7 “Pourquoi toujours des bergers?” Molière, Lully, and the pastoral divertissement

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Notwithstanding the claims that they had scoffed at the idea of pastoral opera in the French language until they witnessed the success of Pomone, Molière and Lully introduced rustic characters, Arcadian themes, and operatic pastoral scenes in many of the court divertissements they created for Louis XIV. The trademark shepherds, nymphs, satyrs, and magicians of the pastoral genre had long been standard figures in ballet de cour. Yet, the chains of rustic lovers, lyric monologues and lovers’ laments, the echo dialogues and song contests, and the mock suicides and sleep scenes found in their comédies-ballets reveal that pastoral commonplaces were a source of ongoing comic inspiration for les deux grands Baptistes.

By the 1660s, the pastoral genre in France was largely démodé as serious dramatic literature. The early pastorales of Nicolas de Montreux (Arimène, 1596), Montchrétien (Bérgerie, 1600), Christien des Croix (Les Amants, ou la grande pastourelle, 1613), and Isaac du Ryer (La Vengeance des satyres, 1614) had been inspired by earlier Italian and Spanish models. With Honoré d'Urfé's multi-volume novel L'Astrée (1607–27) the pastorale took on a more Gallic character, and established a new pastoral ethic that was in harmony with the fashionable esprit précieux of the 1620s. This imaginary utopia of noble bergers and bergères provided contemporary French society with a poetic and moral code – to the extent that "knowing one's Astrée well" became a mark of the cultured gentleman. Pastoral drama reached its zenith in the 1620s and 1630s with Racine's Les Bergeries (1625), Mairé's Sylvie and Silvanire (c. 1625–29), and Gombault's Amaranthe (1631), but quickly declined thereafter. Twenty years later, Tristan l'Hermite’s play Amarillis (1653) initiated a nostalgic revival of the pastoral genre that coincided with the first pastorales en musique of Dassoucy (Les Amours d'Apollon et de Daphné, 1650), Charles de Beys (Le Triomphe de l'Amour, 1654, rev. 1657), and Pierre Perrin (Pastorale d'Issy, 1659). However, Thomas Corneille’s satire Le Berger extravagant (1653) pointed up the absurdities of the pastoral genre when its protagonist, after reading L'Astrée and seeing a performance of Tristan’s Amarillis, dons shepherd’s garb and lives out his own Arcadian fantasy.

A decade later, Molière and Lully would find comic inspiration in the threadbare conventions of the pastorale. Many of the bucolic motifs in their divertissements derive from the pastoral poetry of antiquity. The allusions to the innocent and happy love among the birds and animals in La Pastorale comique, Le Sicilien, and Les Amants magnifiques, according to Jacques Morel, stem from De rerum natura of Lucretius, "which Tasso transmitted to the French authors of pastorals." Moreover, on two occasions Molière sent a passage of Meleager, from which he took the title of one of his pastorals, the pastoral opera Les devoirs de l'homme. This is the same passage that Corneille, in his tragedy Pyrame and Thisbé, had previously used in the opening scene of his pastoral. Molière’s adaptation of this passage is a clear example of his debt to Corneille, as well as a demonstration of his ability to transform it into a suitable pastoral text. The following passage illustrates this point:

2 Tallemant des Réaux relates that "In the company of the family of Mme de Guéméné, they entertained themselves, among other things, with writing some questions on L'Astrée; and he who did not answer well paid for each mistake with a pair of frangipani gloves. Two or three questions were written down on paper and

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directly imitated classical models: the singing contest of the Quatrième Intermède of La Princesse d’Elide imitates the Anacreontic pastoral lyric, while the “dépit amoureux” of the Troisième Intermède of Les Amants magnifiques is a French translation of an ode of Horace (“Donec gratus eram tibi,” Ode IX of Book III). 6

Other pastoral situations, scenes, and characters look to the seicento Italian pastorale for inspiration. The comédies-ballets designed for court fêtes borrow heavily from these Italian sources – for, according to Athénais de Montespan (Louis XIV’s mistress from 1667 to c. 1673), Guarini’s Pastor fido and Tasso’s Aminta were among the king’s favorite works. 7 It is no accident that the action of La Princesse d’Elide (1664), like that of Pastor fido, begins immediately after a boar hunt, 8 or that the Princess, like Silvia in Aminta, prefers the excitement of the hunt over the attentions paid her by her noble suitors. Meanwhile, her court fool Moron follows the example of Aminta, and affects to kill himself for the love of a shepherdess. For Morel, the disdainful shepherdesses of Mélïcêtre (1666) are “d’une allure guarnissant,” 9 while the two suitors rejected by Caliste in the Troisième Intermède of Les Amants magnifiques call to mind the satyr spurned by Corisca in Pastor fido. 10

Other Arcadian borrowings look to contemporary French pastorales. The Ballet des Muses (1666–67) contains no less than three of Molière and Lully’s early attempts at the genre. Mélïcêtre, Molière’s only spoken pastoral comedy, originally served as the Troisième Entrée dedicated to the comic muse Thalia. While later editions of this comédie pastorale-héroïque do not call for music or dance, the entrée following it in the Ballet des Muses celebrated Euterpe, the pastoral muse, and featured pastoral songs, choruses, and dances – some of which may have originated as musical intermèdes performed between the acts of the play. Mélïcêtre is based on an episode in Mlle de Scudéry’s popular pastoral romance Artamène, ou le Grand Cyrus (1649–53). Its plot revolves around a conventional chain of pastoral lovers: Acanthée and Tyrène are in love with Daphné and Éroïsène, who both love Myrtil, who in turn loves and is loved by Mélïcêtre. Molière grants the minor characters so little individualizing personality that they merely parrot each other’s lines. The opening scene, for example, mimics the balanced exchanges that informed much of Perrin’s Pastorale d’Issy (and, to an even greater extent, Bélys’s Le Triomphe de l’Amour):

Molière, Mélïcêtre, I, 1

**ACANTE**  
Ah! charmante Daphné!  
Tyrène  
Trop aimable Éroïsène.  
Daphné

**ACANTE**  
Ah! charming Daphné!  
Tyrène  
Too lovely Éroïsène.  
Daphné

**ACANTE**  
Acanthée, laisse-moi.  
Éroïsène  
Ne me suis point,  
Tyrène.  
Acanthée

**ACANTE**  
Leave me, Acanthée.  
Éroïsène  
Do not follow me,  
Tyrène.  
Acanthée

**ACANTE**  
Pourquoi me chasses-tu?  
Tyrène  
Pourquoi fuis-tu mes pas?  
Daphné

**ACANTE**  
Why do you drive me away?  
Tyrène  
Why do you fly from me?  
Daphné

**ACANTE**  
Tu me plais loin de moi.  
Éroïsène  
Je m’aime où tu n’es pas.  
Acanthée

**ACANTE**  
You please me most when far away.  
Éroïsène  
I love to be where you are not  
Acanthée

**ACANTE**  
Ne cesseras-tu point cette rigueur mortelle?  
Tyrène  
Ne cesseras-tu point de m’être si cruelle?  
Daphné

**ACANTE**  
Why not cease this killing severity?  
Tyrène  
Why not cease to be so cruel to me?  
Daphné

**ACANTE**  
Ne cesseras-tu point tes inutiles vœux?  
Éroïsène

**ACANTE**  
Why not cease your useless  
Éroïsène

**ACANTE**  
Ne cesseras-tu point de m’être si fâcheux?  
Why not cease to be so annoying to me?
MOLIÈRE, LULLY, AND THE PASTORAL DIVERTISSEMENT

In typical comédie-ballet fashion, Molière and Lully mimetically defuse the impending violence by transforming this altercation into dances of battle (Les Paysans combattant avec des bâtons) and of reconciliation (Les Paysans réconciliés). In the end, Lycas and Filène, having both been rejected by Iris, resolve to commit suicide (the only recourse of the spurned pastoral lover). Yet Molière gives this scene comic spin, by having the rival lovers argue over who is to do himself in first. Thereupon a joyful shepherd—the raisonneur of Molière’s urban comedies—arrives to chide these despondent lovers for thinking of killing themselves for something as silly as unrequited love (“’La quelle folie!”). Here and elsewhere, Molière recasts the commonplace of the pastorale in dramatically apposite, pointedly comic fashion.

As the 1667 Carnival performances of Le Ballet des Muses came to a close at court, Molière and Lully added Le Sicilien, ou l’Amour peintre as the final Quatorzième Entrée. This comédie-ballet features a pastoral “scène de comédie chantée” performed by some Turkish singers, in which two archetypal shepherds decry the harshness of their respective mistresses. Even the rocks will be moved upon hearing of Philène’s anguish (“Si du triste récit”), while Tircis’s sighs commence anew each dawn when the birds begin to sing (“Les oiseaux réjouis, dès que le jour s’avance”). After the disheartened shepherd-lovers commiserate in anguished exclamations, they join in weepy duet on a saccharine concit:

Molière, Le Sicilien, ou l’Amour peintre, scene 2

SECOND MUSICIEN
Ah! mon cher Filène.
PREMIER MUSICIEN
Ah! mon cher Tircis.
SECOND MUSICIEN
Que je sens de peine!
PREMIER MUSICIEN
Que j’ai de soucis!
SECOND MUSICIEN
Toujours souads à mes vœux est l’ingrate
Climène.
PREMIER MUSICIEN
Cloris n’a point pour moi de regards
adoucis.
SECOND MUSICIEN
Ah! dear Filène.
PREMIER MUSICIEN
Ah! dear Tircis.
SECOND MUSICIEN
What grief I feel!
PREMIER MUSICIEN
What cares I have!
SECOND MUSICIEN
Ever dear to my sighs is the ungrateful
Climène.
PREMIER MUSICIEN
Cloris has for me no sweet looks.

However, we soon discover that the playwright has reserved such symmetrical, repetitive passages for these thoroughly conventional pastoral lovers—while he reserves more poignant lyricism for his main characters, Myrtilda and Mélincerte (for instance, compare the above scene (1, 1) with Myrtild’s opening speech in L.5—a lyric monologue in vers mêlés).

Molière and Lully’s next comédie-ballet, also written for Le Ballet des Muses, was a full-fledged pastorale en musique. Entitled La Pastorale comique, it follows the example of d’Urfé’s L’Astrée to take on a measure of contemporary social relevance. Lycas and Filène, two “riches pasteurs,” court the young shepherdess Iris, who instead loves the poor but noble-hearted Coridon. However, Molière quickly turns pastoral convention on its head when the rich but ugly Lycas consults some magicians—who invoke the goddess of love in a hymn (“Déesse des appas”), dress the shepherd up in ludicrous fashion, and then deride him in song and dance (“Qu’il est joli!”). In scene 3 Filène tries his hand at the lyric monologue, a long-standing commonplace of the dramatic pastoral. But while Filène waxes poetic, his soliloquy is considerably more flat-footed than that of the idealized shepherd-lover; rather than delivering the traditional apostrophe to the flora and fauna of the bucolic landscape, Filène instead seeks consolation in his beloved flock of sheep (“Paissez, chères brebis”). Soon thereafter, a singing contest brings Filène and Lycas to the point of blows; when some peasants later arrive to separate them, the group only ends up fighting amongst itself.

11 None of the spoken texts of La Pastorale comique survives—only the livret of the Ballet des Muses (which includes a list of the characters in each scene, a summary of the action, and the sung lyrics) and Lully’s musical score.
Tous Deux
O loi trop inhumaîne!
Amour, si tu ne peux les contraindre
D'aimer,
Pourquoi leur laisses-tu
Pouvoir de charmer?

Tous Deux
O too inhuman law!
Cupid, if you cannot compel them
to love,
Why do you leave them the
power to charm?

Once again, a worldly-wise shepherd intervenes, and sings an air to show these misguided lovers the error of loving "des inhumaînes" ("Pauvres amantes, quelle erreur"); in his embellished double, he illustrates how he matches his lovers' affections in kind—whether tender or fierce.12

Molière and Lully also experimented with juxtaposing a self-contained, musical comedy presented in intermèdes with the main action of a heroic spoken play—thereby making the former a pastoral reflection or reinterpretation of the latter. In La Princesse d'Elide, the Princess's maid in the play doubles as the "shepherdess" Philis in the pastoral intermèdes, wherein the court fool Moron aspires to be her shepherd-lover. (We cannot help but wonder if some of the other rustic characters of the pastoral—Tiris, Clymène, the satyr—might not also hold "day-jobs" at court.) Before the play begins the court has been hunting, and the Prince of Messina has saved the Princess from a wild boar. But rather than showing gratitude, the Princess expresses outrage at his interference and reproaches him for lacking confidence in her hunting abilities. Likewise, Moron undergoes a similar test of his mettle in the Deuxième Intermède, when he faces a charging bear unarmed. According to Molière's synopsis, some huntsmen arrive to rescue the fool, who "having grown bold by the removal of danger, wishes to go give a thousand blows to the animal, no longer able to defend himself, and does all that a braggart, not overly brave, would have done on such an occasion." Moron's cowardice thus serves as a comic foil to the Princess's bravery, while the huntsmen's joy provides a choreographic counterpart to the Prince's chagrin.

The amorous misadventures of Moron in the pastoral intermèdes also mirror the heroic play's etiquette of love and courtship. Moron, the wily if cowardly servant of the court, is out of his element in a world ruled by a pastoral code of conduct, and his ineptitude at mastering the conventions of the lyric arts plays off of the verbal gallantry of the Princess's noble

12 Manuel Couvreur views this "scène de comédie chantée" as the prototype for the
George Dandin pastorale; see Couvreur, 171.

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suitors.13 As Ada Coe observes, "this is not the stylized, mythical Arcadia, but a comic world in which values are turned topsy-turvy."14 For example, in the Deuxième Intermède Moron goes off to a solitary place to confess his love for Philis, and tries his hand at fashioning a lyric monologue. But Moron, no gallant shepherd, soon violates the bienséances forbidding the mention of things in life held to be beneath notice of the noble mind, and his injudicious choice of poetic images soon turns this lyric composition into a parody of the pastoral lament.15 He begins well enough,

Bois, près, fontaines, fleurs, qui voyez mon teint blême
Si vous ne le savez, je vous apprends que j'aime.
Philis est l'objet charmant
Qui tient mon cœur à l'attache;
Woods, meadows, fountains, flowers, that behold my pale countenance,
if you do not know it, I tell you I am in love.
Philis is the charming object
who has fixed my heart:

until the fool goes on to describe his carnal feelings while watching his beloved milk a cow. As his imagery becomes increasingly earthy and tactile, the accretion of proscribed words soon reaches critical mass, resulting in Moron's exclamation:

Et je devins son amant
La voyant traire une vache.
Ses doigts tout pleins de lait, et plus blanches mille fois,
Pressaient les bouts du pis d'une grâce admirable.
Oui! Cette idée est capable
De me réduire aux abois.
And I became her lover
by seeing her milk a cow.

13 Further connections exist between the Princess and her fool: the former is a
skilled singer who refuses to sing for anyone except Prince Euryale; Moron, on
the other hand, is a non-singer, who attempts to learn to sing in order to compete
for the affections of his beloved shepherdess.
14 Ada Coe, "'Ballete en comédie' or 'comédie en ballet'? La Princesse d'Elide and Les
15 The following discussion of the Deuxième Intermède is inspired by Louis Auld's
analysis of this scene in "Molière as Dramatic Lyricist" (p. 6), an unpublished
paper delivered at the 110th Convention of the Modern Languages Association
in 1995.
Her fingers, quite full of milk, and a thousand times whiter, squeezed the udder with an admirable grace.

Wheew! The very thought of it drives me crazy.

Moron’s qualifications as a pastoral lover are further thrown into question by another Arcadian commonplace: the echo. This echo stubbornly refuses to repeat the name of his beloved — but instead responds with facetious repartee.

Later juxtapositions of speech and song point up the fool’s basic incongruity with his pastoral surroundings. In the Troisième Intermède Moron meets up with a singing satyr, who had once promised to teach him to sing. The satyr is one of these mythic woodland beings for whom music comes naturally — to the extent that, as Moron observes, “he is so used to singing that he doesn’t know how to speak in any other way.” Moron asks the satyr to sing a chanson that he heard him sing some days before (“Dans vos chants si doux”), and then begs to learn it. But when the satyr uses solmization syllables to teach him the melody (see Example 7.1), the fool construes an insult in “fa” (“fat,” pronounced like “fa” in the seventeenth century, means “idiot” or “imbecile”), just as the two are about to come to blows, the violins strike up an air — which, in comédie-ballet fashion, transforms their altercation into ballet-pantomime.

In the following Intermède Moron encounters the shepherd Tircis, whom his beloved Philis seems to favor. This scene introduces another pastoral commonplace: the singing contest. Tircis extemporizes two thoroughly conventional airs — one a lover’s protestation (“Tu m’écoutes hélas! dans ma triste languer”), the other a plainte (“Arbres épris, et vous, près émaillées”). While capably composed, the shepherd’s tunes, dominated by triadic outlines and anaplectic rhythms, show little melodic inspiration (Examples 7.2a and 2b). Moron responds with his own lyric composition, based on another well-worn poetic topos: he has been fatally wounded by love, and the lady alone possesses the power to heal him (“Ton extrême rigueur”; Example 7.2c). To our surprise, Moron not only successfully imitates the fashionable style of the air tendre, but his musical invention surpasses that of Tircis in elegance and suppleness. His opening gesture consists of two beautifully crafted phrases of unequal length. The first phrase (mm. 1–5) begins on the upper tonic, fills in a descending seventh.


and then doubles back to the dominant before completing its descent to the lower tonic (the deceptive cadence in m. 5 on “ceur” is an unexpected poetic touch). Moreover, Moron evidently stole a melodic motive (on the words “sur mon cœur,” marked with asterisks in Example 7.2c) from his rival’s second air (marked with asterisks in Example 7.2b). His second phrase (mm. 5–8) consists of a pair of languorous 7–6 suspensions which conclude with a hauntingly beautiful Phrygian cadence on “trêpasse.” Moron has proven himself to be a surprisingly quick study — considering that he could scarcely match pitch in the preceding Intermède.

But once again, the fool tips his hand by allowing vulgarity of expression to creep into his final argument (“Will you be the fatter for it, having allowed me to die?”; Example 7.2d). He performs trills on both half-notes of “grasse” and gives the final, mute syllable a clumsy agogic accent. To make matters worse, his melodic line underscores the gaffe — ascending to a high note on the proscribed word, and then dramatically falling the chute of a ninth to the final cadence. Even though Moron professes willingness to die for the love of Philis, the crudeness of his poetic and musical rhetoric breaks the spell. In an ideal Arcadia, no self-respecting shepherdess would have the bad manners to accept a lover’s offer of suicide. However, to the fool’s chagrin, Philis expresses delight at the thought. While Moron meekly protests, Tircis enthusiastically supports his suicide plan (“Ah! how pleasant it is to die for the object one loves”; Example 7.2c) and urges him on (“Take courage, Moron! Die quickly, like a generous lover”) — using the borrowed 2–3–1 motive (marked with asterisks) and ascending chromaticism (on “de mourir,” an inversion of “Ah! Philis, je trêpasse” in Example 7.2c) to underscore his mocking sarcasm. At the moment of truth with dagger poised, the not-so-foolish Moron abruptly changes his tune and abruptly bids farewell to these bloodthirsty pastoral lovers with “Je suis
Example 7.2
La Princesse d'Elide (1664)
Quatrième Intermède, scenes 1–2 (after F-Pn, Rés. F 531)

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votre serviteur: quelque niais" ("I am your servant; I am not such a fool as I look.").

Molière and Lully once again experimented with intercalating a spoken comedy with a self-contained pastorale en musique (presented as intermèdes, with its own cast of characters) in the Grand Divertissement Royal de Versailles (1668). According to the published livret, "even though it appears that this might be two comedies performed at the same time, of which one is in prose and the other in verse, they are however so well joined to a common subject that they are the self-same piece and depict but a single action." This "common subject" that links the pastorale and the play George Dandin is the ongoing battle between the sexes. Here, the protagonist of the play furnishes liaison de scène with the operatic intermèdes; but unlike the fool Moron, who actively participated in both worlds, Dandin only witnesses the events that unfold in this parallel, pastoral realm. For example, at the end of Act I Dandin "is interrupted by a shepherdess, who comes to give him an account of the two shepherds' despair; he leaves her in anger, and makes way for Cloris who, on the death of her lover, comes to perform a musical lament." Unlike the lighthearted satire of the surrounding pastoral scenes, this intermède is of a serious character. To depict the shepherdess's anguish Lully drew upon the usual expressive musical gestures of the Italian lamento: a descending ostinato

16 Purkis ("Le Chant pastoral chez Molière," 137) points out that "Singing is an attractive manner of declaring one's love, and every woman loves to hear her praises from the mouth of the one who pleases her, all the while refusing to take literally the words uttered...to declare oneself ready to die is to indicate at which point life would be empty without the beloved. This manner of expression is thus both convention and symbol. This is what Moron does not understand. He takes the notion of suicide literally, and refuses to go through with it. Now, this refusal is also symbolic: it indicates that Moron, too selfish to kill himself, is incapable of loving." I disagree with Purkis's analysis, insofar as I would suggest that Moron is too clever to fall into an obvious trap laid by the shepherdess—who clearly prefers his rival and would no doubt as soon be rid of the fool.

example 7.3
George Dandin (1668)
Second Intermède (after F-Pn, Rés. F526)

Ah! mortelles douleurs! Qu'ai-je plus à prêter!

Puis qu'il nous faut languir en de tels déplaisirs.

Mettons fin en mouvement les tristes souffrances.

bass, passionate exclamations followed by expressive silences, chains of suspensions, drooping melodic lines, and phrases that cadence with a fatalistic regularity (Example 7.3). 18

Elsewhere, Molière endows the shepherd-lovers with little individualizing personality, and the musical symmetry of their paired exchanges resembles a four-way dialogue en musique. In the Intermède preceding the shepherdess's lament, two shepherds respond in duo-recitative to the harshness of their respective shepherdesses and resolve to commit suicide. Lully's music, with its parallel thirds and short bits of imitation, confirms that these spurned lovers are merely clones of one another. As Molière wryly notes in a rubric found at the end of this scene, "these two shepherds go away in despair, following the custom of lovers of old who would despair over trifles." Their music, with its mindless repetitions,

Example 7.4
George Dandin (1668)
Premier Intermède (after F-Pn, Rés. F526)

jaunty dance-rhythms, and obligatory chains of mock-patetic suspensions, further deflates the gravity of the situation (Example 7.4).

After George Dandin, Molière and Lully abandoned the parallel, ongoing pastorale en musique and reverted to their earlier format of introducing pastoral episodes as performances within the context of the spoken

18 Lully's prototype for the "Plainte de Cloris" can be found in the "Récit d'Armide" ("Ah Rinaldo, où vive sei!") the Italian lament he composed for the Hustière Entrée of the Ballet des Amours déguisés (1664). For comparison of these two laments, see Denise Laumay, "Les Arts italiens et français dans les ballets et les comédies-ballets," in Heidelberg 87, 31-49 (specifically 38-42 and 45-47).
Example 7.4 (cont.)

his love for Eriphile, and, like the archetypal shepherd lover, he is prepared to die either from grief (in I, 1) or from happiness (in IV, 4).

Molière takes these associations between the play’s characters and their pastoral counterparts to a higher, meta-theatrical level in the Troisième Intermède, when Prince Timoclès (one of the noble suitors) arranges for the performance of a *pastorale en musique*. Its prologue, like that of *Pastor fido*, serves a double function: it pays tribute to the guest of honor (Princess Eriphile), and introduces the subject of the entertainment. Furthermore, the action and characters of this *pastorale en musique* can be viewed as a symbolic reflection of the spoken play.¹⁹

In the first scene, the shepherd Tircis sings a stock lyric monologue (“Vous chantez sous ces feuillages”); but his triple-meter dance rhythms and active bass line tells us that his grief is trivial rather than tragic. Then two other shepherds, Lycaze and Ménandre, arrive and try to console Tircis. These minor characters behave like identical twins: they respond in tandem, and their extravagant outbursts of empathy, formulated in répétition de paroles, verbal symmetries and stichomythia, are once again designed for parodic effect:

¹⁹ Such strata of theatrical illusion would compound in *Le Malade imaginaire* (1673), where the spoken comedy becomes a play-within-the-eclogue and featuring its own pastoral operetta. Although *Le Malade imaginaire* lies beyond the scope of this study, a close examination of the pastoral elements reveal new levels of comic meaning. For example, in the petit opéra impromptu of II. 5, Molière playfully underscores the “impromptu”-aspect of this performance: after Cléante relates to the girl’s father and her fiancé the events which preceded this pastoral scene, he thrusts into Angéluche’s hand some untexted (and passionate) music — for which she has to extemporize the appropriate words and emotions. The plot, as explained to the girl’s father and her intended fiancé, is the story of Cléante and Angéluche in pastoral guise: the young shepherd saves a shepherdess from the advances of a boorish lout (recalling the satyr of *Aminta*), falls in love with her at first sight, obtains her promise to marry him by means of a letter, and attempts to see her again — only to learn that her father has arranged for her to marry another (a theme of *Pastor fido*). Casting aside all restraint, the shepherd breaks his silence and, in a “transport of love,” expresses his feelings in song. Here, the pastoral convention of the *dialogue en musique* allows Cléante and Angéluche, through their pastoral alter-egos Tircis and Philis, to develop their courtship before Argan and Thomas Diafour – the urban counterparts of the shepherdess’s father and the “unworthy rival.” This petit opéra impromptu thereby epitomizes the overall dramatic action of the spoken comedy — and its happy outcome anticipates the play’s musical dénouement. For further discussion see my article, “Music, Fantasy and Illusion in Molière’s *Le Malade imaginaire*,” *Musica e Lettere* 73/2 (1992), 222–243 [230–233].
Molière, Les Amants magnifiques, Troisième Intermède, scene 2

LYCASTE ET MÉNANDRE
Ah! Tirsce!
Ah! Tirsce!
Ah! Tirsce!
TIRCE
Ah! Bergers!
TIRCE
Prends sur toi plus d’empire.
TIRCE
TIRCE
Prends sur toi plus d’empire.
TIRCE
TIRCE
Nothing can come to my aid.
TIRCE
TIRCE
It is giving way too much.
TIRCE
TIRCE
It is giving way too much.
TIRCE
TIRCE
C’est trop, c’est trop ceder.
TIRCE
TIRCE
C’est trop, c’est trop soufrir.
TIRCE
TIRCE
What weakness!
TIRCE
TIRCE
Quel martyre!
TIRCE
TIRCE
What martyrdom!
TIRCE
TIRCE
Il faut prendre courage.
TIRCE
TIRCE
Il faut plutôt Mourir.
TIRCE
TIRCE
Rather let me die.

This scene, however, lacks the shepherd-raisonneur of La Pastorale comique and Le Sicilien, who represented a sane voice in the midst of pastoral delirium.

In the next scene, the shepherdess Caliste confesses in an expressive plainte (“Ah! que sur notre coeur”) that despite her will she has fallen in love with Tirsce. After she has become overtaken by sleep, Tirsce and his companions arrive to sing her a kind of lullaby similar to the traditional sommeil music (see Example 7.5). 20 Caliste awakens, is surprised to find that Tirsce has followed her and admits that pity has aroused her true affections. The key shifts from G minor to B major when Caliste surrenders her heart to her shepherd-lover. Tirsce, stunned (“Ah! I am beside myself!”), momentarily

20 The sommeil was a commonplace of Italian operas of the time – for example in II, 9 of Rossi’s Orfeo (1647), the chorus sings a lullaby (“Dormite begli’occhi”) to the unconscious Euridice. Dassoucy imitated this scene in III, 4 of Les Amours d’Apollon et de Daphné (1650), where Apollo sings the same words to the sleeping Daphne (“Dormite belli ochi”).
loses track of his key as he wanders through B♭, G major, C minor, and finally settles on D major; his friends, in response to his good fortune, bring the music back to G (Example 7.6). Here Lully's setting has an arioso-like expressiveness that features the prominent anapests, triadic outlines, and downbeat end-rhymes typical of his later operatic recitative.
suggestions a new side of her personality — that of a consummate coquette. Since destiny wills her to fall in love with Tircis (so she tells the satyrs), both must bear their fates patiently. As unlucky in love as their forebears, the two disheartened satyrs resolve to drown their sorrow in wine (“Aux amants qu’on pousse à bout”).

In the denouement to the Troisième Intermède, the shepherds, shepherdesses, and satyrs join in chorus to summon the woodland divinities (“Champêtres divinités”), whereupon some dryads and fauns emerge from their grottos to perform an entrée de ballet. Next, they present a musical performance featuring two pastoral lovers, Philinte and Cléméne, whose story (taken from an ode of Horace) raises the divertissement to yet a higher level of meta-theatrical abstraction. Having formerly sought consolation in the arms of others, the inconstant lovers enact a dépit amoureux that concludes in a duet of reconciliation. As they now declare eternal fidelity, their melodic lines intertwine in imitation and combine in thirds and sixths — symbolic of their new-found harmony. After the performance-within-the-play ends, “tous les acteurs de la Comédie” momentarily step out of character and join in chorus to exhort lovers everywhere to quarrel, so that they may enjoy the pleasures of making up (“Amants, que vos querelles”). In this final number, “the fauns and the dryads recommence their dance, which the singing shepherdess and shepherds intermingle with their songs, while three little dryads and three little fauns reproduce upstage everything that happens downstage.”

This mirror reflection projected by the little dryads and fauns represents the symbolic relationship that exists between the pastoral Troisième Intermède and the spoken play. Tircis, the suffering shepherd of the opera, can be viewed as the pastoral counterpart to General Sostrate, the suffering lover of the play, and Caliste’s preference for a mere shepherd over the two rival satyrs is analogous to Eriphile’s choice of Sostrate over the two rival princes. Moreover, Caliste’s pronouncement to her satyr-suitors “le destin le veut ainsi” (scene 5) predicts the denouement of the play, when an unforeseen twist of fate decides the princess’s future husband. The

21 Venus appears in IV, 2 of the play to tell Queen Aristione that the gods wish to reward her with the best possible match for her daughter, and they will give her a sign: her life will be saved by the man who should marry Eriphile. While the miraculous appearance of Venus is merely a ruse concocted by the astrologer

association of the rival princes with the courtly satyrs is a clever, parodic touch — particularly later on, when their outrage at Eriphile’s choice matches the satyrs’ indignation. Moreover, Caliste’s nonchalant reaction to the satyrs’ distress recalls the behavior of Princess Eriphile, who also trile with the affections of her royal suitors and plays games with Sostrate. Declaration of her love must wait until IV, 4 — when Sostrate’s ecstatic reaction (“Ah! Madame, c’en est trop pour un malheureux; je ne m’étais pas préparé à mourir avec tant de gloire . . .”) recalls that of the shepherd Tircis in scene 4 of the Troisième Intermède (“Ô Ciel! Bergers! Caliste! Ah! je suis hors de moi; si l’on meurt de plaisir je dois perdre la vie”).

Whatever reservations Molière may have had about pastoral opera, he seems to have taken considerable pride in this pastorale en musique — that is, assuming that Aristone (Eriphile’s mother) voiced the playwright’s sentiments when she exclaimed “That is admirable! Nothing could be more beautiful! It surpasses all that has ever been seen.” But this pronouncement might carry a hidden meaning — given that, beginning with Les Amants magnifiques, Molière took over Bensonade’s position of poet for court ballets. Moreover, Molière and Lully’s accomplishment surpassed that of Perrin’s Académie Royale des Opéra, which had been in existence since 1669 but had yet to stage an opera. Indeed, Manuel Couvreur judges that “by the quality of the versification, by the varied beauties of the score, this pastoral is much superior to the famous Pomone — which would be created the following year.”

Molière and Lully renewed their satire of pastoral opera in Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (1670), where their barbs became increasingly directed at Perrin and his forthcoming ventures in pastoral opera. In Act I, scene 2, three professional singers appear before M. Jourdain to perform a musical dialogue “upon the different passions that music can express.” Moreover, the Maître de Musique directs M. Jourdain to imagine them

Anaxarque (on behalf of the rival princes), fate steps in when the queen is attacked by a wild boar, and it is Sostrate who saves her life and thereby wins the princess.

22 In Act II, the court fool Clitidas awakens Eriphile’s jealousy when he pretends that Sostrate is in love with one of her maids, and asks for her aid with his suit. Eriphile in turn torments Sostrate by asking advice on her choice between the rival princes.

23 Couvreur, L, 181.
dressed as shepherds. "Why always shepherds?" the bourgeois asks, "We see nothing else everywhere." But his Maître à Danser patiently explains that "When we have characters that are to speak in music, it is necessary for the sake of verisimilitude to give it as a pastoral; song has always been assigned to shepherds, and it is hardly natural in dialogue for princes or shopkeepers to sing their passions." 24 These singers, however, portray neither real shepherds nor their Arcadian ideals, but rather nameless, abstract pastoral persons. Like the shepherdess Caliste, "la musicienne" (dusse) prizes her freedom over love. The "premier musicien" (hautecoeur) embraces the philosophy of the berger fidèle, while the "second musicien" (a more worldly-wise basse-taille) wants nothing more to do with "ce sexe inconstant."

At any rate, Molière and Lully depict all three pastoral archetypes with tongue in cheek. The shepherdess mocks the sentiments of the infatuated lover ("On dit qu'avec plaisir on languit, ou surprie") by a long, drawn-out suspension and cadence, and yet she quickly gives up her prized liberté later on to win the heart of the discouraged shepherd. While the air of the faithful shepherd ("Il n'est rien de si doux que les tendres ardeurs") begins with a parody of her last line ("Il n'est rien de si doux que notre liberté"), the chromatic lamento bass underlying this phrase foretells that grief awaits him. By way of contrast, the discouraged shepherd's melodramatic outbursts ("Mais, hélas! ô rigueur cruelle!") are delivered in recitative that apes the passionate extremes of a larger-than-life, "operatic" figure.

After each pastoral persona establishes his philosophy of love in an opening number, the three juxtapose their contradictory views in an exchange of balanced phrases ("Aimable ardeur, / Franchise heureuse, / Sexe trompeur, / Que tu m'es précieuse! / Que tu plais à mon cœur! / Que tu me fais d'honneur!") which soon reaches a reconciliation. Siding with the faithful shepherd, the shepherdess joins her melody to his in thirds and sixths; accepting her offer (or rather challenge) of love, the discouraged shepherd abandons his angry recitative for lyrical melody. Amusingly, the reformer misogynist now intones the mantra "Ah! qu'il est doux d'aimer /

24 Here, Molière and Lully parody the aesthetic of Perrin's opéras, which sought to avoid the pitfalls of narrative singing by replacing all "serious discourse" with the lyric sentiments most suitable for musical expression—love, joy, despair, etc. Indeed, all three pastoral personalities introduced in this dialogue en musique seem to be inspired by the inconstant Sylvie, the faithful Tyrès, and the rejected satyr of Perrin's Pastorale d'Issy.

Quand deux coeurs sont fidèles* to a descending, lamento bass (this time in diatonic form) — as if to suggest that his fate is now bound to that of the faithful but doomed shepherd. In the final trio, the three singers resolve their differences, while imitative and chordal passages homogenize their previously distinct musical personalities into one. 25

With Psyché (1671), Molière and Lully (in collaboration with Corneille and Quinault) transformed the genre of comédie-ballet by grafting ballet de cour onto a mythological pièce à grand spectacle. Manuel Couvreur has shown that several passages stem from the unfinished comédie pastorale-héroïque Mélisse. 26 But another point of contact between the pastoral genre and this mythological tragédie-ballet can be found in the Premier Intermède, the Italian lyrics of which may well have been written by Lully himself. 27 The model for this vocal trio is the pastoral commonplace of the plainte or stances, a lyric address to the gods and to nature that traditionally takes place in a solitary and deserted place. 28 Here Lully paints a vivid portrayal of desolation. Example 7.8 illustrates the opening bars of an expressive monody, in which a "femme désolée" (an incarnation of Psyché's despair) exhorts the rocks, rivers, and savage tigers to join their tears with hers. In a highly ornamented and melismatic double composed by Michel Lambert (Lully's father-in-law), she later graphically

25 The musical examples required to illustrate these points are too numerous and lengthy to include here; the entire dialogue en musique can be consulted in LullyOC, "Les Comédies-Ballets," vol. III (1938), 55–71. For a provocative analysis of Lully's music, see Stephen H. Fleck, Music, Dance, and Laughter: Comic Creation in Molière's Comedy-Ballets. Bibliobiblio 17 (Paris–Seattle–Tübingen: Papers on French Seventeenth-Century Literature, 1995), 105–111.

26 Couvreur, 242–245. Other passages from Mélisse seem to have influenced later comédies-ballets. For instance, the scene in which Lycaris reveals his secret to Mopse and Nicandre after declaring that they should know nothing (1, 3) recur in George Dandin (II, 5), while Myrtil's speech to assure Lycaris in II, 5 is reproduced almost verbatim in IV, 3 of Tartuffe, when Marianne attempts to soften the heart of Orgon.

27 Porfiris H, XI, 127; attributes these lyrics to Lully.

commands the grottos and caverns to resound her lament.29 Vigarani's scenery portrayed a bleak desert landscape ("la scène est changée en des rochers affreux, et fait voir en éloignement une grotte effroyable"), while a "troupe désolee" mimetically projects the prevailing mood "by a dance full of every mark of the most violent despair" (Entrée d'Hommes affligez et de Femmes desolées). Here, all of the arts — music, poetry, pantomime, costumes, and painting — join in a tragic expression devoid of any hint of the parody that figured prominently in Molière and Lully's earlier pastoral collaborations.

After Psyché, Lully composed no more pastoral divertissements for Molière's plays. La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas (1671) contained musical episodes pieced together from earlier comédies-ballets: a prologue (taken from the Premier Intermède of Les Amants magnifiques, followed by portions of the prologue to Psyché), an epilogue (the final intermède of Psyché), and a lost pastoral that was performed in scene 7 of the play by some actors, for which musical intermèdes framed the five scenes. All we know about this pastoral is that there were seven characters — a nymph (played by Mlle de Brie), a shepherdess dressed as a man (Mlle Molière), a shepherdess dressed as a woman (also Mlle Molière), a shepherd-lover (Baron), a herdsman (Molière), a Turk (also Molière), and another herdsman (La Thorillière) — and that the play's intermèdes included the plainte italienne from Psyché, the magic ceremony of La Pastorale comique (scene 2), the pastoral ballet that concluded George Dandin, the gypsy entertainment of La Pastorale comique (scene 5), and the Turkish Ceremony of Le

29 Despite the Italian text and emotional excesses, Anthony views this lament as "a synthesis in which French elements dominate." He points to its narrowness of range, its discreet use of melismas and restrained use of dissonance, its ABA form (found in many Lully operatic airs), and the fact that "in the best tradition of the air sérieux, it is followed by a double" (James R. Anthony, "Air and Aria added to French Opera," Revue de musicologie 77/2 [1991], 201–219 [202]). On the other hand, Denise Launay believes that the Italian features are most pronounced: "To the remarks made previously with regard to the Ballet des Amours déguises and the Plainte d'Armide, which apply just as well to the Plainte de la Femme désolée, [from Psyché], it could be added that: the accentuation of the Italian words encouraged Lully to multiply the anacruses, preceded by silences beneficial to the emotive effect. The last measures of the air include, in addition, notes prolonged by Italianate vocalises" ("Les Airs italiens et français dans les ballets et les comédies-ballets," 41–43).
Bourgeois Gentilhomme, and the Italian and Spanish entrée of Le Ballet des nations.30

After his break with Molière in the spring of 1672, Lully’s next project was a pastoral opera, Les Festes de l’Amour et de Bacchus (1672) — for which Philippe Quinault31 was charged with the task of constructing a libretto incorporating pastoral intermèdes borrowed from three of the comédies-ballets least familiar to the Parisian public: Les Amants magnifiques, La Pastorale comique, and George Dandin.32 Quinault added some connecting scenes to tie together these disparate fragments and to prepare for the concluding festival — the Troisième Intermède de George Dandin.33 Not surprisingly, Les Festes de l’Amour et de Bacchus owes much

30 Ballet des ballets, dansé devant Sa Majesté en son Chasteau de S. Germain en Laye au mois de Décembre 1671 (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1671). The livret indicates where scenes of “la comédie” intervene, but it is by no means always clear which scenes are from La Comtesse d’Escarbagnas and which are from the lost pastorel.

31 There remains some confusion regarding the author(s) of the libretto. According to many modern sources, Isaac Benserade and the Président de Péregy helped Quinault piece together the livret from fragments by Molière, to which they added some scenes of their own. However, since Péregy died in 1670, it is unlikely that he provided much assistance with the project. The notion that Benserade contributed verses to Les Festes de l’Amour et de Bacchus may stem from the fact that excerpts were borrowed from Les Amants magnifiques (1670). Robinet incorrectly attributed the verses of Les Amants magnifiques to Benserade in his premature review of the court premiere (letter of February 8, 1670), and later corrected his error (letter of February 22, 1670; see William Brooks, ed., Le théâtre et l’opéra vus par les gazetiers Robinet et Laurens, 1670–1678 [Paris, Seattle, Tübingen, 1993], 27–31). As far as we know, nothing contradicts Tralage’s assertion that “les vers sont de M. Quinault et de M. de Molière, la musique de M. Lully” (Jean Nicolas de Tralage, Notes et documents sur l’histoire des théâtres de Paris au XVIIIe siècle [c. 1697], ed. Paul Lacroix [Geneva, 1867]; reprint Geneva, 1969], 110).

32 La Pastorale comique and Les Amants magnifiques were never performed publicly at the Palais Royal, and George Dandin was given there as a non-musical play shorn of its pastoral intermèdes.

33 The borrowings for Les Festes de l’Amour et de Bacchus are as follows: Ouverture (from Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme); Prologue, Part I, scene 1 (Première Entrée de Le Ballet des Nations); Première Entrée, Le Donneur de livres, Quatre Importuns; Part II, scenes 2–5 (new material by Quinault), Seconde Entrée, Quatre Héros, quatre Pâtres & quatre Ouvriers; Act I, scenes 1–2 (from Molière’s Les Amants magnifiques), Troisième Intermède, scenes 1–2; scene 2 (new material by Quinault), scenes 4–6 (from Molière’s Les Amants magnifiques), Troisième Intermède, scenes 3–5; Troisième Entrée, Quatre Faunes, quatre Dryades; Act II, scenes 1–2 (new material by Quinault), Quintième Entrée (from Molière’s La Pastorale comique, sc. 1), scenes 3–5 (new material by Quinault), scenes 6–7 (from Molière’s Les Amants magnifiques).

MOLIÈRE, LULLY, AND THE PASTORAL DIVERTISSEMENT

to both the large-scale, heroic comédies-ballets (Les Amants magnifiques, Psyché) and the mythological, semi-operatic machine-plays of the past decade (especially Boyer’s Les Amours de Jupiter et de Sémélé and De Visé’s Le Mariage de Bacchus et d’Ariane). Owing to the wholesale borrowings from Molière, this opera pastiche features an unusually large cast of characters: fifteen singing roles (five shepherds, five shepherdesses, two satyrs, and three sorceresses), two independent choruses and two instrumental ensembles representing the followers of Cupid and Bacchus respectively, thirty-two dancing characters (fauns, dryads, magicians, demons, shepherds, shepherdesses, satyrs, bacchantes), and eleven supernatural characters (seven flying demons, two sirens, a flying sorceress, a flying goblin). Moreover, Quinault’s classification of the dramatic characters by function (i.e., those who sing, those who dance, and those who are transported by machines) follows that of Pomone, and thereby underscores the three main elements that comprised French opera: music, ballet, and scenic spectacle. Although the frères Parfait felt that this mélange “produced but a mediocre spectacle,”34 the appeal of a pastoral celebration of idyllic love — adorned with Vigaran’s magnificent scenery and spectacular machine effects, Des Brosses’s dance entrées, and Lully’s music — made Les Festes de l’Amour et de Bacchus popular enough with the Parisian public to warrant revivals in 1689, 1696, 1706, 1716, and 1738.35

Of immediate interest is the prologue, which begins with the opening scene from the “Ballet des Nations” (originally performed as the balletic conclusion to Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme). Here a crowd of spectators is shown awaiting the start of a ballet de cour. A dancer arrives and begins handing out livrets (Première entrée: Le Donneur de livres), “but he is hindered by the demands of people of different ranks, provinces, and nationalities, and by three troublemakers who follow hard on his heels” (Seconde Entrée: Les Trois Importuns). What follows stands as the first operatic collaboration of Lully and Quinault, and a statement of the philosophy of
the new Académie Royale de Musique. The boisterous gaiety of the comédie-ballet is quelled when Polynicé, the Muse of Pantomime, exhorts the performing arts henceforth to show the dignity befitting their royal patron. Melpomene and Euterpe then arrive to advocate for the tragic and pastoral genres, and afterwards the three sister-muses agree to join forces “pour plaire au plus grand des rois.”

In fact, the latter half of the prologue seems to have been modeled after the prologue to Les Amours de Jupiter et de Sé umbrella (1666) of Claude Boyer, which also debated the efficacy of the different dramatic genres in celebrating the gloire of Louis XIV. Boyer began his tribute in much the same manner: his muses also arrive to their characteristic music – Melpomene to the clarions and trumpets of tragedy, Thalia to the fiddles of comedy, and Euterpe to musettes and oboes of the pastorale – and advocate for their respective genres. But unlike Boyer, who wrote his prologue entirely in alexandrines, Quinault assigns his muses verse-forms befitting their literary genres: alexandrines and octo-syllables for the high style of tragedy, shorter chanson verses for the pastorale. Moreover, in contrast to the isometric music of Euterpe’s dance song, Lully set Melpomene’s “nobles récits” with their characteristic anapestic rhythms in the declamatory style of French recitative (Example 7.9).

That Molière’s comic muse Thalia did not appear with the triumvirate of muses on the stage of the Académie Royale de Musique was symbolic: the age of comédie-ballet had given way to the dawn of a new, more lofty and less humorous epoch – one marked by Louis XIV’s deepening attachment to projection of an image of gloire to the exclusion of ribald gaiety and self-laughter. While Polynicé agrees to support both, she confides to the tragic muse: “I reserve for you my greatest works.” Indeed, this comment proved to be prophetic, for, with the exception of one pastorale heroic, Acis et Galatée (1686), Lully’s subsequent French operas would all be heroic tragédies lyriques on mythological or legendary subjects.
8 The presentation of Lully's *Alceste* at the Strasbourg Académie de Musique

Catherine Cessac

Like most of his contemporaries, Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730) professed a profound admiration for Jean-Baptiste Lully. The commentary he left in his *Catalogue des livres de Musique* presents no ambiguity: "He [Lully] was by nationality Italian, but almost from his childhood was raised in France. He had an admirable genius for music, and had worked a long while for the ballets and other diversions of his Majesty, for which he was very well known and very much esteemed." Furthermore, reflecting on the death of the *Surintendant de la musique du Roi*, Brossard wrote: "All music suffered this tragic death on March 22, 1687. I left for Strasbourg the following May 1 and I did not fail to take along everything I could then find of this illustrious author's works, both

1 *Catalogue des livres de Musique Théorique et Pratique, vocale et instrumentale, tant imprimés que manuscrits, qui sont dans le cabinet du Sr. Sébastien de Brossard chanoine de Meaux, et dont il supplie très humblement Sa Majesté d'accepter le Don, pour être mis et conserves dans sa Bibliothèque. Fait et écrit en l'année 1724, ms., 546 p., (F-Pn) Rés Vmm 20.* There is also a copy next to it (F-Pn) Rés Vmm 21. The *Catalogue* has been published in a critical edition by Yolande de Brossard; Brossard C. The notes here refer to that work.

2 Brossard C, 274. There are other examples offering evidence of the esteem that Brossard held for Lully as a composer, Staunch champion of Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Brossard produced a lengthy homage to Charpentier's tragédie en musique *Médée*, without neglecting the quality of Lully's work in that genre: "Moreover, to return to his opera *Médée*, it is without doubt the most learned and the most carefully constructed of all those that have been published, at least since the death of Lully (ibid., 276). And with regard to Johann Sigismund Kusser, whose *Composition de musique suivant la méthode française contenant six ouvertures de théâtre accompagnées de plusieurs airs* (Stuttgart: P. Treu, 1682) [F Pr] Vmm 1484) Brossard owned, he noted "that of all the Germans, he (Kusser) best penetrated the manner of the French taste and best imitated the famous J. B. Lully" (ibid., 362).