtured a civic ideology that historian Yann Lignereux terms “municipal absolutism.” This political ideology disputed the necessity of royal interference in civic administrative systems without forgoing loyalty to the Crown.¹⁰ Though Lignereux does not address opera in his study, the tenets of municipal absolutism are key, I argue, to understanding the mixed reception of Lully's operas in Lyon.

⁷ Loach, “The Hôtel de Ville at Lyons,” 252.

⁸ Joseph David, *Oraison Funebre de Tres-Haut Et Tres-Puissant Seigneur Messire Nicolas de Neufville Duc de Villeroy, Gouverneur de Louis Legrand pendant sa Minorité, Pair et Mareschal de France, Chevalier de l'Ordre, Chef du Conseil Royal des Finances, Gouverneur du Lyonnois, Forests, et Beaujollois. Prononcée le jour de son enterrement dans l'Eglise des Carmelites de Lyon, en presence de Monseigneur l'Archeveque, le vingt-quatrieme Janvier 1686. Par le P. Joseph David, Prestre de l'Oratoire* (Lyon: Antoine Jullieron, 1686), 10; 26. Nicolas's son François de Neufville (1644-1730), in fact, served as tutor to Louis XV during the Régence.

⁹ Joan DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: the Invention of the Modern City* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2014), 173.

¹⁰ Yann Lignereux, *Lyon et le roi: de la bonne ville à l'absolutisme municipale (1594-1654)* (Seyssel, Champ Vallon, 2003), 20-22; 795.

Despite the political complexity and cultural richness of late 17th-century Lyon, scholars regularly neglect this period of the city's history in favor of the Renaissance, when Lyon garnered brilliance for its print culture. The sole monograph devoted to the complete history of 17th- and 18th-century Lyon is marred by factual errors, and Lignereux's robust study of Lyon's political relationship with the Crown extends only from 1594 to Louis XIV's 1658 *entrée* into the city.¹¹ The chronological limits chosen by Lignereux are a reminder that the latter decades of the 17th century have enjoyed less attention than they deserve. In scholarship, the somber twilight of Louis XIV's reign is outshone by the brilliance of the early decades of his rule. Paris, too, pushes Lyon to the margins of musicological studies, with the magnetism of the royal court exerting an irresistible pull. The explosion of musical, literary, and scientific developments in Paris during the reign of Louis XIV has deservedly attracted much scholarly attention, but at the expense of rigorous study of France's Second City. Late 17th- and early 18th-century Lyon was a vibrant city that kept abreast of developments in Paris while challenging them with its own unique cultural practices and innovations. As this chapter demonstrates, the reception of Lully's operas in Lyon elucidates how the city projected its civic identity in the shadows of Paris and the Sun King.

The Founding and Inauguration of the Académie de Musique of Lyon

Lully was only four months in the grave when the *maître à danser* Jean-Pierre Leguay (1665-1731) beseeched the composer's heirs, Lully's widow, Magdelaine Lambert, and son-in-law, Jean-Nicolas de Francine, for the privilege of establishing an opera company in Lyon.

¹¹ In her book, *Vivre à Lyon sous l'Ancien Régime*, Françoise Bayard claims, for example, that Vivaldi and Lully were among the musicians who performed at the Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1713. Vivaldi, however, never visited France, and Lully was almost 40 years deceased by that time. See Bayard, *Vivre à Lyon sous l'Ancien Régime* (Librairie Académique Perrin, 1997), 309.

Leguay had been born in Paris to Jean Leguay and Françoise de Pille.¹² He began his career in opera as a dancer at the Académie de Musique of Marseille, whose director, Pierre Gautier, hired Leguay in 1685.¹³ Doubtless inspired by Gautier's initiative, Leguay must have found the culturally vibrant Lyon a promising place for an investment in the opera industry. Leguay received a three-year contract from Lambert and Francine at the expense of 2000 livres per year to found an Académie de Musique modeled after the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris. Signed on 17 September, 1687, the contract gave Leguay permission to hire as many performers as he wished, as well as to produce whichever works he chose.¹⁴ Leguay was also granted permission to print livrets for his productions. The right to print scores, however, remained in the hands of the Ballard firm in Paris. Regrettably, no performance scores are known to survive from the first three decades of the Académie de Lyon. As I discuss in Chapter Three, however, the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon conserves several performance scores of Lully's operas used by Lyonnais singers in the 1720s and 1730s at the Lyon Académie des Beaux-Arts, a musical institution founded in 1713.

Leguay's consortium of backers drew upon the select of Lyonnais society: Simon Vareille, a lieutenant of the Lyonnais cavalry; François Martini de Lucques, an Italian nobleman of Tuscan descent whose family had long since established itself in Lyon; and Thomas Amaury, a Lyonnais bookseller and local editor of *Mercure Galant*.¹⁵ The contract prohibited Leguay

¹² Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 14-15.

¹³ Cheilan-Cambolin, *Un Aspect de la vie musicale à Marseille au XVIIIe siècle*, 95-96.

¹⁴ "Le droit et permission d'établir une Académie de Musique dans la ville de Lyon, seulement composée de tel nombre de personnes que ledit Leguay adviser pour en faire dans ladite ville les representations, tant des operas composes par ledit défunt Lully que ceux qui seront composes de l'ordre desdits bailleurs pour etre représentés en cette ville et des autres que ledit Leguay et ceux avec lequel il pourra s'associer pourront composer tant en vers français qu'en langues étrangères." Qtd. in Courneloup, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon*, 30.

from hiring artists who had worked at the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris unless those artists had left the institution at least six months previously; for this reason and doubtless cost-effectiveness, Leguay hired musicians and singers who were primarily from Lyon, Languedoc, and Provence. Many of his first hires came, in fact, from Gautier's academy in Marseille. By the end of 1687, Leguay's orchestra included about 30 instrumentalists and at least 20 singers.¹⁶

The local complexion of the Lyon Académie enhanced its unique identity; it was no mere replica of Lully's institution. It was visible, sounding proof that Lyon not only led the vanguard of contemporary music outside of Paris, but might even come to rival Paris as an operatic center in France while in contest with other European cities. The governor and city authorities expressed this viewpoint when they agreed to donate 100 *louis d'or* to the Lyon Académie in 1698, asserting that the institution was "not only honorable for the city of Lyon, but even more useful for attracting foreigners" ("laquelle Académie étant non seulement honorable pour la ville de Lyon, mais encore très utile par le concours des étrangers").¹⁷ The Lyon Académie's reputation as the jewel of Lyonnais culture was still remembered in 1786, when the publisher of a Parisian edition of the livret of Lully's opera *Phaëton* commended Leguay and his associates for upholding "the glory of Lyon" ("la gloire de cette Ville").¹⁸

Leguay's contract gave him flexibility in choosing his repertoire, although Léon Vallas, whose history of musical activities in 17th- and 18th-century Lyon remains unparalleled in the

¹⁵ Amaury held the privilege of printing livrets of the Lyon Académie's productions until 1699, at which point he passed the privilege to his partner, André Molin. See Courneloup, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon*, 31.

¹⁶ See Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 16-22 for a detailed description of the performers hired by Leguay.

¹⁷ F-LYam, série BB, dossier 257. Qtd. in Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 53.

¹⁸ Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, *Phaëton, tragédie en musique* (Paris: au Bureau de la Petite Bibliothèque des théâtres, 1786), vi.

scope of its archival detail, claims that the company limited its repertoire to Lully's operas until 1695.¹⁹ As I discuss in Chapter One, however, evidence suggests that *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, a *pastorale héroïque* by Pierre Gautier, was performed in Lyon in 1691.²⁰ Given that Amaulry printed the livret of *Le Triomphe de la Paix* in Lyon in 1691, it is possible that the Lyon Académie expanded its repertoire to include at least one work composed outside of Paris – and indeed, much closer to home – before 1695.

Leguay inaugurated the Lyon Académie with a performance of Lully and Quinault's *Phaëton* (1683) in January 1688, followed by Lully and Thomas Corneille's *Bellérophon* (1679) in June 1688 (see Appendix 2.1 for a complete chronology of Lully productions at the Lyon Académie). Evidence of the public reception of *Phaëton* and *Bellérophon* comes primarily from two reports in the *Mercure Galant* and a manuscript letter in the style of a pamphlet titled, *Avis salutaires touchant l'opéra*, which was written by an anonymous cleric in condemnation of opera's evidently immoral nature.²¹ Like other pamphlet-letters of the era, *Avis salutaires* was designed for public consumption and persuasion, not private readership. Both sources are biased: the author of *Avis salutaires*, who addresses his letter to an anonymous "Madame," writes to convince his readers to boycott not only *Phaëton* and *Bellérophon*, but the very genre of the *tragédie en musique*. Thomas Amaulry, who, as one of the sponsors of the Académie, had a vested interest in the institution's success, published and sold the *Mercure Galant* issues that

¹⁹ Leguay was not in control of the Lyon Académie throughout this period. In 1690, financial troubles forced Leguay to hand over his direction of the opera to Nicolas Le Vasseur, who obtained a new, nine-year contract from Francini that extended the privileges of the Lyon opera to Marseille, Aix, Montpellier, Grenoble, Dijon, Chalon, and Avignon. Le Vasseur, too, succumbed to financial troubles that bankrupted the company in 1692. Leguay reassumed direction of the opera company in 1694. See Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 37-49.

²⁰ Gautier, *Le Triomphe de la Paix*.

²¹ Anonymous, *Avis salutaires concernant de l'opéra* (F-V Rés FM MS 1260).

reported on the productions of *Phaëton* and *Bellérophon*.²² Nevertheless, the sources usefully suggest the excitement and novelty that Lully's operas first elicited in Lyon. During the final rehearsal period for *Phaëton* in December 1687, for example, the *Mercure Galant* reported on the city's restless anticipation over the imminent production:

Today, I can tell you that a very capable man has established an Opera in Lyon, the first performances of which will begin next January. There is reason to believe that their success will be great, since people ran to the rehearsals in such a hurry, and those who saw the first rehearsals were so pleased that the crowd grew to such a size that people felt obliged out of thanks to pay money for seeing the rehearsals. *Phaëton* is the first opera that the company will present, and they will continue these *divertissements* with the opera *Bellérophon*.²³

The author of *Avis salutaires* corroborates the *Mercure Galant*'s description of people running in haste to see rehearsals of *Phaëton*, criticizing "the libertines" who "run or rather fly to this wretched opera" ("Les libertins attendent le dimanche pour ne point travailler...ils courent ou plutôt ils volent à ce malheureux opera").²⁴

²² Corneloup, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon*, 31; Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 25. In 1678, Donneau de Vizé, editor of the *Mercure Galant* in Paris, authorized Amaulry to issue a Lyonnais edition of the journal. Amaulry printed the *Mercure Galant* until 1695, usually keeping the contents of his editions similar to their Parisian counterparts. "Mercure galant 1: édition lyonnaise (1678-1695)," *Le Gazetier universel: ressources numériques sur la presse ancien*, Institut des sciences de l'homme, accessed November 1, 2016, <http://gazetier-universel.gazettes18e.fr/periodique/mercure-galant-1-edition-lyonnaise-1678-1695>.

²³ "J'ay à vous dire aujourd'huy qu'un fort habille homme en établit un à Lion, dont les premieres representations commenceront au mois de Janvier prochain. Il y a sujet de croire que le succès en sera grand, puis qu'on a couru aux repetitions avec beaucoup d'empressement, & que ceux qui en ont vû ces premiers, y ont pris tant de plaisir, que la foule ayant augmenté, on a esté obligé de prendre de l'argent aux dernieres qu'on a faites, le public ayant demandé en grace qu'on le receust. *Phaeton* est le premier Opera qui sera représenté, & l'on doit continuer ces divertissemens par l'Opera de *Bellerophon*." Thomas Amaulry, *Mercure Galant* (Lyon: Thomas Amaulry, Dec. 1687), 202-3. Also quoted in Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 14-15. The excitement of this report is indicated by the punctuation, which, if read according to Roger Chartier's theory of punctuation, can be taken as an indication of breath-marks and eagerness of expression. See Chartier, "Pauses and Pitches" *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind: Transformations of the Written Word in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Wiley, 2014), 90-91.

²⁴ *Avis salutaires concernant de l'opéra*, 27.

Once the production opened, audiences filled the opera house four times a week for six months. The performances were lengthy affairs that ranged from four to five hours.²⁵ Ticket prices were high: the priciest tickets cost a *louis d'or*, while the cheapest seats sold for 20 *sols*, almost double the daily wages of a manual laborer in Paris.²⁶ High ticket prices suggest a predominantly bourgeois and aristocratic audience, something confirmed by Lyonnais playwrights who would later ridicule the bourgeois infatuation with opera. In the anonymous comedy, *Les Comédiens de Campagne* (1699), for instance, several bourgeois gentlemen are criticized for their obsession with “their hurly-burly Opera” (“son tintamare d’Opera”).²⁷

In its January 1688 issue, the *Mercure Galant* maintains a rhetorical silence over details of *Phaëton*’s opening performances, leaving readers to assume only the best while alerting them to the Lyon Académie’s next production:

I won’t tell you anything about the success of the Opera of *Phaëton*, which is showing four times a week in Lyon, since you and your friends have seen it and have judged it as favorably as anything that I could tell you about it. I can tell you now that the company is working daily on rehearsals of *Bellerophon* by Monsieur de Corneille of the Académie Française. I can assure you that everything will be to the utmost perfection, and that performances will begin the week immediately after Easter.²⁸

The author of *Avis salutaires* again corroborates the *Mercure Galant* report. Despite his own distaste for the “languishing and effeminate manner” (“air languissant et effeminé”) with which

²⁵ Ibid., 48.

²⁶ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 28-29.

²⁷ *Les Comédiens de Campagne*, 7.

²⁸ “Je ne vous diray rien du succès de l’Opera de *Phaëton*, qui se represente quatre fois la Semaine à Lyon, puis que vous & vos amis qui l’ont veu en ont jugez fort avantageusement tout ce que je vous puis mander à present, c’est que l’on travaille journellement aux Repetitions de *Bellerophon*, du Sçavant Monsieur de Corneille de l’Academie Française. Je vous puis assurer que tout y sera dans la derniere perfection, & qu’immédiatement la Semaine d’après Pâque l’on le representera.” Thomas Amaulry, *Mercure Galant* (Lyon: Thomas Amaulry, Jan. 1688), 2-3. Also quoted in Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 4-15.

the actors declaimed their words,²⁹ the author overheard many opera-goers expressing their excitement to hear actors and actresses from *Phaëton* return in *Bellérophon*.³⁰

Phaëton brims with spectacle: not only is it populated by angry deities and set in exotic palaces, but it ends with the spectacular fall of Phaëton from his fiery chariot, which took the form of a dramatic catapulting stunt that thrilled audiences in Paris.³¹ The opera was such a crowd-pleaser that, after its Parisian premiere in April 1683, it gained the moniker “l’opéra du peuple” (“the people’s opera”).³² Leguay likely selected the opera as his inaugural production because his troupe included many musicians who had recently performed in *Phaëton* with the Académie de Musique of Marseille. *Phaëton*, however, also enabled Leguay to inaugurate his institution with flair, stunning audiences with spectacular props and stage machines.³³ Leguay hired a local painter, Philippe Buron, who supplied six backdrops for the production, including depictions of palatial gardens, distant oceans, rooms within the palaces of the king of Egypt and the sun god, the temple of Isis, and a countryside at dawn. Buron also constructed horses, monsters, and an eagle out of wicker for the famous fight scene between Triton and Protée, in which the latter transforms into multiple beasts to escape the god-king of the sea.³⁴ The richness of the stage set and the generally positive response to the opera conveyed in the *Mercure Galant* and *Avis salutaires* suggest that audiences applauded the first production of the Lyon Académie

²⁹ *Avis salutaires concertant de l’opéra*, 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

³¹ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 261.

³² *Ibid.*, 259.

³³ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 22-23.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

with satisfaction. The following production, *Bellérophon*, would not only continue to entertain audiences, but would also stage commentary on political events centered on the city's relationship with the Crown.

***Bellérophon* (Lyon, 1688) and the Equestrian Statue Campaign in Lyon**

The Lyon Académie's production of *Bellérophon* in 1688 coincided with the decision of the city's municipal authorities to erect an equestrian statue of Louis XIV in the place Bellecour, where the king had lodged during his visit to the city in 1658. While staying there, Louis XIV had designated the space a *place publique*, which meant that royal approval was necessary to sell land or construct buildings in the area.³⁵ The monarch readily agreed to the installation of an equestrian statue in the space. The statue would be one of twenty planned for construction across France by the Secretary of State for War, François Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois (1641-1691).³⁶ Commemorated by scholars as Louis XIV's equestrian statue campaign, the project asserted royal presence in the provinces in a monumental form. In Lyon, the statue would commemorate the royal entry of 1658, while reminding passersby that, despite the unprecedented absence of kings in the city, Louis XIV demanded and valued homage from the people of Lyon.

In celebration of the decision to erect the statue, the students of the Jesuit College of the Holy Trinity in Lyon staged a ballet on 13 June, 1688 titled, *La Statue de Louis le Grand, élevée, sur le confluent du Rhône et de la Saône*, to honor the statue and Lyon's civic authorities.³⁷ The

³⁵ Richard L. Cleary, *The Place Royale and Urban Design in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 170.

³⁶ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 93-96; 194.

³⁷ The title-page of the ballet's livret indicates that these men were present at the performance. The author of the ballet remains anonymous. According to the livret, Jean Michon recited the dedication, but this does not prove that he was the author of the ballet. See *La Statue de Louis le Grand, élevée sur le confluent du Rhône & de la Saône* (Lyon: Antoine and Horace Moulin, 1688), 3, 6.

ballet drew a prestigious audience: sitting among the spectators were the *prévôt des marchands*, Laurens Pianello Besset, and the *échevins* of Lyon, who included Gabriel Valoux, Blaise Claret, Louis Athiaud de Monchanin, and Jean Louis de Pasturel. Considering the ballet in juxtaposition with *Bellérophon*, which premiered in Lyon one week after the ballet on 20 June, 1688, I argue that the ballet borrows allegorical imagery and thematic material from the prologue of Lully's opera, which saluted the king for his military and peacetime achievements.³⁸ A resonance between Lully's *tragédies* and the statue campaign has precedence: in her article, "*Armide*, the Huguenots, and the Hague" (2012), Rebekah Ahrendt argues that Lully and Quinault composed the prologue of *Armide* as a dedication to the monument that inspired the statue campaign. Commissioned in 1679 as a celebration of the king's achievements, the monument encompassed six large statues, including a central figure of Louis XIV, that were designed by the Dutch sculptor Martin Desjardins. Desjardins would also design the statue for Lyon.³⁹ The monument was erected in 1686 at the Place des Victoires in Paris, which Jean Bérain, Lully's set designer, adorned with massive lanterns to draw further attention and glamor to Desjardins's work.⁴⁰ Ahrendt highlights thematic and textual parallels between the prologue of *Armide*, which opened two weeks before the monument's dedication ceremony, and the monument, citing, for example, Quinault's line, "He treads on a chained monster with three heads" ("Il sait l'art de tenir tous les monstres aux fers"), as an evocation of the monument's central statue of Louis XIV, which

³⁸ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 31.

³⁹ Martin, *Les Monuments Équestres de Louis XIV*, 138. The sculptors of each equestrian statue produced for this campaign were designed by a small circle of Parisian sculptors who had trained during the minority of Louis XIV. Contracts for the statues were drawn up in Paris or at Versailles under the supervision of Jules-Hardouin Mansart, who ensured that the sculptor had ultimate authority over the representation of the statue. See Martin, *Les Monuments Équestres de Louis XIV*, 71-76.

⁴⁰ Rebekah Ahrendt, "*Armide*, the Huguenots, and the Hague," *The Opera Quarterly* 28 (3-4): 136-39.

trampled a chained, three-headed monster.⁴¹ But whereas the prologue of *Armide* unambiguously feted Louis XIV, the message of *Bellérophon* as it was reinterpreted by *La Statue de Louis Le Grand* in Lyon was far more ambiguous.

Bellérophon premiered in Paris in 1679 a few months after the conclusion of the Franco-Dutch War (1672-1678). In the first edition of the opera's livret (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1680), Lully and his librettist, Thomas Corneille, included a preliminary note underscoring the occasion for which the opera was written, which marked the beginning of an especially prosperous decade for France:

Since the king has given peace to Europe, the Académie Royale de Musique wanted to mark its part in public joy with a Spectacle, in which it could testify to its zeal for the glory of this August Monarch.⁴²

The prologue of *Bellérophon* presents an allegorical celebration of Louis XIV's military victory. The curtain opens to reveal Apollo and his muses poised to celebrate "the return of a most glorious peace to France" ("le retour d'une Paix si glorieuse à la France") and "the greatest King of the Universe" ("le plus grand Roy de l'Univers")⁴³ The characters pronounce Louis XIV to be the greatest mortal on earth who is "worthy of our altars" ("digne de nos autels"),⁴⁴ and finish the prologue exhorting one another to praise the king with song.

On 20 May 1688, the governor of Lyon signed the contract for the equestrian statue at Versailles. Presumably, *La Statue de Louis Le Grand* was commissioned and designed after the

⁴¹ Ibid., 139.

⁴² "Le Roy ayant donné la Paix à l'Europe, l'Academie Royale de Musique a creu devoir marquer la part qu'elle prend à la joye publique par un Spectacle, où elle pust faire entrer les témoignages de son zele pour la gloire de cet Auguste Monarque." Jean-Baptiste Lully and Thomas Corneille, *Bellérophon, tragédie en musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1680), 3.

⁴³ Ibid., Prologue.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

contract was signed, at which point the Lyon Académie was well into their rehearsal period of *Bellérophon*.⁴⁵ The ballet shares numerous episodic similarities with the prologue of *Bellérophon*, suggesting that the Jesuits deliberately borrowed imagery from the opera. Before discussing these similarities, however, it is helpful to review the design and plot of the ballet, which has largely escaped the attention of scholars.⁴⁶ *La Statue de Louis Le Grand* presents a series of allegorical scenes that celebrate the king and his statue-to-be. The performers numbered thirty-eight students from the college, many of whom played multiple roles over the course of the performance. While it is not possible to ascertain whether students played instruments or whether outside musicians were engaged for the performance, the livret notes that “Le Sieur de la Haye” painted the various sets, and “Monsieur Thomas, habile Ingenieur” provided the machines, which, among other delights, included a dragon and a contraption that enabled Mercury “to appear in the air” (“Mercure paroissant dans l’air”).⁴⁷ Like other Jesuit ballets of this period, *La Statue de Louis Le Grand* featured a variety of dances, including several “dances guerrieres,” as well as a grand ballet and pastoral pieces, such as the “Tambour de Basque” that Momus performs towards the end of the ballet.⁴⁸

La Statue de Louis Le Grand is set in Lyon. La Gloire opens the ballet by descending from the sky to consecrate the statue of Louis that sits “in the middle of France, at the confluence

⁴⁵ Martin, *Les Monuments Équestres de Louis XIV*, 138.

⁴⁶ To my knowledge, this ballet has only received discussion in Pierre Guillot, *Les Jésuites et la musique: le college de la Trinité à Lyon, 1565-1762* (Liège, Belgium: Pierre Mardaga, 1991), 197. Guillot mentions *La Statue de Louis Le Grand* in passing, pointing out that Monsieur de La Haye had contributed to the stage sets of multiple Jesuit ballets during this period.

⁴⁷ *La Statue de Louis Le Grand*, 24, 12. The livret provides each student’s place of origin. Most of the students came from Lyon and nearby towns, although one student, Estienne Bernou, who played the minor role of an enchained city (“Ville enchaînée”) hailed as far as Reims.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

of the Rhône and Saône” (“au milieu de la France, sur le Confluent du Rhône, & de la Saône”).⁴⁹ The rivers and the spirit of Lyon (“Le Genie de Lyon”) rejoice over the consecration before falling asleep. The subsequent scenes portray the dreams of Le Genie de Lyon, in which an assemblage of Greek deities, mythological figures, and inanimate objects such as rocks and trees construct the statue and pay homage to it. The muses commend Louis XIV’s patronage of the arts, and the Sun promises that the statue will bring “the most beautiful days” (“le plus beaux de tous les jours”) to Lyon.⁵⁰ Finally, Immortality descends in her chariot and promises to apotheosize the statue into a constellation, but not before mortals have had time to enjoy its earthly presence.

The episodic narratives and imagery of *La Statue de Louis Le Grand* recall the design of the statue of Louis XIV that the city had commissioned. Desjardins planned for the statue to feature the king on horseback; king and horse were to be mounted to a pedestal surrounded by four chained figures representing Louis XIV’s conquests. The ballet, in fact, features an entire *entrée* devoted to Louis XIV’s enchained conquests, in which “Love leads enchained villages like glorious ornaments of this day of triumph” (“L’Amour conduit des Villes Enchaînées, comme les glorieux ornemens de ce jour de Triomphe”).⁵¹ In addition to chained figures, the statue’s pedestal was also to include allegorical statues of the Rhône and Saône rivers, giving the monument a distinctly Lyonnais character.⁵² Figure 2.2 depicts a model of Desjardins’s design, which lacks the chained figures but captures the king’s stance:

⁴⁹ Ibid., 7.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 16.

⁵¹ Ibid., 22.

⁵² Martin, *Les Monuments Équestres de Louis XIV*, 140.



Fig. 2.2: After Martin Desjardins, *Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV*.
 Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing Fund
 Image © President and Fellows of Harvard College

Though the ballet honors Louis XIV, the Jesuits dedicated it to the Lyon Consulate, not to the king. The four *échevins* and *prévôt des marchands* who formed the Consulate were elected by an assembly selected by the Consulate itself, ensuring internal control and continuity over those who acceded to power.⁵³ The Consulate strove to maintain absolute control over local politics by excluding the Crown from civic administration as much as possible, an effort that, as mentioned earlier, Lignereux termed, “municipal absolutism.”⁵⁴ In pushing for municipal

⁵³ Monahan, “Lyon in the Crisis of 1709,” 836.

⁵⁴ Lignereux, *Lyon et le roi*, 792; 566.

absolutism, the Consulate strove to limit the power of the city's royal intendant, who served as the king's local representative and whose duty was to ensure that royal mandates were enacted swiftly. The intendant was only just beginning to gain meaningful political power in civic affairs at the time of *La Statue de Louis Le Grand*'s production.⁵⁵ Despite the intendant's increasing influence over city matters, *La Statue de Louis Le Grand* alludes to the Consulate's belief in municipal sovereignty. In the ballet's dedication, which was recited at the opening of the performance,⁵⁶ the Jesuits argue that the statue will be as much a monument of the Consulate as it is a reminder of the king's glory:

But while the precious memory of such a great prince [i.e., Louis XIV] will endure forever...in bronze and in marble, we will not forget, MESSIEURS, that which makes a great prince so honorable, and that which makes his reign happy. For a long time, we will remember these illustrious magistrates, who draw out the admiration of the wise for their *esprit* and their abilities; who make themselves so useful to the province and to the state by their wise conduct and their indefatigable vigilance; and who earn the love of the people by their disinterest, by their industry, and by their inclination to do good to everyone in the world.⁵⁷

In dedication and content, *La Statue de Louis Le Grand* emphasizes the glory that Lyon, a city that La Gloire pronounces as "the most beautiful places in the world" ("les plus beaux endroits du monde"), can bestow upon the Crown more than the city's desire to absorb royal rays.⁵⁸ Once the statue was erected, the figures of the Sône and Rhône on the pedestal reiterated this message to passersby.

⁵⁵ Beik, *Urban Protests in Seventeenth-Century France*, 106-7.

⁵⁶ *La Statue de Louis Le Grand*, 6.

⁵⁷ "Mais pendant que la prétieuse Memoire d'un si grand Prince [i.e., Louis XIV] durera eternellement...sur le bronze & sur le marbre ; on n'oubliera pas, MESSIEURS, ce qui fait tant d'honneur à un grand Prince, & ce qui rend son regne hûreux. On se souviendra long-tems de ces Illustres Magistrats, qui ne se font pas moins admirer des Sçavans par leur esprit, & par leur capacité ; qu'ils se rendent utiles à la Province, & à l'Etat, par leur sage conduire, & par leur vigilance infatigable ; & qu'ils se font aimer des peuples, par leur desinterressement, par leur activité, & par leur inclination à faire du bien à tout le monde." *La Statue de Louis le Grand*, 5-6.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

It is possible that the Consulate encouraged the Jesuits to borrow imagery from the prologue of *Bellérophon*. Like the opera prologue, the ballet commends Louis XIV as a military victor and peacemaker. One entrée of the ballet is set in “Athens, or the ancient Parnassus of Lyon” (“l’Athenée, ou l’ancien Parnasse de Lyon”), where Apollo and the muses celebrate the king’s glory as they gaze at the statue.⁵⁹ The scene recalls the opening of *Bellérophon*, in which Apollo and the muses sing of Louis XIV’s glory at the foot of Mount Parnassus. In Lully’s prologue, Apollo rejoices that the gods must no longer sing of “war’s furies,” but can instead sing of the sweetness of peace (“Après avoir chanté les fureurs de la Guerre, chantons les douceurs de la Paix”); in the ballet, Athena decides that the statue should represent Louis as the “arbiter of Peace” (“arbitre de Paix”).⁶⁰ The shared themes of military triumph and peace in the opera and the ballet may reflect a coordinated large-scale and multimedia spectacle that celebrated not only the king and his statue, but also the success of the Lyon Consulate in obtaining royal favor for the city even while preserving its political power.

Ironically, the statue of Louis XIV, was not erected at the place Bellecour until 1713. Though Desjardins completed the statue in 1694, it rested in Paris for six years until it was finally shipped to Lyon in 1700. After being delayed in Toulouse, it arrived in Lyon in 1701 during the outbreak of the devastating War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). The statue’s imagery of military triumph conflicted pitifully with the realities of war. No motion to erect the statue was made until 1713, when it was finally installed a few months after the signing of the Peace of Utrecht, a series of treaties that signaled the war’s imminent conclusion.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁶¹ Emmanuel Vingtrinier, *Le Théâtre à Lyon au XVIII^e siècle* (Lyon: Meton, Librairie-éditeur, 1879), 7. The statue remained standing until revolutionaries tore it down in 1792. See Vingtrinier, *Le Théâtre à Lyon au XVIII^e siècle*, 139-11.

Phaëton Falls: Emerging Criticisms of Lully's *Tragédies* in Lyon

Between 1688 and 1689, the Lyon Académie produced four operas by Lully: *Phaëton* (January 1688), *Bellérophon* (June 1688), *Armide* (February 1689), and *Atys* (August 1689), with each opera showing for about six months. Vallas attributes the Académie's exclusive focus on Lully's *tragédies* to the high commercial value of the repertoire:

Lully's works guaranteed too certain a triumph for the directors to even dream of taking advantage of their permission to compose original work: the solemn compositions of the Florentine continued to shape a somewhat monotonous repertory.⁶²

Lully's operas did not, however, bring in as much capital as Leguay hoped. By 1689, Leguay's business venture was unraveling, succumbing to internal feuds and insufficient funds. *Atys* was far less of a financial success than the preceding operas, and performances ground abruptly to a halt when the *jeu de paume* that the Académie used as a theater burnt to the ground on December 1, 1689. In a veritable *coup d'état*, a local *maître de musique*, Nicolas Le Vasseur, secured a new privilege over the Académie from Francini two weeks after the fire, taking control of the institution in partnership with the Lyonnais businessmen Arnaud and Louis Salx.⁶³ Only two livrets, printed for productions of *Thésée* and *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, survive to testify Le Vasseur's production activity. Vallas noted the livret of *Thésée* printed by Amaulry in 1692, leading him to conclude that Le Vasseur followed Leguay's strategy in limiting repertoire to Lully's *tragédies*.⁶⁴ As mentioned above, however, my discovery of the livret of Gautier's *Le Triomphe de la Paix* from 1691 changes that story. While there is no record of a performance of

⁶² "Les oeuvres de Lully obtenaient des triomphes trop assures pour que les directeurs songeassent à profiter de composer des œuvres originales: les pièces solennelles du Florentin continuèrent à former seules un répertoire un peu monotone." Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 31.

⁶³ Ibid., 33-38.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 43.

this work in Lyon, Le Vasseur probably produced this opera, departing radically from Lully's *tragédies* with an opera composed in Provence.

Like Leguay, Le Vasseur also fell victim to financial setbacks. By the end of 1692, the Lyon Académie went bankrupt once more and ceased to operate until 1695, when Leguay resumed control over the company. During its years of dormancy, the Académie became the laughing stock of the city when a visiting Parisian playwright, Marc Antoine Legrand (1673-1728) composed two parodies of Lully's operas: *La Répétition de Thésée* (1692), which parodied *Thésée* (1675), and *La Chûte de Phaëton* (1694), which parodied *Phaëton*. Legrand authored *La Répétition de Thésée* shortly after his arrival in Lyon in 1692, when he worked as a member of the governor's troupe of actors, Les Comédiens du Maréchal de Villeroy. Sponsored by François de Neufville de Villeroy (1644-1730), this troupe was active between 1692 and 1697. In 1694, Michel de Villedieu assumed directorship of the troupe; one wonders if Villedieu inspired the character of the same name who would appear in *La Chûte de Phaëton*.⁶⁵

Neither the livret of *La Répétition de Thésée* nor evidence of its performance survive.⁶⁶ Since *Thésée* was the final opera that Le Vasseur produced before declaring bankruptcy, one can imagine that a parody of *Thésée* would have been timely. Besides the parody's relevance to current events, Lyon was a city that was highly receptive to comedy and theater. The large Florentine population of Lyon attracted visiting *commedia dell'arte* troupes that frequented the city since the reign of Henri IV (1589-1610). Visiting French troupes of comedians, including

⁶⁵ Ibid., 44-49. Vallas provides several names of musicians and comedians who were members of the troupe. See also Mary Scott Burnet, *Marc-Antoine Legrand: acteur et auteur comique (1673-1728)* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1938), 5-6; Georges Mongrédien and Jean Robert, *Les Comédiens Français du XVII^e siècle. Dictionnaire biographique Suivi d'un Inventaire des Troupes (1590-1710) d'après des documents inédits* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 1987), 226-227.

⁶⁶ Burnet, *Marc-Antoine Legrand*, 3-7; Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 46.

Molière's company, also provided theatrical entertainment in the city throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.⁶⁷ Comedies had been especially welcome in the early 1690s, no doubt to cheer citizens as they struggled through the famine, illness, and harsh weather of the decade. Around the year 1693, an anonymous writer scribbled a note now held in the Archives de la Charité that noted a popular preference for comedy, implying that opera was difficult to sustain due to the small audiences it attracted: "One only staged comedies because they bring much bigger audiences" ("On n'a joué que des pièces comiques parce que cela attire beaucoup plus de monde").⁶⁸

Audiences were doubtless excited to hear Legrand's second work, *La Chûte de Phaëton*. The livret for this opera, which is extant, was printed by Thomas Amaulry, Hilaire Baritel, and Jacques Guerrier. Legrand's biographer, Mary Scott Burnet, notes that the parody was performed at least twice between 1694 and 1695.⁶⁹ *La Chûte de Phaëton* is the only parody opera known to have survived from the French provinces, making it significant in itself, but even more so considering the evidence it provides of dramatic and critical responses to Lully's music in Lyon. Finally, it had a profound effect on Lyonnais playwrights: in the decades that followed its premiere, allusions to *Phaëton* surfaced repeatedly in local comedies as a metaphor for not only the failings of the Lyon Académie, but also for the genre of the *tragédie en musique* as a symbol of the irrationality of Parisian and court cultures. Following my discussion of *La Chûte de*

⁶⁷ Emmanuel Vingtrinier, *Le Théâtre à Lyon au XVIII^e siècle*, 2-4.

⁶⁸ Qtd. in Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 47.

⁶⁹ Marc Antoine Legrand, *La Chûte de Phaëton, comédie en musique* (Lyon: Thomas Amaulry, Hilaire Baritel, Jacques Guerrier, 1694). The second performance of *La Chûte de Phaëton* was as a benefit concert for the city's poor. See Burnet, *Marc-Antoine Legrand*, 7.

Phaëton, I explore the satirical treatment of *Phaëton* and other operas by Lully in later Lyonnais comedies.

Legrand likely learned the art of parodying opera in Paris, where opera parodies were developed by the Comédiens Italiens du Roi in the 1670s and 1680s. Early parodies extracted scenes from Lully's operas in a pastiche that mixed spoken text with new lyrics set to music from the target opera or to popular street songs known as *vaudevilles*.⁷⁰ In her doctoral dissertation on 18th-century French opera parodies, Susan Harvey argues that, by the early 18th century, opera parodies had crystallized into a genre

derived through comic restricting of a complete predecessor opera, and modeled on its scene structure. [Opera parodies were] characterized by nearly continuous music consisting of *vaudevilles* and *airs parodiés*, and by discernable critical distancing from and intertextual reference to the target.⁷¹

Musicologist Judith Le Blanc, however, argues that opera parodies transcended the notion of genre, representing a stylistic exercise or process that attempted to uncover and critique the target opera's mechanisms and parameters.⁷² Indeed, *La Chûte de Phaëton* unveils the faulty institutional workings of the Lyon Académie by reducing *Phaëton* and the genre of the *tragédie en musique* to its bare dramatic mechanisms.

Written specifically for Lyon, *La Chûte de Phaëton* is a parody opera characterized by a regional particularity that has led musicologists to ignore the work in favor of Parisian parodies of Lully's *tragédies*. While Legrand eventually rose to fame as a playwright in Paris, Mary Scott Burnet's doctoral dissertation, *Marc Antoine Legrand, acteur et auteur comique* (1938), and Loïc

⁷⁰ Susan Louise Harvey, "Opera Parody in Eighteenth-Century France: Genesis, Genre, and Critical function" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 2003), 4.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Judith Le Blanc, *Avatars d'opéras: parodies et circulation des airs chantés sur les scènes parisiennes* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014), 657-8.

Chahine's master's thesis, *Deux auteurs français à la Comédie-Italienne: Louis Fuzelier et Marc-Antoine Le Grand* (2010), remain the only major studies of his achievements.⁷³ Burnet's biography of Legrand is comprehensive, but it does not accord significant attention to *La Chûte de Phaëton*, while Chahine mentions the parody in passing in his introduction to Legrand's work as a parodist.⁷⁴ Vallas discusses the parody as evidence of local responses to the bankruptcy of the Lyon Académie de Musique without situating the work in its broader sociopolitical context.⁷⁵ Legrand composed and premiered *La Chûte de Phaëton* during a period in which famine, sickness, and the economic and psychological consequences of the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697) devastated France. One way in which Lyon responded to these hardships was to attack local representatives of royal authority. In its satire of the Lyon Académie, *La Chûte de Phaëton*, I propose, constituted one of these local criticisms of royal authority. The parody transformed Lully's courtly composition into an expression of regional solidarity by ridiculing the local opera academy and its royalist repertoire.

Based on a myth from the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lully and Quinault's *Phaëton* presents a dark tale of the hubris of Phaëton, son of the mortal Clymène and the god of the sun.⁷⁶ Driven by his ambition to become a great king, Phaëton spurns his lover, Théone, to seek the hand of Lybie, princess of Egypt. Lybie, however, is in love with Epaphus, son of Jupiter and the goddess Isis. Angered by Epaphus's accusations that he is not truly the offspring

⁷³ Burnet, *Marc-Antoine Legrand*, 1; Loïc Chahine, *Deux auteurs français à la Comédie-Italienne: Louis Fuzelier et Marc-Antoine Le Grand* (Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Nantes, 2010). Valleria Belt Grannis makes no mention of *La Chûte de Phaëton* in her study of French dramatic parody, *Dramatic Parody in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1931).

⁷⁴ Chahine, *Deux auteurs français à la Comédie-Italienne*, 42.

⁷⁵ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 45-58.

⁷⁶ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 261.

of the sun god, Phaëton travels to the celestial palace of his father, Le Soleil (the Sun), and demands to drive the sun chariot. Though reluctant, Le Soleil grants his son's wishes. Phaëton, however, discovers too late that he cannot control the vehicle. As he spins the sun closer to the earth, Jupiter appears and strikes the youth from his chariot, whence he falls to his death. Rare among Lully's operas, *Phaëton* ends not with a festive *divertissement*, but with a brief, shocked chorus of Egyptians who sing, "Oh, frightful fall! Oh, unfortunate recklessness!" ("O chûte affreuse! O témérité malheureuse!").

In parodying *Phaëton*, Legrand capitalized on the opera's strong record of popular appeal and its significance as the first – and most successful – opera that the Lyon Académie had produced. Indeed, the Académie had produced *Phaëton* twice, showing it for six months between January and June 1688, and reviving it between December 1688 and February 1689, for a total of 99 performances.⁷⁷ Legrand likely found the *tragédie*'s themes of conflicted authority and misplaced ambition fitting for a parody that reflected Lyonnais frustration with royal power. *Phaëton* is poor in figures of strong leadership: Phaëton is no role model, and the sun god cannot control his unruly and illegitimate son. The only real hero of the opera is Jupiter, who kills Phaëton to save civilization.⁷⁸ Buford Norman reads Jupiter as an allusion to Louis XIV, and argues that the opera presents a "rather obvious warning to overly ambitious courtiers."⁷⁹ Other references that the opera makes to Louis XIV include the glorious temple of the sun god, which

⁷⁷ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 31.

⁷⁸ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 263-4.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 264.

may be an allusion to the recently finished Versailles,⁸⁰ and, more explicitly, a celebratory chorus in the prologue that praises Louis XIV as an upholder of peace and justice.⁸¹

While we cannot be sure that Lyonnais audiences interpreted *Phaëton* as a warning to ambitious courtiers – especially since the king held Lyon’s governors in remarkably high favor – the opera’s references to absolutist monarchy likely encouraged spectators to associate this *tragédie* and the Lyon Académie with royal authority.⁸² This association rendered Legrand’s parody of *Phaëton* all the more effective in voicing the city’s frustration with royal representatives in the city during the hardships that swept the kingdom in the early 1690s. Legrand was not alone in criticizing royal authority; the warfare and famine that gripped the kingdom throughout the 1690s reflected negatively on Louis XIV’s public image within France and abroad. Numerous political commentators in the late 17th and early 18th centuries compared the Sun King to Phaëton, arguing that, like the mythological character, Louis XIV’s misplaced ambition had devastated his realm.⁸³ In 1701, for example, the Dutch engraver Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) portrayed Louis XIV as Phaëton in the moment of losing control over his chariot.⁸⁴ In 1706, the Dutch medallist Jan Smeltzing struck a medal depicting Louis XIV as Phaëton falling from the sky, stunned by Jupiter’s blow, as reproduced in Figure 2.3.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 261.

⁸¹ Ibid., 51.

⁸² For a discussion of the high standing of the Lyon royal governors at court, see, for example, Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism*, 50.

⁸³ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 146-7.

⁸⁴ Henk van Nierop, “Lamponing Louis XIV: Romeyn de Hooghe’s Harlequin Prints, 1688-89” in *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King Beyond France, 1661-1715*, ed. Charles-Édouard Levillain and Tony Claydon (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2015), 133. See also the anonymous 1692 engraving, *L’Amiral de France* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve des livres rares, FOL-LB37-4034 (T), which compares Louis XIV to Phaëton.



Fig. 2.3: Medal by Jan Smeltzing depicting Louis XIV as Phaëton (the Netherlands, 1706)
The British Museum, G3,FD.297

La Chûte de Phaëton joins these forms of criticism as a dramaturgical use of a commonly understood political metaphor.

The parody degrades the opera's original tale into a comical portrayal of the Lyon Académie's inability to pay its performers and its creditors. The first act, which is spoken, replaces the encomiastic prologue that audiences would have expected from the opening of a *tragédie* by Lully. Legrand's livret indicates that the act should end with a performance of the overture of *Phaëton*, just as Lully's prologues typically conclude with a reiteration of the overture that opens them. The act is set at a country estate near Lyon. Angélique, a Lyonnaise gentlewoman, encounters her lover, Lycidas, who reveals that he has authored a parody of *Phaëton* that constitutes Legrand's second act. As the author of the parody, Lycidas is a

protagonist; his “courtly manners” (“ses manières de Cour”), however, mark him as an outsider and are a cause for ridicule. Lycidas speaks in convoluted, hyperbolic prose, in stark contrast to the frankly straightforward speech of the Lyonnais characters. In the last half of the 17th century, Parisian playwrights and composers frequently indexed the gap between courtiers and provincials with awkward speech mannerisms.⁸⁵ Distant from the cultural and technological innovations of the French capital, provincials were considered by Parisians as doomed to social backwardness because they could not keep up with the latest social norms.⁸⁶ Ungainly provincials often appeared in works that took opera as their subject. Indeed, the very first comedy to comment on Lully’s work, Noël Lebreton Hauteroche’s *Crispin musicien* (1674), includes an opera singer from Gascony whose dialect makes the protagonist laugh.⁸⁷ Citing an example from an earlier date, musicologist Georgia Cowart highlights the ridiculing of two Gascons in Molière’s *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670) as they vie for livrets in heavily accented verse:

⁸⁵ Jean Emelina, “Comique et géographie au xvii^e siècle,” *Les Provinciaux sous Louis XIV: 5^e colloque de Marseille. Revue Marseille* 101.2 (1975), 197-204.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 198. The *Oxford English Dictionary* explains the negative meaning of “provincial” as follows: “Having or suggestive of the outlook, tastes, character, etc., associated with or attributed to inhabitants of a province or the provinces; *esp.* (*deprecativ*) parochial or narrow-minded; lacking in education, culture, or sophistication.” English acquired this meaning for “provincial” as early as 1709. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, “provincial, *adj.*” Indeed, it was during the reign of Louis XIV that the word “provincial” assumed a negative connotation. In his memoirs of the court of Louis XIV, Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de Saint-Simon (1675-1755), for example, ridiculed the Comtesse de Mailly because she “had come to Paris with all her provincial awkwardness, and, from want of wit, had never been able to get rid of it.” Louis de Rouvroy, *The Memoires of the Duke of Saint-Simon on the Reign of Louis XIV*, vol. 1 (ed. J. Pott) (transl. Bayle St. John), (Washington and London: M. W. Dunne, 1901), 23.

⁸⁷ “Ce chanteur me fait rire avec son chant Gascon,” Noël Lebreton Hauteroche, *Crispin musicien, comédie* (Paris: Pierre Promé, 1674), 55. According to Powell, the Gascon singer was a reference to the primarily Languedocien cast who could not speak French according to Parisian standards that Lully’s predecessor, Pierre Perrin, had hired for his Académie Royale des Opéra. See Powell, “The Opera Parodies of Florent Carton Dancourt,” 88-89.

GASCON PREMIER

Aho! l'homme aux Libres, qu'on m'en baille,
J'ay déjà le pumon usé,
Bous boyez que chacun mé raille.
Et jé suis escandalisé.⁸⁸

FIRST GASCON

Aho! Book-vendor, let me go,
I've used up my breath.
You see that everyone makes fun of me.
And I am scandalized.

Legrand reverses this trope, using courtly speech and a repetitive tick to poke fun at someone who is *not* provincial:

LYCIDAS

Ah, Madame, you excel admirably in your fine pleasantries, in your fine pleasantries. But, in truth, I'm more fortunate than I thought I would be. For I thought that I would find you alone in this delicious retreat, and you have here with you your charming cousin who, one could say, was formed by the graces, yes, formed by the graces.⁸⁹

Lycidas is the first generation of characters who critique the hyperbolic character of opera and its Parisian or courtly admirers; I discuss others of these comedies later in this chapter.

As Lycidas prepares to produce the parody for Angélique, two performers from the opera company, Monsieur Malnommé ("Mr. Named-Wrong") and Monsieur Du Bel-Air ("Mr. High Airs"), argue over the Académie's mishandling of financial resources. Like Lycidas, Du Bel-Air and Malnommé also perform a criticism of opera through their stereotypical personalities. Du

⁸⁸ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 108; J. B. P. Molière, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, comédie-balet faite à Chambort, pour le divertissement du Roy* (Paris: P. Le Monnier, 1671), V,6. References are set to act, scene.

⁸⁹ "Ah, Madame, vous excellez admirablement bien dans la fine plaisanterie, dans la fine plaisanterie. Mais en verité je suis plus fortuné que je ne pensois. Car je croyois vous trouver seule dans cette retraite delicieuse, & vous avez ici avec vous votre charmante Cousine qu'on peut dire avoir été formée par les graces, oüy formée par les graces." Legrand, *La Chûte de Phaëton*, I, 3.

Bel-Air admonishes Malnommé for forgetting that the Académie is still holding rehearsals even though it can no longer pay its artists:

DU BEL-AIR

Don't you know that the opera is rehearsing today?

MALNOMMÉ

Ma foy, Monsieur du Bel-Air, it doesn't make any difference to me whether it rehearses or not.

DU BEL-AIR

Well, I wanted to take the trouble myself to warn you.

MALNOMMÉ

I'm much obliged, but I tell you that I will never sing again at the Opera.

DU BEL-AIR

And the reason?

MALNOMMÉ

The reason is, that I need money, and the opera doesn't have any to give to me!⁹⁰

Legrand describes Du Bel-Air as a person who “imagines that entry is owed to him everywhere, and that people are always very happy to receive him” (“il s’imagine que l’entrée luy est deuë par tout & qu’on est encore trop hereux de le recevoir”).⁹¹ Symbolic of the Lyon Académie, Du Bel-Air suggests a degree of antagonism among the Lyonnais towards the institution and towards the excessive mannerisms of Lully’s operas, while Malnommé voices the frustration of Lyonnais artists whose prospects of employment have been disappointed.

⁹⁰ Du Bel-Air: Comment donc Mr Mal-nommé, vous vous faites bien chercher, est-ce que vous ne sçavez pas que l’Opera doit rejouër aujourd’huy.

Malnommé: Ma-foy, Mr du Bel-Air, qu’il rejouë où non, il ne m’importe guere.

Du Bel-Air: J’ai bien voulu prendre la peine moi-même de vous en avertir.

Malnommé: Je vous suis obligé, mais je vous donne avis que je ne chante de mes jours à l’Opera.

Du Bel-Air: Et la raison.

Malnommé: La raison est que j’ay besoin d’argent & que l’Opéra n’en a point à me donner. Legrand, *La Chûte de Phaëton*, I,6.

⁹¹ Ibid., I,5.

The parody proper begins in Act II. Legrand confirms that this act was set to music: at the end of Act I, Lycidas explains that he constructed his parody from selections of “the most brilliant parts of the Opera of *Phaëton* where, without altering the music, I have only changed the words” (“j’ai fait un assemblage des endroits les plus brillans de l’Opera de Phaëton où sans alterer la Musique j’ay seulement change les paroles”). Legrand’s use of “the most brilliant parts” of the opera indicates not only a popular familiarity with the score, but a genuine admiration that many Lyonnais likely felt for *Phaëton*. These “brilliant parts” would have cued particular emotional responses from listeners familiar with the opera’s plot. The power of Legrand’s parody derived from his ability to manipulate these emotional responses by twisting the words of the original libretto and setting them to familiar music.

Act II draws textual material from the first, third, and final acts of *Phaëton*, which feature the most decisive catalysts towards the opera’s *dénouement*: namely, a prediction of Phaëton’s fiery fate (Act I), Phaëton’s cruel rejection of Théone (Act III), and Phaëton’s fall (Act V). The table below outlines the material Legrand borrowed from Quinault’s livret:

<i>La Chûte de Phaëton, comédie en musique</i>	<i>Phaëton, tragédie en musique</i>
Ouverture	Ouverture
II,1	I,4
II,2-3	I,8
II,4	III,1
II,5	III,3 (middle to end)
II,6	[no textual correspondence] ⁹²
II,7	V,4
II,8	V,4

Table 2.1: Musical borrowings from *Phaëton* in *La Chûte de Phaëton*

⁹² There is no corresponding moment in Quinault’s text for this scene, in which the Comedian worries that the opera house will recover from its loan. It is possible that Legrand set this text to new music, no music, or a preexisting music.

By matching the text that Legrand parodied to its original musical setting, it is possible to reconstruct the parody's patchwork score. The score was not extensive; Act II likely comprised no more than 30 minutes of music, offering a short yet musically satisfying performance appropriate for a play-within-a-play framing of the parody. The act included monologues, duets, and several choruses accompanied by an orchestra, as well as a minuet from Lully's original Act I, and a bourrée and gigue from Lully's original Act V. Given Legrand's goal of parodying Lully's opera, the dances were probably choreographed in a comic and grotesque style, and possibly employed former dancers from the Lyon Académie. Appendix 2.2 reproduces a complete list of the musical contents of *La Chûte de Phaëton* and their target pieces.

In Act II, Legrand replaces Phaëton with a musician of the opera company, while a comedian takes the place of Phaëton's rival, Epaphus. Both artists love Angélique (who, confusingly, is not the same Angélique we encounter in Act I). Angélique cannot decide whether she prefers comedy or opera, but the financial collapse of the opera company leads her to prefer the comedian. The musician decides that his only chance of regaining Angélique's favor is to acquire a loan to save the Académie. Though he obtains the loan, it is not enough to appease the creditors, and the company collapses again.

The characters' obsession with money and the power factions represented by the Musician and the Comedian reflect feelings of unrest that pressured Lyon at the time of *La Chûte de Phaëton*'s premiere. In 1694, France was mired in the seemingly endless Nine Years' War, also known as the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697). This was a messy war that was sparked in part by Louis XIV's attempts to extend French borders into the Rhineland, among other regions. The conflict embroiled major European powers including France, the Dutch Republic, the Holy Roman Empire, and England within a fighting arena that extended from

North America to India. Though France ultimately won control over Alsace, the kingdom suffered severe losses in territory, money, and lives.⁹³

The hardships of war were exacerbated by unusually cold weather, famine, and sickness, all of which resulted in about one million deaths in France in 1694.⁹⁴ An awareness of these hardships makes *La Chûte de Phaëton*'s general tone of frustration and irony more meaningful. Lyon was hit especially hard by the famine, and anger simmered throughout the spring of 1693 as the famine worsened, bursting into boil when a crowd of desperate Lyonnais gathered in front of the royal intendant's household to demand wheat. The intendant was the king's direct administrative representative in the city. By targeting him, the crowd symbolically expressed their anger to their sovereign.⁹⁵ Despite the protests, little was done by the Crown to alleviate the food shortage. Shortly after the Lyon riot, the *Mercure Galant* insisted that matters were worse abroad to discourage the French people from blaming the king's military pursuits as the cause of their misfortunes:

Wheat is rarely found this year in many states of Europe, the people are suffering greatly, and especially in Spain, where grain is sold at four times the price as it is in France. The shortage is very great in England...As France is more heavily populated, it has seen more unhappy ones who are in need of help, and the enemies who cannot flaunt their victories, have not missed the opportunity to proclaim that France has been overwhelmed, that war has caused this misery, and that France cannot support the costs of war.⁹⁶

⁹³ See John Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV: 1667-1714* (London; New York: Longman, 1999), 193-264.

⁹⁴ Marcel Lachiver, *Les années de misère: La Famine au temps du Grand Roi 1680-1720* (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 213; 217.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁹⁶ "Les Bleds s'estant trouvez rare cette année en plusieurs Etats de l'Europe, les Peuples en ont beaucoup souffert, & sur tout en Espagne où ils se sont vendus quatre fois autant qu'en France...La disette a esté fort grande en Angleterre...La France comme plus peuplée, a fait voir plus de malheureux qui avoient besoin d'estre secourus, & les Ennemis qui ne peuvent vanter leurs Victoires, n'ont pas manquée de publier qu'elle estoit accablée, que la Guerre avoit causé ce malheur, & qu'elle estoit hors d'estat d'en soustenir les dépenses." Jean-Donneau de Vizé, *Mercure Galant* (Paris: G. de Luyne, T. Girard, and Michel Brunet, June 1693), 284-5.

The *Mercure Galant*'s efforts to suppress popular discontent against the monarch exposes the underlying anxiety that plagued the country.

Matters worsened over the next year. A member of the parish of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, a town fourteen miles northwest of Lyon, expressed the despair caused by the famine and the ongoing Nine Years' War that gripped the province throughout 1694:

The year 1694 was one of the deadliest and miserable years that had ever been seen, for the three scourges of the anger of God were in the country...The winter was extremely harsh and long, the snow was of such huge quantity that many dead people were found along the roads...The poor were in such a great famine that they ate grass like animals...The mortality rate was so high that it was difficult to give the necessary rites to each dying person...As for the war, it was never so inflamed nor so cruel.⁹⁷

That year, thousands of Lyonnais succumbed to fevers, headaches, and festering skin lesions that often ended in death. Attributed to cold weather and rotten grain, the contagion aggravated tensions in the city.⁹⁸ Only months after the premiere of *La Chûte de Phaëton*, a local physician published a monograph that sought to calm the panicked community. In addition to urging readers to discredit rumors of plague (the disease was probably typhoid), he also addressed a rumor that the wealthy were more affected by the contagion than the poor, indicating a high level of communal socioeconomic anxiety.⁹⁹ When *La Chûte de Phaëton* was revived as a benefit

⁹⁷ "L'année 1694 a esté une des plus funestes et des plus malheureuses que jamais il se soit ouit dire, puisque les trois fléaux de la colere de Dieu estoient en campagne...L'hivers a esté extrêmement gros et grand, la neige estoit en si grande quantité, que l'on a trouvé plusieurs personnes mortes dans les chemin...Les pauvres estoient dans une si grande famine qu'ils mangeoient par les pré comme les bestes...La mortalié estoit si grande qu'à peine pouvait-on subvenir aux nécessités spirituelles d'un chacun...A l'égard de la guerre, jamais elle n'a esté plus enflamé ny plus cruelle." Qtd. in Lachiver, *Les années de misère*, 493.

⁹⁸ Jean-Baptiste Panthot, *Réflexions sur l'état présent des maladies qui règnent dans la ville de Lyon, dans ce royaume, et en diverses parties de l'Europe, depuis la fin de... 1693 jusques à présent* (Lyon: J. Guerrier, 1695), 3-8; 33.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

concert for the city's poor in 1695, it doubtless provided much needed cheer – as well as financial revenue from tickets.¹⁰⁰

Two scenes in the parody aptly capture Legrand's talent for amplifying his audience's feelings of despair and disillusion with the Crown by satirizing the *tragédie en musique*. When confronted with the news that the Musician has taken out a loan with which to salvage the opera house, the Comedian and Angélique sing a duet that parodies the only tender love scene in *Phaëton*. In Quinault's scene (V,3), Epaphus and Lybie compare their mutual love to sweet bondage:

Hélas! Une chaine si belle
Devoit etre eternelle!

Alas! A chain so beautiful
Must remain eternal!

Lybie and Epaphus begin their duet by singing strands of parallel minor thirds, but they stagger their subsequent entrances to create imitative chains when they repeat the couplets.

¹⁰⁰ Burnet, *Marc-Antoine Legrand*, 7.

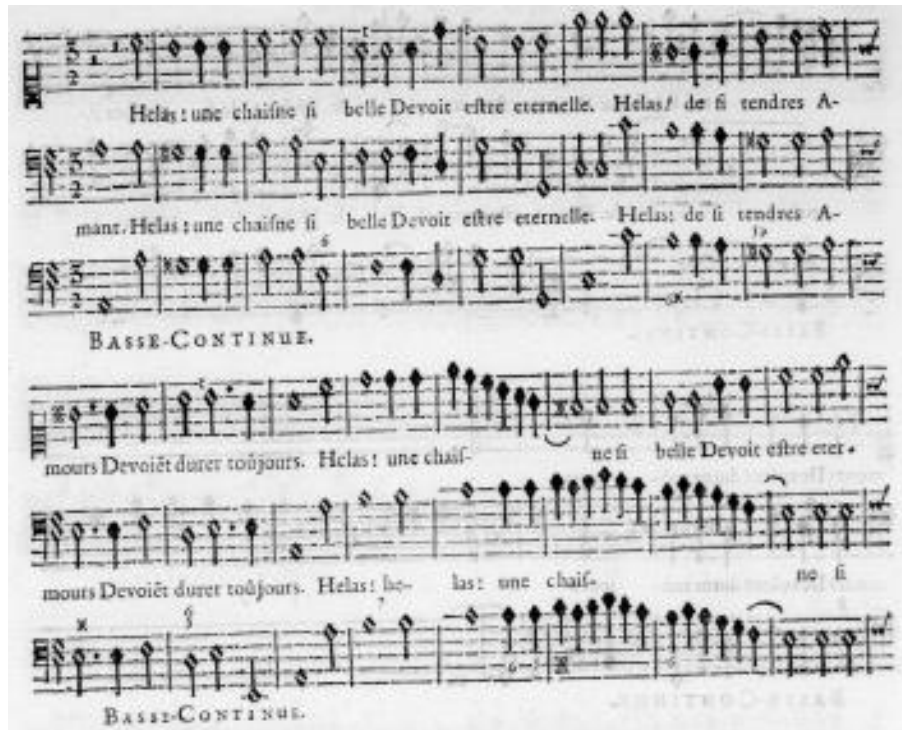


Fig. 2.4: Opening of “Hélas! Une chaîne si belle” from *Phaëton* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1683)
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, VM2-68. www.gallica.bnf.fr.

In the parody, the Comedian and Angélique set the same music to a text that replaces “chaîne” (“chain”) with “chûte” (“fall”) as they express their wish that the Académie remain closed:

Hélas! Une chûte si belle
Devoit être éternelle!

Alas! A collapse so beautiful
Must remain eternal!

Lybie and Epaphus endow *Phaëton* with its only concession to mutual and pure love. Angélique and the Comedian degrade the duet’s message of sincerity to an insight into the cruel reality of economic risk and artistic competition in Lyon, and perhaps a satisfaction among the Lyonnais with the opera academy’s failure. “Une chûte si belle” also mocks the courtly language of Lully’s operas: once more, the frankly realistic speech of the Lyonnais is preferable to the overblown talk of courtiers.

One of *Phaëton*’s most powerful episodes occurs when the sea god Protée predicts Phaëton’s tragic fate by singing the deeply moving air, “Le sort de Phaëton.” The air marks a

major plot development because it alerts Phaëton's mother to her son's imminent death. "Le sort de Phaëton" is also musically remarkable, featuring an unusually strong orchestral presence and an abundance of sixteenth-notes that evoke the fear and violence of the prophecy that Protée is about to give.¹⁰¹



Fig. 2.5: Opening of "Le Sort de Phaëton" from *Phaëton* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1683)
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, VM2-68. www.gallica.bnf.fr.

The gravity and sheer length of the prelude, which totals 71 measures, create space for an affective entrée, which the singer playing Protée may have used as an opportunity to hint at the devastation of his imminent prophecy through appropriate facial expressions or physical gestures. Legrand plays upon the audience's expectation of the prophecy by replacing Protée's

¹⁰¹ Beaussant, *Lully ou le Musicien du Soleil*, 612.

foretelling with the melodramatic predictions of a soothsayer (Le Devin) that the Lyon Académie will fall:

LE DEVIN

Le sort de l'Opéra se découvre à mes yeux,
Dieux je frémis ! Que vois-je ! ô Dieux.
Partez pauvres Acteurs vous ne sauriez
mieux faire;
Aussi-bien pauvres gens vous ne gagnez
guère.
Misérable Opéra tu vas finir ton cours,
En vain l'entrepreneur espère
Te loüant ses habits, retirer son salaire;
Tu ne peux pas te soutenir huit jours.
Tu vas tomber n'attens plus de secours.
Tu vas rentrer dans la misère
Partez pauvres Acteurs vous ne sauriez
mieux faire.

THE SOOTHSAYER

The fate of the opera unveils itself before my
eyes.
Gods, I shudder! What do I see? O, gods.
Leave, poor actors, there's nothing you could
do better for yourselves;
Poor people, you aren't earning anything.
Miserable opera, you've run out of steam,
The entrepreneur hopes in vain
To loan out his costumes, to keep his salary.
You can't support yourself for more than a
week.

You will fall, hope no more for help.
You will descend into misery,
Leave, poor actors, there's nothing you could
do better for yourselves.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Legrand, *La Chûte de Phaëton*, II,2.

Le sort de l'Opéra

5

64 sè - re. Par - tes par - tes pau-vres ac - teurs vous ne sauriez mieux

68 fai - re.

b.c.

Fig. 2.6: Ending of “Le sort de l’Opéra” from *La Chûte de Phaëton* II,2 (voice and continuo only)

In a piece that stands out in the parody as the most dramatically scored, Le Devin plays out the people of Lyon’s anxieties over the Académie through raw comedy, transforming concerns over the institution’s inability to maintain credible authority into humor.

At the end of *La Chûte de Phaëton*, a sergeant pushes through the swarming creditors at the opera house and sings, “Fall, poor opera, fall rashly, go look for credit somewhere else” (“Tombe pauvre Opera trébuche temeraire, va chercher du credit ailleurs”).¹⁰³ The sergeant sings his text to the music that Jupiter sings before he strikes Phaëton with his thunderbolt. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Jupiter likely represented Louis XIV’s ultimate authority – an authority that the king was supposed to use for the overall good of his people. In the parody,

¹⁰³ Ibid., II,8.

Jupiter's voice is reclaimed by a local representative of authority, completing the work's critique of royal institutions and their failures in Lyon. With the sergeant's final word, however, Legrand also shows Lyonnais audiences how they could claim the *tragédie en musique* as their own by transforming the genre into a parody populated by Lyonnais individuals, and by reworking allegorical plots into narratives about contemporary matters rather than the imaginary quarrels among distant gods and kings.

Opera Criticism in Lyon, 1699-1707

Lyonnais comedies ridiculing the institution and its tragic repertoire mushroomed in the years following *La Chûte de Phaëton* as the Lyon Académie struggled to unburden itself from financial distress. Many of these comedies were produced by the Académie, a strategy, argues Vallas, that the company used to capitalize on its distressed reputation.¹⁰⁴ Even as these comedies mocked the Académie's financial state, they celebrated the institution's past achievements. Not only did the comedies reference specific productions or repertoire performed by the Académie, but they also likely benefited from the Académie's singers, costumes, and props.¹⁰⁵ Given the complaints of the soothsayer in *La Chûte de Phaëton* that the opera director had loaned out costumes to help pay the bills ("En vain l'entrepreneur espère/ Te loüant ses habits"), even those comedies that were performed by another group in the city, such as the Comédiens Italiens, may also have used the Académie's performance materials, reminding spectators of the magical spectacle of opera even as performers parodied the genre.

¹⁰⁴ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 54.

¹⁰⁵ It is possible, for instance, that the actors who originated the roles of Malnommé and Du Bel-Air in *La Chûte de Phaëton* had originally worked as an opera singer and dancer, respectively, at the Académie.

Three little-studied comedies produced in Lyon between 1699 and 1707 involve especially incisive debates about the Académie de Musique and the genre of opera: the anonymously authored *Les Comédiens de Campagne* (1699), Nicolas Barbier's *L'Opéra Interrompu* (1707), and Barbier's *Les Eaux de Milles Fleurs* (1707). These comedies chronicle a period of energetic opera criticism in the city, offering an opportunity to explore reactions to French opera from a provincial rather than the more commonly studied Parisian perspective.¹⁰⁶ The comedies debate opera from a distinctly Lyonnais point of view by embedding critical discourse in plots that caricature local individuals or stereotypes, commemorate local events, or express the city's cultural and political relationship with Paris. Like Parisian commentaries on opera, however, the Lyonnais comedies draw on key issues of the contemporary literary debate remembered today as the Quarrel between Ancients and Moderns, which catalyzed a shift in French culture between the early 1670s and 1715.¹⁰⁷ Although topics central to the Quarrel began to surface in literary and stage works in the early 1670s, the Quarrel was officially launched on 22 January, 1687, when Charles Perrault recited his poem, *Le Siècle de Louis Le Grand*, at the Académie Française. Members of the Académie were violently split in their opinion of Perrault's assertion that contemporary poets and authors were creating superior works to those of Antiquity, and critical writings debating the subject were published with fervor into the 18th century. Lully's *Alceste* sparked a major early episode in the debate when some viewers,

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Powell, "The Opera Parodies of Florent Carton Dancourt," 87-114. Powell argues that his analysis of opera parodies is applicable to all French parodies of the 17th- and 18th-century, but he limits his study to Parisian sources.

¹⁰⁷ See Joan DeJean, *Ancients Against Moderns: Culture Wars and the Making of a Fin du Siècle* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), ix-x and William Brooks, Buford Norman, and Jeanne Morgan (ed.), *Alceste suivi de La Querelle d'Alceste* (Geneva: Droz, 1994), ix-xl.

including Nicolas Boileau, who would stand at the vanguard of the Ancients after 1687, criticized the new *tragédie lyrique* genre for breaking the literary tenets of classical tragedy.

In departing from numerous ancient Greek principles governing tragic drama, Lully's *tragédies en musique* represented a creation of the Moderns. Moderns claimed that authors and artists of the current age – that is, France under Louis XIV – were superior to their occupational counterparts in Antiquity. Ancients took the opposite stance, favoring the artistic and literary conventions of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Key issues debated in the Quarrel included the public's right to judge literature and literary aesthetics (as opposed to the idea that such judgments lay solely in the hands of the Académie Française), the proper depiction of emotional states in literature, and the role of women as producers and consumers of culture.¹⁰⁸

In 1688, an anonymous cleric in Lyon penned the first local criticisms of Lully's operas using language that resonated with the Quarrel between Ancients and Moderns. He issued his opinions in a pamphlet titled, *Avis salutaires touchant l'opéra*. Nothing is known about the author of *Avis salutaires*, but his distaste for opera is clear: he concludes the letter with the warning that “there is only a short distance between the pleasures of this world [i.e., opera] and the flames of eternity” (“Il n’y a pas loin des plaisirs de ce monde aux flammes de l’Eternité,”).¹⁰⁹ Addressed to an unidentified “Madame,” the epistle attacks opera with references to the Lyon Académie's premiere of *Phaëton*, making it a unique eyewitness response to the arrival of opera in the city. *Les Comédiens de Campagne* and Barbier's comedies echoed many

¹⁰⁸ DeJean, *Ancients Against Moderns*, 8-9; 13; 66.

¹⁰⁹ *Avis salutaires concernant de l'opéra*, 61. As far as I am aware, Vallas is the only scholar to address this letter, and he uses it for evidence of the *Phaëton* production, not for an understanding of music criticism in Lyon. See Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 30.

of the cleric's criticisms, rendering the pamphlet an important preface to the history of opera criticism in Lyon.

To the author of *Avis Salutaires*, Lyonnais opera-goers were decidedly Modern in their embrace of the *tragédie en musique* as a positive artistic innovation. Unlike classical tragedy, which required a unity of time, action, and place following the model of playwrights of Antiquity, the plot of a *tragédie en musique* was Modern in that it could visit multiple settings and distort the logical progression of time.¹¹⁰ Spectators attend opera, the author argues, in order “to take part in the agreeable divertissements of the age” (“Veulent aussy avoir part aux divertissements agreables du Siecle”). According to DeJean, the word “siècle” connoted several meanings in late 17th-century France, the most predominant of which signified an age characterized by a great monarch and his reign. With this definition in mind, the author's use of “siècle” points to the opera-goers' opinion that the *tragédie* was a progressive artistic creation that represented the achievements of modern society.¹¹¹ He laments that spectators who once disdained opera as immoral had found it to have improved in quality since its early days, noting that “the majority of people” (“la plus part des personnes”) think that opera “has nothing of the indecency *that it used to have* [italics mine]” (“Que les pieces que l'on y joue n'ont rien de cette Indecence quelles avoient autrefois”).¹¹² Opera-goers apparently compared Lully's *tragédie* favorably to comedy, a notion that the author of *Avis salutaires* considered far from plausible: “They want you to think that opera has something more ordered, and by consequence less criminal, than ordinary comedy” (“L'on veut nous faire croyre que l'opera a quelque chose de

¹¹⁰ Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau*, 96-7.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 5; See DeJoan, *Ancients Against Moderns*, 3.

¹¹² *Avis salutaires concernant de l'opéra.*, 4.

plus réglé, et par Consequant moins criminal que la comedie ordinaire”).¹¹³ In the author’s opinion, the genres differed only in that opera emphasized the *merveilleux* through stage machinery and spectacle. Opera, he explains is “a comedy in music with machines, and a naïve representation of an action or an event” (“L’opera n’est autre Chose q’une [sic] comedie en musique avec des Machines, et une representation naïve d’une action, ou d’un evenement”).¹¹⁴ His singling out of stage machinery might also reflect the excitement of audiences over the spectacular falling chariot that appears at the end of *Phaëton*.

The author’s comments on stage machinery point to a concern over opera’s lack of reality, as well as its ability to display and evoke the passions to an excessive degree. At several moments in his pamphlet, the author of *Avis Salutaires* lashes out against those who “are infatuated with the passion of opera”¹¹⁵ (“Ceux quy sont infatues de cette passion d’opera”) and those “who run with so much ardor” (“cour avec tant d’ardeur”) to see a performance.¹¹⁶ Opera is so dangerous, he claims, because its pleasure, wit, and visual spectacle touch the heart.¹¹⁷ Opera’s visual enticement comes from the genre’s overwhelming surplus of spectacle: “these performances only bring their words, their costumes, their gestures, their songs, their looks, the movement of the body, the dances, the sound of instruments to bad ends...everything is full of poison” (“Ces representations ne portent qu’au mal les parolles les habits les marcher les chants les regards les Mouvements du corps les danses le son des instruments les sujets mesme des

¹¹³ Ibid., 3.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 28-9.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 8.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 13.

tragedies, tout en plein de poison”).¹¹⁸ Opera excites “passions of love, jealousy, hatred, vengeance, ambition, and other similar feelings,” and employs “the sweetest and most insidious and animated declamation” to corrupt ends (“Exciter et fortifier les passions, soit d’amour, de jalousie, de haine, de vengeance, d’ambition, et autres semblables, l’expression sont fait par une declamation la plus douce la plus insinuante et la plus animé”).¹¹⁹

Given contemporary theories of emotion, which understood the passions as forces that exerted unsettling, even violent effects on the soul, opera here comes off as a social disease that destabilizes natural order.¹²⁰ In such contemporary analyses, attending the opera and subjecting oneself to its physiological effects poisoned the mind as well as the body. Both concerns surface frequently in objections to opera in Parisian comedies and are the subject of deliberate exaggeration in opera parodies throughout the late 17th and 18th centuries.¹²¹ In Saint-Évremond’s famous, *Les Opéra* (1676), for instance, the character Crisotine – a gentlewoman from Lyon – has gone insane from reading too many opera scores, and can only communicate by singing quotations of Lully’s operas.¹²²

The madness of opera is a theme that appears in Lyonnais comedies that allude to or parody Lully’s operas, as well. Eleven years after *Avis salutaires de l’Opéra*, the anonymous comedy *Les Comédiens de Campagne* premiered at the Lyon Académie de Musique on 22

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 23.

¹²⁰ DeJoan, *Ancients Against Moderns*, 82.

¹²¹ Powell, “The Opera Parodies of Florent Carton Dancourt,” 88.

¹²² Ibid., 92.

February, 1699.¹²³ Consisting largely of spoken drama, the livret calls for a musical finale including dancers and a chorus, which made it ideal for production at the Académie. *Les Comédiens de Campagne* is set at a bourgeois home on the rue Mercière, the center of Lyon's printing trade and the location of Amaulry's bookshop. The characters of the comedy represent most of the social spectrum of the city, ranging from La Comtesse de Miralieu, identified as a *précieuse*,¹²⁴ the bourgeois family of Monsieur Maisonet, several servants, and a local sales-boy. The title of the work – *The Country Comedians* – plays on the many Parisian comedies that ridicule provincials as country-bumpkins. In such comedies, the Lyonnais did not escape the brunt of Parisian humor: in Brueys and Palaprat's *Le Concert Ridicule* (Paris, 1689), for instance, two opera singers from the Académie de Musique of Lyon are ridiculed for their aspiration to sing on Parisian stages.¹²⁵

Les Comédiens de Campagne debates the merit of opera as a genre in response to the Lyon Académie's production of *Armide* from the previous year. Over the course of the comedy, the Lyonnais gentlewoman Angélique and her Parisian lover, Damis, conspire to marry. Angélique's personality has been shaped by her recent three-year stay in Paris, offering other

¹²³ Vallas proposes the Chevalier de la Ferté as the author of *Les Comédiens de Campagne*, but he does not provide supporting evidence. The comedy's *livret*, published by Sebastien Roux, does not attribute the author. See Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 56.

¹²⁴ The term *précieuse* acquired a negative connotation as early as 1659, when Molière premiered his comedy, *Les Précieuses Ridicules*. The play makes fun of two witty provincial women who attempt to find love in Paris. See Patricia Howard, "The Influence of the Précieuses on Content and Structure in Quinault's and Lully's Tragédies Lyriques," *Acta Musicologica* 63.1 (1991): 57-72. La Comtesse's identity as a *précieuse* casts her in a negative light; she represents an uncouth provincial noblewoman who thinks she knows how to appreciate Parisian culture, but who in fact does not. Interestingly, she is a proponent of comedy, which triumphs at the end of the play. Perhaps her alignment with the genre is a stab on the Parisians' typically negative opinion of provincials.

¹²⁵ Brueys et Palaprat, *Le Concert Ridicule*, *Œuvres de théâtres de Messieurs de Brueys et de Palaprat*, vol. 4 (Paris: Briasson, 1755-56), 302-304. Theater historian Jeanne-Marie Hostiou cites *Le Concert Ridicule* as an attack on the immorality of opera, but the play also exemplifies how provincial identity was negatively constructed through the lens of opera and comedy on Parisian stages. See Jeanne-Marie Hostiou, "Parodies d'opéra et renouvellement du théâtre comique chez les héritiers de Molière," *Les Provinciaux sous Louis XIV: 5^e colloque de Marseille. Revue Marseille* 101.2 (1975): 14-15.

characters the opportunity to criticize Parisian society in their conversations with her. She opens the play by sighing that, after having spent such a long time in the capital, she finds Lyonnais tastes completely contrary to her newly formed Parisian ones.¹²⁶ Her candid servant advises that those provincials who yearn for Paris are bound to remain unhappy: “these impressions of the good taste of Paris [are] extremely dangerous to the peace of mind of those who must live in the Provinces” (“Ces impressions du bon gout de Paris si fatales au repos de ceux, ou de celles qui doivent vivre en Province”).¹²⁷ Angélique’s father, Maisonnet, complains that her sojourn in Paris has made her hypersensitive to beautiful things.¹²⁸ Both Maisonnet and the servant are responding to the opinion of contemporary Parisians that provincials lack *le bon goût* by arguing that Parisian tastes are unrealistic.

Angélique’s Parisian lover is also portrayed in an unsavory light. Having dissipated his assets in Paris, he seeks to marry Angélique because her dowry would replenish his accounts.¹²⁹ Maisonnet, a stalwart opponent of opera, considers Damis’s affinity for the genre to be one of his many ludicrous Parisian qualities:

I know this Damis only by his reputation, and I don’t want to get to know him any further. He has eaten almost his entire fortune, he drags a big sword behind him, they say he is a gambler, that he loves eating too much, and I know for absolute certainty that he is a pillar of the Opera. He will never have my daughter.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ *Les Comédiens de Campagne*, 1. Since the comedies under discussion in this chapter are significantly longer than Legrand’s *La Chûte de Phaëton*, references are now set to page number.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

¹³⁰ “Je ne connois ce Damis que par reputation, & ne veux pas le connoître davantage, il a mangé presque tout son bien, il traîne après lui une grande épée, on dit qu’il est joueur, qu’il aime fort la table, & je sçai de science certaine que c’est un pilier d’Opera, il n’aura jamais ma fille,” *Ibid.*, 9-10.

These characters fall into identifiable camps, with Maisonnet and the Comtesse advocating for comedy, while Maisonnet's brother, Cléon, and Maisonnet's friend, Monsieur Desormeaux, support opera. Damis enjoys opera, but remains a passive bystander to the debate. Maisonnet launches his first salvo in Act I, Scene 3, where he attacks Desormeaux's love of opera:

I do not know how to suffer [Desormeaux's] hurly-burly Opera; fifty people who sing at the same time with thirty violins, this is dazing, you don't see anything humorous in it, but at the Comedy you see all sorts of things, things that are Great, serious, funny, and full of jest.¹³¹

Having been forced to tag along with Desormeaux to nights at the opera, Maisonnet dismisses the genre as noise – a sonic distraction that dulls the senses. Comedy, by contrast, communicates meaning directly to audiences, opening a larger world for spectators to experience a full range of subjects – “du Grand du serieux, & puis après du comique le plus bouffon.”¹³²

The Comtesse shares Maisonnet's frustration with opera's noise. She bursts onstage to announce her escape from a performance of *Armide* at the Lyon Académie de Musique; it is likely the Académie's 1698 production of the opera that she references:

LA COMTESSE

Oh, M. Maisonnet, my dear M. Maisonnet, I pray you, an armchair, a chair, I can do no more.

MAISONNET

Madame, what has happened? Quick, a chair.

LA COMTESSE

Ah mon Dieu! I've just come from this opera *Armide*, where I was taken against my wishes; luckily, I escaped before the end of the first act. Had I not done so, you would have certainly lost one of your friends, Maisonnet.

¹³¹ “Je ne sçaurois souffrir son tintamarre d’Opera; cinquante personnes qui chantent à la fois avec trente violons, cela étourdit, vous ne voyez rien de drole la dedans, mais à la Comedie vous voyés toute sorte de choses, du Grand, du serieux, & puis après du comique le plus bouffon,” Ibid., 7.

¹³² For a discussion of music as noise in 18th-century opera criticism, see Charles Dill, “Ideological Noises: Opera Criticism in Early Eighteenth-Century France,” in *Operatic Migrations: Transforming Works and Crossing Boundaries*, ed. Downing A. Thomas (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), 65-83.

DESORMEAUX

Why, Madame, I know that *Armide* is a little melancholy. My lady, it's not the same as *L'Europe Galant*, don't expect that. But there are plenty of pretty moments. The entrée of the hoops, for example, all those flowers, those festoons, there's nothing more *galant*.¹³³

Desormeaux's reference to "all those flowers" is an allusion to the famous *sommeil* scene in Act II, Scenes 3 and 4 of *Armide*.¹³⁴ In this scene, Armide orders her servants to enchain the sleeping Renaud with flowers as she prepares to slay him. Desormeaux's reduction of the scene to "plenty of pretty moments" is harsh criticism for a work that Lecerf de la Viéville would later call "the most beautiful piece of music that has been composed in the last fifteen or sixteen centuries" ("le plus bien morceau de Musique qui se soit fait depuis quinze ou seize siècles"), and that many hail today as Lully's masterpiece.¹³⁵ At the same time, Desormeaux vividly recalls for spectators those scenes that had likely once offered them some of the more stunning moments in the opera: the *sommeil* scene begins with Renaud's lush air, "Plus que j'observe ces lieux," and sets up a critical shift in the plot, marking the moment when Armide realizes with devastation that she loves her enemy. In their discussion of the opera, however, Desormeaux and the Comtesse do not only jest at the Académie and its repertoire. Because *Les Comédiens de Campagne* was organized by the very institution that the characters ridicule, they perform an act of self-

¹³³ LA CONTESSE: Ah, Mr. Maisonet mon cher Mr. Maisonet je vous en prie, un Fauteuil, une chaise, Je n'en puis plus.

Mr MAISONET: Qu'est ce Madame, qui a-t-il? vite un fauteuil.

LA CONTESSE: Ah mon Dieu! Je sors de cet Opera d'Armide où l'on m'a menée malgré moi, heureusement je me suis échappée avant la fin du premiere Acte, sans cela vous auriez infailliblement perdu une amie monsieur Maisonet.

MR DESORMEAUX: Mais quoi Madame, je sçais bien qu'Armide est un peu mélancolique: Ah dame ce n'est pas une Musique comme celle de l'Europe galante, ne vous y attendés pas: cependent il y a d'assés jolis endroits. L'entrée des cerceaux, par exemple, toutes ces fleurs, ces festons, y a-t-il rien de plus galant. *Les Comédiens de Campagne*, 18-9.

¹³⁴ The reference to the "entrée des cerceaux" is less clear; it might be a crude way of alluding to the much-praised passacaille in V,1.

¹³⁵ Qtd. in Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 325.

referencing and self-ridiculing that spectators would have found enormously witty, especially those who knew *Armide* well. What better way to resuscitate a struggling institution than to attract audiences through self-deprecating humor?

Desormeaux's response to the Comtesse reflects evolving tastes in opera among Lyonnais spectators. After 1695, the Académie introduced works by composers other than Lully, including *tragédies en musique* and *opéras-ballets* by Henri Desmarest and André Campra. The expanded repertoire represented an attempt to keep the city up to date on the latest musical tastes emanating from Paris. By conceding that *Armide* lacks the perfection of Campra's *L'Europe Galante*, Desormeaux voices emerging attitudes that Lully's operas were no longer as satisfying as more recently composed stage works. As I discuss in Chapter 3, although the Lyon Académie kept Lully's operas in repertoire in Lyon until the mid-18th century, it did so with less frequency than did the Paris Opéra.

Ignoring Desormeaux's defense of opera, the Comtesse launches into her own criticism. Turning to Cléon, she demands,

But, you, Monsieur, who are also one of the partisans of opera: how do your taste and discernment accommodate to listening to the singing of the passions? We can handle the music in the *récitatifs*, where there are no emotions, but to make love, spite, jealousy, and hatred sing. To make the passions sing, to sing the passions, is it not contrary to nature and to reason?¹³⁶

The Comtesse rattles off a list of some of Lully's protagonists who use song to express their emotional states: "A tender Médor who sings, a jealous Médée who sings...a furious Roland who sings, a dying Sténobée who sings" ("Un tendre Médor qui chante, une jalousie Médée qui

¹³⁶ "Mais vous Monsieur, qui êtes aussi un des Partisans de l'Opera: comment vôtre goût & vôtre discernement s'accommodent-ils d'entendre chanter les passions on pourroit passer la Musique dans des recits où il n'y auroit point de sentimens, mais faire chanter l'amour, le dépit, la jalousie, la haine. Faire chanter les passions, chanter les passions, est il rien de plus contraire à la nature, & à la droite de raison," Ibid., 20.

chante...Un furieux Roland qui chante, une mourante Stenobée qui chante”).¹³⁷ In suggesting opera’s lack of verisimilitude, the Comtesse echoes arguments used by the Ancients in denigration of the *tragédie en musique*. She also attacks the irrational plot twists endemic to opera, blaming them as designed to create gratuitous opportunities for song. Describing what is probably, “Dans un jour de triomphe,” a trio that Armide, Phénice, and Sidonie sing in Act I of *Armide*, she laments,

Oh, cursed first act! I can still see before my eyes *the simulacra of those three squealers* whose song so weakens the plot that they’ve practically given me a nightmare [emphasis mine].¹³⁸

The Comtesse accuses music – the element that distinguished opera from comedy – of robbing opera of its sense and pleasure. At the same time, she performs another act of self-referencing for the Académie: her “nightmare” is also another reference to the dream-like *sommeil* scene of *Armide*, an allusion to which spectators likely responded with humor.

Cléon responds by arguing that it is not music but flawed performers who are to blame when opera does not satisfy viewers, and he praises Lully’s music as the ultimate musical achievement of the Moderns:

I admit that the secrets of the art [of singing the passions] are not as generally well known to us Moderns, and that we often see them applied very poorly, but is this the fault of the music, or of the musician? Let us give justice to science, let us complain about it only in the hands of some people, and let us revere it in the works of the incomparable Lully, to whom we can give the glory of having truly subjugated his songs to those passions that he was given to deal with.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Ibid., 21. In this tirade, the Comtesse echoes the Marquise in Michel Baron’s comedy, *Le Rendez-vous des Thuilleries* (Paris, 1685), who cannot bear “hearing at the expense of good sense and reason all of these heroes speak of their misfortunes by singing.” Qtd. in Powell, “The Opera Parodies of Florent Carton Dancourt,” 91.

¹³⁸ “Ah maudit premier Acte! J’ai encore devant les yeux les simulachres de ces trois piailleuses dont le chant affoiblit tellement l’action, & le recit qu’elles m’ont presque donné le cochemare.” *Les Comédiens de Campagne*, 19-20.

¹³⁹ “J’avoüerai que ces secrets de l’Art ne sont pas connus généralement à tous nos modernes, & que nous voyons souvent les sons tres-mal appliqués, mais est-ce la faute de la Musique, ou celle du Musicien ? Rendons justice à la science, plaignons la entre les mains de certaines gens, & reverons la dans les Ouvrages de l’incomparable Lully à

The Comtesse counters Cléon's admiration for Lully with the argument that his music must be "spoiled in the provinces by the way it is played" (gâtée en Province par le défaut de l'exécution?).¹⁴⁰ Her question alludes to the Parisian comedies that satirize provincial actors and musicians for their incompetence. While Cléon admits that provincial productions may not be of as high a caliber as productions in Paris (the goal of *Les Comédiens de Campagne* is to criticize, after all, the Lyon Académie de Musique), Cléon argues that comedy, too, risks disappointing audiences:

No, Madame. To respond justly to your question, the music can lose its grace by the way it is executed, but it cannot be spoiled. To spoil the music would require the orchestra to not play the notes as they are, and the actors and actresses to sing poorly. I think that the most lukewarm lovers of provincial opera productions would testify that these inconveniences are found rarely in the performance of an opera, as opposed to a bad comedian, who, in moments both comic and serious, deprives the work throughout the entire piece by poor gestures, obscures the sense and thinking by his poor recitation, and often cripples the verses in such a manner that one cannot distinguish Corneille from [Jacques] Pradon, nor Molière from [Florent] Dancourt.¹⁴¹

Cléon condemns comedy on the same grounds on which opera has been condemned by advocates of comedy: namely, for extravagant but meaningless visual display and poor diction. He convinces none of his fellow characters, however, of the superiority of opera. Damis forgoes

qui on peut donner la gloire d'avoir tellement asservi à ses chants les passions qu'on lui a donné à traiter," *Les Comédiens de Campagne*, 22.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ "Non Madame. Pour répondre justes à vos paroles elle peut perdre de ses graces par le défaut de l'exécution, mais elle ne peut pas être gâtée, pour que cela fut-il faudroit que l'orchestre ne jouât pas les notes comme elles sont, & que tous les Acteurs & les Actrices chantassent faux. Je crois que les moins indulgens pour les Opera de Province avoueront que ces inconveniens se trouvent rarement dans une execution d'Opera, au lieu qu'un mauvais Comedien, tant dans le comique, que dans le serieux, pendant toute la piece desanime l'action par son mauvais geste, nous cache le sens & la pensée par son mauvais recit, & souvent estropie les vers de manière qu'on ne distingue plus Corneille d'avec Pradon, ni Moliere d'avec d'Ancourt," Ibid., 23. Pradon was one of the players in the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, premiering a play based on the story of Phèdre in January 1677 that competed with Racine's play based on the same myth. See DeJean, *Ancients Against Moderns*, 55-6.

his love of opera to marry Angélique. The characters attend a ball together, where they celebrate the triumph of comedy and conclude the play.

In producing *Les Comédiens de Campagne*, Leguay acknowledged the aesthetic and financial problems that his *tragédies en musique* posed for the Académie and its spectators. The play, however, invited audience members to engage in a discussion of the *tragédie* that highlighted the achievements of the Académie even while ridiculing them. In its commentary on opera, *Les Comédiens de Campagne* also brought Lyonnais spectators into a larger conversation on the merits of opera that was emanating from Paris in the form of the Quarrel between Ancients and Moderns. Within this conversation, the play gave Lyonnais spectators and artists an opportunity to confront and refute negative constructions of provinciality that circulated in and from Parisian stages. As we shall see, the opera debate that *Les Comédiens de Campagne* launched did not end with this production, but was explored further in several Lyonnais comedies that appeared over the next decade.

Between 1699 and 1707, the Lyon Académie suffered a difficult existence. From 1699 to 1703, the company went on tour in Provence and Burgundy after the walls of its theater in Lyon collapsed.¹⁴² In 1703, the Académie returned its home city, probably because the theater that Leguay had been using as a base in Marseille burnt to the ground in the previous year.¹⁴³ Financial difficulties and internal feuds, however, forced the directorship of the Académie to shift hands in 1703 to the *maître de musique* Michel Farinel (b. 1649) and the dancing master

¹⁴² Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 58-9. Leguay took the Lyon Académie on tour to Marseille, Toulon, Aix, Arles, and Nîmes.

¹⁴³ Cheilan-Cambolin, "Notes sur les Trois salles d'opéra et de comédie de Marseille," *Provence Historique* 60 (1990): 150.

Nicolas Ranc, in financial partnership with the Lyonnais bourgeois, Auguste Tiffon.¹⁴⁴ Farinel came to the Académie after an illustrious musical career that had taken him to Rome, the Spanish court, and Versailles. Having studied composition with Giacomo Carissimi in Rome, he acquired the position of superintendent of music and ballets at the court of Louis XIV's niece, Marie-Louise, queen of Spain, in 1679.¹⁴⁵ In 1688, Farinel returned to France to work as a violinist at Versailles, only to move to his birthplace of Grenoble in 1689 to assume the position of *maître de chapelle* at the convent at Montfleur.¹⁴⁶ Ranc came from a family of actors in Lyon, and had choreographed ballets in Avignon in the 1680s, where he might have seen the Marseille Académie production of *Phaëton*.¹⁴⁷ The Lyon Académie's repertoire during the Farinel-Ranc administration is not documented. Whatever the nature of the productions, they did not yield sufficient revenue to pay the artists. Faced with enormous debt, Farinel abandoned his position in April 1704, leaving Ranc to pick up the mess. Ranc's repertoire is also unknown, but he directed productions in Grenoble and Lyon until 1705, when the Académie crumbled once more under personnel disputes and further financial distress, some of which may have been caused by the

¹⁴⁴ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 73-4.

¹⁴⁵ Farinel secured his position in Spain through the scheme of Henri Guichard, who orchestrated the creation of a music ensemble for Marie-Louise, daughter of Monsieur the king's brother. Farinel joined a troupe of 32 musicians along with his wife, Marie-Anne Cambert. See Don Fader, "Music in the Service of the King's Brother: Philippe I d'Orléans (1640-1701) and Court Music Outside of Versailles," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 19.1 (2013/2017): par. 4.2.5. <http://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-19-no-1/music-in-the-service-of-the-kings-brother-philippe-i-dorleans-1640-1701-and-court-music-outside-versailles/>.

¹⁴⁶ Marcelle Benoit and Érik Kocevar, "Farinel: (2) Michel Farinel" in *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 12.27.2016. John Playford published Farinel's variations on the folia for violin and continuo in *The Division Violin* (London, 1685).

¹⁴⁷ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 74.

location of the opera house at the place Bellecour, which was apparently difficult for some audience members to access in the winter.¹⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Leguay, freed from his responsibilities as director of the Académie, traveled throughout Provence, sojourning in Avignon, Aix, and Marseille. No doubt battling personal frustration over the second loss of his directorship in Lyon, Leguay was also struggling with an unhappy marriage. His marriage to Marie-Nicole Pichard in 1695 – the year in which Leguay triumphantly reclaimed his opera after Le Vasseur’s bankruptcy – had estranged him from his family.¹⁴⁹ In 1698, the couple separated, but Leguay’s reputation suffered from the public scandal of his wife’s numerous affairs over the next six years. After settling his wife in Avignon, Leguay returned to Lyon in 1704. The following year, the governor of Lyon restored control of the Académie to Leguay, who directed the institution until 1711. Following another hiatus, Leguay resumed his role as director in 1716, and finally retired in 1722.¹⁵⁰ Following his career in opera, he remained in Lyon for the rest of his life and was buried at the Église de Sainte-Croix in 1731.¹⁵¹

When Leguay reassumed leadership of the Académie in 1705, he returned to his strategy of producing comedies that referenced his earlier operatic successes and produced yet another work that satirized Lully’s music during his final tenure as director of the Lyon Académie:

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 78-81; 84. After retiring from the Lyon Académie, Nicolas Ranc partnered with his brother, Antoine, to purchase a privilege for producing opera in Provence in 1706. In 1712, the brothers constructed a new opera house in Marseille, and eventually ceded their privilege to André Campra, who assumed directorship of the Académie de Musique of Marseille in 1714. See Cheilan-Cambolin, “Notes sur les Trois salles d’opéra et de comédie de Marseille,” 151-154.

¹⁴⁹ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 14.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 82-3.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 14. Sainte-Croix was originally part of the Cathedral of Saint-Jean, and was destroyed in the 19th century.

Nicolas Barbier's *comédie en musique*, *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs*, which premiered in 1707. In this section, I discuss this and Barbier's second comedy, *L'Opéra interrompu*, which was produced by the Comédiens Italiens of Lyon that same year. Barbier was a local lawyer and playwright, who, as I discuss in Chapter 3, eventually became an active member of the Lyon Académie des Beaux-Arts. Although his comedies were produced by different companies, they apparently attracted mutual audiences: a character in *L'Opéra interrompu* references *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs*, praising it for having brought in enough revenue to stabilize the Académie's finances.¹⁵² Barbier's comedies continue the debates about opera that were launched in *Les Comédiens de Campagne*.¹⁵³ *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs* is a reaction to a recent scandal in Lyon, in which a traveling salesman tricked community members into believing that the bottled cow urine he was peddling was in fact a miracle drug. Interspersed with musical divertissements, the *comédie en musique* parodies several excerpts from Lully's operas. *L'Opéra interrompu* satirizes the financial and theatrical mishaps of the Lyon Académie with a cast of *commedia dell'arte* players who attempt to produce Lully's *Phaëton*.

Barbier's comedies share the following similarities with *Les Comédiens de Campagne*: (1) they are set in or near Lyon and refer to recent local events; (2) they include characters representing the social spectrum of the city; (3) they call attention to perceived notions of difference between Lyon and Paris; and (4) they engage in a debate on the merits of opera versus comedy. Comedies based on local affairs were particularly popular in Lyon, judging by how many such works were produced during this period. Non-musical comedies aside, in the 1690s,

¹⁵² Nicolas Barbier, *L'Opéra interrompu, comédie* (Lyon: Antoine Perisse, 1707), 7.

¹⁵³ Leguay's directorship endured until 1711. For a history of the Lyon Académie between 1699 and 1707, and a description of several comedies composed in Lyon during this period, see Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 62-86.

the governor's troupe of comedians (who probably collaborated with musical forces borrowed from the dormant Académie) produced not only Legrand's *La Répétition de Thésée* and *La Chûte de Phaëton*, but also Jean-François Regnard's and Charles Dufresny's *comédie en musique*, *La Baguette de Vulcain* (1693).¹⁵⁴ The comedy was based on the true story of Jacques Aymar, a peasant from the Dauphiné – the province bordering Lyon to the east – who was commissioned by the Lyonnais police in 1692 to solve a murder mystery. In July 1692, a wine merchant and his wife were found dead in Lyon and robbed of all their money. When the police failed to find a perpetrator, they summoned Jacques Aymar, known to be gifted with a dowsing rod. Aymar's rod took him on an elaborate journey across land and water to Toulon, a city approximately 235 miles south of Lyon, where he found the murderers and brought them to justice. Aymar's success sealed his fame across France, inspiring Regnard and Dufresny to write their comedy.¹⁵⁵

Like *La Baguette de Vulcain*, *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs* is inspired by a sensational affair that gripped the city. According to the comedy's preface, the city had been recently beguiled by a visiting Spaniard who convinced community members to purchase a miracle *remède à la mode* from the east. "Waters of a Thousand Flowers" – likely a reference to a floral essence used in cooking – was eventually discovered to be warmed cow urine.¹⁵⁶ The Lyon Académie premiered *Les Eaux de Milles-Fleurs* on February 9, 1707.¹⁵⁷ The characters range across Lyon's social

¹⁵⁴ Multiple versions of *La Baguette de Vulcain* circulated in France at this time. A copy of the comédie printed in 1693 in Rouen bears a hand-written note reading, "cette piece est differente de celle imprimée dans le Theatre Italien," and was written by Laurent Bordelon. The text is similar to Regnard's, however, with the additional characters. Laurent Bordelon, *La Baguette de Vulcain* (Rouen: Jean Dumesnil and Bonaventure Le Brun), 1693.

¹⁵⁵ Auguste Laforet, "Le Bâton: étude historique et littéraire," *Revue de Marseille et de Provence* 21 (1875): 536-538.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., ii; Pestalossi, *Traité de l'eau de mille fleurs, remède à la mode* (Lyon: la Veuve de J. B. Guillimin & Théodore l'Abbé, 1707), 12.

¹⁵⁷ Barbier, *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs, comédie-ballet* (Lyon, 1707).

strata, from the peasant girl Catho to Madame Clabaudin, a vain bourgeois woman. Though the *comédie en musique* begins and ends with the love affair of the bourgeois youths Julie and Valère, its central plot reenacts the affair *de mille-fleurs*.

Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs sparkles with musical episodes interwoven around spoken dialogue. The comedy opens with a sung prologue that parodies scenes from Lully's *Bellérophon* and *Persée*. The prologue's allusions to *Persée* and *Bellérophon* show how deeply engraved these operas were in the imagination of the public; the Lyon Académie had not produced *Persée* in over a decade, and *Bellérophon* had last been revived in 1704.¹⁵⁸ Two elaborate *intermèdes* break up the comedy's acts. In the first *intermède*, masked characters sing and dance to a gavotte and a minuet, the two most popular and well-known dance-types in the late 17th century.¹⁵⁹ In the second *intermède*, Indians emerge from a cabinet (whether the Indians represent those from the Americas is not clear). Some Indians dance, while others carry small pagodas to the front of the theater. A large pagoda then sings before the Indians retire to the cabinet, which disappears.¹⁶⁰ The comedy ends with a jubilant chorus whose text echoes the language of Quinault ("Par nos jeux et par nos chants, redoublons les plaisirs de ces heureux Amants" ["With our games and songs, let us redouble the pleasure of these happy lovers"]), and a sung minuet whose text celebrates pleasure in slightly less elegant verse ("Profitez des plaisirs, un peu d'allegresse est un remède souverain" ["Take advantage of pleasure, a bit of happiness is a sovereign remedy"]).

¹⁵⁸ *Persée* was last revived in 1695. See Carl Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 189-90.

¹⁵⁹ Rebecca Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 153.

¹⁶⁰ Barbier, *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs*, 44-45; 77. Pagodas first appeared on French stages in 1692 when Jean-François Regnard and Charles Dufresny published their play, *Les Chinois*. In the play, Mezzetin dances as a pagoda, a porcelain figurine with a moveable head. See Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera*, 275.

The livret includes musical notation for the final minuet (reproduced below), which would have invited audience members to sing in chorus with the characters.¹⁶¹



Fig. 2.7: Final page of Nicolas Barbier, *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs* (Lyon, 1707)

In his brief description of the comedy, Vallas found little sense in these musical divertissements.¹⁶² I argue, however, that the divertissements interweave a comic celebration of the Lyon Académie into the play's central storyline that tests the merits of opera against those of

¹⁶¹ There is no known source for the music of Barbier's minuet, suggesting that it was newly-composed. I am grateful to John Romey for his insight on this matter. Besides the final minuet, there no other notated melodies are included in the livret.

¹⁶² For Vallas's brief discussion of *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs*, see Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 86. Vingtrinier also mentions the play in passing in *Le Théâtre à Lyon au XVIIIè siècle*, 5.

comedy. In this section, I focus my analysis on the comedy's prologue, which is the only portion that can be proven to incorporate Lully's music. Treating the prologue as a site of parody raises fascinating possibilities as to how spectators might have interpreted the opening of Barbier's work. Opera prologues were by nature transitional: in Lully's *tragédies*, they alluded to real events such as French military victories while, to a lesser degree, introducing the plot of the opera. Straddling the boundaries between reality and fiction, prologues transcended the confines of the stage in a way that the body of an opera could not as they led spectators from the real world outside the theater to the magical and fictional world of opera. In *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs*, the prologue works allusions to real events into themes of magic and music – indeed, the very magic of music.¹⁶³

The characters of the prologue include the Greek god of folly, Momus, the allegorical figure of Medicine, an Apothecary, a chorus of doctors, and a chorus of apothecaries. Medicine opens the prologue by describing the threatened position of doctors in Lyon, who are losing business because *eaux de mille-fleurs* is curing the ailments that physicians could not remedy. Medicine's loss of authoritarian power ("The people subject to my rules for the care of their health rely on me" ["Les Peuples soumis à ma loy du soin de leur santé se reposoient sur moy"]), recalls the complaints of the Lyon-based physician Panthot, who claimed that the reputations of his fellow physicians were damaged during the contagion that spread throughout Lyon between 1693 and 1695.¹⁶⁴ After his initial monologue, Medicine parodies Act II, Scene 6 of *Bellérophon*, in which the wizard Amisodar summons sinister magicians to assist him in conjuring a chimera. In Lully's opera, the scene introduces a dramatic set change as a beautiful garden is transformed

¹⁶³ On magic and music, especially opera music, see Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 22-34.

¹⁶⁴ Barbier, *Les Eaux de Milles-Fleurs*, 1; Panthot, *Réflexions sur l'estat présent des maladies*, 112-113.

into a hellish prison. The instrumental prelude recalls the standard opening of Lully's overtures, with their pompous dotted rhythms in duple meter, while Amisodar's slow-moving vocal line barely restrains the tense energy of the magic that is about to happen. Barbier refashions this spectacular scene into a dance of corrupt Lyonnais physicians. Whereas Amisodar's followers gather to crack open the earth and unleash its monsters, Medicine's physicians assemble to dance with urns stuffed with medicinal drugs:

AMISODAR

Que ce jardin se change en un Desert affreux.
Noirs Habitans de séjours tenebreux,
Pour m'écouter dans vos Demeures sombres;
Redoublez, s'il se peut, la silence des Ombres.
Et vous, à me servir employez tant de fois,
Mnistres de mon Art, accourez à ma voix.

AMISODAR

Let this garden change into a frightful desert.
Dark inhabitants of these shadowy places,
Redouble, if you can, the silence of the shadows
To listen to me in your somber dwellings.
And you, employed to serve me so many times,
Ministers of my art, come to my voice.

LA MEDECINE

Que tout seconde ici mon desespoir affreux,
Chers Compagnons de mon sort rigoureux,
Pour m'écouter du fond de vos boutiques
Suspendez quelques-temps le soin de vos
pratiques.
Et vous à me servir employés tant de fois
Ministres de mon art accourez à ma voix.

LA MEDICINE

May everyone here assist in my frightful
despair,
Dear companions, of my harsh fate.
Pause for a moment the care of your
practices
To listen, from the back of yours shops,
And you, employed to serve me so many
times,
Ministers of my art, come to my voice.

While the substitution of doctors for magicians is a humorous continuation of the longstanding practice of criticizing physicians in the city, Barbier's scene also comments on the fiction of the *tragédie en musique*. Like the panacea of cow urine, which seemingly cured all ailments for those who wanted to believe in it, opera is ultimately a fiction that is only effective when audiences suspend disbelief. By parodying the scene of magical transformation in *Bellérophon*, Barbier underscores the intoxicating effect of opera. Indeed, Medicine's power is rooted in sound: he gathers his companions to dance by urging them "to listen" to his anxieties

and “to come to [his] voice.” The enchantment of the stage is endorsed in the comedy’s concluding minuet, in which nine of the characters take turns singing verses that repeat the phrase, “un souverain remède” (“a sovereign remedy”) eleven times to the minuet tune, evoking the hypnotizing, drug-like effect of the music. The stage directions indicate that characters dance the minuet as it is sung. The regulated, repetitive steps of the dancing bodies reinforced the overpowering spell of opera.¹⁶⁵

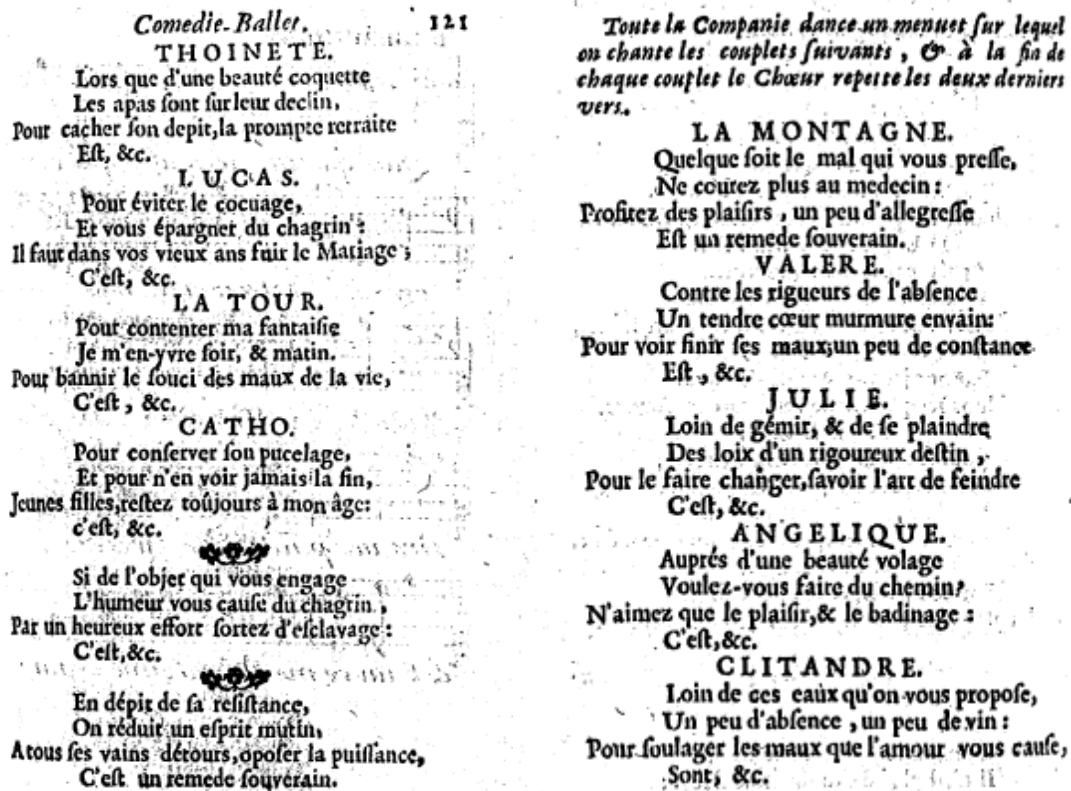


Fig. 2.8: Verses of the final minuet in Nicolas Barbier, *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs*, pp. 120-121

Medicine’s spell summons an Apothecary, who proves to be as morally unsavory as Medicine. While Medicine parodied the evil sorcerer Amisodar, the Apothecary parodies the

¹⁶⁵ “The whole company dances a minuet” (“Toute la Compagnie dance un minuet”). Barbier, *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs*, 120. As Harris-Warrick points out, it is unlikely that the performers would have danced and sung at the same time, as this would have gone against operatic conventions. It is possible that they danced and then sang, or that the dancing was interpolated throughout the song. See Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera*, 42-7.

comic villain Medusa, who antagonizes the characters of Lully's *Persée*. The Apothecary borrows text (and no doubt music) from one of Medusa's monologues in Act I, Scene 1 of *Persée*.

MEDUSE

Mon terrible secours vous est-t'il nécessaire?
De superbes Mortels osent-t-ils vous déplaire?
Faut-t'il vous en vanger? faut-il armer contre eux
Le funeste courroux de mes Serpens affreux?
Où faut-il que ma fureur vole?
Vous n'avez qu'à nommer l'Empire malheureux
Que vous voulez que je desole.

MEDUSA

Is my terrible relief needed?
Do arrogant mortals dare to displease you?
Must you be avenged? Is it necessary to take
arms against them with the deadly crown of my
frightful serpents?
Where must my fury fly?
You need only name the unfortunate empire
That you wish me to desolate.

UN APOTIQUAIRE

Mon terrible secours vous est-il nécessaire,
Faut-il purger quelqu'un ou donner un Clistere?
Faut'il pour vous servir déployer à vos yeux
Les funestes secrets de mon art dangereux?
Ordonnez: j'y vais en personne.
Vous n'avez qu'à nommer le mortel malheureux
Que vous voulez que j'empoisonne.

THE APOTHECARY

Is my awesome relief needed,
Must I purge someone or give an enema?
In order to serve you, must I unfurl before
you
The deadly secrets of my dangerous art?
Command: I'll go in person.
You need only name the unhappy mortal
Whom you wish me to poison.

The Apothecary likely represented Arnauld Salx, the Lyonnais businessman and “maître apothicaire,” who, along with his brother Louis Salx, funded Le Vasseur's takeover of the Académie de Musique of Lyon at the end of 1689.¹⁶⁶ When Leguay reclaimed the Académie in 1695, Arnauld Salx ceded to him the lease of the theater at the place Bellecour, as well as the theater's décor.¹⁶⁷ The comparison of Salx to Medusa comments on the real apothecary's vanity and – since audiences knew that Medusa was ultimately beheaded, just as they knew that Salx eventually succumbed to bankruptcy – his ultimate failure as an opera entrepreneur. By conflating the characters of Medusa and Salx/the Apothecary, Barbier celebrates Leguay's hard-won victory while denigrating a period of financial hardship in the Académie's history.

¹⁶⁶ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 37.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

Performed by artists of the Académie – some of whom Le Vasseur and Salx once hired – the dark humor of the Medicine and Apothecary implies that, while the intoxication of opera is not necessarily a bad thing, it proved malignant under the direction of Leguay’s competitors.

Just as Medusa and her gorgon sisters are interrupted in Act III of *Persée* by music that announces Mercury’s entrance into their cave, so are the Apothecary and the choruses interrupted by a violin *ritournelle* that signals the entrance of Momus. Here, Barbier may have integrated excerpts from the instrumental *symphonies* in Act III of *Persée*. Following the *ritournelle*, the god of folly descends to the stage while seated on a cloud; at his feet reclines a cow decorated with garlands of flowers. Momus’s descent machinery mobilized stage machines that the Académie had doubtless used for more serious purposes, such as the descent of the goddess Cybele in Act I of *Atys* or the descent of the palace of Venus at the end of *Persée*. When Momus validates *eaux de mille-fleurs* (an approval confirmed by the cow at his feet), which he terms a new “cult of Isis,” he may have elicited chuckles as the audience remembered Lully’s opera *Isis* (last performed in Lyon in 1698), whose main character, Io, was transformed into a white heifer in Greek mythology.¹⁶⁸

Momus’s reasons for approving *eaux de mille-fleurs* are enigmatic: he explains that “in the heavens, everything is as it is here below...we see weaknesses”:

Dans les Cieux, tout comme icy bas:
Chez les plus grands Déesses
L’on voit des foiblesses:
Tout comme icy bas.
De tout, leur esprit s’acomode,
Elles aiment la nouveauté,
Et leur vanité
S’attache à la mode.
Le soin de leur teint,
De leur embonpoint,

In the heavens, everything is as it is here below:
At the homes of the greatest goddesses,
We see weaknesses:
Everything is as it is here below.
Their *esprit* accommodates itself to everything,
They love novelty,
And their vanity
Is obsessed with what is *à la mode*.
Their care for the color of their skin,
For their weight and shape,

¹⁶⁸ Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, *Isis* (Lyon: Amaury, 1698).

Toûjours les ocupe:
Et de leurs apas
On est souvent la duppe
Tout comme ici bas.¹⁶⁹

Occupies them all the time:
One is often duped
By their charms.
Everything is as it is here below.

Momus may be commenting on the vanity of the upper social classes of Lyon (“dans les Cieux”), who were just as susceptible to the power of *eaux de mille-fleurs* – and the intoxication of opera – as those of lower social strata (“ici bas”).

Momus is the god of satire, so his approval of *eaux de mille-fleurs* cannot be taken at face value. The god hints at comedy’s conclusion, in which the Lyonnais characters reject *eaux de mille-fleurs* for a more effective miracle drug: love and pleasure. Those who imbibe opera’s fiction – who suspend all notion of disbelief and take Momus’s word without seeing the irony beneath it – are compared to the fools that drank the cow urine in Lyon. When the character La Montagne, the charlatan peddler of *eaux de mille-fleurs*, describes his clientele in Act I, Scene 3, he paints a disparaging portrait of Lyon as full of people desperate to make fictional visions of themselves a reality:

VALERE

I get the joke. But are there people so simple-minded who would take the stuff
[*eaux de mille fleurs*]?

LA MONTAGNE

If you stay here, you will see more than I could describe to you. Without counting an infinite number of young people who are brought to the medicine by pleasure and company, you find many persons of either sex who complain of the vapors. There are fat abbots who, under the pretext of some infirmities, take care to keep their weight. Old fishermen who are paying dearly for the offenses of their youth with torments of gout. A number of outdated beauties in all states at all ages who come in peril of their life to mend their complexion, or to reattach teeth that age has taken. Old men who want to be young again. Young girls who are pale; young women who seek to repair their charms, which the fatigues of the last Carnival

¹⁶⁹ “Les plus grands Dieux sont sujets/Aux moindres foiblesses des hommes,” Barbier, *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs*, 9.

have furiously disarrayed. Some take it to get fat, others take it to get thin, others to have children, and others to prevent children.¹⁷⁰

Unlike opera (and *eaux de mille-fleurs*), comedy requires no suspension of disbelief, getting its punch through the audience's constant engagement with allusions to real events and people.

Using a bricolage of costumes, singers, and props likely drawn from past opera productions, Leguay's true magician's act was to engage audiences with opera as a tangible thing rather than a musical fantasy. In disrobing the illusion of opera's magic, Leguay in fact made opera more real.

For his second comedy, *L'Opéra interrompu*, Barbier turned to the Comédiens Italiens, a troupe of comedians sponsored by Lyon's governor. The play's incorporation of Lully's music suggests that the cast borrowed performers from the Académie. Premiered in July 1707, *L'Opéra interrompu* is composed of several Lyonnais citizens including a bourgeois couple and municipal officers, as well as *commedia dell'arte* characters, who reflected the city's uniquely Franco-Italian population.¹⁷¹ The *commedia dell'arte* characters congregate at the Lyon Académie to rehearse *Phaëton*, but their rehearsal is humorously interrupted throughout the play. Ultimately, they shift into a chorus of vaudevilles that denounce opera in favor of comedy. Of all the comedies discussed in this chapter, *L'Opéra interrompu* presents the most biting criticism of the

¹⁷⁰ VALERE

La plaisanterie est bien imaginée; mais y a-t-il des gens assez simples pour donner là dedans?

LA MONTAGNE

Pour peu que vous restiez ici vous en verrez plus que je ne pourrois vous en dire. Sans compter un nombre infini de jeunes gens que le plaisir & la compagnie y amènent, vous y trouverez plusieurs personnes de l'un & l'autre sexe qui plaignent de vapeurs. De gros Abés qui couvrent du prétexte de quelques infirmités, le soin de conserver leur embonpoint. De vieux Pecheurs à qui les toumens de la goutte font payer bien cher les délits de la jeunesse: Quantité de beautés surannées de toutes sorte d'états ; qui viennent au peril de la vie racommoder leur tient, & racheter les dents que l'âge leur a arrachées. Des Viellards qui veulent rajeunir. Des jeunes Filles qui ont les pales couleurs, des jeunes Femmes qui prétendent réparer l'économie de leurs apas, que les fatigues du dernier Carnaval ont furieusement dérangée. Quelques-unes la prennent pour engraisser, d'autres la prennent pour maigrir, de certaines pour avoir des enfans, & d'autres pour n'en point avoir. Ibid., 17-18.

¹⁷¹ For a discussion of *tippi fissi* characters in 18th-century French opera parody, see Harvey, "Opera Parody in Eighteenth-Century France," 5.

genre of opera and the Lyon Académie's inability to perform it well while remaining solvent. Like *Les Comédiens de Campagne* and *Les Eaux de Mille-Fleurs*, *L'Opéra interrompu* grapples with the illusion of opera in language and subject matter reminiscent of the Quarrel between Ancients and Moderns.

When Arlequin, Pierrot, and Mezzetin debate which opera to perform in the comedy's prologue, they punctuate their discussion with criticisms of the Lyon Académie de Musique. Arlequin attacks the Lyon Académie's low performance standards, claiming that its practice of pushing actors to perform new works too quickly has yielded negative results in performance: "they hold dress rehearsals even before they've had time to read their roles" ("Où l'on fait des répétitions generales avant même qu'ils ayent eu le temps de lire rolles").¹⁷² He reminds his audience of the opera company's embarrassing exile between 1699 and 1703, remarking cheekily that the company "went to the country for a change of air, because they feared toppling over again" ("Il est allé en Campagne changer d'air, parce qu'il craint une rechûte").¹⁷³ Mezzetin remarks on the avarice and poverty of the opera company, telling his comrades sarcastically, "You'll make a lot of profit, doing opera" ("Tu vas faire de gros profits, à jouër l'Opera.")¹⁷⁴ Later in the comedy, a municipal officer echoes Mezzetin's criticism of the Lyon Académie's poor financial decisions by complaining about the extortionate price of opera tickets.¹⁷⁵

The characters shift from complaining about the Lyon Académie de Musique to the genre of the *tragédie en musique*. After Pierrot groans that "opera is something too serious" ("C'est

¹⁷² Barbier, *L'Opéra interrompu*, 4.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 7.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 8.

¹⁷⁵ The price of the opera ticket is a louis d'or, which Vallas corroborates in his study of the opening season of *Phaëton* in 1688. See Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 28-29.

quelque chose de trop sérieux”),¹⁷⁶ the characters decide to perform their opera without the serious parts.¹⁷⁷ When Mezzetin asks which opera they are going to perform, Arlequin replies, “But...how many operas are there?” (“Mais...Combien y a t’il d’Opera”) passing a “you’ve seen them once, you’ve seen them all” judgment on the genre.¹⁷⁸ Arlequin ultimately selects Lully’s *Phaëton*, jesting about the long performance runs of the *tragédie* in Lyon: “we might make people bored, I know, but I know almost the entire opera by heart” (“On pourroit s’y ennuyer, mais je sai presque tout l’Opera de Phaëton par cœur”).¹⁷⁹ His remark is testimony to the status that *Phaëton* had assumed in Lyon as a symbol of the Lyon Académie and its musical stagnation.

The characters continue to criticize the Lyon Académie’s lack of originality in its selection of repertoire in Act I. The act opens as Columbine and Isabelle are rehearsing the opening duet of *Phaëton*’s prologue, “Cherchons la paix dans cet azile.” Before they can finish the duet, Pierrot interrupts to announce the arrival of Monsieur l’Opéra (played by Arlequin), who enters exhausted from his continuous attempts “to always put on old pieces anew” (“Je m’épuise à donner tous les jours de vieilles pieces nouvelles”).¹⁸⁰ Like Desormeaux’s concession to the Comtesse that Campra’s compositions appealed in a way that Lully’s did not, Arlequin/Monsieur l’Opéra reflects a waning of enthusiasm among the Lyonnais for Lully’s operas.

¹⁷⁶ Barbier, *L’Opéra interrompu*, 7.

¹⁷⁷ “Nous en retrancherons le sérieux, & nous ne jouerons que le guay,” Ibid., 8. Those parts of the opera that the characters consider to be “le guay” are a reference to Leguay himself.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 10.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 17.

A major tactic of opera criticism in *L'Opéra interrompu* is its mockery of stage machinery. As the Comtesse found Lully's dying heroes and heroines to be excessive in their emotional expression, so does Arlequin find stage machines to be irrational and unnecessary. When Mezzetin proposes that the cast acquire stage machines, Arlequin argues against the idea:

Great, machines. Do you perhaps think that I want to have Divinities like those at the Opéra de Paris, who don't know how to take a single step unless they are in a chariot or on a cloud? In these parts, we bluntly tell the people up front ["au Parterre"], *Cybele va descendre*, even though the poor goddess is just walking onstage. *Diable*, ever since we've changed how we've done the gods, the opera's really saved a lot.¹⁸¹

In his criticism, Arlequin attacks the operatic genre, criticizing the *tragédie en musique*'s extravagant and unrealistic practice of using stage machinery. He also reminds audience members that the exciting spectacle that lies at the heart of opera is ultimately an illusion. By reminding spectators of specific stage machines that they likely remembered from their experience at the Académie's productions of Lully's operas, Arlequin pokes fun at opera as well as those who enjoy it because of its apparent magic.

Despite their disdain for stage machines, the characters construct a cart that parodies the chariot that Phaëton drives across the stratosphere. Whereas Phaëton's chariot symbolizes the demigod's hubris, the cart in *L'Opéra interrompu* is a metaphor for the corruption and failure of the Lyon Académie and of the operatic genre:

A cart carrying opera equipment, including costumes, trunks, decorations, etc., appears. A woman is seated on top of the cart with a book in her arms. Many men and women clothed in opera costumes precede the cart. They have at their head a cart-driver who beats the measure with many instrumentalists.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ "Bon, des machines, tu t'imagines peut-être que je veux avoir des Divinités comme celles de l'Opéra de Paris, qui ne sauroient faire un pas que dans un char, ou sur un nuage. En ce païs-cy, l'on dit effrontément au Parterre, *Cibelle va descendre*, quoique la pauvre Deesse vienne de plein pied. Diable, depuis qu'on a mis ici les Dieux à la réforme, c'est une épargne considérable pour un Opéra." Ibid., 9. "Cybele va descendre" is the chorus sung in Act I, Scene 3 of Lully's *Atys*.

¹⁸² "On voit paroître une charrète chargée d'unciles l'Opéra. Comme habits, coffres, décorations, &c. Une femme est assise sur le haut de la charrète avec un livre sous son bras, plusieurs hommes & plusieurs femmes vêtus avec des

The book that the woman in the cart holds proves to be an accounts book, implying that the business of opera is overly expensive, necessarily concerned more with revenue and cost than with artistic quality, and thus disrobing the magic of opera to expose its less glamorous reality.¹⁸³

In addition to parodying Phaëton's chariot, *L'Opéra interrompu* also parodies the Protée Scene of *Phaëton* that Legrand had highlighted in *La Chûte de Phaëton*. In this scene, Protée transforms himself into a series of animals and inanimate objects to avoid giving a prophecy of Phaëton's death to Triton and Phaëton's mother, Clymene. In *L'Opéra interrompu*, Arlequin/Monsieur l'Opéra attempts to hide from his creditors by singing the Protée Scene, reflecting that the creditors "won't dare to interrupt the performance" ("Ils n'oseront peut-être pas troubler le spectacle").¹⁸⁴ Arlequin/Monsieur l'Opéra orders the orchestra to begin playing Act I, scene 6, in which Protée falls asleep to an *air de sommeil*.

habits d'Opera précédent la charrete. Ils ont à leur tête un charretier qui bat la mesure à plusieurs joüeurs d'instrumens," Ibid., 30. Barbier may have borrowed his idea for a grotesque chariot from Marc Antoine Legrand. At the end of *La Chûte de Phaëton*, a grotesque chariot appears that also represents the failing Académie de Musique of Lyon: "Opera appears in disorder in a chariot shaped like a bass viol surrounded by instruments and pulled by four asses...Opera falls, the asses go to one side of the stage, and the chariot to the other." ("L'Opera paroît en desordre dans un char en forme de basse de viole entourée d'instrumens & tiré par quatre Asnes...L'Opera tombe, les Asnes s'en vont d'un côté & le Char de l'autre"), Legrand, *La Chûte de Phaëton* II,8.

¹⁸³ Barbier, *L'Opéra interrompu*, 33.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 42.



Fig. 2.9: Protée's entrance, "Prenez soin sur ces bords," in *Phaëton* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1683)
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, VM2-68. www.gallica.bnf.fr.

Arlequin/Monsieur l'Opéra is distracted by the approaching creditors and can neither sing the air correctly nor fall asleep.¹⁸⁵ When the creditors demand the money he owed them, Arlequin/Monsieur l'Opéra transforms into a series of farm animals, including a lamb and a fox, comic by comparison with the more noble tiger, dragon, and other entities into which Protée morphs when confronted by Triton and Clymene.¹⁸⁶ Finally, Arlequin/Monsieur l'Opéra parodies "Le Sort de Phaëton" by replacing it with the vaudeville, "Réveillez vous belle endormie," in

¹⁸⁵ "Il faudroit dormir ici; mais la presence d'un Creancier n'invite guere à goûter la douceur du repos." Ibid., 43.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

which he tells his creditors to put his furniture up for auction.¹⁸⁷ The choice of this vaudeville is meaningful: the original chanson awakens a beautiful sleeper with a melancholic tone. The oldest version of the chanson told the story of a lover who finds out that his beloved's father refuses to allow the marriage to happen; in despair, the narrator becomes a hermit.¹⁸⁸ The meaning of Arlequin/Monsieur l'Opéra's parody air boils down to surrender: opera has given up. The remainder of the play disintegrates as the other characters launch into a performance of vaudevilles that jeer opera for its emotional pettiness and vapid plots. Opera is defeated, comedy has the last laugh. In many ways, *L'Opéra interrompu* could be an epilogue to Saint-Évremond's comedy, *Les Opéra*. At the end of *Les Opéra*, a family friend predicts that Crisotine can only be cured of her opera-madness by going to Paris to see opera for what it really is:

When she sees that even the most marvelous machines are nothing more than painted canvas; that the gods and goddesses who descend into the theater are only opera singers; when she touches the ropes that make the most surprising flights possible...She will lose all her fantasies.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Sur l'air réveillez vous belle endormie.

Finissez une plainte vaine
Je m'en vais [illegible] mon Bilan.
Pour vous payer, Dame Clymene,
Mettez mes meubles à l'encan.
Madame de poss de à peine
Les draps qui sont dans mon Dodo.
Comme Bias, & Diogene

Tout ce que j'ai *mecum porto*. Ibid., 44. In his book *Poetry and the Police*, Robert Darnton cites the earliest appearance of « Réveillez-vous, belle endormie » to a 1717 chansonnier. Barbier's 1707 use of the chanson pushes this record date 10 years earlier. For a history of the chanson, especially in the first half of the 18th century, see Robert Darnton, *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 91-96.

¹⁸⁸ Darnton, *Poetry and the Police*, 92.

¹⁸⁹ "Quand elle verra que les Machines les plus merveilleuses ne sont rien que des Toiles peintes; que les Dieux & les Déesses qui descendent sur le Théâtre, ne sont que des Chanteurs & des Chanteuses de l'Opera; quand elle touchera les Cordes, par le moyen desquelles se sont les vols les plus surprenans...Elle perdra toutes ces imaginations-là," Charles de Saint-Évremond, *Les Opera* in *Œuvres meslées de Mr. De Saint-Evremond, publiées sur les Manuscrits de Auteur*, vol. 2 (Londres: Jacob Tonson, 1705), 105.

Like a disillusioned Crisotine, the cast of *L'Opéra interrompu* portrays opera without the veneer of its magical fiction, transforming it into a humorous and often imperfect display of stagecraft. Even as the sarcastic *commedia dell'arte* characters caution spectators to remember the reality behind an opera production, they remind audiences of the novelty and joy that opera can bring – as long as spectators understand opera for what it truly is.

With the unsuccessful parody of *Phaëton* in *L'Opéra interrompu*, this history of the early reception of Lully's operas in Lyon returns full circle to Leguay's opening season in 1688. Leguay chose wisely when he used *l'opéra du peuple* to introduce Lully to Lyon. Audiences in the city would be obsessed with the *tragédie* from its 1688 premiere through the early 18th century, enjoying the opera with fresh perspectives through revivals and parodies, such as the ones discussed in this chapter. Indeed, when Louis XIV's grandsons, the Duc de Bourgogne and the Duc de Berry, visited Lyon in 1701, the city greeted the princes with a revival of *Phaëton*, "which succeeded to the point of marvel" ("qui reussit à merveille").¹⁹⁰ In its achievements and its failures, *Phaëton* – along with Lully's other operas – was integrated into Lyonnais society as a part of the city's unique history and culture.

¹⁹⁰ *Relation de ce qui s'est fait à Lyon, au passage de monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne et de monseigneur le duc de Berry Depuis le 9. D'Avril jusqu'au 13. De meme mois* (Lyon: Amaulry et Pascal, 1701), 10-11; Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 59-61.

Chapter 3

Performing Lully's *Tragédies en musique* in Lyon, 1713-1750

"Henceforth, this will be the most essential goal of the new establishment of the Académie Royale de Musique in this City; that it will give each Opera...with changes that conform in every way to the most recent productions which were given in Paris, following the attention that was given to the opera in that city."

-Aimé Delaroche, 1739¹

In 1724, soprano Madeleine Tulou left her position as a soloist at the Paris Opéra to return to her native city of Lyon. In March, she had sung the role of Niquée for the Paris Opéra's revival of Destouches's *tragédie, Amadis de Grèce*.² Niquée is one of the major female roles of Destouches's opera, and Tulou's opportunity to sing the part is a mark of her professional success. In Lyon, Tulou's career only continued to rise as she claimed the title roles in local productions of *Alceste* and *Armide*. Despite her achievements, however, Tulou is hardly remembered in music histories of opera singers in 17th- and 18th-century France. More memorable are sopranos such as Marie Le Rochois (1658-1728), who created the title role of Lully's *Armide* in 1686, and who had so striking a stage presence that, according to Titon du Tillet, "no one had eyes for anything else on the stage,"³ or Mademoiselle Metz, who became the first woman to sing the role of Méduse, originally scored for baritone, in Lully's *Persée* in 1746.⁴ And yet, Tulou is noteworthy because she was witness to a period in which Lyonnais artists were developing unique interpretations of Lully's operas that both emulated and diverged from contemporary approaches in Paris. Indeed, Tulou may have even had a hand in the creation of a

¹ "Ce sera là le but à l'avenir le plus essentiel du nouvel établissement de l'Académie Royale de Musique dans cette Ville; ce qui lui fera donner successivement chaque Opéra...avec les changemens conformes en tout aux dernières représentations qui en auront été faites à Paris, suivant l'attention que l'on a eue pour celui-cy." Michel Pignolet de Montclair and Simon-Joseph Pellegrin, *Jephthé, tragédie* (Lyon: Aimé Delaroche, 1739).

² André Cardinal Destouches and Antoine Houdar de la Motte, *Amadis de Grèce, tragédie représentée par l'Académie Royale de Musique, pour la troisième fois, le 2. Mars 1724* (Paris: Chez la Veuve de Pierre Ribou, 1724).

³ Qtd. in Banducci, "Acteurs and Actrices as Muses," par: 9.2.

⁴ Benoît Bolduc, "From Marvel to Camp: Medusa for the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 10.1 (2004): par: 5.4. <http://sscm-jscm.org/v10/no1/bolduc.html>.

uniquely Lyonnais tradition of omitting much of the fourth act of Lully's *Armide*, as I discuss later in this chapter.

Tulou and other opera singers, directors, and copyists are the backbone of this chapter, which explores the performance history of Lully's operas in Lyon between 1713 and 1750, when the last livret of an opera by Lully was printed in the city. Two major musical institutions operated in Lyon in the first half of the 18th century: the semi-professional Académie des Beaux-Arts, founded in 1713, and the professional opera company known as the Académie de Musique, whose origins I discuss in Chapter 2. I examine two valuable groups of source materials that were used by these institutions: the performance annotations in scores of Lully's operas owned by the Académie des Beaux-Arts, and the livrets of Lully's operas printed by the Académie de Musique of Lyon. These sources are key to tracking modifications made to Lully's operas, as well as to determining the role that opera singers and directors had in reworking the repertoire. By comparing the modifications made to Lully's operas in Lyon with practices in Paris, I argue that Lyonnais artists strove to emulate singing styles and evolving musical tastes at the Paris Opéra, such as the growing preference for shorter choruses. At the same time, however, Lyonnais artists also departed from performance approaches to Lully's operas in Paris by developing distinct takes on certain parts of Lully's operas, witnessed, for example, in their frequent omission of prologues and the drastic alteration of the fourth act of *Armide*.

Lyon in the Early 18th Century

The French had much to celebrate as 1713 settled into spring. That March and April, Louis XIV had signed a series of agreements known as the Treaty of Utrecht that ended the agonizing War of Spanish Succession, which had been draining France of lives, morale, and fiscal resources since it began in 1702. The conflict erupted after the death of Charles II of Spain

in 1700. When the dying Spanish king designated Philippe d'Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV and Marie Thérèse, as his heir, he unhinged the balance of power among the European states. The possibility of a Bourbon on the Spanish-Hapsburg throne would have easily enabled France to rise as a megalithic European power. England, the Netherlands, and the Hapsburg territories marched against France to protest Philippe's Spanish coronation. Though Louis XIV's grandson sat on the Spanish throne at the end of the war, he and his grandfather renounced the possibility of Spain and France ever uniting into a single empire.⁵ The French rejoiced over the conclusion of the war: in its May 1713 issue, the *Mercure Galant* promised nothing but "happy news, ebullient accounts, and works of agreeable spirit" ("les Journaux, les Gazètes & les Mercures, seront remplis de Nouvelles heureuses, de Descriptions riantes, & d'ouvrages d'esprit agréables") in a reflection of the kingdom's widespread sense of relief.⁶

The city of Lyon extended its festivities to the end of the year, when on 27 December, the Consulate finally erected the equestrian statue of Louis XIV that it had commissioned in 1688.⁷ During the War of Spanish Succession, the Consulate had deemed the statue's iconography of glory and conquest at odds with the somber reality of war, and allowed the statue to languish in a local warehouse until the end of the conflict. Lyonnais artist Charles Grandon (1691-1762) depicted the festivities surrounding the installation of the statue in his painting, *Inauguration de la Statue de Louis XIV* (1713). In the painting, the statue sits on its pedestal in the distance, its details blurred. More clearly visible are the musicians blaring trumpets and beating drums in the foreground, and the conferring officials who likely represent the Consulate in the background. A

⁵ For a discussion of the War of Spanish Succession, see Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 266-360.

⁶ *Mercure Galant* (Paris: Chez Daniel Jollet, Pierre Ribou, Gilles Lamesle, May 1713), 50.

⁷ See Chapter 1.

crowd of people throw their arms and hats in the air with joy, and the architecture and hills that shape the outskirts of the city shimmer in the distance, verdant despite the winter's cold.



Fig. 3.1: Charles Grandon, *Inauguration de la Statue de Louis XIV* (1713)
Image © Lyon Musée des Beaux-Arts, Photo by Alain Basset

Though dedicated to the installation of the statue, Grandon's painting celebrates the city of Lyon and its people more than the monument and the monarch it represented.

The elaborate pedestal that Desjardins designed for the statue is absent in the painting. Desjardins's symbolism of Louis XIV's conquests, represented by slaves in chains, was too triumphant for a kingdom depressed by years of warfare. Instead, the Lyonnais sculptors Guillaume and Nicolas Coustou designed a more conservative pedestal that depicted only allegories of the Rhône and Saône rivers. The Coustou brothers finished the pedestal in 1721, well after the installation of the statue.⁸ Like the newly designed pedestal, Grandon's painting reflected changing attitudes to the French Crown, which the French people no longer glorified as the omnipotent conqueror that Louis XIV had embodied in his early reign.⁹

⁸ Bruno Benoît, *Lyon: Histoire illustrée d'une ville* (Lyon: Éditions Lyonnaises d'Art et d'Histoire, 2015), 97-99. Nicolas Coustou was a student of Antoine Coysevox, one of the original sculptors involved in Louis XIV's statue campaign. See "Coustou" in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 7, ed. Hugh Chisholm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 336.

⁹ Martin, *Les Monuments Équestres de Louis XIV*, 138-141.

The installation of the statue marked an era of profound musical growth in Lyon. In 1713, the Académie des Beaux-Arts was founded, and the Consulate ordered the construction of a new *salle de concert* for the Académie de Musique. Despite this period of musical efflorescence, the musical practices of 18th-century Lyon have not received significant scholarly attention. Vallas's *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon (1688-1789)* remains the most comprehensive study of musical activities in 17th- and 18th-century Lyon. Sacred music practices in the city have only recently begun to attract musicological attention.¹⁰ In her 2010 doctoral dissertation, *Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)*, Bénédicte Hertz presents a history of the *motet à grand chœur* in Lyon with historical background on the music academies active in the city throughout the 18th-century, including the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Her work summarizes and supplements Vallas's archival findings, and I draw from both studies throughout this chapter.¹¹ In focusing on performances of Lully's operas in Lyon, my research expands current understanding of musical life in the city in the first half of the 18th century.

Part One: The Lyon Académie des Beaux-Arts

As Lyon celebrated the end of the war and the long overdue installation of its equestrian statue of Louis XIV, two amateur musicians, Jean-Pierre Christin (1683-1755) and Nicolas-

¹⁰ Marie Meunier-Loiseleur, *Le fonds musical ancien à la bibliothèque municipale de Lyon : place de la musique italienne à Lyon au XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Master's thesis, Université Jean Moulin-Lyon 2, 1977); Olivier Maurice, *Les controverses sur la musique en France et notamment à Lyon de 1700 à 1754* (Lyon : M. Olivier, 1989). In 2006, Catherine Cessac published an edition of two motets composed by Henry Desmarest (1661-1741) whose scores were owned by the Académie des Beaux-Arts, as well as an analytical commentary on the pieces. See Catherine Cessac, *Henry Desmarest: Grands Motets de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon* (Versailles: Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 2006). The volume presents a facsimile and modern edition of Desmarest's *Te Deum* and *Usquequo Domino*. These pieces likely represent the only extant music that Desmarest composed for the court of Léopold I, Duc de Lorraine, for whom he served as *surintendant de la musique* from 1707 to his death in 1741. See Cessac, *Henry Desmarest*, xv-xvi.

¹¹ Bénédicte Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, 2010), 2 vols. For a discussion of the terminology and genre definitions for the *grand motet*, see John Hajdu Heyer, *The Lure and Legacy of Music at Versailles: Louis XIV and the Aix School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 7-9.

Antoine de Briou du Fort Michon Bergiron (1690-1768), founded a non-professional music society known as the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Unlike the Académie de Musique, which organized professional opera productions for the public, the Académie des Beaux-Arts invited members to weekly concerts and discussions about music.¹² In his anthology of biographies of Lyonnais luminaries, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon, ou Les Lyonnais dignes de mémoire* (1757), Jacques Perneti (1696-1777), a canon at the Cathedral of Saint-Jean of Lyon and member of the Académie, described Christin's motivations for founding the society:¹³

Jean-Pierre Christin was born in Lyon on 31 May, 1683 to Jean Christin, a merchant [*négoçant*] of the city, and to Benoîte Vilette. If he had been able to follow his wishes, he would have gone to Rome with P. Colonia,¹⁴ for his admiration of the *Beaux Arts*, which he had loved since infancy; or he would have devoted himself to the study of geometry, which is its true principle, under P. de St. Bonnet.¹⁵ He held the esteem and friendship of these two Jesuits, who were his teachers, and who were so capable of appreciating the merit of their students, and of perfecting their talents. M. Christin's father was absolute in his family, and for a long time, he refused those natural dispositions which should decide the destiny of men, and it was less in regard to the inclination of his son than it was for rewarding him for his docility, which had been put to such strong tests, that he let him go to Paris in 1701. His sojourn in Paris perfected his musical talent, for which he seemed to have been born: the beauty of his voice, the facility with which he played many instruments, associated him with the assembly known under the name of Mélophilètes; they had concerts one day a week at the home of Mr. Le Président de Lubert. In this city, he acquired knowledge of all the genres

¹² Christin was also a respected scientist, and is better remembered today for having codified the Celsius measurement scale to have 0 indicate the temperature at which ice melts, and 100 to indicate the temperature at which water boils. See M. J. Fournet, "Sur l'invention du thermomètre centigrade à mercure, faite à Lyon par M. Christin" in *Annales des sciences, physiques et naturelles, d'agriculture et d'industrie, publiées par la Société royale d'agriculture, etc., de Lyon*, vol. 8 (Lyon: Barret, 1845), 248-252 and Jacques Perneti, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon, ou Les Lyonnais dignes de mémoire* (Lyon: Chez les frères Duplain, 1757), 385. See Jacques Perneti, *Biographie Lyonnaise: Catalogue des Lyonnais dignes de mémoire*, ed. Bregnot du Lut et Pericaud aîné (Lyon: Giberton et Brun, 1839), 73; Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 98-100.

¹³ Perneti does not include an entry for Bergiron, probably because the latter was alive at the time of the volume's publication. Perneti is mentioned as Secrétaire de l'Académie in *Lettre patentes et reglements de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Lyon* (Lyon: Chez Thomas Amaulry, 1758), 34.

¹⁴ Dominique de Colonia (1660-1741) was a "little man full of fire" and a well-respected Jesuit teacher in Lyon. See *Ibid.*, 299-303.

¹⁵ Jean de St. Bonnet was a Jesuit and excelled as a mathematician in Lyon. See *Ibid.*, 141-143.

he loved: Painting, Engraving, Sculpture, Architecture, etc. But what is truly worth remarking is that it was with his agreeable countenance, his youth, his gentleness, his complaisance, and his attraction to those pleasures that follow in consequence of those pleasures and amusements that he had made, that he never altered his wisdom in manners, nor those principles of good conduct, that he had early on, and that he guarded to the end of his life, which deserved the attention of his peers as much as did his talents...

For Mr. Christin, the zeal for his home city [*patrie*] increased with his age. He became truly useful to his *patrie* in 1713. Here, he formed by solicitations a concert composed of some amateurs; the number of members grew so big that the concert became an important thing, and it was approved by letters patent in 1724. Mr. Christin had believed that academic conferences on the arts, authorized by these same letters patents, would support the institution, and join the pragmatic with the agreeable. It was difficult not to let this mélange harm one of the two; the conferences languished, and it was not until they separated from the concert that M. Christin managed to support them: the time of this separation, in 1736, marks the establishment of the Société royale des Beaux-Arts; this was its true birth. M. Christin lost successively his father, his mother, and his sister, and he was not married: this domestic solitude, an honest fortune, and great zeal put him in the position of devoting his efforts to the Académie entirely. One might say that it became his family; that it would not have existed without the paternal care that he gave to it.¹⁶

¹⁶ “Jean-Pierre Christin naquit à Lyon le 31. May 1683 de Jean Christin, Négociant de cette ville, & de Benoite Vilette. S’il avoit pu suivre son goût, il seroit allé à Rome avec le P. de Colonia, par admiration pour les Beaux Arts, qu’il aimait dès son enfance; ou il se seroit livré à l’étude de la Géométrie, qui en est le vrai principe, sous le P. de St. Bonnet. Il s’étoit attiré l’estime & l’amitié de ces deux Jésuites, qui avoit été ses Maîtres, si capables d’apprécier le mérite de leurs élèves, & de perfectionner leurs talents. Le père de Mr. Christin étoit absolu dans sa famille, il se refusa long-temps à ces dispositions naturelles qui devoient décider de la vocation des hommes, & ce fut moins par égard pour le penchant de son fils, que pour le récompenser de sa docilité mise à de fortes épreuves, qu’il le laissa aller à Paris en 1701. Le long séjour qu’il y fit le perfectionna dans la Musique, pour laquelle il sembloit être né : la beauté de sa voix, sa facilité à jouer de plusieurs instruments, l’associèrent à cette assemblée connue sous le nom des Mélophiletes; ils avoient des concerts un jour de chaque semaine chez Mr. Le Président de Lubert. Il acquit dans cette ville des connoissances dans tous les genres qu’il aimoit, Peinture, Gravure, Sculpture, Architecture, &c. mais ce qui est véritablement digne d’être remarqué, c’est qu’avec une figure agréable, de la jeunesse, & de la douceur, de la complaisance, & attiré par les plaisirs qui marchent à la suite de ces agréments & des amusements qu’il s’étoit faits, il n’altéra jamais cette sagesse de mœurs, ces principes de bonne conduite, qu’il eut de bonne heure, qu’il conserva jusqu’à la fin de sa vie, qui lui méritèrent l’attention de ses concitoyens autant que ses talents...

Il en donna une preuve bien sensible à son retour dans sa patrie; il n’y apporta pas seulement le vrai goût de la Musique, dont les progrès avoient été si lents jusqu’alors, mais des exemples de générosité admirables dans tous les temps, & dont on se souvient encore dans sa famille...

Le zèle pour sa patrie croissoit avec l’âge chez Mr. Christin; il lui devint véritablement utile en 1713. Il s’étoit formé ici par ses solicitations un concert composé de quelques amateurs; le nombre s’en accrût si fort, qu’il parut un objet important, & qu’il fut approuvé par des lettres-patentes en 1724. Mr. Christin avoit cru que des conférences académiques sur les Arts, autorisées par ces mêmes lettres-patentes, se soutiendroient, & joindroient ainsi l’utile à l’agréable: il est difficile que ce mélange ne nuise à l’un des deux; les conférences languirent, & ce ne fut qu’en les séparant du concert, que M. Christin parvint à les soutenir: l’époque de cette séparation, en 1736, est celle de l’établissement de la Société royale des Beaux Arts; c’en fut la véritable naissance. M. Christin avoit perdu successivement son père, sa mère, & sa sœur, il n’étoit point marié; cette solitude domestique, une fortune honnête & beaucoup de zèle le mirent en état de se livrer aux exercices de cette Académie perpétuelle. L’on peut dire qu’elle

According to Perneti, Christin was deeply inspired by his experience as a member of the amateur music club Mélophilètes, which he had joined while living in Paris. Mélophilètes excluded professional musicians; instead, the society invited select individuals to participate in weekly musical gatherings free of charge.¹⁷ Paris was not the only city to offer a forum for musical amateurs. At least 31 amateur music societies, known as academies, were founded in various French cities over the course of the 18th century. Members were typically aristocrats or wealthy enough to pay an annual subscription, and they joined the society to enjoy regular concerts given by professional musicians drawn from regional opera houses, or to make music themselves. The Académie des Beaux-Arts of Lyon was the second provincial academy founded in France; the Académie des Lyriques in Bordeaux had been established in 1707, although it was not officially constituted until 1727. Although the Lyon Académie des Beaux-Arts often struggled financially, it was one of the most long-lived such organizations in the kingdom.¹⁸

Membership at the Lyon Académie des Beaux-Arts averaged around 200 people, including women, who paid an annual subscription of about 75 livres. One of the members was Nicolas Barbier, who authored the comedies, *L'Opéra interrompu* (1707) and *Les Eaux de Mille Fleurs* (1707), discussed in Chapter 2. In addition to subscribing members, up to 30 women and 15 “foreigners” (non-residents of Lyon) were permitted to attend concerts.¹⁹ Between 1726 and

devint sa famille, qu'elle n'existeroit pas sans les soins paternels qu'il en a pris.” Perneti, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon, ou Les Lyonnais dignes de mémoire*, 381-388.

¹⁷ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 100-101; Hertz, “Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773),” 25.

¹⁸ Other cities that established amateur music academies include Aix-en-Provence, Arles, Avignon, Bayeux, Béziers, Bordeaux, Carpentras, Chartres, Dijon, Grenoble, Lille, Marseille, Montpellier, Moulin, Nancy, Pau, Orléans, La Rochelle, Rouen, Toulouse, and Tours. See Hertz, “Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773),” 23-7.

¹⁹ Hertz, “Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773),” 36; Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 110; *Statuts et Réglements de l'Académie des Beaux Arts établie à Lyon, par lettres patentes du Roy* (Lyon: André Laurens, 1724), 12.

1736, the Académie began to phase professional musicians into its amateur performance corps;²⁰ by 1736, amateur members were relegated entirely to the role of spectators, enjoying weekly concerts performed by a professional ensemble of about 25 to 32 musicians borrowed primarily from the Académie de Musique.²¹ Among the more illustrious professional musicians who played for the Académie des Beaux-Arts numbered Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764), who worked in Lyon between 1713 and 1715; Jean-Joseph de Mondonville (1711-1772), who visited the city in 1744; and Jean-Marie Leclair *l'aîné*, who was born in Lyon and visited the city in 1746 (1697-1764).²²

The Académie congregated biweekly, holding concerts on Wednesdays – at 4:30 PM from November to the end of April, and at 5 pm from May to the end of October – and meeting on Saturdays to discuss musical topics.²³ Concerts typically featured a *motet à grand chœur* and excerpts from other religious or secular works, such as Lully's operas.²⁴ Saturday discussions could feature lectures about music, such as the essay, *De la Corruption du Goust dans la Musique Française*, that Louis Bollioud-Mermet (1709-1794), an organist, singer, and composer who had joined the Académie in 1736, composed about the merits of French over Italian musical

²⁰ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon (1688-1789)*, 183.

²¹ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 39; 88.

²² *Ibid.*, 28-9.

²³ *Statuts et Réglements de l'Académie des Beaux Arts établie à Lyon*, 11. The Saturday conferences were reconstituted in 1748 as an independent organization called the Société Royale des Beaux-Arts. Henceforth, Wednesday musical meetings were referred to as Le Concert. See Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 26-7.

²⁴ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 9-10. As Hertz points out, the Académie's weekly performance of motets was the reason that the grand motet had so much currency in Lyon, and why the Académie's library held such a wealth of grand motet scores.

styles. Bollioud-Mermet read his essay to the Académie in 1746, the year it was also printed.²⁵

De la Corruption du Goust belongs to the ongoing *Querelle des Bouffons*, a pamphlet war over the merits of Italian versus French musical style that waged in France during the 1740s to

1760s.²⁶ Bollioud-Mermet believed that Lully, alongside Michel Delalande, was a paragon of the French musical style:

Lully, whom we propose boldly as a model of theatrical music, allows us to enjoy in his works the seductive charms of Harmony. The beautiful turn of his songs, the nobility, the force of his expression, his easy and natural manner of modulating, the character of his Symphonies, the melody of his ariettes, and the beautiful setting of his choruses, they give him forever the title of the Orpheus of our Age.

Everything pleases in his music, everything charms, everything fascinates. Nature expresses itself in his music naively: art hides itself easily in his music. Everything in his music seems so easy, so flowing, that one is tempted not to take any account of his work: so much one is persuaded by the naturalness of his compositions, that they cost him little.

I admire above all the preference that he gives to the diatonic genre, in which the scrupulous sobriety with which he uses chromaticism. Poetry, in his hands, takes a new force; the noble simplicity of his expressions enriches the imagery and figures of the poet.²⁷

²⁵ Louis Bollioud-Mermet, *La Corruption de la Goust dans la Musique Française* (Lyon: Aimé Delaroche, 1746); Albert Cohen, "Boullioud-Mermet, Louis," *Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 8.29.2017.

²⁶ Mermet was in fact one of the main academicians involved in a dispute with Rameau about the latter's ideas on musical temperament that extended from the 1740s into the early 1760s. See Albert Cohen, "Rameau, Equal Temperament, and the Academy of Lyon: A Controversy Revisited," 121-127 in *French Musical Thought: 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989).

²⁷ "Lulli, que nous proposons hardiment pour le modèle de la Musique théâtrale, nous a fait goûter dans ses Ouvrages les charmes séduisants de l'Harmonie. Le beau tour de ses chants, la noblesse, la force de son expression, sa manière aisée et naturelle de moduler, le caractère de ses Symphonies, la mélodie de ses Ariettes, & la belle ordonnance de ses Chœurs, lui attireront à jamais le titre de l'Orphée de notre Siècle. Tout plaît dans sa Musique, tout charme, tout intéresse. La nature s'y exprime naïvement: l'Art s'y cache habilement. Il y règne, je ne sçais quel air de décence & de dignité peu commun au théâtre. Tout y paroît si aisé, si coulant, qu'on seroit tenté de ne lui tenir aucun compte de son travail: tant on est persuadé, par le naturel de ses compositions, qu'elles lui ont peu coûté.

Je l'admire sur tout dans la préférence qu'il a donné au genre Diatonique, dans la scrupuleuse sobriété avec laquelle il a usé du Chromatique. La Poésie, dans ses mains, prend une nouvelle force; la noble simplicité de ses expressions enchérit sur les images & sur les figures du Poète." Bollioud-Mermet, *La Corruption de la Goust dans la Musique Française*, 9-10.

For Bollioud-Mermet, Lully's compositional style is the very definition of Frenchness; without it, "we have ceased to be French!" ("nous avons cessé d'être François!").²⁸ Despite Bollioud-Mermet's advocacy for Lully's operas, the Académie des Beaux-Arts, like the Académie de Musique of Lyon, would lose much interest in Lully's operas after the middle of the century. The Académie initially met in a building between the current place Croix-Pâquet and the Croix-Rousse.²⁹ In 1724, the Académie began the construction of an Hôtel du Concert that could seat about 300 people in the Place des Cordeliers on Presqu'île.³⁰ When the costs of the Hôtel du Concert exceeded the Académie's projected budget, the Consulate bought the building, allowing the Académie to use it as wished.³¹ The Hôtel du Concert was demolished in 1858, but images of it survive.³² In the 1746 map of Lyon, *Plan de Lion levé par le Sr. C. Seraucourt*, for instance, a depiction of the Hôtel du Concert is featured on the upper left side of the map along with illustrations of other important buildings and monuments in the city, such as the Hôtel de Ville, the Cathedral of St. Jean, and the equestrian statue of Louis XIV. The inclusion of the Hôtel du Concert among these edifices marks its important place in the city's identity.

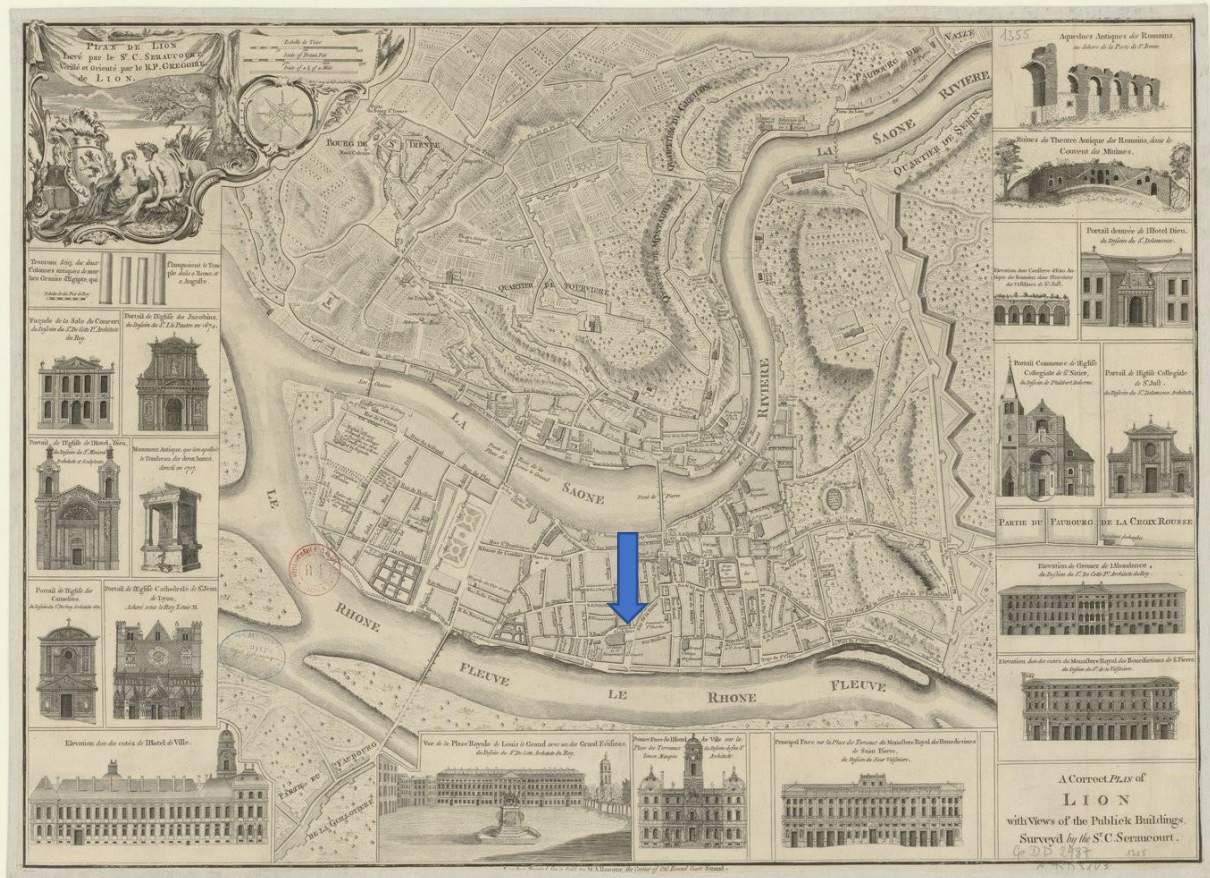
²⁸ Ibid., 14. For Bollioud-Mermet, Lully's music captures Frenchness by virtue of its aesthetic contrast with contemporary Italian music. His adoption of Lully as a paragon of Frenchness reflects the strong cultural relationship between Lyon and Paris in the 18th century. As we shall see in Chapter 5, notions of Frenchness were diminished in regions culturally and geographically more distant from Paris, such as Alsace.

²⁹ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 43. Christin and Bergiron's society initially functioned under the umbrella of the local Académie des Sciences et Belles-Lettres, which had been founded in 1700 to support scientific inquiry and discussion about the arts. In 1724, however, the Académie des Beaux-Arts separated from the Académie des Sciences et Belles-Lettres to function independently.

³⁰ Ibid., 51. Ample correspondences and payment records between members of the Consulate and academicians about the construction of the building at the Place des Cordeliers are located in F-LYam DD380.

³¹ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 47-8. The *Statuts* also note that the *prévôt des marchands* and the *échevins* supplied funds to the Académie. See *Statuts et Règlements de l'Académie des Beaux Arts établie à Lyon*, 4-5.

³² Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 43-47; 62.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 3.2: Claude Séraucourt, *Plan de Lion levé par le Sr. C. Seraucourt* (London, 1746). The location of the Hôtel du Concert is marked by an arrow.

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (1355 B). www.gallica.bnf.fr.



Fig. 3.3: Séraucourt, *Plan de Lion levé par le Sr. C. Seraucourt*, detail of the Hôtel du Concert

Until its dissolution in 1773, the Académie was sponsored by the governor, archbishop, and, beginning in 1724, the Consulate of Lyon.³³ Administrative matters were managed by a director, an inspector, a librarian, a treasurer, four syndics, and two secretaries.³⁴ Christin and Bergiron served as librarians of the Académie until their deaths in 1755 and 1768, respectively, and they oversaw most of the institution's binding and copying activities. Under their care, the Académie amassed a rich library that was well documented, as per the Académie's regulations as published in its *Statuts et Réglements* (1724):

The Librarian will take care of the books, papers, and other effects that concern the Beaux-Arts; to the reserve of the papers which relate to academic conferences; he will be charged conjointly with the Inspector over two registers signed by them and by the Director; one of these registers will remain at the Library, and the other will be deposited in the Archives. Each year, the inventory will be enlarged by new acquisitions, and checked at the end of December, in the presence of the officers.³⁵

The librarians marked books that they acquired for the Académie with an insignia designed in August 1713 that featured a lyre and caduceus.³⁶ According to the *Statuts et Réglements*, stamping the insignia onto acquisitions was mandatory:

³³ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 33-34. François-Paul de Neufville de Villeroy, archbishop of Lyon from 1714 to 1731, occasionally stepped in as *batteur* at the Wednesday concerts. Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon (1688-1789)*, 120-122. Beginning in 1726, the official *batteur* was Paul Villesavoye, whose duties included assisting in rehearsals and "in general, doing everything that depends upon me to utterly perfect the Concerts" ("généralement, de faire tout ce qui dépendra de moy pour la plus grande perfection des Concerts"). F-LYam 3GG156 pièce 3.

³⁴ *Statuts et Réglements de l'Académie des Beaux Arts établie à Lyon*, 1724, 8. For further details on the institutional organization and sponsorship of the Académie, I direct the reader to Hertz's dissertation.

³⁵ "Le Bibliothécaire prendra soin de sous les Livres, Papiers & autres effets qui concernent les Beaux Arts; à la reserve des Papiers qui regardent les Conférences Académiques; il en sera chargé conjointement avec l'Inspecteur sur deux Regîtres signez par eux & par le Directeur; l'un desquels Regîtres restera dans la Bibliothèque, & l'autre sera déposé dans les Archives. Tous les ans l'Iventaire sera augmenté des nouvelles acquisitions, acquisitions, & vérifié à la fin de Décembre, en présence des Officiers." *Statuts et Réglements de l'Académie des Beaux Arts établie à Lyon*, 8-9.

³⁶ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 27.

The Académie will continue to use its regular seal, which represents, as its device, a lyre and a caduceus, with the words, *Et Voce Et Arte*; the Académie will mark or seal its letters, papers, books, and other effects, and the acts that come from it.³⁷

Christin and Bergiron were obsessive in their documentation of scores, and they made sure that anyone looking for a score would be able to find it with ease. Instructions at the end of one of the two copies of the *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*, an inventory of the Académie's music collection that Bergiron and Christin compiled between 1742 and 1767,³⁸ direct librarians to arrange music books in their designated cabinet according to the order in which they were acquired; a sheet of paper within the cabinet contained an alphabetical list of the music books to assist those seeking a particular item:

Musical pieces in French and Italian [sic: Latin] for *grand chœurs* will be arranged in the cabinet according to the order in which they were acquired, and one can find the alphabetical order on the sheet attached inside of each cabinet. In the big inventory book [i.e., the *Catalogue*], it is necessary to leave blank paper at the end of each order so that one can insert pieces which might be acquired in the future in the same genre, and likewise to leave space in each entry for adding parts that might be acquired.³⁹

³⁷ "L'Académie continuera à se servir de son Sceau ordinaire, qui représente, pour sa Devise, une Lyre & un Caducée, avec ces mots, *Et Voce Et Arte*; Elle en pourra marquer ou sceller ses Lettres, Papiers, Livres, & autres Effets, & les Actes qui émaneront d'Elle. *Statuts et Réglements de l'Académie des Beaux Arts établie à Lyon*, 15.

³⁸ There are two copies of the *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 134008 and F-LYam 3 GG 156 pièce 15). The former contains supplementary details about the types of scores (printed, engraved, or manuscript) that the Académie acquired. The final entry of the catalogue dates 1767, when Monsieur Fellont bequeathed a score of *Hilas et Zélis* to the Académie.

³⁹ "Les pieces de musique françoises et Latines à grand chœurs seront rangé dans les Armoires suivant l'ordre qu'elles auront été acquises et l'on trouve l'ordre alphabetique dans une feuille attachée du dedans de chaque Armoire. Sur le grand livre d'inventaire [i.e., the *Catalogue*], il faudra laisser du papier blanc à la fin de Chaque ordre pour y mettre les pieces qui pouront venir dans la suite, du meme genre et meme laisser de l'espace a Chaque article pour y ajouter les parties qu'on pouroit augmenter dans la suite." *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes*, Order O; Order T. F-LYm Rés FM MS 134008. The Académie owned a total of 12 such chests. See *Inventaire Général de tous les meubles meublants et instruments de musique à l'usage du Concert de l'academie des Beaux arts de Lyon*. F-LYam 3GG 156, pièce 16.

The Académie's music collection included profane and secular works. Its collection of *motets à grand chœur*, numbering 283 titles, remains one of the most important collections of the genre.⁴⁰ According to the *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes*, the Académie owned scores of all of Lully's operas; these scores were among the more than 500 full and reduced opera scores that the Académie collected over its sixty-year existence.⁴¹ One of the copies of the *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes* also records the number of vocal and instrumental parts that were copied for the Académie's operas.⁴² Some records include the years in which parts were copied: parts were copied for *Proserpine*, *Persée*, *Le Triomphe de l'Amour*, and *Bellérophon* for instance, in 1729; new parts were copied for *Isis* in 1732, *Roland* in 1734.⁴³ Presumably, the Académie performed an opera – or excerpts of an opera – in the year in which parts were copied for the work.

The Académie acquired many of its opera scores from individuals, especially members of the Académie who bequeathed their personal music collection to the institution upon their deaths. A portion of the printed Lully scores came from the library of Léonard Michon (1675-1746), an active member of the Académie and a prolific writer whose *Journal de Lyon* contains rich information on bourgeois life in the city. Michon's collection included printed scores of Lully's *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* (Paris, 1668), *Amadis* (Paris, 1711), and *Armide* (Paris, 1718),

⁴⁰ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 12.

⁴¹ Ibid., 157. In addition to Lully's operas, the Académie owned a manuscript of "Deux Basses de Symphonies de Lully" and a volume of trumpet parts from Lully's operas that was bequeathed to the Académie in 1741 by trumpet marine virtuoso Jean-Baptiste Prin. See *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes*, Order O; Order T. F-LYm Rés FM MS 134008.

⁴² See Appendix 3.2.

⁴³ *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*. F-LYm Rés FM MS 134008.

as well as the first volume of the two-volume manuscript set, *Recueil manuscrit des plus beaux endroits des Opéras de Lully* (Paris, 1701). The *Recueil* contains several performance annotations.⁴⁴ The Académie purchased Michon's music collection in 1773, but Michon likely permitted members to use the scores during his lifetime, since he was a member of the society. Christin also bequeathed several scores to the Académie after his death, including folio scores of *Roland*, *Proserpine*, *Phaëton*, *Acis et Galathée*, *Amadis*, *Armide*, *Atys*, and *Alceste*.⁴⁵

Other scores were copied by the Académie's scribes. In addition to copying and editing many scores themselves, Bergiron and Christin oversaw a workshop of several scribes. Bergiron was an especially prolific copyist; it is most likely his hand to be seen in several Lully manuscripts in the Académie's collection, with edits to make them more user-friendly.⁴⁶ In two manuscript scores of *Thésée* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27295) and *Isis* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27296), respectively, Bergiron pasted a card to the inside front cover that listed characters with their respective voice types organized by act.⁴⁷ The card would have assisted those planning a concert of excerpts from the opera, something that the Académie frequently organized: by scanning Bergiron's card, the reader could access the basic contents of the score. There was no need to flip

⁴⁴ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 167, fn 46; see also *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Michon, Ancien Avocat au Bureau des Finances* (Lyon: Claude-Marie Jacquenod, 1772), 140-142.

⁴⁵ *Catalogue de la musique donnée par Mr. Christin au Concert de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts*. F-LYam 3GG156, pièce 17.

⁴⁶ Working primarily with the Académie's religious musical scores, Hertz identifies over 50 copyists, and notes that they were not necessarily working within the lifespan of the Académie; some were active as early as the late 17th century. The copyists did not work on copying manuscripts full-time; most were musicians, and some engaged in other forms of livelihood. Most of the musician-copyists were singers, including Thauinat, Gavaudan, Philippe, and Bergiron himself – many of these individuals sang in Lully productions with the Opéra. See Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 160; 215-280.

⁴⁷ *Thésée, tragédie en musique* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27295); *Isis* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27296). A comparison of the handwriting on the cards with the hand that Hertz has identified as Bergiron's proves the identity of the scribe. See Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 228-229.

through the pages to know that Act IV, for example, features Aeglé, Médée, and Thésée, and thus requires two sopranos and an haute-contre.

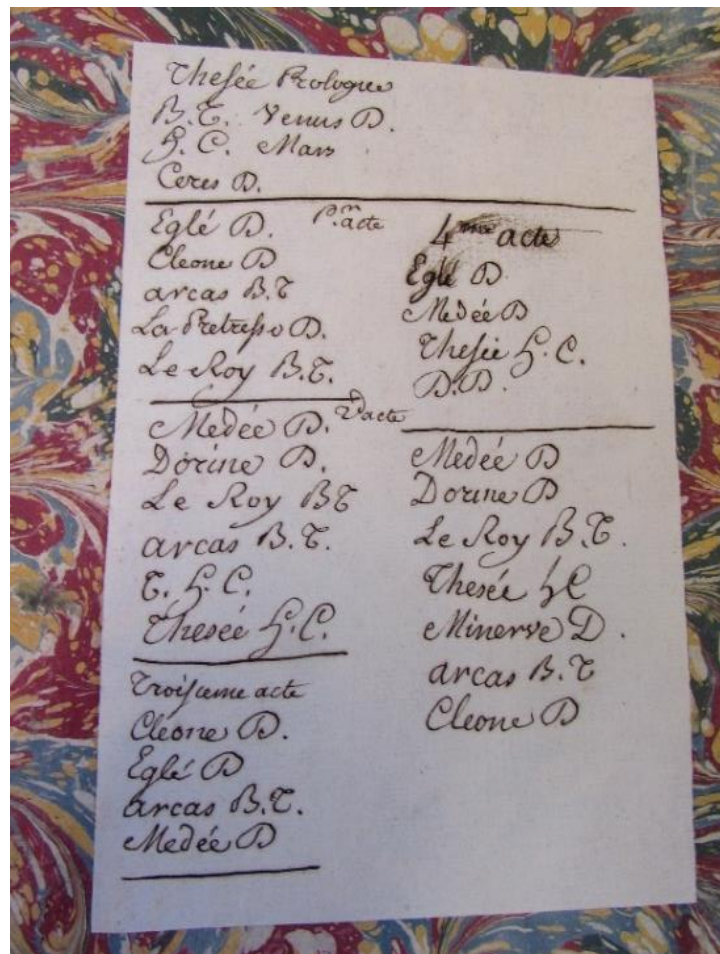


Fig. 3.4: Card listing character names and voice types in *Thésée*
Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Rés FM MS 27295

It may also have been Bergiron who added the names of characters and scene numbers to another score of *Thésée* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27287), whose original scribes had omitted these details.⁴⁸ Another scribe filled in portions of missing text in *Atys* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27297)

⁴⁸ *Tesée Ancien opera Composé par M. de Lully surintendant de la musique du roy.* 1699. F-LYm Rés FM MS 27287. This copy was probably copied in 1699, therefore dating well before the creation date of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. A comparison of the words “Le Roy” on pg. 29 of *Tesée* and on the plaque makes it likely that Bergiron contributed to both manuscripts.

and *Alceste* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27273).⁴⁹ These edits expose an *atelier* that was deeply engaged with the music whose scores it copied or owned, and motivated to make the materials as useful as possible. As Hertz points out in her dissertation,

The library of the Académie des Beaux-Arts was a repertoire that was played. That is to say, this was a library that had above all a utilitarian purpose...besides reflecting the *bon goût* of the time, it reflected music that was practiced at a given moment, in a given place.⁵⁰

The performance annotations that pepper the Académie's scores offer a tantalizing glimpse into the Hôtel du Concert, witnessing stylistic decisions about Lully's operas in Lyon.

Performance Annotations in the Académie des Beaux-Arts' Lully Scores

The surviving scores of Lully's operas owned by the Académie des Beaux-Arts show varying degrees of use in performance. Some, like the score of *Isis* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27296), contain no annotations. Others feature occasional markings, such as *Cadmus et Hermione* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 6878), in which Pan's air, "Que chacun se ressente" contains marginal annotations indicating that oboes were to play the first *dessus* line while bassoons doubled the singer. Four manuscript scores are especially rich in annotations: *Armide* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27335); *Amadis* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27335), *Thésée* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27295), and *Recueil des plus beaux endroits* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27256). The annotations in these scores give

⁴⁹ In general, the original scribe of *Atys* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27297) and *Alceste* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27273) copied out the text in full for the lowest voice of polyphonic vocal pieces, but inscribed only textual incipits for the other voices. The academicians found this ill-suited to their purposes. The practice of copying out the text of one voice in full and providing incipits – or sometimes, no text at all – for the other voices in polyphonic pieces of Lully's opera scores was not uncommon. See, for example, "Que tout retentisse" (prologue, Scene 2) in *Opera d'Alceste*, f. 15r-15v (F-AIXm MS 1832 (1698)) in which the soprano text is written out in full, the bass text has an incipit, and the other texts for the other voices are missing.

⁵⁰ "La bibliothèque de l'académie des beaux-arts constitue un répertoire qui fut joué. C'est dire que cette bibliothèque a une vocation utilitaire avant tout...elle reflète, outre le bon gout de l'époque, la pratique musicale à un moment donné, dans un lieu donné." Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 158-9.

unique insight into the singing style and other performance decisions used by the Académie des Beaux-Arts in its interpretation of Lully's operas.

1) Armide (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27335)

The title-page of *Armide* explodes in a visual celebration of the opera, featuring the work's title copied in broad strokes of red and black ink and crowned by roses, a hint of the lavish enchanted garden scene that delighted audiences in Act II.⁵¹ The opening of the prologue and Act I feature cues for several singers active in Lyon in the late 1720s through the early 1740s: a cue for "Tu" referred to Madeleine Tulou; "Card" was one of four female professional singers active in Lyon with the surname Cardinal – either Françoise Cardinal née Gravillon or her daughter, or Madeleine or Jeanne-Guillaume Cardinal; and "Floq" referenced Mademoiselle Floquet.⁵² There are no other markings that indicate the names of performers except for the single appearance of the abbreviation "Mar," which likely cued the Académie's oboist and flute player, Claude Marchand.⁵³ Ambiguous markings in several scenes involving Renaud indicate that at least one other soloist participated in the performance to play the hero's part, but this actor was never cued into the score by name.

Little is known about Marchand, Floquet, who sang the role of Glory in the prologue, and Cardinal, who sang the role of Armide's confidante, Phénice. We do know some details, however, about Tulou, who sang the role of La Sagesse in the prologue and Armide in the opera.

⁵¹ *Armide, tragédie* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27335). The scribe who copied this score was the same who copied *Isis* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27296).

⁵² Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 202; 205. All the singers are listed as Académie des Beaux-Arts members in 1731. Vallas did not locate these names in his archival research despite his attempts to look for the names of singers in the Académie scores. He only found the names of singers Mme Borne, MMe Perrodon, and Mademoiselle Verdier in a score of *Idas et Doris* (1715). See Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 13.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 201.

The daughter of a Lyonnais butcher, Tulou held a position as a singer at the Paris Opéra between 1718 and 1724, when she returned to Lyon shortly before the Paris Opéra revived *Armide*.⁵⁴ She remained in Lyon until 1741, at which point she returned to the Paris Opéra to work as a chorister until she retired in 1753. One wonders whether she missed her stardom as Lyon's *Armide* when the Paris Opéra assigned her to a chorus part in its 1745-1746 revival of the opera.⁵⁵ It is thanks to our knowledge of the exact dates that Tulou spent in Lyon that we can date the Académie des Beaux-Arts' *Armide* to a period between 1724 and 1741.

According to a payment record located by Vallas, Tulou, Cardinal, and Floquet performed together in a concert at the home of the Maréchal de Villeroy in Neuville – about 9 miles north of Lyon – in July 1732, along with another male singer and several instrumentalists. It is unlikely, however, that the annotations in the *Armide* manuscript represent a performance given at this occasion; the oboist Marchand was cued at the beginning of an *entrée* in the prologue, but only string players and a harpsichordist were listed on the payment record for the Neuville performance.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon* notes that parts

⁵⁴ The final role that Tulou is known to have sung at the Paris Opéra was as a Niquée in the Opéra's March production of *Amadis de Grèce*. See Destouches and de la Motte, *Amadis de Grèce* (Paris: Chez la Veuve de Pierre Ribou, 1724).

⁵⁵ Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, *Armide, tragédies donnée à Versailles pour la troisième fois* (Paris: Ballard, 1746). See list of choristers on pg. iii. Tulou sang in the chorus on the *côté du roi*. She also appeared in the 1745 *Armide* production at the Paris Opéra, and in the 1747 Opéra revival of *Atys*. See *Armide, tragédie donnée à Versailles* (Paris: Ballard, 1745), iii; *Atys, tragédie, représentée devant sa majesté, à saint germain-en-laye* (Paris: L'Imprimerie de l'Académie Royale de Musique, 1747), 3.

⁵⁶ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 189. The *entrée* in which Marchand was cued is located on pg. 45 of F-LYm Rés FM MS 27335, and Lully and Quinault, *Armide, tragédie mise en musique* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1686), xlvii.

were copied for *Armide* in 1729, 1731, and 1734.⁵⁷ The performance of *Armide* probably took place in one (or more) of these years.

Table 3.1 lists the numbers with performance annotations in the manuscript score of *Armide*:

Context	Incipit	Role/Singer
Prologue	Tout doit céder à l'univers	La Sagesse/Tulou; La Gloire/Floquet
I,1	Dans un jour de triomphe	Phénice/Cardinal
I,1	Vous allumez une fatale flâme	Sidonie/Floquet
I,1	Les enfers, s'il le faut	Sidonie/Floquet
I,1	Vos yeux m'ont eu besoin	Phénice/Cardinal
I,1	Ses plus vaillants	Sidonie/Floquet
I,1	Je ne triomphe pas	Armide/Tulou
I,1	Qu'importe qu'un captif	Sidonie/Floquet
I,1	Pourquoy voulez-vous	Phénice/Cardinal
I,1	Vous troublez-vous d'une image	Sidonie/Floquet
I,3	Suivons Armide et chantons	Phénice/Cardinal
I,3	Que la douceur d'un triomphe	Phénice/Cardinal
V,1	*Non, je perdray plutôt le jour	Renaud/?
V,1	*Témoins de notre amour extreme	Armide/Tulou
V,2	*Allez, allez vos ramènes	Renaud/?
V,4	*Renaud, Ciel! O mortelle!	Armide/Tulou
V,4	*Que ton destin est déplorable	Renaud/?

Table 3.1: Location of performance annotations in *Armide* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27335)⁵⁸

In its performance of *Armide*, however, the Académie did not exclusively feature excerpts of the opera that contain annotations. An annotation after the canaries in IV,2, which fall roughly halfway through the act, gives directions to proceed directly to the opening of Act V; even though there are no annotations in the first two scenes of Act IV, the directions suggest they were probably performed.

⁵⁷ *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*. F-LYm Rés FM MS 134008.

⁵⁸ *Indicates ambiguous markings in pencil that might suggest performance. The markings are of two varieties: a circle superimposed by a cross, and a linear crisscross device. The circular mark also appears in *Thésée* (F-LYm Rés 27295).

The directions to proceed from IV,2 to Act V are indicative of the beginning of a unique tradition in Lyon of cutting much of Act IV of the *tragédie*: the Académie de Musique would also eliminate this material from its revivals of *Armide* in 1742 and 1750. The directions in the manuscript score of *Armide* offer key insight into the Académie des Beaux-Arts' interest in contemporary approaches to *Armide* in Paris. Throughout the 18th century, revivals of Lully's operas saw many changes, from cut prologues to expanded dance scenes and freshly composed ariettes or melismatic da capo airs. *Armide* was performed as it had been during Lully's lifetime until the 1740s, apart from one major change: beginning in 1697, the fourth scene of Act IV was cut. Musicologist Lois Rosow has discussed the turbulent reception and performance history of *Armide*'s fourth act at length. According to Rosow's research, 17th- and 18th-century audiences were generally not receptive to Act IV, which departed from the opera's central plot about the relationship between Renaud and Armide to introduce Renaud's rescuers, Ubalde and the Danish knight. We meet the knights in Act IV, Scene 1, as they encounter monsters in a desert on their way to Armide's palace. As the knights skirmish, the desert transforms suddenly into a beautiful island. Each knight is confronted by a seductive demon in the guise his lover back home: the Danish knight is tempted by his demon in Scenes 2 and 3, and Ubalde fights a demon in Scene 4, the final scene of the act. Both knights ultimately resist the demons' advances and offer moral advice to the audience about the dangers of love, foreshadowing Renaud's decision to leave Armide at the end of the opera.

In response to the public's dislike of this disruption to the main storyline of *Armide*, Lully's successors at the Paris Opéra decided to cut Scene 4 of Act IV, in which Ubalde is tempted by his demon, to return more quickly to Armide and Renaud. Scene 4 was first cut in

1697, the year before the Lyon Académie de Musique's second production of the opera.⁵⁹ But in 1698, the Académie de Musique in Lyon retained the fourth scene of Act IV in their production. Most likely, Leguay had decided for the sake of ease to perform *Armide* exactly as he had produced it in 1689. Though no livret survives from the 1689 production, it is reasonable to assume that this production followed the livret that Lully and Quinault had printed for their own 1686 premiere.⁶⁰

The Paris Opéra revived *Armide* in the 1713-1714 season – four years before Tulou's first tenure at the Opéra – and in 1724, the year that Tulou departed for Lyon. Tulou left before the Paris Opéra opened *Armide* in November, although, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, she sang the role of Niquée in the Opéra's March production of *Amadis de Grèce*.⁶¹ It is tempting to imagine Tulou as an advocate for adopting the Paris Opéra's practice of eliminating the final scene of Act IV. While Tulou might have confirmed the feasibility of the cut, the directors of the Académie des Beaux-Arts had probably also learned of the cut through other means. Christin, who had lived in Paris until 1713, may have seen the Paris Opéra's 1713 revival of *Armide* before relocating to Lyon.⁶² Critiques of Act IV also circulated in the 1720s in the

⁵⁹ Rosow, "How eighteenth-century Parisians heard Lully's operas: the case of *Armide*'s fourth act," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 219.

⁶⁰ Between the Lyon Académie de Musique's productions of *Armide* in 1698 and 1742, only one revival of *Armide* is known to have occurred in the city, when the Académie de Musique performed the opera on 29 April 1730 as entertainment for the Prince de Conti when he was passing through the city. No evidence has survived for this performance, so it is not known whether the Académie de Musique cut any part of Act IV. Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 214.

⁶¹ André Cardinal Destouches, *Amadis de Grèce, tragédie en musique* (Paris: Chez la Veuve de Pierre Ribou, 1724), ix; Louis César de La Baume Le Blanc La Vallière, *Ballets, Opera, et Autres Ouvrages Lyriques, par ordre chronologique depuis leur origine* (Paris: Chez Cl. J Baptiste Bauche, 1760), 105; Rosow, "Lully's 'Armide' at the Paris Opéra: A Performance History: 1686-1766" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1981), 237.

⁶² Jacques Perneti, *Biographie Lyonnaise: Catalogue des Lyonnais dignes de mémoire*, ed. Breghot du Lut et Pericaud aîné (Lyon: Giberton et Brun, 1839), 381-388.

Mercure Galant, which Christin and Bergiron were very likely to have read.⁶³ While the omission of the last scene of Act IV reflects an emulation of Parisian approaches to *Armide*, the omission of the second half of Scene 2 and the entirety of Scene 3 marks the development of an interpretation of the opera unique to Lyon.

2) *Amadis* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27335)

The Académie's score of *Amadis* was copied by Jacques-Louis David (ca. 1680-ca. 1760), who signed his name at the back of the manuscript.⁶⁴ The volume is pinned with notes that indicate programming decisions for a performance of excerpts from the opera.⁶⁵ Several notes have fallen from the pages to which they were originally appended, but their original location can be determined based on the location of punctures left by their pins.⁶⁶ By analyzing the notes and puncture marks, it is possible to gain an idea of which portions of the opera were included in performance.⁶⁷ A note pinned to the first page of Act I directs the performer to proceed directly to Act II. At the opening of II,5, another note directs the performer to “tournez

⁶³ Rosow, “Lully's ‘Armide’ at the Paris Opéra,” 238-241.

⁶⁴ Hertz, “Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773),” 272-3. David was also a composer, and wrote the grand motet *Qui habitat* and two motets for solo voice, which no longer survive.

⁶⁵ *Amadis, tragédie en musique*. F-LYm Rés FM MS 27335.

⁶⁶ Originally, a slip of paper was pinned to several pages of Act I that held together the portion of the score that extended from the final 20 measures of “Les plus grands rois de l’univers” (I,3) to the end of the act. Another paper was originally pinned to pages beginning at the *Premier air les Combattans* (I,3), which occurs before “Les plus grands rois de l’univers” to the end of the act. The presence of these two pieces of paper suggests that the act was performed twice; one performance included a larger portion of Act I than the other. Additionally, another note had originally been pinned to the pages that included the 18 measures of choral music preceding the chaconne. This note also suggests another performance that originally included the opening of Act V in addition to the chaconne. Other scores also contain pins or punctures left by pins that provide insight into performance programming decisions. *Atys* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27297) shows signs of pins holding pages together that would indicate cuts in Acts II, III, and IV. *Alceste* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27273) shows signs of a pin holding together pp. 94r-96v, excising the darkly humorous “Passe-moy Charon” at the end of Act I.

⁶⁷ Additional parts were copied for *Amadis* in 1730 and 1741; it is possible that the two performance versions that the pinned notes represent may have taken place at these dates. See *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*. F-LYm Rés FM MS 134008.

pour le prélude” that precedes Arcalaus’s “Esprits infernaux” (II,6). The remainder of the act is cut after the trio, “Cédez il est temps de vous render,” at which point a pinned note directs the performer to the chaconne in V,4. It is thus possible to reconstruct the performance as follows:

Prologue	Intact
Act I	Cut entirely
Act II	II,5 cut; most of II,6 cut
Act III	Cut entirely
Act IV	Cut entirely
Act V	Cut entirely except Chaconne in V,4 ⁶⁸

Table 3.2: Potential programming of an Académie des Beaux-Arts performance of *Amadis*

The *Amadis* score offers a glimpse into a society whose reasons for attending or performing an opera were in transition: opera performances provided as much, if not more, of an opportunity to enjoy beautiful music than to follow a dramatic storyline. *Amadis* (1684) was one of Lully’s most popular operas. The *tragédie* represents Lully and Quinault’s first composition based on chivalric romance rather than classical mythology, retelling the enduring tale of the knight Amadis de Gaul. Several airs from the opera rapidly acquired fame, especially “Bois épais” (II,4), which remains in the repertory today, and “Amour, que veux-tu de moi?” (II,1).⁶⁹ *Amadis* was the most frequently revived of Lully and Quinault’s operas in Paris, and the *tragédie* appeared on provincial stages within a decade of its Parisian premiere, entertaining audiences in Marseille in 1689 and in Rouen in 1693. The date and circumstances of the first performance of *Amadis* in Lyon are not known, but a 1705 inventory of the Lyon Académie de Musique lists a “tombeau d’*Amadis*” as one of its possessions, indicating that the opera had been performed at least once before that year.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ The word “Fin” appears just before Corisande’s entrance, “Quel tourment, quand l’amour est extême.”

⁶⁹ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 281-7.

⁷⁰ Vallas cites the inventory as Civil, 9 and 20 June 1705 from the archives de la Senechaussee d’Aninay. Vallas also suggests that the Académie des Beaux-Arts performed extracts of *Amadis* early in its existence, which could

Presuming that spectators at the Académie des Beaux-Arts were familiar with the plot of *Amadis*, the audience would not have felt deprived of storyline by the abbreviated performance of the opera. The first four scenes of Act II give the audience an exciting scenario of a lovelorn knight who is victimized by a sorceress and her wicked brother, while offering an array of contrasting pieces, including bass airs with orchestral accompaniment, lyrical recitatives, and fiery duets. Not only do the first four scenes of Act II and the Chaconne of Act V offer a satisfying selection of pieces, but they also call for a limited number of soloists. If the Académie retained all of the first four scenes of the second act, the performance would have required only four soloists to be hired for the concert: Amadis (an haute-contre), Arcalaus (a bass), Arcalaus's sister, the sorceress Arcabonne (a soprano), who is in love with Amadis, and an additional soprano for the trio, "Cédez, il est temps de vous rendre," which requires two sopranos and a tenor. The Act V Chaconne is an orchestral piece that expands into a four-part chorus (two sopranos, tenor, and bass) with orchestra accompaniment, interpolated by small solo airs accompanied by a *basse continue*. The Chaconne-cum-chorus could be sung one-on-a-part by the same soloists who performed the rest of the program, or the Académie could have brought in a larger chorus. This small cast would have been able to cover the soprano, baritone, and chorus needed for the prologue, presuming that the prologue was performed. The Académie's records of the parts it owned for *Amadis* supports the hypothesis that a small cast of soloists and a chorus were hired for the production: in 1730, the Académie owned 3 solo parts and copied 3 parts to

mean that the annotations in this manuscript reflect some of the society's earliest activities. See Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 65, 112.

add to its set of 18 choral parts; in 1741, 3 more solo parts were copied, making a total of 6 solo parts available.⁷¹

The annotations in the score of *Amadis* indicate a highly economical use of performance forces as well as a commitment to including selections from the opera that had already achieved popularity in Paris: “Amour, que veux-tu de moi?” and “Bois épais,” for instance, both occur within the first four scenes of Act II, and were therefore likely included in the performance.

3) *Thésée* (F-LYm Rés MS FM 27295)

The prologue and Act I of *Thésée* are strewn with performance annotations, but the remaining portions of the score do not exhibit signs of use apart from two fermatas in V,8. The annotations mark extensive cuts, especially in duo, trio, and choral numbers in the prologue.⁷² The opera’s first chorus, “Les jeux et les amours,” witnessed the most dramatic transformation in the hands of the Académie. The chorus immediately follows the overture, making it the first vocal piece of the opera. Sung by an ensemble of allegorical characters representing Love, the Graces, Pleasures, and Games in the gardens of Versailles, the singers lament that Love and Games have ceased to reign over the Sun King’s palace. Pleasure and Games interrupt the choral texture to explain in solo or trio interpolations that the king prefers Victory and Glory over sweeter pastimes. The chorus introduces a dialogue between Venus and Mars, who banish the war goddess Bellonne so that they can invite peace into the glory of Louis XIV’s reign.

⁷¹ *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*. F-LYm Rés FM MS 134008.

⁷² Cuts in Act I include: “Dieux quelle barbarie” (I,6); “Ciel, épargnez le sang” (I,6), part of “Liberté, victoire” (I,6); “Vous nous inspirez” (I,9); and all of I,10 after “O guerrière toujours.” Annotations for these cuts are in pencil and ink, and reflect decisions made in separate rehearsals or for separate performances. In general, music that is rapid and recitative-like is cut, while choruses are either shortened or left intact. Such edits make sense for a society that was especially interested in choral music.

Lully organized “Les jeux et les amours” into a series of sections that interleaved solo or trio interpolations into a full chorus texture, as shown in Table 3.3:

Texture	Incipit	Length
Chorus	Les jeux et les Amours ne règnent pas toujours	22 mesures
Solo	Le maitre de ces lieux	10 mm.
Chorus	Les jeux et les amours ne règnent pas toujours	22 mm.
Solo	C'estoit dans ces jardins	9 mm.
Chorus	Les jeux et les amours ne règnent pas toujours	6 mm.
Solo	Ne nous écartons	5 mm.
Trio	Ah! quelles peines	30 mm.
Chorus	Les jeux et les amours ne règnent pas toujours	22 mm.

Table 3.3: Organization of “Les Jeux et les amours” in *Thésée* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1678)

The Académie des Beaux-Arts truncated this chorus, performing it as outlined in Table 3.4:

Texture	Incipit	Length
Chorus	Les jeux et les Amours ne règnent pas toujours	8 mesures
Solo	Le maitre de ces lieux	10 mm.
Chorus	Les jeux et les amours ne règnent pas toujours	8 mm.

Table 3.4: Organization of “Les Jeux et les amours” in *Thésée* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27295)

After the second choral repetition of “Les jeux et les amours,” a marginal note directed performers to proceed to the ritournelle ("allez a la ritournelle en ge re sol") that introduces Venus’s solo, “Revenez, amours.”

The sequence of solo and trio interpolations in Lully’s original chorus drives the emotional climax of the piece, emphasizing the tension caused by the king’s preference for war over peace. Venus shatters the tension when she interrupts the chorus with her solo, “Revenez, amours,” to call Love and Pleasure back to Versailles. By abbreviating the chorus, the Académie des Beaux-Arts not only accelerated the prologue’s plot, moving it more quickly to the scenario in which Venus and Mars banish Bellonne, but also distorted the musical and ideological effect of Lully’s prologue. The prologues of Lully’s operas are luxurious in texture and obsessive in their focus on Louis XIV. The Académie dimmed the spotlight on the Sun King by eliminating

most of the solo and trio interpolations that expound on the king's preference for Glory. These interpolations help to paint an image of Versailles: in "C'estoit dans ces Jardins," a Pleasure describes the fountains of Versailles, and the trio of Games that sing "Ah! quelles peines" lament their sadness in leaving "un si beau Séjour." By stripping the chorus to a minimum and eliminating descriptions of the Sun King's palace, the Académie diminishes the expository role of the prologue in introducing audiences to Louis XIV and his *gloire*. Musically, the elimination of small interpolations gives the chorus a less fragmented texture, a stylistic goal that the Lyon Académie de Musique would later use when reworking several of Lully's choruses in the 1740s.⁷³ Indeed, if the Académie performed its choruses one on a part, the texture of the scene would have sounded even less heterogeneous in performance than Lully's original scoring.

The Académie left the second and final chorus in the prologue, "Mêlons aux chants de victoire," intact apart from an instrumental interpolation that Lully inserted towards the end of the chorus. In this chorus, the allegories welcome Love and Peace alongside "chants de victoire" without explicitly referring to the monarch or his palace. A short instrumental section punctuates the piece before the final line of text. Practical reasons may have motivated the Académie to cut this instrumental section; in a staged production, it offers an opportunity for dance, which would have required the Académie to hire extra performers.⁷⁴ As in the case of "Les jeux et les amours," the cut also makes the chorus shorter, pushing the prologue more swiftly towards its conclusion.

⁷³ It is possible that the decision to abbreviate the chorus was motivated in part by the fact that spectators were not provided with livrets; without access to the complete text of the opera, spectators may have found it easier to digest shorter and less complicated portions of music. It is difficult to test this hypothesis, however, without additional evidence revealing exactly which parts of *Thésée* and other operas by Lully were excerpted for performance throughout the Académie's existence.

⁷⁴ For a discussion on staging choruses in Lully's operas, see Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera*, 40-45.

The individual who annotated *Thésée* frequently inscribed cues for the vocal or continuo lines that began after a page turn. Similar markings of continuo incipits appear in *Alceste* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27273). These cues suggest that the annotated folio scores were used by continuo players, conductors, prompters, or *batteurs* who would have needed to know which singers were about to enter after a page turn, or what an upcoming continuo line sounded like in advance.⁷⁵ One instance of a written-out cue in *Thésée* provides additional insight into the rehearsal process. In “Les jeux et les amours,” the annotator inscribed the cue for the solo interpolation, “Le maître de ces lieux,” on the page before the solo’s entrance. There is a rhythmic discrepancy between the annotator’s cue and the way that the original copyist inscribed the music on the following page. The annotator wrote the final two notes of the first measure of “Le maître de ces lieux” as two equal eighth-notes, whereas the copyist inscribed these notes with the *inégal* rhythm of a dotted eighth-note followed by a sixteenth-note. The rhythm that the annotator uses mirrors the rhythm in the 1678 edition of *Thésée* printed by Ballard. If the annotator’s rhythmic discrepancy was not erroneous, it may indicate that he was also working with a Ballard score in hand.

⁷⁵ In his contract with the Académie des Beaux-Arts, *batteur* Paul Villesavoye indicates the Académie scores were at his disposal: “J’offre encore...de répondre en mon propre et privé nom des partitions, des Copies tan d’opera que des motets que seront remis par le Bibliotequaire dont je me changeray par Ecrit a mesure qu’elles me seront remisera” (“I also offer to notify in writing on my own and private behalf of the scores and copies of operas as well as motets that will be given to me by the librarian”). F-LYam 3GG156 pièce 3.

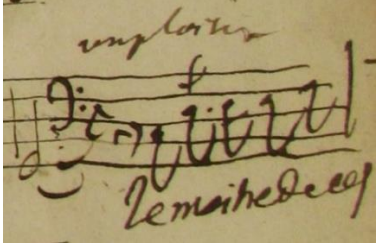


		
<p>Annotator's incipit, "Le maître de ces lieux" Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Rés FM MS 27295, no folio number (recto)</p>	<p>Incipit, "Le maître de ces lieux" (Paris: C. Ballard, 1688) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique VM2-14. www.gallica.bnf.fr</p>	<p>Copyist's incipit, "Le maître de ces lieux" Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Rés FM MS 27295, no folio number (verso)</p>

Table 3.5: Incipit Comparison of "Le maître de ces lieux" in *Thésée*

The annotator's incipit also includes a trill over the second note that appears in neither the copyist's nor Ballard's incipit, a reminder that scores do not necessarily reflect exactly how Lully's music was performed in the 18th century.

4) *Les plus beaux endroits des opéra de M. de Lully* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27256)

Les plus beaux endroits des opéra de M. de Lully is a collection of the "greatest hits" from Lully's operas.⁷⁶ Parisian bookseller Henri Foucault issued the collection as a two-volume set in 1701, although the Académie des Beaux-Arts acquired only the first volume, which contained excerpts of *Psyché*, *Cadmus*, *Alceste*, *Thésée*, *Atys*, *Isis*, *Bellérophon*, and *Proserpine*.⁷⁷ Foucault's manuscript marks a shift in the publication history of Lully's scores. When Lully first began to publish his operas, he collaborated with Christophe Ballard to print vocal partbooks of his *tragédies*, beginning with *Isis* in 1677.⁷⁸ Lully and Ballard were

⁷⁶ The Académie entered it into their Catalogue in Order M, no. 7. See *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*. F-LYm Rés FM MS 134008.

⁷⁷ It is unclear why the Académie did not acquire both volumes that Michon originally owned. See *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Michon, Ancien Avocat au Bureau des Finances*, 140.

⁷⁸ See Wood, *French Baroque Opera*, 6. An abbreviated version of the contract is reproduced in idem, 9 and the full contract is reproduced in Laurencie, "Une convention commerciale entre Lully, Quinault et Ballard en 1680," 176-82. Samuel Pogue, "Christophe Ballard," rev. by Jonathan Le Cocq, *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane L. Root. Accessed 2.14.2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

unsatisfied with this format, and thenceforth printed the operas in full score.⁷⁹ By 1697, Foucault began to sell scores of Lully's operas, but his products were copied by hand rather than printed (which evaded the *privilège* held by the Ballard firm), and they reduced the music from full score to voice and continuo, or voice, continuo, and obbligato.⁸⁰ Foucault was especially proud of his *Recueil* volumes, and inserted advertisements for the volumes in other books copied or printed in his workshop.⁸¹

In the Académie des Beaux-Arts' copy of the *Recueil*, several pieces from *Psyché* were annotated with vocal ornaments, or *agréments*: the solo, "Aimable jeunesse" (II,7), the duet, "Chacun est obligé" (II,7), the solo, "Pourquoy se deffendre" (II,7), and the solo, "Que fais-tu, montre-toy" (III,2). In the opera, the first two pieces are sung by an ensemble of nymphs who greet Psyché in Olympus; Psyché sings the last air upon encountering the jealous Venus in disguise. The *agréments* that inflect these pieces were common in performance scores used at the Paris Opéra, establishing that the singing style used at the Paris Opéra influenced opera performances far beyond the Académie Royale de Musique.⁸² Table 3.6 reproduces each *agrément* that appears in the *Recueil* with its frequency.⁸³

⁷⁹ Ahrendt, "A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680-c. 1710," 5.

⁸⁰ Dobbins, "Henri Foucault."

⁸¹ For example, see Foucault's advertisement for the two-volume set in *Les plus beaux endroits des opera: de M. de Lully*. US-CAAt M1507.L84 P58 1701.

⁸² McGegan, "Singing Style at the Opéra in the Rameau Period," 222-226.

⁸³ I extend my gratitude to Nicholas McGegan for his advice on these ornamentations.


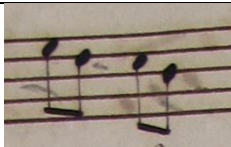




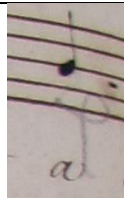
Agrément	Type	Frequency
	Trill	9
	Inégal	1
	Porte de voix	5
	Coulé	1
	Appoggiatura	2
	Appoggiatura and mordant	1
	Trill variation	2

Table 3.6: *Agréments* in *Les plus beaux endroits des opéra de M. de Lully*
Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Rés FM MS 27256

To 18th-century French artists and audiences, singing Lully's operas was a study in proper declamation and pronunciation.⁸⁴ Just as 17th-century Parisian comedies stereotyped the provincial French as having irreparably awkward speech mannerisms, voice teachers in 18th-century Paris were especially concerned with the need to teach enunciation to singers coming from the provinces, where it was expected that good French pronunciation would not have been acquired, as the *haute-contre* singer and music teacher Jean-Antoine Bérard (1710-1772) makes clear in his vocal treatise, *L'Art du Chant* (1755):

It happens only too often that people who are taught and instructed at the heart of the capital, who enunciate well in conversation and in declamation, have very bad diction in singing...it might be because the varied sounds that singing demands multiply the difficulties of beautiful pronunciation: these difficulties are magnified for the provinces and for foreigners who are distant from the source of our language, by which I mean the Court.⁸⁵

Bérard also believed that provincial French singers were unaware of the style of singing that he cultivated as a voice teacher:

The ornaments which one has admired in execution of the most beautiful pieces of music, are hardly known except by some excellent singers, and are lost to people in the Capital who never come to performances, and to the provinces, foreigners, and to the centuries to come.⁸⁶

The Académie des Beaux-Arts *Recueil*, however, indicates that singers in Lyon were very much aware of singing styles used at the Paris Opéra, however much Bérard may have wished that his

⁸⁴ Catherine Gordon-Seiffert, *Music and the Language of Love: Seventeenth-Century French Airs* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 202-203; Jed Wentz, "An Annotated *livret* of Lully's *Roland* as a Source for Seventeenth-Century Declamation," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 25.1 (March 2013), 1-2.

⁸⁵ "Il n'arrive que trop souvent que des gens élevés & instruits dans le sein de la capitale, & qui prononcent bien dans la conversation & dans la déclamation, prononcent très-mal dans le Chant...soit parce que les Sons variés qu'exige le Chant, multiplient les difficultés de la belle prononciation: ces difficultés doivent être plus grandes pour les Provinces, & les Etrangers qui sont loin de la source de notre langue, je veux dire de la Cour." Jean-Antoine Bérard, *L'Art du Chant* (Paris: Chez Dessaint & Saillant, Prault, Fils, Lambert, 1755), 51-2.

⁸⁶ "Les agréments qu'on avoir admirés dans l'exécution des plus beaux morceaux de Musique, ne sont guères connus que de quelques excellens Chanteurs, & sont perdus pour les gens de la Capitale qui ne fréquentent point les Spectacles, pour les Provinces, pour les Etrangers, & pour les siècles à venir." Bérard, *L'Art du Chant*, 141.

readers believe that study with him held the key to stylistic singing. Whoever marked the airs from *Psyché* took great care over enunciation: a pencil mark connects an eighth-note to the first letter of *apprendre* in “Aimable jeunesse,” marking the singer’s effort to ensure that she matched the correct pitches and rhythms to the text. Furthermore, the *agréments* not only embellished the music of each piece, but also enhanced textual declamation.⁸⁷

The first piece that exhibits signs of performance use is “Aimable jeunesse” (see Fig. 3.2). In the opera, the princess Psyché has just been transported to the world of the gods, where she expects to be sacrificed to the monster that has been plaguing her kingdom. It is Amour, god of love, however, who greets Psyché. Though he remains invisible to her eyes and refuses to confess his identity, Amour declares his love for the princess and takes her to his palace. Three nymphs greet the astonished princess, the first of whom sings “Aimable jeunesse”:

Aimable jeunesse	Lovely youth
Suivez la tendresse	Follow tenderness
Joignez aux beaux jours	Join the sweetness of love
La douceur des amours.	To beautiful days.
C’est pour vous surprendre	It is to surprise you
Qu’on vous fait entendre	That we make you understand
Qu’il faut envier leurs soupirs	That you must envy love’s sighs
Et craindre leurs désirs.	And fear its desires.
Laisser vous apprendre	Let yourself learn
Quels sont leurs plaisirs.	Of its pleasures.

The delicate melody moves in the triple meter of a *menuet* with the dance form’s typical AABB structure. Three types of *agréments* appear over the course of the piece: two variations of a trill and a *porte de voix*, as well as rhythmic alterations indicating an *inégal* interpretation of the fifth measure. The first *agrément* embellishes the end of the opening phrase. Thereafter, the

⁸⁷ For a discussion of the declamatory function of Lully’s opera airs and *récitatifs*, see Wentz, “An Annotated *livret* of Lully’s *Roland* as a Source for Seventeenth-Century Declamation,” 6-36.

agréments grow denser, shaping a singing style that favored simple delivery at the beginning of the piece and more embellishments as it progressed.



Fig. 3.5: "Aimable Jeunesse"
Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Rés FM MS 27256, fol. 6r

“Chacun est obligé” features a similar deployment of *agréments*, which only appear in the second half of the piece. The *agréments* delineate the dance-song’s binary structure (AB) and define the emotional trajectory of the piece. The second half differs from the first in melody and semantic complexity. At the opening of the piece, the nymphs sing of youth’s pleasures, but they use the B section to meditate on the dangerous delights of love. The thicker ornamentation of the B section emphasizes the distinction between the two halves. The opening line of the B section offers a compelling example of how this works: as the nymph explains that she must make Psyché understand love and desire, she embellishes her melody with alternating trills and portes de voix (see Fig. 3.3). The placement of the *agréments* gives balanced symmetry to the line, emphasizing the declamation of the text (c’est pour **vous** **surprendre** qu’on vous **fait** **entendre**). The *agréments* also give emotional propulsion to the line, emphasizing the urgency with which the nymph beseeches Psyché to be open to love.

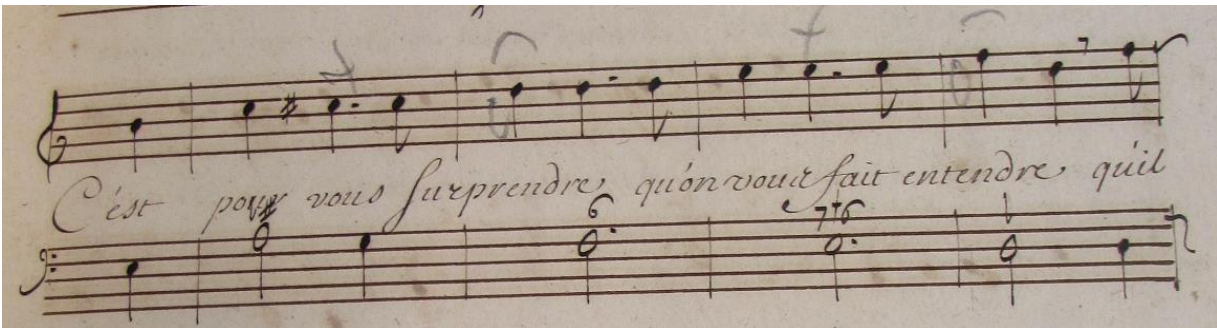


Fig. 3.6: *Agréments* at the opening of the B section in “Chacun est obligé”
Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Rés FM MS 27256, fol. 6v

The *agréments* annotated in “Pourquoy se deffendre” are similarly declamatory in function. Five *agréments* highlight the meter of the text: “Pour**quoy** **se** **deffendre** que sert il d’**attendre**/ Quand on perd un jour, on le perd sans **retour**.”

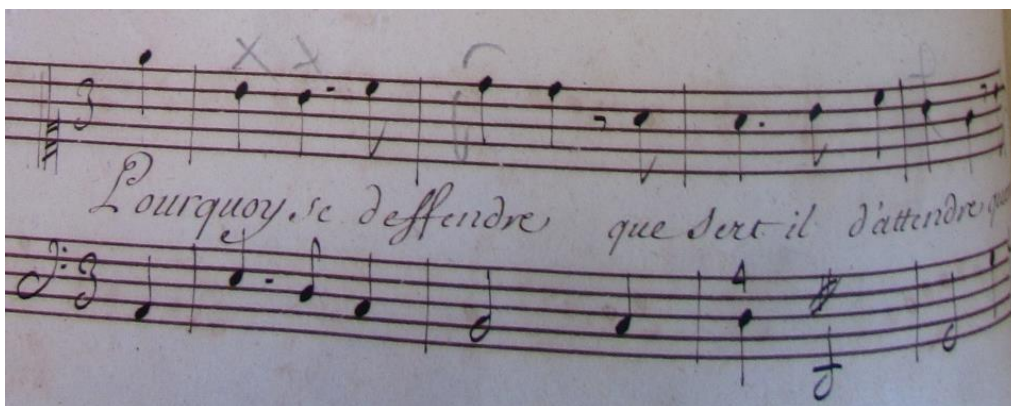


Fig. 3.7: *Agréments* at the opening of “Pourquoy se deffendre”
Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Rés FM MS 27256, fol. 6v

Finally, the trills that appear in “Que fais-tu” serve the rhetoric of the text, enhancing “flamme” (“montre-toy cher objet de ma flamme”) and “j’aime” (“je ne vois point ce que j’aime”) as Psyché calls out piteously for Amour.

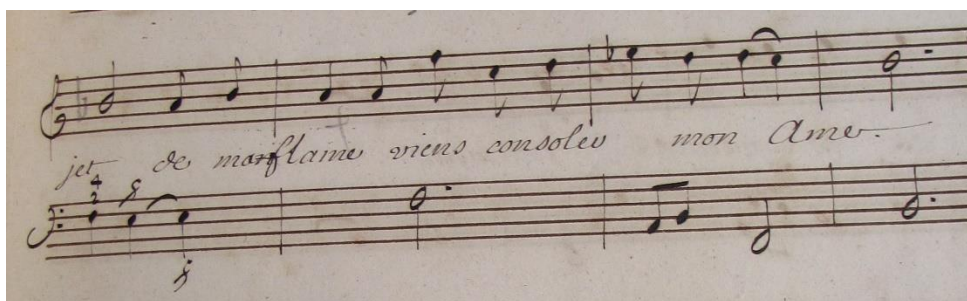


Fig. 3.8: Trill in “Que fais-tu”
Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Rés FM MS 27256, fol. 7r

Comparing the *agréments* annotated in the *Recueil* to those that appear in the first printed edition of the score (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Christophe Ballard, 1720) reveals similarities and differences. Ballard, for instance, inserts three trills in “Aimable jeunesse.” These *agréments* as well as three additional ornaments; her rendering of measure 5 as *inégal* is also not reflected in Ballard’s edition.



Fig. 3.9: “Aimable jeunesse,” excerpt, in *Psyché* (Paris: Ballard, 1720)
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique VM2-37. www.gallica.bnf.fr.

Similarly, a mordant was added to the phrase, “Plus on doit à l’amour” in “Chacun est obligé” (encircled in Fig. 3.10) that does not appear in Ballard’s score:

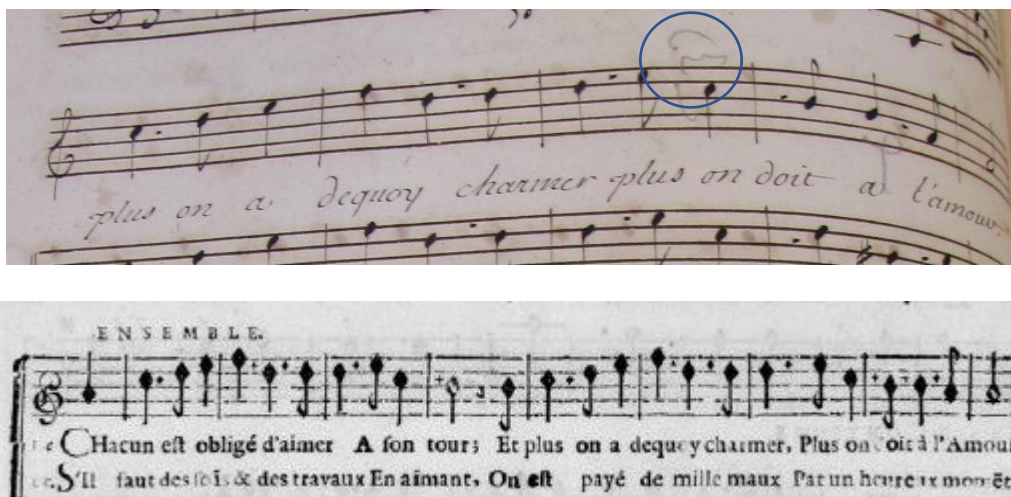


Fig. 3.10: Comparison of “Chacun est obligé” in *Recueil des plus beaux endroits des opéra* (Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Rés FM MS 27256, fol. 6v) (above)) and *Psyché* (Paris: Ballard, 1720) (below))

Despite what Parisian singers and voice teachers believed, provincial artists – at least in Lyon – emulated the singing style used at the Paris Opéra. Indeed, though Bérard criticized provincial singers for being ignorant of proper declamation, voice teachers in Lyon such as Jean Vallancier, author of *Méthode harmonique des élemens de musique* (1753), who ensured that

music students in the city would have access to “the definitions of all the *agréments*” (“les définitions de tous les agréments”) as they developed their musicianship.⁸⁸ Even before Vallancier published his textbook, Bollioud-Mermet lamented that Lyonnais musicians were *too* attuned to performance styles used in Paris. In his *De la Corruption de la Goust*, he criticized the singers of his city for using excessive ornamentation in performance:

A musician...entangles, he envelops so much the subject of the piece by hazardous turns, and superfluous ornaments, that one cannot distinguish it any more...these ornaments are thorns, which in their abundance suffocate the flowers.⁸⁹

Regardless of how Bollioud-Mermet’s readers may have reacted to his complaint, the annotations in the Académie des Beaux-Arts’ *Recueil* testify to a local singing style that favored a conservative vocabulary of *agréments* deployed to highlight musical form and emphasize textual rhetoric.

Modern editions of Lully’s operas rarely include vocal ornamentations and other performance directions preserved in manuscripts or printed editions.⁹⁰ The exclusion of

⁸⁸ Jean Vallancier, *Méthode harmonique des éléments de Musique* (Paris: Chez Mr. Vanheck; Lyon: Chez l’Auteur, [1753]), n.p.

⁸⁹ “Un Musicien...Il embarrasse, il enveloppe tellement le sujet de la Pièce par des tours harzardés, & des ornemens superflus, qu’on ne le distingue plus...Ces ornemens sont des épines, qui par leur abondance étouffent les fleurs.” Bollioud-Mermet, *De la corruption du goust dans la musique Française*, 32.

⁹⁰ In modern editions of Lully’s operas, for instance, that formed part of the *Chefs-d’oeuvre classiques de l’opéra français* series, editor Théodore de Lajarte does not reflect upon his editorial process. His only concession to what the original Ballard scores looked like is that his edition “conforme aux exemplaires et Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Thre. De l’Opéra,” an assertion he notes on the title pages of each score. Editorial notes would be especially interesting for Lajarte’s editions since he converted the operas into keyboard reductions for voice and piano, with the continuo realized. Any ornaments that Lully inserted are realized, as well. See, for example, *Armide, tragédie en cinq actes et un prologue* (Paris: T. Michaelis, 1880). Contemporary criticism of these editions is discussed briefly in Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France – La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 74. The second attempt to create a full set of Lully’s operas was endeavored by Lully scholar Henri Prunières, who began to issue a series in the 1930s, although he never achieves his goal of editing all of Lully’s operas. Prunières gives a small mention of ornaments, noting that they were an exception to Lully’s otherwise conservative vocal aesthetic: “A la différence des italiens et des français de son temps Lully proscriit les ornements vocaux et les broderies. Il n’emploie les vocalises que très exceptionnellement pour des effets particuliers. Chose curieuse, ce n’est presque jamais en ce cas aux ‘voix rossignolantes’ qu’il les confie, mais aux basses.” See *Œuvres complètes: Cadmus et Hermione* (Paris: Éditions de la Revue Musicale, 1930, n.p.). Prunières is thus more dismissive than not of the ornaments. In 2010, Pascal

performance annotations in these editions implies that the annotations are not intrinsic to the music. Instead, they are dismissed as marginal, unnecessary, and perhaps even distracting from the integrity of the work. In his study of the singing style at the Paris Opéra during the era of Rameau, however, Nicholas McGegan points out the loss that results from dismissing annotations:

In listening to some performances and recordings, one notices that while players of baroque instruments seem to be increasingly knowledgeable of the style and ever more comfortable with it, the same cannot often be said of the solo singers. The problem can be partially ascribed to ignorance or lack of concern on the part of conductors and to the fact that even recent editors of the scores, whilst restoring the original orchestration, frequently omit many of the detailed singing instructions to be found in contemporary performance material.⁹¹

The scores of Lully's operas owned by the Académie des Beaux-Arts demonstrate how much knowledge about the performance practice of this repertoire would be lost without considering annotations that a score acquired as it was used. Not only do the scores provide insight into the stylistic goals of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, but they also demonstrate the variety of interpretations that Lully's operas underwent as they circulated beyond Paris. In the second part of this chapter, I continue to explore how Lyon responded to, adapted, or dismissed interpretations of Lully's operas in Paris by examining productions of the repertoire at the Académie de Musique of Lyon.

Part Two: The Académie de Musique of Lyon

The installation of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV was not the only change to Lyon's urban landscape in 1713. That year, the Consulate commissioned the renovation of a new

Denécheau recommenced with making a new edition of Lully's complete works, but this too has not been completed. In the editions that have been published, the editors Jérôme de la Gorce and Herbert Schneider do not address ornaments. See *Jean-Baptiste Lully, Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jérôme de la Gorce and Herbert Schneider (Hildesheim, New York: G. Olms, 2001).

⁹¹ McGegan, "Singing Style at the Opéra in the Rameau Period," 209.

performance hall for the Lyon Académie de Musique. Since its establishment in 1687, the Académie had drifted among buildings that succumbed every few years to fire, flood, or collapse.⁹² The Consulate began to debate the Académie's proposal for the construction of a proper *salle de concert* in 1706, but it was the conclusion of the War of Spanish Succession in 1713 that finally pushed the municipal council to set its plans in motion:

Since the last flood carried off the back of the room which is inside the house of the Sieur de Chaponay in [the place] Bellecour, and since the one where they put on shows at the Hôtel du Gouvernement is extremely tight and does not have sufficient height for the stage machines, which are one of the main beautiful things about the shows, director Bretonnal [Jean-François Mey de Bretonnal, director of the Académie de Musique from 1711 to 1714] was at the point of giving up his privilege and taking the Opéra to another province. The Consulate thought that the time was just right to put into effect the deliberation taken by its predecessors on 5 January 1706 [i.e., to acquire a new performance space], especially with the hope that the inevitable peace would soon attract many foreigners to this city who would otherwise be surprised that a city as great as Lyon might be without *spectacle*.⁹³

⁹² Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 96. Misfortunate as the Académie might seem in its constant need to transfer venues, fire and flooding were frequent occurrences in early modern Lyon, as an anonymous Lyonnais poet complained in 1744: “Nous gemissons dans les horreurs/de mille desastres et malheurs/des banqueroutes qui fourmille/des incendie ou les vus grille;/ d’autre noyés dans leurs maisons/servent de pâtures aux poissons” (“We wail over the horrors of a thousand disasters and misfortunes, of swarming bankruptcy, of fires or gridded views; of others drowned in their houses who serve as pastures to the fish”). *Recueil pour Lyon, en vers, sur divers événements arrivés dans laditte ville, de 1733 à 1752*. F-LYm MS Pa 53, no. 20.

⁹³ “Comme les dernières inondations ont emporté le derriere de la salle qui est dans la maison du sieur de Chaponay en Bellecour, et que celle où l’on représente dans l’Hôtel du Gouvernement est extrêmenet resserrée, et n’a pas asez de hauteur pour le jeu des machines qui sont une des principales beautés du spectacle, le sieur Bretonnal directeur étant sur le point d’abandonner son privilège et de porter l’Opéra dans une autre province, le Consulat auroit pensé que le temps étoit assez propice pour executer la délibération prise par leurs prédécesseurs le 5 janvier 1706, d’autant plus que l’espérance certaine de la paix attirera bientôt en cette ville quantité d’Etrangers qui verraient avec surprise une aussi grande ville que Lyon sans spectacle. Qtd. In Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 95. Consulaire deliberation de 23 mars, 1713. Initially, the new performance space was planned to be in a building either directly in front of or behind La Boucherie des Terreaux, or a butcher shop. This decision was abandoned at the last minute, in March 1713, when it was decided that the foul odors and ordure from the shop would be too unpleasant for concert-goers. The building that was finally purchased was immediately next to the salle de l’Hôtel du Gouvernement that the Académie had been using.” See Corneloup, *Trois siècles d’opéra à Lyon*, 36.

The Consulate's decision was political: the Académie de Musique lent glamor and prestige to the city's reputation, and it would humiliate the city if visitors found Lyon lacking in a functional opera house.

The governor of Lyon also assisted in securing a new space for the Académie by purchasing a building adjacent to the Hôtel du Gouverneur. Using funds supplied by the Consulate, the building was enlarged and redesigned in less than a year.⁹⁴ The new space, however, would not last: in 1714, the building suffered significant structural damage when a supporting beam collapsed, and it burned down in 1722. After the building was reconstructed, it succumbed once more to flames in 1728. Following the fire, the Consulate bought a new space for the Académie by the Hôtel de Ville, which served the company for the next 30 years.⁹⁵ The Consulate's decision to fund the purchase was purportedly thanks to the *prévôt des marchand's* infatuation with Madeleine Eucher "La Desmarest," who directed the Académie from 1722 to 1739.⁹⁶

The Académie produced at least six of Lully's operas between 1730 and 1750. La Desmarest revived *Alceste*, *Armide*, *Isis*, *Roland*, and *Thésée*.⁹⁷ From these productions, only the 1730 livret of *Alceste* survives. The livret indicates no changes to Quinault's original text. Among the performers listed in the livret is Madeleine Tulou, who had sung the title role in the

⁹⁴ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 96. Unfortunately, within a few years the space burnt to the ground.

⁹⁵ *Recueil pour Lyon, en vers, sur divers événements arrivés dans laditte ville, de 1733 à 1752*. F-LYm MS Pa 53, no. 69.

⁹⁶ Corneloup, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon*, 36-37. It is known that the building and several others that formed part of a small complex had been purchased by the city on behalf of the Académie from a monsieur Bron. See Corneloup, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon*, 39.

⁹⁷ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 216.

Académie des Beaux-Arts performance of *Armide* discussed earlier in this chapter.⁹⁸ Tulou was in prime demand at the Académie de Musique, where she also starred as the title role in *Alceste*.⁹⁹ After La Demarest's tenure, the Académie revived four of Lully's operas between 1740 and 1750. The livrets printed for these productions feature many departures from the original versions of the operas. Before discussing the livrets in detail, however, it is helpful to review the institutional history of the Académie in this decade.

In 1739, Bergiron – who had served as the orchestra director, librarian, and copyist of the Académie des Beaux-Arts – assumed directorship over the Académie de Musique.¹⁰⁰ Bergiron directed a company of about 60 instrumentalists, singers, and dancers. In addition to reviving *Roland* (1740), *Thésée* (1741), *Armide* (1742), and *Atys* (1743), the Académie enriched its repertoire with the *tragédies* and *ballets* from Paris, including *Jephté*, *Omphale*, *Vénus et Adonis*, and *Le Ballet des Sens*. The Académie also introduced compositions by local composers, such as François Lupien Grenet's *ballet héroïque*, *Le Triomphe de l'Harmonie*.¹⁰¹ During Bergiron's directorship, Aimé Delaroche (1720-1801), *imprimeur ordinaire de Monseigneur le Duc de*

⁹⁸ Ibid., 37-39. For details on La Desmarest's tenure, see Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 199-222. For over ten years, the Académie was run by a female director, La Desmarais. Vallas is generally dismissive of her capabilities, and her tenure merits fresh study.

⁹⁹ *Alceste ou Le Triomphe d'Alcide. Tragédie Par Monsieur de Lully* (Lyon: Antoine Olyer, 1730). Tulou also sang the role of the Nympe de la Seine in the prologue. In addition to soloists, the production featured 20 choristers and 16 dancers.

¹⁰⁰ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 225.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 229-231.

Villeroy, printed the Académie's livrets.¹⁰² Like Bergiron, Delaroche represented a crossover from the Académie des Beaux-Arts, for which he printed concert tickets.¹⁰³

In 1744, Bergiron gave up his position to Jean Monnet (1703-1785), a roguish adventurer who spent his career at opera and theater companies in Paris, Lyon, and London. Monnet would eventually recount his salacious life onstage and behind the curtain in a two-volume memoir, *Supplément au roman comique* (1772).¹⁰⁴ Before coming to Lyon, Monnet spent several years directing the Opéra-Comique in Paris, where he witnessed the rising careers of composers and artists such as Jean-Philippe Rameau and Marie Sallé.¹⁰⁵ His experience in Paris doubtless influenced his work in Lyon, although he did not produce any of Lully's operas at the Lyon Académie.

In 1749, Jacques-Simon Mangot (fl. 1718-1772) took Monnet's place as director. Mangot knew Rameau personally – his sister was married to the composer – and he brought experience from working in musical circles outside of Lyon: from 1718 to 1738, he was a wind player at the Grande Écurie of Versailles, and he served for at least one year as the director of the Académie de Musique of Marseille beginning in 1746.¹⁰⁶ Mangot directed the Académie for one year, but remained in Lyon to become director of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1753 before moving to

¹⁰² Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 191-2.

¹⁰³ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 37. There is no evidence that Delaroche printed livrets for the Académie des Beaux-Arts, as well.

¹⁰⁴ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 236-7.

¹⁰⁵ Monnet, *Supplément au roman comique*, vol. 1 (London, 1772), 44; 52-3.

¹⁰⁶ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 246; Vallas, "Jacques-Simon Mangot. Un beau-frère de Rameau, symphoniste, compositeur et directeur d'Opéra," *Revue de Musicologie* 5.11 (Aug. 1924), 123-124; Cuthbert Girdlestone, *Jean-Philippe Rameau: His Life and Work* (London: Cassell, 1957), 8.

Italy in 1756.¹⁰⁷ Between 1749 and 1750, Mangot revived three of Lully's operas: *Thésée* (1749), *Roland* (1749), and *Armide* (1750) in addition to Parisian works such as *Zaïde, reine de Grenade*, *Les Fêtes d'Hébé*, and *Les Indes Galantes*, and his own composition, *Le Triomphe de Vénus*.¹⁰⁸ Mangot did not collaborate with Delaroche, partnering instead with the printer Rigollet, whose livrets have a more industrial appearance than Delaroche's elegant booklets.

Table 3.7 lists the Lully operas that Bergiron and Mangot produced, as well as the printers who sold livrets for the operas, and the operas' most recent revivals at the Paris Opéra and Versailles.

Year	Opera	Printer	Most Recent Revival in Paris
1740	<i>Roland</i>	Delaroche	1727 (1728, Versailles)
1741	<i>Thésée</i>	Delaroche	1729
1742	<i>Armide</i>	Delaroche	1724
1743	<i>Atys</i>	Delaroche	1738
1749	<i>Thésée</i>	Rigollet	1744
1749	<i>Roland</i>	Rigollet	1743
1750	<i>Armide</i>	Rigollet	1745 (1746, Versailles)

Table 3.7: Lully livrets printed by the Lyon Académie de Musique, 1740-1750

The livrets provide rich evidence for how Lully's operas were performed at the Lyon Académie. In what follows, I first consider the productions through the lens of their performance personnel. Second, I examine how the productions emulated or diverged from the most recent revivals of the operas in Paris. My analysis reveals two recurring practices at the Lyon Académie: first, Bergiron typically omitted prologues, while Mangot brought them back; second, Bergiron and Mangot frequently abbreviated choruses, especially those that had originally featured short solo interpolations. While the Paris Opéra did not omit prologues until the 1750s, it began to shorten

¹⁰⁷ Vallas, "Jacques-Simon Mangot. Un beau-frère de Rameau, symphoniste, compositeur et directeur d'Opéra," 125.

¹⁰⁸ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 247; Vallas, "Jacques-Simon Mangot. Un beau-frère de Rameau, symphoniste, compositeur et directeur d'Opéra," 124.

many of Lully's choruses around the time that the practice was adopted in Lyon. Finally, while the Lyon Académie's productions of *Roland*, *Thésée*, and *Atys* diverge in small ways from how the operas were presented in Paris, the Lyon Académie's *Armide* featured an interpretation of Act IV that followed the Académie des Beaux-Arts' cuts to the act, thus differing significantly from how the act was performed in Paris.

The Lyon Lully Livrets: Singers, Dancers, and Choreographies

In each of their Lully livrets, Delaroche and Rigollet included cast lists naming choristers, soloists, and dancers in the production. The number of choristers for each production averaged between 20 and 26 singers, although Mangot consistently used a chorus of 20. While Bergiron's productions featured 13 to 16 dancers, Mangot always used 16. Only eight singers participated in Lully productions under both Bergiron and Mangot: M. Collesse, M. Drougeons, M. François, M. Furin, Mademoiselle Girardon, M. Lacheverrie, M. Lenoble, and Mademoiselle Moussa. Six of these singers were choristers, whereas two sang as choristers and soloists.¹⁰⁹ The *haute-contre* Monsieur Philippe sang not only for Bergiron and Mangot's Lully productions, but also for La Desmarest's *Alceste*.¹¹⁰

In the livrets, choristers were listed according to the sides of the stage from which they sang: rather than the *côté de la reine* and the *côté du roi* that divides choristers in Parisian livrets, Lyon Académie choristers sang on the *côté de M. le Gouverneur* and the *côté de M. l'Intendant*, respectively.¹¹¹ Most choristers sang in multiple Lully productions, and they typically remained on the same side of the stage in each production, with a few exceptions: Monsieur Drougeons,

¹⁰⁹ Lacheverrie and Lenoble sang tenor and *haute-contre*, respectively.

¹¹⁰ Philippe is included in a payment record of an Académie des Beaux-Arts concert dating from 1765; if he had sung under La Desmarest, his career would have spanned about 30 years. F-AIXm 3GG156, pièce 19.

¹¹¹ In the 1730 livret of *Alceste*, choristers are divided between the *côté de la Maréchal* and the *côté de l'Intendant*, and in the 1740 livret of *Roland*, choristers are divided between the *côté de Duc* and the *côté de l'Intendant*.

Monsieur Francois, and Mademoiselle Moussa, for instance, switched from the *côté de M. le Gouverneur* to the *côté de l'Intendant* under Mangot. Some choristers also sang solo roles: Monsieur Lachevrière, for instance, sang in both the chorus and as Artemidore in the 1742 *Armide*.

Many performers represented families of artists: Pierre-Josèph and Mademoiselle Moussa, for instance, sang in the 1741 *Thésée* and the 1742 *Armide*. Monsieur and Mademoiselle Lachevrière sang and danced, respectively, in the 1749 *Roland*. Several performers had established their career in Paris before coming to Lyon. Marie-Anne de Cupis “La Camargo” is the most famous example. A star dancer who launched her career in Rebel’s *Les Caractères de la Danse* in Paris in 1726, Camargo popularized several reforms on the dance stage, including the use of skirts above ankle-length to allow for more agile movement.¹¹² She graced the 1749 *Roland* and 1750 *Armide* productions, although Rigollet does not indicate which roles she danced. Mademoiselle Anteaume, a chorister in the 1743 *Atys*, had enjoyed a career as a chorister at the Paris Opéra in the 1736-1738 and 1741-1742 seasons.¹¹³ Jean Louis Blain de Fontenay, the *basse-taille* who starred as Idas, Phobetor, Sangar, Hidraot, and Egée in several of the Lyon Lully productions, had also sung at the Paris Opéra between 1736 and 1738. Though De Fontenay sang well, a traveler passing through Lyon in 1739 or 1740 remarked that the *basse-taille* was a “mauvais acteur”.¹¹⁴ Thérèse Destrel also began her career in Paris, but as an actress at the Foire Saint-Germain, before she was hired for small solo roles in the 1741 *Thésée*

¹¹² *La Camargo: Opéra-comique en 3 actes* (New York: Metropolitan Printing and Engraving Establishment, 1879) by Albert Vandaloo, Eugene Leterrier, and Charles Lecocq, is a humorous 19th-century piece that takes place as Camargo is en route to Lyon.

¹¹³ Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 228.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 229. Defontenay may have sung the role of Lopès in *Les Folies de Cardenio, pièce heroï-comique*, a ballet danced at the Tuileries in December 1720, in which livret his name appears. Paris: Ballard, 1720.

and the 1742 *Armide* in Lyon.¹¹⁵ Finally, some artists, like Madeleine Tulou, also found employment at the Lyon Académie des Beaux-Arts: Joseph Gavaudan, who sang in the chorus of the Lyon Académie's 1741 *Thésée*, 1742 *Armide*, and 1743 *Atys*, for instance, worked for the Académie des Beaux-Arts as a music copyist.¹¹⁶

While Rigollet organized dancers by gender, Delaroche divided dancers according to the divertissement in which they performed. The spatial organization of the dancers' names in Delaroche's livrets suggests basic information about choreography. In the *sommeil* scene of *Atys*, for instance, Delaroche singles out Mademoiselle and Monsieur Lefebvre in the groups of dancing *songes agréables* and *songes funestes*, respectively, by placing their names above the other dancers who participated in the divertissement. This spatial arrangement suggests that the Lefebvres performed solo dances within the scene:¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 228.

¹¹⁶ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 217.

¹¹⁷ In the 1738 livret of *Atys* published in Paris, Monsieur Malter cadet is also singled out visually among the other men who danced as *songes funestes*. No dancer, however, is singled out individually among the *songes agréables*. Rather, it is implied that Monsieur Malter troisième and Mademoiselle Mariette danced a duet, since they are listed before the other 12 dancers with these roles. See *Atys* (Paris: J. B. Christophe Ballard, 1738), xii.

T R O I S I E M E A C T E .
 S O N G E S A G R E A B L E S .
 M^{lle}. Lefebvre.
 Messieurs Lefebvre , Gonzale.
 Mesdemoiselles Hyacinthe , Pluvignée , Texier , Giroux.
 L E S S O N G E S F U N E S T E S .
 Monsieur Lefebvre.
 Messieurs Deloule Bodin , Garnier , Dupré.

Fig. 3.11: Organization of *songes agréables* and *songes funestes* in *Atys* (Lyon, 1743)

Rebecca Harris-Warrick has noted that dancers performed in even-numbered groups at the Paris Opéra during Lully's lifetime, often splitting into ensembles of four, six, or eight performers.¹¹⁸ This is largely the case for the dancers listed in Delaroche's livrets, although there are several instances in which a soloist danced amidst performers divided into two groups of five, as in the Act IV divertissement of *Atys* (1743) and the Act II divertissement of *Armide* (1742).¹¹⁹

The Lyon Lully Livrets: Textual and Musical Modifications

Livrets do not necessarily capture all changes made to a production. Ballard made this clear in his 1743 livret of *Roland*, for which he printed a single page outlining changes that the Paris Opéra made to the *tragédie* rather than printing a livret that incorporated them into the text.

¹¹⁸ Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera*, 106.

¹¹⁹ In *Atys*, Act IV, Lefebvre danced with Messieurs Deloule, Bodin, Garnier, Dupré, and Gonzale, and Mademoiselles Hyacinthe, Pluvignée, Texier, Giroux, and Fardelle. In Act II of *Armide*, she danced with Messrs. Deloule, Bodin, Garnier, Gonzale, and Lefebvre cadet, and Mademoiselles Pluvignée, Hyacinthe, Giroux, Texier, and Fardelle.

The page suggests that Ballard printed the livret before the production, basing his product on past editions of the booklet:

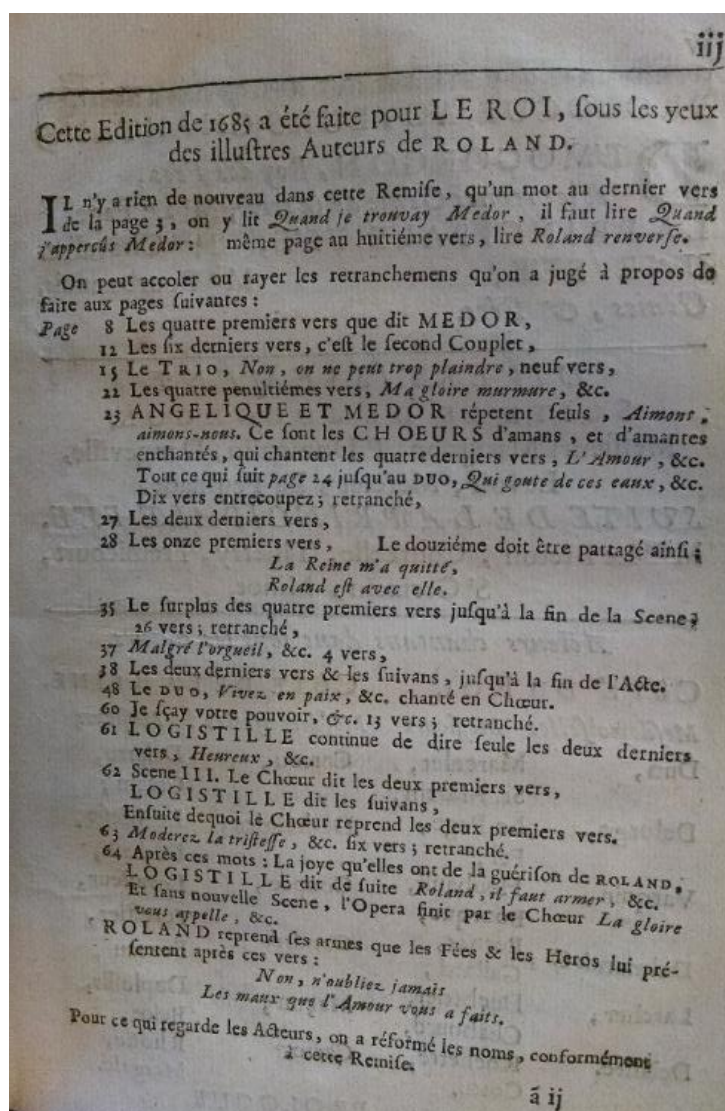


Fig. 3.12: List of text updates in *Roland* (Paris: J.B. Christophe Ballard, 1743)
US-Cat [TS 8588.402 1743] Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Without this page, a reader would not have access to the Paris Opéra's most recent updates to the opera. It is possible that Delaroche and Rigollet did not incorporate all changes made to Lully's operas in their livrets; moreover, the livrets indicate nothing about possible updates to the score.

Regardless of these limitations, however, the livrets offer a glimpse of the performance history of *Thésée*, *Roland*, *Atys*, and *Armide* in Lyon.¹²⁰

1) *Roland*, 1740 and 1749

The livrets printed for Bergiron's 1740 production of *Roland* and Mangot's 1749 production of the opera are identical. Their divergences from the livrets printed for the most recent productions of *Roland* at the Paris Opéra (in 1727 and 1743) are modest: choruses tend to be shortened by reducing the number of solo interjections, and divertissements are abbreviated by eliminating vocal pieces that do not contribute extensively to the plot. Table 3.8 captures how the Lyon productions compared with *Roland* as the opera was printed for the Paris Opéra's revival in 1743. Ballard's 1727 livret of *Roland* did not feature the changes that the Paris Opéra made in 1743. When the Lyon productions ignored a modification made to Ballard's 1743 livret, they did not diverge from Ballard's 1727 livret.

¹²⁰ For an impressive model of how to derive the richest analysis of information that livrets can offer, see Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera*, especially pp. 26-31; 105-108; 122-130.

	1743 Paris Alteration according to Ballard's prefatory note	1740 and 1749 Lyon Productions
I,4	Eliminate the first four lines of "Vous voulez que je vive."	Ignored
I,6	Eliminate second couplet of "Dans nos Climats."	Eliminated "Dans nos Climats" completely.
II,1	Eliminate "Non, on ne peut trop plaindre."	Eliminated
II,4	Eliminate the four penultimate lines of "Ma gloire murmure."	Ignored
II,5	Angélique and Médor sing "Aimons, aimons-nous" without chorus, and the choeur d'amants and d'amantes enchantés sing the last four lines of "L'Amour nous appelle," without Angélique and Médor. The choral music and dance music is cut until "Qui goute de ces Eaux."	Casting changes not followed. Choral cuts are followed; not possible to determine whether dance music was cut.
III,1	Eliminate lines "Si vous vous exposez à son fatal souroux" and "Un Malheureux doit voir le trépas sans allarmes."	Ignored
III,1	Eliminate "Vostre Bonheur sera mille jaloux."	Ignored
III,4	Cut from "Vous me quittez" to the end of the scene.	Ignored
III,6	Cut "Malgré l'orgueil."	Cut, as well as "Trop heureux un Amant."
III,6	Cut "C'est pour Vous que sont faits" to the end of the act.	Cut begins earlier, at "Angelique n'est plus insensible."
IV,3	The duet "Vivez en paix" should be sung by the chorus rather than as a duet.	"Vivez en paix" cut entirely.
V,1	Cut "Je scay votre pouvoir" and "Je puis des Elements interrompre."	Ignored
V,2	Logistille sings "Heureux qui se deffend toujours" alone rather than with a chorus.	The chorus sings "Heureux qui se deffend toujours" without Logistille.
V,3	The choir sings "Roland, courez aux armes. Quand la Gloire a de charmes!" and Logistille finishes her solo alone.	Ignored
V,3	Cut "Moderez la tristesse" and "Sortez pour jamais."	Ignored
V,3	V,3 becomes the final scene of the opera. The role of La Gloire is eliminated; Logistille sings La Gloire's solo, "Roland il faut armer." The choir finishes the opera with "La gloire vous appelle."	Ignored

Table 3.8: Modifications in the 1743 Paris and 1740/1749 Lyon *Roland* Revivals

An examination of Bergiron and Mangot's treatment of the divertissements in Acts III and IV captures the directors' preference for simpler and shorter scenes that originally involved a variety of choral, solo, and dance music. The directors eliminated the duet, "Vivez en Paix," in the famous "Noces de Village" divertissement (IV,3); while the 1727 Paris production retained the duet, the 1743 revival rescored it for chorus.¹²¹ The Noces de Village divertissement has been praised by 18th-century audiences and modern scholars for its direct relevance to the opera's main plot, in contrast to most of Lully's divertissements, whose place in their respective opera's storyline is not always immediately apparent.¹²² In this act, the knight Roland stumbles upon a festive village gathering, where he learns that his beloved Angélique has married the soldier Médor. In this divertissement, Mangot and Bergiron cut the duet, "Vivez en paix," sung by two anonymous shepherds who remind the audience of the joys of faithful love. The duet prepares the ensuing dialogue between the shepherd Cordion and the shepherdess Belise, who express their love for one another. By cutting "Vivez en paix," the Lyon directors shortened the divertissement and directed more attention to Belise and Coridon, who, unlike the anonymous shepherds, appear in other parts of the opera.

Bergiron and Mangot also shortened the divertissement in III,6, in which the people of Cathay ("Les peuples de Catay") celebrate Angélique's decision to marry Médor and crown him king. The scene features a lengthy chaconne in G major for orchestra and chorus. As seen in Table 3.9, Bergiron and Mangot cut most of the chaconne, retaining only two choral sections and the scene's instrumental opening.¹²³

¹²¹ See list of text updates in *Roland* (Paris: J.B. Christophe Ballard, 1743).

¹²² Harris-Warrick, "Reading Roland," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 16.1 (2010). <https://sscm-jscm.org/v16/no1/harris-warrick.html>.

¹²³ It is logical to assume that the instrumental opening was retained because the stage directions indicate that characters dance before the chorus is sung. Presumably, the characters danced to the chaconne music.

Chaconne Schema (<i>Roland</i>, III,6)		Lyon Modifications (1740, 1749)
Orchestra		Likely retained
Chorus	“C’est Médor qu’une Reyne si belle”	Retained
Suivante d’Angélique	“Malgré l’oreille”	Cut
Chorus	“Ses Rivaux n’ont plus rien”	Retained
Suivante d’Angélique	“Angélique n’est plus sensible”	Cut
Chorus	“Hereux Médor, quelle gloire”	Cut
Suivante d’Angélique	“Un cœur si fier”	Cut
Chorus	“Vous portez une riche Couronne”	Cut
Suivant	“Qu’il est doux d’accorder”	Cut
Orchestra		Cut
Suivante d’Angélique	“Tendres cœurs”	Cut
Chorus	“Que l’amour en tous lieux”	Cut
Orchestra		Cut
Chorus	“Aimez, regnez”	Cut

Table 3.9: Modifications to the Chaconne in *Roland*, III,6 at the Lyon Académie

The resulting scene is significantly shorter than Lully’s original divertissement, yet nevertheless faithful to Lully’s intention of diverting spectators with the *tragédie* genre’s unique synthesis of orchestra, dance, and song.

2) *Thésée*, 1741 and 1749

Of all Lully’s operas, *Thésée* has experienced the most complex performance history. The *tragédie* was revived frequently at court and in Paris over the century following its premiere in 1675 at Saint Germain-en-Laye. In his study of the evolution of *Thésée*, Pascal Denécheau has identified a total of 19 different versions of the opera.¹²⁴ The history of *Thésée* at the Lyon Académie de Musique, however, is rather straightforward. Both Bergiron and Mangot adhered closely to the 1688 livret that Ballard printed after Lully’s death for the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris, although Bergiron introduced more changes than Mangot. Bergiron’s most significant changes to the livret included the omission of the prologue and the abbreviation of

¹²⁴ Denécheau, “Le Livret de ‘Thésée’ dans tous ses États,” 446.

two choruses in I,9 and I,10.¹²⁵ None of these omissions were reflected in the livret that Ballard had printed for the most recent production at the Paris Opéra, which opened in late November 1729. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the prologue of *Thésée* opens a window into the glorious court of Louis XIV at a moment when the kingdom was enjoying victories in its war against the Netherlands. The omission of the prologue shifts the focus of *Thésée* away from royal allegory and towards the opera's mythological storyline. In I,9, the Athenians celebrate their victory against rebel soldiers and praise Minerva for helping to defeat the rebels. A chorus celebrating peace is interleaved with solo interpolations from the Grand Prêtresse, who counsels everyone to rejoice over the end of war. Bergiron cut the priestess's second interpolation, "Le calme est bien doux," thereby shortening the scene and shifting more attention to Lully's choral music. Bergiron similarly abbreviated the chorus, "Que la Guerre sanglante," in I,10 by cutting the chorus's final four lines, another interpolation from the priestess, and the chorus's reiteration of its final couplet:

CHŒUR

Que la Guerre sanglante
Passe en d'autres Etats,
O Minerve sçavante!
O Guerrière Pallas!
~~Que la foudre grondante~~
~~Détourne ses éclats:~~
~~O Minerve sçavante!~~
~~O Guerrière Pallas!~~

LA PRESTRESSE

~~Puissions nous voir toujours Athènes~~
~~triomphantes~~
~~Puisse son Roy vainqueur des plus grands~~
~~Potentats~~
~~La Rends heureuse et florissante.~~

CHORUS

May bloody war
Go to other states,
O wise Minerva!
O Pallas of War!
~~May the rumbling lightning~~
~~Turn away its brilliance:~~
~~O wise Minerva!~~
~~O Pallas of War!~~

THE PRIESTESS

~~May we always see Athens triumphant~~
~~May her king, victorious over the~~
~~greatest leaders,~~
~~Make her happy and flourish.~~

¹²⁵ Besides these changes, Bergiron also eliminated dialogue in I,6 and I,9; shortened the duet "Que nos prairies," sung by two shepherds in IV,7; and cut the final verse of Arcas and Cléone's duet, "Le plus sage."

CHŒUR
~~Ô Minerve sçavante!~~
~~Ô Guerrière Pallas!~~

CHORUS
~~Ô wise Minerva!~~
~~Ô Pallas of War!~~

The second half of the chorus is musically more complex than the first, setting the phrase, “la foudre grondante” (“the rumbling lightening”), to agitated scalar passages of sixteenth-notes and decorating “détourne ses éclats” (“turn away its brightness”) with large intervallic leaps. Without the second half, the chorus becomes a simpler affair: the first half has a staid musical character that features repeated half- and quarter-notes in each vocal part. Bergiron’s cuts to the choruses recall the modifications that he and the artists at the Académie des Beaux-Arts made to their performance of *Thésée*, whose performance score, as I discuss earlier in this chapter, featured a similar goal of shortening choruses while eliminating solo interjections that fragmented the overall polyphonic texture of the pieces.

Mangot restored the prologue and verses of I,6 that Bergiron had eliminated, but he retained Bergiron’s cuts in I,9, I,10, IV,7, and V,7. These portions of the opera were not eliminated from the opera’s most recent revivals in Paris, which occurred in 1729 and 1744. Mangot also ignored the cuts that Ballard’s 1744 livret of *Thésée* features, which included the omission of the third verse of Venus’s “Revenez, amours” (prologue); the duet between Cléone and Eglé, “Il n’est rien de si beau” (I,3); the entirety of I,5; the opening of I,6 and II,4; the duet between Cléone and Eglé, “La gloire n’est trop” (III,1), and dialogue among Eglé, Cléone, and Arcas in III,2.

3) *Armide*, 1742 and 1750

The 1742 and 1750 livrets of *Armide* are identical in every respect. When comparing the livrets to the Parisian livrets published for the 1724-1725 and 1745-1746 revivals of *Armide*,

several differences between the cities' productions arise.¹²⁶ The most significant changes center on the prologue and Act IV. Bergiron and Mangot eliminated the prologue, which the Paris Opéra did not cut until 1761 in a venture that introduced multiple other changes to the opera's text.¹²⁷ They also introduced minor changes in Acts II and III.¹²⁸ In II,4, the Lyon livrets conserve the dance-song, "On s'étonneroit moins que la saison nouvelle," sung by Une Bergère heroïque, which, though preserved in the 1724-1725 Paris production, was cut at the Paris Opéra in 1745 and 1746. The Lyon productions also retained the chorus, "Ah! Quelle erreur!", which the 1745 and 1746 Paris productions cut. Finally, Bergiron and Mangot preserved La Haine's air, "Plus on connoit l'Amour" (III,4), which the Paris Opéra also eliminated in 1745 and 1746.

The most significant difference between the Paris and Lyon versions of *Armide* is the treatment of Act IV. Following in the footsteps of the Académie des Beaux-Arts production of *Armide* that had starred Madeleine Tulou, Bergiron and Mangot eliminated the second half of Act IV, Scene 2, as well as Scenes 3 and 4.

¹²⁶ Rosow, "Lully's 'Armide' at the Paris Opéra," 254-255. On these productions in Paris, see pp. 364-435.

¹²⁷ Lully and Quinault, *Armide* (Paris: Ballard, 1761).

¹²⁸ For a discussion of the Paris 1745-6 revisions of Act II, see Rosow, "Lully's 'Armide' at the Paris Opéra," 419-422.



S C E N E I I.

U N E H A B I T A N T E.

Voici la charmante Retraite
De la félicité parfaite ;
Voici l'heureux séjour
Des Jeux & de l'Amour.

L E C H O E U R.

Voici la charmante Retraite, &c.

U N E H A B I T A N T E E T L E C H O E U R.

Jamais dans ces beaux lieux nôtre attente n'est vaine ;
Le bien que nous cherchons se vient offrir à nous,
Et pour l'avoir trouvé sans peine,
Nous ne l'en trouvons pas moins doux.

L E C H O E U R.

Voici la charmante Retraite
De la félicité parfaite ;
Voici l'heureux séjour
Des Jeux & de l'Amour.

F I N D U Q U A T R I E M E A C T E.

J

Fig. 3.13: IV,2 in *Armide* (Lyon: Delaroche, 1742)

Besides making the act shorter, Bergiron's cuts to Scene 2 had dramatic implications. Bergiron transformed the scene from a dark lesson on temptation to a series of pleasantries offered by benign pastoral characters. The shortened version of Scene 2 communicates nothing sinister about the charming place in which the knights have suddenly found themselves. In contrast, in the original version of Scene 2, the knights had signaled their danger to the audience when they interrupt the pastoral dwellers after the first chorus. Ubalde urges his companion to keep moving, but the Danish knight is already falling under the demon's spell. As a signal of his enchantment, the Danish knight sings his surprise over the demon's appearance to languid music that drips with vocal ornaments:

UBALDE
Allons, qui vous retien encore?
Allons, c'est trop nous arrêter.

LE CHEVALIER DANOIS
Je vois la Beauté que j'adore,
C'est elle, je n'en puis douter.

UBALDE
Let's go, what's keeping us now?
Let's go, we can't stop already.

THE DANISH KNIGHT
I see the beauty whom I love,
There's no doubt, it's her.

In Bergiron's version of Scene 2, the knights are reduced to passive bystanders in no apparent danger. Indeed, the lack of stage directions in the Lyon libretto makes it unclear as to whether the knights even remained onstage during this scene. Spectators were thus offered a pleasant diversion of chorus and song before moving back to the story of Renaud and Armide.

Why did Bergiron not eliminate the entire act? The answer doubtless lies in practical concerns: since the Danish knight and Ubalde return in Act V to rescue Renaud, Bergiron had to keep the first scene of Act IV to introduce them to the audience so that spectators would not be confused by their appearance later in the opera. The more difficult question to answer is why Bergiron decided to retain the first portion of Scene 2 instead of eliminating the entire scene. I propose that the opportunity to retain a crowd-pleasing spectacle of pastoral characters and dancers motivated the Lyon directors to keep the scene's opening. Though the gavotte and canaries that follow the chorus, "Voici la chamante retraite" are not noted in the Lyon livrets, Delaroche and Rigollet specify at the beginning of their booklets that Act IV featured a divertissement of "habitans champestres," indicating that the dances were preserved. It is worth noting that one of the dancers in the 1750 production of *Armide* was Marie-Anne Cupis de Camargo (1710-1770), the famously innovative dancer who had already achieved stardom at the Paris Opéra. It is possible that, at least in 1750, Mangot used the opening of Act IV, Scene 2 as an opportunity to show off one of his most famous artists of the season.

As Act IV was growing shorter and shorter in Lyon, the act underwent quite different changes in Paris. When the Paris Opéra revived *Armide* in 1745 and 1746, the directors rewrote Scene 2 as an opportunity to enjoy fresh music in the rococo style that was gaining popularity in France. In 1745, the demon Lucinde sang a new piece, “Les Oyseaux de ces bocages,” (“The birds in this grove”), which was replaced in 1746 with “Il faut que tout aime” (“Everyone must love”). Ripe with pastoral imagery and metaphors for love, these pieces enhanced the bucolic character of the scene with oboe obbligato and a drone bass. Rosow argues that the new airs had the effect of removing the act even farther from the main plot of the opera:

The insertion of two additional airs for Lucinde, one of them set in a way that probably called far more attention to the seducer than the seduction, pushed this *divertissement* still further from the central drama; the Danish knight was temporarily forgotten, and Armide and Renaud were far away indeed.¹²⁹

The modifications of the Lyon productions also shifted Act IV’s focus farther from the opera’s central story, but with the primary intention of returning more quickly to Armide and Renaud rather than to indulge in lengthier diversions. The 1745 and 1746 Paris versions of Scene 2 scintillate with moral lessons and bucolic imagery that reinforce Armide’s beautiful yet dangerous magic. The 1742 and 1750 Lyon versions, however, evaporate the moral lesson of the scene: the Danish knight is no longer tempted, but simply entertained, along with the audience.

4) *Atys*, 1743

When Bergiron directed *Atys*, he omitted the prologue as well as minor solos in I,3 and I,7. Notably, he removed several small solo interpolations that Sangaride and Atys sing in the lengthy chorus, “Commencons de celebrer icy” and “Venez, Reine des Cieux” in I,7. These cuts are not surprising, given Bergiron’s penchant for rendering Lully’s fragmented choruses more

¹²⁹ Rosow, “Lully’s ‘Armide’ at the Paris Opéra,” 430. For a discussion of and transcriptions of the two airs, see pp. 423-430.

homogeneous in texture. Bergiron's most intriguing modification to *Atys* occurred in the final scene of the opera (V,7), which is reduced to a single monologue and chorus in Delaroche's livret.

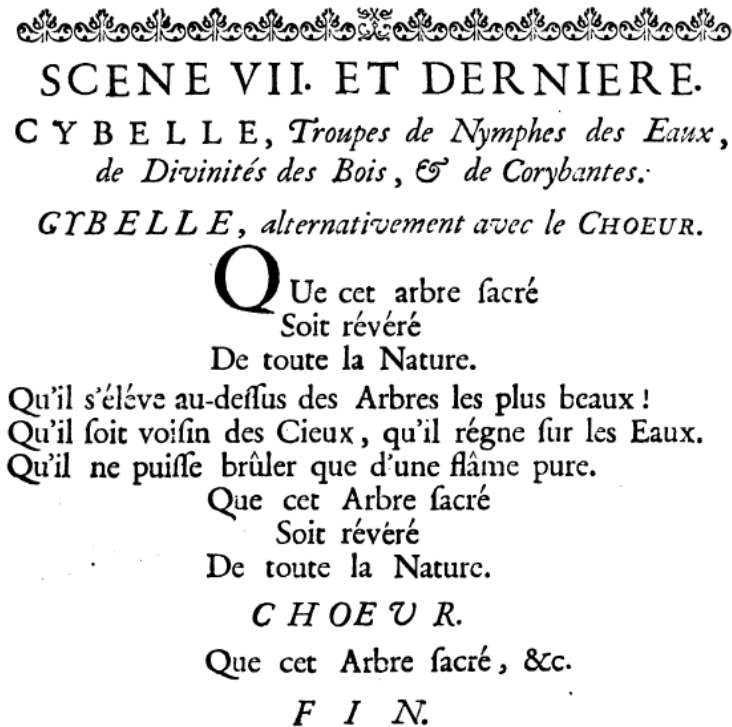


Fig. 3.14: V,7 in *Atys* (Lyon, 1743)

In Quinault's original scene, Cybele invites the Phrygians and the audience to mourn Atys, while congratulating herself for transforming him into a pine tree before he died ("Sous son nouvelle figure, Atys est ranimé par mon pouvoir divin" ("In his new figure, Atys is brought back to life by my divine power")).¹³⁰ In song that is more recitative than air, Cybele then sings, "Que cet arbre sacré," a lengthy blessing for the pine tree. The chorus repeats the first three lines of the blessing before crying out in sadness for Atys ("Quelle douleur! Ah quelle rage!"); Cybele

¹³⁰ Lully and Quinault, *Atys*, V,7.

repeats their cries as the chorus continues to sing. Two dances follow before a final chorus, “Que tout sente, icy bas,” brings the opera to a close.

A note at the top of the scene in Delaroche’s livret indicates that Cybele sang “alternativement avec le Choeur.” Even though Delaroche did not print the full text of the scene’s first chorus, it is likely that the entire chorus was sung, with Cybele interjecting her cries of woe. The Lyon production ended, however, before the two dances that follow the chorus; though Delaroche listed the divertissements that appear in Acts I through IV at the beginning of his livret, he does not specify a divertissement for Act V.¹³¹

In Paris, the livret printed for the 1738 revival of *Atys* featured none of the modifications that Bergiron made, keeping I,3; I,7; and V,7 intact. The 1747 revival, however, incorporates Bergiron’s omissions. The explanation for the similarities between the Lyon 1743 and the Paris 1747 revivals is unclear: did the 1738 revival of *Atys* make alterations not reflected in the livret that were communicated to Bergiron? Parfaict raises this possibility, writing that in the 1738 revival,

They cut the celebration in the fifth act in which the characters celebrate the apotheosis of Atys. Despite all the artistry of the incomparable musician [i.e., Lully], this divertissement always seemed superfluous after such a sad catastrophe.¹³²

As discussed above, however, the 1738 livret reflects no change to Quinault’s text in Act V. Either Parfaict was in fact speaking about the 1747 revival, or the 1738 livret did not accurately reflect what happened onstage. What is certain is that Bergiron and the directors of the Paris

¹³¹ This change does not correspond to the minor performance annotations in the Académie des Beaux-Arts manuscript of *Atys* (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27297). In this manuscript, “Fin” is annotated after Atys sings, “Je meurs” (V,6), making what must have been a startlingly abrupt ending to the production.

¹³² “On retrancha la fete du 5e acte qu’on celebre pour l’espece d’apothéose d’Atys. Malgré tout l’art de l’incomparable musicien ce divertissement a toujours para superflu après une si triste catastrophe.” Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 169, fn. 10.

Opéra were in communication about new ideas for updating the end of the opera; eventually, opera companies in both cities incorporated these updates.¹³³

The Lyon Lully Livrets: Conclusions

Some generalizations can be made from Bergiron and Mangot's modifications to Lully's operas. The increasing omission of prologues is often cited in performance histories of Lully's operas as first occurring in mid-18th-century productions in Paris. Antonia Banducci, for instance, notes that the Paris Opéra "routinely revised older operas without their prologues beginning in the 1750s."¹³⁴ Bergiron's edits demonstrate, however, that the Lyon Académie de Musique began to omit prologues much earlier than the Paris Opéra. Cutting the prologue shifts the opera away from its role as political allegory. For spectators removed from the king's royal presence, and in a city whose municipal government had a history of glorifying its own power – sometimes with more enthusiasm than the deference it showed to the Crown – the prologues carried less relevance.

Lully's operas were revived in Lyon during a period that was less than glorifying for the French crown. During the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748), it made less sense to glorify the king of France, who was dragging the country into conflict after several decades of relative peace and economic prosperity. Bergiron's omission of the prologues in his productions of Lully's operas may reflect the somber sentiments of the French public. Similarly, like his prologues, Lully's expansive choruses and divertissements were a relic of an era that used art to

¹³³ *Atys* (Paris: Veuve de Delormel, & Fils, Imprimeur de l'Académie Royale de Musique, rue du Foin à Sainte Genevieve & à la Colombe Royale, 1747).

¹³⁴ Antonia Banducci, "The Opera Atelier Performance (Toronto, 2000): The Spirit of Lully on the Modern Stage," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 10.1 (2004): par. 4:1. Schneider notes that Bergiron's Lully productions dropped their prologues, though he does not elaborate. Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Regime*, 83.

praise the Sun King's *gloire*. While Bergiron and Mangot may have abbreviated lengthy choruses to render them less fragmented in texture – and to shorten the production's length – their reworking of some of the most lavish musical moments of Lully's operas indicates that the chorus's function of glorifying the operas' first royal patron was losing significance in Lyon.

On the other hand, Mangot's decision to retain the prologues – or, put differently, to bring them back – reflects both his professional relationship with artists at the Paris Opéra who were still performing the prologues, as well as the prologue's lingering potential to carry aesthetic appeal. Lully's prologues are charming, self-contained, and brimming with opportunities for a variety of dances and delightful costumes. Their reinclusion at the Lyon Académie de Musique defies once more the conventional narrative of the performance history of prologues, which are described as experiencing a unidirectional transition from being generally accepted to eliminated. In contrast, Lully's prologues enjoyed enough support to reattach themselves to their operas during the repertoire's final phase of performance history in Lyon.

In many of the livrets that Delaroche printed for the Académie – though not for his Lully livrets – the printer included a prefatory note assuring audiences that they were seeing the operas as they had been produced in Paris:

We did not print this book to make a profit; our only purpose is to please and convenience the Public. Henceforth, this will be the most essential goal of the new establishment of the Académie Royale de Musique in this City; that it will give each Opera on good paper and in large characters like this one, *with changes that conform in every way to the most recent productions which were given in Paris* [emphasis mine], following the attention that was given to the opera in that city.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ “Ce n’est pas pour faire un profit sur le débit de ce livre qu’on le l’a fait imprimer ; c’est unique attention pour ce qui peut plaire et convenir au Public. Ce sera là le but à l’avenir le plus essentiel du nouvel établissement de l’Académie Royale de Musique dans cette Ville; ce qui lui fera donner successivement chaque Opéra en bon papier et grand caractere comme celui-cy, avec les changemens conformes en tout aux dernières representations qui en auront été faites à Paris, suivant l’attention que l’on a eue pour celui-cy.” Montclair and Pellegrin, *Jephté, tragédie*

According to Delaroche, opera was worth one's time and expense in Lyon because it provided spectators with an opportunity to access a product of Parisian culture. "An old edition that does not conform at all to the latest version" was not desirable because it did not represent the same spectacle that Parisians were enjoying.

As this chapter has demonstrated, however, the productions that the Lyon Académie de Musique and the Académie des Beaux-Arts organized did not necessarily replicate the operas as they were being revived in Paris. The scores and livrets of these institutions nuance the historical narrative of Lully's operas in 18th-century France, which typically describes Lully's operas as growing consistently shorter, gaining flowery ariettes, and losing prologues over time. The actual performance history of Lully's operas was more complex. The prologues that Bergiron eliminated were restored by Mangot. Some choruses were cut while others were retained in their entirety. While Lyonnais singers adopted the same vocal practices used at the Paris Opéra, they did not necessarily ornament the music exactly as it was ornamented in the scores printed by the Ballard firm. The Lyon music academies certainly emulated Parisian performance practices, but they also asserted independent ideas about how Lully's operas could be realized.

While this chapter has focused on the performance history of Lully's *tragédies*, these operas were not the focal point of Lyonnais musical activity in the 18th century. Lully's compositions were performed amidst fervent enthusiasm for religious music at the Académie des Beaux-Arts, and alongside a variety of stage works at the Académie de Musique. Lully's operas were never revived in Lyon with the same dutiful regularity with which they were staged in

(Lyon: Aimé Delaroche, 1739). Also qtd. in Vallas, *Un Siècle de musique et de théâtre à Lyon*, 226-7. Vallas is incorrect when he speculates that Delaroche printed this note in all his livrets. The Lully livrets are but one example that demonstrates that this was not the case.

Paris. The last documented professional Lyonnais production of an opera by Lully dates from 1750, whereas revivals of Lully's operas continued at the Paris Opéra until 1779.¹³⁶ This difference shapes our interpretation of Lully's perceived status among 18th-century Lyonnais listeners. Although his operas were esteemed as an important component of the repertory at Lyonnais musical institutions, the compositions were not cherished as an enduring legacy.

Nevertheless, Lully did stake a central place in the imagination of Lyonnais artists. An engraving of Lully by Gérard Edelinck (1640-1707), court engraver to Louis XIV, was hung on the walls of the mezzanine in the Hôtel du Concert of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, encased in a gold frame.¹³⁷ Musicologist Thomas Vernet has argued that this engraving was the model for the image of Lully painted on a harpsichord currently held at the Musée des Tissus in Lyon, which was likely used by the Académie des Beaux-Arts.¹³⁸ It is tempting to imagine members of the society acknowledging the engraving on the wall, or nodding to Lully's image on the harpsichord, as a spiritual patron of their activities.

¹³⁶ From 1693 to 1715, the Paris Opéra organized one to three operas by Lully per season. See Johnson, *Backstage at the Revolution*, 119, 151. Not only were Lully's operas revived past 1750, but their livrets were adapted by composers and librettists such as Christoph Willibald Gluck and Antoine François Marmontel. See, e.g., Niccolò Piccini and Jean-François Marmontel, *Atys, tragédie lyrique en trois actes* (Paris: Chez Des Lauriers, Chez le Suisse de l'Hotel de Noaille rue Saint Honoré; [Chez] de la Chevardiére, rue du Roule; A Lyon: Chez Castaud, 1780).

¹³⁷ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 58; *Inventaire Général de tous les meubles meublants et instruments de musique à l'usage du Concert de l'academie des Beaux arts de Lyon*. F-LYam 3GG 156, pièce 16.

¹³⁸ Hertz, "Le Grand Motet dans les Pratiques Musicales Lyonnaises (1713-1773)," 60, fn. 116.

Chapter 4

Rewriting *Atys* in Rennes, 1689

The jealous enemies of the most powerful king
Have resumed the vain hope
That has deceived them so many times;
They dare to attack the Hero of France.

-Anonymous, Revised prologue of *Atys* (Paris, 1689)¹

In 1677, Christophe Ballard printed a book for the *dessus* roles of *Isis*,² the *tragédie en musique* by Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault that had premiered at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and in Paris that year.³ The book, which represents Lully and Ballard's first venture into the business of printing opera together, collates the music for all eleven characters who sing soprano roles in the prologue and five acts of the opera.⁴ The opulent woodcut border that decorates the title page immediately draws the attention of the reader. The border explodes with lively imagery of conquest and victory. Relics of war, including banners, shields, helmets, quivers full of arrows, and sword pommels, clutter the bottom of the border. Discarded suits of armor flank the top of the centerpiece. Women standing atop cornucopia reach upwards with their right hands to place laurel wreaths against the suits of armor. In their left hands, they hold palm fronds, tokens

¹ Pascal Collasse and anonymous, *Atys, tragédie en cinq actes, avec un prologue mis en musique par M. Collasse, représentée à Vitry devant MM. des États de Bretagne, en 1689* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1689), 2. F-RE 15138 Rés.

² Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, *Isis, tragédie mise en musique par Monsieur de Lully* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1677). F-Pn Rés VMC-177.

³ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 185.

⁴ Lully and Ballard did not enter into a formal business engagement until 26 December, 1680, when the composer, printer, and Quinault signed a legal contract agreeing to publish Lully's operas together. Since Lully had obtained a privilege from Louis XIV in 1672 that gave him sole right over the publication of his music, the 1680 contract with Ballard established the latter as the sole printer legally allowed to print Lully's operas. See Caroline Wood, *French Baroque Opera: A Reader* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 6. An abbreviated version of the contract is reproduced in idem, 9 and the full contract is reproduced in Lionel de Laurencie, "Une convention commerciale entre Lully, Quinault et Ballard en 1680," *Bulletin de la Société française de musicologie* 2.9 (July 1921): 176-82. Ballard was already a printer of high standing when he published the partbook of *Isis*. In 1673, he had inherited his father's position as sole music printer to the king. As the most powerful and most prolific music printer in Paris, Ballard was a natural choice in business partner for Lully. See Pogue, "Christophe Ballard."

of victory and peace. The border imagery frames the title of the opera like the curtains of a theater.⁵

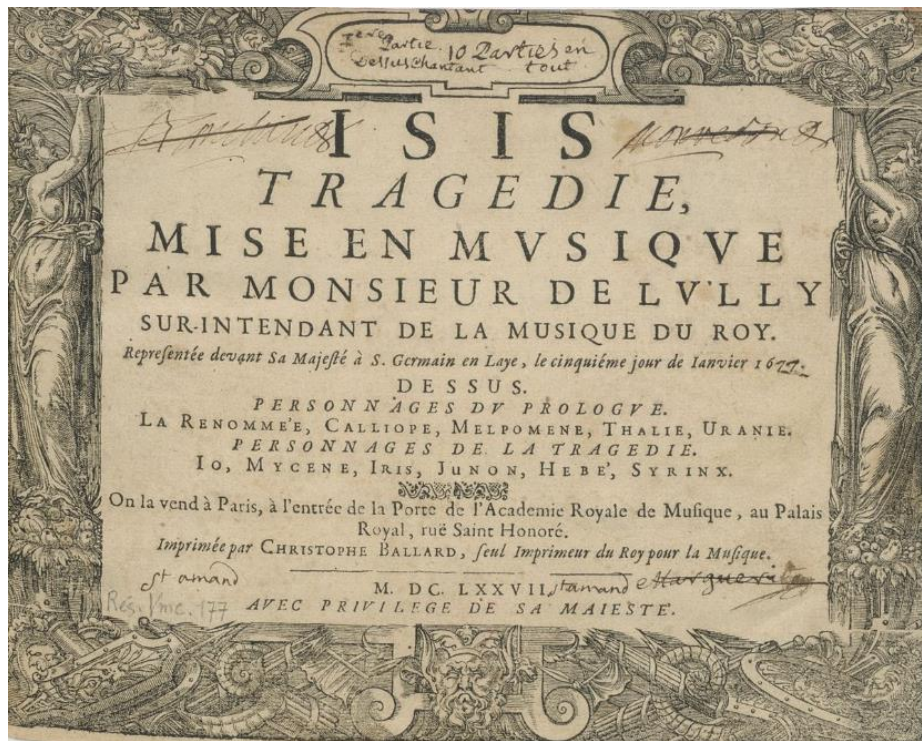


Fig. 4.1: Title-page of the *dessus* book for *Isis* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1677)
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, RES VMC-177. www.gallica.bnf.fr

The border of the title-page communicates more about Louis XIV and his agenda for *la gloire* than about the opera. The images present a collage of the various attributes of Louis XIV that were circulating as ways of describing the monarch in 1670s France: Louis the peacemaker, Louis the victor, *Louis le Grand*. Louis XIV, the king whose military conquests never detracted from his patronage and productivity in cultivating the arts, as Lully's latest opera proved. The

⁵ Ballard used this border occasionally for oblong books of serious and drinking airs, and for books of motets. See, e.g., *IXme Livre d'airs sérieux et à boire par M. de Bousset, pour les mois d'avril, may et juin 1692* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1692). F-Pn VM7-578; *Motets pour la chapelle du Roy par Monsieur l'Abbé Robert* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1684). F-Pn VM1-1038. Ballard also used a variant of this border, which also occasionally appears in oblong books of airs or motets. See, e.g., *Motets à deux chœurs pour la chapelle du Roy, mis en musique par Monsieur de Lully* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1684). F-Pn VM1-1039, and *Vme Livre d'airs sérieux et à boire, par M. BR. VP. E. M. DC. D. L. C. D. STR* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1697). F-Pn Rés VM7-303 (5).

title-page of *Isis* projects noisy pro-Ludovican propaganda, much like the other publicity measures that Louis XIV and his ministers performed in their perpetual fabrication of the king's image.⁶

As readers of the *Isis dessus* book flipped through the pages of the prologue, they would have noticed how the opera's text and music develop the royalist statement expressed by the border imagery. The first piece features the *dessus* part of the opening chorus, which is sung by followers of La Renommée, who open the *tragédie* with unabashed praise of Louis XIV as a war hero:

Publions en tous lieux
Du plus grand des Héros la valeur triomphante,
Que la Terre & les Cieux
Retentissent du bruit de sa gloire éclatante.⁷

Let us make known the triumphant valor
Of the greatest of heroes;
May the earth and the heavens
Resound with the thunder of his glory.

If the readers of the *dessus* book were familiar with the full score of the chorus, they might have remembered that violin and trumpet fanfares punctuate the piece, giving it a ceremonial flair reminiscent of royal military marches.⁸ At the Paris premiere of *Isis* in August 1677, audiences might well have associated the bellicose descriptions of Louis XIV with his recent successful siege of Cambrai, a defining victory for the French near the end of the Franco-Dutch War (1672-

⁶ John Lynn delineates the period of 1661-1675 as one in which Louis XIV sought to enhance his personal *gloire* through the acquisition of territory by conquest. Lynn argues that 1678 marks the year in which Louis became Louis le Grand, winning his right to *gloire* in the Treaty of Nijmegen. See Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 30-36. Peter Burke argues that the War of Devolution (1667-1668) and the Franco-Dutch Wars (1672-1678) were fundamental in making Louis embody the conquering hero. See Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 71.

⁷ Lully and Quinault, *Isis, tragédie en musique*, Prologue, Scene 1.

⁸ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 128.

1678). Although the war resulted in the loss of some 350,000 lives on both sides, it crystalized Louis XIV's reputation as the invincible Sun King, and the prologue of *Isis* facilitated the construction of the king's reputation as a conqueror, even as it appealed to spectators hoping for a hasty end to the conflict.⁹

The propagandistic bent of the prologue of *Isis* and Lully's other opera prologues is a truism among scholars of 17th-century French music, as are the many allusions that Lully cast to Louis XIV throughout his operas to emphasize the positive attributes of kingship and the negative consequences for disobedient courtiers.¹⁰ Musicologist Georgia Cowart has captured scholarly sentiments when she says that Lully's *tragédies* "constructed a composite image of heroism, one that through its immensity set a new standard of greatness by which Louis XIV could be measured."¹¹ Offstage, Lully's operas continued to transmit publicity messages as the music and text were disseminated in scores and livrets. In the *Isis* partbook, the imagery printed on the title page partners with the content to construct a multimedia panegyric for the king that resonated beyond the walls of the theater. In this chapter, I consider how a production of Lully's *Atys* in Brittany, as well as the livret printed for the production, functioned as political propaganda for the king. Scores, unfortunately, do not survive for the production, nor is the livret as rich in imagery as the title-page of Ballard's 1677 *Isis*. Nevertheless, by situating the modifications made to *Atys* and the representation of the opera in print within its political contexts, I argue that the Breton production operated as propaganda that constructed notions of kingship for audiences distant from the Crown.

⁹ George Satterfield, *Princes, Posts and Partisans: The Army of Louis XIV and Partisan Warfare in the Netherlands (1673-1678)* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 3; Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 32; 43-44.

¹⁰ See esp. Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 45-67; 243-248.

¹¹ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 123.

Brittany offers an ideal case study for considering the relationship between opera and *ancien régime* politics in the French provinces. The northwestern region of France was ravaged by war and revolt during the reign of Louis XIV. The *Atys* production reflects the region's upheaval through textual and musical alterations. In 1689, Pascal Collasse composed a new prologue for Lully's *Atys* that was performed in celebration of the return of the *parlement* of Rennes from the exile to which Louis XIV had condemned it nearly 15 years earlier. To date, musicologist Marie-Claire Le Moigne-Mussat is the only scholar to have studied the production and its new prologue.¹² In her 1988 study of musical activities in 18th- and 19th-century Rennes, Le Moigne-Mussat discusses the explicit political symbolism of the prologue and the production as a whole.¹³ My analysis pushes further: I reconstruct elements of the staging and its significance to the opera, and I demonstrate how these elements responded to the Nine Years' War (1688-1697).

***Atys*, 1689: Royal Subjugation of Brittany**

For much of its history, Brittany was isolated from mainland France politically, culturally, and geographically. As historian John J. Hurt III has wryly remarked, Brittany was

¹² Herbert Schneider references the *Atys* production briefly in his discussion of 17th- and 18th-century French provincial opera houses, justifying the creation of the new prologue as a logical way of respecting the purpose of prologues to address current affairs. Since the allusions that Quinault made in the original prologue were outdated, a new prologue referencing the Estates of Brittany was only logical: "Unvoreingenommen würde zu erwarten gewesen sein, dass die zeitgebundenen Prologe mit Verkündigung des Herrscherlobes am schnellsten von neuen, ebenso aktuellen und deshalb vergänglichen Prologen abgelöst wurden. Es sind nur zwei Prologe bekannt, die aus einem aktuellen Anlass an die Stelle eines Lully-Prologs gesetzt wurden. Es handelt sich um die Aufführung des *Atys* die in Rennes 1689 anlässlich der Zusammenkunft der bretonischen Stände stattfand." My justification for this prologue is more complex, but Schneider is correct in pointing out that the essential function of the prologue was to be relative to current affairs going on its audiences' lives. See Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Régime*, 82.

¹³ Marie-Claire Le Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes au XVIII^e et XIX^e Siècles* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1988), esp. 16-21; Le Moigne-Mussat, *Lully dans les collections bretonnes* (Rennes: Bibliothèque Municipale de Rennes, 1988), esp. 8-14.

and remains a “province of intense local feeling.”¹⁴ Situated in the northwest corner of France where it juts into the English Channel and the Celtic Sea, the province was a strategically desirable territory for the French Crown in the medieval and early modern eras. When Louis XIV assumed the throne, Brittany was a relatively recent acquisition of the French kingdom. The province had existed as an independent duchy since the reign of Louis IV (920-954), and it was only when Anne of Brittany married Louis XII (1498-1515) that the French Crown could seriously entertain the prospect of claiming control over the region. While Louis XII allowed the Breton government to administer its own affairs, his daughter Claude ceded the rights of the duchy to Francis I (1515-1547) upon her marriage to the monarch. Francis oversaw the official annexation of Brittany in 1532, and gently maneuvered royal authority into the Breton government, nominating Breton officials for administrative positions and inviting Breton elite to live at the royal court.¹⁵

It was not until the reign of Louis XIV that the Crown applied a heavier hand to Breton affairs. The 1689 production of Lully’s *Atys* in Rennes reflected the exponential increase in royal authority over the province since the 1660s. The political significance of this production can only be fully understood within the context of the shifting relationship between the Crown and Brittany during this period. Between 1665 and 1675, Jean-Baptiste Colbert sought to implement taxation, judiciary, and political reforms in Brittany as part of his larger agenda of centralizing the French government and increasing the revenue of the Crown.¹⁶ Colbert needed the

¹⁴ John J. Hurt, III, “The Parlement of Brittany and the Crown: 1665-1675,” *French Historical Studies* 4.4 (Autumn, 1966), 417.

¹⁵ Patrick Galliou and Michael Jones, *The Bretons* (Blackwell: Oxford, 1991), 280.

¹⁶ Jacob Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert’s Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 7.

cooperation of the *parlement*, or sovereign court, of Rennes to ensure that his reforms were realized. The *parlement*, however, treasured its political and juridical autonomy, which it had enjoyed since its formation in 1553. Based since 1560 in the Breton capital of Rennes, a city of about 49,000 inhabitants at the beginning of Louis XIV's reign, the *parlement* consisted of 534 nobles, many of whom had purchased their positions as venal offices.¹⁷ The court's duties were broadly administrative in nature: among other obligations, the *parlement* oversaw criminal lawsuit proceedings, regulated wages and working conditions, and wielded the power to arrest individuals or implement public curfews.¹⁸ The *parlement* was subject in theory to the authority of the governor of the province, Charles d'Albert d'Ailly (1625-1698), Duc de Chaulnes, and the governor of Rennes, René, Marquis de Coëtlogon (1619-1683). Like the Consulates of Lyon and Marseille, however, the *parlement* had as complicated a relationship with its governors as it did with the Crown. If the people of the province complained about a royal edict that the governor supported, the *parlement* acted as an intermediary to propose a compromise that would satisfy both parties, while tending to favor the interests of the province. When Louis XIV acceded to the throne, the *parlement* possessed the power to refuse to enforce a royal edict, or at least to table it indefinitely, if they thought that the edict disadvantaged the province. In 1667, for instance, the *parlement* ignored Colbert's order that printers in the province obtain special permission from the Crown before launching their businesses.¹⁹

¹⁷ Darryl Dee, "Provincial Government during the Third Reign" in *The Third Reign of Louis XIV, c. 1682-1715*, ed. Julia Prest and Guy Rowlands (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 55.

¹⁸ For a history and more detailed description of the rights and duties of provincial *parlements*, see Bailey Stone, *The French Parlements and the Crisis of the Old Regime* (Chapel Hill, NC and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 17-22.

¹⁹ Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 62.

Two reforms that Colbert sought to enforce provoked outrage in the province. First, Colbert hoped to diminish the power of the *parlementaires* by dismantling their privilege of remonstrance, or the act of refusing to enact a royal edict, and by annulling the system of holding property in office that had been common practice since the beginning of the century.²⁰ Second, he imposed a tax in the province on goods traditionally exempt from taxation, including tobacco and pewter, and ordered that stamped paper (*papier timbré*), which had to be purchased at an extra price, be used for many legal transactions.²¹ The Bretons chafed under these reforms, interpreting them as an unacceptable interference in their private and professional lives.²² *Parlementaires*, moreover, were loath to forfeit the practice of venality, which was a convenient means of securing power for themselves and their heirs.²³

After ten years of simmering discontent, popular anger exploded in April 1675, when a crowd of Bretons stormed Rennes and seized goods whose taxes had been raised.²⁴ The *parlement* did little to suppress the so-called *Révolt du papier timbré*, sending a message of implicit support for the people against royal legislation. Neither the people nor the *parlement* were rebelling against the king himself; historian William Beik points out that the rebels shouted,

²⁰ Hurt, "The Parlement of Brittany and the Crown: 1665-1675," 411-414. Colbert's aspiration to eliminate the system of venal offices did not come to fruition; indeed, the Crown relied increasingly on revenue from selling offices to provincial elites towards the end of Louis XIV's reign. See Dee, "Provincial Government during the Third Reign," 56-8; William Doyle, *Venality: The Sale of Offices in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 2-25.

²¹ Beik, *Urban Protests in Seventeenth-Century France*, 146.

²² Galliou and Jones, *The Bretons*, 282; Armand Rébillon, *Les Etats de Bretagne de 1661 à 1789, leur organisation, l'évolution de leurs pouvoirs, leur administration financière* (Paris: 1932), 42-43.

²³ Beik, *Urban Protests in Seventeenth-Century France*, 157-160.

²⁴ The Rennes revolt was sparked in great part by a similar recent revolt in Bordeaux. As with the Rennes *parlement*, the *parlement* of Bordeaux was exiled to Condom in punishment for failing to halt the revolts. See Dee, "Provincial Government during the Third Reign," 65; Beik, *Urban Protests in Seventeenth-Century France*, 146-159.

“Vive le Roy sans gabelle et sans édits” (Long live the king, without the salt tax and without edicts”) as they ransacked Rennes. Rather, the Bretons were responding to the increased control that the Crown was claiming over their daily lives, a degree of power that, in their view, distorted the relationship between a sovereign and his subjects.²⁵

Nevertheless, members of the revolt posed a serious threat to royal power. Madame de Sévigné, who, though Burgundian-born, had married a Breton, recounted to her daughter the antagonism that the infuriated Bretons showed towards de Chaulnes and his spouse, whose positions as governor and governor’s wife made them the Crown’s leading representatives in the province:

[The protestors] have begun a second time to plunder the bureau at Rennes: Madame de Chaulnes is terrified almost to death at the continual menaces she hears. I was told yesterday that some of the mutineers had actually stopped her in her coach, and that even the most moderate of them had sent notice to M. de Chaulnes, who is at Fort Louis, that if the troops he had sent for took a single step toward entering the province, his wife would run the hazard of being torn to pieces by the insurgents.²⁶

The revolt dragged on until October, tearing the city apart with bursts of violence followed by periods of quiet tension. Acting in the name of the king, de Chaulnes finally led several thousand troops into Rennes to quash the revolt for good. The population of Rennes was treated harshly by the king’s representatives, and several protestors, including a local violinist, were executed, as Madame de Sévigné recounted in another letter:

They are taxing 100,000 écus on the Bourgeois, and if they do not collect this sum in 24 hours, it will be doubled, and collected by the soldiers. They chased out and

²⁵ Beik, *Urban Protests in Seventeenth-Century France*, 157-170.

²⁶ “On a recommencé à piller un Bureau à Rennes; Madame de Chaulnes est à demi morte des menaces qu’on lui fait tous les jours: on me dit hier qu’elle étoit arrêtée, & que même les plus sages l’ont retenue, & ont mandé à Monsieur de Chaulnes qui est au Fort Louis, que si les troupes qu’il a demandées, font un pas dans la Province, Madame de Chaulnes court risque d’être mise en pièces.” Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, Marquise de Sévigné, *Recueil des lettres de Mme la marquise de Sévigné à Mme la comtesse de Grignan, sa fille. Nouvelle édition augmentée...* vol. 3 (Paris: Rollin, 1754), Letter XXIII, 24 July, 1675, 98-99.

banished an entire large street, and forbad anyone to collect their belongings on pain of death, so that one sees many miserable people, women who have just given birth, old men, children, wandering in tears outside of this City, without knowing where they are going, without having food, without knowing where they will sleep. The day before yesterday they broke a violinist at the wheel who had begun the dancing and pillaging of the stamped paper; after his death, he was drawn and his four quarters were exposed to the four corners of the city... They took sixty Bourgeois, and they will begin the hangings tomorrow.²⁷

In addition to the heavy fines and executions, Louis XIV humiliated the province by exiling its *parlement* to Vannes, where it languished for 12 years.²⁸ Over seventy miles from Rennes and near the southern coast of the province, Vannes was considered a dreary outpost by the *parlementaires*, all of whom had established lives and homes in the more culturally and economically vibrant capital of the province.²⁹ Madame de Sévigné felt the anguish that the exile caused to the economy, social landscape, and dignity of the province. Her description of the final hours and aftermath of the revolt betrays the feeling of vulnerability and submission that settled over Brittany:

M. de Chaulnes...has removed the *parlement* to Vannes, which has occasioned a terrible desolation. The ruin of Rennes brings with it that of the whole province...I cannot help feeling for the despair and desolation our poor province suffers at present. It is supposed we shall not have any Assembly of the Estates here, or if we have, it will be only to buy off the taxes which we gave two million five hundred thousand livres to have taken off only two years ago, and which have been all laid upon our shoulders again; and, perhaps, they may set a price too

²⁷ “On a fait une taxe de cent mille écus sur le Bourgeois; & si on ne trouve point cette somme dans vingt-quatre heures, elle sera doublée, & exigible par les soldats. On a chassé & banni toute une grande rue, & défendu de les recueillir sur peine de la vie; de sorte qu’on voyoit tous ces misérables, femmes accouchées, vieillards, enfans, errer en pleurs au sortir de cette Ville, sans sçavoir où aller, sans avoir de nourriture, ni de quoi se coucher. Avant-hier on a roua un violon, qui avoit commencé la danse & a pillerie du papier timbré; il a été écartelé après sa mort, & ses quatre quartiers exposez aux quatre coins de la Ville...On a pris soixante Bourgeois, on commence demain à pendre.” Ibid., Letter LVI, 30 October, 1675, 301-302. Partially quoted in Beik, *Urban Protests in Seventeenth-Century France*, 169.

²⁸ Beik, *Urban Protests in Seventeenth-Century France*, 168-169.

²⁹ Hurt, “The Parlement of Brittany and the Crown: 1665-1675,” 411.

upon bringing the *parlement* back to Rennes...Every creature, without distinction, is distressed throughout the province.³⁰

It was not until 1689 that Louis XIV permitted the *parlement* to return to Rennes. This year, Louis XIV also appointed Brittany's first intendant, making the region the last province in the kingdom to receive the additional layer of royal governance.³¹ Though the *parlement* did not officially relocate until February 1690, the city celebrated its imminent return in conjunction with the opening session of the Estates of Brittany, which met in Rennes for the first time since the revolt between 22 October and 24 November 1689.³² As part of the celebrations, Louis XIV's favorite opera, *Atys*, was performed. Details of the circumstances behind the organization of the production are murky. Thanks to the mention of his name on the livret printed for the production, it is known that Pascal Collasse (1649-1709), Lully's protégé and former colleague at the Paris Opéra, was commissioned to compose a new prologue for the opera. Unfortunately, the author of the prologue's text is unknown, and Collasse's score is lost. The production was directed by Louis Golard Dumesnil (d. 1702), a rags-to-riches haute-contre who had premiered many of Lully's leading roles in Paris. To produce the opera, Dumesnil had to secure a privilege from Nicolas Francini, Lully's son-in-law and successor at the Académie Royale de Musique. The privilege was valid for nine months, and gave the singer the liberty to direct any opera of his

³⁰ "M. de Chaulnes est à Rennes avec quatre mille hommes; il a transféré le Parlement à Vannes, c'est une désolation terrible. La ruine de Rennes emporte celle de la Province...Il s'en faut beaucoup que je n'aye peur de ces troupes, mais je prends part à la tristesse & à la désolation de toute la Province. On ne croit pas que nous ayons d'Etats, & si on les tient, ce sera pour racheter encore les Edits que nous achetames deux millions cinq cent mille livres, il y a deux ans, & qu'on nous a tous redonnez; & on y ajoutera peut-être encore de mettre à prix le retour du Parlement à Rennes...car de l'un à l'autre toute la Province est affligée." Madame de Sévigné, *Recueil des lettres de Mme la marquise de Sévigné*, Letter LIII, October 20, 1675, 283-284.

³¹ Dee, "Provincial Government during the Third Reign" 54.

³² Le Moigne-Mussat, *Lully dans les collections bretons*, 9; Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 17.

choice with however many performers he wished.³³ There is no evidence, however, to suggest that Dumesnil ever produced another opera besides the Rennes *Atys*. Dumesnil probably claimed the title role in the production, whose spectators would have thrilled at the opportunity to hear a star singer from the Paris Opéra in their home city. Le Moigne-Mussat speculates that Dumesnil brought the entire Paris Opéra troupe with him to Rennes. Since the livret does not specify the cast personnel, this cannot be confirmed, but, given the lack of any other musical establishment in or near Rennes besides the local Jesuit colleges that could have supplied adequate vocal talent, it might have been Dumesnil's most practical option. Dumesnil and the Paris Opéra troupe were preparing for a revival of *Atys* in Paris, moreover, for late November; Rennes would have provided an ideal rehearsal ground for the singers, many of whom had not been in the cast of the premiere and more recent revival of the opera in 1682.³⁴

The Rennes *Atys* production was of great political and artistic significance. It coincided with the conclusion of the lengthy and dramatic political affair of the *parlement*'s exile, and, equipped with a new prologue, it represented the first reworking of an opera by Lully. Besides the livret, however, the only documentary references to the production exist in two letters that Madame de Sévigné wrote to her daughter on 26 October and 6 November, 1689, respectively. Madame de Sévigné shows little interest in the opera. In the first letter, she mentions that her stepdaughter, Jeanne-Marguerite de Bréhant, daughter of a *conseiller* of the *parlement*, attended

³³ Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Regime*, 74. The privilege is located in Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine, 1 Ba 26, Parlement de Bretagne, édits et déclarations, 1669-1694, f. 62r-v. Le Moigne-Mussat reproduces a partial transcription in *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 18.

³⁴ Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 17-18; Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 159. The location of the performances also remains a mystery. Le Moigne-Mussat also hypothesizes that the production took place at the *salle des Procureurs*, a theater that the Jesuits built in honor of the *parlement*'s return, or at the *jeu de paume du Cyne* on the rue Fracassière. See Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 18.

the opera once and enjoyed it, finding Dumesnil “fort joli.”³⁵ She mentions the opera in passing in her second letter, remarking only that Dumesnil made the opera “agréable.”³⁶ In his *Ballets, Opera, et autres ouvrages lyriques* (1760), a catalogue of French stage works and their performance dates, Louis-César de La-Beaume-le-Blanc La Vallière notes a production of *Atys* in November 1689, but, since his records are primarily limited to stage music performed in Paris or at court, it is unlikely that he is referring to the Rennes production. It is more probable that he alludes to the production of the opera in Paris later that autumn.³⁷ The *Mercure Galant* supplies no coverage of the performance, nodding only to Brittany’s more zealous show of embracing royal authority by mentioning a large monetary donation that the Estates of Brittany gave to Louis XIV that Fall:

The Estates of Brittany were held. M. de Pomereüil was there on behalf of the king. The donation [*don gratuit*] that they ordinarily give His Majesty, being of two thousand, was augmented this year to 800,000 in consideration of the war that the King was sustaining in the interest of Religion.³⁸

Purportedly for the sake of supporting the war effort and the king’s subjugation of Huguenots, whose ties with Amsterdam and London marked them as potential threats to the French during

³⁵ “Du Mesnil a fait venir l’Opera d’Atys à Rennes, il n’est pas en si grand volume, mais il est fort joli. Ma belle-fille y a été une fois, elle en est contente.” Madame de Sévigné, *Recueil des lettres de Mme la marquise de Sévigné à Mme la comtesse de Grignan, sa fille. Nouvelle édition augmentée*...vol. 8 (Paris: Rollin, 1754), Letter XXXVIII, 26 October, 1689, 236.

³⁶ “L’Opéra d’Atys que du Mênil rend agréable.” Ibid., Letter XLI, 6 November, 1689, 262.

³⁷ La Vallière, *Ballets, Opera, et Autres Ouvrages Lyriques*, avertissement, 10. There are several exceptions that list productions of operas, ballets, or lighter dramatic musical genres in other cities, but La Vallière is careful to specify the city of production for each of these cases. See, for e.g., 110, 114.

³⁸ “Les Etats de Bretagne se sont tenus. M. de Pomereüil y a assisté pour le Roy. Le don gratuit qu’ils accordoient ordinairement à Sa Majesté, estoit de deux millions, mais ils l’ont augmenté cette année de huit cens mille livres, en consideration de la guerre que le Roy soutient pour l’interest de la Religion.” *Mercure Galant* (Paris: October 1689), 316-317. News of the opera was eclipsed by the more salacious news story that a Breton woman had been mauled gruesomely by a demon wolf. *Mercure Galant* (Paris: December 1689), 18-23. Pommereu was the first intendant that the king sent to Brittany. See Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 17.

the Nine Years' War, the monetary gift was a gesture of obedience and gratitude to the Crown for restoring the *parlement* to Rennes.³⁹

Dumesnil dedicated the production and new prologue to the Maréchal Jean d'Estrée (1624-1707), the governor and naval commander whom Louis XIV appointed in place of the Duc de Chaulnes when the latter left for Paris in August 1689.⁴⁰ When Ballard printed the livret in Paris (there is no evidence that the livret was printed in Rennes, although booklets were likely distributed at performances), he included Dumesnil's dedication at the beginning of the booklet:

MONSIEUR,

I hope that you will accept the respectful homage that I have brought before you, and the cares that I took to relieve you for a few moments of the important duties which occupy you. The peace of Brittany is so secure since the king charged you with looking after it, that even though we see war on all sides, even though this province in particular was exposed to our cruelest enemies, she can enjoy the Divertissements that I have prepared for her as if she were in the most profound state of peace; a person other than myself, *MONSIEUR*, would have undertook praise of the valor that you have shown on every occasion, and the great qualities that you show as a Commander; but it is not my place to praise them in any way except by giving to all of Brittany those pleasures that she could not have except by the peace that you have procured for her, and by the confidence that she has in your leadership. With deepest respect, I am,

MONSIEUR,

Your very humble and obedient servant.

DUMESNIL.⁴¹

³⁹ Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 200.

⁴⁰ Le Moigne-Mussat, *Lully dans les collections bretonnes*, 13; Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 92. Madame de Sévigné recounts de Chaulnes's departure in detail. See Madame de Sévigné, *Recueil des lettres de Mme la marquise de Sévigné*, Letter XXXVIII, 26 October, 1689, 257-261.

⁴¹ "*MONSEIGNEUR,*

J'espere que vous voudrez bien agréer l'hommage respectueux que je suis venu vous rendre, & les soins que j'ay pris pour vous délasser pendant quelques moments des soins importants qui vous occupent.

[page break]

Le repos de la Bretagne est si sûr, puisque le Roy vous a chargé d'y veiller, que quoy que nous voyons la Guerre allumée de toutes parts, quoy que ette Province en particulier soit exposée à nos plus cruels Ennemis, elle peut jouïr des Divertissements que je luy prepare, comme elle seroit dans la plus profonde paix ; un autre que moy, *MONSEIGNEUR*, entreprendroit l'Eloge de la valeur que vous avez marquée en toute occasion, & des grandes qualitez que vous avez pour le Commandement ; Mais il ne m'appartient pas de les louer autrement qu'en fournissant à toute la Bretagne des plaisirs qu'elle ne pouroit pas prendre sans le repos que vous luy procurez, & sans la confiance qu'elle a en vostre conduite. Je suis avec un profond respect, *MONSEIGNEUR,*

The dedication orients the Rennes *Atys* as a politicized affair. Dumesnil associates *Atys* with the security of Brittany that was established and maintained only by royal intervention. His reference to “our cruelest enemies” signifies on two levels, referring to the English and the Dutch, with whom France was then engaged in the Nine Years’ War, while recalling the Breton protestors who threatened the Crown and jeopardized the welfare of the province in the 1675 revolt. While *Atys* sealed the conclusion of the years of political tension caused by the revolt, it entertained audiences who were feeling an increasing sense of anxiety over the Nine Years’ War. France’s political situation was looking decidedly worse in October 1689, nearly a year into a war that Louis XIV had speculated would take only a few months to resolve.⁴² The Dutch Republic and the German Empire had declared a Grand Alliance against France in May 1689, and England and Lorraine would officially join the Alliance in December.⁴³

The choice of *Atys* was linked directly with the Crown. Other provincial opera houses, such as the Académies de Musique in Lyon and Rouen, had selected the crowd-pleasing *Phaëton* to introduce opera to their audiences, while the Académie de Musique of Marseille celebrated the arrival of opera into the province with *Le Triomphe de la Paix*, a composition by the Provençal-born Académie director. Rennes, however, was presented with Louis XIV’s favorite opera. The king’s widely recognized preference for the *tragédie* infused the performance with royal presence. Le Moigne-Mussat interprets *Atys* as a story about “the individual who has given in to his arbitrary freedom, and is fighting against his destiny” (“l’individu rendu à son libre arbitre et

Vostre tres-humble, & tres-obéissant serviteur.
DUMESNIL.”

Lully and Quinault, *Atys, tragédie en cinq actes, avec un prologue mis en musique par M. Collasse*, n.p.

⁴² Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 193.

⁴³ William Anthony Young, *War and Diplomacy in the Age of Louis XIV: An Historical Study and annotated bibliography*. PhD, University of North Dakota, 2000, 315.

luttant contre son destin”).⁴⁴ The parallel between Atys, who attempts to refuse the love of his goddess for a woman who was not rightfully his, and the Rennes *parlement*, which had shown only stubbornness to the Crown throughout Colbert’s attempts at reform, is undeniable.

Collasse and his librettist reiterated the message of Dumesnil’s dedication in lyric form. In Quinault’s prologue, the god of time and the goddess of Spring beseech Louis XIV to remain at court to enjoy *Atys* before resuming warfare against the Dutch. Quinault’s prologue praises the king’s glory and depicts him as a strong military ruler even as it reminds the monarch of the peaceful power of the arts in fortifying a kingdom. Quinault also introduces the narrative of the *tragédie* when Melpomène, muse of tragedy, provides a synopsis of the story of Atys and Cybele to the other characters and to the audience. The prologue thus transitions spectators from the real world (celebrated when the characters praise Louis XIV) to the imaginary world of the stage (foreshadowed by Melpomène’s synopsis of the opera).

The Rennes prologue retains only two features of Quinault’s work: it is populated by allegorical characters who fête Louis XIV, and it muddles the boundary between reality and the imaginary world of theater. The characters of the new prologue are Apollo, the Nymph of the Seine, “qui represente toute la France,” the Nymph of the Loire, “qui represente la Bretagne,” troupes of tritons and naiads “de l’Océan armorique,” and a troupe of Breton men and women.⁴⁵ Though the characters are imaginary allegories and mythological figures, they represent the nonfictional world of Brittany, where the prologue is set.

In many ways, the Rennes prologue pays homage to the prologue of Lully’s *Alceste* (1674). Both are set in real and recognizable locations, reference contemporary warfare, and use

⁴⁴ Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 17.

⁴⁵ Usually associated with the Loire Valley, the Loire River drains out of the Bay of Biscay, which borders Brittany.

nymphs to represent France and its regions or landmarks paying homage to the king. In the prologue of *Alceste*, nymphs symbolizing gardens and rivers, such as the Marne and the Seine, gather in the Jardins des Tuileries. The Nymph of the Seine frets that La Gloire will keep Louis XIV away from her. Her fears are assuaged, however, when La Gloire assures the nymph that glory allows the king to enfold his presence throughout France. In the Rennes prologue, nymphs also discuss the king, refer to ongoing warfare, and ultimately agree on the omnipresence of the monarch throughout the kingdom. Collasse must have enjoyed setting music for allegorical nymphs: in 1691, he and his librettist, Jean de la Fontaine, opened their *tragédie*, *Astrée* with a prologue set at the Château de Marly, one of the king's royal residences, where the Nymph of the Seine converses with Apollo about Louis XIV.⁴⁶

Apollo also stars in Collasse's prologue for *Atys*, which opens to reveal the god crowned with laurels and holding a lyre. The stage directions suggest that he was suspended above the stage, for a crowd of characters appear "plus bas" to the deity:

Apollo appears in Glory just as the Poets and Painters portray him, with his head crowned with Laurels and a Lyre in his hands. Farther below [*plus bas*] are the Nymph of the Seine, who represents all of France, and the Nymph of the Loire, who represents Brittany. They are accompanied by Tritons and Naiads.⁴⁷

The Nymph of the Seine sings first, questioning whether France will triumph against her enemies in the current war. Her tone is rhetorical, implying that victory is practically secured:

⁴⁶ Rivers as allegories of state power were very common in this period. Another example in which allegorical rivers are used is found in Edme Boursault's *La Fête de la Seine, divertissement en musique pour une Fête donnée à Asnières à Madame la Marquise de Brunswick*, in which the great rivers of the world praise the Seine River and her king, who made her peaceful and powerful. The full text is included in *Théâtre de feu Monsieur Boursault. Nouvelle Edition. Revue, corrigée, & augmentée de plusieurs Pièces qui n'ont point paru dans les précédents*, vol. 2 (Paris: La Compagnie des Libraires, 1746), 517-528. The ballet is listed in La Vallière, *Ballets, Opera, et Autres Ouvrages Lyriques*, 111.

⁴⁷ "Apollon paroist dans la Gloire tel que les Poëtes & les Peintres le representent la teste coronnée de Lauriers & la Lire à la main. Plus bas sont la Nymph de la Seine qui represente toute la France, & la Nymph de la Loire qui represente la Bretagne. Elles sont accompagnées de Tritons & de Nayades." Prologue, *Atys* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1689).

N'allons-nous pas dompter ces Nations guerrieres
Qui contre nous s'empressent de s'unir?⁴⁸

Are we not going to tame these warring Nations
Who are eager to unite against us?

The Nymph of the Loire spots enemy vessels crowding in a sea that can be none other than that which borders the western coasts of Brittany. Of an anxious mien, the nymph questions whether France is about to be destroyed by the enemy ships. Apollo chastises her, assuring the nymph that Louis XIV is invincible, and advises the crowd of characters to celebrate the kingdom's inevitable victory:

Quoy? Doutez-vous de cet événement?
Louis, & sa valeur extresme
En répondent plus sûrement
Que je ne puis faire moy-mesme.

Les jaloux Ennemis du plus puissant des Roys
Ont repris la vaine esperance
Qui les a trompé tant de fois;
Ils osent attaquer le Heros de la France
Celebrons par avance
Ses triomphes & ses exploits.⁴⁹

What? Do you doubt this [victory] will happen?
Louis and his extreme valor
Respond more surely
Than I am able to do myself.

The jealous enemies of the most powerful of Kings
Took on the vain hope
That has deceived them so many times;
They dared attack the Hero of France.
Let us celebrate
His triumphs and exploits in advance.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

The tritons and naiads dance before joining a chorus of Bretons in repeating Apollo's second stanza, "Les jaloux Ennemis du plus puissant des Roys." After a dance "à la manière de la Bretagne," the Nymph of the Seine rejoices that peace is the only possible outcome of the war ("La Paix ne peut régner que dans nos champs heureux"), and the Nymph of the Loire remarks contentedly that "an illustrious warrior...watches over the peace of my shores" ("Un illustre Guerrier...veille au repos de mes rivages," in a reference to the Maréchal d'Estrées.⁵⁰ The nymphs sing a duet, the characters dance again, and everyone repeats the chorus, "Les jaloux Ennemis du plus puissant des Roys." The prologue ends, and the story of *Atys* as Quinault originally told it begins.

Le Moigne-Mussat reads the revised prologue as a statement of vulnerability: Brittany is portrayed as helpless without royal protection, emphasizing the particular need for obedience to the Crown during the war against the Dutch Republic and her allies.⁵¹ I add that the hesitance of the Nymph of the Loire to believe that France is safe from her enemies is explicit criticism of Brittany's rebellious attitude towards the Crown, a reminder that the opera was performed as much to seal the punishment of the Breton *parlement* as it was to celebrate the sovereign court's return. A close reading of the stage directions reveals how Apollo carefully controls the characters' rejoicing, giving the festivities a somewhat forced feel:

Apollo retires and allows ["laisse la liberté] the Breton men and women to mix with the Divertissement of the Nymphs, and to show their happiness...Everyone hastens to show their joy ["s'empresse à marquer la joye"] in the safety of their *pays*.⁵²

⁵⁰ Le Moigne-Mussat, *Lully dans les collections bretonnes*, 13; Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 17.

⁵¹ Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 19.

⁵² "Apollon se retire & laisse la liberté aux Bretons & aux Bretonnes de se mesler au Divertissement des Nymphes, & d'en marquer leur allegresse...Chacun s'empresse à marquer la joye qu'ils ont de la sûreté de leur Pays." *Atys*, Prologue.

As Louis XIV freed the Breton *parlement* from their exile, so does Apollo “laisse la liberté” to the Bretons so that they might *s’empresse à marquer* their happiness over the peace and safety of the province. Indeed, if Apollo does not represent Louis XIV, who protects France “plus sûrement” than the god himself, he calls the Sun King to mind as soon as the curtain opens.

Despite the lack of a surviving score, it is possible to surmise how Collasse reflected the submission of Brittany through music. The Nymph of the Loire shows her newly gained conviction that peace is imminent by joining the Nymph of the Seine in a duet to sing, “Peace cannot but reign in our happy lands” (“La Paix ne peut régner que dans nos champs heureux”). The mixing of their voices to words originally uttered as a solo by the Nymph of the Seine signifies the promise of Brittany to submit to and obey the king. Dance also embodies Breton pacification. Halfway through the prologue, the Bretons dance a *passepied* to the sound of oboes “à la manière de Bretagne” to express their happiness. A fast-paced dance in 3/8 or 6/8 time and binary form, the *passepied* had long been associated with Brittany.⁵³ Though the dance marks the otherness of the Bretons – Le Moigne-Mussat argues that it gives the Bretons a touch of the exotic⁵⁴ – the inclusion of a Breton dance within the prologue reflects the integration of the province within the political fabric of the kingdom.

Besides the *passepied*, Le Moigne-Mussat does not address the musical aspect of the prologue. Through a close analysis of the livret and a consideration of Collasse as a composer, I argue that it is possible to gain an idea of the prologue as a musical composition. Collasse was an ideal candidate for composing a new prologue for one of Lully’s most beloved operas. Collasse studied under Lully at the Académie Royale de Musique, where he worked as a *batteur de*

⁵³ Meredith Ellis Little, “Passepied,” *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 10.24.2017.

⁵⁴ Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 19.

mesure and composed inner voices for Lully's operas.⁵⁵ He composed several operas after Lully's death, beginning with the completion of the prologue and final four acts of Lully's last opera, *Achilles et Polixène* (1687).⁵⁶ Collasse's style is deeply indebted to Lully's; indeed, he incorporated Lully's music into some of his own compositions.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, there are moments in which he diverges slightly from Lullian aesthetic conventions. Rather than using the overture that Lully had written for *Achilles et Polixène* to begin the opera's prologue, for instance, Collasse composed a short, saraband-like prelude, reserving Lully's overture for the beginning of Act I. Titon du Tillet pointed out Collasse's unique compositional profile, acknowledging that "you can always recognize...the merit of the Author and the richness of his genius" ("on reconnoît toujours...la merite de l'Auteur & la fecondité de son genie").⁵⁸

Besides his association with Lully, Collasse was respected as a *sous-maître* at the Chapelle Royale, where he began working in 1683, and as a court *compositeur de la musique de la chambre*, a position he obtained in 1685.⁵⁹ In 1689, Collasse was also enjoying the enormous success of his first complete *tragédie en musique*, *Thétis et Pélée*, which had opened in January at the Paris Opéra. The *Mercure Galant* shows polite respect for the composer, assuring readers that Collasse "knows how to do nothing that is not well done" ("ne sçauroit rien faire que du

⁵⁵ Jean-Marie Duhamel, *La Musique dans la Ville de Lully à Rameau* (Lille, Presses universitaires de Lille, 1994), 93. Collasse's contribution to Lully's opera scores was public knowledge in the 18th century. Writing in 1727 about the chorus, "Jupiter, lancez le Tonnerre," in *Proserpine* (I,8), the editors of the *Mercure Galant* assured audiences that the score was "entièrement travaillé & jusqu'à le moindre Note, par Lully; ce que nous observons, parce que souvent il faisoit faire les Parties du milieu par d'autres comme Mrs. L'Alloüette, Colasse, etc." *Mercure Galant*, vol. 1 (Paris: G. Cavelier, N. Pissot, Lacombe, Panckoucke, January 1727), 138-139.

⁵⁶ Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, 170.

⁵⁷ Anthony, "Collasse, Pascal," *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 9.21.2017.

⁵⁸ Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois, dédié au Roi*, 518.

⁵⁹ Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music*, 113.

bien”) as a composer.⁶⁰ Titon du Tillet remembered him as “one of the best students of the famous Lully” (“un des meilleurs élèves du fameux Lully”).⁶¹ With Collasse’s contribution, the Rennes *Atys* represented the work of two great composers, one whose work was quickly crystallizing into a staple of French musical tradition, and the other who was advancing the latest novelties at the Paris Opéra.

Collasse may also have become involved in the Rennes *Atys* for personal reasons. In 1690 he acquired a privilege to establish an Académie de Musique in Lille, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Montpellier. To what degree he pursued this endeavor is not clear; James R. Anthony relates that Collasse only attempted to organize opera in Lille, where the destruction of the opera house and other financial burdens quickly put an end to the enterprise.⁶² Titon du Tillet does not mention the privilege, enrapturing readers instead with the enigmatic turn that Collasse’s career took in the composer’s final years:

We would have had still more works by this composer, and would have prepared [this biographical entry] with greater care, if he had not had a passion and sickness for seeking the Philosopher’s stone...but this search resulted in nothing except ruining him and weakening his health. He gave up his position as Maître de Musique of the Chapelle Royal in 1708, and died one year later.⁶³

Regardless of Collasse’s contribution to the provincial opera scene, the privilege he obtained indicates a serious interest in bringing opera to the provinces, if only for a short time. Despite his contribution to opera in both Paris and the provinces, as well as the inner voices that he

⁶⁰ *Mercure Galant* (Paris: July 1688), 50-51.

⁶¹ Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois*, 518.

⁶² Anthony, “Collasse, Pascal.”

⁶³ “Nous aurions eû encore plus d’ouvrages de ce Musicien & travaillez avec plus de soin, s’il n’avoit pas eu la passion & la maladie de chercher la pierre Philosophale...mais cette recherche n’aboutit qu’à le ruiner & affoiblir sa santé. Il remit en 1708 sa place de Maître de Musique de la Chapelle du Roi, & mourut un an après.” Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois*, 518.

composed for Lully's operas, Collasse has attracted little scholarly attention. Paling under Lully's posthumous shadow, and remembered more for having produced several unsuccessful operas than for his first acclaimed work, Collasse is typically passed over in music histories as one of the composers who bridged the stylistic generation between Lully and Campra. Having contributed to the Rennes *Atys* production, however, the composer merits further attention in histories of 17th-century music.

It is tempting to speculate that Collasse collaborated with the author and librettist Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757) when he composed the new prologue for *Atys*. Fontenelle had authored the livret of *Thétis et Pélée* (1689), and in 1690, he would work with Collasse to write the livret for the composer's second *tragédie en musique*, *Énée et Lavinie*.⁶⁴ The language of the Rennes *Atys*, however, offers no particularities that validate this hypothesis. More insightful to the compositional makeup of the prologue is the fact that the anonymous author worked to make the piece deliver its political message in highly compact form. The prologue contains only 24 lines of original text, suppling the bare minimum of dance, choral, solo, and duet numbers necessary to make a satisfying opera prologue. Though the message of the prologue is powerful, its form is elegantly perfunctory.

Outlining the Rennes prologue according to its musical form reveals the symmetry and economy of the composition, giving some insight into the nature of Collasse's score. The chart below organizes the musical episodes of the prologue in sequential order, assigning a letter to each episode to delineate the prologue's musical form more clearly:

⁶⁴ Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, 150-151.

Musical Episode	Character	Musical Schemata
Solo	La Nymphé de la Seine	A
Solo	La Nymphé de la Loire	B
Solo	Apollon	C
Dance	Tritons and Naïades	D
Chorus	Tutti	E
Dance (passepied)	Les Bretons, les Bretonnes	F
Solo	La Nymphé de la Seine	G
Solo	La Nymphé de la Loire	H
Duet	La Nymphé de la Seine, La Nymphé de la Loire	G
Dance	Tutti	I (D?)
Chorus	Tutti	E

Table 4.1: Musical Schemata of Collasse's Prologue for *Atys*

Like the economical text, the music of the prologue was not extensive. Collasse had to compose three dances, one chorus whose music was presumably repeated when its text was repeated at the end of the prologue, one duet, and a handful of monologues. Because the final dance precedes a chorus whose text and music repeat that of the first chorus, it is possible that the first and final dances were also set to the same music. Given the standard practice of opening operas with overtures, Collasse likely introduced the prologue with a freshly composed overture or Lully's original overture of *Atys*. The nymphs were probably sung by sopranos, as these character roles were typically scored in Lully's operas. Apollo was probably sung by an *haute-contre*. The god was typically sung by this voice type in 17th- and 18th-century French opera: the *haute-contre* Apollo in the prologue of Collasse's opera, *Astrée* (1691), is one example of a lineage of high tenor Apollos stretching from Lully's *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673) to Mondonville's *Le Carnaval de Parnasse* (1749).⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Lully featured an *haute-contre* Apollon in *Cadmus et Hermione*, *Alceste*, *Isis*, and *Psyché*. The character Apollon was sung by an *haute-contre* in numerous other dramatic musical works in the 18th century, including Mondonville's *Le Carnaval du Parnasse* (1749), de Blamont's *Jupiter, vainqueur des Titans* (1745), Francoeur and Rebel's *Le Ballet de la Paix* (1738), Mouret's *Les Amours des Dieux* (1727), Marais's *Sémélé* (1709), Bouvard's *Cassandre* (1706), Marais's *Alcyone* (1706), Campra's *Les Muses* (1703), Di Gatti's *Scylla* (1701), and Destouches's *Issé* (1697).

A consideration of Dumesnil's background as a singer makes it plausible that he sang Apollo's role. Dumesnil was, according to musicologist Étienne Gros, "perfect when he was not drunk."⁶⁶ Musicologist Antonia Banducci's description of the singer is slightly more flattering, noting that Dumesnil was "tall, dark, and handsome, with beautiful teeth and extremely noble features."⁶⁷

He was always magnificent onstage, even as offstage he was boorish and unsophisticated. He never understood music and he often sang out of tune. And frequently extremely drunk, he often appeared disorderly on stage. But even with these faults, he was the public's delight.⁶⁸

Dumesnil began singing under Lully as a chorister for the 1675 *Thésée* production at Saint Germain-en-Laye and at the Académie Royale de Musique after the composer overheard him singing in the kitchens where the *haute-contre* worked as cook. Though Dumesnil sang the leading *haute-contre* roles of *Persée*, *Amadis*, *Roland*, *Armide*, and *Acis et Galatée*, he never learned to read music notation, memorizing parts instead by ear. In her analysis of Lully's opera troupe, Banducci notes that most *haute-contre* lead roles in Lully's operas feature short bouts of singing in restricted ranges that would have been suitable to an untrained singer who could only memorize chunks of music at a time.⁶⁹ The new prologue for the Rennes *Atys* suggests that Apollo's part would have worked well for a star singer who relied on learning and memorizing music by rote. Apollo sings only once in the prologue, and his monologue is a mere ten lines that

⁶⁶ "Acteur parfait quand il n'était pas ivre," Étienne Gros, *Philippe Quinault: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Slatkine, 1926), 125.

⁶⁷ Banducci, "Acteurs and Actrices as Muses," par: 7.1.

⁶⁸ Ibid., par: 7.2

⁶⁹ Ibid., par: 7.4. Dumesnil's practice of learning music by ear was not entirely unusual among 17th- and 18th-century singers. Feldman points out that numerous opera seria singers in 18th-century Italy learned music by rote, recounting Salieri's anecdote of soprano Brigida Banti learning 132 measures of music by listening to the music played three times. Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 15-16. Dumesnil stands out among Lully's troupe, however, for his particular lack of fluency in reading music notation.

Ballard divided into two stanzas, suggesting only two main musical ideas. Nevertheless, Apollo commands the attention of the characters onstage thanks to his central placement, his powerful persona, and the fact that the characters repeat his words twice in two choral numbers over the remainder of the prologue. What better opportunity for a star singer to show himself off to new audiences without needing to learn much additional music?

While Dumesnil gave Rennais spectators a taste of Paris, the livret that Ballard printed for the production gave its readers a taste of Brittany. Ballard constructed an image of Brittany for his readers by putting specific woodcuts in dialogue with the opera and its performance context. Before addressing this dialogue, it is worth reviewing what Brittany and the Breton population connoted to the rest of France. With its proximity to the English Channel, Brittany was of great strategic importance to France during the Nine Years' War. Beginning in March 1689, French fleets used the province as their base as they helped James II attempt to retake the English throne.⁷⁰ It was difficult, however, for the Bretons to shake off their reputation of being difficult and unruly. When Pierre Duval described Brittany in his atlas, *La géographie française* (1682), he inflected his description of the province's maritime industry with a hint of suspicion for the Bretons' tendency towards political subversion, acknowledging their merits backhandedly:

The great number of vessels that the King has lately had constructed gives these people of the ocean [i.e., the Bretons] no reason to seek employment from any sovereign but their own. The Bretons seem coarse in appearance; but in fact, they are cunning and adept in their affairs.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 203.

⁷¹ "Le grand nombre de vaisseaux que le Roy fait aujourd'hui construire, donne lieu à tous ces gens de mer de ne pas chercher emploi pour d'autres souverains que le leur. La Bretagne a tant de haras de chevaux, qu'en la tenuë des Estats, il s'en est trouvé quelquefois plus de quatorze mille, les Bretons estant si jaloux de preseeance qu'ils font vanité d'avoir une belle suite pour la maintenir... Les Bretons semblent grossiers en apparence ; mais en effet, ils sont rusés & adroits en leurs affaires." Duval, *La géographie française contient les descriptions, les cartes, et les blasons des provinces*, 107. Duval is referring to Colbert's efforts to build up the French navy. See Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 86-89.

In her correspondences with family and friends, Madame de Sévigné contrasts lower-class Bretons with fellow Frenchmen most particularly by their language. A Brittonic rather than a Romance language, *Brezhoneg* was unintelligible to the increasing number of *langue d'oïl* speakers throughout Louis XIV's kingdom. Writing at the onset of the 1675 revolt, Madame de Sévigné commented to her daughter that

It is believed that the approaching harvest will help to disperse the rioters, for after all they must get in their grain; and there are nearly six or seven thousand of them, and the most skilled of them cannot speak a word of French.⁷²

In the same letter, she recalls an anecdote that provided another opportunity to mark the Bretons as different by their language:

A Curate having received in front of his Parishioners a clock that had been sent him from France, as they call this part of the country, in the sight of some of his parishioners, they immediately cried out in their language, that it was a new tax.⁷³

The woodcuts that decorate Ballard's livret of the Rennes *Atys* production resonate with the connotations of Brittany that circulated among contemporary, non-*Brezhoneg*-speaking French society. The sole surviving copy of Ballard's livret, which currently resides at the Bibliothèque municipale de Rennes, was owned by Jean-Baptiste de Beaumanoir de Lavardin (d. 1711), a bishop of Rennes and the president of the clergy of the Estates of Brittany, confirming that the booklet circulated beyond Ballard's Parisian shop to Rennes at some point. Lavardin valued the book, decorating it with his signature and having his armorial emblem embossed on the front

⁷² "On croit que la récolte pourra séparer toute cette belle assemblée; car, enfin, il faut bien qu'ils ramassent leurs bleds: ils sont six ou sept mille, dont le plus habile n'entend pas un mot de François." Marquise de Sévigné, *Recueil des lettres de Mme la marquise de Sévigné*, Letter XXIII, 24 July, 1675, 99.

⁷³ "Un Curé avoit reçu devant ses Paroissiens une pendule qu'on lui envoyoit *de France*; car c'est ainsi qu'ils disent: ils se mirent tous à crier en leur langage, que c'étoit *la Gabelle*." Ibid.

cover of the leather binding.⁷⁴ The emblem depicts a crest decorated with the *bannière d'ermine*, an image from the flag of Brittany that had originated in 1532.⁷⁵

Beyond Dumesnil's dedication, there is nothing unique about the livret. Ballard printed it as he had printed other livrets for Lully, using the same typeface and drawing from the same stockpile of woodcuts. The choice of several woodcuts, however, can be meaningful if read in dialogue with the prologue and the political context of the opera. Hovering over the dedication, a woodcut depicts three figures making music by striking a triangle, beating a drum, and blowing a pipe, respectively. The pipe player's instrument resembles the traditional Breton bombard. This woodcut appears in other livrets that Ballard printed, but the image of a Breton-like musician above the dedication reinforces the fact that the opera was reworked specifically for Brittany.⁷⁶



Fig. 4.2: Dedication page, *Atys* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1689)
Bibliothèque Les Champs Libres, Rennes, 15138 Rés.

The opening of the prologue features another example of Ballard's commonly employed woodcuts that depicts manacled figures flanking the crest of the French Crown. Ballard typically featured this woodcut at the beginning of the prologue of the opera livrets that he printed in the

⁷⁴ Ballard specified that the production was at Vitry, but this is an error. See Le Moigne-Mussat, *Lully dans les collections bretonnes*, 10; Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 18.

⁷⁵ For a survey of the history of Breton devices, see F. de Longchamps, *L'ancien héraut breton, contenant les genealogie des anciens rois, ducs et princes de Bretagne...* 1689. BnF Département des manuscrits. Français 5506.

⁷⁶ The woodcut appears twice, for example, in the livret of Lully's *Roland* (Paris: Ballard, 1685).

late 1680s and 1690s.⁷⁷ Although it is not unusual to find the woodcut at the opening of Collasse's prologue, it reinforces the purpose of the *Atys* production in Rennes as an event that celebrated the submission of a population accused of rising against the Crown, as well as the prologue's prediction that France will reign victorious over the Grand Alliance.



Fig. 4.3: Prologue, *Atys* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1689)
Bibliothèque Les Champs Libres, Rennes, 15138 Rés.

These woodcuts forged a narrative about a province that offered a unique asset to France, but that was colored by a history of suppressed rebellion against the Crown. Encapsulated and organized within the printed words of Louis XIV's favorite opera, the woodcuts render the livret an affirmation of Brittany's integration within the French kingdom.

Even with its Breton inflection, Collasse's prologue appears a confection of platitudes, yet another example of the use of arts to praise the king with unabashedly clear political symbolism. By considering contemporary French media responses to the Nine Years' War, however, a resonance emerges between the language of the prologue and other examples of war propaganda that is far closer and more explicit than political allusions in other operas from this period. At the onset of the Nine Years' War, France found itself standing alone against an alliance of multiple state powers. The French media responded to France's solitary position by

⁷⁷ Among other instances in which Ballard used the woodcut was in Théobaldo di Gatti and Chappuzeau de Baugé, *Coronis* (Paris: Ballard, 1691).

producing propaganda that predicted the kingdom's inevitable victory despite insurmountable odds while shaming members of the Grand Alliance for their avarice and ambition. The October 1689 issue of the *Mercure Galant* opens by celebrating French victory (which would not actually be secured until nearly a decade later). The editors' characterization of the Alliance members as foolishly jealous recalls Apollo's disdain for France's "cruellest enemies" in the Rennes prologue:

Nothing marks the greatness of the king more than what we see today. All of Europe is in arms, and the jealousy for [the king's] glory is the only motive that made it take them up. So many sovereigns would not be united against this Monarch, if they had known that he could resist all of them alone, and that it would be easy to triumph over them.⁷⁸

In the November 1689 issue, the *Mercure* included a sonnet by Mr. Hauteville d'Auvergne titled, "Sur La Ligue des Puissances de l'Europe contre Louis Le Grand." Appearing on the pages that follow a report of French military victories, the pompous poem conveys the same scoffing confidence that Apollo and the Nymph of the Seine exude towards the Nymph of the Loire's doubt that France can win the war. After enumerating the powers that have united against France, d'Auvergne concludes with an injection of brazen assurance for the kingdom's fate:

Who did not say at first that France would perish.
Who could save her against so many enemies?
That LOUIS would cede victory to each of them.
But all these enemies are no longer frightening,
LOUIS will defend his Empire and his glory alone,
Just as he upholds Justice and Faith.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ "Rien ne marque tant la grandeur du Roy que ce qu'on voit aujourd'huy. Toute l'Europe est en armes, & la jalousie qu'on a de sa gloire, est le seul motif qui les a fait prendre. Tant de Souverains ne se seroient pas unis contre ce Monarque, s'ils n'avoient sceu qu'il pouvoit seul résister à tous, & qu'il luy seroit facile d'en triompher." *Mercure Galant* (Paris: Chez G. de Luyne, T. Girard, Michel Guerout, October 1689), 7-8.

⁷⁹ Qui ne diroit d'abord, la France va perir.
Contre tant d'Ennemis qui peut la secourir?
LOUIS à chacun d'eux va ceder la Victoire.
Mais tous ces Ennemis ne donnent point d'effroy,
LOUIS défendra seul son Empire & sa gloire,
Tant qu'il protega la Justice & la Foy.

Contemporary engravings took up the same rallying cry of victory against incredible odds. In *Les Grandes Victoires du Tres Puissant Monarque Louis Le Grand Emportée sur ses Ennemis par Mer & par Terre* (1691), Nicolas de Larmessin (1632-1694) depicted La Renommée flying over the victorious French military and naval battles of 1690. La Renommée holds a portrait of Louis XIV in one hand while blowing a trumpet in the other. Dangling from the trumpet is a banner that reiterates the same theme of an assured French victory against enemies whose folly outweighs their combined strength that weaves throughout the Rennes *Atys* prologue:

Greedy Powers, in vain do you league together
You have already seen the frightening ravages
Of Bloody War on your States.
You still wait for unheard blows,
Though you may have all the kings of the earth,
The Heavens and Louis are against you.⁸⁰

Hauteville d'Auvergne, "Sur La Ligue des Puissances de l'Europe contre Louis Le Grand" *Mercurie Galant* (Paris: Chez G. de Luyne, T. Girard, Michel Guerout, November 1689), 10-11.

⁸⁰ En vain vous vous liguez, Envieux Potentats
Vous avez déjà veu fonder sur vos Etats
Les Ravages affreux d'une Sanglante Guerre.
Attendez vous, Encor à des coups Innoûis
Quand vous auriez pour vous tous les rois de la terre
Vous avez contre vous, et le Ciel, et Louis.
Nicolas de Larmessin, *Les Grandes Victoires du Tres Puissant Monarque Louis Le Grand Emportée sur ses Ennemis par Mer & par Terre* (Paris: Chez Nicolas Larmessin, 1691).



Fig. 4.4: Detail of Nicolas de Larmessin, *Les Grandes Victoires du Tres Puissant Monarque Louis Le Grand Emportée sur ses Ennemis par Mer & par Terre* (Paris, 1691).
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FT6-QB-201 (67).
www.gallica.bnf.fr

Ballets and lighter dramatic musical works also advertised French war propaganda, although these works were keyed primarily towards celebrating specific battles.⁸¹ Nevertheless, an overarching theme of French victory against multiple enemy powers surfaces among some of these compositions. In his *pastorale héroïque*, *Coronis* (1691), Theobaldo di Gatti introduces a scene set on Mount Parnassus, where the Muses boast that war rages elsewhere, but does not touch their own lands [i.e., France], thanks to the peace established by the king:

L'impuissant valeur de cent Peuples jaloux
Arme en vain contre luy les deux bouts de la terre.⁸²

The powerless valor of a hundred jealous Peoples
Arms both ends of the earth against [Louis XIV] in vain.

⁸¹ La Vallière meticulously notes which battles such works celebrated. See, for example, La Vallière, *Ballets, Opera, et Autres Ouvrages Lyriques*, 109, 112.

⁸² Di Gatti and de Baugé, *Coronis*, Prologue.

Complete victory, of course, was nowhere near, but the Muses's confidence echoes the self-assurance of Apollo and the Nymph of the Seine in Collasse's prologue for *Atys*.

A survey of the seven operas that premiered at the Paris Opéra in the first four years of the Nine Years' War yields three productions that allude to warfare with a similar propagandistic theme.⁸³ These prologues differ from the Rennes *Atys* prologue, however, in that they do not exist simply to reinforce political propaganda. Rather, the prologues follow the conventional framework established by Lully and Quinault that mixes rather generic references to war and court with an allusion to the *tragédie*'s plot or overarching moral. In 1690, Louis Lully published *Orphée, a tragédie en musique* that begins with a prologue set in the thick of winter. Venus interrupts characters who bemoan the agony of winter's cold by declaring, "The Universe conspires in vain to obscure the brilliance of [Louis XIV's] Empire" ("En vain tout l'Univers conspire pour obscurir l'éclat de son Empire"). Her celebration of French might is swallowed within a larger scenario in which deities introduce the story of Orpheus. Mars opens the prologue of Henri Desmarets's *Didon* (1693) by declaring that the greater number of enemies that fight against the "Vainqueur de la Terre," the more beautiful the [French] victories, alluding to the overwhelming number of state powers that fought against France in the Nine Years' War:

Publiez les Exploits nouveaux
Du vainqueur de la Terre,
Plus d'ennemis luy déclarent la Guerre,
Et plus ses triomphes sont beaux.
[...]
Il a vaincu mille Peuples divers
Si ses desirs égalloient sa puissance,

⁸³ The seven operas were Collasse's *Thétis et Pélée* (1689), Louis Lully's *Orphée* (1690), Collasse's *Énée et Lavinie* (1690), Collasse's *Astrée* (1691), Louis Lully and Marin Marais's *Alcide* (1693), Desmarets's *Didon* (1693), and Charpentier's *Médée* (1693). The prologue of *Thétis et Pélée* makes a vague reference to war when Victory banishes Night so that the Sun can arrive early to earth and assist Louis and the dauphin in battle. *Énée et Lavinie* opens with a pastoral prologue that celebrates love and peace without reference to the current war. In the prologue of *Astrée*, Apollo complains that Mars keeps him away from his kingdom, another vague reference to warfare. The prologue of *Médée* celebrates Louis XIV as a victor against jealous enemies, but the language of warfare is generic and emphasizes neither the great number of enemies, nor their foolishness.

Il rangeroit tout l'Univers
Sous son obeïssance.⁸⁴

Let the new Exploits
Of the Conqueror of the Earth be known,
The more enemies that declare War against him,
The more beautiful are his triumphs.
[...]
He has conquered a thousand diverse Peoples
If his desires equal his power,
He will put the entire Universe
Under his obedience.

Mars's declaration of French victories, however, is a way of inviting Venus and her nymphs to celebrate the greater power of love and to introduce the story of Dido. Finally, the prologue of Marin Marais's *Alcide* (1693) opens with enemy soldiers begging Victory to favor them. The goddess refuses to help the chorus of warriors, explaining that she cannot resist favoring Louis XIV:

UN GUERRIER
En vain la fureur qui nous guide
Nous arme tous contre un Roy fortuné.
Malgré tous nos efforts ce Monarque intrepide
De vos Lauriers est toujours couronné.
[...]

LA VICTOIRE
Peuples, n'esperez pas que vostre destin change,
Il ne m'est pas permis de m'attacher à vous.
L'invincible Héros dont vous estes jaloux
Malgré moy, quand il veut, à sa suite me range.⁸⁵

A WARRIOR
In vain does the fury that guides us
Arm us against a fortunate King.
Despite all our efforts, this intrepid Monarch
Is always crowned with your Laurels.

⁸⁴ Henri Desmarets and Louise-Geneviève Gillot de Saintonge, *Didon* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1693), Prologue.

⁸⁵ Marin Marais and Jean-Galbert de Campistron, *Alcide, ou le Triomphe d'Hercule* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1693), Prologue.

[...]

VICTORY

People, do not hope that your destiny might change,
I am not allowed to help you.
The invincible Hero of whom you are jealous
Ranks among my followers in spite of myself.

The characters abandon war and celebrate peace, which they offer as the perfect opportunity for enjoying “quelque spectacle pompeux,” or the story of Alcide that follows.

The Rennes *Atys* prologue was part of a broader initiative in media and art to assure the French kingdom of its victory even at the outset of a war that would antagonize the country for nearly a decade. In its vividly political purpose, it exceeded the propagandistic function of other operas from this period. The *Atys* production married mythological representation with direct political discourse, fitting specific language used in contemporary war propaganda within the allegorical framework of Lully's operas. Furthermore, the production and its revised prologue operated within a larger system of propaganda designed specifically to impress the benefit of the Crown's war agenda to provincial communities in France, including the king's equestrian statue campaign, the construction of triumphal arches in various cities, and the Te Deums that provincial cathedrals sang in celebration of French military victories.⁸⁶ Like these other forms of royal propaganda in the provinces, the Rennes *Atys* anchored royal presence and power within the city despite its distance from Versailles, while enabling the Bretons to express their obedience and allegiance to the Crown. The Rennes *Atys* thus belongs as much to a narrative of the performance history of Lully's operas as it does to the history of Louis XIV's dissemination and enforcement of royal absolutism within the provinces.

⁸⁶ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 156. On *Te Deums*, see Montagnier, “Le Te Deum en France à l'époque baroque,” 199-233.

After the *parlement* resettled in Rennes, evidence of local interest in Lully's operas in Brittany is sparse. At an unknown date, Philippe Le Saint (fl. 1668-1691) printed the livrets of *Cadmus et Hermione* and *Acis et Galatée*, indicating performances of the operas in the city.⁸⁷ Le Saint's livrets correspond exactly to the first edition of the Ballard livrets of the operas, showing none of the creative innovation nor the political ambition of the 1689 *Atys*. Le Saint died in 1691, after which his workshop ceased to operate until his son, Pierre, took over the firm from 1693 to 1716. If the livrets that Le Saint printed do indeed represent productions, the operas must have been performed between the 1689 production of *Atys* and Le Saint's death in 1691.⁸⁸ Given that Lyon revived *Cadmus et Hermione* in 1691, it is possible that the *tragédie* was also revived in Rennes the year of Le Saint's passing.⁸⁹

Rennes was not the only French city to produce *Atys* in 1689. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Paris Opéra was preparing for a revival of the opera late that autumn, and the Académies de Musique of Lyon and Marseille also produced *Atys* that year. While this sudden and widespread interest in *l'opéra du roi* might represent a coordinated agenda on the part of opera entrepreneurs around the kingdom, no production of *Atys* featured the modifications of the Rennes production that made the opera so politically resonant in that city. The Rennes *Atys*

⁸⁷ Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, *Cadmus et Hermione* (Rennes: Philippes Le Saint).

⁸⁸ Georges Lepreux, *Gallia Typographica ou Répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Révolution*. Série départementale, vol. 4: Province de Bretagne (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1914), 13-14; 94-95. Few printers were active in Rennes in the late 17th century, and Le Saint was overshadowed by the larger and more prosperous Vatar firm. Given that Vatar collaborated with local political institutions such as the Estates of Brittany and the *parlement*, it is surprising that he was not involved in printing opera livrets. For a history of printing in 17th- and 18th-century Rennes, see Michel Duval, "Imprimeurs et Libraires de Bretagne au XVIII^e siècle: contribution à l'étude de la diffusion du livre imprimé en Bretagne au XVIII^e siècle," in *Actes du 76^e congrès des sociétés savantes, Rennes 1951* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1951), 37-47; *500 ans d'Imprimerie en Bretagne, 1484-1984* (Rennes: Bibliothèque municipale de Rennes, Jan.-Feb. 1985), 37-39. My dating of Le Saint's livret revises Schneider's assumption that the booklet dates from the 18th century. See Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Regime*, 356.

⁸⁹ La Vallière, *Ballets, Opera, et Autres Ouvrages Lyriques*, 87, 106.

represents a unique instance of an opera by Lully that was used as both explicit war propaganda and as a clear affirmation of a province's commitment to royal absolutism.

Chapter 5

Lully's *Divertissements* in Strasbourg, 1732-1736

“For even though the people seem very attached to their sovereign, we know that most of the inhabitants of Alsace still have the eagle engraved on their hearts.”

-M. Peloux, 1735¹

In 1735, Jean-François Le Roux printed the livret of Lully and Quinault's *tragédie en musique, Proserpine*, for audiences at the Académie de Musique of Strasbourg. If any visitors from Paris were at the production, they would have found several aspects of Le Roux's livret surprising. Like most printers who worked for provincial music academies, Le Roux omitted stage directions, the list of *dramatis personae*, and the names of the actors and actresses who performed in *Proserpine*. Curiously, Le Roux did note the instrumental airs, preludes, and ritournelles that were played between vocal pieces, a detail not found with such regularity in any other provincial livret of an opera by Lully. Parisian visitors may have wondered at the subtitle that Le Roux printed below the title of the opera: *Proserpine, divertissement* connoted a rather different genre than *Proserpine, tragédie en musique*. Flipping through the pages, Parisians would have been further shocked to find that Le Roux's livret numbered a mere ten pages – a far cry from the seventy-one-page booklet that spectators had purchased at the most recent Parisian revival of *Proserpine* in 1727.²

¹ “Car quoy que ce peuple paroisse très attaché a [sic] son souverain on scait que la plus part des habitans d'alsace ont encore l'aigle gravé dans le cœur.” M. Peloux, *Mémoire sur la province d'Alsace, par M. Peloux, secrétaire de M. de Brou, intendant de la province*, fol. 50r. F-Pnm Français 8152.

² Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, *Proserpine, tragédie, remise au théâtre le Janvier 1727* (Paris: Chez la Veuve Pierre Ribou, 1727).

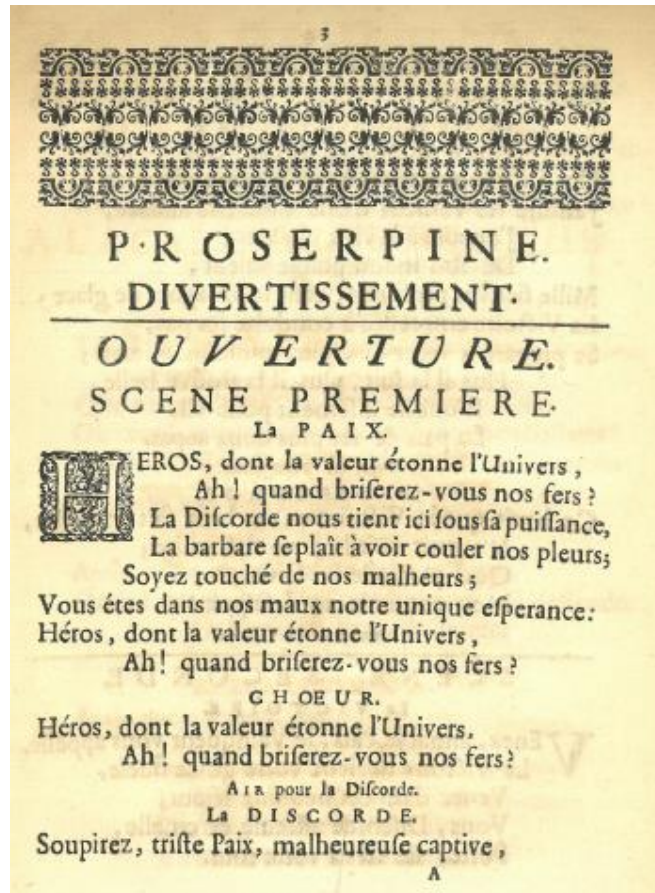


Fig. 5.1: Opening page of *Proserpine* (Strasbourg: François Le Roux, 1735)
Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt Mus W 365

Two other livrets of Lully's operas have survived from Le Roux's printshop: *Isis* (1732) and *Bellérophon* (1736).³ Both are subtitled *divertissement*, and both are drastically shorter than Lully's original versions of the operas. What prompted the Strasbourg Académie to modify Lully's operas from lengthy *tragédies* to brief *divertissements*, and what effect did the modifications have on the reception of these works? In this chapter, I investigate the evidence of Le Roux's three Lully livrets to reconstruct the history of Lully's operas in 18th-century Strasbourg. Reading the cuts against Strasbourg's position in the years surrounding the War of

³ Lully and Quinault, *Isis* (Strasbourg: Jean-François Le Roux, 1732); Lully and Quinault, *Proserpine* (Strasbourg: Jean-François Le Roux, 1735) (D-DS 41/1265(6)); Lully and Thomas Corneille, *Bellérophon* (Strasbourg: Jean-François Le Roux, 1736) (DK-Kk 75:4, 164).

Polish Succession (1733-1735), I argue that the Strasbourg Académie's productions of Lully's operas complemented the Crown's ongoing initiative to enforce French political power and culture in Strasbourg, which retained much of its Germanic culture and Protestant confessional identity in the decades following the city's French annexation in 1681. The modifications to Lully's operas, however, were neither uniformly nor uniquely designed to suit French political ends. The reworking of *Proserpine* resonated deeply with French political ideology and contemporary propaganda about Strasbourg's relationship with the Crown. The revisions to *Isis* and *Bellérophon*, in contrast, are explained better by cultural than political motivations: the operas' simplified storylines and modified scores spoke well to spectators of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds with varying degrees of taste for French opera.

Of all the provincial productions of Lully's operas, those produced by the Strasbourg Académie produced in the 1730s have received the least scholarly attention. To my knowledge, my study is the first to bring the 1735 livret of *Proserpine* to light. The performances organized at the Strasbourg Cathedral by the music collector and composer Sébastien de Brossard (1655-1730) in the 1690s have attracted detailed study. Musicologist Catherine Cessac has scrutinized Brossard's performance scores to uncover details about his performance forces and his musical modifications to Lully's operas, which evince the composer's interests in Italian musical styles.⁴

⁴ Cessac, "Les sources lullystes dans la collection Brossard;" Cessac, "The Presentation of Lully's *Alceste* at the Strasbourg Académie de Musique." Scholars have given Brossard's enormous music collection more attention than his individual Lully scores. See Jean Duron, "Le *Philobiblion*: Régard sur les collections françaises explorées par Sébastien de Brossard," in *Collectionner la musique: érudits collectionneurs*, vol. 3, ed. Denis Herlin, Catherine Massip, and Valérie de Wispelaere, 81-97 (Belgium: Brepols, 2015); Laurent Guillo, "La Bibliothèque de musique des Ballard d'après l'inventaire de 1750 et les notes de Sébastien de Brossard (premier partie)" *Revue de Musicologie* 90.2 (2004): 283-345; *Sébastien de Brossard à Versailles*, ed. Jean Duron (Versailles: Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, 1990), esp. Jean Lionnet, "Les limites du 'goût Italien' de Sébastien de Brossard," 57-66, Cecil Grand, "La bibliothèque de Sébastien de Brossard," 91-100, Jean-Luc Fester, "Sébastien de Brossard à Strasbourg (1687-1698/1699)," 67-78; Yolande de Brossard, *Sébastien de Brossard: théoricien et compositeur, encyclopédiste et maître de chapelle, 1655-1730* (Paris: Picard, 1987), esp. pp. 19-33.

Le Roux's livrets of *Isis* and *Bellérophon* remained unnoticed until musicologist Carl Schmidt cited them in his catalogue, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques: A Catalogue Raisonné* (1995), and his article, "The Geographic Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: New Evidence from the Livrets" (1989).⁵ Noting the drastic cuts to *Isis* and *Bellérophon*, Schmidt hypothesizes that

Without the scores [of *Isis* (1732) and *Bellérophon* (1736)] it is difficult to say much more than that the length has been dramatically shortened, the size of the cast reduced, and the original structure of the plot simplified. Clearly the requirements of the Académie de Musique de Strasbourg (founded in 1730 or 1731) differed vastly from those satisfied by Lully and his librettists; modesty was the goal, whether motivated by taste, financial considerations, or both.⁶

Without denying that financial factors may have been in play, I push Schmidt's conjecture farther: many of the changes to these operas can be explained by local politics and culture.

Strasbourg from the 1681 Annexation to the War of Polish Succession

Given the strategic position of Strasbourg on the Ill, a tributary of the Rhine, France began to covet Strasbourg by the end of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), when the Peace of Westphalia (1648) gave the French kingdom control over much of Alsace.⁷ As an imperial free city, Strasbourg enjoyed a position of great municipal autonomy. Its local authorities were organized in a complex system of rotating elected leaders and councils of burghers who dealt

⁵ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries;" Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques*. Schneider mentions only the 1732 performance of *Isis* in his history of Lully reception in ancien régime France. See Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Régime*, 74; 357.

⁶ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 198.

⁷ Franklin L. Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 2. Louis XIV was awarded the city Breisach, the group of communes known as the Décapole, the Sundgau domain, and the Landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace.

with the Holy Roman Emperor without needing to go through an intermediary power.⁸ The city coined its own money, and its leaders had administrative and legislative control over several surrounding rural communities. A cosmopolitan city that welcomed traders passing en route to France, Italy, and the Holy Roman Empire, Strasbourg itself was a significant commercial center, hosting numerous annual fairs that attracted merchants from across Europe.⁹

Late 17th-century Strasbourg was home to a multicultural community of around 25,000 inhabitants, a number that would grow to approximately 36,000 by the time Le Roux printed his Lully livrets.¹⁰ An officially Protestant city, Strasbourg residents included Protestant refugees from across Europe, including Wales and France, as well as university students from the Holy Roman Empire and native Alsatians.¹¹ A corollary of the cultural diversity of the city was linguistic heterogeneity. In the early 17th century, the city's rising French population was an impetus for the development of several *écoles françaises*, or French language schools, that taught French and German to complement the Latin that was required of all students in the city. These schools, however, served a minority of the population; French was not a regular component of Strasbourgeois curriculum until 1751, well after Lully's operas were revived in the city.¹² The

⁸ For a discussion of Strasbourg's municipal administrative system before the French annexation, see Ibid., 10-18; Jean-Pierre Kintz, "Du Saint Empire au Royaume de France" in *Histoire de Strasbourg des Origines à nos jours: Strasbourg de la Guerre de Trente ans à Napoléon, 1618-1815*, vol. 3, ed. Georges Livet and Francis Rapp (Strasbourg: Editions des Dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1980-1982), 13-17.

⁹ Kintz, "Du Saint Empire au Royaume de France," 6; 23; Yves Le Moigne, "Démographie et subsistances au siècle des lumières" in *Histoire de Strasbourg des Origines à nos jours: Strasbourg de la Guerre de Trente ans à Napoléon*.

¹⁰ Kintz, "Du Saint Empire au Royaume de France," 22.

¹¹ Strasbourg became officially Protestant in 1529. Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789*, 5-8; Kintz, "Du Saint Empire au Royaume de France," 24-25.

¹² Kintz, "Du Saint Empire au Royaume de France," 65. The eighteenth century saw a shift in pedagogical strategies for school children in France in that beginning students learned to read and write in French rather than Latin, which had been the primary language of the schoolroom in the 17th century. While the development of *écoles françaises* in Strasbourg may have been influenced by kingdom-wide trends in using French as a way of teaching reading and writing, the widespread study of French occurred later in Strasbourg than in other French cities beyond Alsace. For

textbooks authored by teachers at the *écoles françaises* emphasize the practical and social importance of learning French. At the beginning of Daniel Martin's *Parlement Nouveau* (1637), which was reprinted several times over the 17th century, students were presented with a conversation translated into German and Alsatian that discussed the importance of not only speaking and writing in French, but of being able to compose narratives (*themes*) in the language.¹³

further details on early modern French pedagogy, see Karen E. Carter, *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 198-226, esp. 198-202; van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 133-167.

¹³ Daniel Martin, *Parlement Nouveau, ou, Centurie interliniaire devis facetieusement serieux et serieusement facetieux, comprenans sous des Tiltres de Professions, Charges, Artifices, Metier & autres Etats tou le mots & phrases necessaire en la conversation humaine, & par ainsi seruant de Dictionnaire & Nomenclature aux amateurs de deux langues, François & Allemande* (Strasbourg: Aux Despens des Heritier de feu Lazarus Zetzner, 1637), 9. The book was reprinted in 1660 (Strasbourg: Aux Depens des Heretiers du feu Everard Zetzner) and 1682 (Strasbourg: Chez Frederic Guillaume Schmuck).

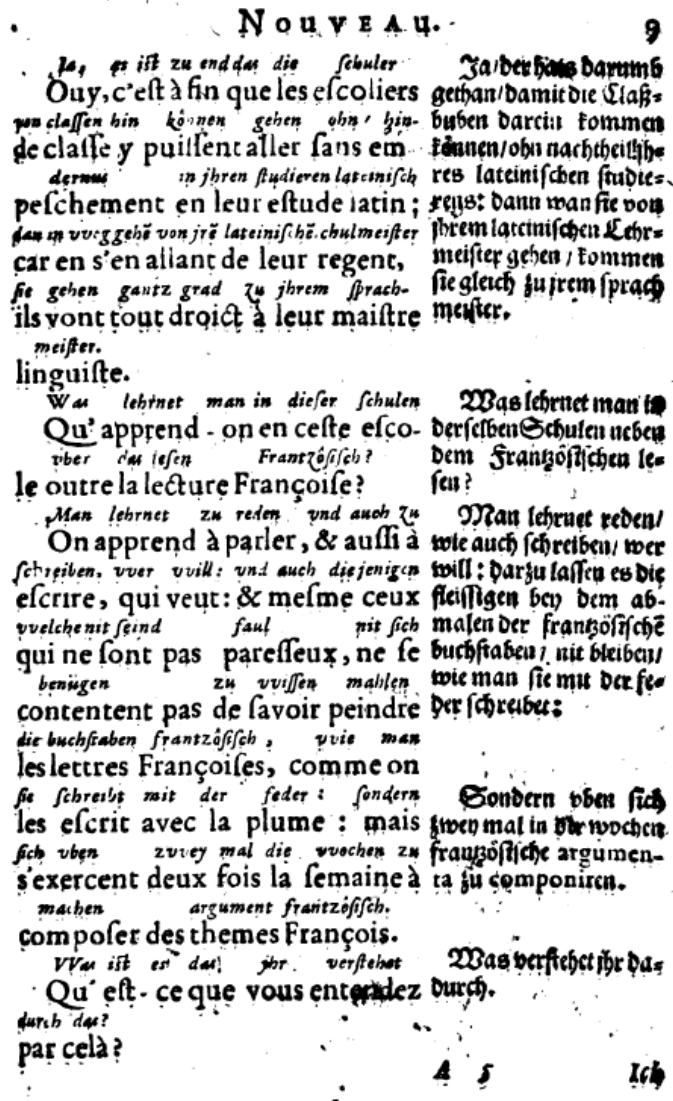


Fig. 5.2: Excerpt from Daniel Martin's *Parlement Nouveau* (Strasbourg, 1637)

Textbooks like Martin's provide a fascinating window into daily life in Strasbourg. *Parlement Nouveau*, for instance, modeled quotidian conversations for scenarios ranging from buying bread to discussing the inventory of the local artillery. Though first published nearly 100 years before the first of Le Roux's Lully livrets, Martin's depiction of the vibrantly cosmopolitan city apply to the sociocultural milieu in which Lully's operas would be performed. Indeed, in the decades following the 1681 French annexation of the city, royal officials residing in Strasbourg expressed frustration that French remained a minority language. Writing in 1735, the year of *Proserpine*'s

Strasbourg revival, M. Peloux, the secretary of Paul Esprit Feydeau de Brou, intendant of Alsace from 1728 to 1742, argued that the universal adoption of French in Alsace would be fundamental to securing absolute political fealty from the Alsatians: “there being no line more proper [i.e., the French language] in uniting these peoples together and inspiring in them affection for French rule” (“cette langue devienne commune en Alsace, n’ayant point de lien plus propre à unir les peuples ensemble et leur inspirer l’affection à la domination française”).¹⁴

The task of promoting the French language in Strasbourg, however, was not first on Louis XIV’s mind when the Peace of Westphalia awarded France several regions of Alsace. Given Strasbourg’s relatively autonomous status, Louis XIV agreed to leave the city alone as he asserted French presence in his new Alsatian territories. With French armies circulating throughout the region, however, it became all too easy for the French to snap up Strasbourg’s rural domains.¹⁵ In September 1681, Louis XIV surprised his court at Versailles by leaving suddenly for Strasbourg, which he declared was rightfully his. Louis XIV’s sister-in-law, Élisabeth-Charlotte d’Orléans, wrote to her former governess of the hasty preparations of both king and court:

It will be some time now before I can write again, for the King will be leaving from here tomorrow to hurry off to the siege of Strasbourg and the Queen, Madame la Dauphine, and I will follow more slowly as far as Nancy, where we will remain...I must go pack.¹⁶

With a French army of 30,000 men on their doorsteps, the city counselors of Strasbourg decided that their safest option was to cede the city voluntarily to the French. The municipal leaders

¹⁴ M. Peloux, *Mémoire sur l’Alsace de l’Année 1735* in Christopher Pfister, “Extrait d’un mémoire sur l’Alsace de l’année 1735. État ecclésiastique de la province,” *Revue Historique* 123.1 (1916): 88.

¹⁵ Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition*, 30-40.

¹⁶ Letter to Anna Katherina von Offeln. 29 September, 1681. Elisabeth-Charlotte von der Pfalz, *A Woman’s Life in the Court of the Sun King*, transl. Elborg Forster (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 31.

swore allegiance to the Crown on the condition that Louis XIV would respect the city's privileges, customs, and religion, a promise that the king and his successors gradually neglected over time.¹⁷ The annexation became official in 1684, when the Truce of Regensburg formally established French sovereignty over Strasbourg.¹⁸

Louis XIV transformed Strasbourg into a fortress town, building multiple forts and staffing them with over 600 officers who oversaw a garrison of soldiers that numbered around 5000 men.¹⁹ Besides the installation of French military, the municipal administration was rearranged so that the city was no longer ruled by rotating elected officials, but by the French governor and intendant of Alsace, who oversaw a rearranged version of the constellation of councils that had formerly run the city.²⁰ Strasbourg Cathedral was converted to a Catholic institution, although Catholics would not outnumber Lutherans in the city until the French Revolution.²¹ In 1685, French became the official language of the city, and citizens were ordered to dress in French styles of clothing. As Peloux noted in 1735, however, these orders were not rigorously reinforced. French fashion was not widely adopted by Strasbourg citizens until the 1720s, and the local press continued to publish in German and Alsatian, only gradually introducing French features in the 1740s.²²

¹⁷ Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition*, 46-49. The full text of the capitulation agreement is reproduced in *Documents de l'Histoire de l'Alsace*, ed. Philippe Dollinger (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1972), 266-268; Kintz, "Du Saint Empire au Royaume de France," 81-87.

¹⁸ Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition*, 59; Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 192; 264.

¹⁹ Ibid., 56; Kenneth Owen Smith, "Sébastien de Brossard, the *Galant Air*, and French Hegemony in Strasbourg During the Nine Years War," *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 30.1 (2008), 100-101; Kintz, "Du Saint Empire au Royaume de France," 89-90.

²⁰ Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition*, 76-79.

²¹ Ibid., 116; Le Moigne, "Démographie et subsistances au siècle des lumières," 134.

²² The allegorical depiction of Alsace paying homage to the French Crown on the dedication page of Louis Laguille's 1727 *Histoire de la province d'Alsace* represents Alsace as a woman in the traditional garb of the

French-language entertainment, however, was readily available in the city. Thanks to the Huguenot population, Strasbourg had already welcomed visiting troupes of comedians who organized productions of works by Parisian playwrights such as Molière, Corneille, and Racine before the annexation.²³ The Strasbourg Académie de Musique opened its doors in 1701, bringing French opera to the city.²⁴ Even before that date, Brossard had organized productions of Lully's operas and other dramatic and sacred works at the Strasbourg Cathedral in his capacity as *maître de chapelle*. When Brossard arrived in Strasbourg in 1687, he lacked experience as a church – let alone a cathedral – music master, despite his extensive knowledge of musical repertoire and composition. Before he departed Strasbourg in 1698 to serve as *maître de chapelle* at the Cathedral of Meaux, he nevertheless realized several music concerts at the cathedral.

Brossard's voluminous writings, compositions, and music library have attracted significant scholarly attention that is worth rehearsing briefly, since a history of Lully revivals in Strasbourg is incomplete without mention of Brossard's activities. During his tenure at the Strasbourg Cathedral, Brossard organized performances of Lully's *Alceste*, *Atys*, and *Persée*. The exact dates of the performances are unknown. No information, moreover, has survived regarding

province. Even in the late 1720s, Alsace was still conceptualized by the rest of France as a region defined by unique local traditions, such as dress. See Laguille, *Histoire de la province d'Alsace depuis Jules César jusqu'au mariage de Louis XV. Roy de France et de Navarre*, vol. 1 (Strasbourg: Jean Renauld Doulssecker, 1727). Similarly, Guy Boucher's 1706 discussion of Strasbourg shows evidence of class divisions marked by clothing style: engravings of upper class Strasbourgeois depict individuals in French clothing styles, while lower class men and women wear traditional Alsatian outfits. See Guy Boucher, *Alsace Française ou nouveau recueil de ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans la Ville de Strasbourg, avec une explication exacte des planches en taille douce qui le composent* (Strasbourg: Chez G. Boucher, 1706).

²³ Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition*, 189-192; Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le Théâtre à Strasbourg de S. Brant à Voltaire, 1512-1781: études et documents pour une histoire culturelle de l'Alsace* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2015), 292.

²⁴ Numerous iterations of an academy devoted to opera and other musical performances opened in Strasbourg over the century following its French annexation. Preceding the Académie de Musique that opened in 1701 was another Académie de Musique that had opened in 1698. Presumably this academy was defunct by the time the Place Broglie institution opened. See Boucher, *Alsace Française ou nouveau recueil de ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans la Ville de Strasbourg*, n.p.

Brossard's intended audiences, nor have any eyewitness accounts of the performances survived. The primary evidence for these performances are Brossard's manuscript copies of the operas' scores, which feature annotations that include musical cuts and the occasional cue for a performer. Cessac's analysis of the scores reveals remarkable details about the performances. Brossard's scores feature dynamic and tempo markings, as well as the names of a handful of singers who served as choristers at the cathedral. The score of *Alceste* contains the richest annotations. Brossard reduced the orchestra from five parts to four, as was traditional in contemporary Italian orchestral scoring, while adding an additional tenor voice to the choruses, thus expanding them from four parts to five.²⁵ Brossard also trimmed the score, favoring the prologue, choruses, and instrumental portions over dramatic dialogue, so that the performance would have lasted about an hour.²⁶ I direct the reader to Cessac's study for a more detailed discussion of Brossard's edits to Lully's operas.

Jean Duron and François Lesure speculate that Brossard selected Lully's operas to compensate for his lack of experience as a *maître de chapelle* by drawing on repertoire that he knew best.²⁷ Brossard certainly turned to Lully's operas out of admiration for the composer, who had died right before Brossard left for Strasbourg. Indeed, while in Strasbourg, Brossard continued to expand his collection of Lully's music, making copies not only of *Alceste*, *Atys*, and *Persée*, but also of *Phaëton* and *Proserpine*. The performances of Lully's operas at the

²⁵ Cessac, "Les sources lullystes dans la collection Brossard," 82-84. The score of *Atys* is incomplete, missing most of the first two scenes of Act II. See Cessac, "Les sources lullystes dans la collection Brossard," 78; Cessac, "The Presentation of Lully's *Alceste* at the Strasbourg Académie de Musique," 214-215.

²⁶ Cessac, "The Presentation of Lully's *Alceste* at the Strasbourg Académie de Musique," 204-214.

²⁷ Duron, "Le *Philobiblion*: Régard sur les collections françaises explorées par Sébastien de Brossard," 82-83; Lesure, *Dictionnaire musical des villes de province*, 282.

Strasbourg Cathedral could be interpreted as a celebration of Lully's achievements.²⁸ It is worth noting that Brossard's performances coincided with the Nine Years' War, when the French Crown needed to justify to the provinces its need for seemingly endless warfare. It is possible that Brossard was encouraged by royal officials residing in the city to produce Lully's operas as a way of celebrating the monarchy. Indeed, it is also possible that the newly installed intendant and garrison of soldiers may have been Brossard's intended audience. Despite its somber ending, *Atys* was associated with Louis XIV because it was the king's favorite opera. *Alceste* and *Persée* are heroic operas whose title characters sacrifice their personal desire and safety, respectively, to rescue those who are in distress – themes that are ideal for a kingdom at war.

Brossard's introduction of Lully's operas to Strasbourg also coincided with a period in which the Crown exerted its first attempts to make the historically Germanic city more uniformly French in language, dress code, and religion. In his analysis of Brossard's *airs sérieux* and *airs à boire*, Kenneth Owen Smith argues that Brossard contributed indirectly to the Crown's agenda of encouraging the adoption of French cultural practices in Strasbourg by composing and teaching vocal music in the musical style that had originated in 17th-century Parisian salons.²⁹ Brossard's Lully productions must have likewise resonated with the Crown's efforts to make Strasbourg more culturally French. In this function, Brossard's productions mark a period in which Lully's operas were gradually being perceived as a cultural product of France rather than as operas in the French language. Rebekah Ahrendt has argued that Lully's *tragédies* only came to be considered specifically French once Huguenots living *ex patria* in the late 17th and early 18th centuries began

²⁸ Cessac, "Les sources lullystes dans la collection Brossard," 74-76. For additional details of Brossard's collection of Lully's music, see pp. 88-90.

²⁹ Smith, "Sébastien de Brossard, the *Galant Air*, and French Hegemony in Strasbourg During the Nine Years War," 92-105.

to produce them within non-French communities.³⁰ As members of a citizens of what had, until only recently, been a free imperial city, Strasbourgeois spectators would have identified Lully's operas as a cultural export of Paris.

Brossard's motivations are impossible to determine with certainty. He may have been more motivated to produce the *tragédies* out of a desire to keep his new home city up to date with musical activities in Paris. Both *Atys* and *Persée* were revived at the Paris Opéra during Brossard's time in Strasbourg, and the composer may have planned for his performances to coincide with their Paris revivals: *Atys* was revived at the Paris Opéra in 1689, and *Persée* in 1687 (*Alceste*, however, had last been revived in 1682).³¹ Similarly, Brossard also organized a performance of Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre's *Céphale et Procris*. The opera premiered at the Paris Opéra in 1694; Brossard must have produced it within the next four years before his departure for Meaux.³²

Brossard styled his productions as the achievement of an Académie de Musique of Strasbourg, but there is no evidence that he had obtained a privilege from the Paris Opéra that would have made his Académie an official institution.³³ Francine presumably authorized Jean Billien and René Charrières to establish and direct an Académie Royale de Musique in 1701, though no document stating their privilege survives.³⁴ Besides Billien and Charrières's

³⁰ See Ahrendt, "A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration," esp. 10-11.

³¹ La Vallière, *Ballets, Opera, et Autres Ouvrages Lyriques*, 88; 91; 99.

³² Cessac, "The Presentation of Lully's *Alceste* at the Strasbourg Académie de Musique," 202.

³³ Rodolphe Reuss, *L'Alsace au XVIII^e siècle au point de vue géographique, historique, administratif, économique, social, intellectuel et religieux*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1898), 281.

³⁴ Pantaléon Deck, *Histoire du théâtre français à Strasbourg (1681-1830)* (Strasbourg: F-X. Le Roux, 1948), 28; Clay, *Stagestruck: The Business of Theater in Eighteenth-Century France and its Colonies*, 92. Jean Billien may have been the same Billien who partnered with Jacques Roussel to establish an opera company in Toulouse and Bordeaux in 1689. See *Catalogues de lettres autographes, manuscrits, documents historiques, etc., d'Auguste*

productions, traveling troupes from Nancy and Metz also performed opera and spoken dramas in the city, although details of their repertoire are lost.³⁵

The Strasbourg Académie de Musique reorganized itself twice in the first half of the 18th century, issuing a series of new statutes and regulations in 1713 and 1731.³⁶ Regrettably little information survives about the organization, personnel, and audience members of the Académie, apart from scant accounts of singers who hailed from cities in neighboring regions of France and Lorraine, such as Lunéville and Nancy.³⁷ Judging from documentary evidence from the 1780s, French opera never achieved widespread popularity in Strasbourg. In 1786, the theater-loving Maréchal de Contades, who oversaw the troops stationed in Strasbourg between 1762 and 1788,³⁸ admitted that “the tastes of the bourgeoisie weigh more in preference for German spectacles” (“le goût de la Bourgeoisie la porte de préférence aux spectacles allemands”).³⁹ Works in German and, beginning in the 1750s, Italian, were more popular among the theater-going public.⁴⁰ Beside the French soldiers stationed in the city, the Académie targeted a small percentage of Strasbourg society that represented those who were educated in the French language and interested in Parisian culture, or those who wished to maintain a cultural

Laverdet, avec prix (Paris: A. Laverdet, 1865), 302. Bilien would not have had the privilege for long, since Pascal Collasse received a privilege in 1690 to establish opera companies in Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, and Lille.

³⁵ Deck, *Histoire du théâtre français à Strasbourg*, 28.

³⁶ Jean Happel, “Strasbourg,” *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 12.16.2017. Schmidt and Happel mention the 1731 reorganization of the Académie, but not the 1713 reorganization. See *Status et Réglements de l’Académie de Musique à Strasbourg* (Strasbourg, 1713); Schmidt, “The Geographical Spread of Lully’s Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 198.

³⁷ Deck, *Histoire du théâtre français à Strasbourg*, 30-34.

³⁸ Georges Livet, “Institutions, traditions, et sociétés,” in *Histoire de Strasbourg des Origines à nos jours: Strasbourg de la Guerre de Trente ans à Napoléon, 1618-1815*, 308.

³⁹ Qtd. in Livet, “Institutions, traditions, et sociétés,” 318.

⁴⁰ Clay, *Stagestruck: The Business of Theater in Eighteenth-Century France and its Colonies*, 93-94.

relationship with France, such as French Huguenots who had fled their homes after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1684.

The artistic mission of the Académie can be gleaned from the surviving livrets that were printed for its productions throughout the first half of the 18th century. These livrets indicate that the Académie, like Brossard, sought to present works that were being or had recently been premiered or revived in Paris. Productions of Lully's *Isis* (1732), Montéclair's *Jephté* (1733), and Rebel and Francoeur's *Zélindor, Roy des Sylphes* (1749), for instance, coincided with revivals of these works at the Paris Opéra. Rameau's *Naïs* (1750) was produced in Strasbourg only a year after its Paris premiere. The choice and timing of these operas in Strasbourg reflects the Académie's deliberate attempt to keep the Strasbourgeois up to date with musical developments in Paris. Other productions, however, appear to have been decided upon independently of any influence from Paris: *Didon* (1701) would not be revived at the Paris Opéra until 1704, *Proserpine* (1735) had not been heard in Paris since 1727, and *Bellérophon* (1736) since 1728.⁴¹

The three Lully operas that the Académie produced were premiered in close chronological proximity during Lully's lifetime (*Isis* in 1677, *Bellérophon* in 1679, and *Proserpine* in 1680). *Isis*, *Bellérophon*, and *Proserpine* represent a transitional phase in the aesthetic vision of Lully and his librettists. In these operas, Lully developed an increasingly

⁴¹ Dates in parentheses represent Strasbourg premieres. See Henri Demarets and Louise-Geneviève de Saintonge, *Didon, tragédie en musique. Représentée par l'Académie Royale de Musique établie à Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Michel Storck, 1701); Michel Pignolet de Montclair and Simon-Joseph Pellegrin, *Jephté, divertissement executé à l'Académie de Musique de Strasbourg, second concert* (Strasbourg: Jean-François Le Roux, 1733), F-Sn MR.700.106; François Francoeur and Jean Rebel, *Zélindor Roi des Sylphes, Divertissement executé à l'Académie de Musique de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Jean-François Le Roux, 1749); Jean-Philippe Rameau and Louis de Cahusac, *Naïs, divertissement executé à l'Académie de Musique de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Jean-François Le Roux, 1750). La Vallière owned a copy of the *Didon* livret printed in Strasbourg: "J'en ai une édition faite à Strasbourg, où cet Opera fut représenté en 1701, in 4." See La Vallière, *Ballets, Opera, et Autres Ouvrages Lyriques*, 94; 95; 113.

lyrical compositional style for vocal music, while Quinault and Corneille experimented with new ways of organizing plot and portraying characters, as I discuss in more detail below.

Furthermore, while the operas were not the most popular of Lully's *tragédies*, they represent a period of Louis XIV's reign marked by successful expansionist activity in the Franche-Comté, which France officially acquired in 1678. Were spectators at the Strasbourg productions cognizant of the combative historical context that had surrounded the operas' premieres? As Strasbourg was a city defined by its status as one of the prized spoils of France, such an awareness is not out of the question. A lack of evidence renders it impossible to rule out the possibility that the Académie performed other operas by Lully. As I discuss below, however, the insertion of a chorus from *Armide* in *Isis* suggests that the former opera may have been performed in Strasbourg before the premiere of *Isis*. Presumably, the chorus was inserted with the assumption that spectators would recognize it from a previous concert experience.

The printer Le Roux was an energetic participant in the Strasbourg community. Not only did he print for the city's academic, political, religious, and musical institutions, he also obtained bourgeois status in 1730 and, between 1761 and 1762, served on the city senate, one of the municipal councils organized under the royal governor and intendant.⁴² Le Roux's livrets are simple in design and content, offering the minimum information that spectators required to follow an opera. The booklets contain no scene descriptions, stage directions, or character lists, lending support to Schmidt's proposal that the productions were done in concert rather than staged. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Le Roux did insert cues for instrumental pieces, perhaps to assist audience members who lacked sufficient French to keep up with the libretto, but who could follow cues for generic *airs* and *symphonies*. Finally, while each opera

⁴² "Jean-François Le Roux," *data.bnf.fr*. http://data.bnf.fr/12272018/jean-francois_le_roux/. Accessed 12.4.2017.

was subtitled *divertissement*, *Proserpine* was also described as “premier concert.” Indeed, the opera was cut so extensively that it could easily have been paired with additional repertoire for a concert program, lending additional support to Schmidt’s hypothesis.⁴³

Le Roux’s livrets feature little decoration: each title-page includes the insignia of Armand Gaston Maximilien, Cardinal of Rohan (1674-1749), who had just begun the process of constructing the Palais de Rohan (1731-1742), an opulent manor built in the Regency Style that would stand in striking aesthetic contrast next to the Germanic architecture of the Strasbourg Cathedral, and which would be completed over the course of the Lully productions.⁴⁴ A woodcut of angular abstract design embellished by eagles and vases of flowers ornaments the opening of Act I of *Isis*, contrasting starkly with the florid woodcuts that contemporary French printers such as Ballard and Delaroche favored.

⁴³ It should not be assumed that the Académie lacked resources to put on a satisfying spectacle. Writing in 1706 – albeit nearly three decades before the Académie produced *Isis* – Guy Boucher assured readers of his compendium of Alsatian curiosities that, at the Strasbourg opera house, “nothing is spared for the use of spectacle, all of the necessary machines are very well maintained there (“rien ny [sic] est épargné pour l’utilité du spectacle, toutes les machines nécessaires y sont tres-bien entendües”).” See Boucher, *Alsace Française ou nouveau recueil de ce qu’il y a de plus curieux dans la Ville de Strasbourg*, n.p.

⁴⁴ Dollinger, *Histoire de l’Alsace*, 334; Claude Muller, *Le Siècle des Rohan: Une dynastie de cardinaux en Alsace au XVIIIè siècle* (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2006), 136.



Fig. 5.3: Head-piece of *Isis* (Strasbourg: Le Roux, 1732)
 Universität- und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Darmstadt, 41/12656

The livrets feature no images beyond the cardinal's emblem and the *Isis* woodcut, nor do they include the names of performers. Le Roux printed them not so much as commemorative memorabilia than as practical, low-cost booklets to use while at the opera or to recall portions of the operas after a performance.

The function of the Strasbourg livrets thus differed considerably from their purpose at the Paris Opéra, where the Ballard firm often printed livrets with elaborate woodcuts that enhanced the beauty of the booklets as objects, and with the names of performers from the operas' premiere or the revival for which the livret was printed. Jean-Baptiste Christophe Ballard explains the commemorative value of his livret of *Bellérophon* printed for the 1728 Paris Opéra revival, for instance, encouraging consumers to treasure the booklet because it included the names of performers from the 1680 court premiere:

These Words having been printed in the Year 1680 by the express order of His Majesty; we can persuade the Public to revisit the Edition with pleasure. We would have easily made cuts on pp. 9-10-22-31-32-44-45-51-52, as well as those [pages] that precede the Prologue and the Tragédie because they recall the names of Actors who had the honor of performing this Piece in the most august of celebrations: We thought otherwise, that we had to leave these Anecdotes,

convinced that nobody would mistake the original Actors for those who currently play their roles at the Theater of the Académie Royale de Musique, since you can find the names of the former printed before the frontispiece of the Edition of 1680. The names of the first actors that one sees on the pages listed above should not be considered applicable to the revival of this Piece. The goal of satisfying People curious to see the Operas of Monsieur DE LULLY, conforming to their original form, prevented the suppression of these names, without omitting the ordinary changes that you see on the added page.⁴⁵

That only three Lully livrets survive from 18th-century Strasbourg – and that each livret represents a different opera – testifies to Le Roux’s success in printing materials that would be useful during a performance, but not highly valued after the event.

The most striking aspect of Le Roux’s Lully livrets is their remarkably short length. *Isis* numbers 18 pages of text (4^o: [4] + 16 pp.), *Proserpine* only 10 pages (4^o: 12 pp.), and *Bellérophon* ends after 19 pages (4^o: [20 pp.]), as opposed to the sixty to eighty pages in quarto that the texts of Quinault and Corneille usually required.⁴⁶ With such extensive cuts, each opera featured far fewer characters than their original versions, suggesting a small performance personnel at the Académie. The cast of *Isis* was reduced from 25 characters – excluding the troupes of dancers and supernumeraries that accompany many of the main characters – to eleven.

⁴⁵ “Ces Paroles ayant été imprimées dès l’Année 1680, par exprès Commandement de Sa Majesté ; On peut se persuader que le Public en revera l’Edition avec plaisir. On auroit facilement fait des Retrachements aux pages 9-10-22-31-32-44-45-51-52, comme à celles qui précèdent le Prologue & la Tragedie parce qu’elles rappellent les noms propres des Acteurs, qui ont eu l’honneur de représenter cette Piece dans une Feste des plus augustes: On a cru au contraire, que l’on devoit laisser ces Anecdotes ; persuadé que personne ne prendre pas le change entre les anciens Acteurs & ceux qui remplissent actuellement le Théâtre de l’Academie Royale de Musique, puisqu’on trouvera les noms des derniers, imprimez avant le frontispice de l’Edition de 1680. Ainsi les noms des premiers que l’on y verra aux pages cottées cy-dessus ne doivent avoir aucune application à la remise de cette Piece. La vûe de satisfaire les Personnes curieuses de voir les Opera de Monsieur DE LULLY, conforme à leur origine, a empesché la suppression de ces noms, sans omettre les changements ordinaires, que l’on voit dans cette feuille ajoutée.” Jean-Baptiste Lully and Thomas Corneille, *Bellérophon, tragédie représentée à Paris par l’Académie Royale de Musique, l’An 1679. & le 3. Janvier de l’Année suivante 1680. à Saint-Germain en Laye, devant LE ROY, à l’arrivée de Madame la Dauphine; Remise au Théâtre le Mardy sixième d’Avril 1728. N’ayant point été représentée depuis 1718.* (Paris: J. B. C. Ballard, 1728).

⁴⁶ The foliation of Ballard’s 1727 livret of *Isis* 4^o: xvj+48 = 58 = + [1] pp.; the 1728 livret that Ballard printed, whose foliation is 4^o: [8] + [12] + 58 + [6] + [2] pp.; 1727, Ballard’s *Proserpine* was 4^o: xiv + 64 pp.. See Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully’s Tragédies Lyriques*, 199; 202; 244; 242.

Proserpine's 24 characters were reduced to eleven, and the original nine characters of *Bellerophon* were reduced to seven.

***Isis*, 1732**

Premiered at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in January 1677, *Isis* had a reception that was less successful than Lully and Quinault's other collaborations. The plot is adapted from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and recounts the trials of Io, a nymph who attracts the amorous attention of Jupiter to the outrage of Juno. To punish Io for charming her mate, Juno subjects Io to imprisonment and torture. In response to Io's pleas for rescue, Jupiter begs Juno to forgive the nymph. The goddess obligingly pardons Io and transforms her into the deity Isis in recompense for the nymph's suffering. *Isis* was Lully's least frequently revived work: following its court performance, the *tragédie* was performed in Paris between August 1677 and March 1678, followed by revivals in 1704, 1717-1718, and 1732-1733.⁴⁷ Buford Norman attributes the opera's lukewarm reception in part to its aesthetic construction. Many spectators criticized *Isis* for having a weak and anti-climactic plot. Norman argues that these critics were attacking the nature of the opera's structural cohesion, which is based more on a series of linked thematic ideas, such as love, suffering, and transformation, than episodic narrative. Critics also reacted to the opera's characters, none of whom possess particularly appealing qualities. Many spectators appreciated *Isis*, however, for its pleasing score, lauding the work as *l'opéra des musiciens*. Individual pieces such as "L'Hiver qui nous tormente" (IV,1) and "Terminez mes tourmens" (V,1) rapidly achieved popularity, and excerpts of the opera were frequently given in concert.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Isis* also attracted little attention in the provinces. Besides the 1732 Strasbourg production, only Marseille and Dijon are known to have produced the opera, in 1701 and 1729, respective. See Chapter 1 and Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 195.

⁴⁸ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 191-192; 198-199; 201-203; 207.

Despite the success of individual pieces, the associations that courtiers made between *Isis* and an infamous court scandal doomed the opera to relative obscurity. Two years before the premiere, Louis XIV had become enchanted by Marie-Élisabeth de Ludres (1647-1726), a lady-in-waiting to the official royal mistress, Madame de Montespan, who was outraged by the affair. Within months of the court premiere of *Isis*, court gossip associated Marie-Élisabeth de Ludres with Io while comparing Montespan to the angry Junon. Louis XIV could not have been pleased by comparisons that made him out as the weak, besotted Jupiter (as Juno says of Jupiter, “Everything that Jupiter is, he is not as strong as me” (“Tout Jupiter qu’il est, il est moins fort que moy”) (II,5)), which completed the triangle of associations. His apathy toward the opera may have encouraged others to give *Isis* an equally lukewarm reception.⁴⁹

Isis is a festive opera. Many of its scenes call for a panoply of mythological deities and immortals whose songs and dances are organized into broad thematic topics, ranging from the celebration of royal military conquest in the prologue to Héb  ’s festival of youth in Act II, and from the Maladies’ punitive *danse macabre* in Act IV, to the celestial divinities who honor Io’s liberation and apotheosis in Act V. Quinault’s original livret opens with a lavish prologue set at the palace of La Renomm  e. The palace brims with deities preparing to celebrate the latest military exploits of Louis XIV. After La Renomm  e and her followers praise Louis XIV with a trumpet fanfare and pompous chorus, evoking royal glory through music. Neptune boasts that the king is as triumphant at sea as he is on land, praise that highlighted Louis XIV’s unprecedented efforts to develop a strong French navy: according to war historian John Lynn, “even more than the army, the navy was a creation of Louis XIV...the navy went from but a mere handful of

⁴⁹ Ibid., 186-190.

vessels at the start of his personal reign to a mighty battle fleet within a decade.”⁵⁰ Following additional trumpet fanfares, Apollo and the Muses urge La Renommée and her followers to forget war and devote themselves to peace, games, and pleasure, an invitation to the king to enjoy Lully’s opera. The prologue ends as the characters express their anticipation for “une Feste nouvelle,” an allusion to the upcoming story of Isis.

Though the Strasbourg Académie retained most of the prologue, Le Roux’s livret evinces cuts throughout the opera, in addition to the insertion of a chorus from *Armide*. The chart below is based on Schmidt’s comparative summary of Le Roux’s livret with the first edition that Ballard printed in Paris in 1677, with some corrections and amplifications.⁵¹ Schmidt’s analysis of the cuts to *Isis* is brief but useful to keep in mind: the text omissions called for a smaller and thus less costly performance cast while offering a shorter and simpler plot.⁵² The transformation of *Isis* from an opera in five acts to an opera in three also nods towards the conventional Italianate division of an opera.

⁵⁰ Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 82.

⁵¹ Table adapted from Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully’s Tragédies Lyriques*, 202.

⁵² Schmidt, “The Geographical Spread of Lully’s Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 198.

Ballard 1677	Scene	Le Roux 1732	Scene	Remarks
Prologue	1	Prologue	n/a	no scene specification; complete
	2		n/a	some lines cut
Act I	1	Act I	1	complete
	2-3		2	complete
	4			cut entirely
	5		3	some lines cut
	6		4	complete
Act II	1	Act II	1	complete
	2		2	some lines cut; insertion of “Voici la charmante retraite” from <i>Armide</i> (IV,2)
	3-8			cut entirely
Act III	1-5			cut entirely
	6		3	some lines cut
	7-8			cut entirely
Act IV	1-6			cut entirely
	7		4	some lines cut
Act V	1	Act III	1	complete
	2		2	complete
	3		3	some lines cut

Table 5.1: Comparative Summary of *Isis* (Paris: Ballard, 1687) with *Isis* (Strasbourg: Le Roux, 1732)

The Strasbourg reworking of *Isis* diminished the festive nature of the opera by slimming the cast roster and eliminating most divertissements. The lack of stage directions in Le Roux’s livret hinders the possibility of determining whether the prologue featured dancing. Le Roux’s indication of dance numbers by their generic titles (premier air, second air, prelude), however, suggests that these pieces were performed as dances or as instrumental interludes. Le Roux did not insert references to dance or instrumental pieces in the remainder of the livret; if dance was involved in the production, it was limited to the prologue.

Since the first scene of the prologue is intact, the table below delineates my analysis of the modifications that the Académie made to the second and third scenes of the prologue.

Ballard 1677	Episode	Le Roux 1732
Scene 2	Premier air	Retained
	Deux tritons chantants, “C’est le Dieu des Eaux”	Eliminated
	Second air	Retained
	Neptune, “Mon Empire a servy de Théâtre à la Guerre”	Retained
	Neptune et La Renommée, “Célébrons son grand nom”	Retained
	Chœur, “Célébrons son grand nom”	Retained
Scene 3	Prelude	Retained
	Cassiopée, “Cessez pour quelque temps”	Reassigned to La Renommé
	Melpomène, “Recommençons nos Chants”	Eliminated
	Thalie et Calliope, “La Paix, la douce Paix”	Eliminated
	Muses, “Prés du Vainqueur”	Eliminated
	Premier air	Retained
	Second air	Retained
	Apollon, “Ne parlez pas toujours de la Guerre cruelle”	Retained
	Chœur, “Ne parlez pas toujours de la Guerre cruelle”	Retained
	Air de trompettes	Retained
	La Renommée, “Hâtez-vous, Plaisirs”	Retained
	Chœur, “Hâtez-vous, Plaisirs”	Retained
	La Renommée, “Il n’est pas encor temps de croire”	Eliminated
	La Renommée, “Hâtez-vous, Plaisirs”	Eliminated
	Chœur, “Hâtez-vous, Plaisirs”	Eliminated

Table 5.2: Cuts to Scenes 2 and 3 of the Prologue of *Isis* at the Strasbourg Académie

As Table 5.2 illustrates, the Strasbourg Académie eliminated the final chorus of the prologue, as well as vocal pieces sung by minor characters representing tritons and muses. While these modifications do not drastically change the narrative or musical contour of the prologue, they disrupt the balanced construction of Louis XIV’s created by Lully and Quinault. The original prologue’s praise of the king is bipartite in form: the first half praises Louis XIV’s military conquests, and the second half – marked by the arrival of Apollo and the Muses – celebrates the advent of peace and pleasure. The heaviest cuts feature in the second half of the prologue, devoting more emphasis to the king’s agenda of conquest than his role as peacemaker.

The elimination of many roles from the acts that followed the prologue simplifies the *tragédie*'s plot. It is not just brevity, however, that differentiates the opera from its original version. In cutting characters, narrative scenes, and divertissements, the opera also presents a narrative with diminished emotional depth and several plot anomalies. When Calliope's monologue, "Cessez pour quelque temps," is reassigned to La Renommée (Prologue, Scene 3), for instance, it is unclear why the allegorical character transitions suddenly from celebrating the king's military exploits to admonishing her companions for dwelling on thoughts of war rather than peace. Without Io's confidante Mycène, for instance, we are not privy to the scene in I,4 when Io reveals her anxiety over Jupiter's advances to her friend. Io and Jupiter's bantering over whether the nymph should submit herself to the god is deleted, reducing Io's attempts to evade her pursuer to a brief, half-hearted plea that is quickly forgotten as a chorus sings, "Voici la charmante retraite" from *Armide* (IV,2) to celebrate Io's submission. After a brief interlude that recounts the mythological story of Pan and Syrinx, which is also abbreviated, the next we hear of Io after "Voici la charmante retraite" is her *plainte*, in which she conveniently summarizes the tortures to which Juno subjected her. The scenes depicting Io's torture, however, were eliminated so that spectators did not experience the cruel extent of Juno's vengeance and the depth of Io's agony. The *plainte*, moreover, is an unexpected plot twist rather than a lyrical culmination of suffering, since the most recent scene involving Io had depicted the nymph celebrating her concession to Jupiter. Indeed, Io does not appear to suffer much at all, for Juno hastily transforms her into a goddess after the *plainte*, leaving time for a brief chorus to celebrate the nymph's apotheosis at the end of the opera. These cuts suggest less interest in presenting a complete narrative than in creating an enjoyable concert experience.

Given the extensive cuts, it is surprising that the Académie decided to insert an additional chorus. “Voici la charmante retraite” represents a chorus drawn from IV,2 of *Armide*, where it is sung by a troupe of demons disguised as country folk (“habitants champêtres”) whom Ubalde and the Danish knight encounter en route to rescue their friend Renaud from the clutches of Armide. The musical transition from Io’s surrender, “Mon Cœur en votre présence,” to “Voici la charmante retraite” is seamless. Io ends her monologue in C major, her final words bolstered by a continuo line preparing to leap from V to I in the tonic. The continuo introduction to “Voici la charmante retraite” begins with the same harmonic progression. While the chorus causes no rupture to the opera’s score, it enhances the drama of Io’s surrender to Jupiter. The chorus is a seemingly benign celebration of happiness, pleasure, and love:

Voici la charmante retraite
De la félicité parfaite,
Voici l’heureux séjour
Des Jeux & de l’Amour.⁵³

Here is a charming retreat
Of perfect happiness,
Here is a happy respite
Of Games and Love.

The chorus repeats the text twice, with each repetition punctuated by an instrumental interlude of oboes in parallel major thirds; following the second trio of this sort, the chorus ends with a third repetition of the text’s second couplet. The charming imagery of the text is echoed by the music, which remains predominantly in C major. In a gentle melodic line, the *dessus* voice circles from g’ to f’’ in largely stepwise motion. The gracefulness of the melody is enhanced by the whispery sibilance of the text (“Voici la charmante retraite/De la félicité parfait...”). Audiences familiar with *Armide*, however, would have known that the sweetness of the music and text is deceiving

⁵³ Lully and Quinault, *Armide, tragédie en musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1686), IV, 2.

because the chorus introduces a scene in which Ubalde and the Danish knight are tempted by seductive demons. If interpreted as a symbol of deception, the chorus serves a dramatic function in the Strasbourg *Isis*, implying that Jupiter's motivation for seducing Io does not derive from actual love, and foreshadowing the god's imminent abandonment of the nymph and Juno's revenge.⁵⁴ Without diminishing the chorus's enhancement to the drama of *Isis*, it is tempting to speculate whether the Strasbourg Académie had produced *Armide* before *Isis*, and found "Voici la charmante retraite" to be so appreciated by audiences that it decided to recycle the chorus in its next production.

While perhaps delighted by a popular chorus, Strasbourgeois spectators were deprived of the warring themes of excruciating suffering and hard-won liberty that define *Isis*. A preference for simple plots cannot explain why the Académie would not have reconciled the plot anomalies that several cuts create, nor why the Académie stripped *Isis* of much of its emotional depth and thematic complexity. I propose that the modifications testify to a production more invested in providing a pleasing musical performance than a satisfying and coherent drama. The resulting performance would have sufficiently captured the essence of Lully's *tragédie* as concert music if not drama.

Proserpine, 1735

Although the beginning of Louis XV's majority marked a peaceful and prosperous period of French history, the early 1730s were marred for Alsace by domestic hardship and the threat of conflict from the War of Polish Succession (1733-1735). This pan-European struggle arose when Augustus II, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, died in early 1733 and left the Polish throne vacant. Major European powers backed candidates who would advance their own political

⁵⁴ As Norman points out, Jupiter seems infatuated by Io only for her beauty. See Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 193.

interests; in opposition to the Austrian Hapsburg Empire, France supported Stanislas Leszczynski, father of the French queen, who had been ousted from the Polish throne in 1721. Although Stanislas did not gain control of Poland after the war, he was awarded Lorraine on the condition that the duchy would pass to his daughter, Queen Marie Leszczynski, and thus to France, on his death.⁵⁵ Warfare did not break out on French soil, but military activity along the Rhine, such as the Siege of Kehl in 1733 and the Siege of Philipsburg in 1734, brought the conflict uncomfortably close to Strasbourg, which served the French military as a major strategic base.⁵⁶ Strasbourg was further antagonized by crops damaged by an unusually harsh winter in 1733 and ruined by heavy rain and a flooding of the Rhine in 1734. Rising grain prices were accompanied by an epidemic that drove up mortality rates already rising from the death toll of war. Peace settled over the city in 1735, however, when the war reached its conclusion and grain prices and supplies stabilized.⁵⁷ In this year, the Strasbourg Académie produced *Proserpine*, their shortest rendition of an opera by Lully.

Proserpine premiered at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on February 3, 1680, and opened in Paris in November of that year. The 1735 Strasbourg performance of the *tragédie* did not coincide with a Paris revival of the opera, which had not been produced at the Académie Royale de Musique since 1727, and which would not appear in Paris again until 1741.⁵⁸ Numbering a mere ten pages in print, the production offered only an abbreviated reworking of the prologue and first act of the *tragédie*. As with the prologue of *Isis*, Le Roux meticulously specified

⁵⁵ John L. Sutton, *The King's Honor and the King's Cardinal: the War of the Polish Succession* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1980), 1-9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵⁷ Le Moigne, "Démographie et subsistances au siècle des Lumières," 160.

⁵⁸ La Vallière, *Ballets, Opera, et Autres Ouvrages Lyriques*, 95.

instrumental or dance pieces as they appeared in Lully's score, including the overture, preludes, ritournelles, and the bruit de trompettes that announces the arrival of La Victoire (Prologue, Scene 1). The table below illustrates the portions of the original *tragédie* that the Strasbourg Académie excerpted for performance:

Ballard 1680	Scene	Le Roux 1735	Scene	Remarks
Prologue	n/a	Prologue	1	some lines cut
	n/a		2	some lines cut
Act I	1	Act I	1	some lines cut
	2		2	Complete
	3			cut entirely
	4		3	some lines cut
	5			cut entirely
	6		4	Complete
	7-8		5	some lines cut
Acts II-V				cut entirely

Table 5.3: Comparative Summary of *Proserpine* (Paris: Ballard, 1680) with *Proserpine* (Strasbourg: Le Roux, 1735)

As with *Isis*, the reduced performance cast created a shorter score. It cannot be said, however, that the performance simplified the opera's plot: without Acts II through V, Lully and Quinault's retelling of the abduction of Persephone simply does not happen. Instead, the performance offered two versions of a narrative about the success of a strong ruler (Louis XIV in the prologue, Jupiter in Act I) in establishing peace over a troubled land. An allegory of Peace opens the prologue to lament that she has been imprisoned by Discord. Victory, however, informs Discord that Le Vainqueur "comblé de gloire" – Louis XIV – has allowed Peace to reign freely, and banishes Discord and her demons to hell. The prologue does not hint at the *tragédie* to come, fixing spectators' attention on the king's restoration of peace. While Act I introduces several key characters of the Ovidian myth, including Ceres and Proserpine herself, its storyline is tangential to the main plot of the opera. Ceres, Mercury, and Proserpine celebrate Jupiter's recent victory over an army of giants and watch as the palace of the giants crumbles under

Jupiter's thunderbolts. Through the mouths of allegorized characters in the prologue and mythological deities in Act I, spectators received two metaphorical constructions of the king's image as military victor and peace arbiter.⁵⁹

Norman points out that *Proserpine* is an opera "in which the fates of individuals are clearly in the hands of higher powers who are more power brokers than protectors."⁶⁰ Even though the Strasbourg performance of *Proserpine* did not deliver the meat of the mythological story, it distilled the opera's key message that the French king operates for the good of his people, who owe their security and happiness to his military might. The political undertones of the prologue and first act must have been doubly meaningful to audiences who remembered Louis XIV as the conqueror of Strasbourg, and who had just witnessed Louis XV's achievements in the War of Polish Succession. Peace's *plainte* at the opening of the prologue may have resonated especially deeply with the recent struggles of war and famine.⁶¹ When the chorus repeats Peace's *plainte*, spectators at the Strasbourg Académie may have felt that their own collective voice was being represented:

Héros, dont la valeur étonne l'Univers,
Ah ! quand briserez-vous nos fers?
La Discorde nous tient ici sous sa puissance,
La barbare se plaît à voir couler nos pleurs;
Soyez touché de nos malheurs;
Vous êtes dans nos maux notre unique esperance :
Héros, dont la valeur étonne l'Univers,
Ah ! quand briserez-vous nos fers?

Hero, whose valor astonishes the Universe,
Ah! When will you break our irons?

⁵⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the political undercurrents of the prologue and Act I, see Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 225-229.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁶¹ It is intriguing to speculate that Ceres, who plays a major role in *Isis*, is the goddess of harvest, and, as such, may have resonated with the Strasbourgeois spectators' recollection of the recent grain spoilage in the city.

Discord keeps us here under her power,
 The barbarian enjoys watching us shed our tears;
 Be touched by our unhappiness;
 In our misfortune, you are our unique hope:
 Hero, whose valor astonishes the Universe,
 Ah! When will you break our irons?⁶²

In the score, Peace sings the opening couplet several times over the course of her monologue.

The couplet forms a discrete, bipartite musical phrase whose two lines of text are linked by an octave leap from F to f' in the continuo, uniting the images of a valorous hero and a plea for rescue into a single idea.

heurs. Vous êtes dans nos maux nostre unique espe- rance. He- ros, dont la va-
 leur étonne l'uni- vers, Ah! quand briserez- vous nos fers? He-
 ros, dont la va- leur étonne l'uni- vers, Ah! quand briserez- vous nos fers?

BASSE CONTINUE.
 BASSE CONTINUE.
 BASSE CONTINUE.

Fig. 5.4: “Héros, dont la valeur” *Proserpine*, tragédie mise en musique par Mr de Lully (Paris: C. Ballard, 1714)
 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, VM2-54. www.gallica.bnf.fr

⁶² Lully and Quinault, *Proserpine*, Prologue.

Gratitude for peace established through royal conquest was a theme associated with Strasbourg in contemporary propagandistic media that alluded to the city, stemming from illustrations of complacent burghers and magistrates presenting the keys of Strasbourg to Louis XIV that were printed on French almanacs in the 1680s.⁶³ In Nicolas de Larmessin's 1682 engraving, *Les Respetz & soumissions de l'importante ville de Strasbourg*, for instance, a rondel depicts the burghers of Strasbourg presenting the keys of the city to Louis XIV. Larmessin's engraving reflects a second theme associated with Strasbourg that surfaced in propaganda: the depiction of Louis XIV as rescuer of the city. In *Les Respetz & soumissions de l'importante ville de Strasbourg*, cannons depicted in the background of the rondel fire noticeably in the opposite direction of Strasbourg, a sign that Louis XIV would spare the city of violence. In his funeral oration of Louis XIV at the Strasbourg Cathedral, Louis Laguille (1648-1742), *Père de la Compagnie de Jésus* and historian of Alsace, drew upon similar themes of rescue as he described the deceased king:

Turn your eyes at this moment to these great, rich, and strong Provinces which surround us, and which submitted themselves to LOUIS: Franche-Comté et Alsace make us forget our former borders... This powerful city, where I have the honor of speaking, Strasbourg, which is almost worth a Province in and of itself, could suffice to make us understand the greatness of the glory of LOUIS, and the happiness of the people who submitted to him.⁶⁴

⁶³ See, for example, Jacques Laurent, *Les Hommages rendus au roy à Strasbourg et Casal Villes soumises à l'obéissance de Sa Ma. en meme Jour 30 septembre 1681* (Paris: Chez Gerard Jollain, 1682); Nicolas de Larmessin, *Les Respetz & soumissions de l'importante ville de Strasbourg, Représentée par cette Dame Prosternée Auec Ioye deuant le tres haut & tres Puisant LOUIS LE GRAND* (Paris: Chez la Veuve P. Bertrand, 1682).

⁶⁴ "Jettez à ce moment les yeux sur ces grandes, riches & fortes Provinces, qui nous environnent, & que LOUIS s'est assujetties: la Franche-Comté & l'Alsace nous font ignorer nos anciennes limites... Cette puissante ville, ou j'ay l'honneur de parler, Strasbourg, qui vaut seule presque une Province, pourroit suffire, pour nous faire comprendre la grandeur de la gloire de LOUIS, & du bonheur du peuple, qui luy a été soumis." *Oraison funebre de tres haut tres puissant et tres auguste prince Louis XIV. Roy de France & de Navarre surnommé LE GRAND. Prononcée dans l'Eglise Cathédrale de Strasbourg le 18. Novembre 1715. Par le R. Père Louis Laguille de la Compagnie de Jesus Pendant le service solemnel célébré par ordre de Grand Chapitre* (Strasbourg: Chez le Veuve de Michel Storck, 1715), 20.

Writing some ten years later, Laguille reiterated the joint themes of the king as rescuer and Strasbourg as the happily rescued in *Histoire de la province d'Alsace* (1727) with an allusion to the king as a rescuer, rejoicing, “happy is the era that dates both to the Happiness of your Crown, and to the felicity of the province [i.e., Alsace] that was added to it!” (“Heureuse Epoque qui date tout à la fois le Bonheur de vôtre Couronne, & la felicité d’une province qui luy est ajoutée!”).⁶⁵ In its immediate resonance with the War of Polish Succession and its only slightly more distant allusion to the annexation of Strasbourg, the Académie’s reworking of *Proserpine* participated in a larger program of royal propaganda aimed at representing the conquering Crown and its presence in Strasbourg as beneficial to the inhabitants of the city.

Such propaganda was important to the Crown even in 1735, when Alsace remained a province with only ambiguous French identity. Peloux’s discussion of the politics of language reflects the Crown’s anxieties over Strasbourg in the year of the *Proserpine* production. In his *Mémoire sur l’Alsace de l’Année 1735*, Peloux speculated that an increased initiative to teach French in Strasbourg and other cities of Alsace would promote cultural and political unity in the region:

Nothing is certainly more capable of maintaining the union and the good feeling [*bonne intelligence*] Between the people and the affection for the person of their sovereign than making them speak the same language...For even though the people [of Alsace] seem very attached to their sovereign, we know that most of the inhabitants of Alsace still have the eagle engraved in their hearts, and only let go with difficulty ideas of independence and false prejudices that they seem to have been given by birth.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Laguille, *Histoire de la province d’Alsace depuis Jules César jusqu’au mariage de Louis XV. Roy de France et de Navarre*, vol. 1 (Strasbourg: Jean Renauld Doulsssecker, 1727), n.p.

⁶⁶ “Rien n’est certainement plus capable d’entretenir l’union et la bonne intelligence Entre les peuples et l’affection pour la personne de leur souverain que les faire parler la même langue...Car quoy que ce peuple paroisse très attaché a [sic] son souverain on scait que la plus part des habitans d’alsace ont encore l’aigle gravé dans le cœur et ne se de font qu’avec peine des idées d’indpendence et faux prejugués que la naissance semble leur donner.” Peloux, *Mémoire sur la province d’Alsace*, fol. 50r.

As the woodcut on the first page of Act I of Le Roux's *Isis* demonstrates, the Strasbourgeois certainly had an eagle carved in their opera libretti. *Proserpine* is the most obviously political reworking of Lully's operas. Its timing in the War of Polish Succession and in an era in which the city still resisted complete assimilation with French language and culture marks the production as a tool of royal propaganda in Strasbourg.

***Bellérophon*, 1736**

One year into the period of peace that stretched between the end of the War of Polish Succession and the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748), the Strasbourg Académie produced a truncated version of *Bellérophon*. Longer than the *Proserpine* concert, *Bellérophon* nevertheless cut key elements of the plot that construct Bellérophon's identity as a heroic leader. The opera, which premiered with acclaim in 1679 with a libretto by Thomas Corneille, recounts the battle between the demigod Bellérophon and the chimera that ravaged mythical Lycia.⁶⁷ Bellérophon is unaware of his divine parentage until the final act of the opera, when a twist ending reveals that he is the son of Neptune. The Lycians' celebration of Bellérophon as a divine hero and peace arbiter in Act V echoes the opera's prologue, in which Greek deities praise Louis XIV for having established peace "after having sung of the furies of War" ("après avoir chanté les fureurs de la Guerre").

The Strasbourg production of *Bellérophon* marks the first known instance of the elimination of the prologue of an opera by Lully in France. To illustrate the production cuts in more detail, the table below is based on Schmidt's comparative summary of Le Roux's livret with the first edition that Ballard printed in Paris in 1679, with corrections and amplifications.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 214.

⁶⁸ Table adapted from Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques*, 244.

Ballard 1679	Scene	Le Roux 1736	Scene	Remarks
Prologue				cut entirely
Act I	1	Act I	1	some lines cut
	2		2	complete
	3		3	some lines cut
	4		4	some lines cut
	5		5	some lines cut
Act II	1			cut entirely
	2		1	complete
	3		2	complete
	4			cut entirely
	5		3	complete
	6-7		4	some lines cut
Act III				cut entirely
Act IV	1	Act III	1	complete
	2-5			cut entirely
	6		2	complete
	7		3	complete
Act V	1		4	some lines cut
	2		5	complete
	3		6	some lines cut

Table 5.4: Comparative Summary of *Bellérophon* (Paris: Ballard, 1679) with *Bellérophon* (Strasbourg: Le Roux, 1736)

As with *Isis*, many of the eliminated scenes diminish the psychological and emotional complexity of the characters, especially of Queen Sténobée, whose desperate and vengeful love for Bellérophon is unrequited, and the Lycian princess Philonoé, who agrees to sacrifice her love for Bellérophon to marry the hero who will rescue Lycia from the chimera, only to discover with poignant relief that the hero is Bellérophon himself. The terror of the Lycians over the cause of their kingdom's destruction is also suppressed, as the scenes that describe the chimera as a gruesome composite of three monsters (II,7), and the people's desperate plea for succor from Apollo (III,5) and intense mourning for their ravaged lands (IV,3-4) were dropped.

The most drastic change to Corneille's storyline is the warping of the opera's underlying story about Bellérophon's divine heritage. In the eliminated Act III, Apollo reveals to the Lycians that only a son of Neptune can rescue their kingdom from the chimera. The Strasbourg

Académie preserved Pallas Athena's brief declaration to the Lycians that Bellérophon is the sea god's son ("Connoissez le Fils de Neptune dans ce jeune Heros") in V,3, but the notion driving the Lycians' anxiety and hope for their kingdom that *only* a demigod could defeat the chimera is lost. The portrayal of kingship, heroism, and conquest was dialed down from Lully and Corneille's construction of a heroic leader supported by divine authority to a more realistic victor that might have better suited the tastes and experiences of audiences without a long history of being governed by a monarchy that considered itself divinely appointed. This reduction is amplified by the omission of the prologue, whose portrayal of Louis XIV as divinely appointed foreshadows Bellérophon's godly origins and preordained duty to save Lycia.

Though the Strasbourg reworking of *Bellérophon* presents a different image of kingship than the one cultivated by Louis XIV, its revisions were likely motivated more by practical logistics and local tastes than ideological concerns. Apollo numbered among the characters who were cut from the production; the need to eliminate roles rather than an ideological purpose of shifting the opera's focus away from Bellérophon's divinity most likely motivated the omission of Apollo's prophecy in Act III. The Académie de Musique of Lyon and the Paris Opéra began to eliminate opera prologues in the 1740s and 1750s as a response to local tastes that considered prologues to be increasingly antiquated, and that preferred shorter musical experiences.⁶⁹ The Strasbourg Académie likely omitted its prologue for similar reasons. In contrast to *Proserpine*, the reworking of *Bellérophon* responded more to local tastes than political anxieties in the city.

The Strasbourg Académie's decision to bill its productions of Lully's operas as *divertissements* rather than *tragédies* was appropriate in more ways than one. Significantly

⁶⁹ See Chapter 3.

shorter than their original versions, the operas became ideal for brief yet entertaining diversions or for contributing to longer concerts that featured excerpts of multiple works. As a *premier concert*, *Proserpine* likely opened a performance that included other musical pieces.⁷⁰ With fewer characters and simpler storylines, the Strasbourg reworkings of Lully's operas also lacked much of the emotional weight that defined Lully's tragic repertoire, making the designation of *divertissement* more reflective of their reduced content. The transformation of the operas into *divertissements*, however, was ultimately an epistemological one that reflected the cultural divide between Paris and Strasbourg, where spectators of diverse musical tastes, linguistic identities, and cultural backgrounds appreciated Lully's operas as a taste of French culture, but not as an expression of the spectators' Frenchness.

⁷⁰ Similarly, in 1733, Le Roux's livret of *Jephté*, second concert, which featured only the latter three acts of Montéclair's original five-act *tragédie*, may have formed the second half of a concert. See Montclair and Pellegrin, *Jephté, divertissement exécuté à l'Académie de Musique de Strasbourg, second concert*.

Chapter 6 Ongoing Negotiations

“The beautiful turn of his songs, the nobility, the force of his expression, his easy and natural manner of modulating, the character of his Symphonies, the melody of his ariettes, and the beautiful setting of his choruses, they give [Lully] forever the title of the Orpheus of our Age.”

– Louis Bollioud-Mermet, 1746¹

In February 1686, Lully and Quinault produced their last *tragédie en musique*, *Armide*, at the Paris Opéra. Spectators thrilled over the production, cheering Marie Le Rochois’s arresting performance of the title role,² and Le Cerf later pronounced the opera the “most beautiful piece of Music that has been made in the last fifteen or sixteen centuries” (“le plus beau morceau de Musique qui se soit fait depuis quinze ou seize siecles”).³ Lully himself was pleased, noting that

of all the Tragédies that I have put to music, here is the one that the public has witnessed to be the most satisfying: It is a Spectacle to which they run in crowds, and we have not seen any other work until now that has received more applause.⁴

Despite the popular success of the opera, Louis XIV did not attend its court premiere.⁵ The king’s absence caused Lully considerable anxiety, as the composer relays in his dedication of the opera to the monarch:

YOUR MAJESTY did not find himself in such a state that he could come to the opera, and [*Armide*] did not have any other pleasure than serving the entertainment of the People. I profess that the praise of all of Paris is not enough

¹ “Le beau tour de ses chants, la noblesse, la force de son expression, sa manière aisée et naturelle de moduler, le caractère de ses Symphonies, la mélodie de ses Ariettes, & la belle ordonnance de ses Chœurs, lui attireront à jamais le titre de l’Orphée de notre Siècle.” Bollioud-Mermet, *La Corruption de la Goust dans la Musique Française*, 9.

² Banducci, “Acteurs and Actrices as Muses,” par: 9.2.

³ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 326.

⁴ “De toutes les Tragedies que j’ay mises en Musique voicy celle dont le Public a tesmoigné estre le plus satisfait: C’est un Spectacle où l’on court en foule, & jusqu’icy on n’en a point veu qui ait receu plus d’applaudissements.” Lully and Quinault, *Armide, tragédie mise en musique* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1686), dedication page.

⁵ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 328-330.

for me; I wish to consecrate all the products of my genius to none other than you,
SIRE.⁶

Neither Lully's complaint nor his boasting about the opera's popular reception in Paris attracted the king's diminishing interest in opera.⁷ *Armide*, however, would entertain the people of France for decades to come.⁸ It is fitting that the last livret of an opera by Lully to survive from the provinces is Rigollet's *Armide, tragédie représenté par l'Académie Royale de Musique de Lyon*, printed for one of Mangot's final productions before he retired from the Lyon Académie.⁹ Following this production, the performance history of Lully's operas in the provinces grinds to a halt. Thereafter, artists at provincial opera houses gravitated to repertoire representing more recent compositions from Paris.¹⁰

The performance history of Lully's operas in Paris is another story. Lully's operas continued to feature fairly regularly at the Paris Opéra until 1779, when *Thésée* received its final revival on 23 February.¹¹ Even as Lully's music lost its hegemonic appeal, composers at the Paris Opéra continued to set Quinault's livrets to music, reflecting an enduring fascination with the tragic genre that Quinault and Lully had codified. Christoph Willibald Gluck's setting of *Armide* in 1777 was accompanied by new settings of Quinault's livrets by other composers in the

⁶ "VOSTRE MAJESTÉ ne s'est pas trouvée en estat de les entendre, & Elle n'en a voulu prendre d'autre plaisir que celui de les faire servir au divertissement de ses Peuples. J'avouëray que les loüanges de tout Paris ne me suffisent pas; ce n'est qu'à Vous, SIRE, que je veux consacrer toutes les productions de mon genie." Ibid.

⁷ For possible explanations for the king's neglect of *Armide*, see Chapter 1; Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 139; Fader, "Music in the Service of the King's Brother," par. 4.3.2.

⁸ The final performance of *Armide* in Paris was in 1766. Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 326.

⁹ See Chapter 3.

¹⁰ For performance histories of operatic repertoire performed in the French provinces in the second half of the 18th century, see, e.g., Corneloup, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon*, 49-73; Deck, *Histoire du théâtre français à Strasbourg*, 36-39; Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes au XVIIIè et XIXè Siècles*.

¹¹ Johnson, *Backstage at the Revolution*, 119.

late 1770s and early 1780s.¹² It was the French Revolution that finally severed the Paris Opéra's ties with Lully, composer *par excellence* of the toppled Crown, in stage works that aimed to reflect the progressive ethos of the French people rather than *ancien régime gloire*.¹³

Over the next two centuries, Lully's music surfaced only rarely on Parisian stages, notably coinciding with several moments of national strife. In the 1870s and 1880s, Lully's defining contribution to French music was celebrated by a country broken from the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and desperate for a sense of cultural self-worth when publisher Théodore Michaëlis issued the sixty-volume series *Chefs-d'oeuvre classiques de l'Opéra français*, which included keyboard reductions of several of Lully's operas.¹⁴ Similarly, at the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the Théâtre de l'Odéon produced Lully and Molière's 1671 *tragédie-ballet*, *Psyché*, highlighting an achievement of French culture at a time when the

¹² Ibid., 176-180. Niccolò Piccini set *Roland* in 1778 and *Atys* in 1780, and François-Joseph Gossec set *Thésée* in 1782. On Gluck's *Armide*, see Jeremy Hayes, "Armide: Gluck's Most French Opera?" *The Musical Times* 123.1672 (Jun. 1982): 408-410+415. Gluck retained all of Quinault's text except for minor changes in Act III and the omission of the prologue, which is not surprising given that opera prologues had fallen out of fashion by this time. In contrast to more recent revivals of Lully's *Armide*, Gluck did retain the text of Act IV in its completion. For further details on the performance history of Lully's *Armide*, see Chapter 3.

¹³ For a discussion of the Paris Opéra during and after the Revolution, see, e.g., Inge Baxmann, "The French Revolution and its Spectacles," *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet*, ed. Marion Kant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 98-110; John Chapman, "The Paris Opéra Ballet School, 1798-1827" *Dance Chronicle* 12.2 (1989), esp. 196-204; Judith Chazin-Bennahum, *Dance in the Shadow of the Guillotine* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988).

¹⁴ See Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 119-46. Even though Lully's operas were not regularly performed between the French Revolution and 1987, he commanded a privileged place in national French consciousness: before *Chefs-d'oeuvre classiques de l'Opéra français* reached the press, a monumental statue of Lully was placed in the lobby of the Palais Garnier, which was constructed between 1861 and 1875. Michaëlis's series emerged out of a larger and widespread interest in Europe in publishing monumental editions of composer's works. In Germany, for instance, Breitkopf & Härtel published the complete works of J. S. Bach (1851-1900), Handel (1858-1902), and Mozart (1877-1883), among others, while the first volume of the monumental edition, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, dedicated to Austrian music from various historical periods, was issued in 1894. For a bibliographic survey of large-scale editions, see Harriet Heyer, *Historical Sets, Collected Editions, and Monuments of Music: A Guide to their Contents*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, IL: American Library Association, 1969) and George Hill, *Collected Editions, Historical Series & Sets & Monuments of Music: A Bibliography* (Berkeley, CA: Fallen Leaf Press, 1997).

country was under threat.¹⁵ The resilience of Lully's operas beyond their time and place of origin, however, did not realize its full potential until 300 years after Lully's death, when Les Arts Florissants revived *Atys* in 1987 at the Opéra-Comique in Paris. In a single stroke, this production created a new public for French baroque opera that endures to the present day.

In this chapter, I conclude my study of provincial opera and French absolutism with a reflection on the forms of adaptation that proved so crucial to the continued performance and geographic mobility of Lully's *tragédies*. By revisiting the operas through the perspective of late 20th- and 21st-century revivals, we see how performers, directors, and spectators continue to interpret or adapt Lully's musical style and ideological narratives to contemporary needs. I consider three modern revivals: Les Arts Florissants' *Atys* (1987) and *Armide* (2008), and Opera Atelier's *Armide* (2015). Because the staging of Les Arts Florissants' *Atys* has been the subject of detailed academic scrutiny, I consider the sociological resonance of the production in Mitterrand-era France. In contrast, the staging of Les Arts Florissants' *Armide* has attracted little analytical attention; my discussion addresses the production's treatment of Lully's prologue. Finally, Opera Atelier's *Armide* – performed at Versailles shortly after the Paris terrorist attacks of November 2015 – provides a singular opportunity to consider the ways in which many spectators and performers interpreted Lully's *tragédie* as a symbol of French national identity in a time of crisis.

My study contributes to a body of scholarship that has examined revivals of Lully's operas as a touchstone for aesthetic considerations. Geoffrey Burgess's analysis of Les Arts Florissants' 1987 production of *Atys* offers fresh insight into Lully's prologue, arguing that the

¹⁵ Christian Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre national de l'Odéon (Journal de bord) 1782-1982* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1982), 128. For a discussion of the relationship between the two versions of *Psyché*, see Michael Turnbull, "The Metamorphosis of 'Psyché'" *Music & Letters* 64.1/2 (1983): 12-24.

staging and musical direction of the revival “respected the prologue’s function as introductory frame and definition of the poetics of the *tragédie en musique*,” while “la[ying] bare issues at the heart of its original creation in a manner accessible to modern audiences.”¹⁶ Benoît Bolduc has cited the drag costume and camp of Méduse in Opera Atelier’s 2000 revival of *Persée* as an effective means of illuminating “the profound shock and appeal of this character,” as well as questions about artifice and subversion that she posed for 17th- and 18th-century audiences.¹⁷ In his study of the *mise en scène* of baroque opera since 1900, Christophe Deshoulières explores modern baroque opera productions as “our *invention* [sic]...a sort of archeology of contemporary [i.e., modern] taste” (“notre *invention*...une sorte d’archéologie du goût contemporain”).¹⁸

Deshoulières’s study belongs to a broader field which has investigated a spectrum of musical traditions involving memory, reconstruction, reinvention, or mimesis. This field is largely a response to Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s seminal 1983 volume, *The Invention of Tradition*, in which Hobsbawm, Ranger, and other historians interrogate ritualized practices that have arisen in direct response to political or societal changes, but in “the form of reference to old situations.”¹⁹ Inventing or revivifying a tradition results in a novel practice guised as an old

¹⁶ Geoffrey Burgess, “Revisiting *Atys*: Reflections on Les Arts Florissants’ Production,” *Early Music* 34.3 (2006), 476.

¹⁷ Benoît Bolduc, “From Marvel to Camp: Medusa for the Twenty-First Century,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 10.1 (2004), esp. par. 6.3. As Bolduc mentions, the camp staging of Medusa was also likely “one of the keys to the production’s commercial success.” See Bolduc, “From Marvel to Camp: Medusa for the Twenty-First Century,” par. 6.7.

¹⁸ See Christophe Deshoulières, *L’Opera Baroque et la scène moderne: essai de synthèse dramaturgique* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), 104.

¹⁹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2; see also *The Invention of Tradition*, rev. ed., ed. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). For an overview of *The Invention of Tradition* and the literature that followed in its wake, see *Tradition and Agency: Tracing Cultural Continuity and Invention*, ed. Ton Otto and Poul Pedersen (Langelandsgade, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 2005), 11-43, esp. 11-16. Otto and Pedersen push back against several details of Hobsbawm’s argument, such as the stark contrast between real continuity and constructed permanence.

and established one. For Hobsbawm, invented traditions promise especial value to rising political or national power structures, which can develop, encourage, and implement invented traditions to create a historical continuity (real or imagined) between the past and present that is to their favor. Ethnomusicologist Tamara Livingston adapted Hobsbawm's theorization of invented traditions to the practice of music revival in her study, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," in which she argued that revivals typically engage five key factors: a group of revivalists who seek to codify a new aesthetic; a target group of source material; a codified ideology to support the revival; performances; and the creation of a non-profit or for-profit enterprise aimed at the revivalists' market.²⁰

Following Livingston's lead, musicologists have investigated music revivals in diverse cultural and historical contexts.²¹ Several studies offer especially useful models for my research. In her investigation of Felix Mendelssohn's 1829 *St. Matthew Passion*, Celia Applegate frames the performance as an opportunity to understand "how a group of people at a particular moment decide that a work of art has special significance for them *as* a people."²² Applegate sees Mendelssohn's revival as a product of the early 19th-century renewal of German Protestantism and interprets its form in light of the increasingly popular bourgeois pastime of singing sacred choral music in 19th-century Germany.²³ Katharine Ellis charts rising interests in early music in 19th- and 20th-century France as a direct response to political events, such as the country's defeat

²⁰ Tamara E. Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory" in *Ethnomusicology* 43.1 (Winter, 1999), esp. 69-74.

²¹ For a survey of recent scholarship on music revival, see *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, ed. Caroline Bithell and Juniper Hill (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014).

²² Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005), 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, 7; 194.

in the Franco-Prussian War, which encouraged French interest in national cultural heritage.²⁴

These studies mirror my findings for the 17th and 18th centuries, when Lully's operas were deeply tied to questions of sovereignty and kingship. In producing Lully's *tragédies*, provincial artists wrestled with the operas' underlying ideology of absolutism, highlighting or modifying it to suit their needs and those of their audiences. Yet by crossing the mammoth political divide of the French Revolution, we can test the resilience and adaptability of Lully's operas over the *longue durée*, as the absolutist language of the repertoire ceased to reflect the political and cultural outlook of audiences.

Une gloire nouvelle: Atys, 1987

Founded in 1979 by American conductor William Christie, the baroque music ensemble Les Arts Florissants numbered among several European ensembles devoted to reviving 17th- and 18th-century opera in the 1970s and 1980s. Its revival of *Atys* in 1987 was a watershed in the modern history of baroque opera.²⁵ The production was vastly successful in its performance at the Opéra-Comique and equally successful on the road. Les Arts Florissants directed 25 additional performances around France in 1987. Nineteen performances in France and at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in New York followed in 1989; in 1992, Christie revived *Atys* for 26 more performances in France, Madrid, and at the Brooklyn Academy of Music before yet another series of revivals in France and at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in 2011.²⁶ Without

²⁴ Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), esp. 119-46.

²⁵ For an overview of the history of Les Arts Florissants, see Deshoulières, *William Christie et les théâtres des Arts Florissants, 1979-1999* (Armand Colin/HEH, Paris, 1999), 17-58.

²⁶ "Background of *Atys*," *Atys*, Brooklyn Academy of Music program booklet, September 2011, n.p. The 2011 revival was underwritten by American businessman Ronald Stanton, who reflected on his support of the production in his self-published autobiography, *A Trader's Life: A Memoir* (2010), esp. 120-122.

Les Arts Florissants' *Atys*, Buford Norman writes, "it is possible that the Quinault-Lully operas would still be the museum pieces they had been for 200 years, a part of what even enlightened critics call the 'dark ages' of opera."²⁷

Armed with an enormous budget, *Atys* stunned spectators with its 200 lavish period costumes, graceful postmodern staging, and 50-member orchestra.²⁸ The production's stage director, Jean-Marie Villégier, highlighted the production as "le big-bang du baroque français."²⁹ Captivated by the sense of glory but also the "heavy, stuffy, obedient atmosphere" ("atmosphère lourde, étouffante, obéissante") that the score of *Atys* seemed to evoke, Villégier fashioned a *mise en scène* that illuminated the sadness and nostalgia of Louis XIV's court in the later days of the king's reign. A chorus dressed in period costume peered at the stage from a balcony around the theater, recalling 17th-century engravings of social gatherings in the *appartements* of Versailles.³⁰ Soloists were also in courtly dress, wearing solid muted colors that contrasted with

²⁷ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 157. Similarly, Geoffrey Burgess wrote of the production in 2006, "More than ten years after its last performance, Les Arts Florissants' production of Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Atys* remains the touchstone for the modern interpretation of French Baroque opera. This collaboration between stage director Jean-Marie Villégier and conductor William Christie has accrued almost legendary status and exercised enduring influence." Burgess, "Revisiting *Atys*: Reflections on Les Arts Florissants' Production," 465.

²⁸ Jean-Marie Villégier, "Un rêve noir habité par un soleil," in *Atys, Avant-scène opéra* 94 (Paris: Éditions Premières Loges, 2011), 112-115; John Rockwell, "Opera: 'Atys,' by Lully, in Paris." *The New York Times*. 18 January, 1987.

²⁹ Jean-Marie Villégier, "Le big-bang du baroque français," in *30 ans: Les Arts Florissants William Christie* (Paris: Images en Manœuvres, 2011), 27. So successful and entrancing was the production that it would be revived again in 1989, 1992, and 2011, when its expenses at the Brooklyn Academy of Music numbered over \$3,000,000. "Contrat de Coproduction." Binder: NWF 2011 ATYS Sept 18-24. Brooklyn Academy of Music Archives. For additional information on the funding of Les Arts Florissants', see Olivier Rouvrière, *Les Arts Florissants de William Christie* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2004), esp. 78-84.

³⁰ See in particular the six "*chambre des appartements*" engravings that Antoine Trouvain (1656-1708) engraved between 1694 and 1696, especially *Quatrième chambre des appartements* (Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles, INV.GRAV 4197) and *Cinquième chambre des appartements* (Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles. Lebaudy grd. fol. 12_fol 5). Elisabeth-Charlotte, wife of Philippe d'Orléans and sister-in-law to Louis XIV, describes the *appartements* gatherings in a letter to her sister-in-law, Electress Wilhemine-Ernestine in a letter dated 6 December, 1682: "Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays are *jours d'appartement*...Everyone goes to the salon...and from there to a large room where there is music for who want to dance. From there ones goes to a room where the King's throne stands. There one finds various kinds of music, concerts, and singing. From there one goes into the bedchamber, where three tables for playing at cards are set up..." Elisabeth-Charlotte von der Pfalz, *A Woman's Life in the Court of the Sun King*, 38-39.

the golden finery of the *songes agréables* in the *sommeil* scene of Act III.³¹ Villégier intended for these visual contrasts to conjure the somber years of the end of Louis XIV's reign: the *songes agréables* asserted a nostalgic flashback to the heady spectacle of court life in the 1660s, while the other characters nodded to the more conservative atmosphere at Versailles following the king's marriage to Madame de Maintenon.³² Villégier's "camera obscura" of 17th-century Versailles was enhanced by the production's meticulous attention to choreographing Lully's dance pieces in period style, thanks to choreographer Francine Lancelot, demonstrating the unique synthesis between dance and vocal music that Lully's *tragédies* created.³³

Besides introducing audiences to Louis XIV's favorite opera, Les Arts Florissants cleared the path for all of Lully's *tragédies* to receive performances or studio recordings.³⁴ In putting

³¹ In his analysis of modern stagings of baroque opera, Deshoulières argues that 17th-century outfits have a semiotic function in that they reinforce the connection to the past that a production fabricates for spectators. See Deshoulières, *L'Opéra Baroque et la scène moderne*, 426.

³² Villégier, "Un rêve noir habité par un soleil," 112-115; Patrice Cauchetier, "Pompe funèbre," in *Atys de Jean-Baptiste Lully*. Program and libretto from the Brooklyn Academy of Music, May 17, 19, 20, 21, 1989, n.p. New York Public Library *MGTZ (Atys) 89-5572. Deshoulières captures the role of nostalgia in Lully revivals when he writes that the work of Les Arts Florissants is much like a "laboratoire de la nostalgie." See Deshoulières, *L'Opéra baroque et la scène moderne*, 147. In her theorization of music revivals, Tamara Livingston argues that nostalgia typically plays a strong role in driving music revivalist activity, so it is unsurprising to see nostalgia evoked in the context of the revivals of Lully's operas. Indeed, Ahrendt finds that the 17th-century Huguenots' nostalgia for cultural products of their homeland "created opportunities for entrepreneurs and contributed to the canonization of Lully and the codification of the French style." See Ahrendt, "A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680-c. 1710," 19-22. Ahrendt draws upon Svetlana Boym's categorization of restorative nostalgia, which seeks to recreate that which has been lost. It is indeed restorative nostalgia that remains at play in modern Lully revivals, as audiences relish 17th-century costumes and period dance. See Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 41.

³³ Laura Naudeix argues that Villégier's stage design represented a camera obscura in multiple ways; not only did it reflect an image of the French court, it also reflected the comparisons that 17th-century thinkers made between the camera obscura and the human soul: "Atys nous fait pénétrer dans la chambre obscure de l'opéra baroque, au sens où, au cœur du monde classique, résiderait toujours l'interrogation plus ancienne sur les contours de la réalité, de l'illusion et sur le processus d'appropriation du monde par un sujet troublé par les reflets et les miroitements du réel." Laura Naudeix, "Atys en 1987: Invention de l'opéra français," in *L'Invention des genres lyriques français et leur redécouverte au XIXe siècle*, 475.

³⁴ For a chronology of revivals of Lully's operas in the 20th century, see Deshoulières, *L'Opéra Baroque et la scène moderne*, 847-895. To date, Lully's ballets have received significantly less attention in the concert hall and recording studio. Most recordings of Lully's ballets are restricted to dance suits. A notable exception is Ensemble Correspondences' recording of *Ballet de la Nuit*. See *Le Concert royal de la nuit*. Ensemble Correspondences, dir. by Sébastien Daucé, Harmonia Mundi, 2015.

Lully at the center of baroque performance and discography, the revival of *Atys* also transformed the composer into a modern French cultural icon.³⁵ So iconic did Lully become that when Les Arts Florissants revived *Atys* in Brooklyn in 1989, the American Committee on the French Revolution recognized it as an official part of its bicentennial celebration of the Revolution, no matter that the opera represented the very institution that French revolutionaries had sought to overturn.³⁶

The 1987 *Atys* production was reflective of France's efforts in cultural building even as the nation's political influence on the global stage was in decline.³⁷ The 1980s were witness to an era in which the French government prioritized the preservation and advancement of national cultural heritage – *le patrimoine français*. The presidency of François Mitterrand (1981-1986; 1988-1993) saw the initiation of large-scale architectural projects in Paris that celebrated French cultural achievement, such as the now iconic Louvre Pyramid, Opéra Bastille, the Site François-Mitterrand of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the Cité de la Musique (as of 2015,

³⁵ Cédric Segond-Genovesi, "De la scène à l'écran: Lully au temple de Mémoire (1812-2000)," in *L'Invention des genres lyriques français et leur redécouverte au XIXe siècle*, ed. Agnès Terrier et Alexandre Dratwicky (Lyon: Symétrie, 2010), 501, 507. Prior to 1987, Lully's reputation had suffered because of his Italian origin; even during his lifetime, he was criticized for the heavy Italian accent that he retained despite his naturalization as a French subject. Philippe Beaussant explores French anxiety over attributing the foundation of French opera to a composer who was Italian-born in "Le musicien du soleil," in *Atys, Avant-scène opéra* 94, 4-9. Though it is little discussed in literature on the 1987 *Atys*, which typically focuses on the premiere at the Opéra-Comique in Paris, Les Arts Florissants first introduced the opera in Florence in December 1986, where the Florentine press celebrated *Atys* as a product of their city's heritage: See Giuseppe Rossi, "Lully: da Versailles a Firenze: l'antica patria scopri la grandezza di quell suo figlio diventato parigino," *La Nazione*, Monday 22 December, 1986.

³⁶ Letter to Diane Malecki from the American Committee on the French Revolution, February 23, 1989. Brooklyn Academy of Music Archives, Binder: NWF 2011 ATYS Sept 18-24. Deshoulières notes this paradox, though does not expand on it, in his study of modern baroque opera productions. See Deshoulières, *L'Opéra Baroque et la scène moderne*, 162.

³⁷ On the role and contribution of France on the global political stage, and especially on its role in the leading up to the Treaty of Maastricht and the European Union, see Helen Drake, *Contemporary France* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). 116-118; 196-219; Drake, "Perspectives on French Relations with the European Union: An Introduction" in *French Relations with the European Union*, ed. Helen Drake (London: Routledge, 2005), 1-20.

Philharmonie 2).³⁸ Music featured prominently in Mitterrand's cultural campaign, thanks in great part to Jack Lang, who served as Minister of Culture from 1981-1986 and 1988-1992. With a background in theatrical arts, Lang saw audiovisual media as key to marking and broadcasting France's cultural heritage to national and international audiences.³⁹ In his view, cultural expression was vital for maintaining a dynamic nation with a strong sense of self-identity: "a society that does not create will die" ("une société qui ne crée pas meurt").⁴⁰

Under Lang's oversight, the budget of the Ministry of Culture doubled, enabling Mitterrand to realize his monumental cultural projects and transform the nation's capacity for preserving, commemorating, and investigating its cultural heritage.⁴¹ With government support, for instance, the Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles was also founded during this period (fittingly, in 1987) to preserve, study, and perform French music from the 17th and 18th centuries.⁴² Les Arts Florissants' *Atys* took the cultural work accomplished by Mitterrand and Lang one step farther, performing the magnificence of France's *Grand siècle* before audiences

³⁸ On the architectural *grands travaux* under Mitterrand, see Kim Elang, *The Politics of Cultural Policy in France* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 12-21, 61; David Looseley, *The Politics of Fun: Cultural Policy and Debate in Contemporary France* (Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers, 1995), 131-137; Eric Cahm, "Mitterrand's *Grands Projets*: Monuments to a Man or Monuments to an Age?" in *The Mitterrand Years: Legacy and Evaluation*, ed. Mairi Maclean (Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press, 1998), 263-275. While the Opéra Bastille was inaugurated in 1989, the Cité de la Musique, Site François-Mitterrand, and the Louvre Pyramid opened after Mitterrand's presidency, in 1995, 1996, and 2000, respectively. Mitterrand's cultural policies have led Deshoulières to characterize the Fifth Republic as a "heritage Colbertiste." See Deshoulières, *L'Opéra baroque et la scène modern*, 771.

³⁹ Looseley, *The Politics of Fun*, 77. Deshoulières argues that the 1980s marked a momentous shift in the history of opera that was facilitated by the work of Les Arts Florissants. In the ensemble's mission to portray Lully's operas as moving as the works of Wagner and Mozart, for example, it sparked a new vision of baroque opera as a musical rather than an "archeological" process. See Deshoulières, *William Christie et les théâtres des Arts Florissants*, 63-68; 243-245.

⁴⁰ Looseley, *The Politics of Fun*, 82.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 233.

⁴² "Le CMBV, une institution unique." Centre de Musique Baroque Versailles website. <http://www.cmbv.fr/>; Deshoulières, *William Christie et les théâtres des Arts Florissants*, 27.

not just in Paris, but across the western hemisphere. In doing so, the production also created a modern past for subsequent historically-informed performance revivals of baroque opera, which looked to Les Arts Florissants' *Atys* as a model for implementing historical gesture, dance, declamation, and continuo performance practices.

Dans le temple de mémoire: Armide, 2008

Les Arts Florissants revived *Armide* in October 2008 at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris.⁴³ Whereas *Atys* had captivated audiences with lavish costumes, a large cast, and sheer novelty, *Armide* was a subtler and less costly affair. In his *mise en scène* of the opera, Robert Carsen created a stage awash in monochromatic gray hues; only Armide, her *suivants*, and, once under the enchantress's spell, Renaud, stood out in costumes of brilliant red.⁴⁴ At the center of the stage rested a canopied bed separated from the front of the stage by a railing in imitation of the layout of the royal bedchamber of Versailles. Though generally well received, the production elicited some criticism from reviewers disappointed in the lack of spectacle. Musicologist Lionel Sawkins questioned Carsen's decision to "totally reject dance traditions of the 17th century in favour of a modern, folksy, approach."⁴⁵ *The New York Times* reporter George Loomis pointed out that when Armide invokes demons at the end of the opera to destroy her palace, no demons materialize in the production. Rather, Armide disappears from spectators' sight as she collapses into the canopied bed.⁴⁶ Loomis also critiqued the production's prologue:

⁴³ A DVD of this production was released in 2011. See *Armide: tragédie en un prologue et cinq actes*, directed by Robert Carsen (France: Fra Musica, 2011).

⁴⁴ Although the costumes of *Armide* were simple and vaguely modern, their chromatic contrasts echo Villégier's *mise en scène* of *Atys*, an example of how *Atys* became a focal point for subsequent revivals of Lully's operas.

⁴⁵ Lionel Sawkins, "Armide in Paris," *Early Music* 37.1 (Feb. 2009), 146.

⁴⁶ George Loomis, "'Armide' keeps fires burning for a Baroque opera revival." October 14, 2008. *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/14/arts/14iht-loomis.3.16939033.html>. Sawkins interprets Armide's collapse as a suicide, and concurs with Loomis that Carsen's treatment of the prologue and final scene are overly

[Carsen] also mixes in some silliness by framing the action with scenes (including projects) of modern Versailles beset by tourists. In fact, the whole story is apparently the dream of a tourist who sneaks into a royal bed. It is mildly amusing at the start, especially when mock tourists in the audience broke out in a joyful chorus...But it makes for an anticlimax at the end when the tourists traipse back in after Armide's demise.⁴⁷

I propose that the prologue's design was far from facetious, but rather encapsulated the function of the prologue as it signified to 17th- and 18th-century spectators while updating that function to resonate with present-day audiences.

Provincial artists in the *ancien régime* provinces wrestled with Lully's prologues, retaining, abbreviating, or cutting them to control the length of a production or to render the production more or less political.⁴⁸ Present-day directors likewise grapple with the prologues, whose absolutist language and allusions to 17th-century individuals and events are generally lost to modern audiences. While Villégier's design of the prologue of *Atys* was intended, as Burgess argued, to highlight the prologue's function of introducing the poetics of the *tragédie*, Carsen's *mise en scène* emphasized the function of any opera prologue to transition spectators from the world of reality to the world of fiction. At the same time, Carsen also updated the portrayal of absolutism in Lully's prologue to a commentary on Versailles and French baroque opera as cultural products of modern-day France.

whimsical for the tragic demands of the opera: "Instead of wreaking her vengeance with the destruction of the palace, Armide committed suicide (such an event would never have been acceptable on stage in Lully's day), while the tragic atmosphere of the conclusion was abandoned in favour of more cute horseplay from the airline cabin attendants who had masqueraded as Wisdom and Glory in the video-projected prologue." Sawkins, "Armide in Paris," 146.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Indeed, soon after Lully's death, it was not uncommon for audience members to arrive late to the opera so that they would not have to sit through the prologue. See Burgess, "Revisiting *Atys*: Reflections on Les Arts Florissants' Production," 466.

Armide's prologue opens to reveal La Gloire and La Sagesse in a palace, where they offer praise to the absolute power of Louis XIV: "Everyone in the universe must give in to the august hero whom I love" ("Tout doit céder dans l'univers à l'auguste Héros que j'aime").⁴⁹ After several iterations of praise, the allegorical characters and a chorus of their followers commemorate Louis XIV's name to "the temple of memory": "May his name be forever engraved in the temple of memory" ("Que dans le temple de Memoire son Nom soit pour jamais gravé").⁵⁰ The Les Arts Florissants production staged La Gloire and La Sagesse as tour guides; their *suivants* were tourists; and the *temple de mémoire* was the Château de Versailles. As captured on the DVD recording of the production, La Gloire and La Sagesse enter onstage to point to slideshow images of Louis XIV as they sing his praise. The slideshow opens into a film in which La Gloire and La Sagesse lead choristers and dancers dressed as backpack-clad, camera-bearing tourists through the halls of Versailles. By treating audiences to images of the Hall of Mirrors, panoramic views of the gardens and fountains, and close-ups of Hyacinthe Rigaud's famous full-length portrait of Louis XIV, the production gave spectators a sense of the prologue's original political function of inviting audience members to praise the king collectively. Similarly, the film transposed royal presence into the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées –

⁴⁹ Lully and Quinault, *Armide*, Prologue. I write about the production as it was presented on a DVD; the filmed version of the opera influenced viewers' perception of the opera in a way that differs from how audiences perceived it onstage. In other words, the filming of the opera reconceptualized its staging once more. In this respect, the viewer is removed a second time from the world of Versailles, but the voyeurism of tourists at Versailles that the production suggests is magnified. For reflections on the way that video versions of opera mediate the presentation of a performance, see Emanuele Senici, "Porn Style? Space and Time in Live Opera Videos," *The Opera Quarterly* 26.1 (Jan. 2010): 63-80.

⁵⁰ Lully and Quinault, *Armide*, Prologue.

and, indeed, into the private space in which one might watch Les Arts Florissants' DVD of the production – despite the king's actual absence.⁵¹

Carsen's staging of *Armide*'s prologue also fulfilled a secondary function of Lully's prologues: to introduce the story of the upcoming *tragédie*. One tourist – tenor Paul Agnew – continually falls behind the crowd, entranced by the beauty of Versailles. Visiting Louis XIV's bedchamber, he is unable to resist the temptation of the king's luxe bed and climbs in. Agnew sings the role of Renaud in the *tragédie*, as the film subtly makes clear by zooming in on Agnew's face when La Sagesse introduces the story of *Armide*, singing, "There we will see Renaud, [who] despite pleasure, [will] follow faithful and wise advice" ("Nous y verrons Renaud, malgré la Volupté, suivre un conseil fidelle & sage"). Agnew's transgression into the royal bed foreshadows his concession to Armide's temptation.

It is true that no demons arrive to destroy Armide's palace at the end of the production. Tourists, however, crowd the stage after Armide falls silent, and two guards pull Renaud (once more a transgressive tourist) from the royal bed. As the demons rip apart Armide's palace to emphasize the impossibility of her romantic relationship with Renaud, the tourists obliterate the production's illusion of the magical world of opera. The magic of Versailles itself is deconstructed: no more the palace of a Sun King, the château is a tourist attraction – no more are Lully's operas propaganda for an absolutist monarch, but rather entertainment for a crowd.

Armide déplorable: Armide, 2015

While Lully's operas have not shed their association with the court of Louis XIV, modern productions do not typically foreground the *tragédies*' absolutist nature. Even Les Arts Florissants' *Armide* emphasized Lully's prologue as a cultural product of the *Grand siècle* rather

⁵¹ For a discussion of *Armide*'s prologue and an overview of scholarship on the function of prologues, see Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera*, 142-143.

than as propaganda for an absolutist monarch. An unanticipated convergence of political events, however, rendered one revival of a *tragédie* by Lully vividly political. In November 2015, the production of *Armide* at Versailles organized by Opera Atelier, a Canadian baroque opera company based in Toronto, was held only days after the terrorist attacks perpetrated by ISIS militants in Paris that killed 130 individuals while wounding 413. An examination of the transformation of *Armide* into a symbol of French national mourning and cultural endurance reveals how spectators and performers might interpret political valence in Lully's operas even in the present day.

Inspired by early modern Islamic manuscripts, set designer Gerard Gauci had created a stage set for Opera Atelier's production that was illuminated with pastel colors and decorated with passages from *Armide*'s livret and the names of Armide, Lully, and Quinault translated or transliterated into Farsi and inscribed in calligraphy.⁵² The set contributed to the production's conventional interpretation of *Armide*, which highlighted the conflict between East/Muslim and West/Christian that splits the characters into two camps: those on the side of the Muslim enchantress Armide, and those on the side of the Christian knight Renaud.⁵³ Rather than arguing that the opera's story was one of unbridgeable binaries, Pynkoski asserted that the characters are ultimately "transformed into human beings with identical weaknesses, fears, and foibles":⁵⁴

By the end of the opera, we are left with two shattered lives and protagonists (Christian and Muslim) who will never again be able to view their traditional enemy in the same light.⁵⁵

⁵² Gerard Gauci, interview with the author, April 21, 2016.

⁵³ For a synopsis of *Armide*, see Chapter 3.

⁵⁴ Marshall Pynkoski, "Armide Director's Note." 10.9.2015. <http://operaatelier.com/periodpieces>. Accessed 11.30.2015.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

After a series of performances in Toronto, Opera Atelier traveled to Versailles, where it was scheduled to perform *Armide* at the Opéra Royal of Versailles.⁵⁶ As the performers were boarding their plane to France, they learned of the terrorist attacks that had ravaged Paris. Several suicide bombers detonated themselves in the suburb of Saint-Denis, followed by a series of shootings at various locations in the 10th and 11th arrondissements of the city, the most serious of which occurred at the Bataclan theater.⁵⁷ *Armide* was the first musical performance to open at Versailles after the attack. Because of the extraordinary coincidence of its timing, Lully's centuries-old opera was catapulted into hyper-relevance. Reflecting on opening night, Gauci remarked,

For us to be producing *Armide* of all things, which is the story of Christian-Muslim conflict, it was a weird, weird coincidence. But in a way, it couldn't have been more perfect, because there's a story where there are no winners, really. The story is about the transcendence of love over politics, and it was incredibly timely. It was a very, very odd, but really kind of wonderful coincidence that we were able to reopen the Opéra Royal with a piece that spoke so directly to the situation at hand.⁵⁸

Gauci was not the only one to feel that *Armide* shared remarkable relevance with recent events. Pynkoski later reflected in the company's online blog, *Period.Pieces*, that "the significance of the opera (dealing with the conflict between the Muslim and Christian worlds of the 11th century)

⁵⁶ See Richard Ouzounian, "Opera Atelier Gets Regular Gig at Versailles Opera House," *Toronto Star*, January 27, 2015. <https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/stage/2015/01/27/opera-atelier-gets-regular-gig-at-versailles-opera-house.html>; Ouzounian, "An *Armide* fit for Toronto and Versailles: Review," *Toronto Star*, October 23, 2015. <https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/music/2015/10/23/an-armide-fit-for-toronto-and-versailles-review.html>. Accessed 11.30.2015.

⁵⁷ Among the many informative media reports of the attacks, see, e.g., "Paris Attacks: What Happened on the Night." December 9, 2015, *BBC News*. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994>. Accessed 12.9.2015; "Attaques à Paris: le point sur l'enquête et le déroulé des attaques." *Le Monde*, November 15, 2015. http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/11/13/fusillade-meurtriere-a-paris_4809485_3224.html. Accessed 11.15.2015.

⁵⁸ Gauci, interview with the author, April 21, 2016.

was lost to no one.”⁵⁹ Opening night was dedicated to the victims of the attacks, and the concert halls were awash in the colors of the French flag.⁶⁰ In a series of speeches before the performance, Pynkoski and Catherine Pégard, president of Versailles, advanced the production as a symbol of national endurance against violence that deliberately targeted cultural institutions. Pynkoski’s speech captures the power that *Armide* had rapidly acquired as an expression of solidarity and strength:

On the surface, the opera deals with the conflict between Muslim and Christian worlds during the first Crusade of the 11th century – but the overriding theme deals with the inescapable power of Love. By the end of the opera – *Armide*, the Muslim warrior princess and Renaud, the French Christian knight have been brought to exactly the same place as human beings. Love has brought them to a place that transcends race, religion and culture – Love is the invincible force that makes the protagonists most profoundly human.

In North America, we think of France as the most civilized country in the world and we think of Paris as the City of Love. No act of violence is capable of eradicating that reality.

We offer this production of *Armide* as a gift of love and support from Canada – to every person of every culture who embraces the core values of your beautiful country.⁶¹

Following this speech, the orchestra and chorus led the audience in singing *La Marseillaise*.⁶² To a nation still reeling from the assassinations of employees of the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in January 2015, the political and cultural symbolism of opening night carried a tremendous if ephemeral surplus of meaning.

It was not just the coincidence of an eerily relevant storyline and the political accoutrements that Versailles set up inside the concert hall that rendered the performance so

⁵⁹ Pynkoski, “Opera Atelier in Versailles.” <http://operaatelier.com/periodpieces.12.1.2015>. Accessed 12.17.2015.

⁶⁰ Gauci, interview with the author, April 21, 2016.

⁶¹ Pynkoski, “Opera Atelier in Versailles.”

⁶² Ibid.

poignant. Soprano Peggy Kriha Dye, who sang the title role of *Armide*, noted a feeling of communal empathy that flooded the hall as she sang her final monologue, “Le perfide Renaud me fuit”:

It was *absolutely silent* when I sang that. I was very aware that I was helping the audience grieve. I think that moment when she’s grieving, it allows the audience to relate and feel something that, of course, for them is going to be personal.⁶³

Armide’s monologue captures the enchantress’s frenetic emotional state at the end of the opera. Devasted by Renaud’s departure, and in shock as she grasps the reality of her fall from a triumphant sorceress to a “trop malheureuse” and “déplorable” abandoned lover, Armide unleashes an air that conveys anger, uncertainty, and despair:

Le perfide Renaud me fuit;
Tout perfide qu’il est, mon lâche cœur le fuit.
Il me laisse mourante, il veut que je perisse.
A regret je revoi la clarté qui me luit;
L’horreur de l’éternelle nuit
Cède à l’horreur de mon supplice.
Le perfide Renaud me fuit;
Tout perfide qu’il est, mon lâche cœur le fuit.

Quand le Barbare étoit en ma puissance,
Que n’ai-je crû la Haine & la Vengeance!
Que n’ai-je suivi leurs transports!
Il m’échappe, il s’éloigne, il va quitter ces
bornes;
Il brave l’Enfer & ma rage;
Il est déjà près du rivage,
Je fais pour m’y traîner d’inutiles efforts.

Traitres, atten...je le tiens...je tiens son cœur
Perfide...
Ah! je l’immole à ma fureur...
Que dis-je! où sui-je ! hélas! infortunée
Armide!
Où t’emporte une aveugle erreur?

L’espoir de la vengeance est le seul qui me
reste.

The treacherous Renaud flees from me;
As treacherous as he is, my loose heart
follows him.
He leaves me dying, he wants me to perish.
In regret I see again the clarity that shines for
me;
The horror of the eternal night
Cedes to the horror of my torture.
The treacherous Renaud flees from me;
As treacherous as he is, my loose heart
follows him.

When the barbarian was in my power,
That I did not believe Hatred and Vengeance!
That I did not follow their transports!
He escapes me, his going far away, he will
leave these borders:
He braves hell and my rage;
He is already near the shore,
I am doing this to drag myself out of useless
efforts.

Traitors, wait...I have him...I have his
treacherous heart...
Ah! I immolate it to my fury!
What am I saying? Where am I? Alas!
Unfortunate Armide!

⁶³ Peggy Kriha Dye, interview with the author, May 12, 2016.

Fuyez, Plaisirs, fuyez, perdez tous vos attraits.	Where does blind error lead you?
Démons, détruisez ce palais.	
Partons, & s'il se peut, que mon amour	The hope for vengeance is the only that is left
funeste	to me.
Demeure ensevelie dans ces lieux pour	Flee, Pleasures, flee, leave your charms.
jamais.	Demons, destroy this palace.
	Let us part, and if it can, let my deadly love
	Remain buried in these places forever.

The score of “Le perfide Renaud me fuit” reflects Armide’s emotional state through recognizable instrumental tropes and jagged vocal lines. The piece is introduced by an instrumental prelude in g minor whose *dessus* line moves steadily downwards:



Fig. 6.1: Opening of first violin part of “Le Perfid Renaud me fuit,” in *Armide* (V,5)
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Fonds du service reproduction, Rés VM2-40.
www.gallica.bnf.fr.

In the 17th century, such musical figures were saturated with specific associations and had acknowledged purposes. In his biographical entry on Marie Le Rochois, who created Lully’s *Armide*, Titon du Tillet noted that instrumental introductions set up the emotional ambiance of the character who was about to sing:

[Le Rochois] listened very closely to what we call the *ritournelle*, played while the actrice makes her entry on stage, as in dumb show, during which all feelings must be conveyed silently in one’s face and appear in one’s action.⁶⁴

The prelude of “Le perfide Renaud me fuit” was a projection of Armide’s verbal, musical, and even physical expression of despair. Armide embellishes her grief throughout the monologue with musical phrases that set key words of the text to striking intervallic leaps, such “barbare,”

⁶⁴ Banducci, “*Acteurs and Actrices as Muses*,” par: 9.2.

“tout perfide,” “mon supplice.” No matter how hard Armide tries to reach out to the departing Renaud – vocally or emotionally – that which she desires remains unattainable.

Armide’s monologue conveys a sense of loss and destruction, and leaves behind a deserted and demolished stage-set palace. Small wonder, then, that many audience members and performers interpreted the performance as resonant with the apocalyptic mood that ensued after the terrorist attacks, and as feeding into the state of mourning and dislocation that followed the events of November 2015 for many in France. Yet even as spectators mourned the tragedy of the Paris attacks through their experience of *Armide*, they also celebrated a monumental achievement of early modern French culture. From the hypnotic *sommeil* scene in II,3 to the sultry passacaille in V,2, the luxurious score of *Armide* contributed to the opera’s fluid transformation from an opera composed in honor of an absolutist king to a work that projected the endurance of French culture in the darkness of a global 21st century.

Lully’s operas have remained far from immutable as they have been brought to life by different artists and adapted to changing political and cultural circumstances. At the same time, the association of the operas with their royal patron has continued to be an important part of their realization over time, though the degree and meaning of this association varies: for Rennais spectators in 1689, *Atys* was rendered hyperpolitical to enforce the power of the Crown, while *Armide* at Versailles in 2015 was less identified with the French monarchy than with the endurance of French culture in the face of national loss. It is worth remembering that even Lully saw the adaptation of one of his operas to address new political circumstances. In 1675, the composer rewrote the prologue of *Thésée* after the French victory at Turenne in January of that year, replacing the original prologue’s call to arms with a celebration of love and pleasurable

pastimes.⁶⁵ Beyond their journey from absolutist propaganda to an expression of French national culture, Lully's operas will doubtless continue to respond flexibly to the values and vision of those who revive them.

⁶⁵ Denécheau, "Le Livret de 'Thésée' dans tous ses États," 454.

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Interviews

Peggy Kriha Dye, May 12, 2016.

Gerard Gauci, April 21, 2016.

Appendix 1.1

Provincial livrets and scores of Lully's operas from Marseille, Lyon, Rennes, and Strasbourg, 1687-1750

LIVRETS

Académie de Musique of Marseille

Armide (L. Lemolt, 1687 (published in Marseille))
Persée (Mesnil, 1697)

Académie de Musique of Lyon

Phaëton (Thomas Amaulry, 1688)
Bellérophon (T. Amaulry, 1688)
Armide (T. Amaulry, 1689)
Atys (T. Amaulry, 1690)
Thésée (T. Amaulry, 1692)
Armide (T. Amaulry, 1697)
Alceste, ou le Triomphe d'Alcide (Antoine Olyer, 1730)
Roland (Aimé Delaroche, 1740)
Thésée (A. Delaroche, 1741)
Armide (A. Deloroche, 1742)
Atys (A. Delaroche, 1743)
Thésée (Rigollet, 1749)
Roland (Rigollet, 1749)
Armide (Rigollet, 1750)

Académie de Musique of Rennes

Cadmus et Hermione (Philippe Le Saint, before 1691)
Atys et Galathée (P. Le Saint, before 1691)

Académie de Musique of Strasbourg

Isis (François Le Roux, 1732)
Proserpine (F. Le Roux, 1735)
Bellérophon (F. Le Roux, 1736)

SCORES

Académie des Beaux-Arts of Lyon

Alceste (F-LYm Rés FM MS 27273)
Amadis, tragédie en musique (F-LYm Rés MS FM 27335)
Armide, tragédie (F-LYm Rés MS FM 27335)
Atys (F-LYm Rés MS FM 27297)
Isis (F-LYm Rés MS FM 27296)
Tesée Ancien opera Composé par M. de Lully surintendant de la musique du roy (F-LYm Rés MS FM 27287)

Académie de Musique of Strasbourg

Atys (F-Pn VM2-21)
Alceste (F-Pn VM2-12 (BIS))
Persée (F-Pn VM-64)
Phaëton (F-Pn VM2-66)
Proserpine (F-Pn VM2-49)
Le Triomphe de l'Amour (F-Pn VM2-57)

Rennes

Isis, tragédie en musique (F-RE Rés Ms 0212)
Thésée, tragédie en musique (F-RE Rés FM 27295)

Appendix 2.1

Chronology of the Académie de Musique of Lyon and its Lully Productions, 1687-1750

Dates	Director(s)	Lully Productions and Parodies
1687-1689	Jean-Pierre Leguay	<i>Phaëton</i> (1688) <i>Bellérophon</i> (1688) <i>Phaëton</i> (1688/1689) <i>Armide</i> (1689) <i>Atys</i> (1689)
1690-1692	Nicolas Le Vasseur	<i>Thésée</i> (1692)
1692-1695	Académie in hiatus; Comédiens de Mgr le Maréchal Duc de Villeroy produce Lully parodies	<i>La Répétition de Thésée</i> (1692) <i>La Chûte de Phaëton</i> (1694)
1695-1703	Leguay	<i>Alceste</i> (1696) <i>Le Temple de la Paix</i> (1696) <i>Persée</i> (1696/1697) <i>Alceste</i> (1699) <i>Phaëton</i> (1701)
1703-1704	Michel Farinel and Nicolas Ranc	
1704-1705	Ranc	
1705-1711	Leguay	
1711-1714	Jean-François Mey de Bretonnal	
1714-1716	Antoine Michel and Debargues	
1716-1718	Leguay	
1718-1722	Pierre Donzelague, Leguay, and Madeleine Eucher dit la Desmarais	
1722-1739	La Desmarais	<i>Armide</i> (1730)
1739-1744	Nicolas-Antoine Bergiron	<i>Roland</i> (1740) <i>Thésée</i> (1741) <i>Armide</i> (1742) <i>Atys</i> (1743)
1745-1748	Jean Monnet	
1748-1752	Jacques-Simon Mangot	<i>Thésée</i> (1749) <i>Roland</i> (1749) <i>Armide</i> (1750)

Appendix 2.2

Musical borrowings of Marc-Antoine Legrand's *La Chûte de Phaëton* from Lully's *Phaëton*

<i>La Chûte de Phaëton</i>	Source in <i>Phaëton</i>	Location in <i>Phaëton</i>
Overture	Overture	Prologue
Vous paraissez chagrin, Monsieur	Vous paraissez chagrin, mon fils	I,4
Monsieur Harpin fait choix d'un Genre	Le Roy va faire choix d'un gendre	I,4
Trouvez-moy caution	N/A	N/A
Fort à propos	N/A	N/A
Oh, vous qui pénétrez	Il revient bientôt	I,8
Puisque vous le voulez	Puisque vous m'y forcez	I,8
Air	Air	I,8
Quel oracle!	Quel oracle!	I,8
Ah, l'on m'en a trop dit	Protée en a trop dit	I,8
Ah, Scélérat, est-il possible?	Ah, Phaëton, est-il possible?	III,1
Pour n'estre point Mary	Pour regir l'Univers	III,1
Témoin de ma constance	Témoin de ma constance	III,1
Pourquoy lui montrer	Craignez le Dieu	III,3
Dieux, à présent	N/A	N/A
Hélas, une chûte si belle	Hélas, une chaine si belle	V,3
Que la pièce doit-être drôle	Que l'on chante	V,4
Bourrée	Bourrée	V,4
Gigue	Gigue	V,4
Changez ces doux concerts	Changez ces doux concerts	V,5
C'est vostre secours que j'implore	C'est vostre secours que j'implore	V,6
Allons sans tarder d'avantage	O Dieu, qui lancez le Tonnerre	V,7
Au bien des créanciers	Au bien d'Univers	V,8
O sort fatal!	O sort fatal!	V,8

Appendix 3.1a

Singers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750

Performer	M/F	Chorister (Y/N)/ Side ¹	Solo Roles	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Adelaide	F	N	Sidonie, Temire, Dorine, Minerve						X	X	X
Anteaume	F	Y/I						X			
Antoine	M	N	Coridon							X	
Augé	M	Y/G	Aronte, Ubalde						X	X	X
Balivet	M	Y/I							X	X	X
Barrat	F	Y/I		X							
Besson	M	N	Atys, Renaud, Thésée, Coridon		X	X	X	X			
Blanc	F	N	Angélique		X						
Bon	F	Y/G	Phénice, Belise						X	X	X
Brossard	M	Y/G					X				
Campourcy	M	N	Phérès	X							
Cartaud	F	N	Armide, Médée						X		X
Chauvet	M	Y/G							X	X	X
Collesse	M	Y/I			X	X	X	X/G	X	X/G	X/G
Cumel	M	Y/G				X					
Davarenne	F	Y/G				X					
Deville	M	N	Demagorgon, Ziliante		X						
de la Vigne	M	N	Lychas	X							
de Villiers	M	N	Straton, Charon	X							

¹ In this table, G=côté du gouverneur; I=côté de l'Intendant; M=côté du Maréchal; D=côté du Duc

Singers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Chorister (Y/N)/ Side	Solo Roles	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Defontenay	M	N	Idas, Phobétor, Sangar, Hidraot, Egée, Roland		X	X	X	X			
Destrel	F	N	Une habitante, Cleone			X	X				
Dharcour	M	Y/M	Eole	X							
Dorreville	M	N	Le Chevalier Danois, Un vieillard, Un berger			X	X				
Drougeons	M	Y/G			X/I	X	X		X/I	X/I	X/I
Du Bois	F	Y/I		X							
Du Bourg	M	N	Alcide	X							
Du Mouchy	M	N	Admète	X							
Dubois	F	Y/I			X		X	X			
Dupont	M	Y/D			X						
Durieux	F	Y/M		X							
Fabre	F	Y/D	Angélique, Aeglé		X				X	X	
Faux	F	Y/G							X	X	X
Ferrand	F	Y/I		X							
Ferret	M	Y/M		X							
Forestier	M	N	Médor		X						
Forestier	F	Y/D	Tersandre		X						
François	M	Y/G					X	X	X/I	X/I	X/I

Singers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Chorister (Y/N)/ Side	Solo Roles	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Furin	M	Y/I					X	X	X		X
Garnier	F	Y/G	Mélisse				X	X			
Gaultier	F	Y/I	La Grande Prestresse						X	X	X
Gaumenil	F	Y/M	La Gloire	X							
Gavaudan	M	Y/G			X	X	X	X			
Gentilhomme	F	Y/I		X							
Gibassier	F	Y/G			X				X	X	X
Girardon	F	Y/G				X	X				X/I
Giraud	F	Y/I							X		
Giroux	F	Y/I				X	X				
Gouger	M	N	Célénus, Arcas			X		X			
Grenier	F	Y/G						X			
Guillemin	F	Y/M		X							
Hequet	M	Y/G			X/I	X	X	X			
Jacquet	F	N	Sangaride, Phenice, Aeglé			X	X	X			
Jacquemin	M	Y/D			X						
Jobar	M	Y/G						X			
La Grec	M	Y/M		X							
Labbé	M	Y/M	Lycomède	X							
Lachevrerie	M	Y/I	Artemidore, Tersandre, Un vieillard			X	X			X	
Laferté	F	Y/I				X					

Singers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Chorister (Y/N)/ Side	Solo Roles	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Lafond	F	Y/I							X	X	X
Laforest	F	Y/D			X						
Lamarre	M	N	Hidraot, La Haine, Demogorgon, Ziliante, Arcas						X	X	X
Le Blanc	M	Y/I		X							
Le Brun	M	Y/I		X							
Le Goux	F	Y/I		X							
Lemyre	M	Y/G			X/I	X	X	X			
Lenoble	M	Y/G	Ubalde, Renaud, Medor, Thésée				X		X	X	X
LeRiche	F	N	Une habitante (in <i>Armide</i>), Première Fée, Cleone						X	X	X
Letourneur	F	Y/G			X/I	X					
Letourneur	M	Y/I		X	X	X					
Levieux	M	Y/D			X						
Maisonneuve	M	Y/G							X	X	X
Mangot	M	N	Roland, Aégé						X	X	
Marielle	F	N	Première Fée, Temire, Belise		X						
Martin	M	Y/D			X						
Martin	F	Y/I							X	X	X

Singers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Chorister (Y/N)/ Side	Solo Roles	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Martiniere	F	Y/D			X						
Mondor	F	Y/G					X				
Monet	M	Y/I				X	X	X			
Monville cadet	F	N	Céphise	X							
Moussa	F	Y/I				X	X		X/G		X/G
Moussa	M	Y/G			X/I	X	X				
Paguan	F	Y/I			X	X	X	X			
Pauline	F	Y/I					X	X/G			
Pipet	M	Y/I									
Philippe	M	N	Morphée, Chevalier Danois, Astolée, Apollon, Astolfe	X?	X			X		X	X
Plante	F	N	Cybele, Armide, Médée			X	X	X			
Poncin	M	Y/D			X						
Pouchard	F	Y/M		X							
Premier	M	Y/I			X						
Prud'homme	M	Y/D			X						
Raine	M	Y/G							X	X	X
Richelmy	M	Y/M		X							

Singers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Chorister (Y/N)/ Side	Solo Roles	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Rousset	M	Y/I	Pluton	X							
Sarrazin	F	Y/I							X	X	X
Scelle	M	Y/I	Phantaze				X	X			
Selim	F	N	Doris, La grande prestresse, Dorine, Minerve			X	X	X			
Sommerville	F	Y/G				X	X	X			
Teissier	F	Y/G							X	X	X
Thaumat	M	Y/I							X	X	X
Tonat	M	Y/I				X	X	X			
Tulou	F	N	La Nymphé de la Seine, Alceste	X							
Vallancier	M	Y/I			X	X	X	X			
Verité	F	Y/G					X	X			
Vigneron	M	Y/I		X							
Villers	M	Y/I			X		X	X			

Appendix 3.1b

Dancers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750

Performer	M/F	Role(s)	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Anselin	F							X	X	X
Asselin	M			X						
Bellangé	M							X	X	X
Binet	F			X						
Bodin	M	<i>Atys</i> : Phrygien, Peuple divers, songe funeste, suite de fleuve sangar <i>Armide</i> : Peuple du Royaume de Damas, berger, la suite de la Haine, habitants champestre, plaisir <i>Thésée</i> : Combatans, berger, peuple d'Athenien			X	X	X			
Bouquet	F			X						
Camargo	F							X	X	X
Carville	F		X							
Cochois	F	Première danseuse		X						
Cusset	M							X	X	X

Dancers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Role(s)	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Deloule	M	<i>Atys</i> : Phrygien, Peuple divers, songe funeste, suite de fleuve sangar <i>Armide</i> : Peule du Royaume de Damas, berger, la suite de la Haine, habitants champêtre <i>Thesee</i> : Combattans, Grecs, Demons/Lutins, berger, peuple d'Atheniens		X	X	X	X			
Deloule cadet	M	<i>Armide</i> : plaisir <i>Thésée</i> : Combattans, grec, berger, peuple d'Athenien			X	X				
Denis	M	<i>Armide</i> : La suite de la Haine <i>Thésée</i> : Grec, demon/lutin		X	X	X				
Depuvignée	F			X						
Dubuisson	F	Prestresse, Vieille, bergère			X					
Dupalais	F		X							

Dancers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Role(s)	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Dupré	M	<i>Atys</i> : Peuple divers, songe funeste, suite de fleuve sangar <i>Armide</i> : Peule du Royaume de Damas, la suite de la Haine, habitants champêtre, plaisir <i>Thésée</i> : Combattans, Grecs, berger			X	X	X			
Fardelle	F	<i>Atys</i> : Phrygienne, peuple divers, suite de fleuve Sangar <i>Armide</i> : habitant champêtre, bergère, plaisir				X	X			
Florentin	F							X	X	X
Garnier	M	<i>Atys</i> : Phrygien, Peuple divers, songe funeste, suite de fleuve Sangar <i>Armide</i> : Peule du Royaume de Damas, berger, la suite de la Haine, plaisir <i>Thésée</i> : Combattans, Demon/lutin, berger, peuple d'Athenien		X	X	X	X			

Dancers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Role(s)	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Giroux	F	<i>Atys</i> : Peuple divers, suite de fleuve Sangar <i>Armide</i> : Peule du Royaume de Damas, bergere, habitants champêtre, plaisir <i>Thésée</i> : Bergere, Vieille, peuple d'Athenien			X	X	X			
Gobelin	F		X							
Gonzale (troisième?)	M	<i>Atys</i> : Songe agreable, suite de fleuve Sangar <i>Armide</i> : Peule du Royaume de Damas, berger, plaisir <i>Thésée</i> : Combattans, grec, berger, peuple d'Atheniens			X	X	X	X	X	X
Gonzale cadet	M	Combattan			X					
Gonzale l'ainé	M	Combattan			X					
Guerin	M							X	X	X
Hugon	F		X							

Dancers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Role(s)	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Hyacinthe	F	<i>Atys</i> : Phrygienne, peuple divers, suite de fleuve Sangar <i>Armide</i> : Peule du Royaume de Damas, bergere, habitante champestre, plaisir <i>Thésée</i> : Prestresse, grecque, peuple d'Athenien, bergere		X	X	X	X			
La Roche	F							X	X	X
Lachevrerie	F							X	X	X
Le Blois	M		X							
Le Clerc	M		X							
Lebert	F	<i>Armide</i> : Peuple du Royaume de Damas, habitant champestre, plaisir		X		X				
Leclair	M	Première danseuse		X						
Lefebvre	M	<i>Atys</i> : Songe agreable, Peuple divers, songe funeste <i>Armide</i> : habitants champestre, plaisir				X	X			
Lefebvre	F	<i>Atys</i> : Songe agreable, suite de fleuve Sangar <i>Armide</i> : Bergere				X	X	X		
Lefebvre cadet	M	<i>Atys</i> : Phrygien <i>Armide</i> : Berger				X	X			
Lefevre	M								X	X

Dancers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Role(s)	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Maisoncelle	F			X						
Maisoncelle	M	Premier danseur et maitre des ballets		X						
Malterre	M	Premier danseur et maitre des ballets	X							
Malterre l'ainé	M		X							
Marchand	F		X							
Mare	M		X							
Martin	F			X						
Mercier	M							X	X	X
Mercier	F							X	X	
Montservin	M			X						
Nivelon	M		X							
Pachot	F							X	X	X
Pluvignée	F	<i>Atys</i> : Phrygienne, peuple divers, suite de fleuve Sangar <i>Armide</i> : Peule du Royaume de Damas, bergere, plaisir <i>Thésée</i> : Prestesse, bergere, peuple d'Athenien, grecque			X	X	X			
Roc	M		X							
Rocheftort	M							X	X	X
Rocque	M							X	X	X
Rocque	F							X	X	X

Dancers in the Lully productions at the Académie de Musique de Lyon, 1730, 1740-1750 (Continued)

Performer	M/F	Role(s)	1730 <i>Alceste</i>	1740 <i>Roland</i>	1741 <i>Thésée</i>	1742 <i>Armide</i>	1743 <i>Atys</i>	1749 <i>Thésée</i>	1749 <i>Roland</i>	1750 <i>Armide</i>
Roland	F		X							
Roland	M		X							
Roland cadet	F		X							
St. George	F	Première danseuse	X							
Texier	F	<i>Atys</i> : Phrygienne, peuple divers, suite de fleuve sangar <i>Armide</i> : Peule du Royaume de Damas, bergère, plaisir <i>Thésée</i> : Prestresse, bergère, peuple d'Athenien			X	X	X			

Appendix 3.2

Entries of Lully scores in *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*.
F-LYm Rés MS FM 134008

Catalogue Number ¹	Title	Scores	Dates	Parts	Voices	Instruments	Total
				Roles			
2	<i>Phaëton</i>	1 Printed folio 1 Manuscript folio		18	21	16	55
3	<i>Atys</i>	1 Engraved folio 1 Manuscript folio			6	15	21
				10	15	4	50
5	<i>Acis et Galathée</i>	1 Printed folio		3	10	14	27
8	<i>Amadis des Gaules</i>	1 Printed folio 1 Manuscript folio		3	18	18	39
			1730		3		42
			1741	3			45
13	<i>Proserpine</i>	2 Printed folios		7	22	17	46
			1729	17		2	65
17	<i>La Grotte de Versailles</i>	2 Printed folios 1 Manuscript folio		5	13	15	33
21	<i>Persée</i>	2 Printed folios			20	14	34
			1729	31	1	17	69
23	<i>Roland</i>	2 Printed folios		4	19	18	41
			1734	3	2	1	47
				16	9	31	103
29	<i>Le Triomphe de l'Amour</i>	1 Printed folio			5	13	18
30	<i>Thésée</i>	1 Manuscript folio		9	17	20	46
			1731	5			51
40	<i>Armide</i>	1 Printed folio 1 Manuscript folio		1	7	13	21
			1729	9	14	4	
			1731	1			
			1734	3	1	2	55
62	<i>Bellérophon</i>	1 Printed folio		23	18	17	58
			1729		3	1	62
71	<i>Psyché</i>	1 Manuscript folio					

¹ According to the catalogue, items were entered in the order in which the Académie acquired them. Unfortunately, the Catalogue does not provide the dates at which items were acquired. As the chart demonstrates, however, the librarians occasionally recorded the date at which new parts were copied.

Entries of Lully scores in *Catalogue des pièces de musique françaises et italiennes de la bibliothèque du Concert de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon* (Continued)

Catalogue Number	Title	Scores	Dates	Parts			
				Roles	Voices	Instruments	Total
72	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i>	1 Manuscript folio					
73	<i>Alceste</i>	1 Engraved folio 1 Manuscript folio					
74	<i>Le Triomphe de la Paix</i>	1 Printed folio					
79	<i>Isis</i>	1 Printed folio 1 Manuscript folio			4	6	10
			1732	14	17	15	55

Appendix 4.1

Transcription and English Translation of Pascal Collasse's Prologue for *Atys, tragédie en cinq actes, avec un prologue mis en musique par M. Collasse, représentée à Vitré devant MM. des États de Bretagne, en 1689* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1689), F-RE 15138 Rés

*Apollon paroist dans la Gloire
tel que les Poetes et les Peintres le
representent la teste couronnée de Lauriers
& la Lire à la main. Plus bas sont la
Nymph de la Seine qui represente toute la
France, & la Nymph de la Loire qui
represente la Bretagne. Elles sont
accompagnées de Tritons & de Nyades.*

LA NYMPHE DE LA SEINE

Apprens-moy nos destins,
ô! Toy dont les lumieres
Percent dans l'avenir,
N'allons-nous pas encor estendre nos
Frontieres?
N'allons-nous pas dompter ces Nations
guerrieres
Qui contre nous s'empresent de s'unir?

LA NYMPHE DE LA LOIRE

Je voy la Mer couverte
De Vaisseaux Ennemis qui menace nos
bords:
Quel succès auront leurs efforts?
Ne vont-ils pas trouver leur infaillible perte?

APOLLON

Quoy? Doutez-vous de cet evenement?
Louis, & sa valeur extremes
En répondent plus sûrement
Que je ne puis faire moy-mesme.
Les jaloux Ennemis du plus puissant des
Roys
Ont repris la vaine esperance
Qui les a trompé tant de fois;
Ils osent attaquer le Heros de la France

*Apollo appears in Glory, his head crowned in
laurels and a lyre in his hand - just as poets and
painters portray him. Lower down is the Nymph
of the Seine, who represents all of France, and
the Nymph of the Loire, who represents Brittany.
They are accompanied by Tritons and Naiads.*

THE NYMPH OF THE SEINE

Teach me our destiny,
O you, whose light
pierces into the future.
Have we not yet extended our borders?
Have we not defeated these warring nations
Who rush to unite themselves against us?

THE NYMPH OF THE LOIRE

I see the sea covered
with enemy vessels that threaten our borders:
What success will their efforts have?
Will they not meet their inevitable loss?

APOLLO

What? Do you doubt this [victory] will happen?
Louis and his extreme valor
Respond more surely
Than I am able to do myself.
The jealous enemies of the most powerful of
Kings
Took on the vain hope
That has deceived them so many times;
They dared attack the Hero of France.

Celebrons par avance
Ses triomphes & ses exploits.

*Les Tritons & les Nymphes marquent par
des Danses la joie qu'ils ont d'une réponse
si heureuse. Apollon se retire & laisse la
liberté aux Bretons & aux Bretonnes de se
mesler au Divertissements des Nymphes, &
d'en marquer leur allégresse.*

CHŒUR

Les jaloux Ennemis du plus puissant des
Roys
Ont repris la vaine esperance
Qui les a trompé tant de fois;
Ils osent attaquer le Heros de la France
Celebrons par avance
Ses triomphes & ses exploits.

*Chacun s'empresse à marquer la joie qu'ils
ont de la sûreté de leur Pays. L'on entend
des Haut-Bois jouer des Passe-pieds à la
manière de Bretagne. Après qu'ils ont dansé
à la manière du Pays ils se retirent.*

LA NYMPHE DE LA SEINE

Nous verrons loin de nous fondre tous les
orages,
La Paix ne peut regner que dans nos champs
heureux.

LA NYMPHE DE LA LOIRE

Un illustre Guerrier né d'un sang généreux
Veille au repos de mes Rivages
Et rend de ses vertus les Peuples amoureux.

LA NYMPHE DE LA SEINE ET LA NYMPHE DE LA LOIRE

Nous verrons loin de nous fondre tous les
orages,
La Paix ne peut regner que dans nos champs
heureux.

Let us celebrate
His triumphs and exploits in advance

*The tritons and naiads show the joy that they
have in such a happy response with dancing.
Apollo steps down and allows the Breton men and
women to mingle with the nymphs in
divertissements, and to show their happiness.*

CHORUS

The jealous enemies of the most powerful king
Have taken up the vain hope
that deceived them many times;
They dare to attack the hero of France.
Let us celebrate in advance
His triumphs and his exploits.

*Each person hastens to mark the joy that they
have in the security of their Land. The sound of
oboes playing passe-pieds in the Breton style is
heard. After they have danced in the style of the
region, they step down.*

THE NYMPH OF THE SEINE

Far away from us, we see the storms melt,
Peace can reign only in our happy fields.

THE NYMPH OF THE LOIRE

An illustrious warrior born from generous blood
ensures the repose of my shores.
And makes the People love with his virtues.

THE NYMPH OF THE SEINE AND THE NYMPH OF THE LOIRE

Far away from us, we see the storms melt,
Peace can reign only in our happy fields.
Peace can reign only in our happy fields.

La Paix ne peut regner que dans nos champs
heureux.

*Tous les Tritons & les Nayades, les Bretons
& les Bretonnes & toute la Symphonie se
meslent avec la Danse, & chantent le
Chœur qui suit.*

CHŒUR

Les jaloux Ennemis du plus puissant des
Roys
Ont repris la vaine esperance
Qui les a trompé tant de fois;
Ils osent attaquer le Heros de la France
Celebrons par avance
Ses triomphes & ses exploits.

*All the tritons and naiads, Breton men and
women, and all the orchestra mixes in dance, and
sings the chorus that follows.*

CHORUS

The jealous enemies of the most powerful king
Have taken up the vain hope
that deceived them many times;
They dare to attack the hero of France.
Let us celebrate in advance
His triumphs and his exploits.

Appendix 5.1

Transcription of *Proserpine, Divertissement executé à l'Académie de Musique de Strasbourg*.
Premier Concert. A Strasbourg, Chez Jean-François Le Roux, imprimeur de Monseigneur le
Cardinal. MDCCXXXV avec permission.²

PROSERPINE.
DIVERTISSEMENT.

OUVERTURE. SCENE PREMIERE.

La PAIX

HEROS, dont la valeur étonne l'Univers,
Ah! quand briserz-vous nos fers?
La Discorde nous tient ici sous sa puissance,
La barbare se plaît à voir couler nos pleurs;
Soyez touché de nos malheurs;
Vos êtes dans nos maux notre unique esperance:
Héros, dont la valeur étonne l'Univers,
Ah ! quand briserez-vous nos fers?

CHŒUR

Héros, dont la valeur étonne l'Univers,
Ah! quand briserez-vous nos fers?

AIR pour la Discorde.

La DISCORDE.

Soupirez, triste Paix, malheureuse captive,
Gémissez, & n'esperez pas,
Qu'un Héros que j'engage à de nouveaux combats,
Ecoute votre voix plaintive;
Plus il moisonne de Lauriers,
Plus j'offre de matière à ses Travaux guerriers;
J'anime les Vaincus d'une nouvelle audace,
J'oppose à la vive chaleur,
De son indomptable valeur,
Mille fleuves profonds, cent montagnes de glace;
La Victoire empressée à conduire ses pas,
Se prépare à voler aux plus lointains climats;

² This transcription observes the original orthography and punctuation of the text as it originally appeared in Le Roux's livret.

Plus il la fuit, plus il la trouve belle;
Il oublie aisément pour elle
La paix & ses plus doux appas.

Bruit de Trompettes.

La DISCORDE.

Ce bruit que la Victoire en ces lieux fait entendre,
M'avertit qu'elle y va descendre;
Quel plaisir de lui faire voir,
Mon ennemie au desespoir!

AIR pour la Victoire.

SCENE SECONDE.

La VICTOIRE.

Venez, aimable Paix, le Vainqueur vous appelle,
La Victoire devient votre guide fidele,
Venez dans cet heureux séjour;
Vous, Discorde affreuse & cruelle,
Potez ses fers à votre tour.

CHŒUR

Venez, aimable Paix, la Vainqueur vous appelle.

La DISCORDE.

Orgueilleuse Victoire, est-ce à toi d'entreprendre,
De mettre la Discorde aux fers?
A quel honneur sans moi peux-tu jamais prétendre?

La VICTOIRE.

Ah! qu'il est beau de rendre
La Paix à l'Univers.

La DISCORDE

Tes soins pour le Vainqueur pouvoient plus loin s'étendre,
Que ne conduisois-tu le Héros que tu fers,
Où cent Lauriers nouveaux lui sont encor offerts?
La Gloire au bout du monde auroit été l'attendre.

La VICTOIRE.

Ah! qu'il est beau de rendre

La Paix à l'Univers.

Après avoir vaincû mille Peuples divers,

Quand on ne voit plus rien qui puisse se deffendre,

Ah! qu'il est beau de rendre

La Paix à l'Univers.

CHŒUR

Après avoir vaincû, &c.

PRELUDE.

La VICTOIRE & la PAIX ensemble.

Le Vainqueur est comblé de gloire,

On doit l'admirer à jamais;

Il s'est servi de la Victoire,

Pour faire triompher la Paix.

CHŒUR

Le Vainqueur est comblé de gloire,

On doit l'admirer à jamais;

Il s'est servi de la Victoire,

Pour faire triompher la Paix.

GAVOTTE.

MENUET.

LA PAIX.

On a quitté les armes,

Voici le tems heureux,

Des plaisirs pleins de charmes;

On ne versera plus de larmes,

Tous les cœurs feront sans allarmes,

Et si l'on craint encor des tourmens rigoureux,

Ce sera seulement dans l'Empire amoureux.

CHŒUR

On a quitté les armes,

Voici le tems heureux,

Des plaisirs pleins de charmes;

Voici le tems heureux,

Des plaisirs & des jeux.

MENUET.

La FELICITÉ.

Que l'amour est doux à suivre!
Quel plaisir de s'enflammer!
Un jeune cœur ne commence de vivre,
Que du moment qu'il commence d'aimer.

MENUET.

On reprend ensuite le Chœur, On a quitté les armes.

Fin du Prologue.

ACTE PREMIER.
SCENE PREMIERE.

CERES.

Goûtons dans ces aimables lieux,
Les douceurs d'une paix charmante;
Les superbes Géans armés contre les Dieux,
Ne nous donnent plus d'épouvante;
Ils sont ensevelis sous la masse pesante,
Des monts qu'ils entassoient pour attaquer les Cieux;
Nous avons vû tomber leur Chef audacieux,
Sous une montagne brûlante,
Jupiter l'a contraint de vômir à nos yeux,
Les restes enflammés de sa rage mourante;
Jupiter est victorieux,
Et tout cède à l'effort de sa main foudroyante,
Goûtons dans ces aimables lieux,
Les douceurs d'une paix charmante;

SCENE SECONDE.
RITOURNELLE.
CERES, MERCURE

CERES.

Mercure, quel dessein vous fait ici descendre?

MERCURE.

Jupiter près de vous m'ordonne de me rendre.

CERES.

Non, non, à vos discours je n'ose ajouter foi;
Jupiter après sa victoire,
Songe à tenir en paix l'Univers sous sa loy,
Il est trop occupé de sa nouvelle gloire;

MERECURE.

Dans les soins les plus grands son ame est remplie,
Il se souvient toujours que vous l'avez charmé;
Il est malaisé qu'on oublie,
Ce qu'on a tendrement aimé;
Il admire les dons que vous venez de faire,
En cent climats divers;
L'abondante Sicile, heureuse de vous plaire,
De vos riches moissons voit tous ses champs couverts;
Mais la Mere des Dieux se plaint que la Phrygie,
Qu'elle a toujours chérie,
Ne se ressente pas de vos soins bienfaisans;
Et c'est Jupiter qui vous pri,
D'y porter vos divins présens;
Quelle Gloire de voit qu'un Dieu si grand implore
Votre favorable secours!

CERES.

Peut-être qu'il m'estime encore;
Mais il m'avoit promis qu'il m'aimeroit toujours;
L'amour qui pour lui m'anime,
Devient plus fort chaque jour;
Est-ce assez d'un peu d'estime,
Pour le prix de tant d'amour?

MERCURE.

Il sent l'ardeur qu'un tendre amour inspire;
Avec plaisir il se laisse enflammer;
Mais un amant chargé d'un grand Empire,
N'a pas toujours le tems de bien aimer.

CERES.

Quand de son cœur je devins souveraine,
N'avoit-il pas le monde à gouverner?
Et ne trouvoit-il pas sans peine,
Du tems de reste à me donner?
Je l'ai vû plein d'empressemens;
Ah! qu'il seroit aimable,
S'il aimoit constamment!

MERCURE.

Son amour craint de trop paroître;
Dans le Ciel on l'observe avec des yeux jaloux.

CERES.

De quel Dieu n'est-il pas le maître?
Ne les fait-il pas trembler tous?
Que vous l'excusez mal quand mon amour l'accuse,
S'il pouvoit avoir quelque excuse,
Mon cœur la trouveroit mille fois mieux que vous:
Allez, à ses désirs il faut que je réponde;
Je quitte une paix profonde,
Qui m'offre ici mille appas;
Que ne quitteroit-on pas
Pour plaire au Maître du monde?

Ensemble.

Que ne quitteroit-on pas
Pour plaire au Maître du monde?

SCENE TROISIEME.
RITOURNELLE.

ARETHUSE.

Vaine fierté, foible rigueur,
Que vous avez peu de puissance,
Contre l'amour & la constance!
Vaine fierté, foible rigueur,
Ah! que vous gardez mal mon cœur!
En vain par vos conseils je me fais violence.
Je combats vainement une douce langueur;
Hélas! vous m'engagez à faire résistance,

Et vous me laissez sans deffence,
Au pouvoir de l'amour vainqueur;
Vaine fierté, foible rigueur,
Que vous avez peu de puissance,
Vaine fierté, foible rigueur,
Ah! que vous gardez mal mon cœur!

SCENE QUATRIEME.
PRELUDE.

PROSERPINE.

Cerès va nous ôter sa divine présence,
Ces lieux vont perdre leurs attraits;
Cerès, favorable Cerès,
Faites cesser bien-tôt votre cruelle absence;
Cerès, favorable Cerès,
Ecoutez nos tristes regrets.

CHŒUR

Cerès, favorable Cerès,
Faites cesser bien-tôt votre cruelle absence;
Cerès, favorable Cerès,
Ecoutez nos tristes regrets.

SCENE CINQUIEME.
RITOURNELLE.

CERES, &c.

Vous, qui voulez pour moi signaler votre zèle,
Ne troublez point la paix de cet heureux séjour,
Je presse mon départ pour hâter mon retour;
Accompagnez ma Fille avec un soin fidele,
Changez vos tristes chants en de charmans Concerts;
Que j'entende en partant dans le milieu des airs,
Eclater la gloire nouvelle,
Du plus grand Dieu de l'Univers.

CHŒUR

Célébrons la victoire
Du plus puissant des Dieux.

PROSERPINE.

Qu'un trophée éternel conserve la mémoire,
D'un triomphe si glorieux.

CHŒUR

Célébrons la victoire,
Du plus puissant des Dieux.

Premier & second Air.

PRELUDE.

PROSERPINE.

Ce Palais va tomber, ô Dieux! la terre s'ouvre.

Un Suivant de Proserpine.

Quels tremblemens affreux!
L'enfer découvre
ses gouffres ténébreux.

CHŒUR

Jupiter, lancez le tonnerre.

PROSERPINE.

Renversez par de nouveaux coups,
Le Chef audacieux des enfans de la terre;
Il veut se relever pour s'armer contre vous.

CHŒUR

Achevez d'étouffer la guerre;
Jupiter lancez le Tonnerre.

FIN.